

A GRAMMAR

OF

RESÍGARO

by

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Bound in three volumes

VOLUME I

SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

A GRAMMAR OF RESÍGARO

by

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I declare that this thesis has been composed by me on the basis of work done by me in St. Andrews and Peru, and that it has not been accepted in any previous application for a higher degree. I was admitted under General Ordinance No. 12 in October 1970 and enrolled in May 1971 under the Ph.D. Resolution.

Candidate

I certify that the conditions of the Ordinance and Regulations relating to the Degree of Ph.D. have been fulfilled.

Supervisor

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

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ABBREVIATIONS & SYMBOLS

1. Abbreviations

In the abbreviations that follow, capital letters are used to indicate tagmemes, levels, and major word classes, while lower case letters are used to indicate morphemes. Abbreviations indicating neither morphemes nor tagmemes or major word classes follow normal practice with regard to capitalisation or otherwise (e.g., Sp. for Spanish). Where no norm appears to exist, that form has been chosen which it is believed will be easiest to recognize (e.g., Orel for Object relativization).

A	Adjunct tagmeme	Dem	Demonstrative
A-R	Axis-relator phrase	der	derivator
phrase		desid	desiderative clitic
adct	Adjunct Phrase marker	dim	diminutive suffix
Adv	Adverb	dir	directional marker
Adv	Adverbial Emphatic	ditr	ditransitive
Emph	tagmeme	dl	dual
adv	adverbial emphatic	DO	Dative Object tagmeme
emph	morpheme	DOP	Dative Object Phrase
Aj	Adjective	DP	Directional Phrase
AP	Adjunct Phrase	dub	dubitative clitic
Att	Attributive tagmeme	Emph	Emphatic tagmeme
aug	augmentative suffix	emph	emphatic morpheme
Aux	Auxiliary	excl	exclusive
aux	auxiliary indicator	extrap	moved by extraposition
ind		f	feminine
B	Base	frus	frustrative clitic
bas	basic filler of periph slot in VG _{ii.i}	fut	future clitic
Ben	Benefactive tagmeme	H	Head tagmeme
ben	benefactive marker	I	Instrument tagmeme
BP	Benefactive Phrase	Ig	Interrogative tagmeme
C	any consonant	ig	interrogative morpheme
C.L.	complete list	IgCl	Interrogative Clause
Cl	Clause	ImpCl	Imperative Clause
cl	class	imptv	imperative
clsfr	classifier suffix	incho	inchoative
CO	Causative Object tag- meme	incl	inclusive
Conc	Concomitant tagmeme	incomp	incompletive clitic
Cond	Conditional tagmeme	instr	instrument marker
CondP	Conditional Phrase	Int	Intensifier tagmeme
conn	connector	int	intensifier morpheme
CP	Concomitant Phrase	intent	stated intention clitic
cstv	causative	Inton	Intonation Contour
Ctv	Comparative tagmeme	intr	intransitive
CtvP	Comparative Phrase	IP	Instrument Phrase
D	Directional tagmeme	L	Locative tagmeme
Dat	Dative tagmeme	Lim	Limiter tagmeme
dat	dative marker	LP	Locative Phrase
DeclCl	Declarative Clause	M	Modifier tagmeme
		m	masculine
		M.O.C.	may omit classifier

Neg	Negative tagmeme	RelCl	Relativized Clause
nlzr	nominalizer	relr	relator
nmb	number suffix	rem	remote past
Nn	Noun		past
Nom	nominalized	rep	reportative clitic
NomCl	Nominalized Clause	rest	restrictive suffix
NP	Noun Phrase	Rt	Root
Nuc	syllable nucleus	S	Subject tagmeme
Num	Numeral	s.o.	someone
NumF	Numeral Phrase	sg	singular
O	Object tagmeme	Snt	Sentence
Orel	Object relativization	Sp.	Spanish
P	Predicate tagmeme	Srel	Subject relativization
Periph	Periphery	St	Stem
Phon	Phoneme	sthg	something
pl	plural	sub-cl	sub-class
Pn	Pronoun	sx	suffix
PP	Purposive Phrase	Syll	Syllable
Ppsv	Purposive tagmeme	T	Temporal tagmeme
ppsv	purposive marker	trans	transitive
priv	privative	tritr	tritransitive
prog	progressive clitic	V	any vowel
PROP	proposition	Vb	Verb
px	prefix	VbPce	Verb Piece
Q	Quantifier tagmeme	vd.	voiced
QO	Quotative Object tag- meme	VG	Verb Group
R	restricted	vl.	voiceless
r	preceding tagmeme(s) may be repeated	vLasp.	voiceless aspirated
rec	recent past	Voc	Vocative tagmeme
past		voc	vocative morpheme
recip	reciprocal	VP	Verb Phrase
reflex	reflexive	1st p.	first person
		2nd p.	second person
		3rd p.	third person

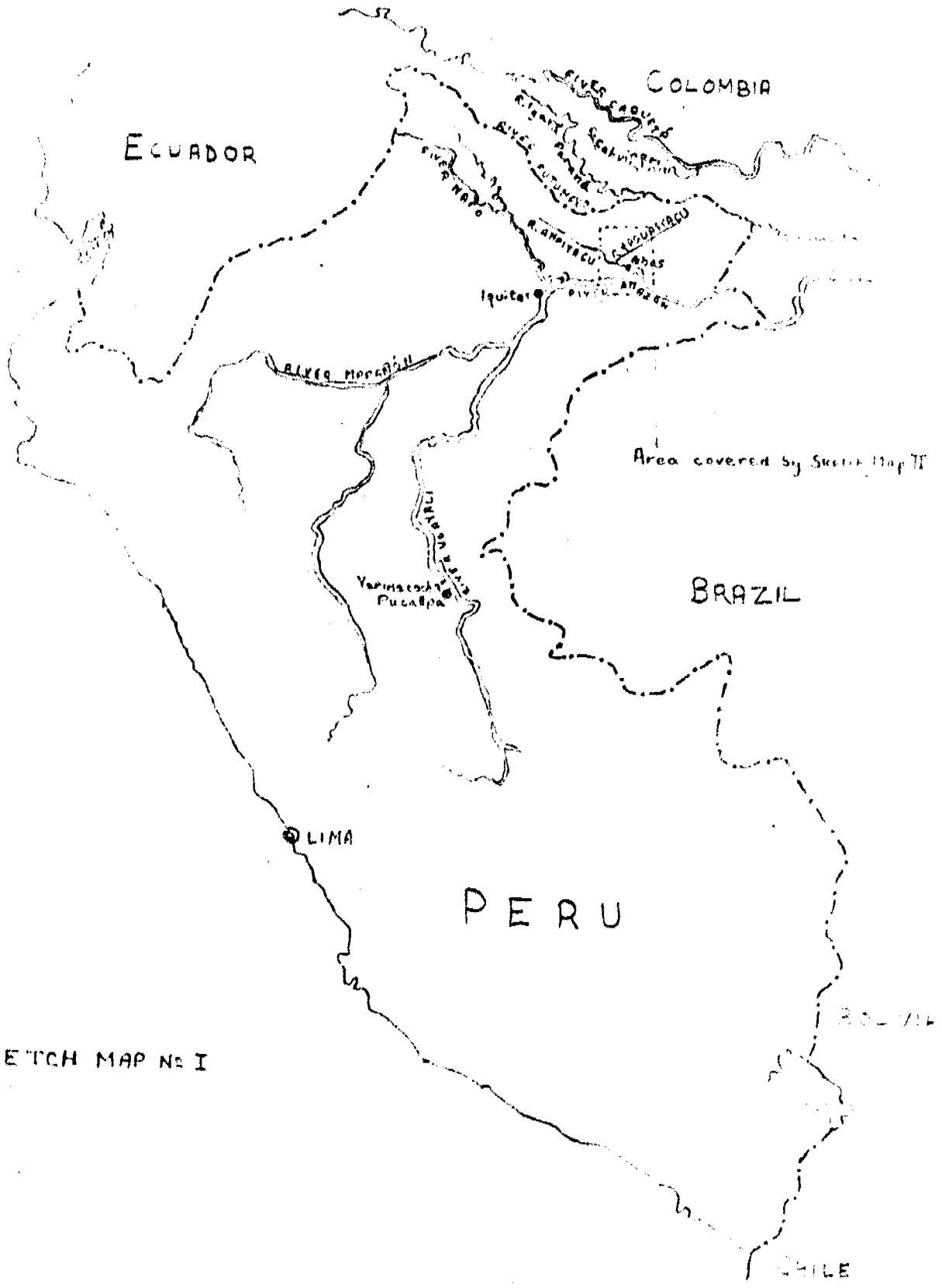
2. Symbols

[]	phonetic brackets	=	consists of
/ /	phonemic brackets	+	obligatory
()	brackets in tagmemic formulae	±	optional
{ }	morphemic brackets	-	obligatorily absent
∨	high tone (its absence indicates low tone)	/	or
∨̄	nasalization	+ / ±	obligatory or optional (depending on factors indicated)
~	varies with (allomorphs of a morpheme)	+x +y	either x or y must occur, but not both
x > y	x becomes y	z = +x:y	z is a syntagmeme consist- ing of tagmeme x:y, which occurs obligatorily
x < y	x is derived from y	α	indicates a relation between two or more parts of a formula, specified under formula
x.y	syllable boundary be- tween x and y	x _i	distributional sub-class 1
x:y	x is a slot; y is a class filling it	x _i	structural type i
:	is filled by		

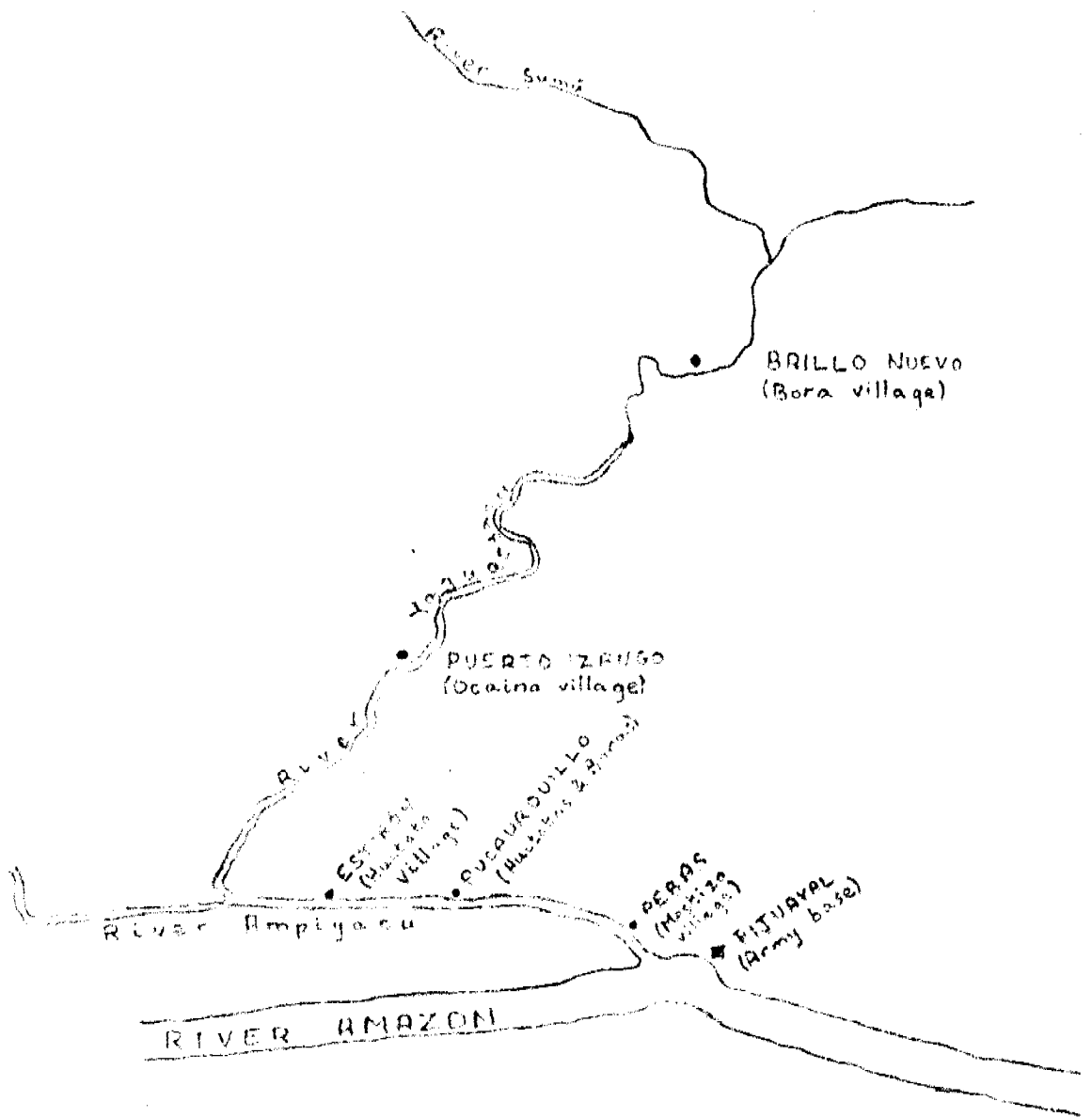


SOME RESÍGAROS

From left to right: Adelina, Rosa, and Pablo Andrade Ocagane, and Alicia Ocagane (their mother), with two of Adelina Andrade's children.



SKETCH MAP No I



SKETCH MAP Nº II

O. INTRODUCTION

O.1. The language and the people.

Resigaró is spoken by a handful of people living on the banks of a northern affluent of the Amazon in north-eastern Peru. These remnants of the Resigaró tribe live amongst the Ocaina and the Bora in the villages of Puerto Isango and Brillo Nuevo, respectively, on the banks of the Yaguasyacu river, a tributary of the Ampiyacu, which flows into the Amazon at Pebas. The location of these villages in 1972¹ is indicated in sketch map II.

In 1915, Whiffen estimated that there were about 1,000 Resigaros between the Muenane, the Nonuya and the Boro (sic. -- for Bora), along the banks of the Japurá (= Caquetá), to the north of the Kahuinari (= Cahuinari) river, in Colombia (cf. sketch map I).

In 1971-72 I found four adult speakers (Alicia Ocagane and her two daughters, Adelina and Rosa, and son Pablo) and six children in Puerto Izango. The children had Resigaró mothers and Ocaina fathers. There were also some Ocaina speakers (e.g., the teacher, José Andrade) who said that they were Resigaros, but

¹A letter dated 9th August 1974 from my main informant, Pablo Andrade Ocagane, indicates that the Puerto Isango community of some 200 Ocainas has relocated the village half-an-hour's journey (by canoe) downriver from the 1972 location. The Resigaró speakers in the community have moved along with the Ocainas.

no longer spoke the language.

In Brillo Nuevo I found one woman (Cecilia) of about fifty years old who was Resigara, but was married to a Bora, and had not spoken the language for years, except on occasional meetings with the Resigaros from Puerto Isango. There were also several other Bora speakers (e.g. Jihkyepa?) who said that they were Resigaros, but had lost their parents when children, and had been brought up by Boras. They now spoke no Resigaro, but understood some of it.

From a comparative study of published vocabularies and grammatical descriptions, it is obvious that Resigaro is related historically to Bora, though the two languages are not at all mutually intelligible. Inasmuch as others affirm that Bora is related to Ocaina and Huitoto, Resigaro must be related to those, too, although these latter two languages sound totally different from Resigaro, and very few cognates between Huitoto and Resigaro are to be found in a comparison of approximately 370 words based on the Rowe Standard Comparative Vocabulary (tropical forest area) and the Swadesh list. A far more extensive comparison was made between Ocaina and Resigaro, involving nearly 2,000 words (including those on the above-mentioned lists), and similarly few cognates were found.

Appendix II lists the Ocaina, Bora and Huitoto words from the Rowe and Swadesh lists, alongside the Resigaro, for compar-

ative purposes.

The present study provides conclusive evidence for the first time based on data gathered by a phonetically- and linguistically-trained investigator to confirm the place of Resigaró in the Arawakan family of languages, and this obviously has implications with regard to Bora, hitherto classified merely as "Huitotoan", along with Ocaina and Huitoto. The "Huitotoan" group is unclassified. If the relationship between Ocaina and Resigaró, and Huitoto and Resigaró, is viewed as confirmed -- which would appear to be the case, as indicated in Appendix II (though the relationship is more distant than with Bora) -- then these languages, too, are clearly to be classified as Arawakan.

0.2. Previous references to the Resigaros, and work on the language.

0.2.1. Casement and Hardenburg.

Two reports by "Consul" (later Sir Roger) Casement appear in Hardenburg's book of 1912. Casement had been sent to the Putumayo area to investigate reports of savage treatment of Indians employed to collect rubber for the Peruvian Amazon Company, which had a number of British shareholders.

Casement's first report (submitted in January 1911) refers to the "Ricigaros", Andokes and Boras as tribes of common origin with the Huitotos, "but wholly differing today in speech

from the Huitotos, as also from each other" (pp. 269-270).

The second report (submitted two months later) again refers to the same tribes, as well as to the Ocainas, and states that of the smaller tribes, "the Ricigaros and the Muinanes are frequently mentioned" (p. 290).

The Huitotos are said to have been, according to accounts, the largest tribe, possibly numbering 30,000 before the first "Colombian invasion of the Putumayo regions took place, about 1886" (pp. 290, 294). However, by the time of Casement's investigations, they amounted to "nothing like that figure" (p. 290).

Further references describe a "Recigiro [sic] Indian boy" who was in the service of whites and half-breeds, and who executed several Boras, in obedience to orders from his masters (pp. 319-320).

Hardenburg (1912), who paints a vivid picture of brutal savagery against the Indians by the whites, also refers to the "Recigaros", which he says is merely one of many "sub-tribes" (along with "the Maynanes, Aifugas, ... the Yabuyanós, etc.") of the Huitoto tribe.

"Each of these sub-tribes has its own chief, called a capitán or tuchaua, and appears to be quite independent of the rest. A sub-tribe may vary in size from 25 to 500 individuals and often more." (p. 150)

This seems to contradict Casement's statement of the previous year (reproduced in the same book), and the next paragraph goes even further:

"All these sub-tribes speak more or less the same language -- Huitoto, of which I give a few specimen words".

These words were gathered from "racionales" (p. 144), who, according to Casement, were so called "to distinguish them from the Indios" (emphasis mine). "Racionales" are described by Casement as "half-breeds mostly who can read and write" (p. 295).

Considering Hardenburg's naïveté in using these people as informants, especially when he recognized that not all of them had a full command of the language (p. 144), it is not surprising that he should go on to say:

"It is a very simple language, with but little grammar, employing neither conjunctions nor articles" (p. 150).

This insight into the method of gathering language data is important, though it in this case refers to the Huitoto tribe, since it would appear that other travellers in the region during the first two or three decades of this century often used similar procedures.

0.2.2. Whiffen.

Whiffen's book of 1915 gives one the impression of being far less emotive and more factual in its approach than that of Hardenburg.

However, its main emphasis is anthropological, with a similar naïveté with regard to language questions:

"To simplify transliteration, though at the sacrifice of the finer distinctions of the language, the orthographic system of the Royal Geographic Society has been used in this work.... It consists in giving to the vowels in native words their Italian significance, and to the consonants that which they have in the English language.

"This system ordains that an approximation to the sound be aimed at only, as any system which attempted to represent the more delicate inflexions of sound and of accent would be so complicated that it would merely defeat itself" (p. 249 -- emphasis mine throughout).

It is a pity that Whiffen and the other writers who had contact with the tribes of the Putunayo-Amazon area were unfamiliar with the International Phonetic Alphabet, first published in Ђ fonetik titcar in August 1888. Other comments by Whiffen make it abundantly clear that data gathered by such explorers must be regarded with a critical eye indeed:

"The endeavour to reproduce the guttural expressions of the Indian in Roman letters is rendered the more complex by the uncertainty of his utterance and the aural variations of his European interpreters. The same word phonetically transcribed by an Englishman, a German, a Frenchman, and a Spaniard bears little or no resemblance to a common inspiration. Each European observer conveys to his written word the error of his national idiosyncrasy of impression and pronunciation" (p. 248 -- emphasis mine).

Even though Whiffen gives few examples of language, and none of Resigaro, these comments are reproduced here in detail, since they help us to evaluate more accurately the data for Resigaro produced by Wavrin, who was active in the area only a few years after Whiffen (though his data was published much later, cf. 0.2.4., below).

Whiffen does, however, make frequent references to the "Resigero", who are listed in his index (p. 318), and he includes two photographs, one of ten Resigero women, and another of eleven Resigero women and girls (Plate XII, facing p. 78). He also lists the "Rochezero" under "Some Witoto Tribes of the Issa-Japora Watershed" (p. 297), though he elsewhere states that

"The 'Maynanes,' 'Recegaros,' and 'Yabuyanós' mentioned by Hardenburg as Witoto 'sub-tribes or naciones', are not Witoto at all" (p. 62).

Concerning the languages of these and other groups, he says,

"Tribes divided by the breadth of a narrow river speak languages that are mutually unintelligible. On the other hand, tribes distant by some hundreds of miles from each other possess a language with a common root, which is fundamentally different from those in use among the intervening peoples" (pp. 246-7).

These tribal migrations have continued since the time of Whiffen's explorations, influenced usually by the demands of white colonizers.

According to Whiffen,

"of the thirteen languages tabulated . . . , one of the most difficult, and the most guttural, is the tongue spoken by the Resigero group of tribes" (p. 48).

Whiffen contests the claim that the Witotos were

"the largest and most important tribe," as . . . many other language-groups are decidedly more important in both the social and scientific scale" (p. 62).

He produces his own estimate of the size of the tribes, "based roughly on the number of houses and the extent of country", though he adds that

"these figures must be taken as very approximate, and probably overestimated in some cases" (p. 59).

The statistics are as follows:

Witoto group of tribes	15,000
Boro group	15,000
Dukaiya or Okaina group	2,000
Muenane group	2,000
Nonuya group	1,000
Resigero group	1,000
Andoke group	10,000
Menimehe group	15,000
Karahone group	25,000

An early indication of the decreasing size of these tribes is to be found in Whiffen's statement,

"The Boro and Resigero also intermarry -- at least cases of such marriages are known".

This, in spite of the fact that

"The Boro, Resigero and Okaina may not love each other, but they agree in their detestation of the Witoto" (pp. 60-61).

This detestation was shown by fighting and cannibalism:

"Most, if not all, of the Indians of the upper rivers are indisputably cannibals, especially the Boro, Andoke, and Resigero groups" (p. 120).

Whiffen also recounts the unusual case of a Resigero chief who collected a band of warriors to punish those members of his own tribe who submitted to the whites, in order to deter others from submitting. He states that in one place he found 38 dead

Resigaros -- men, women, and children -- killed by this group (pp. 63-64).

0.2.3. Tessmann.

In his book published in 1930, Tessman states,

"Über die Resigaro ist nichts Näheres bekannt. Sie gehören kulturell sicher zu der Uitoto-Boragruppe und sprachlich vielleicht in der Nähe der Bora. ... Es ist ein kleiner Stamm zwischen den Okáina, Bora, Nonuya und Muinane" (p. 583).

Tessmann's map (facing p. 816) shows the Resigaro further south than in Whiffen, just reaching down as far as the banks of the Putunayo, apparently along the banks of the Igará-paraná.

0.2.4. Rivet and Wavrin.

The only published article containing original data on the Resigaro language is that by Rivet and Wavrin (Paris 1951). Rivet needs no introduction. Wavrin was a French marquis who explored the Amazon region in the twenties and subsequent years, and produced a series of travel books of a popular nature.²

None of these books refer to the Resigaro, though frequent references are made to

"Les Boros [sic], les Huitotos, les Ocainas, les Andoques

²e.g. Moeurs et coutumes des indiens sauvages de l'Amérique du Sud, Payot, Paris, 1937;
A travers les forêts de l'Amazonie du Pacifique à l'Atlantique, Payot, Paris (et Mayenne), 1943;
Les indiens sauvages de l'Amérique du Sud; vie sociale, Payot, Paris (et Poitiers), 1948;
L'Amazonie et ses indiens, Les éditions du Soleil levant, Namur (et Bruxelles), 1958.

et diverses tribus du bassin du Putumayo et du Caqueta"
(e.g., 1948:43).

Information given is much the same as that found in other books referred to here. The presentation is according to subject matter, not tribe, and as there are no indices, references to specific tribes must be gleaned from the pages of the text.

However, on one trip (the date of which is not given), Wavrin obtained a list of Resígaro words and a few phrases (Rivet and Wavrin, 1951:204). No information is given on the source of this data, and the only references to the tribe or its location are summaries of the comments of other writers (Whiffen, Igualada, etc.).

It is unfortunate that Wavrin was not linguistically or phonetically trained, and languages occupy a very peripheral place in his writings, with only very occasional comments. It would regrettably appear that many of Whiffen's observations concerning the transcription of linguistic data apply in the case of Wavrin, as hinted at by the introductory comment "(ces) documents ... si insuffisants qu'ils soient ..." (p. 204), and as borne out by a study of the data given.

Within the limitations consequent on the data supplied, Rivet has produced an excellent article, demonstrating the ap-
purtenance of Resígaro to the Arawak language block.

After a brief introduction, five pages are occupied by some

Rivet errs in suggesting that the prefix wa- may be the "article déterminatif" or "le préfixe personnel ou possessif de la 3^e personne du singulier" (p. 206), but scores with a third guess that it might be the 1st person plural personal or possessive prefix (it is both personal and possessive).

He identifies several errors in the data and glosses given (pp. 205, 207), but it is inevitable that he should miss many others, particularly in the section on the vocabulary.

Rivet observes "-ne-, -ni-" and says "l'on peut se demander si elles ne correspondent pas à un duratif" (p. 208). Here he is wrong, since this is the recent past clitic, which he unfortunately fails to observe, in consequence of the large number of phrases containing this clitic but glossed in the present (p. 207, etc.). He merely states,

"Nos documents ne nous permettent pas de découvrir comment les Resigaro forment les différents temps de leurs verbes" (p. 207).

A final "-k, -kə, -khə, -ki" is tentatively related to the augmentative or superlative of some Arawakan languages (p. 208), and on the basis of a single word, a hypothetical morpheme "-tzani" is also identified as augmentative. Both of these are errors.

"-tzani" is not a separate morpheme in the word in question, since the morpheme breaks and gloss are not as indicated:

Rivet and Wavrin have

"kemo-tzani, avare" for gi-notsháni
he-be-stingy "he is stingy"

"-ka" appears to correspond to khá, "to do" (cf. 4.1.2.2.1., below).

e.g. tsa-ne-kāhē-ka "il tousse" for tsa-ní ehe? khá
he rec cough do
past
"he coughed"

tətəpi-ka "court" ("short") is an error for

tuutuu pi-khá
cut you-do
"you cut"⁴

This may also be the case with "-kha", though the only example given is confused, since no part corresponds to the second person singular glossed (though "-nē(he)-" may be an allomorph of the third person plural na-). The most probable origin of the phrase is given hereunder, and a comparison of the two forms exemplifies the problems encountered in checking the accuracy of the data given.

hanakaka(i)nē(he)-kha "tu blesses"

for amoŋgi kainŋe[?] i - khá⁵
tapir kill you - do "(You (pl)) Kill the tapir!"

⁴Presumably Wavrin gave Spanish "corto" ("short"), which can also mean "I cut", and in reply was given "you cut". The same Resigaro phrase, transcribed slightly differently -- tə(w)tə(w)pi-ka -- reappears later, inexplicably glossed as "nous vivons"

⁵The glottal in [] is present etically, but not normally indicated in the present description, since it is morphophonologically conditioned (cf. 1.2.3.3.2., below).

transcription used is not specified, and appears to be of the "home-made" variety, as recommended in Whiffen. The inconsistencies are too numerous to list exhaustively, though amongst the most notorious are the following:-

a) Different symbols are used to indicate the same sounds.

e.g. i) "tz" and "θ" for ts -- even in the same word:-

h̄t̄atzō "bois" for itsitsó "firewood"

ii) "dz", "dr[^]", "r[^]" and "r" for d⁶

"dz": w(h)é-podzi "nonbril" for ve?phódé "our navel"

"dr[^]": ʉdr[^]ühüki "fourmi curuinse" for huduđgi "curuinse
ant"

"r[^]": hor[^]onə "genou" for ho?dónaú "knee"

"r": kierawedžowi "rouge" for kedávii?jovi "that
which is red"

iii) VhV, V̄hV, VhV̄, V̄h, V, and V̄V̄ for VV

If the ⁻ indicates a tone, whether high or low, there is nothing to indicate this. It may indicate a longer vowel, which would do away with the need for VV in Wavrin's transcription, unless three or four degrees of length are claimed.

"VhV": noho-tó "fille" for noótó "my daughter"

⁶Cecilia, who was my informant for a brief while in Brillo Nuevo, said [dr] where all my other informants said [d]. However, both she and they said that she did not speak Resigaro well, since she was separated from her people and spoke Bora all the time. Hence data from her is not included in the present description. It may be that she spoke a dialect of Resigaro and that Wavrin's informants came from the same group. This might explain some of the more consistent differences between his data and mine, though it does not account for the inconsistencies. In any case, it is clear that the language in both instances is the same one -- down to the people's name for their own group: Wavrin: r[^]ā(h)panih̄in for daápeniná. Further, my informants were aware that the Spanish name for them is "Resigaro".

"VhV":	ew(h)ēheki "étoile"	for	hivigi "star"
"VhV̄":	tomahātsi "coton"	for	tshomaātshi "cotton"
"V̄h":	no(h)ō-džā(h)nĭ	"fils" for	no?žāāni "my son"
"V":	hedr^ ^ú "sang"	for	iídá "blood"
"V̄":	kōwē "fleur"	for	giivi "flower"
"V̄V̄":	ēetsĕ "nuage"	for	iitshú "cloud"

b) The same symbols are used to indicate different sounds.

e.g. i) "h" for h, ? and vowel length (cf. above) -- even in the same word:-

hahĭhĭ "ciel" for hā?ihī "sky"

ii) "e" for ts and t

For ts: hemĭ(hĭ)eĭ "herbe" for hiniĭtsĭ "grass"

For t: hēhĕēĕ "mouche" for heētĕ "fly"

iii) "dz" (or "dž") for d, ǰ, and s

For d: w(h)é-podzĭ "nombril" for ve?phódĕ "our navel"

For ǰ: tadžĭ(hi)ki "manioc" for kaǰĭgi "yucca"

For s: dzāhodze "cinq" for sá?osĭ "five"⁷

c) The same word is written differently if it occurs more than once (except when copied under various headings, such as "chicha de banane", listed under "banane" and "chicha").

e.g. i) inā(a)r^^o "femelle", inahār^^o "femme"

for ināadō "woman, wife"

ii) hemĭ(hi)eĭ "herbe", hiniitzi "riz"

for hiniĭtsĭ "grass"

⁷cf. Bora [tsa?ohtsĭ?], "five".

but have not yet been recognized.

The 28 outstanding items are words for which I have no entry in my lexicon. Some of these words were elicited, but produced the reply that no such words existed (e.g. "bow [and arrow]", "more" -- though "more than" is attested --, "goodbye"). Others (such as "generous", "to accept", etc.) may be revealed by further research.

0.2.4.3. Resigaró-Arawakan Comparative Vocabulary.

This is detailed and thorough, clearly placing Resigaró in the Arawakan phylum, in spite of some false cognates, and the present data substantiates Rivet's claim in this regard.

The map has already been commented upon (cf. 0.2.4., above).

0.2.5. Kingsley Noble.

In his study published in 1965, Kingsley Noble includes Resigaró data taken from Rivet and Wavrin as part of his evidence concerning "Proto-Arawakan and its Descendants". He shows a score of cognates, and concludes that Resigaró is "Proto-Northern" (cf. his diagram on p. 108). No original data on Resigaró is produced, nor are any significant comments made, apart from the suggested classification.

0.2.6. Other Classifiers.

Most classifiers refer to each other, and to the early sources

(Hardenburg, Whiffen, Tessmann), and rarely is any new information produced.

The Handbook of South American Indians (1950 et. al.) reproduces most of the data seen elsewhere, and adds no new information as regards the Resigaros (cf. 3:750, 5:85, 404, 6:247). According to the Handbook (6:247), Ortiz (1942 -- not seen) refers to the "Resigaros" and doubts their relationship to the Huitotos.

Murdock (1951) lists the "Witoto" family as being in Colombia, and in a map on p. 14 shows an overlap into Peru. He comments,

"This group includes the Andoke, Bora (Miranya), Coeruna, Muenane, Nonoya, Ocaina, Orejon, Resigero and Witoto (Uitoto) tribes, whose languages are tentatively assigned to a single linguistic stock, the Witotoan."

McQuown (1955:537) lists "Resigero", with the suggestion that it may be extinct, and the comment that its classification is doubtful.

Girard (1958) refers once to the "Resigaros" (p. 131), referring to Hardenburg (1912:150). He indicates that they came with other groups to the region of the Yahuasyacu (sic) "hará unos 40 años" (p. 53).

de Castellvi and Espinosa Perez (1958) classify "Rosiggaro" as Macro-Arawak, subclassification: Central, and refer to correspondence with Rivet, who informed them that

"El Marqués de Wavrin recogió en uno de sus viajes un vocabulario de este dialecto que, según nos informó el Prof. Rivet, se encuentra en su poder" (p. 247).

Tovar (1961:16.4) says that Igualada and de Castellví (1940 -- not seen) calculated about ten speakers of "Resígaro" or "Resígaro" for the Amazon-Caquetá region. His map no. 3. shows "Resígaro" at location 32, apparently on the Peruvian-Colombian border on the Putumayo.

0.3. The basis of the present description.

The data on which this description of Resígaro is based was gathered by the author in Peru between July 1971 and July 1972. Three months were spent in the Bora village of Brillo Nuevo and the Ocaina village of Puerto Isango.

0.3.1. Informants.

Data was initially gathered in Brillo Nuevo from Cecilia, but since other Resígaro speakers subsequently told me that she made mistakes when speaking, and she herself seemed to lack confidence in Resígaro, this data has not been included in the present study.

Thus, the present description is based on an analysis of various types of speech (and a small amount of writing) by four adult Resígaro speakers in Puerto Isango.

Alicia Ocagane, who was married to an Ocaina, never spoke any language other than Resígaro, which her husband had learnt

to understand. Likewise, she apparently understood Ocaina. In 1972 she was about fifty years old.

Her two daughters, Adelina and Rosa Andrade Ocagane, were bilingual in Resigaro and Ocaina, though they understood very little Spanish, and spoke even less. They both had Ocaina husbands, and in 1972 Adelina was 27 and Rosa, 23. Adelina had four children, and Rosa, two. Those children who were old enough to speak spoke some Resigaro, but most of the time they communicated in Ocaina.

Alicia's son, Pablo Andrade Ocagane, was the only one with a reasonably good knowledge of Spanish (by local standards). He had attended the bilingual school in the village, and had completed the five-year primary course, learning to read and write in Ocaina and Spanish. In 1972 he was 21 and was unmarried. He became my main informant in September 1971 and worked with me solidly until I left Peru in July 1972. He was always helpful and enthusiastic, and soon learnt to write his own language, using the alphabet I developed from my phonemic analysis of the language. In November 1971 he accompanied me to the Summer Institute of Linguistics' jungle base at Yarinacocha, near Pucallpa, on the Ucayali, where we worked on the language for the next eight-and-a-half months.

0.3.2. Corpus.

0.3.2.1. Legends.

In Puerto Isango, Adelina Andrade Ocagane told me twenty trad-

itional tales, all of which I tape-recorded.⁸ I subsequently transcribed these stories and translated them roughly into Spanish, with Adelina's brother Pablo, who did a lot of the work. This formed 396½ quarto pages of text (handwritten), which were repeatedly referred to in the course of language analysis and write-up. Seven of these tales (accounting for about 40% of the total material) were subsequently studied in further detail, and part of one of them is included in II.9., below, with morpheme-by-morpheme and free translations and grammatical analysis.

0.3.2.2. Other Stories.

Alicia Ocagane spoke about the recent history of the tribe, telling of the sufferings and killings experienced under the whites. She also spoke of the animals of the forest, and sang some of the traditional fiesta songs. All this material was tape-recorded, transcribed, and translated, although the songs have not been referred to in the present analysis, since they would appear to represent an older form (and definitely a different style) of the language, which Pablo could not always fully

⁸ Adelina has a slight speech defect which results in almost constant nasalization. S.I.L. member Miss Ilo Leach, who has worked in Adelina's village for many years, analyzing the Ocaina language, has noticed this in Adelina's speaking of Ocaina (in which nasalization is enic) (Personal communication). However, I do not suspect anything as serious as a cleft palate, since Adelina's pronunciation is otherwise problem-free, and she does not betray the sorts of impediments normal in cases of cleft palate. Perhaps the problem is in some way related to her control of her *valum*. None of the other informants had any such problems.

understand well enough to explain the meaning.

Rosa Andrade Ocagane was much less of a talker, though she did re-tell a few Bible stories she had heard from missionaries. These stories were recorded, written down, and translated.

0.3.2.3. Conversation and letters.

When Pablo was in Yarinacocha with me, he decided to write to his mother and sisters, in Resigaro. In Puerto Isango, the schoolteacher (himself a Resigaro) was able to read this letter to Alicia, Adelina, and Rosa, and he wrote down a reply from them in Resigaro. Pablo kindly let me have copies of these letters, having corrected the spelling errors in the letter written by the teacher. He also wrote on another occasion, and corrected two letters that I wrote in Resigaro.

In June 1972, S.I.L. member Ilo Leach visited Puerto Isango, and recorded messages in Resigaro from Pablo's mother and sisters, and conversation between them. I have a copy of this tape and a transcription and translation of its contents.

0.3.2.4. Lexicon.

As part of the research undertaken in Peru, a tri-lingual lexicon was compiled of all Resigaro words encountered, with Spanish and Ocaina equivalents. Approximately 2,000 entries were made. (The lexicon is included as Appendix I, with the Ocaina deleted,

and English glosses substituted.)

0.3.2.5. Other material.

When I was busy with other work, Pablo translated St. Mark's Gospel from the Ocaina, and completed this as far as the end of the fourth chapter. Subsequently, we checked this together, and translated it into Spanish.

All these above sources provided valuable insights into the language, and, supplemented by material elicited from Pablo, form the basis of the description which follows.

0.4. Theoretical framework of the present description.

The aim of the thesis is to provide a general description of the Resigaro language. Thus, the emphasis is not theoretical, and a model has been chosen which will, it is believed, facilitate the comparison of this language with others, particularly those which may prove to be related to it. The model referred to is tagmemics.

0.4.1. The Three Hierarchies.

Tagmemics views language as consisting of three independent but inter-locking hierarchies: phonological, grammatical, and lexical.

Each hierarchy consists of units at different levels, and a unit at any given level (except the lowest) consists normally of units from the level immediately below it, and functions (except in the case of the highest level) as an element in the level

immediately above it.

Thus, the phonological hierarchy has at its lowest level the phoneme, which is distributed in the syllable, at the next level in this hierarchy. This, in turn, may be distributed in a stress-group or phonological word, which is distributed in a yet higher-level phonological unit.

The grammatical hierarchy has as its minimum unit the tageme, which is distributed in a higher-level unit called a syntageme (Longacre 1964a:15n10).

A tageme is a slot-class correlative (Pike 1967:196, etc.) (= Longacre's "function-set correlation" (1965a:65n3)). That is to say, a slot (function) at a given level is filled (manifested) by a member of a class (set). That which functions as a tageme at one level may be a syntageme at a lower level. Thus, the concept of levels is fundamental to tagemics.

The lexical hierarchy has as its minimal unit the "lexeme" (Longacre 1964b), which is distributed in higher-level lexical units, called "L-syntagemes" by Longacre (1964b:20). The lexical hierarchy has not been developed in detail by tagemicists, though Wise has suggested a possible approach in her 1968 Ph.D. thesis (written under Pike's supervision) (Wise 1971a).

0.4.2. The Three Modes.

In addition to the three hierarchies indicated above, Pike states

that language can be viewed as being "trinodally structured". By this, he indicates a convenient framework within which language units of any hierarchy can be viewed and described. The three modes are Contrast Mode, Variation Mode, and Distribution Mode (originally named Feature, Manifestation, and Distribution Modes, respectively, by Pike).⁹

Here is an example from the phonological hierarchy, phoneme level:-

From the point of view of the Contrast mode, each phoneme of any given language is described in terms of its contrastive-identificational phonetic features.

From the point of view of the Variation mode, the variant manifestations, or allophones, of each phoneme are described.

From the point of view of the Distribution mode, the distribution of each phoneme in units of the next level "up" in the phonological hierarchy (the syllable) is described.

The same descriptive procedure can be repeated at each level of the hierarchy.

It is of fundamental importance that Variation and Distribution modes be distinguished, a point which most tagmemicists seem to have failed to realize, if one is to judge from published

⁹These may be compared to Halliday's scales of abstraction, where Feature mode parallels Halliday's abstract, Manifestation mode parallels his concrete, and Distribution mode parallels his syntagmatic.

materials. Likewise, the importance of levels must be emphasized.

0.4.2.1. Structure and Distribution.

In handling constructions at any level, it is clear that they can be viewed from two points of view:

- 1) In terms of their internal structure
- 2) In terms of their ("external") distribution.

In the early formulation of the theory, Pike combined these two, by speaking of internal and external distribution, respectively. This led to inconsistencies of the sort to be seen in Pickett (1960):

"CRITERIA OF CLASSIFICATION. Two criteria of classification have been applied to the data: external distribution and internal structure. Frequently the two give the same results."

-- but only as long as one remains at a very superficial level of analysis.

"In other cases they result in different divisions, in which case distribution is made primary, with internal structure determining subgroupings or (in one case) hypergroupings not part of the primary division." (p. 18)

"TYPES AND CLASSES. Use has already been made of the terms 'types' and 'classes' in reference to structures at each level. Types are enically contrastive structures. . . . Classes of structures are, in general, more inclusive than types; i.e., they are groups of structure types which have some feature of distribution, internal composition [why this?] or meaning in common." (p. 19)

Thus, "contrastive structures" or "common features of internal composition" at one moment lead to the establishment of

types, and at another to the establishment of classes. And sometimes classes are primary, while on other occasions, types are primary.

But this leads to a contradiction with Pike's establishment of the three nodes, as Crawford rightly pointed out (1963: 96, 179-180). So-called "internal distribution" (i.e., internal structure) is in fact part of the contrast (or feature) node, with the details of variant forms described under the variation (or manifestation) node. Pike subsequently (1967:460) accepted this modification.

External distribution, on the other hand, has no place in the variation node, and should be described in the distribution node (though it may also be referred to in the contrast node -- so long as circularity is avoided -- since distribution may be a distinctive, contrastive feature of a unit.¹⁰

Nevertheless, other tagmemicists have continued to fail to

¹⁰ I view contrast mode as not being on a par with variation and distribution modes, since aspects of variation and distribution are in themselves contrastive and identificational.

Thus, contrast mode is merely a convenient bringing-together of some of the most salient characteristics of the other two nodes. This means that it cannot do other than repeat information given in greater detail in the variation and distribution nodes.

It may be argued that this mode is therefore superfluous to the description, as a separate section. However, it is retained in the present work as an introduction to each structure at each level, since it helps the reader to focus on the particular aspect of the language which is to be analysed.

distinguish structure and distribution, with resultant contradictions in their work. Thus, in his grammar of Lamani, where he ostensibly presents his material in terms of the three nodes throughout, Trail first includes distribution under the contrast node, then subclassifies units under the manifestation (i.e., variation) node on the basis of structure and distribution, and so finally, under the distribution node itself, is reduced to a mere repetition of what he has already said -- omitting the details, at that, even though they are more relevant here than anywhere else.

At Word level, for instance, he says:

"Words are classified by their occurrence [i.e., distribution] in higher level structures, typically in phrases, and are sub-classified by their internal structure." (pp. 133-134)

In the Contrast node, he includes distribution:-

"5.1. Nouns.

5.1.1. Contrast. Nouns have the following distinguishing features: A. They fill the head slot in noun phrases or the locative or temporal slots on clause level..." (p. 134)

In the Variation (his "Manifestation") node of the noun word he says:-

"5.1.2. Nouns have been sub-divided on the basis of their external distribution and internal structure. These subdivisions and their manifestations are described in this section" (p. 134, emphasis mine).

Thus, on p. 139, Trail's description of the distribution node of noun words is as follows (I quote the section in its entirety):-

"5.1.3. Distribution. Nouns fill the head slot in noun phrases or the locative or temporal slot in clauses."

Much confusion can be avoided by distinguishing construct-

ion types and distribution classes, to use a valuable terminological distinction suggested by John Bendor-Samuel, though incorporated by him into a different theoretical framework (1963:61).¹¹

To give an example from Resígaro:

Two types of noun stem are set up on the basis of (internal) structure, and one of these types has three variant sub-types, making four structurally different groups. Three sub-classes¹² are set up on the basis of distribution in units of the next level "up". Theoretically, at least, both types and all three sub-types can occur in two of the three sub-classes, with one type also occurring in the third sub-class. If we fail to distinguish between structure and distribution, and further use the same term -- "sub-classes" -- in both cases, as in Trail (and others), we have the possibility of nine "sub-classes" of

¹¹Brend has made use of this terminology within the context of tagmemics (1968:19), but since her description only handles one level, it is not clear what the implications would be in terms of the entire hierarchy.

¹²The term "sub-classes", rather than "classes", is adopted to distinguish between subdivisions of the major sets of units throughout the language, and the sets themselves. The sets are termed "classes", and the subdivisions "sub-classes". An alternative solution, adopted by Pride (1965) is to use the term "hyperclass" for "set", as defined here, and "class" for subdivisions thereof (e.g., op.cit., p. 12). This conforms to Pike's earlier use of the prefix "hyper-" for sets of sets, yet since this terminology has now fallen somewhat into disuse, with the recognition of tagmemes at different levels, and the adoption of Longacre's "syntagme" to replace "hypertagme", the more generally-accepted terms "class" and "sub-class" are here preferred. The basic structural divisions of classes at any given level (e.g., of noun stems) are termed "types", and subdivisions of types are termed "sub-types".

noun stems. This contributes nothing to our understanding of the structure and distribution of noun stems in Resigaro, on the contrary only serving to confuse the picture.

0.4.3. Levels.

Fundamental to the distinction between Structure and Distribution is the concept of levels, since structures typically consist of units that are members of sub-classes at the level below, and distributional sub-classes typically occur in types at the next level up.

To illustrate, again, from Resigaro: at word level, two types and six sub-types of Noun word are set up on the basis of internal (structural) differences. Traditional tagmemic practice would have us trace back these six sub-types to root level. i.e., noun root sub-type i occurs in noun stem sub-type i, which occurs in noun word sub-type i, etc. This is a consequence of Pike's original formulation of the model, as stated by Pickett (1960:90):

"... the original approach was specifically designed to cut 'vertically' through all such levels by a unit-within-unit approach."

However, this method introduces unnecessary complexity and redundancy throughout the description, by repeating the same information many times.

In terms of the Resigaro example given above, sub-classification according to word-level suffixes (which affect the struc-

ture of the word, and lead to the two types and six sub-types mentioned above) is relevant at word level, but if this is carried down to root level, along with the confusion of structure and distribution which led to nine "sub-classes" at stem level (also, by the same procedure, traced back to root level), then 54 "sub-classes" of Resfigare noun roots are theoretically possible -- and this without sub-classifying the words according to their co-occurrence with one or more of the 80-odd classifier suffixes, which would yield a theoretically-possible 4,320 noun root sub-classes, at least.

A prime example of the consequences of this technique is to be found in the ten grammatical descriptions produced by members of the Bolivian Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, under the direction of Esther Matteson (Matteson, 1967a and b).

Thus, in the Eseejja Grammar by Shoemaker and Shoemaker (Vol. I, pp. 209-283) -- to take a random but typical case -- somewhat more than 60 verb phrase classes are set up (I:230) on the basis of the distribution of 13 different types of verb phrase in six clause types.

In the first place, the types and classes are confused, as in Trail.¹³

¹³There are not 60-odd verb phrase classes, but six, at most, and this may be reduceable to four -- Ditransitive, Transitive Intransitive and Stative, with a Quotative multiplication of

Secondly, the relevance of levels is not recognized.

Thus, a page-and-a-half of formulae tell us that

"Vb [i.e., VP] 11a = + Nuc:Vb nuc 11a
 Vb [i.e., VF] 13 = + Nuc:Vb nuc 13"
 etc. (pp. 231-2)¹⁴

This is followed through to verb nucleus level, where we learn that

"Vb nuc 11a = + H:vb 11
 Vb nuc 13 = + H:vb 13"
 etc. (pp. 237-8)

At word level, the formulae are repeated:

"vb 11 = + Base: vb stem 11
 vb 13 = + Base: vb stem 11 [sic]"
 etc. (pp. 262-4)

The apparent "skewing" here and in other cases reinforces the fact that distinctions established at one level are not necessarily relevant at other levels. In the case in question, this leads to a progressive simplification of classes at lower levels. Thus,

"vb stem 11 = + Base: vb r 10"
 etc. (pp. 266-8)

The format is a barrier to comprehension. This is in part a consequence of the above faults. In the midst of so

Transitive and Intransitive classes to yield Quotative Transitive and Quotative Intransitive. All 13 types of verb phrase occur in the Ditransitive class, and similarly in the Transitive and Intransitive classes, while only Independent types occur in Quotative Transitive and Intransitive classes, and in the Stative class. The major part of this might be statable in terms of a restriction on the co-occurrence of Quotative and Dependent multiplications, which in turn leads to the question as to whether Quotative has been included in the right axis. However, it is not relevant to explore these possibilities here.

¹⁴Other information in the formulae but not relevant to the present discussion is omitted.

much repetition -- both by repeating details at all levels, and by failing to collapse formulae at any given level -- significant details are easily overlooked by the reader, and generalisations are ignored by the writers. This is the case with all the grammars in the two volumes of this publication.

It is clear that Matteson recognized all these problems.

In the introduction to volume I she states,

"... the Ignacio grammar demonstrates devices for separating distribution from composition [i.e., structural] classes, introducing the former at the first level on which they are relevant, rather than carrying them through various levels for which they have no significance as has sometimes been done because of their correlation or partial correlation to composition classes." (I:9)

She adds the comment that

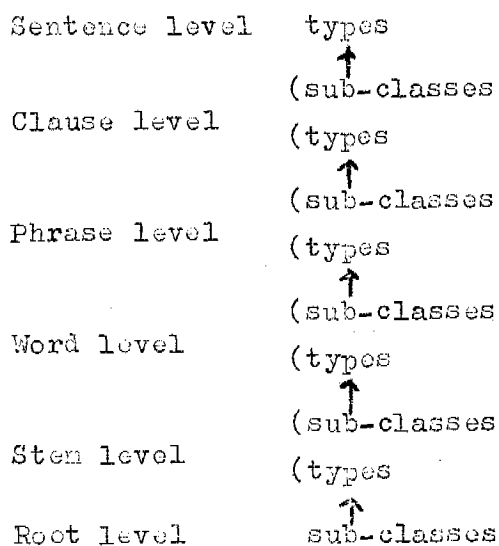
"such devices are not limited to use in the Ignacio grammar".

However, an examination of the "devices" by reference to the sections she mentions reveals that they amount to subdividing classes established higher up (and dubbed "super-tagmemes" -- cf. I:108), and designating the sub-divisions by a combination of capital letters and numbers. But this technique completely misses the point, failing to see the relation of construction types and distribution sub-classes to each other, and to specific levels of the grammatical hierarchy, and the relevance of the modal system to the whole problem.

The concept of levels, whose importance has been emphasized

by Longacre, avoids such unrealistic sub-classifications, by limiting the domain of sub-classification in any given case to the level (or levels) at which it is relevant,¹⁵ while the concept of the three modes of contrast, variation and distribution as developed by Pike provides a clear framework within which construction types and distribution classes and sub-classes can be consistently handled.

There is an interlocking between levels, but it is between the distribution sub-classes of one level and the variation (or manifestation) types at the next level up, and not between the sub-classes of one level and the sub-classes of the next level. This may be clarified in the following diagram:-



i.e., sub-classes fit into types in the next level up, usually in the same class (noun stem sub-class distributed in noun word type, etc.) up to and including phrase level, from where

¹⁵A practice long accepted by tagmemicists in syntax, but ignored in morphology.

on up different sorts of relationships begin to appear (such as that between subject and predicate, etc.). Occasionally some sub-classes at a given level may be distributed in types of another class (as when the members of a sub-class of noun stems are distributed both in a type of noun word and a type of numeral word). Also, there may be level-skipping, recursiveness or backlooping, which is not included in the diagram. (The sub-levels of Group and Piece are also omitted, as they only affect one class in Resigaro.)

Thus, in this context, there are four relations that are not normally relevant, and one that is:-

- i) the grouping into construction types at one level is not relevant to the grouping into construction types at any other level;
 - ii) the grouping into construction types is not relevant to the classification into distribution sub-classes at the same level or any other level except that immediately below it;
 - iii) the classification into distribution sub-classes at one level is not relevant to the classification into distribution sub-classes at any other level;
 - iv) the classification into distribution sub-classes is not relevant to the grouping into construction types at the same level or any other level except that immediately above it.
- (Points ii) and iv) ignore the possibility of level-skipping, etc., for simplicity of argument.)

The one significant relation is this:-

that between the classification into distribution sub-classes at one level and (typically) the grouping into construction types at the next level up.¹⁶

This does not deny the fact that the major classes that are set up normally follow through from phrase level down to root level. Thus, typically, a Noun Phrase has a noun word as its head, a noun word has a noun stem as its base, and a noun stem has a noun root as its base, etc. This following-through of the classification from one level to another reflects the fact that such a procedure is relevant to the data in question (and exceptions to the general pattern are indicated). When we say that sub-classes at a given level are distributed in types of the next level, we are not denying their distribution in units of a given class at the next level, since types are no more than structural variants of a class, at a given level. However, to relate the sub-classes of a given level to the sub-classes of the next (or any other) level is erroneous.

In consequence of the distinctions made above, in the following description construction types are presented under

¹⁶Halliday (1961:261) defines "class" in substantially the same way, when he says,

"... a class is always defined with reference to the structure of the unit next above, and structure with reference to the classes of the unit next below. A class is not a grouping of members of a given unit which are alike in their own structure. In other words, by reference to the rank scale, classes are derived "from above" ... and not "from below"..." (Emphasis Halliday's.)

the variation mode for the major class and level in question (and are enumerated with Roman numerals), while distributional sub-classes are presented under the distribution mode for the class and level in question (and are enumerated with Arabic numerals). I have yet to see any other tagmemic description that follows this format, and yet it seems the only way to present the data without doing violence to the concept of nodes. It seems to me that Pike laid open the way for the sort of treatment I suggest (or, even more than this, required it) in his development of nodes. As Pickett says,

"Pike's definition of a distribution class is the list of forms (potentially ranging from one morpheme to full sentences) which occur in any one tagmemic slot. Such a distribution class combines groups of very different internal structure." (1960:95, emphasis mine.)

0.4.4. Multiplication.

Thus far, two techniques for reducing the great tagmemics problem of repetition have been discussed: the distinction between variation and distribution modes, and the related concept of levels.

A third, and complementary, technique is that of matrix multiplication, which has been developed by Pike since about 1962 (Pike 1962, 1963, 1970). This combats the segmentation of earlier tagmemics which often obscured relations and led to avoidable repetition.

By means of multiplication of a matrix by a given factor,

new matrices can be derived (1962:226-229). Thus, for example, English passive sentences can be derived from active sentences. This development obviously owes a lot to the appearance of Transformational-Generative grammar in the late 50's.

In the present description, multiplication is used to derive Interrogative, Imperative, Noninalized and Relativized clauses from the basic Declarative clause.¹⁷

0.5. Scope.

In the present thesis, the bottom two levels of the phonological hierarchy are described (phoneme level and syllable level), as an introduction to the description of the grammatical hierarchy, which forms the main section of the thesis. A description of the tones and tonal morphophonemics of Resigaro is beyond the scope of the present description, though tones are indicated throughout.

The grammatical hierarchy is described from root to sentence, the levels being:

Root
 Stem
 Word
 (Group)
 (Piece)
 Phrase

¹⁷cf. Longacre, 1965b.

Clause

Sentence

Group and Piece are best considered as "sub-levels", since they are only relevant to the description of the verb. Since the Sentence is the highest level analysed, its distribution is not given, though a sample text is analysed at the end of the grammar section.

As indicated above, the lexical hierarchy is the one on which least work has been done by tagmaemicists. Longacre has pointed out the importance of separating the lexicon from the grammar:

"Lexicon is a third node [i.e., hierarchy] of linguistic structuring. It is sufficiently separate from grammar that the description of the interplay of item and context, of idiom formation, and of lexical strings ... is a study within itself. Attempts to incorporate the lexicon directly into the grammar will lead only to the oversimplification of the former or to the endless atomization of the latter" (1964a:8).

The size of the task is also recognized by him:

"To describe a language exhaustively (a task as yet seriously attempted by no one), three volumes are needed: a phonological statement, a grammatical statement, and a highly sophisticated dictionary" (1964a:8).

A fulfillment of Longacre's requirement that the dictionary be "highly sophisticated" would be beyond the scope of the present work, since it would make the thesis overlong to go into the necessary detail with some 2,000 entries, and the alternative of presenting merely a sample lexicon such as that in Loos (1969), where only 73 items are handled, though

in considerable detail, or in the style of Katz and Fodor (1963:186) on the one word "bachelor", was considered unacceptable.¹⁸

Therefore, as in Trail, 1970, the complete lexicon compiled during the research project is included. This consists of the basic lexical units only, and in this description the whole section forms an appendix, for reference, and to form the basis of future analysis.

¹⁸The fact that Loos's thesis is cast in a Transformational format does not affect the relevance of this comparison, since to be valid, the tagemic model would have to produce a dictionary of similar sophistication, and Loos's sample lexicon illustrates the sort of limitations such a requirement imposes on research projects in which analysis of the lexicon is not the major objective.

PART I:

PHONOLOGICAL

HIERARCHY

0. Introduction.

In describing the three nodes, above (section 0.4.2.), an example was given from the phonological hierarchy, phoneme level. This indicated that phoneme contrasts are described under the contrast node, allophonic variation described under the variation node, and distribution under the distribution node.

However, while this presentation might be theoretically satisfying, in practical terms it is at least inconvenient, if not inappropriate, and taguemicists have generally described the phonological hierarchy without reference to the three nodes (e.g. Elson (ed.), 1967).

Even Kenneth Pike has not followed this presentation completely. In the article he co-authored with Rachel Saint in Studies in Ecuadorian Indian Languages: I (Elson (ed.), 1962), though the description is in terms of the three nodes, a concession is made to convenience in that first consonants are described in terms of each of the three nodes, and then vowels are described in the same way (cf. p. 2).

Other articles (by other authors) in the same publication reduce these six sections to five, by grouping consonants and vowels for distribution, though separating them for the other nodes (see, for example, Borman (pp. 45-59)).

In the present description, it has been thought preferable to reduce this further to the original format of the three modes (i.e., in three sections), by changing slightly the components of each section.

Thus, on the phoneme level, for instance, contrast mode summarizes the contrastive-identificational features of phonemes in two matrices and a short statement (for suprasegmentals).

Detailed exemplification of the phonemes, justifying their establishment as separate units, is reserved for the variation mode. This is considered appropriate since the variant manifestations of the phonemic unit (an abstract entity) are the phonemes, just as the variant manifestations of the Noun Phrase, for instance (in the grammatical hierarchy), are different types of NP. Inherent in the establishment of different types -- in any hierarchy -- is their contrast with other types at the same level.

In this, the presentation of the phonology in this description parallels that of the grammar, where the contrast mode merely indicates briefly the contrastive characteristics of the levels and units in question as a whole, in justification of the establishment of that level (and, in the grammar, the particular class -- noun word versus verb word, etc.). It also has the advantage of permitting the allophones of a

phoneme to be described at the same time that the phoneme is described, instead of in a totally different section, as in the articles in Elson, 1962, referred to above.

Chapter 1

PHONEME LEVEL

The phoneme level is set up as the lowest level in the phonological hierarchy.¹ Phonemes are distributed in units of the next level of the phonological hierarchy, the syllable. Types of phoneme are set up on a structural basis -- i.e., according to certain phonetic characteristics. Classes of phoneme are set up on the basis of distribution in the syllable.²

1.1. Contrast.

The contrastive-identificational features of phonemes are best summarised in two matrices (one for contoids and the other for vocoids³) and a short statement (for suprasegmentals).

¹The distinctive feature, referred to in I.1.2., below, might be considered as constituting a lower level than that of the phoneme. However, this approach is not adopted here, since the distinctive feature represents a greater degree of abstraction than the phoneme, and has no independent status apart from its co-occurrence with other distinctive features in the phoneme. This description takes as starting point the distinctive feature as the basis for separating phonemes.

²It is worthy of note that the three types of phoneme (Contoid, Vocoid, and Suprasegmental) are co-extensive with the three distribution classes (named Consonant, Vowel, and Tone). However, the sub-types of phoneme bear no noticeable correlation to the distribution of the members of each class, except in the few cases indicated in Part I, Chapter II, below.

³Pike's useful distinction between contoid/vocoid and consonant/vowel is retained, since the membership of the classes Consonant and Vowel is clearly dependent on distributional features, which cannot determine the establishment of types on the same level, as

		Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
	vl.asp.	p ^{h4}	t ^h		k ^h	
Plosives	vl.	p	t	t ^y	k	?
	vd.	b	d	d ^y	g	
	vl.asp.		ts ^h	ç ^h		
Affricates	vl.		ts	ç		
	vd.		dz	ǰ		
Fricatives	vl.	f	s	š		h
	vd.	v		ž		
Nasals	vl.	m	n	ɲ		
	vd.	m	n	ɲ		

Table 1.1. Contoid Matrix.

Outside the system: /r/, /x/ (cf. 1.2.1.5., below).

indicated in 0.4.2. and 0.4.3., above. The fact that in Resigaro the membership of the structural types of phoneme is co-extensive with that of the distributional classes should not be allowed to undermine this distinction, as otherwise one would end up with circularity. cf. K.L. Pike, 1943:

"If the phonetician first delimits supposed articulatory classes by phonemic features, how can he then describe the phonemes with articulatory methods? Any such attempt presents a vicious circle of phonemics to phonetics to phonemics, with the phonetician starting at phonemics." (pp. 77-78) cf. also K.L. Pike, 1947:13bn-14an.

Contoids and vocoids are defined in phonetic terms. A vocoid is a sound in which the air escapes out of the mouth over the centre of the tongue, without pronounced or localized friction in the mouth. (cf. K.L. Pike, 1947:4b-5a; 1967:332) A contoid is any nonvocoid.

⁴/p^h/, /t^h/, etc. are for convenience subsequently written ph, th, etc.

	Front	Central	Back
High (spread)	i		u
Mid (spread/round)	e		o
Low (neutral)		a	

Table 1.2. Voccoid Matrix.

Suprasegmentals: High tone: '
 Low tone: (Absence of ')

1.2. Variation.

Phonemes are grouped into types on the basis of certain characteristics of phonetic structure.

Phon_i = All Contoids
 Phon_{ii} = All Vocoids
 Phon_{iii} = Suprasegmentals

In establishing the identity of phonemes, their contrastive nature is fundamental. Thus, each posited phoneme is contrasted with all other posited phonemes with which it might conceivably be in a non-contrastive relationship. This results in repeated application of the commutation test on pairs of phonemes differing by one distinctive feature at a time. Ideally, the words in which these phonemes appear in the examples given are identical at all other points (i.e., minimal pairs). When such a clear minimal pair is available, only one example

is given. When the pairs are only nearly minimal, if there may appear to be any doubt concerning the presence of anemic contrast, two or even three examples are given.

1.2.1. Phoneme type i: Contoids.

In Resigaró there are 30 contoid phonemes, which contrast in four ways as to type and five as to point of articulation, and also as to presence or absence of voicing and aspiration. In this description, the articulation type is taken as primary, resulting in four sub-types of phoneme type i:-

- Phon_{i.i} = Plosive
- Phon_{i.ii} = Affricate
- Phon_{i.iii} = Fricative
- Phon_{i.iv} = Nasal

In addition to these 30 contoid phonemes of four sub-types, there are also a fricative and a flap that are not part of the system.

1.2.1.1. Phoneme type i, sub-type i: Plosives.

There are three series of plosives -- voiced, voiceless, and voiceless aspirated -- at four points of articulation: labial⁵, alveolar, palatal, and velar, with a hole in the slot

⁵The terms used to describe the points of articulation are not to be considered as descriptive, but rather, contrastive in terms of the system. Thus, "labial" refers to phonemes in which the main articulators are both lips, yet the title "bilabial" is unnecessary, since there are no labio-dental sounds in the language. Similarly, /ty/, /dy/, /ñ/ and /ɲ/ are realized with the tongue further forward in the mouth than the other phonemes labelled "palatal", being in fact palatalized alveolars,

where a voiceless aspirated palatal might be expected. There is also a glottal stop.

1.2.1.1.1. /ph/ is an aspirated voiceless bilabial plosive.

Its contrastive nature may be derived from the following minimal and near-minimal pairs:-

/ph/-/p/	phiigi "annatto tree"	/	piigi "anteater"
/ph/-/b/	pho?khoṓtsi "fan"	/	bo?otāhi "plate"
/ph/-/f/	phṓogikhá "he agitates"	/	fṓogikhá "he blows"
/ph/-/th/	hada?phoṓtsihá "song"	/	a?mithoṓtsihá "kitchen"
/ph/-/kh/	hada?phoṓtsigi "a singer (n)"	/	tho?khoṓtsi "pestle"
/ph/-/m/	nophá "I tread"	/	nomá "I bite"

1.2.1.1.2. /p/ is an unaspirated voiceless bilabial plosive.

Its contrastive nature may be derived from the opposition /ph/-/p/ (above), and from the following minimal and near-minimal pairs:-

/p/-/b/	po?vu "you are getting yourself wet"	/	bo?otāhi "plate"
/p/-/f/	pūni "your saliva"	/	fūneá "our lake"
	pṓotsigá "frog"	/	fṓogikhá "he blows"
/p/-/t/	po?vu "you are getting yourself wet"	/	pito?vá "you take (sthg) out"
/p/-/k/	gipaáná "his house"	/	gikaáni "his bitter yucca"

whereas /č/, /čh/, etc. are palatals. However, the contrast is again between purely alveolar phonemes and those in which a palatal position of the tongue plays an integral part. (cf. Bloch, 1950:91 fn 13)

pa?tá "to look" / ka?tadáko "(a species of
bird)" (Sp.: chachalaca)
/p/-/m/ pa?toónagi "a watchman" / ma?paaká no?pí "With-
out winning, I go"

1.2.1.1.3. /b/ is a voiced bilabial plosive with optional onset of voice before the release, particularly in initial position or for emphasis. When realized, this results in the sound [^hb]. Its contrastive nature may be derived from the oppositions /ph/-/b/ and /p/-/b/ (above), and from the following minimal and near-minimal pairs:-

/b/-/v/ be?é "new" / ve?í "here"
/b/-/n/ boe?gikhú "he paddles" / noi?gikhú "he mixes (sthg)"
/b/-/d/ bo?otáhi "plate" / do?othé "that one (f)"
/b/-/g/ boto?dokhú "she sweeps" / go?dokhú "she puts a
stick in the ground"

1.2.1.1.4. /th/ is an aspirated voiceless alveolar plosive. Its contrastive nature may be derived from the opposition /ph/-/th/ (above), and from the following minimal and near-minimal pairs:-

/th/-/t/ tho?khoótsi "pestle" / todokáakú "toad"
/th/-/d/ tho?khúná "Muinani Huitotos" / do?kóná "she is
dripping wet"
/th/-/ty/ thá?gižá "he sinks (in a canoe)" / tya?dfio
"grandfather"
/th/-/kh/ thiithi?ó "(a species of monkey)" (Sp.: sumileon-
cito) / khígi "maternal uncle"

- /th/-/tsh/ gi?nóthó "he breaks (the shell of peanuts)"
 / gi?nótshó "he kills, hits (s.o.)"
 /th/-/čh/ thóogikhú "he shakes (sthg)" / čhóogikhú "he spits"
 /th/-/n/ gi?í thá?jú "this one (n) sinks (in a canoe)"
 / na?pú "they win"

1.2.1.1.5. /t/ is an unaspirated voiceless alveolar plosive. Its contrastive nature may be derived from the oppositions /p/-/t/ and /th/-/t/ (above), and from the following minimal and near-minimal pairs:-

- /t/-/d/ ténoóú "the sea" / deénu "tree bark"
 /t/-/ty/ taájé "grandmother" / tya?dífo "grandfather"
 /t/-/k/ gifotápa "he is frightening (s.o.)" / gifokápa
 "he is frightened [progressive]"
 /t/-/ts/ gi?tú "he fasts" / gi?tsu "he scorns"
 /t/-/č/ toogikhú "he breaks (sthg)" / čoo?gikhú "he kisses"
 /t/-/n/ to?vú "to get, to obtain" / nó?vu "I walk"

1.2.1.1.6. /d/ is a voiced alveolar plosive with optional onset of voice before release, particularly in initial position or for emphasis. When realized, this results in the sound [ⁿd]. The contrastive nature of this phoneme may be derived from the oppositions /b/-/d/, /th/-/d/ and /t/-/d/ (above), and from the following minimal and near-minimal pairs:-

- /d/-/dy/ doová "(a type of almond)" / dyoonáú?é? "proud"
 huduŋgi "curuhuinse ant" / dyuši "(a man's name)"

/d-/g/ do?kú "he fells a tree" / go?khú "to put a stick in
the ground"

/d-/dz/ duugižú "he stays" / dzu?gižú "it shrinks"

/d-/j/ dá?nú "it (a tree) falls" / já?nú "to keep vigil,
to wait"

/d-/n/ do?nitú "she eats" / no?nitú "I eat"

1.2.1.1.7. /ty/ is a voiceless palatalized alveolar plosive, in which the initial position of the tongue may be slightly retracted from the position for /t/. Its contrastive nature may be derived from the oppositions /th-/ty/ and /t-/ty/ (above), and from the following minimal and near-minimal pairs:-

/ty-/dy/ tyugif?ó "parakeet" / dyuifšugú "wooden battens
for flooring and walls"

tya?dfio "grandfather" / gadya?nožú "I get angry"

/ty-/č/ tya?dfio "grandfather" / čačhi "charcoal"

tyo?tyú? "pretty" / čoo?khú "to kiss"

/ty-/ts/ tyó?otyóbbá "butterfly" / tsó?vó "(an animal some-
thing like a dog)" (Sp.: conadreja)

tya?dfio "grandfather" / tsa?i "armadillo"

/ty-/ã/ tya?dfio "grandfather" / maããánú "silence"

tyoédó "small woodpecker" / ěeke? tsó "she gets
better, stronger"

These last two pairs are not completely satisfactory, and an argument (admittedly, a rather improbable one) could be brought for environmental conditioning here. Even without such an argument, it might be claimed that the lack of examples of contrast

in identical environments is sufficient reason to justify the uniting of the two phones in one phoneme, perhaps with some such rule as the following:

/TY/ (the hypothesized phoneme) is realized

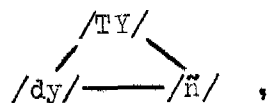
- a) as [ty] in the context of another alveolar stop in the next syllable; and
- b) as [ã] in the context of a nasal in a contiguous syllable, or a velar stop in the next syllable.

This rather dubious rule does not, however, account for such cases as tyo?tyú? "pretty" or tyugif?ó "parakeet" (part (a)), nor does it account for cases such as ãe?jú "to make a hole" (part (b)). It would, perhaps, be possible to redefine the rule in such a way that these and other cases would be taken care of, but such expansion of the rule could only be made at the cost of further loss of credibility.

Lest an appeal to credibility and probability is considered insufficient reason for opposing the union of these two phones in one phoneme, the following additional reasons are given:

1. The lack of clear minimal pairs for /ty/ and /ã/ would appear to be non-significant and merely a reflection of the low frequency of occurrence of these two phones, and the limits to the amount of data gathered and analyzed to date.
2. The voiced counterparts (/dy/ and /ñ/) of these phones

are clearly separated, and to unite the latter would thus destroy the two-way pattern of oppositions (voiceless/voiced and nasal/oral), giving



where the distinctive feature between /dy/ and /ñ/ is nasality, while that between these two and /TY/ is voice and, depending on the allophone, presence or absence of nasality. The set of oppositions is seen much more clearly if the two allophones of the proposed phoneme are set up in a matrix with the phonemes /dy/ and /ñ/:

	- Nasality	+ Nasality
- Voice	[ty]	[ñ]
+ Voice	/dy/	/ñ/

Such a matrix lends strong weight to the interpretation of [ty] and [ñ] as two separate phonemes, /ty/ and /ñ/.

3. This matrix could be expanded by taking into account the labial and alveolar positions, where the same set of distinctive features is clearly emic (cf. examples in the relevant sections of this chapter). It is here claimed that [ty] and [ñ] demonstrate the same emic set of contrasts in palatal position.

This argument, which owes a lot to Pike's premiss "sound systems have a tendency toward phonetic symmetry" (1947:59b, 116-121), has in recent years received added support from another direction, namely the concept of markedness in generative

phonology as developed by Chomsky and Halle (1968), which in turn stems from Prague School phonology and the subsequent theory of binarism proposed by Jakobson.⁶

According to Postal (1968:178), if a marked value of a feature occurs, the unmarked value must also occur. Taking [+ Voice] as the marked value of plosives in Resigaró⁷, in which /b/, /d/, /dy/ and /g/ are thus marked, and /p/, /t/ and /k/ are attested⁸, the presence of marked /dy/ implies an unmarked /ty/.

The argument for the nasal /ɲ/ is less strong, since while the presence of a marked value implies the presence of the unmarked value too, the converse is not the case. In the case of nasals, the Naturalness Condition (Postal, op.cit., pp. 80-81) would presumably require that the marked value for nasals be [- Voice]. (This also follows from Chomsky and Halle, op.cit., p. 413 and p. 405, (XV).) In Resigaró, /ɲ/ and /ɳ/ are thus marked, and unmarked /n/ and /m/ (implied by the presence of the marked nasals) are indeed attested. Unmarked /ñ/ is also attested, though from this alone the presence of marked /ɲ/ cannot be inferred. However, since marked nasals do occur at other points of articulation,

⁶cf. Jakobson and Halle, 1956, especially pp. 29-32, where their 12 binary oppositions are listed and described, and pp. 44-49, where the establishment of this "dichotomous scale" is defended.

⁷cf. Chomsky and Halle, 1968:413.

⁸We here ignore, as irrelevant to the present argument, the series /ph/, /th/, /kh/, which would have

[- Voice]
[+ Asp.n.]

.

this would strengthen the argument for the presence of a marked palatal nasal /ɲ/.

4. Finally, though the only difference between /ty/ and /ɲ/ is one of the position of the velum, the oral/nasal distinction is generally accepted as being sufficient to prevent the union of consonant phones under the criterion of phonetic similarity, unless the structure of the phonemic system of the language as a whole would justify such a union. The contrary is the case concerning the structure of the phonemic system in Resigaró, as has been demonstrated in 1-3, above, where it is seen that nasality is a distinctive feature of the language. On this point, Lounsbury says,

"It is generally assumed that the allophones of a phoneme are in some sense equivalent stimuli. They are defined so that they share the same distinctive features (features that function as cues for differential responses in the given language) and differ from one another only by nondistinctive features (those which do not function as cues)." (1963:569)

1.2.1.1.8. /dy/ is a voiced palatalized alveolar plosive in which the initial position of the tongue may be slightly retracted from the position for /d/. No early onset of voice such as would produce [^hdy] has been observed (possibly because of the infrequency of occurrence of this phoneme). The contrastive nature of /dy/ may be derived from the oppositions /d/-/dy/ and /ty/-/dy/ (above), and from the following minimal and near-minimal pairs:-

/dy/-/j/ dyoonáá?é? "proud" / joóáá "parrot"

of voice before the release, particularly in initial position or for emphasis. When realized, this results in the sound [ʔg]. The contrastive nature of this phoneme may be derived from the oppositions /b/-/g/, /d/-/g/, /kh/-/g/ and /k/-/g/ (above), and from the following near-minimal pair:-

/g/-/j/ godóhí "Boras" / jodooʔfigá "waterfall"

1.2.1.1.12. /ʔ/ is a glottal stop. Its contrastive nature may be derived from its opposition to the other voiceless plosive phonemes, the voiceless glottal fricative, and zero, as shown in the following minimal and near-minimal pairs:-

/ʔ/-/p/ giʔí "this one (n)" / gipiʔí "his anteater"

/ʔ/-/t/ doʔothé "that one (f)" / dotókhó "her (species of fruit)" (Sp.: shapaja)

/ʔ/-/k/ doʔó "this one (f)" / dokóo "towards her"

/ʔ/-/h/ doʔó "this one (f)" / dohó "for her" (benefactive)

/ʔ/-/ø/ tsená "he requests" / tséʔná "he hears"

1.2.1.2. Phoneme type i, sub-type ii: Affricates.

There are three series of affricates -- voiced, voiceless, and voiceless aspirated -- in two points of articulation, alveolar and palatal.

1.2.1.2.1. /tsh/ is an aspirated voiceless alveolar affricate. Its contrastive nature may be derived from the opposition /th/-/tsh/ (above), and from the following minimal and near-minimal pairs:-

/tsh/-/ts/ iftshá "smoke" / iftsá "to let go, to release"

/tsh/-/dz/ tshóšedokhú "she scoops out" / dzoodožú "she takes
a quick dip (in the water)"(i.e., "she goes
into the water, and comes out again quickly")

/tsh/-/čh/ tshíipí "tail" / čhíipó "its outside"
tshonaátshí "cotton" / čhóní "sister" (vocative)

/tsh/-/s/ tshá?thoonú "glue" / sá?oohú "one (tin, pot, etc.)"

1.2.1.2.2. /ts/ is an unaspirated voiceless alveolar affricate. Its contrastive nature may be derived from the oppositions /t/-/ts/, /ty/-/ts/ and /tsh/-/ts/ (above), and from the following minimal and near-minimal pairs:-

/ts/-/dz/ tsaagižú "he shouts for joy" / dzaagikhú "he throws
water on the fire"

/ts/-/č/ tsóó?vigikhú "he sharpens (sthg)" / čoo?vágikhú
"he will kiss (s.o.)"

/ts/-/s/ tsa?í "armadillo" / sa?í "one (bunch of fruit)"

1.2.1.2.3. /dz/ is a voiced alveolar affricate. No early onset of voice such as would produce [ⁿdz] has been observed. The contrastive nature of this phoneme may be derived from the oppositions /d/-/dz/, /dy/-/dz/, /tsh/-/dz/ and /ts/-/dz/ (above), and from the following near-minimal pairs:-

/dz/-/j/ dzaakhotú "to cause to throw water on the fire"
/ jaákovéfi "life"

dzeejé "to get out" / jeóvi "wolf"

1.2.1.2.4. /čh/ is an aspirated voiceless palatal affricate.

Its contrastive nature may be derived from the oppositions /th/-/čh/, /kh/-/čh/ and /tsh/-/čh/ (above), and from the following minimal and near-minimal pairs:-

/čh/-/č/ čhóogikhú "he spits" / čoo?gikhú "he kisses"
 /čh/-/j/ čhakó?khú "to chew" / jākádé "field"
 ňoňočhí "my neck" / nonojíhí "my beard"
 /čh/-/š/ čhóogikhú "he spits" / šoogikhú "he pours water"

1.2.1.2.5. /č/ is an unaspirated voiceless palatal affricate. Its contrastive nature may be derived from the oppositions /t/-/č/, /ty/-/č/, /k/-/č/ and /čh/-/č/ (above), and from the following minimal and near-minimal pairs:-

/č/-/j/ čáčhí "charcoal" / jākádé "field"
 čoo?dokhú "she kisses" / jodoo?figú "waterfall"
 /č/-/š/ čoo?gikhú "he kisses" / šoogikhú "he pours water"
 čáčhí "charcoal" / šaaǰú "to disperse"

1.2.1.2.6. /j/ is a voiced palatal affricate, in which no early onset of voice prior to release has been observed. Its contrastive nature may be derived from the oppositions /d/-/j/, /dy/-/j/, /g/-/j/, /čh/-/j/ and /č/-/j/ (above), and from the following near-minimal pairs:-

/j/-/ž/ nó?ǰo "I escape" / nó?žo "I dig"
 gijogi?khoónahí "his spade" / ižo "ghost, spirit"

1.2.1.3. Phoneme type i, sub-type iii: Fricatives.

There are two series of fricatives -- voiceless and voiced --

in four points of articulation -- labial, alveolar, palatal and glottal -- with holes in the slots where voiced alveolar and voiced glottal fricatives might be expected.

1.2.1.3.1. /f/ is a voiceless bilabial fricative. Its contrastive nature may be derived from the oppositions /ph/-/f/ and /p/-/f/ (above), and from the following near-minimal pairs:-

/f/-/v/ fio?gikhú "he whistles" / viogikhú "he mixes (sthg)"

fíinokhú "I push" / víiši?ógú "rapids"

/f/-/w/ fēpohí "our land" / wēpōkō "piranha"

1.2.1.3.2. /v/ is a voiced bilabial fricative. Its contrastive nature may be derived from the oppositions /b/-/v/ and /f/-/v/ (above), and from the following near-minimal pair:-

/v/-/w/ vatsōogi "turkey buzzard" / watsōōkú "peanut"

It has two allophones:

[β], occurring before /i/ and /e/

[w], occurring elsewhere

e.g. i) [β]:-

Before /i/: nonō?aavi [nonβ?a:βi] "ny lip"

" /e/: vedēemú [βedē?mú] "clothing"

ii) [w]:-

Before /a/: vatsōogi [watsō?gi] "turkey buzzard"

" /o/: vonéné [wonéné] "our teeth"

" /u/: nodo?phaavú [nōdō?p^ha:wú] "I work"

/v/ cannot be viewed as a vocoid merely functioning as a con-

sonant, because of its major contoidal allophone [β].

1.2.1.3.3. /s/ is a voiceless⁹ alveolar fricative. Its contrastive nature may be derived from the oppositions /tsh/-/s/ and /ts/-/s/ (above), and from the following near-minimal pairs:-

/s/-/š/ soo?gikhú "he sucks" / šoogikhú "he pours water"
 sabo?gikhú "he sinks (sthg)" / šakoo?gi?ó "banana"

1.2.1.3.4. /š/ is a voiceless palatal fricative. Its contrastive nature may be derived from the oppositions /čh/-/š/, /č/-/š/ and /s/-/š/ (above), and from the following near-minimal pairs:-

/š/-/ž/ gišakoo?gi?ó "his banana" / gižafkovéfi "his life"
 tsa gišotú "he makes him eat meat" / ižo "ghost, spirit"

/š/ has a series of palatalized allophones with varying degrees of palatalization, which occur in free variation with the non-palatalized variant. The palatalization tends to be especially pronounced before /a/, and to a lesser extent before /o/ and /u/, in that order. Weak palatalization of /š/ is occasionally heard before /e/, but palatalization is rarely heard before /i/, with the exception of [ʃʲtʲ] (/šítʲy/) "gorilla", where the strong palatalization is probably due to the influence of the palatal plosive in the next syllable. Examples of palatal-

⁹Though /s/ is opposed to no voiced fricative at the same point of articulation, since there is a hole in the pattern at the point where /z/ would be expected, voicelessness is considered as *emic* in terms of the system as a whole, even though it is not contrastive in this limited context. (cf. discussion under 1.2.1.1.7., above.)

ized allophones of /š/ follow, the presentation commencing with the cases of strongest palatalization and progressing through to the cases of weakest palatalization:-

- Before /a/: /šakoo?gí?í/ [ʃ^jakɔ:ʔgɪʔí] "a bunch of bananas"
 " /o/: /šóhó/ [ʃ^jóhó] "turkey"
 " /u/: /šuuukhoótsihá/ [ʃ^ju:k^hɔʔtsihá] "advice"
 (" /e/: /šéedó/ [ʃ^jéʔdó] "mother-in-law")
 (" /i/: /šíinée/ [ʃ^jí:néʔ] "dawn"

But, with /ty/ in the next syllable:

/ší?tyu/ [ʃ^jíʔtju] "gorilla")

1.2.1.3.5. /ž/ is a voiced palatal fricative in which the degree of friction varies freely from very pronounced to very light. In a frequently-occurring allophone, friction is totally absent, and the phoneme is realized as [j].¹⁰ The informant is completely unaware of this fluctuation, and readily produces and accepts all allophones in all contexts, even when the same morpheme is pronounced several times in succession, sometimes with the same allophone and sometimes with a different one.

The contrastive nature of this phoneme may be derived from the oppositions /j/-/ž/ and /š/-/ž/ (above).

¹⁰cf. Walton and Walton, "Phonemes of [Bora] Muinane" (1967: 41). The variation that they cite for [ž] and [j] is from one idiolect to another. Leach (1969:164) indicates that in Ocaina the phoneme /y/ has allophones ranging from [ž] to [j].

/ʒ/ cannot be viewed as a vocoid merely functioning as a consonant, because of its frequently-occurring allophones with friction.

1.2.1.3.6. /h/ is a voiceless¹¹ glottal fricative. Its contrastive nature may be derived from the opposition /ʔ/-/h/ (above), and from its opposition to zero in the following minimal pair:-

/h/-/ø/ haagižú "it sinks" / aagižú "he is surprised"

1.2.1.4. Phoneme type i, sub-type iv: Nasals.

There are two series of nasals -- voiceless and voiced -- in three points of articulation: labial, alveolar, and palatal.

1.2.1.4.1. /ɱ/ is a voiceless bilabial nasal with slight final onset of voice. Its contrastive nature may be derived from the oppositions /ph/-/ɱ/, /p/-/ɱ/ and /f/-/ɱ/ (above), and from the following minimal and near-minimal pairs:-

/ɱ/-/m/ noɱú "I bite" / nomú "I sleep"

/ɱ/-/n/ noɱú "to try (taste) (sthg)" / noɱú "I answer"

/ɱ/-/ŋ/ noɱú "I sing"

/ɱ/-/ã/ ñé?konf? "dull" / ñé?kotú "to cause to press"

1.2.1.4.2. /ɱ/ is a voiced bilabial nasal. Its contrastive nature may be derived from the oppositions /b/-/ɱ/, /v/-/ɱ/ and /β/-/ɱ/ (above), and from the following minimal and near-

¹¹cf. footnote 9 to 1.2.1.3.3., above.

minimal pairs:-

/m/-/n/ maápú "bee" / naápú "spotted cavy"

/m/-/ñ/ maa?mú "cassava bread" / ñaa?ñé "their thing"

1.2.1.4.3. /ɲ/ is a voiceless alveolar nasal with slight final onset of voice. Its contrastive nature may be derived from the oppositions /th/-/ɲ/, /t/-/ɲ/ and /m/-/ɲ/ (above), and from the following minimal and near-minimal pairs:-

/ɲ/-/n/ ɲó?vu "I walk" / no?vu "I am wet"

/ɲ/-/ñ/ ɲé?kó "they run" / ñé?khú "to press"

1.2.1.4.4. /n/ is a voiced alveolar nasal. Its contrastive nature may be derived from the oppositions /d/-/n/, /m/-/n/ and /ɲ/-/n/ (above), and from the following near-minimal pairs:-

/n/-/ñ/ nfi?ó "married woman" / ñii?šóǵú "nightingale"

nonoǵíhí "my beard" / ñoñočhí "my neck"

1.2.1.4.5. /ɳ/ is a voiceless palatal nasal with slight final onset of voice. Its contrastive nature may be derived from the oppositions /ty/-/ɳ/ (cf. discussion under 1.2.1.1.7., above), /m/-/ɳ/ and /ɲ/-/ɳ/ (above), and from the following near-minimal pair:-

/ɳ/-/ñ/ mašáánú "silence" / maañá?o "iguana"

1.2.1.4.5. /ñ/ is a voiced palatal nasal. Its contrastive nature may be derived from the oppositions /dy/-/ñ/, /m/-/ñ/, /n/-/ñ/ and /ɳ/-/ñ/ (above).

1.2.1.5. Outside the System.¹²

1.2.1.5.1. /r/ is a voiced alveolar flap which has been attested in only three forms:-

- i) a person's name: /mi?iréhi/
- ii) the onomatopoeic imitation of a bird song: /vara?vará?/
- iii) the modification of a Spanish word not yet fully incorporated into the language: /bibriaa/ from the Spanish Biblia, "Bible".

1.2.1.5.2. /x/ is a voiceless velar fricative, contrasting with the voiceless glottal fricative /h/, which occurs throughout the language. /x/ occurs only in the morpheme /xuu-/, constituent in the noun /xuukhoótsi/ "Sunday" and the verb /xuuǰá/ "to rest" -- both of these words apparently coined recently to handle terms introduced by missionaries.¹³

1.2.2. Phoneme type ii: Vocoids.

There are five vocoid phonemes in Resígaro, distinguished by

¹²All the data so far available leads to the conclusion that /r/ and /x/ fall outside the phonological system of Resígaro. However, it could be argued that /x/ fills the "hole" at the voiceless velar fricative position, and perhaps even that /r/ has evolved from a voiced alveolar fricative (another "hole"), although this is less convincing, and /r/ is at the present time not at all fricative. For the reasons given in 1.2.1.5.1. and 1.2.1.5.2., /r/ and /x/ are at present considered to be marginal, and outside the system.

¹³It is interesting to note that there are both glottal and velar voiceless fricatives in Ocaina, the language of my informant's father, which he also speaks fluently. However, the Resígaro words for "Sunday" and "to rest" are not direct loans from Ocaina, in which the words are jayóóvuxña and jayoovu, respectively. (cf. Agnew and Pike, 1957, and Leach, 1969.

three degrees of opening -- high, mid, and low -- and three areas of articulation -- front, central, and back. Three vocoids are pronounced with spread lips, one with rounded lips, and one with neutral lips. The vocoids are described with reference to the system of cardinal vowels developed and recorded by Daniel Jones (cf. 1960:31-39 and Cardinal Vowels (n.d.)), and adopted by the International Phonetic Association (cf. 1949:4-7). The vocoids are not sufficiently numerous or varied in form to merit the establishment of types of vocoid.

1.2.2.1. /i/ is a high front vocoid pronounced with spread lips. Its contrastive nature may be derived from the following minimal and near-minimal pairs:-

/i/-/e/ piŋi¹⁴ "anteater" / peŋi "yucca flour"

/i/-/u/ nãpi "underneath" / naãpú "spotted cavy"

/i/ has two allophones: [i], a slightly lowered and retracted close front spread vocoid similar to Cardinal Vowel 1;

[ɨ], a somewhat raised and retracted half-close front spread vocoid between Cardinal Vowel 2 and Cardinal Vowel 1.

[i] occurs word-finally, and [ɨ] occurs elsewhere.

e.g. /pɨ?mi/ [pɨ?mi] "hummingbird"

/adovɨmi/ [adovɨ?mi] "birds"

1.2.2.2. /e/ is a mid front vocoid pronounced with spread lips.

¹⁴For the interpretation of long vocoids as sequences of two short vocoids, cf. section 1.2.2.6., below.

Its contrastive nature may be derived from the opposition /i/-/e/ (above), and from the following minimal pairs:-

/e/-/a/ meegi "cassava" / maagi "(a species of fruit)"

/e/-/o/ noné "my tooth" / nonó "my mouth"

/e/ has two major allophones: [e], a slightly lowered half-close front spread vocoid similar to Cardinal Vowel 2;

[ɛ], which is lower (close to Cardinal Vowel 3).

[e] occurs word-finally, and [ɛ] occurs elsewhere.

e.g. /hefií?/ [hefií?ɛ] "white"

/vonéne/ [vonéneɛ] "our teeth"

1.2.2.3. /a/ is a low central vocoid pronounced with neutral lips, with allophones ranging freely from slightly raised open to half-open position (I.P.A. [ɶ]). The contrastive nature of this phoneme may be derived from the opposition /e/-/a/ (above), and from the following minimal pair:-

/a/-/o/ tha?gižú "it sinks" / tho?gižú "he arrives"

1.2.2.4. /o/ is a mid back vocoid pronounced with rounded lips. Its contrastive nature may be derived from the oppositions /e/-/o/ and /a/-/o/ (above), and from the following minimal pair:-

/o/-/u/ níkó "no" / níkú "fruit"

/o/ has two major allophones: [ɔ], a slightly raised half-open back rounded vocoid similar to Cardinal Vowel 6;

[o], a half-close back rounded

vocoid similar to Cardinal Vowel 7.

[o] occurs word-finally, and [ɔ] occurs elsewhere.

e.g. /oná?kɔ/ [ɔná?kɔ] "snake"

1.2.2.5. /u/ is a high back vocoid pronounced with spread lips. Its contrastive nature may be derived from the oppositions /i/-/u/ and /o/-/u/ (above). /u/ has two major allophones:-

[u], a slightly lowered and fronted close back spread vocoid similar to Cardinal Vowel 16;

[i], a slightly lowered version of Cardinal Vowel 17. [i] occurs when the preceding syllable contains an /i/. [u] occurs elsewhere.

e.g. /sii?ɔ/ [sɔ:??] "others"

/soo?khá/ [sɔ:??k^hu] "to suck"

1.2.2.6. These five short vocoids are matched by another five vocoids with identical tongue positions and lip shapes that are approximately twice as long as those described above (that is, are two moras¹⁵ long). These long vocoids are interpreted as a sequence of two identical short vocoids, as they parallel sequences of unlike (short) vocoids found in the language.¹⁶

¹⁵To handle differences of vocoid length, it is useful to adopt the term *mora*, which is defined as "usually comprising a short vowel or half a long vowel" (K.L. Pike, 1947:144a). Vocoids (and syllables) can then be described as being one, two, or more, moras long (cf. I.2.2., below, and Bearth 1971:45), and the same term proves useful in the description of tone (cf. I.1.2.3., below).

¹⁶cf. Bearth: "Les noyaux syllabiques composés de deux voyelles

The interpretation of long vocoids as sequences of two short vocoids is also supported by the tone patterning of the language, as only high and low level tones occur on short (or single) vocoids, while gliding tones may occur on sequences of two unlike vocoids and on long vocoids. Thus, to interpret long vocoids as sequences of two short vocoids simplifies the analysis and description of tones, and makes this more consistent.¹⁷

In consequence of this interpretation, the etically long vocoids are handled together with other vocoid sequences under Syllable structure, in 1.2.2., below.

1.2.2.7. The above vocoids occasionally have nasalized allophones when occurring in the context of a nasal contoid.

e.g. /témooú/ [tɛ̃m̃ɔ̃:ú] or [tɛ̃m̃ɔ̃:ú] "sea"

This nasality is not emic, and the informant is unable to distinguish any differences when morphemes are repeatedly pronounced, sometimes with nasalized vocoids, and sometimes with non-nasalized vocoids. Moreover, his pronunciation of vocoids

différentes entrent dans les mêmes combinaisons, soit avec des éléments prosodiques, soit avec des segments voisins dans la chaîne, que les noyaux syllabiques unis et longs. Il faut conclure de ce parallélisme que les voyelles longues ... constituent une succession de deux phonèmes vocaliques identiques." (1971:38)

¹⁷Pike adopted a similar solution for handling Mixteco long vowels and gliding tones: "Mixteco long vowels must be regarded as constituting two basic units of length since (1) every long vowel carries two tonemes; (2) no short vowel carries two tonemes; (3) the long vowels are paralleled by clusters of diverse vowels, each vowel having its own toneme; ..." (1948:79, fn 3)

in the context of nasal contoids fluctuates freely between nasalized and non-nasalized, even when repeating the same morpheme several times.

1.2.3. Phoneme type iii: Suprasegmentals.

There are two contrastive pitch levels in Resfigaro, which are referred to as high and low tone. The emic nature of this opposition may be derived from the following minimal pairs:-

giʔi "this one (m)" / giʔi "meat, flesh"
 nonɔ "my mouth" / nonɔ "I spear (a fish)"

Glides only occur on sequences of two vocoids, and are handled as sequences of high + low or low + high tone (cf. 1.3.3., below), and in consequence the system is one of register, not contour, tones.¹⁸

1.3. Distribution.

Phonemes are distributed in the syllable. Classes of phoneme are set up on the basis of this distribution.

¹⁸ cf. Pike, 1948:59: "In general, a pure register system is one in which one-mora tonemes are level; a pure contour system contains one-mora gliding tonemes." i.e., the unit of pitch placement is one mora long, as in Bearth (1971:52): "La définition de la more implique qu'un monème à deux voyelles comporte deux points de substitutions tonales."

Thiesen and Thiesen (personal communication, and MS Phonemes of Bora, Walton and Walton (1967), and Leach (1969) all adopt a similar solution in handling Bora, (Bora) Muinane, and Ocaina, respectively.

1.3.1. Class 1, "Consonants".

This consists of all type i phonemes (i.e., all contoids), which are distributed in onset and coda of the syllable. The members of this distribution class are called "Consonants". Class 1 is sub-divided into two sub-classes.

Sub-class 1.

This consists of all consonants, which may occur initially in the syllable (in the onset).

e.g. fa "we" (1st p. pl. (incl))
ké "hand"
 gi.ʔi¹⁹ "this one (m)"

Sub-class 2.

This consists of /ʔ/, which, in addition to its possibility of occurrence initially in the syllable, may also occur finally in the syllable (in the coda).

e.g. mi.po.káʔ "thus, so"

1.3.2. Class 2, "Vowels".

This consists of all type ii phonemes (i.e., all vocoids), which are distributed in the nucleus of the syllable. The members of this distribution class are called "Vowels".

e.g. a.dú "to fly"

1.3.3. Class 3, "Tones".

This consists of the type iii phonemes (i.e., the two supraseg-

¹⁹The full-stop indicates syllable division (cf. 2.2.3.1., below).

mental phonemes). The members of this distribution class are called "Tones". They occur on the vowel or vowels in the nucleus of the syllable. One tone phoneme occurs on each vowel, if two vowels are present in a syllable. These may be identical (both high or both low), or one may be high and the other low, resulting in a phonetically rising or falling glide. Such glides may not occur on a single-mora syllable (i.e., on one (short) vowel), and hence are interpreted as high + low or low + high (cf. 1.2.3., above).

The following examples illustrate some possible tone sequences:-

foogikhú "he makes a fire" / fɔogikhú "he blows"

peegi "sparrow-hawk" / peǽgi "starch"

náagi "friend (m)" / naǽgi "anger"

Chapter 2

SYLLABLE LEVEL

The syllable level is set up as a level of the phonological hierarchy above the phoneme and below the phonological word. The syllable may be described as

"the smallest unit of recurrent phonemic sequences"
(Haugen, 1956:126).

2.1. Contrast.

In Resigaró, the syllable has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) It has an obligatory nucleus consisting of one or two members of phoneme class 2 (vowels).
- ii) It has an optional onset and coda, each consisting of one member of phoneme class 1 (consonants).

2.2. Variation.

Syll = \pm Onset: $C_{1.1}$ + Nuc: (V \pm V) \pm Coda: $C_{1.2}^1$

This yields eight syllable types. To facilitate the description and comparison of these types, it is convenient to consider the two different vocalic nuclei possible as basic, and to describe the consonantal onset and coda as modifications of these basic types.

i.e. Syll_i = \pm Onset: $C_{1.1}$ + Nuc: V \pm Coda: $C_{1.2}$

Syll_{ii} = \pm Onset: $C_{1.1}$ + Nuc: $V_1 V_2^2$ \pm Coda: $C_{1.2}$

¹Numerals refer to sub-classes of consonants which may occur in the positions indicated.

²In the case of vowels, sub-script numerals merely serve to distinguish the two vowels in the nucleus

2.2.1. Syllable type i: +Onset:C_{1.1} +Nuc:V +Coda:C_{1.2}

There are four sub-types of syllable type i:-

Syll_{i.i} = + Nuc: V

Syll_{i.ii} = + Onset: C + Nuc: V

Syll_{i.iii} = + Nuc: V + Coda: C

Syll_{i.iv} = + Onset: C + Nuc: V + Coda: C

Examples of the sub-types of syllable type i are to be found in table 2.1., which follows the comments on each of the sub-types. In the discussion that follows, syllables are referred to in terms of their fillers only, for ease of comparison with the examples given.

2.2.1.1. Syllable type i, sub-type i: /V/.

All vowels may occur in this sub-type.

2.2.1.2. Syllable type i, sub-type ii: /CV/.

All vowels may occur in this sub-type. All consonants may occur in this sub-type, but /ʔ/ and /ǂ/ may not occur when the syllable is word-initial.

2.2.1.3. Syllable type i, sub-type iii: /VC/.

All vowels except /u/ are attested in this sub-type. Only /ʔ/ may close syllables in Resigaro.

2.2.1.4. Syllable type i, sub-type iv: /CVC/.

All vowels may occur in this sub-type. As stated above, only /ʔ/ may close the syllable. The non-occurrence of a few con-

sonants before some vowels would not appear to be significant (cf. discussion of this in notes on Table 2.1., below).

Examples of Syllable Type i, Sub-types i-iv.

Sub- types Nucleus	Sub-type i: /V/	Sub-type ii: /CV/	Sub-type iii: /VC/	Sub-type iv: /CVC/
i	<u>f.ni</u> ¹ "wife"	<u>gi.ʔi</u> ² "meat"	<u>iʔ.pi</u> "to go"	<u>piʔ.pi</u> "you go"
e	<u>e.pú</u> "rainbow"	<u>ké</u> "hand"	<u>é.ʔo</u> "to flee"	<u>peʔ.phó.dé</u> "your navel"
a	<u>a.pó</u> "to be awake"	<u>ká.da.tú</u> "hen"	<u>aʔ.mi.tú</u> "to eat"	<u>daʔ.ná</u> "beside him"
o	<u>o.čhi</u> "(a species of plant)" (Sp. <u>daledalə</u>)	<u>no.nó</u> "my mouth"	<u>oʔ.do.nú</u> "to fish with poison"	<u>goʔ.khú</u> "to put a stick in the ground"
u	<u>ú.ni</u> "saliva"	<u>pú.ni</u> "your sal- iva"	---	<u>ka.šó.vaʔ.- núʔ</u> "pretty"

Table No. 2.1.

1. Syllables being exemplified are underlined.
2. The table gives an example of each sub-type for each of the five vowels (except /u/ in sub-type iii, which is not attested). In the case of sub-types ii and iv, the choice of initial consonant in the examples is non-significant. The vowels are given this priority over the consonants since they fill the nucleus of the syllable, while the consonants fill the margins (onset and coda). However, it is appropriate to signal certain non-occurrences of sequences of consonants and

vowels. In some cases, such non-occurrences may be significant, while in others this would appear not to be the case.

A summary of the possible sequences of consonant plus vowel may be seen in Table 2.2. This is based on an examination of all syllables beginning with CV-, regardless of whether this is followed by a further vowel and/or a consonant.

	i	e	a	o	u		i	e	a	o	u
ph	+	+	+	+	+	čh	+	+	+	+	-
p	+	+	+	+	-	č	-	-	+	+	-
b	-	+	+	+	+	ǰ	+	+	+	+	+
th	+	-	+	+	-	f	+	+	+	+	+
t	+	+	+	+	+	v	+	+	+	+	-
d	-	+	+	+	+	s	+	-	+	+	+
ty	-	-	+	+	+	š	+	+	+	+	+
dy	-	-	+	+	+	ž	-	-	+	+	+
kh	+	+	+	+	+	h	+	+	+	+	+
k	+	+	+	+	+	m	-	+	+	+	-
g	+	-	+	+	+	n	+	+	+	+	+
?	+	+	+	+	+	ɲ	+	+	+	+	+
tsh	+	+	+	+	+	n	+	+	+	+	+
ts	+	+	+	+	+	ɲ	-	+	+	-	-
dz	-	+	+	+	+	ñ	+	+	+	+	+

Table No. 2.2. Possible sequences of consonant and vowel in syllables with initial CV-.

It will be noted that 15 of the 30 consonants occur before all vowels, and a further three before all vowels except /u/. This non-occurrence appears to be non-significant,

and merely a reflection on the lower frequency of occurrence of the latter phoneme.

Likewise, the non-occurrence of /b/, /d/, /dz/ and /m/ before /i/, and of /th/, /g/ and /s/ before /e/, appear un-systematic and non-significant, in the light of the occurrence of other members of the same sets (voiced plosives, voiced affricates, etc.) in these positions, and thus these sequences might be expected if the corpus were expanded.

/ɱ/ is the only consonant not attested before /o/, which is again clearly non-significant. This phoneme is not attested before /i/, either, and it might be questioned whether this is significant, though the occurrence of /ɱ/ before /i/ would appear to undermine such a suggestion.

/ty/, /dy/, /č/ and /ž/ do not occur before /i/ or /e/, and this would appear to be the only potentially-significant co-occurrence restriction in CV sequences in Resígaro. It should be noted, however, that palatal /čh/, /j/ and /š/ all occur before /i/ and /e/ (as does /ɱ/, while /ɱ/ is only attested before /e/, to date). Thus undermines the possibility that the non-occurrence of sequences with /č/ and /ž/ might be significant, particularly since both phonemes are of quite infrequent occurrence.

But the non-occurrence of /ty/ and /dy/ before /i/ and /e/ may be significant. These two phonemes appear to be al-

most marginal to the phonemic system of Resigaro, and are an incomplete set within the plosive series, lacking an aspirated member. They are, furthermore, of very infrequent occurrence.

2.2.2. Syllable type ii: \pm Onset: $C_{1.1}$ \pm Nuc: V_1V_2 \pm Coda: $C_{1.2}$

There are four sub-types of syllable type ii:-

$$\text{Syll}_{ii.i} = + \text{Nuc: } V_1V_2$$

$$\text{Syll}_{ii.ii} = + \text{Onset: } C + \text{Nuc: } V_1V_2$$

$$\text{Syll}_{ii.iii} = + \text{Nuc: } V_1V_2 + \text{Coda: } C$$

$$\text{Syll}_{ii.iv} = + \text{Onset: } C + \text{Nuc: } V_1V_2 + \text{Coda: } C$$

Examples of the sub-types of syllable type ii are to be found in Tables 2.4. and 2.5., which follow the comments on each of the sub-types. In the discussion that follows, syllables are referred to in terms of their fillers only, for ease of comparison with the examples given.

First, it is appropriate to look at the possible sequences of vowels in syllable type ii.

2.2.2.0. Vowel Sequences in Syllable type ii.

There are the following restrictions on the vowels which may co-occur within one syllable in Resigaro:-

1. For any vowel in V_1 position, the same vowel may occur in V_2 position (i.e., an etic long vocoid is realized). The vast majority of vowel sequences are of this nature.
2. For each of the vowels occurring in V_1 position, the follow-

ing vowels are attested in V_2 position (in addition to sequences of the same vowel, already referred to above):-

/i/ + /o/, /u/; /e/ + /i/, /u/; /a/ + /i/, /e/, /u/; /o/ + /i/, /e/; /u/ + /i/, /a/.

This is a total of 11 sequences of different vowels within the same syllable, i.e., eleven different diphthongs. A further two sequences of different vowels are attested (/i/ + /e/ and /o/ + /u/), although these do not occur in the same syllable (cf. section 2.2.3., below). If we add to these 13 possibilities the five sequences of the same vowel referred to in (1), above, we have a total of 18 vowel sequences in Resigaro, of which 16 may occur in the same syllable. These co-occurrences are shown in the following matrix, in which bracketed values refer to the two sequences which are not attested in the same syllable.

$V_1 \backslash V_2$	i	e	a	o	u
i	+	(+)	-	+	+
e	+	+	-	-	+
a	+	+	+	-	+
o	+	+	-	+	(+)
u	+	-	+	-	+

Table No. 2.3. Attested Vowel Sequences.

This table shows that three vowels (/i/, /e/ and /o/) do not occur before /a/, and three (/e/, /a/ and /u/) do not occur before /o/. Further, /u/ does not occur before /e/. There

would appear to be no significant pattern in these non-occurrences, except that high vowels /i/, /u/ are not followed by mid vowels /e/, /o/ (except for /io/, and mid vowels are not followed by the low vowel /a/.³

2.2.2.1. Syllable type ii, sub-type i: /V₁V₂/.

- a) When V₁ is the same as V₂: all five vowel sequences described in paragraph (1) of the preceding section may occur in this sub-type.
- b) When V₁ is not the same as V₂: the only diphthong attested in this sub-type is /ai/, which occurs in two words (cf. Table 2.5., below).

2.2.2.2. Syllable type ii, sub-type ii: /CV₁V₂/.

- a) When V₁ is the same as V₂: all five vowel sequences described in paragraph (1), above, may occur in this sub-type. Also, all consonants are attested for initial position, except /b/, /č/ and /ã/ (cf. discussion of Table 2.2., above).
- b) When V₁ is not the same as V₂: of the eleven diphthongs attested, nine occur in this sub-type. Since there are so few words containing diphthongs in Resfigaro, there are consequently few consonants attested for initial position before

³All other two-place combinations of high, mid and low vowels do occur (with a few exceptions):-

high + high: ii, iu, ui, uu
 high + low: ua (but *ia)
 mid + mid: ee, oo, oe (but *eo)
 mid + high: ei, eu, oi (but ou not in same syllable)
 low + low: aa
 low + mid: ae (but *ao)
 low + high: ai, au

then, though examples are to be found of plosives, affricates, fricatives and nasals, and of voiced, voiceless, and voiceless aspirated consonants, though not all the combinatory possibilities are attested.

2.2.2.3. Syllable type ii, sub-type iii: /V₁V₂C/.

a) When V₁ is the same as V₂: vowel sequences /ii/, /ee/ and /aa/ occur in this sub-type. Only /?/ occurs syllable-finally in Resígaro, as stated above.

b) When V₁ is not the same as V₂: no diphthongs are attested in this sub-type in Resígaro. This demonstrates the relative infrequency of occurrence of this syllable-type, and the relative infrequency of occurrence of diphthongs.

2.2.2.4. Syllable type ii, sub-type iv: /CV₁V₂C/.

a) When V₁ is the same as V₂: all five vowel sequences may occur in this sub-type. The following eleven consonants are not attested for the Onset position: /b/, /dy/, /kh/, /?/, /th/, /dz/, /čh/, /ǰ/, /f/, /ž/ and /m/. This apparently haphazard selection of consonants represents no systematic pattern, and would appear to be merely a reflection on the lower frequency of occurrence of syllable type ii, sub-type iv, as compared with syllable type ii, sub-type ii. /b/ is the only consonant which occurs in neither syllable type, but then it is a consonant of very infrequent occurrence.

As stated above, Coda position can be filled only by /?/.

b) When V₁ is not the same as V₂: of the eleven diphthongs

attested in Resigaro, five occur in this sub-type. These include the two (/ae/ and /oe/) which do not occur in syllable type ii, sub-type ii. Again, very few consonants are attested in the Onset position, owing to the combination of the infrequency of occurrence of this syllable type and the infrequent occurrence of diphthongs. Up to the present time, only /k/, /f/, /s/ and /n/ have been observed in this position before diphthongs. As always, only /ʔ/ can occur in the Coda position.

Examples of Syllable type ii, Sub-types i-iv.

Sub- types Nucleus	Sub-type i: /VV/	Sub-type ii: /CVV/	Sub-type iii: /VVC/	Sub-type iv: /CVVC/
ii	<u>fi.ní</u> "dog"	<u>fi.gí</u> "husband"	<u>ii?.ñé</u> "possession"	<u>pii?.šá.kó</u> "your intestines"
ee	<u>eé.nó</u> "thunder"	<u>jeé.ví</u> "wolf"	<u>ee?.phi.khú</u> "to fish with hook & line"	<u>pee?.phi.gú</u> "your fishing hook"
aa	<u>áá.me</u> "mother"	<u>kaá.dó</u> "roof"	<u>aa?.pe</u> "father"	<u>haa?.ní</u> "to bury"
oo	<u>oo</u> "already"	<u>póo.tsí.gú</u> "frog"	-----	<u>ha?.moo?</u> "to be hot"
uu	<u>sá.uu.ʔ⁴</u> "one (rope)"	<u>šuu.khú</u> "to prevent"	-----	<u>a.ne.púʔ</u> "many"

Table No. 2.4. Syllables Containing Sequences
of Like Vowels.

[See page 85 for syllables containing diphthongs.]

⁴cf. 2.2.3., below, on rules of syllable division.

Sub-type Nucleus	i: /VV/	ii: /CVV/	iii: /VVC/ ¹	iv: /CVVC/
i + o	----	<u>vi</u> .khú "to mix (e.g. food)"	----	<u>fio</u> ?.khú "to whistle"
+ u	----	<u>aa</u> .tshíu "chili"	----	----
e + i	----	<u>tsei</u> .nó? "long"	----	----
+ u	----	<u>kaa</u> . <u>déu</u> .na "to froth (a river)"	----	<u>seu</u> ?.khú "to cut"
a + i	<u>ai</u> .já.nó? "near" ²	<u>nai</u> .koo.gí.gí "herbal healer"	----	----
+ e	----	----	----	<u>kóo</u> .nae? "what will it be?"
+ u	----	<u>boo</u> . <u>jáú</u> "anklebone"	----	----
o + i	----	<u>noi</u> .khú "to rub, polish"	----	<u>moi</u> ?.khú "to stir"
+ e	----	----	----	<u>soe</u> ?.khú "to scratch"
u + i	----	<u>háa</u> .ku.dái "(a species of bird)" ³	----	----
+ a	----	<u>tua</u> .jú "to jump"	----	----

Table No. 2.5. Syllables Containing Diphthongs.

1. No diphthongs are attested in this sub-type. The column is retained in the table to emphasize this fact.
2. The only other diphthong in this sub-type is ai.tsa.bó?, an introducer for reported speech.
3. Sp.: montete

2.2.3. Rules of Syllable Division.

The example *sá.uu.ʔó* "one (rope)" in Table 2.4. raises the question as to how the first syllable division was arrived at. The following rules permit an unequivocal determination of the position of syllable boundaries in otherwise doubtful cases.

2.2.3.1. Rule 1.

This rule recognizes the basic syllable pattern of Resigaro as being CV. Closed syllables and syllables consisting only of a vowel or vowels are less frequent in a dictionary count. Only /ʔ/ can close a syllable, but it can also occur syllable-initially. Thus, given a sequence

CVʔV

(where, in this case, C = any consonant other than /ʔ/), the syllable boundary occurs before the /ʔ/:

CV.ʔV ,

just as would be the case with a non-suspicious sequence

CVCV

(again, where C = any consonant other than /ʔ/). In other words, /ʔ/ is only assigned to syllable-final position if it is followed by zero (a word-boundary), or by another consonant.

In consequence, a closed syllable cannot be followed within the same word by a syllable with an initial vowel, since in such a case the syllable boundary occurs before the /ʔ/, which is assigned to the following syllable.

i.e. (+C+V+V+?) + (+V+V+C) \implies +C+V+V.+?+V+V+C

The placing of a syllable boundary in a sequence

+C+V+V+V+C

is dependent on the following rules:-

2.2.3.2. Rule 2.

In any sequence of two vowels, if the vowels are identical, they belong to the same syllable.

e.g. naa.pí "night"
nāa.pí "underneath"
naā.pú "spotted cavy"

2.2.3.3. Rule 3.

In any sequence of two vowels, if the vowels are not identical, the sequence represents one syllable (a diphthong) or two syllables, in accordance with the following rules (which are based on perceived acoustic impressions):

3a. If both vowels have the same tone, or the sequence is of a high followed by a low, they represent one etic (and emic) syllable.

e.g. noi.khá "to rub, polish"
 boo.jáu "anklebone"
 aa.tshíu "chili"

3b. If the tone of the first vowel is low and that of the

second vowel is high, the sequence represents two etic (and emic) syllables.

e.g. tɛ.tyo.i "island"

paa.ga.ŋ "spider"

vɛ.ni.ŋ "our eye"⁵

Note also the sequences /i/ + /e/ and /o/ + /u/, which have only been attested as members of two contiguous syllables:-

he.?o.pi.ɛ? "before, previous"

no.vá.fo.ŋ "my heart"

It is important to note that rule 3 is based on an observation of the etic syllables in the language, and does not result in the establishment of an artificial emic syllable of different extension than the observed etic syllable. (i.e., the "rules" are descriptive of what does happen, not prescriptive (with a view to establishing a certain interpretation).)⁶

Words of the type exemplified under Rule 2 and Rule 3a, above, contain vowel clusters. i.e., a vowel cluster is defined as a sequence of vowels occurring in the same syllable. Words

⁵Note Wavrin's transcription of "lake" (p.215) and "our eye" (p.217): "lake" (hí.ne.ŋ) : (h)ɛ(ü)nēhɔ̃
"our eye" (vɛ.ni.ŋ) : wa-tñihɔ̃ (sic - t is error by Wavrin) Both cases clearly indicate that he perceived three syllables in each word.

⁶This effect of a high tone on syllable boundaries may be explicable on phonetic and physiological grounds, in that high tone is generally produced more energetically than low tone. i.e., stress and high tone co-occur, the former being one of the aspects of the manifestation of the latter (though not a very pronounced aspect). Thus, when a high tone is produced after a low tone, it is inevitable that an extra "pulse" be realized and observed.

of the type exemplified under Rule 3b, above, contain vowel sequences which are not clusters, since they occur in different syllables.

2.2.3.4. Rule 4.

In any sequence of three vowels, two contiguous vowels must be identical and the remaining vowel must be different.⁷ The syllable boundary occurs between the two like vowels and the different vowel.

e.g. aa.i "yes"

hi.po.aa.uu.?6 "rope, string"

2.2.3.5. Rule 5.

This rule handles an exception to Rule 4, namely

hiif?o "this (horn)"

This Rule has two parts:

5a. No syllable nucleus is longer than two vowels long. (This restriction is based on observed phonetic form, not on theoretical considerations.)

5b. A sequence of two like vowels with the same tone has priority over a sequence of two like vowels with different tone, in determining syllable boundaries. (The comment in the previous paragraph applies equally here, too.)

Thus, this word has three (emic and etic) syllables:-

⁷Two exceptions to this rule are discussed under Rule 5.

hi.fi.ʔo⁸

2.3. Distribution.

The syllable is distributed in the phonological word. This is not analyzed in the present description, and in consequence, details of distribution cannot be given. However, possible sequences of two syllables in phonological words of two or more syllables are described.

2.3.1. Permitted Sequences of Syllables.

Given eight types of syllable, any sequence of two syllables theoretically yields 64 possible combinations. Of these, 16 are excluded by the first of the rules of syllable division (cf. 2.2.3.1., above).

Of the 48 remaining possible combinations of syllable types, a further 15 are not attested (cf. Table 2.6., below).

Four of these (matrix cells 20, 24, 56 and 64) may be accounted for by pointing out that a sequence of two closed syllables is extremely rare (especially a sequence in which one

⁸There is one exception to Rule 4 that is not covered by Rule 5, and this is the word hiuuu "pigeon, dove", in which all the vowels after the first syllable have the same tone and are etically one syllable. However, my informant recognized this as an unusual word (by laughing when I asked him to say it). It is clearly of onomatopoeic origin, and is thus defined as being not necessarily subject to the rules of syllable structure, the same as certain imitative sounds which do not, however, have the status of words, and which have been heard in some texts, particularly in traditional fiesta songs.

of the syllables has the structure CVVC).

Empty cells 3, 5 and 7 ($V + (V\underline{+}V\underline{+}C)$) reflect the fact that syllable type i, sub-type i (V) only occurs initially, when (with only one exception) it is followed by a consonant-initial syllable, or finally (as in 2.2.3.3.b, above).

Empty cell 35 (VV + VC) likewise reflects the fact that syllable type ii, sub-type i (VV) occurs only word-initially, or medially, before a consonant-initial syllable (with one exception, indicated in cell 33).

No sequences of four vowels have been attested in Resigar⁹, which accounts for empty cells 37, 39, 45 and 47 ((C)VV + VV(C)).

Syllable type ii, sub-type iii (VVC) only occurs word-initially, which accounts for empty cell 15, as well as cells 7, 39, and 47 (whose non-occurrence has also been explained on other grounds).

Empty cell 43 (CVV + VC) is apparently a reflection on the infrequent occurrence of syllable type i, sub-type iii (VC) in positions other than word-initial, and empty cell 40 a reflect-

⁹Such sequences are attested in Bora, where they consist of two sequences of two like vowels. cf. Thiesen, MS, Phonemes of Bora. Long vowel sequences are a characteristic of more distantly-related Huitoto Muinane. cf. Minor, 1956.

ion on the infrequent occurrence of syllable type ii, sub-type iv (CVVC).

A matrix showing the possible sequences of syllable types between any two syllables is now presented. This is followed by a list giving examples of each cell showing a positive value.

2nd 1st	V	CV	VC	CVC	VV	CVV	VVC	CVVC
V	1 +	2 +	3 -	4 +	5 -	6 +	7 -	8 +
CV	9 +	10 +	11 +	12 +	13 +	14 +	15 -	16 +
VC	17 x	18 +	19 x	20 -	21 x	22 +	23 x	24 -
CVC	25 x	26 +	27 x	28 +	29 x	30 +	31 x	32 +
VV	33 +	34 +	35 -	36 +	37 -	38 +	39 -	40 -
CVV	41 +	42 +	43 -	44 +	45 -	46 +	47 -	48 +
VVC	49 x	50 +	51 x	52 +	53 x	54 +	55 x	56 -
CVVC	57 x	58 +	59 x	60 +	61 x	62 +	63 x	64 -

Table 2.6. Attested Sequences of Syllable Types

Key:- + = "realized" - = "unrealized" x = "not possible"

Numbers refer to examples below.

1. a.i "that one"
2. á.ni "saliva"
3. --
4. á.no?.tú "to cause a tree to fall"
5. --
6. a.váa.na.i "stick"

7. --
8. a.ɰii? "to be healthy"
9. té.tyo.i "island"
10. no.né "my tooth"
11. he.ʔo.pi.ǝ? "before"
12. i.po.gí? "green"
13. e.píi.pí.uu.ʔǝ "liana
cord"
14. ka.níi.de.ǝ "sweet po-
tato"
15. --
16. a.nǝ.píú? "many"
17. x
18. a.ǝ.nǝ.pú "to warm
oneself"
19. x
20. --
21. x
22. a.ǝ.nǝ.pi "arm"
23. x
24. --
25. x
26. i.dé.ǝ.vǝ "thus"
27. x
28. i.nǝ.ǝ.kǝ? "lazy"
29. x
30. thǝ.ǝ.khoǝ.tsiǝ "postle"
31. x
32. ha.moo? "to be hot"
33. aa.i "yes"
34. aa.me "mother"
35. --
36. (tsǝ) íi.té.ǝ.pe.gi.khǝ "he
helped (him)"
37. --
38. ii.víi "horn"
39. --
40. --
41. tya.ǝ.díi.o "grandfather"
42. a.nǝa.dǝ "macaw"
43. --
44. tsei.nǝ? "long"
45. --
46. hee.nǝa.gí "paternal uncle"
47. --
48. i.nǝa.ví.ǝ.ǝa.ǝ.ǝe? "to get
better, to recover"
49. x
50. aa.ǝ.pe "father"
51. x
52. ee.ǝ.phí.ǝ.pe.gi.khǝ "he fished"
53. x
54. ii.ǝ.ǝá "belly"
55. x
56. --
57. x
58. kíǝ.ǝ.kho.thǝǝ "limit"
59. x

60. (tsá) na.to.váá?.gi?.pe 62. haa?.phaa.vá "to comb oneself"
 "they got (it)" 63. x
 61. x 64. --

2.3.2. Consonant Clusters.

If we apply to consonants the definition of "cluster" given for vowels (cf. 2.2.3.3., above), the following definition of a consonant cluster results:

A consonant cluster is defined as a sequence of consonants occurring contiguously in the same syllable.

It follows from this definition and the description of syllable types given above that there are no consonant clusters in Resígaro. However, there are consonant sequences, which occur over a boundary between two syllables. Since /ʔ/ is the only consonant that can close a syllable, the only sequences are of this phoneme followed by any other consonant except itself and /ph/ /th/, /čh/, /č/ and /ã/. The non-occurrence of these latter five consonants would appear to be non-significant, and they might be expected to occur if the corpus were further expanded.

2.3.3. Higher-level Sequences.

Two other fundamental and recurring changes involving sequences of units higher up the phonological hierarchy must be referred to, since they affect the phonological form of structures in Resígaro. Both may be viewed as consequent on the concatenation of phonological words.

2.3.3.1. /u/ > /a/.

A word-final /u/ always becomes /a/ before another word in the

same utterance (a phonological phrase).

e.g. tsodá?pá gi-neó
 she-sings him-with "She sings with him"

(But final /u/ does not usually change before a suffix.)

2.3.3.2. /?/ .

When a word with a final vowel is followed by a word with an initial vowel in the same utterance, a glottal stop is interposed. Since this may be considered as a feature of juncture belonging to neither of the words in question, and since this rule is absolutely regular, with no exceptions, the glottal is not indicated in examples from the language in this thesis (except when they are written in phonetic, not phonemic, script).

e.g. /nó a?mitá/ is [nó + ? + a?mitá] "I eat"
 I eat

PART II:

GRAMMATICAL

HIERARCHY

Chapter 1

ROOT LEVEL

The root is set up as the lowest level of the grammatical hierarchy. Roots are divided into classes on the basis of their distribution in stems of different classes. Thus, verb roots are typically distributed in verb stems, noun roots in noun stems, etc. Sub-classes of each major class are set up on the basis of distribution within types of, normally, the next level in the same class. Thus, verb root sub-class 1 is distributed in verb stem type i, etc. (The concept of the relation between sub-classes at one level and types at the next level up is discussed in detail in section 0.4.2.1. of the Introduction, above.)

1.1. Verb Root.

1.1.1. Contrast.

Verb roots (VbRt) have the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) They have no internal grammatical structure.
- ii) They fill the Base slot in verb stems.

1.1.2. Variation.

Verb roots consist of a single morpheme.

e.g. i?pi "to go"

a?mitú "to eat"

khú "to do"

ifú "to fear"

mi?tsu "to boil" (intransitive)

1.1.3. Distribution.

The members of the class of verb roots are distributed in the Base slot in the verb stem. Sub-classes of verb roots are set up on the basis of distribution in different types of verb stem.

1.1.3.1. Sub-class 1.

These verb roots occur only in verb stem type i, "Simple".

e.g. a?mitá "to eat"

1.1.3.2. Sub-class 2.

These verb roots occur in verb stem type i, "Simple", and type ii, "Complex".

e.g. apó "to be awake"

ifú "to fear"

ínú "to sleep"

1.1.3.3. Sub-class 3.

These verb roots occur in verb stem type ii only.

e.g. tsa?vu- root of tsa?vootá "to make safe a firearm"

hetsanu- " " hetsanotá "to ask a question"

1.2. Noun Root.

1.2.1. Contrast.

Noun roots (NnRt) have the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) They have no internal grammatical structure.

ii) They fill the Base slot in noun stems.

1.2.2. Variation.

Noun roots consist of a single morpheme.

e.g. -k¹ "hand"

va?a-² "machete" (root)

naápu "bees"

atsáa "men"

1.2.3. Distribution.

The members of the class of noun roots are distributed in the Base slot in the noun stem. Since all members share the same distributional possibilities, no sub-classes are set up.

1.3. Pronoun Root.

1.3.1. Contrast.

Pronoun roots (PnRt) have the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) They have no internal structure.
- ii) They fill the Base slot in pronoun stems.

¹A hyphen precedes -k¹, "hand", since, in common with all body parts, and certain other words, it must be possessed. All words of this type are indicated by a preceding hyphen in the lexicon. The form that this possession takes is indicated at Phrase level -- cf. 6.1.2.2., below.

²A hyphen follows va?a-, "machete" (root), since, in common with a large number of other noun roots in Resigare, it must bear a classifier suffix. All roots of this type are indicated by a following hyphen, and are described at Word level -- cf. 3.2.2., below.

1.3.2. Variation.

There are eight pronoun roots, each of which consists of a single morpheme:-

nó	First person singular		
phú	Second	"	"
tsú	Third	"	" -- masculine
tsó	"	"	" -- feminine
fú	First person non-singular	--	inclusive
muu-	"	"	" -- exclusive
hú)	Second	"	"
i-)			
nú	Third	"	"

For the second person non-singular, i- is used in the imperative, and hú is used elsewhere.

1.3.3. Distribution.

The members of the class of pronoun roots are distributed in the Base slot in the pronoun stem. Sub-classes of pronoun roots are set up on the basis of distribution in different types of pronoun stem:-

1.3.3.1. Sub-class 1.

This consists of the following pronoun roots, which are distributed in pronoun stem type i:

nó	1st p. sg.	fú	1st p. non-sg., incl.
phú	2nd p. sg.	i-	2nd p. non-sg., imptv.
tsú	3rd p. sg., m.	nú	3rd p. non-sg.
tsó	3rd p. sg., f.		

1.3.3.2. Sub-class 2.

This consists of the following pronoun roots, which are distributed in pronoun stem type ii:

tsá ³	3rd p. sg., m.	muu-	1st p. non-sg., excl.
tsó	3rd p. sg., f.	hú	2nd p. non-sg.
fá	1st p. non-sg., incl.	nú	3rd p. non-sg.

1.3.3.3. Sub-class 3.

This consists of the following pronoun roots, which are distributed in pronoun stem type iii:

fá	1st p. non-sg., incl.	nú	3rd p. non-sg.
hú	2nd p. non-sg.		

1.4. Adjective Root.1.4.1. Contrast.

Adjective roots (AjRt) have the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) They have no internal grammatical structure.
- ii) They fill the Base slot in adjective stems.

1.4.2. Variation.

Adjective roots consist of a single morpheme.

³The membership of these sub-classes is not exclusive; some pronoun roots occur in more than one sub-class. If mutually-exclusive sub-classes were set up, five sub-classes would be required:
 Sub-cl 1: nú, phú, i- in PnSt i
 Sub-cl 2: muu- in PnSt ii
 Sub-cl 3: tsá, tsó in PnSt i and ii
 Sub-cl 4: hú in PnSt ii and iii
 Sub-cl 5: fá, nú in PnSt i, ii and iii

This procedure is not adopted here, since it adds to complexity without revealing anything of structural importance.

e.g. amii- "healthy"
 ño?hu- "soft"
 ooja- "small"

1.4.3. Distribution.

The members of the class of adjective roots are distributed in the Base slot in the adjective stem and in the Base slot in noun stem type ii, sub-types ii and iii. Since all members share the same distributional possibilities, no sub-classes are set up.

1.5. Adverb Root.

1.5.1. Contrast.

Adverb roots (AdvRt) have the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) They have no internal grammatical structure.
- ii) They level-skip, filling the Base slot in adverb words.

1.5.2. Variation.

Adverb roots consist of a single morpheme.

e.g. kapi- "quickly"
 kence?ja- "slowly"

1.5.3. Distribution.

The members of the class of adverb roots level-skip, being distributed in the Base slot in the adverb word. Since all members share the same distributional possibilities, no sub-classes are set up.

1.6. Demonstrative Root.1.6.1. Contrast.

Demonstrative roots (DemRt) have the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) They have no internal grammatical structure.
- ii) They level-skip, filling the Base slot in demonstrative words.

1.6.2. Variation.

There are two demonstrative roots, each of which consists of a single morpheme.

hí- "this"

hé?o- "that"

1.6.3. Distribution.

The members of the class of demonstrative roots level-skip, being distributed in the Base slot in the demonstrative word. Since both members share the same distributional possibilities, no sub-classes are set up.

1.7. Numeral Root.1.7.1. Contrast.

Numeral roots (NumRt) have the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) They have no internal grammatical structure.
- ii) They level-skip, filling the Base slot in numeral words.⁴

⁴In following a purely structural approach in the presentation

1.7.2. Variation.

There are two numeral roots, each of which consists of a single morpheme:-

sa- "one"

ni- "two"

1.7.3. Distribution.

The members of the class of numeral roots level-skip, being distributed in the Base slot in the numeral word. Since both members share the same distributional possibilities, no sub-classes are set up.

of this data, the numerals (as all other entities) are described a step at a time, progressing from one level to the next. Should it be desired to see all the numerals at a glance (for comparative purposes, etc.), these will be found in the appendices. Numerals 1-10 are listed in numerical order in Appendix II (entries 180-189), and may also be found (along with all other numerals) listed in alphabetical order for Resigaro and Spanish in Appendix I.

Chapter 2

STEM LEVEL

The stem is set up as a level of construction above the root and below the word. Stems are divided into classes on the basis of their distribution in word classes. Thus, verb stems are typically distributed in verb words, noun stems in noun words, etc. Types are set up within each class, on the basis of internal structure. Sub-classes of each major class are set up on the basis of distribution within types of, normally, word level classes.

2.1. Verb Stem.

2.1.1. Contrast.

Verb stems (VbSt) have the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) Their Base is typically filled by a verb root.
- ii) Complex verb stems are formed by verbal derivators.

2.1.2. Variation.

Verb stems are grouped into types on the basis of internal structure.

2.1.2.1. Verb Stem Type i, "Simple".

$VbSt_i = + B:VbRt_{1/2}$

e.g. a?mitá "to eat"

ifú "to fear"

ímú "to sleep"

2.1.2.2. Verb Stem Type ii, "Complex".¹

VbSt_{ii} = + B: VbRt_{2/3} + derivator: estv/incho/rest

There are three sub-types of verb stem type ii.

2.1.2.2.1. Sub-type i, Causative.

The derivator is added in accordance with the following rule:-

...CV(V) > ...Cò(ò) + -tú²

Many complex verb stems are derived from verb roots by this derivator, and the effect is to change an intransitive into a transitive.

e.g. ifú "to fear" > ifotú "to frighten"

apó "to be awake" > aphotú "to awaken (s.o.)"

This example illustrates the occasional increase in voicing lag that occurs when the causative is added to some verb roots or stems. (cf. 3.3.2.1.1., below, especially fn 6[†])

ha?pu "to cross (a river)" > ha?potú "to save (from
danger)"

i?tu "to fast" > i?totú "to wean (s.o.)"

mi?tsu "to boil (intrans)" > mi?tsotú "to boil (sthg)"

a?mu "to burn oneself (accidentally)" > a?motu "to
burn (sthg)"

¹The small amount of derivation at verb stem level is a consequence of the large-scale derivation at Group level (cf. Chapter 4, below). As explained there, this derivation cannot be handled at Word level or lower, due to the lack of internal cohesion of the resultant units.

²Here, absence of a tone mark indicates that tone may be high or low, ` indicates that it is (or becomes) low, and ' indicates that it is high.

2.1.2.2.2. Sub-type ii, Inchoative.

The derivator is added in accordance with the following rule:-

...CV(V) > ...CṼ(V̄) + -kaá

Verb stems using this derivator are nowhere near as numerous as those using the causative derivator.

e.g. ifú "to fear" > ifakaá "to become frightened,
to repent"

apó "to be awake" > apokaá "to wake up (intrans)"

íná "to sleep" > ínakaá "to go to sleep"

In a few cases, -kaá varies freely with :-ká on a verb root.

e.g. ínakaá ~ ínaaká "to go to sleep"

2.1.2.2.3. Sub-type iii, Restrictive.

This derivator is added in accordance with the following rule:-

...CV(V) > ...CṼ(V̄) + -ná

A few verb stems use this derivator (but cf. 2.1.2.2.4., below).

e.g. a?vénaó "to burn a field" > a?vénoaná "to burn super-
ficially"

(?)vamo "to enter (a house)" > (?)vanoná "to visit"

In both these cases, the root n is voiced before suffixation, though postulated examples in section 2.1.2.2.4. indicate that other final-syllable consonants in the root are not voiced.

2.1.2.2.4. "Fossilized" Derivations.

There are some apparently complex verb stems containing verb roots which are no longer used except with one of the derivators. There is obviously a danger of identifying as a derivator occurrences of -tú, -kaá or -ná which are no more than the final syllable of a simple stem consisting of a verb root

only -- a single morpheme. The following are some of the verb stems which may be analyzable as verb root + derivator.

Possibly containing causative derivator:-

tsootá "to annoy"

Possibly containing restrictive derivator:-

a?naná "to squeeze out"

i?kaná "to vomit"

i?toná "to be standing up"

hekoná "to harvest yucca"

kapaná "to throw, to cast"

o?doná "to fish with barbasco poison"

Reduplicated Roots.

Another type of verb stem which might be claimed to be complex is that containing a reduplicated verb root. However, this is no longer productive at this level,³ and the postulated root is not evidenced in a non-reduplicated form. So such rare cases as are observed are interpreted as simple verb roots. e.g. dš?edš?š "to nod one's head (when sleepy)"

2.1.3. Distribution.

The members of the class of verb stems are distributed in the Base slot in the verb word. Since all members share the same

³In some cases, the Basic or other constituent of the peripheral slot in the complex verb group, or in the case of a simple verb group, the entire verb group, is repeated to emphasize the gradual nature of an action, but this is in the first case at another level, and secondly is not reduplication in the strict (i.e., morphological) sense of the word. cf. 4.1.2.3., below.

distributional possibilities, no sub-classes are set up.

2.2. Noun Stem.

2.2.1. Contrast.

Noun stems (NnSt) have the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) Their Base slot is typically filled by a noun root.
- ii) Complex noun stems are formed from members of other classes by nominal derivators.

2.2.2. Variation.

Noun stems are grouped into types on the basis of internal structure.

2.2.2.1. Noun Stem Type i, "Simple".

$NnSt_i = + B:NnRt$

e.g. -henákó "ear"

 aaoógi "tapir"

 offinú "yarns"

2.2.2.2. Noun Stem Type ii, "Complex".

Complex noun stems consist of a Verb Group, a component of a Verb Group, an adjective, or a relator, plus a nominalizer.

Three sub-types are established.

2.2.2.2.1. Sub-type i, "Concrete Nominalization".

$NnSt_{ii.i} = + B:VG + Nl_zr_i: -!tsí$

This type of nominalization forms nouns that refer primarily

to concrete objects.

All types and sub-types of Verb Group may occur.

The derivatory rules are the following:-

i) A final-syllable voiceless stop becomes aspirated, and a voiced nasal becomes voiceless.⁴

ii) Final i, e and o do not change. Final u becomes o.

iii) -ʔtsɪ is added to the resultant form.

e.g.

1) Illustrating i) and iii), above:

hipú "to wash"	>	hiphoótsigú "soap"
tsa?tú "to carry a weight"	>	tsa?thoótsɪ "a weight"
pi?ko "to throw away"	>	pi?kxoótsigɪ "one who throws away"
va?nú "to command"	>	va?noótsihú "law"

2) Illustrating ii) and iii), above:

(?)neɪ "to play"	>	ne?niɪtsɪ "a toy"
kone "to sell"	>	koneótsɪ "merchandise"
inó "to harpoon, spear"	>	noótsigú ⁶ "a lance, an arrow"
a?mitú "to eat"	>	a?mithoótsɪ "food, a meal"

In all the above examples, the filler of the Base slot has been a Type i Verb Group. There follow examples of Type

⁴This demonstrates the operation of the movement of Voice Onset Timing in the opposite direction to that described in section 3.3.2.1., below. i.e., increasing the lag in this case.

⁵There is no final a, except where this is derived morphophonemically from u.

⁶The initial i is deleted here, and also in inú "to sleep" > noótsihú "a bed", but is retained in the following two cases (apparently because of the following glottal):

i?dú "to drink"	>	i?doótsipɪ "a drink"
i?tshá(ká) "to sit down"	>	i?tshoótsigú "a seat, a bench"

ii (sub-types i and ii) Verb Groups in the Base slot:

VG_{ii.i}:

tho? khú "to grind" > tho?khoótsí "a pestle"

VG_{ii.ii}:

hooní i?votú "to freeze" > hooní?i?vothoótsí⁷ "ice"

When a type ii sub-type i noun is possessed (cf. 6.1.2.2., below), -:tsí > -:fnú.

e.g. fio?khoótsí "a whistle" > nofio?khoónú "my whistle"

(referring in both cases to the concrete object (Sp. silbato)).

2.2.2.2.2. Sub-type ii, "Abstract Nominalization".

NnSt_{ii.ii} = +B:VG_{i/ii.i}/AjRt +NlZr_{ii}: (:?ká ~) (-tsí ~)
(-káa) (-mí)

This type of nominalization forms nouns that refer primarily to events or qualities.

The derivatory rules are the following:-

- i) B:VG_i/AjRt : NlZr_{ii}: :?ká-tsí
- ii) B:VG_{ii.i} : NlZr_{ii}: -káa -tsí/mí

-tsí/mí indicates that the two forms vary freely here.

e.g. 1) With Base filled by VG_i.

ímú "to sleep" > ímaakátsí "sleepiness"

emú "to bite" > emmaakátsí "a bite"

⁷When a word ending in a vowel is followed by one beginning with a vowel, the juncture feature glottal stop occurs (cf. I.2.3.3.2., above). The nominalization is viewed as operating on the whole VG to produce what is grammatically one noun stem (even if it may be possible to view this as not being a single phonemic unit). It is therefore convenient to write this without a break, and hence it becomes necessary to indicate the glottal stop.

2) With Base filled by Adjective Root.

ka?mu- "fermented" > ka?maakátsi "something fermented"

ke?pi- "satisfied" > ke?piikátsi "satisfaction"

3) With Base filled by VG_{ii.i}fio? khú "to whistle" > fio?khákáatsi "a whistle" (the
fio?khákáamí) noise -- Sp. sil-
bido)šoóné jǔ "to tell lies" > šoónéjǎkáatsi "a lie" (the act-
šoónéjǎkáamí) ion of telling a
lie⁸)2.2.2.2.3. Sub-type iii, "Agent Nominalization".NnSt_{ii.iii} = +B:AjRt/bas/reIrr + NlZr_{iii}: -mináagi"bas" is the basic filler of the peripheral slot in VG_{ii.i}.

"reIrr" is the relator in the Axis-Relator Locative Phrase,

sub-type iii: -a?ná, "beside" (cf. 6.2.10.2.2.iii, below).This type of nominalization forms nouns that express a character-
istic attribute of a person.e.g. 1) With Base filled by Adjective Root.fnó "lazy" > fnómináagi⁹ "a lazy person"2) With Base filled by basic filler of VG periphery.

haámǎ khú "to steal" > haámámináagi "a thief"

3) With Base filled by relator.

-a?ná "beside" > a?námináagi "servant"

⁸ Contrast with the noun šoóhǎ "a lie" (the false word itself --
cf. -hǎ in description of classifiers, in 3.2.2.2.1., below).⁹ This case demonstrates an increase in voicing lag for the nasal
in the root, as for sub-type i, above, though the same does not
happen with the n in the next example, nor with the n in the
following one.

2.2.2.2.4. Postulated Reduplicated Forms.

It may appear that there is another sub-type of complex noun stem, in which there is reduplication. However, such forms would have to be derived from a hypothetical base form, since the reduplicated forms are not reducible to non-reduplicated elements occurring elsewhere. Furthermore, the reduplication observed in nouns is highly irregular, and, most important, is no longer productive. Thus, these apparently reduplicated forms are viewed as simple, non-reduplicated stems. Some examples are:-

té?etǫbú "mushroom"

todetǫodé "(a type of dance)"

thiithí?ǫ "(a species of monkey)" (Sp.: sumileoncito)

tyǫ?otyǫbú "butterfly"

tshé?tshépi "(a species of bird)"

tshii?tshí?ǫ "cricket"

2.2.3. Distribution.

The members of the class of noun stems are distributed in the Base slot in the noun word, in numeral word type ii, and in adjective stem type iii. Sub-classes of noun stems are set up on the basis of this distribution.

2.2.3.1. Sub-class 1.

These noun stems occur in noun word type i, "simple". They are further sub-divided according to their occurrence in sub-types of this type:-

Sub-class 1.1. This consists of noun stems that are basically plural.

e.g. maápu "bees"

hada?phoótsí "songs"

Sub-class 1.2. This consists of noun stems that refer to uncountables.

e.g. hooní "water"

pá "all"

2.2.3.2. Sub-class 2.

These noun stems occur in noun word type ii, "complex". They are further sub-divided according to their occurrence in subtypes of this type:-

Sub-class 2.1. This consists of noun stems referring to people.

e.g. ke?víikági "chieftain"

phaigi "old man"

Sub-class 2.2. This consists of noun stems referring to non-human animates.

e.g. maaná?o "iguana"

hivíigi "star" (sic)

oná?kó "snake"

Sub-class 2.3. This consists of noun stems referring to body parts.

e.g. -hitákó "nose"

-nigi "forehead"

Sub-class 2.4. This consists of all noun stems not yet accounted for.

e.g. va?a- "machete"

po?tsááwá "centre"

2.2.3.3. Sub-class 3.

This consists of two noun stems which, in addition to their distribution in the noun word, also occur in numeral word type ii:

po?tsááwá "centre"

pá¹⁰ "all"

2.2.3.4. Sub-class 4.

This consists of those noun stems which, in addition to their distribution in the noun word, also occur in adjective stem type iii.

e.g. eniitsí "bot-fly larva"

2.3. Pronoun Stem.

2.3.1. Contrast.

Pronoun stems (PnSt) have the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) Their Base slot is filled by a pronoun root.
- ii) Complex pronoun stems are formed by pronominal derivators.

¹⁰pá is clearly a noun stem in Rosigaro, even though the English gloss "all" is not. It may occur with various classifiers.

e.g. pá-kooní
all village "all the villages"

pá-pekó
all day "all the days"

pá-?osi-ku-ná
all hand dl rest "all two hands" (i.e., "both hands"

-- used to signify the number "ten")

2.3.2. Variation.

Three types of pronoun stem are set up on the basis of internal structure:-

PnSt_i = +B:PnRt₁

PnSt_{ii} = +B:PnRt₂ +Der: -?V + Specifier: -thó

PnSt_{iii} = +B:PnRt₃ +Der: -musi/-mupi

2.3.2.1. Pronoun Stem Type i, "Basic".

Type i pronoun stems consist of a pronoun root, sub-class 1, only:-

nó	First person singular		
phú	Second	"	"
tsú	Third	"	" -- masculine
tsó	"	"	" -- feminine
fú	First person non-singular, inclusive		
i	Second	"	" imperative
nú	Third	"	"

In all pronoun stems ending in u, this becomes a in all contexts except clause-finally (cf. I.2.3.3.1., above).

2.3.2.2. Pronoun Stem Type ii, "Deictic".

Type ii pronoun stems consist of a pronoun root, sub-class 2, + a derivator, + a specifier. They indicate deixis.

The pronoun root is assimilated to the derivator in accordance with the morphophonemic processes described at word level (3.3.2.1.), since it is at that level that such assimilation is

gi?ithé "that one" (m)
 do?othé "that one" (f)
 na?athé "they (distant)"

2.3.2.3. Pronoun Stem Type iii, "Dual".

Type iii pronoun stems consist of a pronoun root, sub-class 3,
 + one of the dual markers: -musi "masculine dual"
 -mupi "feminine dual"

The assimilated form of the pronoun root occurs, except (as
 in type ii, above) in the case of 1st person non-singular,
 inclusive, fa-.

famusi "we (incl) two" (m)	famupi "we (incl) two" (f)
hamusi "you two" (m)	hamupi "you two" (f)
namusi "they two" (m)	namupi "they two" (f)

2.3.3. Distribution.

The members of the class of pronoun stems are distributed in
 the Base slot in the pronoun word. Sub-classes of pronoun stem
 are set up on the basis of this distribution.

2.3.3.1. Sub-class 1.

This consists of all type i pronoun stems, which occur in pro-
 nounnoun word type i.

2.3.3.2. Sub-class 2.

This consists of all type ii and type iii pronoun stems, which
 occur in pronoun word type ii.

2.4. Adjective Stem.

2.4.1. Contrast.

Adjective Stems (AjSt) have the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) Their Base is typically filled by an adjective root.
- ii) Further types of adjective stem are derived from the basic form by morphophonemic processes principally involving addition and deletion of geminate vowels and glottal stops.

2.4.2. Variation.

Three¹² types of adjective stem are set up on the basis of internal structure.

AjSt _i	= + B:AjRt	"Basic"
AjSt _{ii}	= + B:AjRt + der _i	"Derived i"
AjSt _{iii}	= + B:AjRt/NnSt ₄ + der _{ii}	"Derived ii"

where der_i and der_{ii} stand for two different derivatory processes.

2.4.2.1. Adjective Stem Type i, "Basic".

Type i adjective stems consist of an adjective root only.

e.g. aaii- "healthy"

ha?mo?- "hot"

kaašo- "good"

¹²There is also evidence which suggests that some adjectives are derived from verbs, though this is rare and would appear to be no longer active. An example of such a fossilized form is predicative adjective ponuu? "to be embarrassed, shy" (glossed in Spanish by informant as dar vergüenza) and verb poni "to be ashamed, embarrassed" (glossed in Spanish as avergonzarse).

The resultant form attributes a quality to a noun.¹³

e.g. *aniigi atsađagi ...* "The healthy man ..."
healthy man

kaašogi jašná ... "The good child ..."
good child

oojagi anođgi ... "The small tapir..."
small tapir

(In each of these examples, the final syllable of the adjective is the classifier -- cf. 3.4.2.1., below.)

2.4.2.2. Adjective Stem Type ii: "Derived i".

Type ii adjective stems consist of an adjective root modified in accordance with the following morphophonemic rules:-

i) If not already long, the vowel of the final syllable is lengthened.

e.g. *ha?mo?-* "hot" > *ha?moo?* "(to be) hot"

ka?mu- "fermented" > *ka?muu?* "(to be) fermented"

This has the effect of shortening the length of any long vowel previously in any other syllable of the adjective root.¹⁴

e.g. *kaašo-* "good" > *kašoo?* "(to be) good"

ooja- "small" > *ojaa?* "(to be) small"

ii) A glottal stop is added finally, if one is not already present.

e.g. *anii-* "healthy" > *anii?* "(to be) healthy"

ño?hu- "soft" > *ño?huu?* "(to be) soft"

¹³This is related to distribution, and at word level, but examples are given at this stage, as the best way of indicating the semantic differences which form an inherent part of each type of adjective stem.

¹⁴This could also be described in terms of a shift of vowel length, though such an approach would not account for the lengthening of vowels in stems where the root contained no long (or geminate) vowels, hence the preference for viewing this as a two-stage process.

The resultant form predicates a state concerning the person/thing thus qualified.

e.g. *anii?* *tsú* "He is healthy"
 healthy he

kašoo? *tsó* "She is good"
 good she

2.4.2.3. Adjective Stem Type iii: "Derived ii".

Type iii adjective stems consist of an adjective root or a noun stem¹⁵ modified in accordance with the following morpho-phonemic rules¹⁶:-

i) Any long vowel in the filler of the Base slot is shortened.

e.g. *anii-* "healthy" > *ani* "(to become) healthy"
ooja- "small" > *oja* "(to become) small"
eniitsi "bot-fly larva" > *enitsi* "(to become) worm-infested"

ii) If the filler of the Base slot contains two glottals, the first of these is deleted:-

e.g. *ha?mo?-* "hot" > *hamo?* "(to become) hot"

(If the filler only contains one glottal, this is not deleted.)

¹⁵It would be possible to establish two sub-types here, but this is not done, since so few cases of adjective stems derived from noun stems are attested, and since the same morpho-phonemic rules apply as with adjective roots. Such a procedure would merely complicate the presentation. We thus follow Pike's criterion (cf. 1967:472) of requiring two structural differences before establishing different types. Derivation from adjective root and noun stem is shown in the following description.

¹⁶In some cases certain vowel changes also occur, but these changes are as yet unpredictable and analysis of them must await the obtaining of further data.

e.g. *phe?di?-* "fat" > *phede?* "(to become) fat"
ñe?ki?- "strong" > *ñeke?* "(to become) strong"

e.g. ka?mu "fermented" : ka?mu "(to become) fermented"
 ño?hu- "soft" : ño?hu "(to become) soft")

The resultant form predicates a process concerning the person/thing thus qualified.

e.g. aai tsú "He gets (becomes) healthy"
 healthy he

enitsi tsó "She gets worms" (i.e., "becomes infected
 gets-worms she with intestinal worms")

ka?ma tsú "It ferments"
 ferments it

2.4.3. Distribution.

The members of the class of adjective stems are distributed in the Base slot in the adjective word, in the Base slot in the adverb word, and in the Peripheral slot in the verb group.

Sub-classes of adjective stems are set up on the basis of this distribution.

2.4.3.1. Sub-class 1.

This consists of type i¹⁷ adjective stems, which occur in adjective word type i, "Attributive".

e.g. kaašo "good"
 aiǰǰǰǰ? "near"

2.4.3.2. Sub-class 2.

This consists of type ii adjective stems, which occur in adjective word type ii, "Predicative A", and in the adverb word.

¹⁷Types and sub-classes of adjective stem are almost completely co-extensive -- a consequence of the fact that the structural differences that lead to the establishment of different types bring about semantic changes which affect the distribution.

- e.g. ka?ruu? "(to be) fermented"
 ai'já:uu? "(to be) near"
 anepuu? "(to be) a lot"
 kašoo? "(to be) good"

2.4.2.3. Sub-class 3.

This consists of type iii adjective stems, which occur in adjective word type iii, "Predicative ii".

- e.g. kašó? "(to become) good"
 ai'jánú? "to draw near"

2.4.3.4. Sub-class 4.

This consists of adjective stems (of all three types) which, in addition to their distribution in types of the adjective word (indicated in sub-classes 1-3), also occur in the periphery slot in verb group type ii, sub-type i.

- e.g. ooja "small"
 aai "(to become) healthy"

(For further details, cf. verb group, section 4.1.2.2.1., below.)

Chapter 3

WORD LEVEL

The word is set up as a level of construction above the stem and below the phrase. Words are divided into classes on the basis of their distribution in phrase level tagmemes (except in the case of the verb word, which is distributed in the sub-level, Group). Types are set up within each class on the basis of internal structure. Sub-classes of word classes are set up on the basis of distribution in types of phrase (or the group, in the case of the verb) and, occasionally, in other structures.

3.1. Verb Word.

3.1.1. Contrast.

Verb words (Vb) have the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) Their Base is typically filled by a verb stem.
- ii) They co-occur with reflexive/reciprocal, causative/inchoative, directional, and progressive suffixes.
- iii) Their basic (i.e., declarative) form is subject to modification by the imperative mood.

3.1.2. Variation.

Formula:-

Vb = +px:Pn/priv +B:VbSt α +sx 1 α : reflex/recip +sx 2: cstv/
incho +sx 3: dir +sx 4: prog

The use of α in this formula obviates the need to establish two types of verb word, according to whether or not suffixes of order 1 may be added to the stem. Initially, it may appear that this is dependent on transitivity -- order 1 suffixes being applicable only to transitive verbs. However, they cannot be applied to all transitive verbs. (For instance, not at all with verbs such as i?kaaf "to vomit", hée?nú "to roast", and very improbable with such verbs as a?mitá "to eat".) Likewise, there are some intransitive verbs to which they are applied. (For instance, o?do "to work"¹, *ne?nitotu- stem of "to suffer"².)

Thus, the restriction of application of order 1 suffixes appears to be more a lexical (and in consequence, semantic) one than a structural one, and is therefore considered not adequate for the establishment of different types of verb word -- especially since all suffixes of orders 2-4 may be added in almost all cases (subject to restrictions indicated in the relevant sections, below).

Imperative is not indicated in the above formula, since it consists of both segmental and suprasegmental elements. The formula thus indicates the declarative form of the verb only.

¹In Resigaro this verb is clearly intransitive, though it may be made transitive by addition of the causative suffix. cf. 3.1.2.3., below.

²This verb is not attested without the reflexive suffix.

3.1.2.1. Prefixes.

Pronouns and the privative prefix are assimilated to the verb stem in accordance with the rules given in 3.3.2.1., below. There, three types of verb (and noun and relator) are set up on the basis of this assimilation. However, these are morphophonological, and not grammatical, types, and therefore are not relevant here.

e.g. Stem: hée?nú "to roast"

nóó?nú "I roast"

phée?nú "you roast" (singular)

máá?mákaá ...³ "without roasting ..."

Stem: a?mitú "to eat"

no?mitú "I eat"

pa?mitú "you eat"

ma?mitákaá ... "without eating ..."

Stem: manú "to call"

nomanú "I call"

pimanú "you call"

mamanákaá ... "without calling ..."

Special Case.

The verb kemú "to say" loses its initial syllable when assimilated to a pronoun or privative prefix:

Hoaa kemú ... "John says ..."

gimú ... "he says ..."

³The inchoative suffix must co-occur with the privative in this construction. For details, cf. Verb Piece type ii, sub-type ii (section 5.1.2.2.2., below).

3.1.2.2. Suffix Order 1: reflexive/reciprocal.

The addition of these suffixes has an effect on the distribution of the verb at clause level. When either of them is added to a transitive verb, it occurs in an intransitive, instead of a transitive, clause. i.e., the verb is "demoted" one step on the transitivity scale. However, transitivity is not considered a relevant structural feature at word level, for the following reasons:-

- i) All verbs are fed through all levels, and at verb word level distributional sub-classes are set up on the basis of occurrence in different types of Verb Group, where degree of transitivity is not relevant.
- ii) Likewise, Verb Groups are divided into distributional sub-classes on the basis of their occurrence in different types of Verb Piece, where, again, transitivity is not a relevant feature.
- iii) The Verb Piece is distributed in the Verb Phrase, again not on the basis of transitivity, and it is only in establishing different sub-classes of the Verb Phrase according to occurrence in different clause types that transitivity is relevant.

This follows from the strict separation of structural types and distributional classes and sub-classes, and the demarcation of levels, established in the introduction, and avoids endless repetition throughout the levels, and other problems indicated in that discussion.

-phaavú and -kakaúvú are probably both analyzable into two morphemes -- -phaa-vú and -kaka-vú -- since -vú is occasionally omitted in -phaavú. However, the function of the postulated morpheme -vú is not clear.⁴

3.1.3.3.1. Reflexive: -phaavú.

e.g. haa?phaavú "to comb oneself" < haa? "to comb (s.o.)"
 hipáphaavú "to wash oneself" < hipú "to wash (s.o.,
 sthg.)"

Often, the verb stem is rarely, or never, attested without the reflexive suffix, and in these cases, the inflection has virtually established a new word in which there is little or no awareness of the original form.

e.g. hoka?phaavú "to get dressed, to get into (a canoe, etc.)"
 < ho?ku "to bite" (of insects)

In spite of this, -phaavú is not considered as a stem-level derivational suffix, for the following reasons:-

- i) It is actively used at word level.
- ii) It is not closely bound to the verb stem, and is in fact the most mobile of verb suffixes, occurring sometimes after temporal and imperative clitics and the auxiliary indicator in verb piece type ii, sub-type i (cf. 3.1.2.6.1.2.2.(ix), and 5.1.2.2.1.). It also occasionally occurs after the Order 2 suffix inchoative, and the Order 3 directional suffixes (cf. 3.1.2.4., below).

e.g. mepáakáphaavú no?pi "Without washing myself I go"

⁴cf. omission of the final syllable of tó?vú, "to obtain", in 4.1.2.2.

nokaa?káphaavú no?pí "Dressing myself, I go"

3.1.2.2.2. Reciprocal: -kakávú.⁵

e.g. naa?kakávú "they comb each other's hair"

< haa? "to comb"

(cf. naa?phaavú "they comb their (own) hair")

nepákakávú "they wash one another" < hipú "to wash"

(cf. nepáphaavú "they wash themselves")

nanovigipíkakávú "they speak to each other"

< novigipí "to speak"

When the reciprocal is added to the verb khú "to do", this is usually replaced by (ii)jú "to be". (The (ii) is except on rare occasions omitted.)

e.g. (i) anoógi kainée na-khú "They kill the tapir"
tapir die they-do

But kainée neežá - kakávú "They kill one another"
die they-be recip

Contrast kainée neežú "They die"
die they-be

(ii) no phede? na-khú "They greet me"
me greet they-do

But phede? neežá - kakávú "They greet one another"
greet they-be recip

As the above examples demonstrate, a restriction consequent on the use of the reciprocal suffix is the limitation of the subject to the plural -- another semantic restriction

⁵When the reciprocal has been added, the verb is often distributed in a clause containing the concomitant phrase. cf. 6.2.5.2.1., below. See also comments on the clause at the beginning of this section.

with inevitable (but not language-specific and therefore not significant) structural consequences.

3.1.2.3. Suffix Order 2: Causative/Inchoative.

These suffixes have also been described as derivators at stem level, in the formation of complex stems. This does not preclude their functioning as inflectional suffixes at word level, and in fact both suffixes may occur on complex verb stems consisting of a verb root + either derivator.⁶

With causative derivator at stem level.

e.g. mi?tsotú "to boil (sthg)"

i) + causative verb word suffix:

tshonáva tsó hooní mi?tsototú
her-mother her water boil-cs-cs

⁶This analysis does not deny the validity of other methods of handling this sort of problem, such as in a non level-oriented approach (e.g., the ordering of "higher predicates" in various types of generative semantics, as in Franz, 1971:Chap 4, Landerman & Franz, 1972:123-194). The present description has the advantage of clarifying the different function of the same suffix at different grammatical levels, as in the following example:-

tsa-mí	na	ifotá	-	kakávotú
he-rec	them	fear-cs		recip-cs
past				
		rt	deriv	
		VbSt:	frighten	Sx 1 Sx 2
		Vb		

"He made them frighten one another"

Here the causative suffix has functioned as a derivator at stem level, boosting an intransitive verb root (*ifá*, "to fear") to a transitive stem ("to frighten"). It has then functioned as an inflectional suffix at word level, boosting a transitive stem to a ditransitive verb. Only one object tagmeme is present in the clause, since the reciprocal suffix demotes the verb one step on the transitivity scale, as indicated in 3.-1.2.2., above.

"Her mother makes her boil the water"

ii) + inchoative verb word suffix:

tsó hooní mi?tsotákaa
she water boil-cs-incho "She begins to boil the water"

With inchoative derivator at stem level.

e.g. ifakaa "to become frightened, to repent"

i) + causative verb word suffix:

tsá tsó ifakootá
he her become - cs "He makes her become frightened
frightened

ii) + inchoative verb word suffix:

gí fakákaa - mí
he-repent-incho-rec "He began to repent" (Lit.: "He
past began to become frightened")

Causative and inchoative suffixes modify stems to which they are added in exactly the same way as at stem level (cf. 2.1.2.2.1. and 2.1.2.2.2., above).

3.1.2.3.1. Causative: -tá.

e.g. tshonáva dotsáaté núúhigá do-khotá
her-mother her-brother shelter she-do-cs

"Her mother makes her shelter her brother"

When the causative is added to the verb (ii)já "to be", this is obligatorily replaced by khá, "to do".⁷

e.g. mitshá-mí gi-žá
get-up rec he-be "He got up"
past

Becomes

tša-mí mitshá gi-khotá
him-rec get-up he-do-cs "He made him get up"
past

⁷ Contrast the opposite (and optional) effect of the reciprocal suffix -- cf. 3.1.2.2.2., above.

3.1.2.3.2. Inchoative: -kaá.

e.g. vakhá gižá-kaá
ill he-be-incho "He becomes ill"

(cf. vakhá gižá "He is ill")

gi?tóná - kaá
he-standing - incho "He stands up"

(cf. gi?tóná "He is standing")

The inchoative is occasionally optionally followed by -ná, the meaning of which is unclear.

e.g. gi?tónákaánú "He stands up"

For discussion of -ná, cf. 3.1.2.5.1., below.

Order 1 suffix -phaavú sometimes moves right, to occur after the inchoative suffix.

e.g. nópákaá-phaavú no?pi
I-wash-incho-reflex I-go "Washing myself, I go"

cf. 3.1.2.2.1. (ii), above.

3.1.2.4. Suffix Order 3. Directional.

There are two verbal⁸ directional suffixes:

-keé "to go to"

{-kí} "to come from"

They are added in accordance with the following rules:-

i) Any verb stem final vowel other than /i/ is changed to /e/.
/i/ does not change.⁹

ii) -keé or {-kí} is added to the resultant form.

⁸To avoid confusion with directional phrase relators -kóo "to" and -khó "from". cf. 6.2.9.2., below.

⁹cf. Directional Imperative, 3.1.2.6.2.1., rule (xi), below, and verb group type ii, sub-type i, 5.1.2.2.1.

- iii) { -kí } -kí ~ -ké
 -kí occurs after /e/
 -ké " " /i/

Directionals are not added to directional verbs or to verbal constructions indicating direction (e.g., Verb Piece type ii.i; verbs with imperative directional suffixes -- cf. 3.1.2.6.2., rule (x), below).

3.1.2.4.1. -keé "to go to"

- e.g. no?mitekeé "I go to eat" < a?mitú
 nokhonikeé "I go to laugh" < khoni
 boto? dokhekeé "She goes to sweep" < boto? khú
 tua gižekeé "He goes to jump" < tua žú
 gi-manáa vate?keé "We go to know (meet) him"
 < manáa tó?
 noke?keé "I go to open"

Additional changes with -phaavú.

Following some verb stems, the vowels of both syllables of this Order 1 suffix may change to /e/, or only the vowel of the last syllable, as indicated by rule (i), above.

- e.g. nodo?phaavé-keé }
 nodo?pheedé-keé } "I go to work" < odo?phaavú

No meaning difference is obvious, though the change of vowel in the first syllable may indicate the presence of motion in the working, as well as in the going to it.

Also, this Order 1 suffix may sometimes be permutated to

a position following the directional, in which case, the vowel change occurs in the stem, and not the suffix.

e.g. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{nopápheevékeé} \\ \text{nopékeéphaavú} \end{array} \right\} \text{ "I go to wash myself" } \leftarrow \text{hipáphaavú}$

(In this particular case the change of all vowels in -phaavú when preceding the directional would appear to be obligatory.)¹⁰

In some cases, -phaavú cannot follow the directional, and the vowels of the first syllable do not change.

e.g. noo?phaavékeé "I go to comb my hair" \leftarrow haa?phaavú
 noka?phaavékeé "I go to enter (a house, a canoe);
 I go to dress" \leftarrow hoka?phaavú

The use of this directional suffix results in a meaning which parallels that obtained by verbal piece type ii.i with the verb i?pi "to go".

e.g. a?miténe no?pi "I go to eat"

cf. section 5.1.2.2.1., below.

3.1.2.4.2. { -ki } "to come from".

e.g. no?miteki "I come from eating"

nokhoniké "I come from laughing"

¹⁰ A clarification of the possible differences of meaning here must await further research. My informant assured me that both forms were "the same", but this may merely reflect the difficulty he would have in expressing such fine distinctions in Spanish. It may be that the first form means "I wash myself -- go to do", while the second may be "I go to wash -- reflexive"

vatapóniké "We come from dreaming" < tapóni "to dream"
 boto? dokhekí "She comes from sweeping"
 no-náagi-neé jí? gižekí "He comes from meeting
 my-brother-with with my brother"
 < jí? jú "to meet"

No additional rules appear to apply in the case of -phaavú, before this directional marker (yet it is attested in less cases than -keé, and it is thus possible that further data might reveal similar changes).

e.g. nodo?phaavekí "I come from working"
 noka?phaavekí "I come from dressing, from entering"

But after tó?, -kí is aspirated:

e.g. gi-manáa no-te?khí "I come from knowing him (meeting
 him for the first time)"

This would appear to be irregular. It is not due to the preceding glottal, as indicated by a?ko, "to open":

noke?kí "I come from opening".

The following example illustrates the use of a directional after the Order 2 causative suffix:-

nošótekí "I go to cause to eat meat" (i.e., "I go to
 feed (the children, etc.) with meat")
 < šú "to eat meat"

The use of this suffix results in a meaning which closely approximates to that obtained by the Adjunct Phrase with the

verb tsá?(nu) "to come".

e.g. no?mitákaá notsá? "I come from eating"

However, this latter structure may also be glossed as "Eating, I come", or "After eating, I come". cf. 6.2.8.2. (iii-iv), below.¹¹

3.1.2.5. Suffix Order 4. Progressive.

Progressive aspect is indicated by verbal suffix -pa. (Contrast the tense markers, which are clitics, and principally do not go on the verb -- cf. 7.2.1.2.6., below.)

e.g. gínápa "He is sleeping" (cf. gíná "He sleeps")

kainée gižápa "He is dying" (cf. kainšemi oo gižá
"He has already died")

3.1.2.5.1. -nú.

The progressive is optionally followed by -nú, the meaning of which is not clear, though it is probably to be identified with the -nú occurring after inchoative in final position, as indicated in 3.1.2.3.2., above.

e.g. gínápanú "He is sleeping"

If the inchoative is non-final, -nú does not occur, unless -pa is final:-

¹¹Though -keé parallels verb piece ii.i with i?pi in meaning, and (-ki) closely approximates to Adjunct Phrase with tsá?(nu), these latter two constructions should not be taken to be parallel. In the former the verb is not marked for person and is dependent on an auxiliary verb; in the latter the verb is marked for person, typically has the inchoative marker, and fills the Axis slot of an Axis-Relator phrase. cf. relevant sections for further details (references as above).

gi?tsakaá-ní "He sat down"

gi?tsakaá-ní-pa-nú "He was in the process of sitting
down"

(Here the temporal clitic -ní precedes the progressive suffix.)

This -nú may be related to the syllable occurring at the end of the verbs i?pí "to go" and tsá? "to come" when they are dependent or in the negative imperative, but which is otherwise always omitted, with i?pí and only rarely included with tsá?.¹²

e.g. (i) a?miténe no?pí
eat aux I-go "I go to eat"
ind
┌───────────┐
VbPce ii.i

Contrast:

kaašo?ja?i gi-khú a?miténe no?pí - naá - nó
want he-do eat aux I-go ppsv
ind
┌───────────┐
P:VP:VbPce ii.i
┌───────────┐
Axis:NomCl relr
└───────────┘
Purposive Phrase

"He wants me to go to eat"

(ii) no?mitákaá notsá?
I-eat - incho I-come "I come from eating"
┌───────────┐
Adjunct Phrase

Contrast:

¹²In this connection, it may be questioned whether the generally-omitted -ní of aa?ní "to give" is related. The answers to these questions must await further research.

kaašo ja?i	gi-khú	no?mitakaá	notsánaá? - nó	
want	he-do	I-eat-inchq	I-come	ppsv
		A: AP	S:NP-P:VP	
		Axis:NomCl		relr
		PP		

"He wants me to come from eating"

In both examples, the vowel of -nfi becomes a before suffixation, and this is lengthened and a glide added by nominalization. In the second example, the stem glottal also moves right one syllable before suffixation.

+ + +

The above verb word suffixes may be followed by a number of clitics -- reportative, frustrative, desiderative/stated intention, temporal and dubitative/incompletive -- but since these are not specifically verbal suffixes, but may occur on other clause-level tagmemes (and do when such are present), details are given in the description of the clause, in 7.2.1.2.6., below. One example is included here:

da?mitá - tsa	- pa?	- nfi	- ?pe
he-eat	report	frus	desid
			remote
			past

"It is said that he wanted to eat (but he didn't eat)"

3.1.2.6. Imperative Mood.

This is not a suffix order, but a different mood (preceding paragraphs describe the declarative). The imperative in Resigaró is very rich, and its various forms are marked by both segmental and suprasegmental features, as indicated in the

Rule iii. The underlying initial ii of the copulative verb, which is deleted (with very rare exceptions) in the declarative, is retained in the imperative.

e.g. tua piižú "jump!" (cf. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{tua pižú} \\ \text{phá tua } \check{\text{j}}\acute{\text{u}} \end{array} \right\}$ "you jump")

Rule iv. In hipú "to wash" and mitú "to smoke (food -- as a preservative process)", i > ii :-

phiiipú "wash!" (cf. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{phiiipú} \\ \text{phá hipú} \end{array} \right\}$ "you wash")

phiiipáphaavú "wash yourself!" (cf. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{phiiipáphaavú} \\ \text{phá hipáphaavú} \end{array} \right\}$

"you wash yourself")

pimiiitú "smoke (it)!" (cf. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{pimiiitú} \\ \text{phá mitú} \end{array} \right\}$ "you smoke (it)")

(ii) Dual.

Rule v. The second-person non-singular (i.e., dual and plural) imperative pronoun i- precedes the verb stem, to which it is obligatorily assimilated. (This results in i > \emptyset before h- and V- initial verbs.)

Rule vi. Dual marker -musi (m) or -mupi (f) is added to the end of the verb (which results in the usual change of final u to a, and movement one syllable to the right of any glottal stop closing the penultimate syllable in the verb).

Rule ii, above (tone change), also applies in the dual.

e.g. á?mítámusi "eat! (dl)¹⁴" (cf. hamusi á?mitú "you (dl) eat")

¹⁴Not repeated in succeeding glosses, since all examples in this section are in the dual, as indicated by the paragraph heading. To facilitate comparisons, the masculine dual marker is given in all examples in this section. The feminine dual marker could equally-well occur in all cases.

i?pímusi "go!"	(cf. hamusi i?pí "you go")
hadá?pá?musi "sing!"	(cf. " hadá?pá "you sing")
išámusi "eat meat!"	(cf. " šá "you eat meat")
boto? ikhámusi "sweep!"	(cf. " boto? khá "you sweep")
ee?phi ikhámusi "fish!"	(cf. " ee?phi khá "you fish")

Rules iii and iv, above, apply also in the dual.

e.g. (Rule iii)

tua iižámusi "jump!"	(cf. hamusi tua jǎ "you jump")
----------------------	--------------------------------

(Rule iv)

hi?pámusi "wash!"	(cf. " hipá "you wash")
-------------------	-------------------------

It is noted that -musi/-mupi cannot precede the reflexive:-

hi?páphaavámusi "wash yourselves!"	(cf. hamusi hipáphaavá "you wash yourselves")
------------------------------------	--

(iii) Plural.

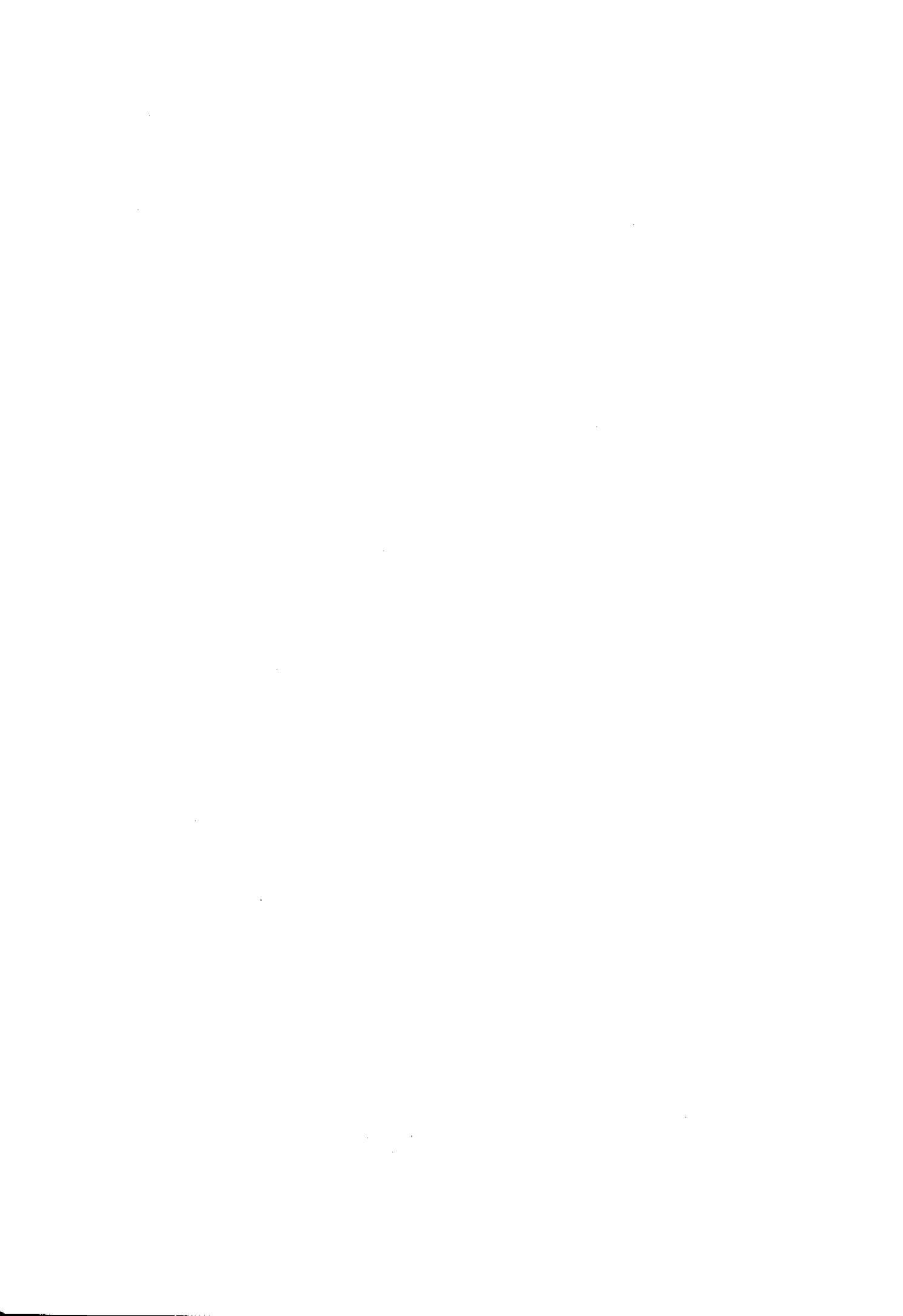
Rules ii-v, above, apply. No suffix is added. Thus, when i > \emptyset , the plural imperative may be homophonous with the unaffixed form of the verb, or differentiated from it only by tone.

e.g. á?mitá "eat! (pl ¹⁵)"	(cf. a?mitá "to eat", ha?á a?mitá "you (pl) eat")
--	--

i?pí "go!"	(cf. i?pí "to go", ha?á i?pí "you go")
------------	---

hádá?pá "sing!"	(cf. hadá?pá "to sing", ha?á hadá?pá "you sing")
-----------------	---

¹⁵Not repeated in succeeding glosses, since all examples in the second person in this section are of the plural, as indicated by the paragraph heading.



išŭ "eat meat!" (cf. ha?á šŭ "you eat meat")
 boto? ikhŭ "sweep!" (cf. " boto? khŭ "you sweep")
 ee?phi ikhŭ "fish!" (cf. " ee?phi khŭ "you fish")
 tua iižŭ "jump!" (cf. " tua jŭ "you jump")
 hiipŭ "wash!" (cf. " hipŭ "you wash")
 hiipáphaavŭ "wash yourselves!" (cf. ha?á hipáphaavŭ
 "you wash yourselves.")

3.1.2.6.1.2. Negative.

The negative imperative may be derived from the affirmative imperative, above, by addition of the negative imperative clitic {-ma?u} (which changes a final u to a, and moves one syllable to the right any glottal stop closing the penultimate syllable).

3.1.2.6.1.2.1. Allomorphs of the Negative Imperative Clitic.

{-ma?u}¹⁶ : -ma?u ~ -má ~ -má?

a) -ma?u

This occurs immediately following khŭ or (ii)jŭ.¹⁷ Thus, it does not occur in the dual, since the verb is then suffixed.

e.g.	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
"Don't sweep!"	boto? pikháma?u	boto? ikháma?u
"Don't jump!"	tua piižáma?u	tua iižáma?u

¹⁶This clitic may also be used to indicate the desiderative, subject to the limitations indicated in 7.2.1.2.6.3.1., below.

¹⁷And on all verbs with imperative directionals -- cf. 3.1.2.-6.2.2., below.

b) -má

This occurs non-finally on the verb, or on the basic or other filler of the peripheral slot in the complex verb group.¹⁸

e.g.	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
"Don't work!"	podo?máphaavú	odo?máphaavámusi	odo?máphaavú
"Don't sweep!"	boto?má pikhú	boto?má ikhámusi	boto?má ikhú ¹⁹
"Don't jump!"	tuamá piižú	tuamá iizámusi	tuamá iizú ²⁰

c) -má?

This occurs elsewhere i.e., finally on all verbs²¹ except khú and (ii)žú, and after -musi/-mupi on these verbs.

e.g.	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
"Don't eat!"	pá?mitámá?	á?mitámusimá?	á?mitámá?
"Don't go!"	pi?pinámá?	i?pinamusimá?	i?pinámá? ²²
"Don't toast!"	pikávó?má?	ikávó?musimá?	ikávó?má?
"Don't sweep!"	---	boto? ikhámusimá?	---
"Don't jump!"	---	tua iizámusimá?	---

In the last two examples, the dual forms are variants of those exemplified under -má.

3.1.2.6.1.2.2. Application of {-ma?u} to verbs.

The above remarks concerning the allomorphs of {-ma?u} serve

¹⁸ Or on the head verb of a complex verb piece, when an imperative directional is present -- cf. 3.1.2.6.2.2., below.

¹⁹ The singular and plural forms here are variants of those exemplified under -ma?u.

²⁰ Footnote 19 applies.

²¹ Except when these contain imperative directionals -- cf. 3.1.2.6.2.2., below.

²² For presence of -na (< -nú), cf. section 3.1.2.5.1., above.

simultaneously to illustrate the negative imperative of singular, dual and plural of most verbs, and only a few additional comments are necessary.

Rule vii. The negative imperative marker -má? is added finally to the imperative of all verbs except khú and (ii)jú, to which -ma?u is added, except in the dual after -musi/-mupi, when -má? is added. See examples in a) and c), above.

Rule viii. When khú and (ii)jú form part of a complex verb group, the negative imperative may be marked as indicated in rule vii, or by adding -má? to the basic or other filler of the peripheral slot. See examples in b), above.

Rule ix. The negative imperative marker precedes the reflexive suffix. The form used is -má. See examples in b), above.

3.1.2.6.2. Directional Imperative.

As with other verbal directional markers in Resígaro, direction to or from may be indicated in the directional imperative, i.e., "go and ..." or "come and ..."

3.1.2.6.2.1. Affirmative.

Person and number are marked as indicated for "Basic Imperative", in 3.1.2.6.1. In addition, the following rules apply:

Rule x. The directional imperative may not be applied to directional verbs or other verbs with non-imperative verbal directional suffixes.²³

²³cf. 3.1.2.4., rule iv, above.

Rule xi. Any verb stem final vowel other than i becomes e.
i does not change.²⁴

Rule xii. Verb stem final vowel is lengthened.

Rule xiii. -?kú "come and ..." or -ní "go and ..." is added to the resultant form of the verb stem in singular and plural.

Rule xiv. -ní is omitted when its occurrence after the verb stem would make it non-final (i.e., in the dual or when the verb bears the reflexive suffix).

Rule xv. -?kú may be omitted in the dual only, when ambiguity with "go and ..." will not result,²⁵ except with khú and (ii)jú, when it is always included.

e.g. "Come and ..."

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
"... eat!"	pa?mítee?kú ²⁶	a?mítee(?ká)musi	a?mítee?kú
"... sing!"	phadápee?kú	hadápee?(?ká)musi ²⁷	hadápee?kú
"... eat meat!"	pišee?kú	išee(?ká)musi	išee?kú
"... play!" (< (?) <u>mení</u> , "to play")	pi?menii?kú	i?menii(?ká)musi	i?menii?kú
"... sweep!"	boto? pikhee?kú	boto? ikhee?kámusi	boto? ikhee?kú

²⁴cf. verb word suffix Order 3, "Directional", in 3.1.2.4., rule i, above, and verb piece, section 5.1.2.2.1.(i), below.

²⁵The omission of -ní, and occasionally of -?kú, in the dual, while the verb stem final vowel remains long, accounts for the establishment of rule xii instead of interpreting the imperative directionals as being *-:ní and *-:?kú.

²⁶Tonal change is due to tonal morphophonemics. cf. comment in Introduction, section 0.5., on scope.

²⁷The stem glottal of hadá?pú moves right one syllable before suffixation and is assimilated to the glottal of -?kú, when this occurs. Two glottals are not pronounced in the dual when -?kú is included; the repetition of the glottal in the transcription of the example merely shows that when the whole of -?kú is deleted, a glottal remains, namely that of the stem.

"... jump!" tua pižee?kú tua ižee?kámusi tua ižee?kú²⁸
 "... work!" podee?káphaavú²⁹ odee?(?ká)phaavámusi³⁰
 odee?káphaavú

e.g. "Go and ..."

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
"... eat!"	pa?míteeni	a?míteemusi	a?míteeni
"... sing!"	phadápee?ní ³¹	hadápee?musi	hadápee?ní
"... eat meat!"	pišeeni	išeemusi	išeeni
"... play!"	pi?meniini	i?meniimusi	i?meniini
"... sweep!"	boto? pikheeni	boto? ikheemusi	boto? ikheeni
"... jump!"	tua pižeeni	tua ižeemusi	tua ižeeni
"... work!"	podce?phaavú ³²	odee?phaavámusi	odee?phaavú

3.1.2.6.2.2. Negative.

The negative directional imperative may be derived from the affirmative directional imperative, above, by addition of the negative imperative clitic {-ma?u}, as in 3.1.2.6.1.2., above. However, the distribution of allomorphs of this clitic is slightly different from that indicated there, and conforms to the following rules:

a) -ma?u

This occurs finally on all verbs containing an imperative

²⁸The sequence ii becomes i before the ee in the following syllable.

²⁹Vowel change and suffixation affect stem only, as indicated in rules xii and xiii.

³⁰Footnote 27, above, applies equally here.

³¹Glottal belongs to stem. cf. footnote 27, above.

³²cf. rule xiv, above, on omission of -ní.

directional.

e.g. "Don't come and ..."

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
"... eat!"	pa?mítee?káma?u	a?mítee(?ká)musima?u	a?mítee?káma?u
"... eat meat!"	pišee?káma?u	išee(?ká)musima?u	išee?káma?u
"... sweep!"	boto? pikhee?káma?u	boto? ikhee?káma?u	boto? ikhee?kámusima?u
"... jump!"	tua pižee?káma?u	tua ižee?kámusima?u	tua ižee?káma?u
"... work!"	podee?káphaaváma?u	odee(?ká)phaavámusima?u	odee?káphaaváma?u

"Don't go and ..."

"... eat!"	pa?míteema?u ³³	a?míteemusima?u	a?míteema?u
"... eat meat!"	pišeema?u	išeemusima?u	išeema?u
"... sweep!"	boto? pikheema?u	boto? ikheemusima?u	boto? ikheema?u
"... jump!"	tua pižeema?u	tua ižeemusima?u	tua ižeema?u
"... work!"	podee?phaaváma?u	odee?phaavámusima?u	odee?phaaváma?u

b) -má

This occurs elsewhere, in the alternative forms of some verbs that are possible in some cases, as in the following examples:-

"Don't come and ..."

"... sweep!"	boto?má pikhee?kú	boto?má ikhee?kámusi	boto?má ikhee?kú
--------------	-------------------	----------------------	------------------

³³ cf. rule xiv, above, on omission of -ní when it would occur non-finally.

(ii) ǰá "to be"	pí?ko "to throw away"
tó?(vǎ) "to obtain"	a?pithootǎ "to cause to bathe"
i?tónǎ "to be standing up"	i?votǎ "to cause to dry"
aa?ní "to give"	hěnotǎ "to cause to be the same"

Sub-class 2.

This sub-class consists of all other verbs. These occur in verb group type i only.

e.g. a?mitǎ "to eat"

i?pí "to go"

3.2. Noun Word.

3.2.1. Contrast.

Noun words (Nn) have the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) Their Base slot is filled by a noun stem.
- ii) They typically co-occur with classifier, augmentative/diminutive, number and restrictive nominal suffixes.

3.2.2. Variation.

Nouns are grouped into two types, according to whether or not they may bear Order 1 (classifier) and Order 3 (number) suffixes.

3.2.2.1. Noun Type i, "Simple".

$Nn_i = +B:NnSt_1 \text{ } \underline{+sx} \text{ } 2:aug/dim \text{ } \underline{+sx} \text{ } 4: rest$

i.e., classifiers and number suffixes do not occur.

Two sub-types are distinguished:-

3.2.2.1.1. Sub-type i, "Plural".

This consists of noun stems which in their basic form are plural (sub-class 1.1).

e.g. apánú "leaves"

na?í "worms"

atsáa "men"

Number suffixes may be added to these nouns if they are first singularized by addition of the appropriate classifier suffix. But then the resultant forms are considered to be different words, belonging to the appropriate sub-type of type ii nouns. (There appears to be a semantic difference between basically-plural nouns, and those forms which result from the addition of a classifier and then the plural number suffix, in that the former is a generic term, while the latter tends to be used with more specific numbers.³⁴)

3.2.2.1.2. Sub-type ii, "Uncountables".

This consists of noun stems that refer to uncountables (noun stem sub-class 1.2).

e.g. peéǵí "starch"

hooní "water"

Occurrence with Order 2 and Order 4 suffixes:

e.g. apáná-kobu
leaves aug "big leaves"

³⁴Levinsohn informs me that this is also the case in Huitoto Minica, on which Minor has gathered data.

na?i - jã?
worms dim "little worms"

maápa-jã?-ná
bees dim rest "only little bees"

3.2.2.2. Noun Type ii, "Complex".

$Nn_{ii} = +B:NnSt_2 +sx1:clsfr +sx2:aug/dim +sx3:nmb +sx4:rest$

Four sub-types of noun type ii are established on the basis of co-occurrence with different allomorphs of the number suffixes. Since suffixes of Orders 1, 2 and 4 may occur with all these sub-types, they are described without reference to the sub-types, which are described in the presentation of the Order 3 suffix (number).

3.2.2.2.1. Suffix Order 1: Classifier.

Classifiers indicate the shape or other inherent characteristics of anything that may be referred to by a noun in Resígaro. Most classifiers may be added to a wide range of noun stems, modifying the meaning accordingly. Some classifiers, however, have a very narrow distribution, only being attested with one or two noun stems, which may not themselves occur with other classifiers. When the complete list of noun stems which may bear a given classifier is presented, this is indicated by the abbreviation (C.L.) -- "Complete list". The complete list does not include all adjectives, numerals and demonstratives which may also bear the classifiers when in concord with a noun. Nor does it necessarily include nouns such as pá "all", sí "other", which may bear all classifiers. It

is also possible that further data might reveal that some lists indicated as complete were not, although probably nearly so.

When the use of a classifier is widespread, the letters "(C.L.)" are absent, and further examples will be discovered in the lexicon, and throughout the thesis.

Sometimes a classifier may be optionally omitted from a stem, in which case the abbreviation (M.O.C.) -- "May Omit Classifier" -- appears after the example in question. This applies only to the singular form, since the classifier must appear in the dual and plural (except in the case of "arm", cf. -?aapí, below).

As indicated above, classifiers also have the effect of singularizing any noun stem which in its basic form is plural. They may be followed by dual and plural number suffixes, as indicated in 3.2.2.2.3., below.

Where possible, the form of the noun with the classifier is contrasted with the form without it (if the classifier may be omitted), or with a form with another classifier. In a few cases where the noun may not occur without the classifier, and this only occurs on the one noun, the morpheme-break between the stem and the suffix is determined by reference to a numeral or other word bearing the same classifier suffix.

-bábú "that which belongs to something"³⁵ (C.L.)

-hii?pú "foot" : hii?pabábú "sock, stocking"

-híveú "head" : hívebábú "pillow"

-bahú "uninhabited part of the jungle" (C.L.)

tébahú "uninhabited part of the jungle"

hibahú "this uninhabited part of the jungle"

-bú i) "made of liana cord"

e.g. hamáakabú "hammock" (M.O.C.)

kamo?bú "basket made from liana cord" (M.O.C.)

ii) "a felled tree"

e.g. haája?é "trunk of the huacrapona (= yaripa) tree,
standing"

: haájabú "(ditto), cut down"

ta?aká?é "trunk of the Annona muricata tree, standing"

: ta?akábú "fruit of the same tree,
cut down"

-dó "female"³⁶ (C.L.)

náagi "brother (of br.)" : náadó "sister (of sis.)"

-gaa?žó "raft, floating thing"

e.g. avána?é "tree trunk" : avánagaa?žó "raft"

-gahú "above" (C.L.)

íniú "eye" : ínigahú "eyebrow"

tégahú "hill"

³⁵From informant's gloss, pertenece a tal cosa.

³⁶This is only attested with the one word given, in contrast to -pijé, below, which has a wide distribution. cf. form of pronoun for 3rd person singular, feminine.

-gi "human, male, and all non-human animates"

e.g. atśaa "men" : atśaagi "man"
 phaipiǰś "old woman": phaigi "old man"
 aaoǰgi "tapir"

-gu "long and flat"

e.g. -kś "hand" : -kėgu "finger"
 -hii?pǰ "foot" : -hii?pǰgu "toe"
 boe?khoǰtsigu "paddle, oar" (M.O.C.)
 va?agu "machete"

-hi "round and flat"

e.g. kopǰagi?aami "paper money" (usually una libra, i.e.
 10 soles)
 : kopǰagihǰ "a coin" (usually 1 sol)
 haǰdǰ "land turtles": haǰdahǰ "land turtle"
 bo?otǰhi "a plate"
 hǰpohǰ "land, earth"³⁷

-hu i) "long and flat -- horizontal"

e.g. imǰ "to sleep" : moǰtsihǰ "bed"
 paginǰ "to spread out a blanket"
 : paginaoǰtsihǰ "a blanket"
 panǰitsihǰ "a house" (M.O.C.)
 ǰǰǰaagi "big" (of people) : ǰǰǰaahǰ "width"

³⁷This gives an interesting insight into Resigaro beliefs concerning the shape of the earth. Note also the insight into their cosmology given by application of the animate classifier to the word for "star": hivǰigi.

heart of the trunk, which is
eaten -- Sp. chonta)

-kaa?dó "watering-place" (C.L.)

i?dú "to drink" : i?dákkaa?dó "watering-place"
(where wild animals drink)

-kó "a thick stick" (C.L.)

ifitshijíhú "granulated sugar" : iftshikó "wild sugar
cane"

-koomí "village" (C.L.)

paníitsí "house" : panítsínókoomí "a village,
a hamlet"
sákoomí "one (village)"

-koo?ú "broom" (C.L.)

boto? khú "to sweep" : boto?khoótsíkoo?ú "a broom"
pano~~o~~ótsíkoo?ú "a broom"

-kuba "leg" (C.L.)

-íphí "thigh" : -íphíkuba "leg"
-hii?pú "foot" : -hii?pákuba "leg"

-mí "canoe" (C.L.)

hiítámi "a canoe" (M.O.C.)
sámi "one (canoe)"

-míí?o "skin (-like)"

e.g. -henákó "ear" : samíí?o "one (ear)"
eémú "skin, hide" : eémamíí?o "skin, hide" (M.O.C.)

i?dú "to drink" : i?doótsipí "a drink" (M.O.C.)

íniú "eye" : ínipí "a tear" ([t^hə])

-pijé "human female"

e.g. phaigi "old man" : phaipijé "old woman"

heevé?i khú "to study": heevé?ikhótsopijé "a female student"

-tu?á "foot" (C.L.)

-hii?pátu?á "foot" (M.O.C.)

sítu?á "the other (foot)"

sátu?á "one (foot)"

-tsi?aa?dó "shoe" (C.L.)

-hii?pú "foot" : hii?pátsi?aa?dó "shoe"

-ú "spherical"

e.g. ínipási "spectacles" : -íniú "eye"

-váfó "interior, stomach" : -váfóú "heart"

ofiínú "yams" : ofiínáú "yam"

Any stem-final glottal is deleted before addition of this classifier.

e.g. -hive?paahí "skull" : hiveú "head"

-uu?á "a part of" (C.L.)

maa?mú "cassava" : maa?máuu?á "a piece of cassava"

-uu?ó "rope-like"

e.g. e-íipí "liana" : epíipíuu?ó "liana cord"

komáákáuu?ó "vein"

-vuudá "log"

- e.g. aváana?é "tree trunk" : aváanavuudá "a log"
 ókóniigi "fire" : ókóniigivuudá "a burning piece
 of wood"

-?aamí "leaf-like"

- e.g. apánú "leaves" : apáná?aamí "a leaf"
 kopáagihí "a coin"(usually 1 sol) : kopáagí?aamí
 "paper money" (usu. una libra)
 té?aamí "book, notebook"

-?aanú "liquid" (uncountable)

- e.g. -i?nímú "nipple" : i?ní?aanú "milk"
 nanáaná?ó "pineapple" : nanáaná?aanú "pineapple juice"

-?aapí "arm" (C.L.)

This suffix is not added to the noun for arm (-a?náapí), probably to avoid the repetition of syllables that would result, but to certain numbers, demonstratives, etc., referring to the arm, and to nouns referring to things that are arm-like in shape.

- e.g. sá?aapí "one (arm, etc.)"
 -váfí "back" : -váfí?aapí "backbone, spinal
 column"

-?aaví "side of"

- e.g. teé?í "a river" : teé?í?aaví "river bank"
 -nó "mouth" : -nó?aaví "lip"
 -íaiú "eye" : -íai?aaví "eyelashes"

-?abaŋ "shoulder" (C.L.)

-váakó?abaŋ "shoulder" (M.O.C.)

sá?abaŋ "one shoulder"

-?ápo "short cut" (C.L.)

teé?i "river" : teé?i?ápo "short cut overland
avoiding a bend in the river"

-?ási "central place"

e.g. hive?jii?ó "long hair" : hive?ási "the crown of the
head" (The initial glottal
of the classifier fuses with
the final glottal of the stem)

anoógi "tapir" : anoógi?ási "central place in
the jungle where the tapirs
gather"

-?é "trunk of a tree"

e.g. aváanaí "stick" : aváana?é "tree trunk"

pipíigiú "fruit of the Guilelma : pipíigi?é "trunk of the
palm" Guilelma palm"

-?éhú "hole in the ground"

e.g. hooní "water" : hooni?éhú "a well"

té?éhú "a pot-hole"

-?eté "flower"

e.g. tshomaátshí?eté "cotton (on the plant)" (M.O.C.)

giiví?eté "flower" (M.O.C.)

-?í "bunch"

e.g. šakoo?gi?ó "a banana" : šakoo?gi?í "a bunch of bananas"

pipfiǵiú "fruit of the : pipfiǵi?i "a bunch of
Guilelma palm" Guilelma fruit"

-?iikó "a new shoot"

e.g. nanáaná?ó "a pineapple" : nanáaná?iikó "a new shoot
 on a pineapple plant"
 sá?iikó "one (new shoot)"

-?ijó "earthenware container for liquid"

e.g. itsaa?ni?ijó "earthenware pitcher, pot"
 taasa?ijó "cup" (from Sp. taza "cup")
 sa?ijó "one (cup, pot)"

-?ipi "machine" (C.L.)

konóogi "rubber" : konóogi?ipi "sewing machine"

-?ó "longish and oval-shaped"

e.g. šakoo?ǵi?i "a bunch of bananas"
 : šakoo?ǵi?ó "a banana"
 čhé?keú "round-shaped : čhé?ke?ó "oval-shaped maraca"
 maraca"
 vešká?ó "maize, corn"

-?oohú i) "metal or tin container"

e.g. vatšoótsi?oohú "tin pot or pan"
 sá?oohú "one (tin pot or pan)"

ii) "a room"

e.g. vadóva khú "to carry on a business"
 : vadóvá?oohú "a shop"
 hiponú "to tie up, to : hiponóótsi?oohú "a prison"
 take prisoner"

-?ootsi "lungs"

e.g. -váfóó "heart" : -váfó?ootsi "lungs"
 -ó?kótáapi "throat : -ó?kótáapi?ootsi "gills (of
 (outside)" a fish)"

-?osi "hand" (C.L.)

-ké?osi "hand" (M.O.C.)
 sá?osi "one (hand)" (= "five")

-?úmi "face" (C.L.)

maáni "tar" : maáni?úmi "a mask"
 sa?úmi "one (face, mask)"

3.2.2.2.2. Suffix Order 2: Augmentative/Diminutive.

-kobu "augmentative"; -já? "diminutive"

e.g. jaánú "child": jaáná-kobu "big child"; jaána-já? "little
 child"

keé?šé "cow": keé?šé-kobu "big cow"; keé?še-já? "little
 cow"

-íphi-kuba "leg": -íphi-kuba-kobu "big leg"; -íphi-kuba-já?
 NnSt clsfr NnSt sx 1 sx 2 NnSt sx 1 sx 2
 "little leg"

va?a-gú "machete": va?a-gá-kobu "big machete";
 NnSt clsfr NnSt sx 1 sx 2

va?a-ga-já? "knife"
 NnSt sx 1 sx 2

3.2.2.2.3. Suffix Order 3: Number.

Co-occurrence with different allomorphs of the number suffixes
 requires the establishment of four sub-types of noun type ii,
 as indicated in the following table:

Noun sub-type	Dual	Plural
ii.i "Human" m f	-musi -mupi ³⁸	-né
ii.ii "Non-human animate"	-musi	-mu
ii.iii "Body parts"	{-kú}	{-né}
ii.iv. "Classifier nouns"	{-kú}	{-hi}

Table 3.1. Co-occurrence of allomorphs
of Number Suffixes with Noun sub-types.

The names assigned to the sub-types of noun words are merely convenient notional titles corresponding to the major number of members of each sub-type. They do not determine the membership of each sub-type, which is dependent on structural grounds (cf. Lyons, 1968:318).

Sub-type iv ("Classifier nouns") consists of all nouns (except atsáagi "man", náagi "brother (of brother)" and náadó "sister (of sister)") bearing a classifier, and therefore includes some nouns referring to people, to non-human animates, and to body parts. If the classifier may be omitted without affecting the meaning, these nouns may form the dual and plural

³⁸The dual forms -musi and -mupi may be analyzable into -mu- "non-singular" (identifiable with plural -mu) and -si "masculine dual", -pi "feminine dual", and this -pi may be identifiable with -pijé "feminine classifier", though the relation between -si and -gi "masculine human and non-human animate classifier" is not clear. Since such an analysis is not particularly revealing (and also implies analysis of -pijé as -pi- "feminine" + -jé "??"), it is not adopted here. However, such postulated forms may correspond to clearly identifiable morphemes in related languages. I believe Thiesen does identify similar morphemes in Bora (in his MS on Bora Morphology).

with the appropriate number suffixes corresponding to sub-types i, ii and iii. Thus, phai-píjé "old woman" may omit the classifier and form the dual with -mupi: phaimupi, or may retain the classifier and form the dual with (-kú): phaipíjéekú. It has only one plural form -- phaipíjéhí --, since phainé would be homophonous with the masculine plural without the classifier (from phaigi "old man").

3.2.2.2.3.1. Noun Type ii, Sub-type i, "Human".

The Base slot is filled by a noun stem of sub-class 2.1.

Suffixation is in accordance with the following rules:-

1) Dual: add -musi (masc) / -mupi (fem)

2) Plural: Stem ...VVCV(V) > ...ŷCV(ŷ) + -né³⁹

e.g.	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
"brother (of brother)"	náagi	náagímusi ⁴⁰	náginé
"chieftain"	ke?víikági	ke?víikámusi	ke?víikané

If the stem is a vocative, the changes of tone and vowel length indicated in rule 2), above, do not occur.

e.g.	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
"father" (of son or daughter) ⁴¹	aá?pe	aá?pemusi	aá?pené
"brother" (of brother)	múubé	múubémusi	múubené ⁴²

³⁹In these rules, the sign + is used to mean merely "add".

⁴⁰Exceptionally, the classifier -gi is retained with this word, as indicated above. The following word shows it deleted.

⁴¹Or "son" (of father or mother). Terms of address between parent and offspring of the same sex are used reciprocally. (Wesley Thiesen informs me of a similar usage among the Boras.)

⁴²Stem-final tone lowered in accordance with general tonal morphophonemics.

3.2.2.2.3.2. Noun Type ii, Sub-type ii, "Non-human animate".

The Base slot is filled by a noun stem of sub-class 2.2.

Suffixation is in accordance with the following rules:-

- 1) Dual: Stem ...CV(V)?CV > ...CV(V)CV? + -musi
 2) Plural: Stem ...CV(V)(?)CV⁴³ > ...CV(?)CV + -mu

e.g.	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
"hummingbird"	pi?mi	pi?mimusi	pi?mimu
"tapir"	anoógi	anoóginusi	anogimu
"iguana"	maañá?o	maañá?omusi	maañá?ómu

3.2.2.2.3.3. Noun Type ii, Sub-type iii, "Body Parts".

The Base slot is filled by a noun stem of sub-class 2.3.

Only those nouns referring to body parts and not bearing a classifier form the dual and plural with the allomorphs described here.

Suffixation is in accordance with the following rules:-

- 1) Dual: Stem + ʔkú ~ ʔ:kú
 2) Plural: Stem + ʔné ~ ʔ:né

ʔkú/ʔ:kú and ʔné/ʔ:né vary morphophonemically, choice of allomorph being dependent on the preceding noun stem. Dual and

⁴³In these and the following rules, the absence of a tone mark on the symbol V indicates that the tone may be high or low, \hat{V} indicates that the tone must be high, and \check{V} indicates that the tone must be low.

Likewise, C has its normal meaning ("any consonant"), except that if ʔ closes the penultimate syllable of the stem, the C that occurs initially in the final syllable can only be one of those consonants attested after ʔ (cf. Part I, section 2.3.2., above). If ʔ does not occur here, the C in the final syllable may be any consonant, including ʔ.

plural forms of nouns are therefore indicated where possible in the lexicon (Appendix I).

e.g.	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
"face"	-nigí	-nigíká	-nigíné
"nose"	-hitákó	-hitákookú	-hitákooné

3.2.2.2.3.4. Noun Type ii, Sub-type iv, "Classifier Nouns".

The Base is filled by any noun stem to which a classifier has been added (with the exceptions indicated above) (i.e., stem sub-class 2.4). This includes nouns referring to animates, both human and non-human, and to body parts, as well as all other nouns that can be dualized and pluralized. It is therefore the largest sub-type of nouns, including more than half of the nouns in the language.

Suffixation is in accordance with the following rules:-

- 1) Dual: Stem ...CV? > ...CV + ʔkú ~ ʔ:kú
- 2) Plural: Stem ...CV? > ...CV + ʔhí ~ ʔ:hí

ʔkú/ʔ:kú and ʔhí/ʔ:hí vary morphophonemically, choice of allomorph being dependent on the preceding noun stem. Dual and plural forms of nouns are therefore indicated where possible in the lexicon (Appendix I).

e.g.	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
"chieftain" ⁴⁴	ke?viikági	ke?viikágiikú	ke?viikágiihí
"bee" ⁴⁵	maápági	maápágiikú	maápágiihí

⁴⁴Human animate with classifier. cf. examples for type i, above.

⁴⁵Non-human animate with classifier.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
"toe" ⁴⁶	-hii?páǵú	-hii?páǵaakú	-hii?páǵnahí
"knife"	va?agaǵá?	va?agaǵaakú ⁴⁷	va?agaǵaahí
"cup"	taasa?iǵó	taasa?iǵókú ⁴⁸	taasa?iǵóhí

3.2.2.2.4. Suffix Order 4: Restrictive.

-ná "restrictive"

The two forms vary freely.

- e.g. i) ǵaáná - ǵaaku - ná
NnSt_{2.1} sx2-sx3 sx4 "only two little children"
- ii) keé?šé - musi - ná
NnSt_{2.2} sx3 sx4 "only two cows"
- iii) -hii?pa - ná
NnSt_{2.3} sx4 "only a foot"
- iv) va?a - ǵá - ǵaaku - ná
NnSt_{2.4} sx1 sx2-sx3 sx4 "only two knives"

3.2.3. Distribution.

The members of the class of noun words are distributed in the Head slot of Noun Phrases, and in the Vocative tagmeme slot at Clause level. Sub-classes are set up on the basis of this distribution.

3.2.3.1. Sub-class 1, "Temporal".

This consists of all nouns referring to time, which are dist-

⁴⁶Body part with classifier.

⁴⁷This illustrates presence of suffix orders one (classifier), two (diminutive) and three (number).

⁴⁸The tone of the antepenultimate syllable here becomes low, since sequences of three high tones do not occur (except in very rare cases).

ributed in NP type ii .

e.g. nokótsá nóokó teé?í-kóo no?pí
 yesterday afternoon river-to I-go
 NP_{ii} "Yesterday afternoon I went to
 the river"

(NP_{ii} -- cf. 6.1.2.2.2., below)

3.2.3.2. Sub-class 2, "Vocative".

This consists of all nouns of address, which level-skip and are distributed in the Vocative slot at Clause level.

e.g. čhómí, vše pítsá?
 sister, here you-come
 V:Nn₂ "Sister, come here"

(Vocative tagmeme -- cf. 7.1.2.12., below)

3.2.3.3. Sub-class 3.

This consists of all nouns not accounted for above, i.e., the vast majority of nouns in the language. These are distributed in the Head slot in NP type i . Different lexical categories of sub-class 3 nouns are established, according to whether or not these nouns may co-occur with the Limiter tagmeme in NP_i, and, if so, whether that occurrence is optional or obligatory.

3.2.3.3.1. Category 1, "+ Limiter".

This category consists of four groups of nouns: kinship terms, body parts, nouns referring to things conceptualized as parts of a whole, and nouns that undergo certain changes (apart from those caused by assimilation) when possessed.

3.2.3.3.1.1. Kinship terms.

All kinship terms of reference (i.e., not vocatives) are included in this category.

e.g. Hoaa náagi "John's brother"

phanigi "your father" (< pha hanigi⁴⁹)

3.2.3.3.1.2. Body Parts.

All nouns referring to body parts are included in this category. Here, the term is used to determine the membership of the set, and not as in section 3.2.2.2.3., above. Thus, uncountables such as -iidú "blood" and nouns formed by derivation with classifiers, but which nevertheless refer to body parts (or components), such as -hii?págú "toe", are included here.

e.g. giidú "his blood" (< tsá iidú)

noo?págú "my toe" (< nó hii?págú)

3.2.3.3.1.3. "Parts of Wholes".

It is difficult to find an appropriate cover term for this group of nouns obligatorily possessed (or marked for deixis). These nouns refer to objects conceptualized as parts of a whole. The following examples clarify the meaning of this term.

e.g. daápú "residue, crumbs" (< tsá aápú, Lit. "its residue")

č. iivú "centre" (< tsá hiivú, Lit. "its centre")

č. imfú "seed" (< tsá hímfú, Lit. "its seed")

gipáginó "nest" (< tsá páginó, Lit. "its nest, cover")

⁴⁹For assimilation of pronouns, cf. 3.3.2., below.

3.2.3.3.1.4. Radical-changing Nouns.

This group consists of the "possessed" allomorph of those nouns that change either

i) a derivational suffix

or, ii) the stem itself

or that iii) add a morpheme

when possessed, but not when marked by deixis.

3.2.3.3.1.4.1. Change of Derivational Suffix.

The nouns in this section are those that include in their derivation a complex noun stem, sub-type i ("Concrete Nominalization"), consisting of a nominalized verb group, as described at stem level in II.2.2.2.2.1., above.

When these nouns are possessed, nominalizer -{tsí > -{nú (in which the y becomes a before further suffixes).

e.g. a?mithoótsí "food, a meal" ; do?mithoónú "her food,
meal"

boe?khoótsígú "paddle" ; piboe?khoónágú "your paddle"

There are a very few exceptions:

a) tho?khoótsígú "mortar, bowl in which yucca is ground"

This remains unchanged when possessed.

b) tho?khoónágú "pestle for grinding yucca"

ka?foonágú "small wooden board used when making cassava
bread"

These remain unchanged, regardless whether or not possessed (perhaps in the first case to avoid homophony, and in the second by analogy to it).

c) -{tsí > -{ku

This change has only been observed for the following two nouns:

i?kaaniitsí "vomit"⁵⁰ > gi?kaaniiku "his vomit"
 koneétsí "merchandise" > gikoneéku "his merchandise"

3.2.3.3.1.4.ii. Stem Change.

Two types of stem change are distinguished:

3.2.3.3.1.4.ii.i. Vowel length movement.

In the case of a few nouns with initial h and a long vowel in the first syllable, the length moves to the second syllable when the noun is possessed.

e.g. hiibi?é "coca" > č̣ibii?é "his coca"
 hiitá "canoe" > č̣itáa "his canoe"

But not all h-initial nouns with a long vowel in the first syllable change:-

e.g. hiivá "centre" > č̣iivá "(its) centre"

Thus, conditioning here appears to be lexical.

3.2.3.3.1.4.ii.ii. A special case.

The possessed form of paniitsí "house" is -paánú. It is conceivable that this represents no more than a special case of change of derivational suffix, -itsí > -fnú, with the Base of the noun stem involved being *pa-, a verb in a verb group, as described in 2.2.2.2.1., above, the only irregularity being the addition of the syllable *-ni- in the non-possessed form.

However, no verb group *pa has been attested, nor has

⁵⁰Note irregular derivation from i?kaánú "to vomit", with -ni- (< *-ni-). cf. 3.2.3.3.1.4.ii.ii, below.

a morpheme *-ni- been observed in type ii sub-type i noun stems, with the exception of the irregular i?kaaniitsi, "vomit", where the morpheme is retained in the possessed form (and where -?tsi > -?ku -- cf. above).

In the light of this, it seems best to consider that {paniitsi} is an irregular word in which the allomorph -pañú must co-occur with the Limiter tageme in the NP.

3.2.3.3.1.4.iii. Addition of a morpheme.

The small number of nouns that comprise this section add the morpheme {-:?dé}⁵¹ when possessed. The form with this additional morpheme must co-occur with the Limiter tageme in the NP. The following rules and examples clarify the variant manifestations of this morpheme.

1. If the stem has no long vowel, the suffix lengthens the vowel before it:

va?agajǎ? "knife" > giva?aadǎgajǎ? "his knife"
kome? "bracelet" > dokomee?dené "her bracelets"

2. If the stem has a long vowel, there is no addition of vowel length, but the existing vowel length moves right one syllable (except as indicated subsequently):

iteevi?ǎ "aguaje" > gi?teviidé?ǎ "his aguaje"
avǎanaí "stick" > da?vǎana?teí "his stick"
hee?ña "a type of
cassava" > no?ñaadé "my cassava"

⁵¹Written thus since nowhere are all elements of the posited morpheme seen together. The numerous allomorphs are best seen in the examples that follow.

This rule does not apply in the following two cases:

i) if the long vowel is in the last syllable of the stem:

amoogí "a fish" > no?moodé "my fish"

poo?gí "frying-pan" > dopoo?dé "her frying-pan"

ii) if the long vowel is followed by a glottal in the stem:

ee?phígú "fishing hook" > dee?phídegú "his fishing hook"

3. If the stem has a glottal, this causes the deletion of the suffix glottal:

ee?phígú "fishing hook" > dee?phídegú "his fishing hook"

poo?gí "frying-pan" > dopoo?dé "her frying-pan"

va?agajǎ? "knife" > giva?aadégajǎ? "his knife"

But if the stem does not have a glottal, one is added to the end of the first syllable of the stem:

amoogí "a fish" > no?moodé "my fish"

iteevi?ó "aguaje" > no?teviidé?ó "my aguaje"

(In iteevi?ó, the glottal is in the classifier suffix, not the stem.)

aváanaí "a stick" is slightly different, with a second glottal immediately before the added morpheme, in which the d is devoiced: da?vánaa?teí "his stick"

ókóniigi "fire" also has an extra glottal, but the rest of the added morpheme is not present, and the long vowel in the stem is shortened: dó?kóni? "his/her fire"

4. Classifiers and other word level nominal suffixes go after the additional morpheme, and are often deleted:

i) Nominal suffixes included:

ee?phígú "fishing hook"	>	dee?phídegú "his fishing hook"
iteevi?o "aguaje"	>	gi?teviidé?é "his aguaje"
aváanaí "stick"	>	da?vánaa?teí "his stick"
va?a-ga-ǰá? "knife"	>	giva?aadé-ga-ǰá? "his knife" (shows sx orders 1 and 2)
kone? "bracelet"	>	dokonee?dené "her bracelets" (shows sx order 3)

ii) Nominal suffixes deleted:

amoogí "fish"	>	da?noodé "his fish"
poó?gí "frying-pan"	>	dopoo?dé "her frying-pan"
ókóniigi "fire"	>	dó?kóni? "his/her fire"

3.2.3.3.2. Category 2, "- Limiter".

This category consists of the basic, non-possessed allomorphs of all "radical-changing" nouns (those with a special form when possessed -- cf. Category 1, above, fourth group (3.2.-3.3.1.4.)).

e.g.

a?mithoótsí "food, a meal"
koneétsí "merchandise"
hiítú "canoe"
paníítsí "house"
va?agaǰá? "knife"

3.2.3.3.3. Category 3, "± Limiter".

This consists of all sub-class 3 nouns not accounted for in Categories 1 and 2 above, i.e., most sub-class 3 nouns.

e.g.

phaigí "old man"

oná?kó "snake"

ǰodoo?figú "waterfall"

(For NP type i, cf. 6.1.2.2.1., below.)

3.3. Pronoun Word.

3.3.1. Contrast.

Pronoun words (Pn) have the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) Their Base is filled by a pronoun stem.
- ii) They are typically assimilated to a following noun, verb, or relator, in accordance with a series of morpho-phonemic processes.

3.3.2. Variation.

Pronouns are grouped into types, according to whether or not they are affected by assimilation at word level.⁵²

3.3.2.1. Type i.

This consists of sub-class 1 pronoun stems, viz:

nó	1st	person	singular	
phú	2nd	"	"	
tsú	3rd	"	"	- masculine
tsó	"	"	"	- feminine

⁵²This qualification is included, since those very pronouns which are not affected by assimilation at word level are the ones which consist of a pronoun root + derivator at stem level, where the root has been subject to the same assimilatory processes in the context of the following derivator as those which are described here as occurring at word level in the context of a noun, verb, or relator.

ffú	1st person non-singular, inclusive
i	2nd " " imperative
ɲú	3rd " "

With the exception of i, these are optionally assimilated to a following noun, verb, or relator (or, at stem level, (in all cases except the first two and the imperative pronoun) to a pronoun stem derivator).⁵³

i "2nd person non-singular, imperative" is obligatorily assimilated to a following verb.⁵⁴ This assimilation is different from that of all the other pronouns, since this pronoun consists only of a vowel, without a preceding consonant, and since this pronoun also only occurs with a verb, and then only in the imperative. The assimilation is simply as follows:

i > ∅ before h- or V-initial verbs;

i does not change elsewhere.

e.g. šú "to eat meat" : išú "eat meat!" (pl)

ee?phi khú "to fish": ee?phi ikhú "fish!" (pl)

⁵³1st person non-singular exclusive, muu- and 2nd person non-singular hu- are also assimilated to a pronoun stem derivator at stem level, but not to following nouns, verbs, or relators at word level. Apart from the usual change of u to a in the case of hu-, their assimilated form is the same as their non-assimilated form, since in assimilated voiceless consonants become voiced, and m is already voiced, while there is no voiced counterpart to h in Resígaro. (cf. 2.3.2.2., above)

⁵⁴The verbal piece auxiliary indicator ma- "Privative" is also obligatorily assimilated to a following verb, but in accordance with the processes described for pronouns other than i. Examples are given below, in footnotes.

hadá?pú "to sing" : hâdâ?pú "sing!"(pl)

i?pí "to go" : í?pí "go!" (pl)

(cf. 3.1.2.6.1.1.(ii),(iii), above.)

Pronouns that are assimilated are normally functioning as Subject at clause level.

e.g. no?mitú
I-eat "I eat"
 S:NP-P:VP

However, there are at least two cases where assimilation may occur between a pronoun functioning as Object at clause level, and the following filler of the periphery slot in the verb group:

i) no-maná gi-tó?
me know he-get "He knows me"
 O:NP 'S:NP-P:VP'

ii) noóté gi-khú
me-help he-do "He helps me"
 O:NP - S:NP-P:VP'

(cf. Verb Group, 4.1.2.2.1., and Clause, 7.2.1.2.3.1.1., below.)

3.3.2.1.1. Major Changes.

For all pronouns except i, assimilation affects the vowel and consonant of the pronoun, and the first syllable of the following word or relator. It may best be described by dividing both pronouns and following words/relators into three phonological groups. These groups are not structural types in the usual sense, as a type of a given class at a given

level, since they cut across classes and levels, but are merely convenient groupings of pronouns and following words/relators, based on phonological characteristics and morpho-phonemic considerations.

The form of vowel assimilation is dependent on the pronoun group involved (with some limitations in the case of Consonant-initial following words/relators). The form of consonant assimilation is dependent on the group of the following word/relator.

Pronoun Groups.

The three pronoun groups are:-

- Pron. Group I : "k_o" = nɔ́, tsɔ́
 " " II : "k_{a1}" = phá, tsá
 " " III : "k_{a2}" = fú, n⁵⁵ú

Following Word/relator Groups.

The three groups of following word/relator are:-

		Noun	Verb	Relator
Following word/rel Group I:				
<u>h</u> -initial	e.g.	-henákó "ear"	ha?pú "to cross"	-hipóo "under"
Following word/rel Group II:				
V-initial	e.g.	-ii?šáú "belly"	a?mitú "to eat"	-a?ná "beside"

⁵⁵ Verbal Piece auxiliary indicator ma- may also be considered to belong to this group.

Following word/rel Group III:

C-initial⁵⁶ e.g. -vâf tshêni -kôo
 "back" "to see" "to(wards)"

The intersections of the three pronoun groups with the three word/relator groups yield nine types of assimilation, which are summarized in the following matrix, and explained in the subsequent paragraphs.

Word/rel Groups Pron. Groups	I: h-initial	II: V-initial	III: C-initial
I: K _o (nô, tsô)	K _o	Ko	Ko
II: K _a ₁ (phú, tsú)	K _V	KV	Ki
III: K _a ₂ (fú, nú)	K _V (ex <u>i</u>)	KV (ex <u>i</u>)	Ka

Table 3.2. Matrix showing realizations of co-occurrence between pronouns and following words/relators.

Notes:

1. If the following word/relator is from Groups I or II, the pronoun is fused with the first syllable of that word/relator, and the first two columns of the matrix indicate the form of the resulting syllable.

⁵⁶ In this context, this is to be understood as meaning "consonant-other-than-h initial". The abbreviation will be used for convenience throughout this section.

2. If the following word/relator is from Group III, the assimilated form of the pronoun precedes the unmodified first syllable of that word/relator. The third column of the matrix indicates the form of the pronoun when assimilated.

3.
$$\begin{matrix} \text{K} \\ \text{O} \end{matrix} = \begin{matrix} (\text{n})^{57} \\ (\text{ph}) \\ (\text{f}) \\ (\text{TS}) \end{matrix} \quad \begin{matrix} \text{and TS} = /č/ \text{ before } /i/ \text{ and } /u/ \\ \text{and } /ts/ \text{ elsewhere} \end{matrix}$$

4.
$$\text{K} = \begin{matrix} (\text{n})^{58} \\ (\text{p}) \\ (\text{v}) \\ (\text{D}) \end{matrix} \quad \begin{matrix} \text{and D} = /g/ \text{ before } /i/ \text{ and } /u/ \\ \text{and } /d/ \text{ elsewhere} \end{matrix}$$

5. /o/, /i/ and /a/ have their usual values.

6. V = any vowel, the vowel chosen in any given case being that of the first syllable of the following word or relator.

The normal effect on the consonant of the pronoun assimilated to a word or relator is to voice the voiceless consonant of that pronoun (except when the word/rel begins with an h). But there is one exception to this: aspirated /ph/ loses its aspiration. For this reason, the symbols K_O and K have been used, instead of C_O and C .

The apparently asymmetric behaviour of /ph/, the only aspirated consonant in this set, is of particular interest. It initially appears to be the one exception to all the rules proposed, but further investigation reveals that this is not

⁵⁷m, from VbPce aux ind ma-, also belongs to this set.

⁵⁸m, from VbPce aux ind ma-, also belongs to this set.

the case. On the contrary, its behaviour demonstrates the operation of completely systematic rules and confirms the value of the concept of Voice-Onset Timing, as developed by Lisker & Abramson (1964), as a phonological parameter operating in a language.

In their study of initial stops in several languages, Lisker & Abramson demonstrated that the production of voiced, voiceless, and voiceless aspirated stops can be described by reference to the relation between the time of release of the stop and the voice onset time (VOT). For voiced stops in the languages they studied, they found that voice onset may precede release ("voicing lead") by from approximately 140 milliseconds to approximately 30 milliseconds, depending on the language and certain other factors. For voiceless stops, voice onset may follow release ("voicing lag") by from 4 to 34 milliseconds, depending on the same factors. Likewise, for voiceless aspirated stops, there may be a voicing lag of from 59 to 98 milliseconds. Thus, aspiration and voice are seen as not different types of phonetic features, but varying degrees of the same feature (VOT).⁵⁹

⁵⁹Kim has claimed (1970) that, for Korean, at least, the presence or absence of aspiration is in fact due to the degree of opening of the glottis at the time of release, and the resultant differences of "time it takes for the open glottis to close for the vibration of the following vowel" (p. 109):

"What is controlled by the laryngeal muscles in the case of aspiration is not the timing of the glottal

In an article in 1972, Roberts extends the concept of Voice Onset Timing to the parameter of nasality, introducing the concept of Nasal Onset Timing (NOT), with implications with regard to other features. Roberts emphasises that the value of the concept of Feature Onset Timing is in a large measure dependent on its usability in field situations for perceptual, as opposed to purely instrumental, studies, and the Resigaro data under discussion illustrates this point.

When a pronoun is assimilated to a following word or relator (except one beginning with /h/), a voiceless consonant in the pronoun becomes voiced, and voiceless aspirated /ph/ loses its aspiration. Both these processes represent the operation of the same phonetic change: a decrease in voicing lag.

It is significant that not only does the present data provide morphophonemic substantiation for Lisker & Abramson's contention with regard to initial stops, but extends the val-

closing (Lisker & Abramson's view) but the size of the glottal opening (my view)." (p. 112)

However, this point is of relatively minor importance to the understanding of the relationship between voice and aspiration, as Lisker and Abramson point out (1971:770): aspiration is in either case dependent on VOT, regardless of the physiological manner of controlling this -- either by delaying the command to vibrate the vocal cords, or by not delaying this command, but by widening the glottal opening to cause a delay in accomplishing it.

idity of VOT with reference to all consonant types within the Resfigaro system -- stop (ph), affricate (ts), fricative (f), and nasal (n)⁶⁰ -- both in initial and non-initial position.⁶¹

The decrease in voicing lag would be expected to change /ts/ to /dz/, however, this is slightly modified, being realized as /d/. This may be attributable to the extremely infrequent occurrence of the phoneme /dz/.

/ts/ and /d/ are further affected before a close vowel (/i/ or /u/), as indicated above, becoming /č/ and /g/, respectively.

Full details of assimilation are now given, with examples.

3.3.2.1.1.1. Pronoun Group I (nɔ, tsɔ).

.1. With Word/relator Group I (/h/-initial).

K_o + hV(V)... > K_o(o)...

.2. With Word/relator Group II (V-initial).

K_o + V(V)... > K_o(o)...

⁶⁰ And /m/ in the VbPce aux ind.

⁶¹ cf. also examples of movement of VOT in the opposite direction -- increasing lag -- in noun derivation at stem level (section 2.2.2.2.1., above). Likewise, /n/ in the final syllable of i?pi(ná) is devoiced before addition of the causative.

e.g. tsa-mí gi?pi^hnotú
 him-rec he-go-cstv
 past "He made him go"
 (cf. causative, 2.1.2.2.1., above.)

.3. With Word/relator Group III (C-initial).

$\underset{\text{O}}{\text{K}}\text{a} + \text{CV(V)}\dots > \text{KoCV(V)}\dots$

Examples.

Word/rel Group:	I: hV(V)...	II: V(V)...	III: CV(V)...
<u>Noun:</u>	-henákó "ear"	-ii?šáú "belly"	-vání "back"
nó (1st p.sg.)	nonákó "my ear"	noo?šáú "my belly"	nování "my back"
tsó (3rd p.sg.,f.)	tsonákó "her ear"	doo?šáú "her belly"	dování "her back"
<u>Verb:</u>	ha?pú "to cross"	a?mitú "to eat"	tshéni "to see"
nó (1st p.sg.)	no?pú "I cross"	no?mitú "I eat"	notshéni "I see"
tsó (3rd p.sg.,f.)	tso?pú "she crosses"	do?mitú "she eats"	dotshéni "she sees"
<u>Relator:</u>	-hipóó "under"	-a?ná "beside"	-kóó "to(wards)"
nó (1st p.sg.)	no?póó "under me"	no?ná "beside me"	nokóó "to me"
tsó (3rd p.sg.,f.)	tsopóó "under her"	do?ná "beside her"	dokóó "to her"

3.3.2.1.1.2. Pronoun Group II (phú, tsú).

.1. With Word/relator Group I (/h/-initial).

$\underset{\text{O}}{\text{K}}\text{a}_1 + \text{hV(V)}\dots > \underset{\text{O}}{\text{K}}\text{V(V)}\dots$

.2. With Word/relator Group II (V-initial).

$\underset{\text{O}}{\text{K}}\text{a}_1 + \text{V(V)}\dots > \text{KV(V)}\dots$

.3. With Word/relator Group III (C-initial).

$\underset{\text{O}}{\text{K}}\text{a}_1 + \text{CV(V)}\dots > \text{KiCV(V)}\dots$

Examples.

Word/rel Group:	I: hV(V)...	II: V(V)...	III: CV(V)...
<u>Noun:</u>	-henákó "ear"	-ii?ššú "belly"	-vóní "back"
phú (2nd p.sg.)	phenákó "your ear"	píi?ššú "your belly"	pivóní "your back"
tsú (3rd p.sg.,m.)	tšenákó "his ear"	gíi?ššú "his belly"	givóní "his back"
<u>Verb:</u>	ha?pú "to cross"	a?mitú "to eat"	tshéní "to see"
phú (2nd p.sg.)	pha?pú "you cross"	pa?mitú "you eat"	pitshéní "you see"
tsú (3rd p.sg.,m.)	tša?pú "he crosses"	da?mitú "he eats"	gitshéní "he sees"
<u>Relator:</u>	-hipó "under"	-a?ná "beside"	-kó "to(wards)"
phú (2nd p.sg.)	phipó "under you"	pa?ná "beside you"	pikó "to you"
tsú (3rd p.sg.,m.)	čipó "under him"	da?ná "beside him"	gikó "to him"

Further examples show (TS) realized as /č/ and (D) as /g/
before /u/:

tsú + hutooba?žó? "Banisterium" > čutooba?žó? "his Banisterium"

tsú + úni "saliva" > gúni "his saliva"

3.3.2.1.1.3. Pronoun Group III (fú, ná).⁶²

.1. With Word/relator Group I (/h/-initial).

$$K_a2 + hV_1(V_1) \dots > K V_2(V_2) \dots$$

where $V_2 = V_1$, except when V_1 is /i/, when V_2 is /e/.

⁶²Verb piece aux ind ma- is subject to the same changes as the members of this group, except when otherwise indicated below.

.2. With Word/relator Group II (V-initial).

$$\underset{0}{\text{Ka}}_2 + V_1(V_1)\dots > KV_2(V_2)\dots$$

where $V_2 = V_1$, except when V_1 is /i/, when V_2 is /e/.⁶³

.3. With Word/relator Group III (C-initial).

$$\underset{0}{\text{Ka}}_2 + CV(V)\dots > KaCV(V)\dots$$

Examples.

Word/rel Group:	I: hV(V)...	II: V(V)...	III: CV(V)...
<u>Noun:</u> ⁶⁴			
	-henákó "ear"	-ii?šáú "belly"	-vámí "back"
fú (1st p. non-sg.incl)	fenákooné "our ears"	vee?šáuuhi "our bellies"	vavámíiné "our backs"
nú (3rd p. non-sg.)	nenákooné "their ears"	nee?šáuuhi "their bellies"	navámíiné "their backs"
<u>Verb:</u> ⁶⁵			
	ha?pú "to cross"	a?mitú "to eat"	tshéni "to see"
fú (1st p. non-sg.incl)	fa?pú "we cross"	va?mitú "we eat"	vatshéni "we see"
nú (3rd p. non-sg.)	na?pú "they cross"	na?mitú "they eat"	natshéni "they see"
<u>Relator:</u>			
	-hipóo "under"	-a?ná "beside"	-kóo "to(wards)"
fú (1st p. non-sg.incl.)	fepóo "under us"	va?ná "beside us"	vakóo "to us"
nú (3rd p. non-sg.)	nepóo "under them"	na?ná "beside them"	nakóo "to them"

⁶³When preceding a Group II (i.e., V-initial) verb beginning with an /i/, ma- becomes me- (unlike fú and nú, which become ve- and ne-, respectively). However, when preceding a Group I (h-initial) verb with an /i/ in the first syllable, ma- follows the same rule as fú and nú, and becomes me-.

⁶⁴Since the nouns in these examples are body parts, when the pronoun is plural, the nouns, too, must normally be plural.

⁶⁵Here are some examples of the Verb Piece auxiliary indicator

Here are further examples, showing fú and nú as fe- and ne- when assimilated to Group I words in which the vowel of the first syllable is /i/, and as ve- and ne- when assimilated to Group II words in which the initial vowel is /i/:

Group I Verb:⁶⁶ hipú "to wash"

fú (1st p. non-sg. incl.) fepú "we wash"

nú (3rd p. non-sg.) nepú "they wash"

Group II Verb:⁶⁷ imú "to sleep"

fú (1st p. non-sg. incl.) vému "we sleep"

nú (3rd p. non-sg.) nému "they sleep"

3.3.2.1.2. Additional Changes.

In addition to the above changes when pronouns are assimilated, three further changes occurring when there is assimilation may be specified. They are dependent on certain features of the following word.⁶⁸

3.3.2.1.2.1. Following Words with /ñ/.

If a Group II (i.e., Vowel-initial) noun⁶⁹ has both an initial /i/ and a palatal, /ñ/, at the beginning of the next syll-

ma- prefixed to the same verbs:

ma?paaká	ma?mitakáá	matshénikaá
"without crossing ..."	"without eat- ing..."	"without seeing ..."

⁶⁶With VbPce aux ind ma- : nepáaka... "without washing ..."

⁶⁷With VbPce aux ind ma- : mámaaká... "without sleeping ..."

⁶⁸i.e., the following noun or verb. No cases of following relators having the structures that undergo these changes have been attested.

⁶⁹No verbs with /ñ/ in the relevant syllable have been attested.

able, this has the effect of palatalizing the /n/ (but no other consonant) in the pronoun. It is significant that the regressive assimilation effect of /ñ/ is the only case where reference to a word syllable other than the first is relevant.

e.g.	<u>Unassimilated form</u>	<u>Assimilated form</u>	
i)	-iñočhí "neck"		
nó	nó iñočhí	ñoñočhí	"my neck"
nú	ná iñočhíné	ñeñočhíné	"their necks"
ii)	ii?ñé "thing"		
nó	nó ii?ñé	ñoo?ñé	"my thing, mine"
nú	ná ii?ñé	ñee?ñé	"their thing, theirs"

Groups I and III nouns with a palatal /ñ/ in the first or second syllable do not have this effect on the pronoun:

Group I: hee?ñá "(a type of cassava)"

nó	nó hee?ñá	no?ñaade ⁷⁰	"my cassava"
nú	ná hee?ñá	ne?ñaade	"their cassava"

Group III:

i) ñii?šógú "nightingale"

nó	nó ñii?šógú	noñii?šógú	"my nightingale"
nú	ná ñii?šógú	nañii?šógú	"their nightingale"

ii) tíñeenbú "(a type of trap used for catching animals)"

⁷⁰This also demonstrates the addition of {-:dó} to the noun, with movement of vowel length to the next syllable (and omission of the suffix glottal in the context of the stem glottal). cf. 3.2.3.3.1.4.iii, above.

nó	nó tíñeenebú	notíñeenebú	"my trap"
nú	ná tíñeenebú	natíñeenebú	"their trap"

3.3.2.1.2.2. /j/-initial Words.

When pronouns are assimilated to words with an initial /j/, the following additional change occurs:-

/j/ > /ž/ if the /j/ is followed by /a/ or /u/

e.g. (i) /ja.../

ǰá?nú "to wait" nó ǰá?nú nožá?nú "I wait"

ǰaánú "child" tsó ǰaánú dožáánú "her child"

(ii) /ju.../

aa ǰú "to be surprised"

ná aa ǰú aa nažú "they are surprised"

mitshá ǰú "to get up"

fá mitshá ǰú mitshá važú "we get up"

Contrast:

(i) /ji.../

ǰíigí "husband" tsó ǰíigí doǰíigí "her husband"

(ii) /je.../

ǰeéví "wolf" phá ǰeéví píǰeéví "your wolf"

(iii) /jo.../

ǰó?nó "giant armadillo"

tsá ǰó?nó giǰó?nó "his giant armadillo"

3.3.2.1.2.3. /ʔ/-Addition.

If a two-syllable Group III (Consonant-initial) verb of the structure CVCV does not have a /ʔ/ as one of its consonants, a /ʔ/ is added initially when a pronoun is assimilated to the

verb.

e.g.

(i) pɛ̃nɔ̃ "to swallow" tsɔ̃ pɛ̃nɔ̃ do?pɛ̃nɔ̃ "she swallows"

(ii) mɛ̃nɪ "to play" ñɔ̃ mɛ̃nɪ na?mɛ̃nɪ "they play"

Fourteen verbs (and their derivatives) have been attested to fulfil all these requirements in Resigaro (but no nouns have). They are listed in the lexicon in the normal way, but a /?/ in parenthesis is placed initially to indicate this change. The /?/ is ignored for filing purposes.

There are three exceptions to this rule:-

i) tshɛ̃nɪ "to see"

e.g. f̃ɔ̃ tshɛ̃nɪ vatshɛ̃nɪ "we see"

Contrast tsɛ̃nɔ̃ "to bump into something"

e.g. f̃ɔ̃ tsɛ̃nɔ̃ va?tsɛ̃nɔ̃ "we bump into something"

ii) k̃ɔ̃nɪ "to cry"

e.g. ñɔ̃ k̃ɔ̃nɪ nok̃ɔ̃nɪ "I cry"

iii) m̃ɔ̃kh̃ɔ̃ "to cut wood"

This is the most significant, as it forms a minimal pair with

(?)m̃ɔ̃kh̃ɔ̃ "to smell (intrans)"

e.g. ts̃ɔ̃ m̃ɔ̃kh̃ɔ̃ gim̃ɔ̃kh̃ɔ̃ "he cuts wood"

Contrast ts̃ɔ̃ m̃ɔ̃kh̃ɔ̃⁷¹ gi?m̃ɔ̃kh̃ɔ̃ "he smells" (intrans)

Nevertheless, the definition CVCV is retained, since in all other cases it includes all verbs that add /?/ and excludes

⁷¹This and the form above it are homophonous.

all those that do not.

3.3.2.2. Type ii.

This consists of sub-class 2 pronoun stems, which are not assimilated to following words or relators, not modified in any way.

e.g. gi?f "this one (m)"
hamupi "you two (f)"

3.3.3. Distribution.

The members of the class of pronoun words are distributed in the Head slot in NP type iii.

e.g. ná a?mitú
they eat
H:Pn P:VP
S:NP_{iii} "They eat"

This NP type is part of NP distributional sub-class 2, the distribution of which is indicated in 6.1.2.3.2., below. Members of this NP sub-class may occur in clause-level slots, as in the above example, or recursively in the Limiter slot in NP type i.

e.g. ná hanígi
their father
Lim:NP_{iii} H:Nn "their father"
NP_i (cf. 6.1.2.2.1.2., below)

If assimilation occurs, the two tagmemes involved (S and P, or Lim and H, in the above examples) are still considered

to be present, although in their phonemic realization they are fused, and sometimes it may not be possible to indicate the boundary:

$\frac{\text{ma?mit}^{\text{f}}}{\text{S:NP-P:VP}}$	"they eat"
$\frac{\text{nanig}^{\text{f}}}{\text{Lim:NP-H:Nn}}$	"their father"

3.4. Adjective Word.

3.4.1. Contrast.

Adjectives (Aj) have the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) Their Base is filled by an adjective stem.
- ii) They co-occur with nominal and verbal word-level suffixes.

3.4.2. Variation.

Three types of adjective are set up on the basis of internal structure:-

$$\text{Aj}_i = +\text{B:AjSt}_1 +\text{Nn sx 1:clsfr } \underline{\text{Hn sx 2:aug/dim}} \underline{\text{+Nn sx 3:nmb}} \\ \underline{\text{+Nn sx 4:rest}} \quad \text{"Attributive"}^{72}$$

$$\text{Aj}_{ii} = +\text{B:AjSt}_2 \quad \text{"Predicative i"}$$

⁷²Types are set up on the basis of structural differences, as indicated in the formulae, but since these types are co-extensive with the sub-classes of the adjective word set up on the basis of distribution, it is convenient to refer to these types by the titles chosen to describe the distribution.

This partial co-extensiveness of structural types and distributional sub-classes is a consequence of the fact that the structural variations signal semantic differences, which inevitably affect distribution. (This was also noted at stem level for the adjective.)

Aj_{iii} = +B:AjSt₃ +Vb sx 2: incho

3.4.2.1. Adjective Type i, "Attributive".

Nominal suffixes 1-4 may be added to the filler of the Base slot in adjective type i, as indicated in the above formula. An Order 1 classifier suffix must occur. Choice of suffixes is dependent on the noun in the Head slot of the NP in which the type i adjective occurs.

- e.g. i) jija-gi jaani
big sx1 child "the big child"
jija-u viisi?o-u "the big rock"
jija - ga - jaahi va?a - ga - jaahi
big sx1 sx2-sx3 machete sx1 sx2-sx3
"the big knives"
ii) no?ha-?aami apana-?aami
soft sx1 leaf sx1 "the soft leaf"
no?ha-u hini - u
soft sx1 seed sx1 "the soft seed"

(For further details, cf. description of NP, section 6.1.2.-2.1.4., below.)

3.4.2.2. Adjective Type ii, "Predicative i".

The filler of the Base slot in adjective type ii may not be suffixed.

- e.g. aai? ts6
healthy she "she is healthy"
gi?i no?huu?
this soft "this one is soft"

3.4.2.3. Adjective Type iii, "Predicative ii".

The verb word order 2 suffix "inchoative" may be added to

the filler of the Base slot in adjective type iii, to emphasize the gradual or progressive nature of the process in question.⁷³

e.g. ami - kaá tsf
healthy incho he "he is getting well"

gi?i ño?há - kaá
this soft - incho "this one is (gradually) becoming
soft"

3.4.3. Distribution.

The members of the class of adjective words are distributed in Noun Phrase type i, in Predicate type i (sub-type i), in the Axis slot of Concomitant Phrase type i, and in the Modifier slot in the Verb Phrase. Sub-classes are set up on the basis of this distribution.

3.4.3.1. Sub-class 1, "Attributive".

This consists of type i adjectives, which occur in the Attributive slot in NP type i and in the Axis slot in Concomitant Phrase type i.

e.g. i) In the Attributive slot in NP type i:-

oojagi aooógi
small tapir "the small tapir"
Att:Aj H:Nn
NP_i (For further details, cf. 6.1.2.2.1., below.)

ii) In the Axis slot in CP type i:-

kai - nêe
death with
Axis:Aj₁ relr "dead"
CP_i (cf. 6.2.5.2.1., below.)

⁷³cf. 2.1.2.2.2. (VbSt) and 3.1.2.3.2. (Verb word), above.

3.4.3.2. Sub-class 2, "Predicative".

This consists of types ii and iii adjectives, which occur in Predicate type i, sub-type i.

- e.g. i) $\begin{array}{l} \text{ño?huu? tsú} \\ \text{soft} \quad \text{it} \quad \text{"It is soft"} \\ \text{P}_{i,i}:\text{Aj}_2 \text{ (type ii)} \end{array}$
- ii) $\begin{array}{l} \text{ño?hakaá tsú} \\ \text{soft-incho} \quad \text{it} \quad \text{"It is getting soft"} \\ \text{P}_{i,i}:\text{Aj}_2 \text{ (type iii)} \end{array}$

(For Predicate type i, sub-type i, cf. 7.1.1.1.1.1., below.)

3.4.3.3. Sub-class 3, "Modifier".

This sub-class has so far been observed to have only one member. This is the type i adjective ooja- "small", which, in addition to its distribution in sub-class 1, as indicated above, also occurs in the Modifier slot in the Verb Phrase.

- e.g. $\begin{array}{l} \text{oojajá? do?vápa-mí oo} \\ \text{little he-swim rec int} \\ \text{M:Aj}_3 \quad \text{H:VbPce} \quad \text{Int} \\ \text{VP} \end{array} \quad \text{"He certainly swam little"}$

(cf. 6.1.1.2., below.)

3.5. Adverb Word.

3.5.1. Contrast.

Adverbs (Adv) have the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) Their Base is filled by a level-skipping adverb root, or by an adjective stem, sub-class 2.
- ii) They co-occur with the adverbial suffix $\{-\text{kúu?}\}$.

3.5.2. Variation.

Adv = +B:AdvRt/AjSt₂ +Emph: {-kuu?}

The structure of the Adverb word is not sufficiently varied to merit the establishment of different types (for comment on Pike's criteria for establishing different types, cf. footnote 15 to II.2.4.2.3., above). Examples below indicate whether the filler of the Base slot is an adverb root or an adjective stem.⁷⁴

The form and distribution of the allomorphs of the filler of the Adverbial Emphatic slot are as follows:

{-kuu?} "Adverbial Emphatic"

-kuu? ~ -ka

The glottal is deleted when the emphatic is affixed to a filler of the Base slot containing a glottal.

The second vowel is deleted when the emphatic is affixed to a filler of the Base slot containing a geminate vowel sequence.

The resultant form *-ku is subject to the general morphophonemic rule which changes u to a, since the adverb does

⁷⁴The Concomitant Phrase may have an adverbial function when its axis slot is filled by a Nominalized Clause.

e.g. gi-naa?ka-nee - mi gi-vitsómu
 he angry with rec he shout
 Axis:NomCl relr past

CP_i

"He shouted angrily"

(For CP, cf. 6.2.5.2.1., below.)

not occur utterance-finally.

e.g. With Base filled by Adverb Root:-

- i) kapi dɛʔjo
fast he-runs "he runs fast"
- kapikuu? dɛʔjo
fast-emph he-runs "he runs very fast"

- ii) keneeʔja daʔmitɔ
slowly he-eats "he eats slowly"
- keneeʔjaka daʔmitɔ
slowly-emph he-eats "he eats very slowly"

With Base filled by Adjective Stem₂:-

- i) aɛpuu? dɛʔjo
a_{lot} he-runs "He runs a lot" (i.e., often)
- aɛpuu?ka dɛʔjo
a_{lot}-emph he-runs "He runs very much" (i.e., very often)
- ii) kaʃoo? dodoʔphaavɔ
good he-works "He works well"
- kaʃoo?ka dodoʔphaavɔ
good-emph he-works "He works very well"

3.5.3. Distribution.

The members of the class of Adverb words are distributed in the Modifier slot in the Verb Phrase.

- e.g. aɛpuu? gimɔ
a lot he-sleeps "He sleeps a lot"
M:Adv H:VbPce
(S:NP-)P:VP

(For further details, cf. 6.1.2., below.)

3.6. Demonstrative Word.

3.6.1. Contrast.

Demonstrative words (Dem) have the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) Their Base is filled by a level-skipping demonstrative root.

ii) They co-occur with nominal word-level suffixes.

3.6.2. Variation.

Dem = +B:DemRt +sx1:clsfr +sx2:aug/dim +sx3:ymb +sx4:rest

Demonstratives must bear the classifier suffix corresponding to the noun to which they refer. They also bear any other nominal suffixes found on the noun.

e.g. h1)
 hē?e) - gá va?a - gú
 this)
 that) sx1 machete sx1 "this/that machete"

h1)
 hē?e) - ga - já? va?a - ga - já?
 this)
 that) sx1 sx2 machete sx1 sx2
 (dim) "this/that knife"

h1)
 hē?e) - gá - jaakú va?a - gá - jaakú
 this)
 that) sx1 sx2-sx3 machete sx1 sx2-sx3
 "these/those two knives"

h1)
 hē?e) - gá - jaaku - ná va?a - gá - jaaku - ná
 this)
 that) sx1 sx2-sx3 sx4 machete sx1 sx2-sx3 sx4
 "only these/those two knives"

h1 - g1 p1?mi
 this sx1 hummingbird "this hummingbird"

hē?e - g1 - mu - ná amo - g1 - mu - ná
 that sx1 sx3 sx4 tapir sx1 sx3 sx4

"Only those tapirs"

"one" or "two" occurs in a Numeral Phrase, the choice of classifier for these components is still dependent on the noun referred to.

The following examples permit contrast with the forms of the numerals given in the subsequent description:-

sá - mi hiitú
one clsfr canoe "one canoe"

sa - ?é⁷⁵ aváana?é
one clsfr tree-trunk "one tree trunk"

mi - mi ik ú hiitámiikú
two clsfr-dl canoe-clsfr-dl "two canoes"

mi - ?e ek ú aváana - ?e ek ú
two clsfr-dl tree - clsfr-dl "two tree trunks"

The Order 2 (augmentative/diminutive) suffixes do not form an inherent part of any numeral, but must be added to "one" and "two", wherever these occur, if the noun referred to bears one of them.

e.g. sá - ?e - jǎ? aváana - ?e - jǎ?
one clsfr dim tree clsfr dim "one little tree trunk"

mi - mi - kobaakú? sá - mi - kobá? hiitá - mi - kobaahí
two clsfr aug - dl one clsfr aug canoe clsfr aug-pl

"three big canoes"

Two types of numeral word are set up on the basis of internal structure.

⁷⁵The basic high tone of sá becomes low before the following high tone.

3.7.2.1. Numeral Type i.

$\text{Num}_i = +B:\text{NumRt} +\text{sx } 1:\text{clsfr} -/+ \text{sx } 3:\text{dl}$

In this type, the Order 3 dual suffix occurs with the numeral "two" only.

This type consists of the following four numerals:-

- i) $\begin{array}{l} \text{sa - gú} \\ \text{one "finger"} \\ \text{B:NumRt sx } 1:\text{clsfr} \\ \text{Num}_i \end{array}$ "one"
- ii) $\begin{array}{l} \text{sa - ?osí} \\ \text{one "hand"} \\ \text{B:NumRt sx } 1:\text{clsfr} \\ \text{Num}_i \end{array}$ "five"
- iii) $\begin{array}{l} \text{sa - gí} \\ \text{one (animate)} \\ \text{B:NumRt sx } 1:\text{clsfr} \\ \text{Num}_i \end{array}$ "twenty" (Lit.: "one (man)", i.e.,
two hands and two feet)
- iv) $\begin{array}{l} \text{mi - gaakú} \\ \text{two "finger"-dl} \\ \text{B:NumRt sx } 1 \text{ sx } 3 \\ \text{Num}_i \end{array}$ "two"

3.7.2.2. Numeral Type ii.

$\text{Num}_{ii} = +B:\text{NnSt}_3 +\text{sx } 1:\text{clsfr} +\text{sx } 3:\text{nmb} -/+ \text{sx } 4:\text{rest}$

In this type, the Order 4 suffix occurs with the numeral "ten" only.

This type consists of the following two numerals:-

- i) $\begin{array}{l} \text{po?tsáavá - g a a h í} \\ \text{centre "finger"-pl} \\ \text{B: NnSt}_3 \quad \text{sx } 1 \quad \text{sx } 3 \\ \text{Num}_{ii} \end{array}$ "four" (Lit.: "centre finger",
i.e., forefinger⁷⁶)

⁷⁶In Resigaro, "one" is the little finger of the left hand,

ii) pá - ?osí - ku - ná
 all "hand" dual rest
 B: NnSt₃ sx 1 sx 3 sx 4
 └──────────┘
 Num_{ii}

"ten" (Lit.: "all two hands",
 i.e., both hands)

3.7.3. Distribution.

The members of the class of numeral words are distributed in the Numeral Phrase. Sub-classes are set up on the basis of this distribution.

3.7.3.1. Sub-class 1.

This consists of all the above numerals, which are distributed in Numeral Phrase type i.

3.7.3.2. Sub-class 2.

This consists of the numerals sagú, "one", and migaakú, "two", which are also distributed in Numeral Phrase type ii.

(For further details, cf. 6.1.3.2., below.)

"two" is the ring finger, "three" is the index finger, and "four" is the forefinger. "Five" is the hand. "Six" is the little finger of the other hand, etc. -- cf. 6.1.3.2.2.2., below.

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Chapter 4

GROUP LEVEL

The Group is set up as a level of construction above the Word and below the Piece, for describing certain structures in the Verb hierarchy. Strictly speaking, it may be termed a sub-level, since it is not relevant to the other classes.

Types are set up within the Group on the basis of internal structure, and sub-classes are set up on the basis of distribution in the Verb Piece and in other structures.

4.1. Verb Group.

4.1.1. Contrast.

The Verb Group (VG) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) Its Head is filled by a verb word.
- ii) In its complex form, the periphery is filled by a Basic filler (cf. below), an adjective stem, a Noun Phrase, a Concomitant Phrase, an Instrument Phrase, or a relator.

4.1.2. Variation.

Two types of Verb Group are set up on the basis of internal structure.

VG_i = +H:Vb_{1/2}

VG_{ii} = +Periph:Basic/AjSt₄/NP₂/CP₂/IP/relr +H:Vb₁

When the filler of the Peripheral slot is an NP, this does not have a greater expansion than +Lim:Pn +H:Nn, and if the Limiter tagmeme occurs, assimilation between the two is obligatory. The pronoun does not necessarily refer to the same extra-linguistic entity as the Clause-level Subject of the verb in the Predicate.

In a dictionary check that produced 392 different verb groups, the numbers corresponding to each type and sub-type were as follows:-

Type i:	239
Type ii:	153
being, Sub-type i:	148
with <u>khú</u> :	101
with <u>ǰá</u> :	45
with <u>tó?</u> :	2
Sub-type ii:	5

4.1.2.1. Verb Group Type i, "Simple".

All verbs occur in Verb Group type i.

e.g. khú "to make, to do"

ǰá¹ "to be"

a?mitá "to eat"

¹In the imperative, ǰá becomes iižǰá. cf. 3.1.2.6.1.1.(i), above.

4.1.2.2. Verb Group Type ii, "Complex".

Two sub-types are set up on the basis of structural differences of a finer degree of delicacy than those separating types i and ii.

4.1.2.2.1. Sub-type i.

This has the form indicated in the formula above, with the following two restrictions:

- i. In the Peripheral slot, the Instrument Phrase does not occur.
- ii. In the Head slot, only the following sub-class 1 verbs occur:
 - khú "to make, to do"
 - ǰú "to be"
 - tó?(vú) "to obtain"

Verb Groups formed with khú, "to make, to do", refer to transitive actions, whereas those formed with ǰú, "to be", refer to intransitive actions, or to some states. However, this is not a structural or distributional difference at this level, and so separate types or sub-classes are not established.

Examples.

[See next page]

Head Periph.	khú	ǰú
Basic	fóo khú "to blow"	fóo ǰú "to swell up"
NP ₂	gi-veni khú its-pay make "to recompense"	gi-niiká ǰú its-fruit be "to grow (of fruit)"
	núuhigá khú shelter do "to shelter (s.o.)"	núuhigá ǰú shelter be "to take shelter"
AjSt ₄	ani khú "to heal (s.o.)"	ani ǰú "to heal oneself, to get better"
	ooǰa khú small make "to make smaller, to shrink (tr)"	ooǰa ǰú small be "to become smaller, to shrink (intr)"
CP ₂	kainše khú dead make "to kill"	kainše ǰú dead be "to die"
relr	hivé? khú in _{front} make "to go in front of, to guide"	--- (No cases observed)

Table 4.1.: Verb Group ii.i. (khú/ǰú).

tó?(vú) appears to be no longer productive, being attested in only two Verb Groups:

manáa tó?² "to know"

kavii tó? "to hunt, to pursue, to pay attention
to"

manáa and kavii are both Basic fillers.

²The -vú is always omitted unless the verb is suffixed. cf. 3.1.2.2.

manáa tó? is one of only two Verb Groups (the other being ite khá, "to help") which always require an Object, even when the reciprocal suffix is added to the verb (this causes deletion of the Object with all other verbs -- cf. 3.1.2.2., above). Furthermore, the Object is in the majority of cases a pronoun, which must be assimilated to the filler of the Periphery slot (cf. assimilation, 3.3.2.1., above, and examples of an assimilated dummy Object with extraposition in 7.2.1.2.3.1.1., below).

e.g. na-manáa na - tóva?-kakávú
 them know they get recip "They know each other"

4.1.2.2.2. Sub-type ii.

This has the form indicated in the formula at the beginning of the section, with the following two restrictions:

- i. In the Peripheral slot, only the NP and the IP have been observed to occur.
- ii. Only a few verbs (those indicated in examples below) may fill the Head slot, and then only in conjunction with the specified fillers of the Peripheral slot.

In some cases, the pronoun in the NP must refer to the Subject of the clause; in other cases, it may not. The restriction would appear to be semantic. Note the two possibilities:

1. Cross-reference between Subject of Clause and pronoun in NP in Peripheral slot of VG required:-

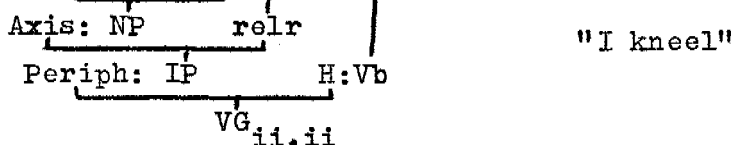
- (i) -váfó hénótú "to think, to meditate"

e.g. no-váfó nónotú "I think"

(< -váfó, "interior, inside"; hénótú "to make the same")

(ii) -ho?dónaúgi i?tónú "to kneel"

e.g. no?dónaú-gi no?tónú
my-knee with I-stand



2. Cross-reference between Subject of Clause and pronoun in NP in Peripheral slot of VG not possible:-

(i) -híveú a?pithootú "to baptize"

e.g. číveú no?pithootú
his-head I-bathe-cstv "I baptize him"

(ii) -veni aa?ní "to buy, to pay"

Note that in this case the only pronoun observed in the NP is that for the third person singular masculine.³

e.g. gi-veni noo?ní
its-pay I-give "I buy it"⁴

The Verb Group -híveú pi?ko "to cut hair" has only been attested with different referents,

e.g. číveú do-pi?ko
his-head she-throws_away "She cuts his hair"

though presumably in the case of a person cutting his own hair, the pronouns would be co-referential (and the reflex-

³If the occasion were to arise in which one would wish to say "I bought you, her, etc.", one may assume that other person markers could occur.

⁴NB parallel between this and the sub-type i VG giveni khú, "to recompense". The meaning of giveni aa?ní is more specific, referring to giving of money or other goods to purchase something.

ive suffix would be added to the verb).

NP without pronoun:-

hoonf i?votú "to freeze"

e.g. hoonf fa?votú
water us-dry-cstv "It freezes"

On use of first person plural, inclusive in meteorological expressions, cf. footnote 17 to section 7.2.1.2.1., below.

No other cases of Verb Groups of type ii, sub-type ii have been attested, and this is a very little used structure.

4.1.2.3. Repetition of the Verb Group.

Repetition may be used to emphasize the gradual or progressive nature of an action. In the case of the Simple Verb Group, the entire Group may be repeated. In the case of the Complex Verb Group, only the filler of the Peripheral slot is repeated.

i) The Simple Verb Group.

e.g. dotsá?nu dotsá?nu "She continues coming"
gii?šú gii?šú "He gradually went up"
gi?pí gi?pí "He returned" (Lit.: "He went, he went")

ii) The Complex Verb Group.

e.g. ñe? ñe? nakhú "They pressed"
phá tuu tuu nokhâtsí... "(I) cutting you in pieces..."
nagi nagi gižú "He becomes angry"
tsaa tsaa nežú "They shouted out"

4.1.3. Distribution.

The members of the class of Verb Groups are distributed in the Verb Piece and in Noun Stem type ii. Sub-classes of Verb Groups are set up on the basis of this distribution.

4.1.3.1. Sub-class 1.

This sub-class has three members, which may occur in the Head and Auxiliary slots of either type of Verb Piece.

i?pí "to go"

tsá?nu "to come"

khú "to do"

4.1.3.2. Sub-class 2.

This sub-class consists of all other Verb Groups, which may occur in all the contexts indicated for sub-class 1 except the Auxiliary slot in Verb Piece type ii, sub-type i.

e.g. a?mitá "to eat"

go? khú "to make a hole"

kainée jú "to die"

4.1.3.3. Sub-class 3.

This sub-class consists of those Verb Groups which, in addition to the above distribution, are also distributed in the Base slot of Noun Stem type ii.

e.g. a?mitá "to eat" tho? khú "to grind"

(?)támó "to cover" hooní i?votú "to freeze"

i?kanú "to vomit"

(On Noun Stem type ii, cf. 2.2.2.2., above.)

Chapter 5

PIECE LEVEL

The Piece is set up as a level of construction above the Group and below the Phrase, for describing certain structures in the Verb hierarchy. Strictly speaking, it may be termed a sub-level (like the Group), since it is not relevant to other classes.

Types are set up within the Piece on the basis of internal structure. It is not necessary to set up sub-classes at Piece level.

5.1. Verb Piece.

5.1.1. Contrast.

The Verb Piece (VbPce) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) It consists of a Head and (in type ii) an Auxiliary, both of which are filled by Verb Groups.
- ii) When the Auxiliary occurs, the filler of the Head slot is marked with an auxiliary indicator.

5.1.2. Variation.

The Verb Piece may be simple or complex, and different types are established accordingly.

VbPce_i = H:VG

VbPce_{ii} (Composite formula)

= +aux ind +H:VG +aux ind +Aux:VG

5.1.2.1. Verb Piece Type i, "Simple".

This consists of a sub-class 1 or 2 Verb Group only.

e.g. a?mitú "to eat"

khú "to do"

ǰú "to be"

kainéé khú "to kill"

kainéé ǰú "to die"

5.1.2.2. Verb Piece Type ii, "Complex".

Two sub-types of complex Verb Piece are established.

5.1.2.2.1. Sub-type i, "Positive Action".

VbPce_{ii.i} = +H:VG_{1/2} +aux ind:α {^{-ne}_{-ǰkǰ}} +Aux:α VG₁

where α reads: -ne occurs with i?pf and tsǰ?(nu)

-ǰkǰ " " khú

The Verb Group filling the Head slot is modified in accordance with the following rules:-

i) Any final vowel except /i/ becomes /e/. /i/ remains unchanged.¹

¹cf. 3.1.2.4.(i) and 3.1.2.6.2.1.(xi), above.

The only exception to this rule is the verb group te?khi "to fetch", where final /i/ becomes /e/:

te?khǰne no?pf "I go to fetch"

te?khǰekǰ nokhú "I used to fetch"

ii) -ne "directional", or -?ké "habitual" is added to the subsequent form.

The appropriate verb is selected to fill the Auxiliary slot. This verb is marked for person in the normal way -- either with a separate Clause level Subject tagmeme, or an assimilated pronoun. In the examples that follow, to keep the structures as simple as possible, an assimilated pronoun is shown, and to facilitate comparisons, all examples are given in the first person singular. However, these constructions may of course occur with any person.

e.g. Hoaa a?miténe i?pi "John goes to eat"
 John eat-dir goes
 novigipíne do-tsá? "She comes to speak"
 to_talk-dir she-comes

(a?mitá "to eat")

a?miténe no?pi "I go to eat"
 " notsá? "I come " " "
 a?mitéeké nokhú "I used " " "

(novigipí "to speak")

novigipíne no?pi "I go to speak"
 " notsá? "I come " " "
 novigipíké nokhú "I used " " "

((?)méni "to play")

mé?níne no?pi "I go to play"
 " notsá? "I come " " "
 mé?níké nokhú "I used " " "

(kainēe khǎ "to kill")

kainēe khēne no?pǐ "I go to kill"

" " notsǎ? "I come " " "

" khēeké nokhǎ "I used " " "

(núhigá jǎ "to take shelter")

núhigá jēne no?pǐ "I go to take shelter"

" " notsǎ? "I come " " " "

" jēeké nokhǎ "I used " " " "

In the case of Verb Groups containing a verb to which the reflexive suffix has been added, this usually follows the directional marker, but precedes the habitual marker, with a concomitant shortening of /aa/ to /a/ in the latter case.

e.g. (hipáphaavǎ "to wash oneself"

odo?phaavǎ "to work")

hipáphaavǎ	}	{	no?pǐ	"I go	}	{	to wash myself"
ode?phaavǎ			notsǎ?	"I come			to work"

hipáphavēeké	}	nokhǎ	"I used to	{	wash myself"
odo?phavēeké					work"

5.1.2.2.2. Sub-type ii, "Negative Action".

VbPce_{ii.ii} = +aux ind:{ma-} +H:VG_{1/2} +Aux:VG_{1/2}

The Head slot in this sub-type of Verb Piece is filled by a Verb Group whose Head is filled by a verb to which the inchoative suffix has been added, in accordance with the description in 3.1.2.3., above.

The auxiliary indicator in this case precedes the verb. It is the privative {ma-}, which is obligatorily assimilated to the verb in accordance with the rules stated in 3.3.2.1. for pronouns.²

The Auxiliary slot may be filled by any Verb Group (subject to normal semantic limitations).

Examples.

ma?mitákaá no?pí "Without eating I go"

manovigipíkaá notsá? "Without speaking I come"

kainée makhákaá no-miaápavi "Without killing I hunt"

núfhigá mežákaá nóm³ "Without taking shelter I sleep"

This construction may also be used to convey negative temporal sequence. Thus, ma?mitákaá no?pití may mean "Without eating I have a bath", or "Before eating, I have a bath". Similar glosses could be given for the examples above.

This is particularly clear when the clitic -khé?, "Incompletive" is added to the verb after the inchoative.

²Since assimilation is obligatory, the choice of base form is dependent on purely theoretical considerations. That form is chosen which permits the privative to be viewed as subject to the same rules as those governing pronoun assimilation, since the various forms parallel those attested for pronouns in the same environments.

³me- occurs here where ma- would be expected, due to the underlying initial ii- occurring with ju, but deleted in all but a few cases, as indicated elsewhere. Here /ii/ becomes /i/ in the proximity of /aa/, and this /i/ is assimilated to {ma-} in accordance with the normal rules.

e.g. anepuu? ee?phi ma - khá - kaá-khé? - mí níi kašoo?
 much fish priv do incho-incomp rec not well
 past
 no?mitú
 I-eat

"Before catching a lot of fish, I did not eat well"

This example also illustrates the Auxiliary verb in the negative.⁴

5.1.3. Distribution.

The members of the class of Verb Pieces are distributed in the Verb Phrase. Since all Verb Pieces equally share the same distributional possibilities, it is not necessary to establish sub-classes.

⁴For another way of expressing negative temporal sequences (i.e., "before"), cf. Dative Object Phrase, section 6.2.1.2., footnote 9, below. For positive temporal sequences ("after"), cf. 6.2.8.2. (Adjunct Phrase) and 6.2.9.2.1. (Directional Phrase), below.

Chapter 6

PHRASE LEVEL

The Phrase is set up as a level of construction above the Word¹ and below the Clause. "Phrase" is defined as a sequence or potential sequence of words which functions as a unit, as in Pickett:

"By 'potential sequences' I mean a sequence of words or a single word which is potentially expandable to a unit of two or more words by addition of optional modifiers. Traditionally, phrases have been assumed to be composed of more than one word. [Here she refers to Bloomfield, 1933:178.] In descriptions with the tagmemic model, however, conciseness and simplicity of statement are gained by considering phrase to include those single words which are potentially expandable to full phrases.... In addition to providing conciseness, such a description also more accurately reveals the structural relationships, since when the single noun which is potentially head of a phrase occurs in the Subject slot, it is not a different kind of unit but a representative of the phrase unit." (1960:33)

Phrases are divided into classes on the basis of their distribution in Clause-level slots. Some classes of phrase are endocentric (consisting of a Head plus or minus various modifiers), while others are exocentric (consisting of an Axis and a relator). The endocentric phrases are described first, and then the Axis-Relator phrases.

Types are set up within most classes on the basis of

¹The Verb Phrase is a special case, coming as it does above the sub-level Piece in the verb hierarchy.

internal structure. Sub-classes of some phrase classes are set up on the basis of distribution in Clause level slots and in other structures.

6.1. Endocentric Phrases.

6.1.1. Verb Phrase.

6.1.1.1. Contrast.

The Verb Phrase (VP) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) Its Head is filled by a Verb Piece.
- ii) Its Modifier slot is filled by an Adverb or an Adjective.

6.1.1.2. Variation.

VP = +Int:oo +M:Adv/Aj₃ +H:VbPce +Int:oo

It is not necessary to set up different types of VP, since the only variation at Phrase level is the presence or absence of the Modifier and Intensifier tagmemes, which are in consequence regarded as optional.

Modifier.

The following examples show the Modifier present, since ample examples of the unmodified Head tagmeme are to be found in section 5.1.2., on the Verb Piece, and the Modifier could in any case be omitted in any of the examples given here. Examples show the Modifier slot filled by an Adverb and by an Adjective.

For emphasis, the nominal Order 4 suffix -ná (restrictive) is used.

e.g. Hoaa oojaǵá?-ná é?ǵo
 Juan little-rest runs
 M:Aj H:VbPce
 VP "John runs very little" (i.e.,
 very infrequently)

Intensifier.

The Intensifier tagmeme may occur initially or finally, or both initially and finally. It usually only occurs when the VP refers to an action in the past.

e.g. Hoaa-mí oo i?pí (oo)
 John rec int go int
 past Int H:VbPce Int
 VP "John has already gone"

6.1.1.3. Distribution.

The Verb Phrase functions as Predicate within the Clause. Different sub-classes of VP are set up on the basis of their function in different types of Predicate.

6.1.1.3.1. Sub-class 1. "Intransitive".

The members of this sub-class occur in type ii Predicate, "Intransitive".

e.g. Peedró imá
 Pedro sleeps "Peter sleeps"
 P_{ii}:VP₁

na?á odo?phaavú
 they work "they work"
 P_{ii}:VP₁

For further details, cf. 7.2.1.2.2., below.

These VP's may also occur in type iii Predicate, "Transitive", if the verb in the VP has the causative suffix.
cf. 7.2.1.2.3., below.

6.1.1.3.2. Sub-class 2, "Transitive".

The members of this sub-class occur in type iii Predicate, "Transitive".

e.g. tsa-mí aaoógi kainéé khú
he rec tapir kill "He killed the tapir"
past P_{iii}:VP₂

tsó maa?má emú
she cassava bites "She bites the cassava"
P_{iii}:VP₂

For further details, cf. 7.2.1.2.3., below.

These VP's may also occur in type iv Predicate, "Ditransitive", if the verb in the VP has the causative suffix.
cf. 7.2.1.2.4., below.

6.1.1.3.3. Sub-class 3, "Ditransitive".

This sub-class has one member, which occurs in type iv Predicate, "Ditransitive".

e.g. mo-mí ókóniigihú gi-ké aa?ní
I rec rifle him Dat give "I gave the rifle to
past P_{iv}:VP₃ him"

For further details, cf. 7.2.1.2.4., below.

aa?ní may also occur in type v Predicate, "Tritransitive", when it has the causative suffix. cf. 7.2.1.2.5., below.

6.1.2. Noun Phrase.

6.1.2.1. Contrast.

The Noun Phrase (NP) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) Its Head tagmeme slot is filled by a noun, a pronoun, a name, or a relative clause.
- ii) Other tagmemes which may occur are: Limiter, Quantifier, Attributive and Modifier.
- iii) The order of its constituent tagmemes is relatively fixed, except for the few possible permutations detailed in section 6.1.2.2.1.5., below.
- iv) There is concord in NP type i between the Head tagmeme and other constituent tagmemes, and details of this are given below.

6.1.2.2. Variation.

Four types of NP are set up on the basis of internal structure:

$$NP_i = +/-/+ \alpha \overbrace{\text{Lim:NP}_2 / \text{Dem } \underline{+Q:\text{NumP}} / \text{Ig} \alpha \underline{+Att:Aj}_1} \text{ +H:Nn}_3 \alpha \underline{+M:\text{RelCl}}$$

where α reads: when filler of H slot is from Category 1, Limiter is obligatory; when filler of H slot is from Category 2, or when filler of Q slot is an Interrogative, Limiter is obligatorily absent; when filler of H slot is from Category 3, Limiter is optional.

The tie bar indicates concord.

$$NP_{ii} = \underline{+Lim:Nn}_1 \overbrace{\underline{+Q:\text{NumP}} \text{ +H:Nn}_1}$$

$$NP_{iii} = \text{ +H:RelCl/Pn}$$

$$NP_{iv} = \text{ +H:name } \underline{+M:\text{RelCl}}$$

6.1.2.2.1. Noun Phrase Type i.

The structure of this Noun Phrase type is as indicated in the formula in the preceding paragraph. There is concord with regard to all nominal suffixes (classifier, augmentative/diminutive, number and restrictive) within the NP between the Head and the Limiter (when filled by a Demonstrative), the Quantifier (when filled by a Numeral Phrase), and the Attributive.

In describing the variant manifestations of this Noun Phrase type, each constituent tagmeme is described in turn, in order to clarify which fillers may occur in each slot.

6.1.2.2.1.1. Head Tagmeme.

The occurrence of this tagmeme represents the minimal expansion of NP type i.

e.g. anoógi "tapir"
phaipiǰě "old woman"

6.1.2.2.1.2. Limiter Tagmeme.

i) Occurrence of the Limiter tagmeme.

The Limiter tagmeme occurs either optionally or obligatorily, or is obligatorily absent, depending on the filler of the Head tagmeme slot:

H:Nn_{3.1} : + Lim
H:Nn_{3.2} : - Lim
H:Nn_{3.3} : ± Lim

e.g. i) + Lim

fa?mithoónú "our food"

phaigi hitáa "the old man's canoe"
old-man canoe
 Lim H

ginaigi "his face"

čiivú "its centre"

ii) - Lim

a?mithoótsi "food"

hiitú "canoe"

iii) + Lim

va?agú "machete"

anoógi "tapir"

naikoogigi "shaman"

ii) Fillers of Limiter tagmeme slot.

The Limiter tagmeme may be manifested by an embedded Noun Phrase sub-class 2, or by a demonstrative. The NP indicates possession³; demonstratives normally indicate deixis (cf. below).

a) Noun Phrase, sub-class 2.

All types and sub-types of NP occurring in distributional sub-class 2 of the NP may occur.

i) Type iii.i: Relative Clause.

e.g. ee?phfikbovigi paánú
 fish - Srel house
 H:RelCl H:Nn
 Lim:NP iii.i "The one who fishes' house"

³Changes in the form of the noun filling the Head slot when possessed are indicated in 3.2.3., above.

ii) Type iii.ii: Pronoun.

e.g.	nó	paánú	
	my	house	
	H:Pn		"my house" ⁴
Lim:NP	iii.ii	H:Nn	
	nó hanígi		
	my father		"my father"

In cases such as these, if no other tagmemes occur between the Limiter tagmeme and the Head tagmeme, assimilation usually occurs between the fillers of the two slots, as described in section 3.3.2.1., above.

e.g.	nopaánú	"my house"
	nonígi	"my father"

In this construction, the type ii pronoun gi?i/gi?ithé may function as a demonstrative, in addition to its normal use as a deictic possessive adjective. (This is talking in terms of traditional grammar; structurally, and tagmemic-ally, it is always a pronoun. cf. footnote 4 hereunder.) Thus, for example, gi?i haádahí may mean "this one's land turtle" (i.e., "his land turtle"), or "this land turtle". Such ambiguity does not occur when the Head tagmeme slot in the NP is filled by a noun having a different form when possessed, as in the following examples:

gi?i	panítsí	"this house"
gi?i	paánú	"this one's house"
gi?ithé	boe?khoótsigú	"that paddle"
gi?ithé	boe?khoónagú	"that one's paddle"

⁴Thus, in traditional terms, the pronoun here functions as a possessive adjective, and not just a personal pronoun, as elsewhere.

ii) Pronoun.

e.g. a6 a?mitú
 I eat
 H: Pn "I eat"
 NP_{iii}

This pronoun may assimilate with a following verb, as indicated in 3.3.2., above.

e.g. no?mitú "I eat"

But, grammatically, a separate NP is still considered to be present, even though on the phonological plane it is partly fused with the filler of the following tagmemic slot.

6.1.2.2.4. Noun Phrase Type iv.

NP_{iv} = +H:name +M:RelCl

e.g. Hoaa - mí oo i?pi
 Juan rec int go "John went away"
 H:name past
 NP_{iv}

The relativized clause occurring in the M slot in this NP type always has a non-restrictive (i.e., merely informative) function (with attendant pauses and intonation contour).

e.g. Hoaa-mí --- Manoel ifotáanfigi - mí --- oo i?pi
 Juan rec Manuel frighten rec int go
 past past
 H:name
 S:NP_{iv} P:VP Orel
 H:name M:RelCl
 NP_{iv} "John, whom Manuel frightened, went away"

6.1.2.3. Distribution.

The members of the class of Noun Phrases are distributed in Clause and Phrase level slots. Two sub-classes of NP's are

set up on the basis of this distribution.

6.1.2.3.1. Sub-class 1, "Temporal".

This consists of all type ii Noun Phrases, which are distributed in the Temporal slot in the Clause, and in the axis slot in LP type ii, sub-type v.

e.g. aápaná sí - koomí - kóo ne?pí
tomorrow other-village-to they-go

T:NP₁

"Tomorrow they go to the other village"

(cf. 6.2.10., below, on LP.)

6.1.2.3.2. Sub-class 2.

All other NP types can be grouped in one sub-class. These Noun Phrases have quite a wide distribution, but since they all equally share the same distributional possibilities, it is not necessary to establish further sub-classes.

They may occur back-looped in the Peripheral slot in Verb Group type ii, sub-type i. (cf. 4.1.2.2.1., above.)

e.g. nūhigá khū

shelter do

H:Nn

Periph:NP₂ H:Vb

"to give shelter to s.o."

VG
ii.i

They may occur recursively in the Limiter slot of NP type i (cf. 6.1.2.2.1.2., above), and in the Axis slot of Axis-Relator phrases.

e.g. Hoaa - mí gi?ithé jaánaǰá - neé a?mitú
 Juan rec that child-dim with eat

past

Lim:NP

H:Nn

Axis:NP₂

relr

CP_i

"John ate with that little child"

(For further examples, cf. section 6.2., below.)

They may also occur in the following Clause-level tagmemes: Subject, Object, Causative Object, and Predicate_{i.ii}.

e.g. Hoaa Mancel tshēni
 Juan Manuel see "John sees Manuel"
 S:NP_{iv} O:NP_{iv}

Further examples are to be found in the preceding description of the NP, and in the description of the Clause, below.

6.1.3. Numeral Phrase.

6.1.3.1. Contrast.

The Numeral Phrase (NumP) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) It may have a single Head tagmeme, or two Head tagmemes.
- ii) These Head tagmemes are filled by numerals or by back-looped Numeral or Directional Phrases.

6.1.3.2. Variation.

Numeral Phrases are either simple or complex, and separate types are established on the basis of this difference.

6.1.3.2.1. Numeral Phrase Type i, "Simple".

NumP_i = +H:Num₁

This consists of all sub-class 1 numeral words.

e.g. sagú "one"

po?tsáávégaahí "four"

6.1.3.2.2. Numeral Phrase Type ii, "Complex".

Composite formula:-

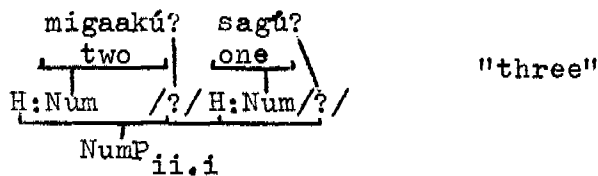
$$\text{NumP}_{ii} = +\text{H:Num}_2/\text{DP}_1 +\text{H:Num}_2/\text{NumP}_{ii.i}$$

Three sub-types are set up on the basis of structural differences of a finer degree of delicacy than those separating types i and ii.

6.1.3.2.2.1. Sub-type i.

$$\text{NumP}_{ii.i} = +\text{H:Num}(\text{"two"}) + /?/ +\text{H:Num}(\text{"one"}) + /?/$$

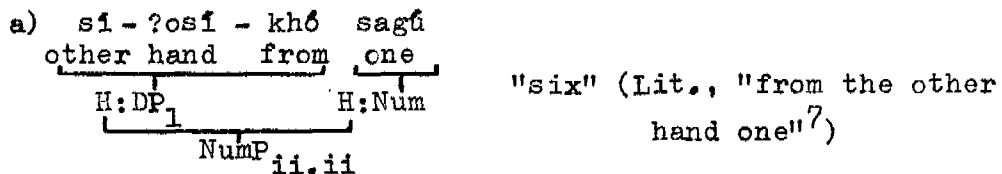
This sub-type has only one member:-



6.1.3.2.2.2. Sub-type ii.

$$\text{NumP}_{ii.ii} = +\text{H:DP}_1 +\text{H:Num}$$

Three variants of DP₁ occur. Each is combined with the numerals for "one", "two" and "four", to create other numbers, and fee?pá-khó, "from our foot", is in addition combined with the numeral for "five", as indicated below.



si - ?osí - khó migaakú

other hand	from	two	

NumP _{ii.ii}			

"seven" (Lit., "from the other hand two")

⁷ Numbers 6-9 are counted on the right hand, starting with the little finger.

si-?osi-khó po?tsáávágaahi "nine" (Lit., "from the
other-hand from four other hand, four")

- b) fee?pá-khó sagú
 our-foot from one
 H:DP₁ H:Num
 NumP_{ii.ii} "eleven" (Lit., "from
 our foot, one"⁸)
- fee?pá-khó migaakú "twelve" (Lit., "from our
 our-foot from two foot, two")
- fee?pá-khó po?tsáávágaahi "fourteen" (Lit., "from
 our-foot from four our foot, four")
- fee?pá-khó sá-?osí "fifteen" (Lit., "from
 our-foot from five our foot, five")

- c) sí-tu?á-khó sagú
 other-foot from one
 H:DP₁ H:Num
 NumP_{ii.ii} "sixteen" (Lit., "from the
 other foot, one")
- sí-tu?á-khó migaakú "seventeen" (Lit., "from the
 other-foot from two other foot, two")
- sí-tu?á-khó po?tsáávágaahi "nineteen" (Lit., "from
 other-foot from four the other foot, four")

6.1.3.2.2.3. Sub-type iii.

NumP_{ii.iii} = +H:DP₁ +H:NumP_{ii.i}

As in sub-type ii, the three variants of DP₁ occur. Each is combined with migaakú? sagú?, "three", to form the numbers for "eight", "thirteen" and "eighteen", respectively.

⁸ Numbers 11-15 are counted on the left foot, starting with the little toe.

- a) $si - ?osi - kh\acute{o}$ migaakú? sagú?
 other-hand-from two /?/ one /?/
 H:DP₁ H:NumP ii.i
 NumP ii.iii
 "eight" (Lit., "from the other hand, three")
- b) $fee?p\acute{a} - kh\acute{o}$ migaakú? sagú?
 our-foot from t h r e e
 "thirteen" (Lit., "from our foot, three")
- c) $si - tu?á - kh\acute{o}$ migaakú? sagú?
 other-foot from t h r e e
 "eighteen" (Lit., "from the other foot, three")

6.1.3.3. Distribution.

The Numeral Phrase is distributed back-looped in the Quantifier slot in NP typesi. and ii.

- e.g. $gi?i$ migaakú? sagú? $va?agaahi$
 this t h r e e machetes
 Lim: NP Q:NumP H:Nn
 NP_i
 "These three machetes"

(cf. NP, 6.1.2.2., above.)

6.2. Axis-Relator Phrases.

6.2.1. Dative Object Phrase.

6.2.1.1. Contrast.

The Dative Object Phrase (DOP) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) Its axis tagmeme slot is filled by a recursive NP_2 , by a back-looped clause, which has been nominalized (cf. 7.2.-2.3.), or by an interrogative.
- ii) Its relator tagmeme slot is filled by -ké, "dative marker"
- iii) The relator is phonologically bound to the last con-

stituent of the axis.

6.2.1.2. Variation.

DOP = +Axis:NP₂/ig/NomCl +relr: -ké "dative marker"

With NP filler of Axis slot:

i) gi?ithé jijaagi jaana - ké - mí maa?má doo?ní
 that big child dat rec cassava she-give
 Axis:NP₂ relr past
 DOP "She gave cassava to
that big child"

ii) Isabeel - mí Hoaa náagi - ké iteevi?ó aa?ní
 Isabel rec Juan brother dat aguaje give
 past Axis:NP₂ relr
 DOP "Isabel gave an aguaje
fruit to John's brother"

With Interrogative filler of Axis slot:

kéeni - ké - vá hamaaká doo?ní
 whom dat fut hammock she-give
 Axis:ig relr
 DOP "To whom will she give the hammock?"

With Nominalized Clause filler of Axis slot:

i) anepuu? nodo?phaavaa - ké, ní maa?tsá nó
 much I-work dat not tired I
 Axis:NomCl relr
 DOP "Although I work a lot,
 I am not tired"

ii) pímaá - ké nodo?phaavú
 you-sleep dat I-work
 Axis:NomCl relr
 DOP "While you sleep, I work"

From the above examples, it would appear that -ké is used with substantial differences of meaning when the axis slot of the Dative Object Phrase is filled with a nominalized

clause from when it is filled with an NP₂ or an interrogative, and, moreover, there is a possible difference of semantic relation between the clause-level tagmemes which the DOP manifests in each of the NomCl examples given, and the Predicate of the relevant clause. This difference of semantic relation may be indicated by the terms Concessive and Concurrent, respectively, and it gives rise to the possibility of viewing the relator in each case as representing two or even three homophonous but different morphemes: -ké, "Dative"; -ké, "Concessive"; and -ké, "Concurrent".

However, this suggestion is rejected for the following reasons:

i) The clause occurring in the axis slot is clearly nominalized in accordance with the pattern evidenced in other, non-ambiguous, contexts in the language, and thus has a relationship to the relator parallel to that of the NP's and interrogatives occurring in this slot.

ii) Almost all other axis-relator phrases in the language are unequivocally attested with NP and nominalized clause fillers of the axis slot, and this lends weight to the interpretation of doubtful cases in accordance with the established pattern. The existence of one or two cases which are of doubtful or ambiguous interpretation is not considered sufficient reason for establishing a separate pattern type --

one in which some A-R phrases only have an NP filler, while some others only have a nominalized clause filler -- especially when the relators are the same in each case.

iii) Though meaning is not rejected as a criterion in tagmemics (contrast Harris, 1951, for example), and is in fact always tacitly present in the recognition of differences, from morpheme level on up, it is not considered adequate for the establishment of different grammatical categories or types unless it co-occurs with at least one (Pike, 1967:471) or two (Longacre 1964a:18) formal differences.

iv) It may be that the apparently different meanings of -ké are no more than a consequence of our interpreting Resigaro in the light of English and Spanish structures, or, if such differences are taken to represent semantic differences in Resigaro, they may best be viewed as a consequence of the different contexts in which the DOP occurs, at clause level. It is to be expected that the relation of the Dative or Dative Object tagmeme to the Predicate tagmeme will vary with different fillers of the Predicate slot, and according to other similarities and differences between the nominalized and the matrix clause, such as when one is affirmative and the other negative, as in the first NomCl example, above.⁹ Whether a relationship is inter-

⁹If the NomCl is negative, the DOP can be used to convey a negative temporal sequence. e.g. [Continued next page]

stituent of the axis.

6.2.2.2. Variation.

PP = +Axis:NP₂/ig/NomCl +relr: {-nó} "purposive marker"

-nó ~ -hó

-hó occurs with pronouns

-nó occurs elsewhere

With NP filler of Axis slot:

i) gi?ithé jijaagi jaana - nó - mí domú "véé pi-tsa?"
 that big child ppsv rec she-say here you-come
 Axis:NP₂ relr past
 PP
 "She said to that big child,
 'Come here!'"

ii) gi - hó¹⁰ - mí domú "véé pi-tsa?"
 him ppsv rec she-say here you-come
 Axis:NP₂ relr past
 PP
 "She said to him, 'Come here!'"

With Interrogative filler of Axis slot:

kéhee - nó - mí pimú kamovii? nó
 whom ppsv rec you-say drunk I
 Axis:ig relr past
 PP
 "To whom did you say I was drunk?"

With Nominalized Clause filler of Axis slot:

i) ve?e gi-tsa? ináadó gi-minaa - nó
 here he-come woman he-seek ppsv
 Axis: NomCl relr
 PP
 "Here comes he
 to seek a wife"

¹⁰The pronoun is assimilated to the relator, which in this case exceptionally has the same effect as a C-(other-than-h-)initial word or relator. cf. 3.3.2.1., above.

of PP -- or even two totally different phrases, each with different (but homophonous) relators - $\{-n\delta\}$.

However, this suggestion is rejected for the reasons given in 6.2.1.2., above, when discussing a similar situation with regard to the Dative Object Phrase.

As regards the apparent distributional difference, while it is recognized that distributional differences often correlate with structural differences, it has been clearly established that in this description distributional differences are nowhere allowed to dictate typological divisions, which must be solidly based on structural differences relevant at the level in question (cf. 0.4.3.). Thus it is considered that insufficient evidence exists here for establishing different phrases, or even two types of PP.

6.2.2.3. Distribution.

The Purposive Phrase is distributed in the Clause, where it fills the Purposive slot¹² or the Predicate slot. Two sub-classes are established on the basis of this distribution:

6.2.2.3.1. Sub-class 1.

This consists of all Purposive Phrases with an NP or inter-

¹²The clause level tagmeme Purposive may occur more than once in a clause, with the same or different types of filler of the axis slot in the PP in each case -- cf. 7.2.1.2.3., section 2, Peripheral Tagmemes, below.

rogative in the axis slot. The members of this sub-class are distributed in Purposive tagmeme type i (which only occurs when the Predicate slot in the clause is filled by a VP containing kemí "to say, to tell"), and in the Predicate slot in non-transitive clauses.

e.g. In type i Purposive tagmeme:

monáva - n6 - mí gimí "no?dá-ma?u"
 my-mother ppsv rec he-say I-drink-desid
 Axis: NP₂ relr past "He said to my mother, 'I want
 Ppsv_i:PP₁ to drink'."

(For type i Purposive, cf. 7.1.2.2.1., below.)

In the Predicate:

i) kēhee - n6 hiftá
 who ppsv canoe "Who (has) a canoe?"
 Axis: ig relr
 P:PP₁ S:NP

ii) hiftá gi - h6
 canoe him ppsv "He (has) a canoe"
 Axis: NP₂ relr
 S:NP P:PP₁

(For non-transitive Predicates, cf. section 7.1.1.1.1., below, especially sub-type iii.)

6.2.2.3.2. Sub-class 2.

This consists of all Purposive Phrases with a Nominalized Clause in the axis slot. The members of this sub-class are distributed in Purposive tagmeme type ii (which has no occurrence restriction such as that for type i).

e.g. no?mitáá - n6 no?pi
 I-eat ppsv I-go "I am going in order to eat"
 Axis: NomCl relr
 Ppsv_{ii}:PP₂

6.2.4. Instrument Phrase.

6.2.4.1. Contrast.

The Instrument Phrase (IP) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) Its axis tagmeme slot is filled by a recursive NP₂, by a back-looped clause which has been nominalized, or by an interrogative.
- ii) Its relator tagmeme slot is filled by -gi, "instrument marker".
- iii) The relator is phonologically bound to the last constituent of the axis.

6.2.4.2. Variation.

IP = +Axis:NP₂/ig/NomCl +relr: -gi "instrument marker"

With NP filler of axis slot:

- i) gi?ithé jijaagá va?aga - gi - mí oná?ko kainé gi-khé
 that big machete instr rec snake dead he-make
 Axis:NP₂ relr past
 IP "He killed the snake with
 that big machete"

- ii) Isabeel-mí Hoaa hitáa - gi i?pi
 Isabel rec Juan canoe instr go
 past Axis:NP₂ relr
 IP "Isabel went in
 (i.e., by means of) John's
 canoe"

With Interrogative filler of Axis slot:

- kóhee - gi - mí aváanavuudá gimókhó
 what instr rec log he-cut
 Axis:ig relr past
 IP "With what did he cut the
 log?"

With Nominalized Clause filler of Axis slot:

IP's with nominalized clauses in the axis slot are quite infrequent, though the following has been attested:-

gižaánú do?mótshoó - gí - mí ke?vígí naginagí do-khotú
 his-child she-hit instr rec chief angry she-do-cstv
 Axis:NomCl relr past "By hitting his child
 IP she made the chief angry"

6.2.4.3. Distribution.

The Instrument Phrase is distributed in the Clause, where it fills the Instrument slot.

e.g. maa?má kio? do-khú va?agajá - gí
 cassava cut she-do knife instr
 Axis:NP₂ relr
 I:IP "She cuts the cassava
with a knife"

For further details, cf. Clause level, esp. 7.1.2.4.

The Instrument Phrase is also distributed in Verb Group type ii, sub-type ii. (cf. 4.1.2.2.2.)

6.2.5. Concomitant Phrase.6.2.5.1. Contrast.

The Concomitant Phrase (CP) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) Its axis tagmeme slot is filled by a recursive NP₂, by a backlooped clause which has been nominalized, by an adjective, or by an interrogative.
- ii) Its relator tagmeme slot is filled by {-neé}, "with", {-ma?}, "without", or -kápo?, "alone".

iii) The relator is phonologically bound to the last constituent of the axis.

6.2.5.2. Variation.

Three types¹³ of Concomitant Phrase are set up on the basis of internal structure:-

CP _i	=	+Axis:NP ₂ /NomCl/Aj ₁ /ig	+relr:{-neé},	"with"
CP _{ii}	=	+Axis:NP ₂ /NomCl	+relr:{-ma?},	"without"
CP _{iii}	=	+Axis:NP ₂	+relr: -kápo?,	"alone"

6.2.5.2.1. Concomitant Phrase Type i: {-neé}.

The structure of this phrase type is as indicated in the formula in the preceding paragraph.

{-neé} :	-neé - -né
	-né occurs after nouns and interrogatives ending in ...VV.
	-neé occurs elsewhere.

With NP filler of Axis slot:

i)	gi?ithé	jijáagi	jaaná	-neé	-mi	do-tsa?
	that	big	child	with	rec	she-come
	Axis:NP ₂			relr	past	
	CP _i			"She came <u>with that big child</u> "		

¹³The only difference between these three types -- that of filler of the relator slot, and consequent change of meaning and use -- is considered adequate for the establishment of three separate types within the Class of Concomitant Phrases (though not adequate for the establishment of different phrase classes, for which at least two structural differences would be required), since it leads to greater clarity in the description.

ii) atsáagi-?pe amógi - neé pata?-kakávú
 man rem tapir with look-recip
 past
 Axis: NP₂ relr
 CP_i "The man and the tapir
 looked at each other"

iii) In the example that follows, the NP₂ in the axis slot of the CP contains a subject-relativized clause as one of its constituents (cf. 6.1.2.2.1.5., above, on the Modifier tagmeme, and 7.2.2.4., below, on relativization).

jaána-mí gi - kéí tóójoví - neé ve?e tsá?nu
 child rec his-fore- wounded-Srel with here come
 past arm
 Lim:NP H:Nn M:RelCl
 Axis:NP_i relr
 CP_i

"The child with the arm which is wounded came here"

iv) At the other extreme, the NP₂ may be of minimal expansion:

šóó - neé
 falsehood with
 Axis:NP₂ relr "lying"
 CP_i

With Nominalized Clause filler of Axis slot:

i) pó?manú? tsadá?pá¹⁴ - neé - mí dodo?phaavú
 loudly he-sing with rec he-work
 Axis:NomCl relr past
 CP_i "Singing loudly he worked"

ii) gi-vitsóná - ká¹⁵ - neé - mí kio? na-khú
 he-shout incho with rec cut they-do
 Axis:NomCl relr past
 CP_i "He beginning to shout,
 they cut (him)"

¹⁴ -paá > -pá before -neé, to avoid two contiguous syllables with sequences of two vowels.

¹⁵ Previous footnote also applies here.

With Adjective filler of Axis slot:

Of all the Axis-Relator phrases, adjectives are only attested in the Axis slot of CP_i.

e.g. kai nee¹⁶
 death with "dead"
 Axis:Aj₁ relr
 CP₁

With Interrogative filler of Axis slot:

kénee - né - mí da?mitó
 whom with rec he-eat "With whom did he eat?"
 Axis:ig relr past
 CP_i

6.2.5.2.2. Concomitant Phrase Type ii: {-ma?}¹⁷.

The structure of this phrase type is as indicated in the formula in 6.2.5.2., above.

{-ma?} : -ma? - -ma
 -ma? occurs finally in the phrase
 -ma occurs elsewhere.

With NP filler of Axis slot:

i) jaáná - ma? - mí do - tsá?
 child without rec she-come
 Axis:NP₂ relr past "She came without the child"
 CP_{ii}

¹⁶In this case the rising tone of -nee becomes a falling tone.

¹⁷Compare with Negative Imperative {-ma?u} in 3.1.2.6.1.2.1., above, and desiderative clitic {-ma?u} in 7.2.1.2.6.3.1., below. Note also the privative {ma-} in 5.1.2.2.2., above.

- ii) gi-náagi - ma? - mí dodo?phaavú
 his-brother-without rec he-work
 Axis:NP₂ relr past "He worked without his
 CP_{ii} brother"

With Nominalized Clause filler of Axis slot:

- i) nóffá no?mitáá - ma?
 I-fear I-eat |
 Axis:NomCl relr "I am afraid to eat"
 CP_{ii}
- ii) do?vápaá - ma? dóffá
 she-swim | she-fear
 Axis:NomCl relr "She is afraid to swim"
 CP_{ii}

Once again, there is an apparent difference in the meaning of the relator, depending on whether the filler of the axis slot is an NP or a NomCl, and earlier comments are relevant (cf. 6.2.1.2., 6.2.2.2.). The difference is not as great as at first appears, the meaning being in both cases basically "negative".

6.2.5.2.3. Concomitant Phrase Type iii: -kápo?.

The structure of this phrase type is as indicated in the formula in 6.2.5.2., above. To date, no cases of a nominalized clause filling the axis slot have been attested.

- i) gi-kápo? gi-paáná-kóo gi?pí
 he-alone his-house-to he-go
 Axis:NP₂ relr "Alone he goes to his house"
 CP_{iii}

ii) gi - nāagi - kápo? tsú
 his-brother-alone he
 Axis:NP₂ relr
 CP_{iii}

"His brother, he (is) alone"

6.2.5.3. Distribution.

The Concomitant Phrase is distributed in the Clause, where it fills the Concomitant or the Predicate slot, and in Verb Group type ii. Two sub-classes are set up on the basis of this distribution.

6.2.5.3.1. Sub-class 1.

This consists of all type ii CP's with a nominalized clause in the axis slot. The members of this sub-class are distributed in Concomitant tagmeme type i (which only occurs when the Predicate slot in the clause is filled by a VP containing ifú, "to fear").

e.g. dǒfú gi - neé do?pinaá - ma?
 she-fear him with she-go
 Axis:NomCl relr
 Conc_i:CP₁

"She is afraid to go with him"

6.2.5.3.2. Sub-class 2.

This consists of all other CP's, which are distributed in Concomitant tagmeme type ii (which has no co-occurrence restriction such as that applying in the case of type i), in the Predicate, and in VG_{ii.i}.

In the Concomitant slot (type ii):

e.g. Ñekañekaági-musi o?doméne i?pí giñó - neé
 Nekañekaági-dual to-fish go his-wife with
 Axis:NP₂ relr
 Conc_{ii}:CP₂

"Ñekañekaági went fishing with his wife"

(For further details, cf. 7.2.1.2.2.2. and 7.2.1.2.3.2.,
 below.)

In the Predicate slot (type i):

e.g. do-náadó - neé tsó
 her-sister with she
 Axis:NP₂ relr "She (is) with her sister"
 P_i:CP₂

(For further details, cf. 7.1.1.1.1.3.(i), below.)

In the Periphery slot in Verb Group ii.i:

Only type i CP has been observed in this construction.

e.g. taa - neé jú
 calm with be
 Axis:Aj relr
 Periph:CP₂ H:Vb₁ "to faint"
 VG_{ii.i}

(For further details, cf. 4.1.2.2.1., above.)

6.2.6. Comparative Phrase.6.2.6.1. Contrast.

The Comparative Phrase (CtvP) has the following contrastive-
 identificational features:-

- i) Its axis tagmeme slot is filled by a recursive NB₂ or
 by a back-looped clause which has been nominalized.
- ii) Its relator tagmeme slot is filled by -ve?nfi, "more

- ii) kapáadó vitsónaaá-pee? phadá?pú
 choro cry-out like you-sing
 Axis:NomCl relr
 CtvP_{ii} "You sing like the choro monkey
calls"

6.2.6.3. Distribution.

The Comparative Phrase is distributed in the Clause,
 where it fills the Comparative slot.

- e.g. no-ǰiigi - ve?nfi dodo?phaavú
 my-husband more-than he-work
 Axis:NP₂ relr
 Ctv:CtvP "He works more than my husband"

6.2.7. Conditional Phrase.

6.2.7.1. Contrast.

The Conditional Phrase (CondP) has the following contrast-
 ive-identificational features:-

- i) Its axis tagmeme slot is filled by a recursive NP₂ or
 by a back-looped clause which has been nominalized.
- ii) Its relator tagmeme slot is filled by -tshí, "condi-
 tional marker".
- iii) The relator is phonologically bound to the last
 constituent of the axis.

6.2.7.2. Variation.

CondP = +Axis:NP₂/NomCl +relr: -tshí "conditional marker"

With NP filler of Axis slot:

This is attested far less frequently than NomCl fillers of
 the axis slot in Conditional Phrases. The following ex-

ample has been noted:

xuukhoótsi - tshí - vá níf nodo?phaavú
Sunday if fut not they-work
 Axis: NP₂ relr "If it is Sunday they won't work"
 CondP

With Nominalized Clause filler of Axis slot:

i) anepuu? aá?pe ee?phi khá - tshí - vá, kašoo? va?mitú
much father fish do if fut well we-eat
 Axis: NomCl relr
 CondP

"If my father catches a lot of fish, we shall eat well"

ii) níf fa?va-tshí - vá no?pí
not rain if fut I-go
 Axis: NomCl relr "If it does not rain, I will go"
 CondP

It will be recognized that the above are examples of "simple" conditionals. Contrary-to-fact conditionals also occur, though these do not form a separate type of conditional phrase, as the differences are to be found at clause level -- though they are for convenience listed hereunder, with examples.

i) "Simple" Conditional Phrases may be and frequently are followed by the clitic -vá, "future".

ii) Contrary-to-fact conditionals, however, have to be followed by the clitic {-ma?} "unrealized"²¹, which becomes -ma before the following clitic. -ma in turn may be followed by one of the clitics -ní "recent past" or -?pe

²¹cf. 6.2.5.2.2., above, where it is generally glossed as "without". (Type ii Concomitant Phrase)

"remote past". The clitic -vá "future" may not occur here (a logical, rather than a purely linguistic, restriction).

Examples of contrary-to-fact conditionals:-

i) With NP filler of Axis slot:

xuukhoótsi-tshí	-	ma	-	mí	níí	nodo?phaaví
Sunday		if		unreal-rec	not	they-work
Axis:NP ₂		relr		ized	past	
						"If it had been Sunday,
						they would not have worked"

ii) With Nominalized Clause filler of Axis slot:

añepuu?	aá?pe	ee?phi	kha-tshí	-	ma	-	mí	kašoo?	va?mití
much	father	fish	do		if		unreal-rec	well	we-eat
Axis:NomCl			relr		ized		past		
CondP									

"If my father had caught a lot of fish, we would have eaten well"

6.2.7.3. Distribution.

The Conditional Phrase is distributed in the Clause, where it fills the Conditional slot.

e.g.	añe	tso?vómu	kávo?	-	tshí	-	vá	va?mití
	mother	fariña	toast		if		fut	we-eat
	Axis:NomCl		relr					
	Cond:CondP							

"If mother toasts the fariña (grated manioc), we will eat"

6.2.8. Adjunct Phrase.

6.2.8.1. Contrast.

The Adjunct Phrase (AP) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) Its axis tagmeme slot is filled by a back-looped clause

"Then heating (it), he ate (it)"

On inter-sentential relator phaa? (here glossed "then"),
cf. 7.2.1.2.6.1., below.

The Adjunct Phrase is also distributed recursively in the axis slot of the Directional Phrase. For further details, cf. 6.2.9.2.1., below.

6.2.9. Directional Phrase.

6.2.9.1. Contrast.

The Directional Phrase (DP) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) Its axis tagmeme slot is filled by a recursive NP₂, by a recursive Adjunct Phrase in which the axis slot is filled by a nominalized clause, by a back-looped clause which has been nominalized, or by an interrogative.
- ii) Its relator tagmeme slot is filled by -khó "from", -kóo "to" or -gikhé "out of".
- iii) The relator is phonologically bound to the last constituent of the axis.

6.2.9.2. Variation.

Three types²⁵ of Directional Phrase are set up on the basis of internal structure:-

DP_i = +Axis:NP/AP/NomCl/ig +relr: -khó "from"²⁶

²⁵cf. footnote 13 to section 6.2.5.2., above on justification for establishment of types.

²⁶These phrase-level directional relators must be distinguished

DP_{ii} = +Axis:NP₂/ig +relr: -kóo "to"

DP_{iii} = +Axis:NP₂/ig +relr: -gikhé "out of"

6.2.9.2.1. Directional Phrase Type i: -khó.

The structure of this phrase type is as indicated in the formula in the preceding paragraph.

With NP filler of Axis slot:

i) gi?ithé jijaagi jaána -khó -mi do?pi
 that big child from rec she-go
 Axis: NP₂ relr past
 DP_i "She went from that big child"

ii) jakáde -khó no-tsa?
 field from I-come
 Axis: NP₂ relr "I come from the field"
 DP_i

With AP filler of Axis slot:

i) no?mitaa -tsi -mi -khó mopítá
 I-eat adct rec from I-go-to-bed
 Axis: NomCl relr past
 Axis: AP relr "After eating, I go to bed"²⁷
 DP_i

ii) mitshá gižaa -tsi -mi -khó da?pitá
 get-up he-be adct rec from he-bathe
 Axis: NomCl relr past
 Axis: AP relr "After getting up, he has
 a bath"
 DP_i

from the word-level directional verbal suffixes (Order 3), -keé "to go to" and -ki "to come from". cf. 3.1.2.4., above.

²⁷When an AP or a NomCl fills the axis slot in DP type i, the resultant form carries a temporal, rather than a directional, meaning. However, the same cover term is retained, for structural reasons.

With Nominalized Clause filler of Axis slot:

e.g. gi-pedo?-naá²⁸ - khó ñeke? tsú
 he-lick rest from get-better he
 Axis: NomCl relr
 DP_i "From (after) licking (it),
 he got better"

With Interrogative filler of Axis slot:

e.g. henéé - khó gi-tsá?
 where from he-come
 Axis: ig relr "Where does he come from?"
 DP_i

6.2.9.2.2. Directional Phrase Type ii: -kóo.

The structure of this phrase type is as indicated in

6.2.9.2., above.

With NP filler of Axis slot:

i) gi?ithé jǐjǎagi jaána-kóo - mí do?pí
 that big child to rec she-go
 Axis: NP₂ relr past
 DP_{ii} "She went to that big child"

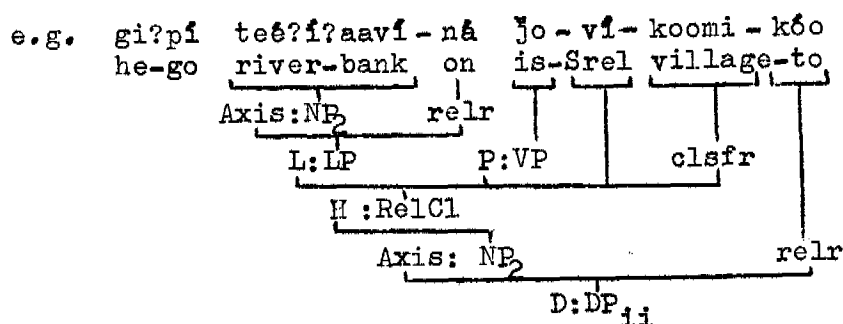
ii) jakáde - kóo no-tsá?
 field to I - come
 Axis: NP₂ relr "I come to the field"
 DP_{ii}

The lack of a nominalized clause filler of the axis slot for type ii Directional Phrases may be attributable to the availability of the complex Verb Piece (sub-type i) construction to convey relations of the type exemplified by "I go to eat" (cf. 5.1.2.2.1.), and the availability of the

²⁸ -naá < -nú "restrictive" (cf. 3.2.2.2.4.) The occurrence of this nominal suffix here confirms that the embedded clause is considered as truly nominalized.

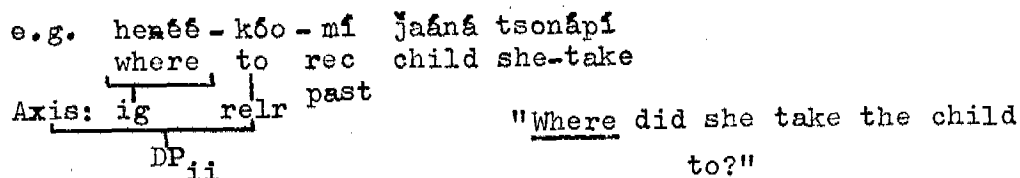
Purposive Phrase for "I go in order to eat" (cf. 6.2.2.), or -- more fundamentally -- it may be because -kóo (unlike -khó) is not used in a temporal sense.

A relativized clause may occur in the NP in the axis slot of the DP.



"He goes to the village which is on the river bank"

With Interrogative filler of Axis slot:



6.2.9.2.3. Directional Phrase Type iii: -gikhé.

The structure of this phrase type is as indicated in

6.2.9.2., above.

With NP filler of Axis slot:

- i) teé?i-gikhé fitsó? nožá
 river out of withdraw I-be
 Axis: NP₂ relr
 DP_{iii} "I come out of the river"
- ii) ha?á váfooné-gikhé ha?á matshívaá?náhaahi maméni i-khú
 your inside out of your sins abandon you-do
 Axis: NP₂ relr
 DP_{iii} "Out of your hearts abandon your sins!"
-

With Interrogative filler of Axis slot:

e.g. hé?ee - gikhé - mí oovú ha?vanú
 where(near) out_of rec howler fall
 Axis: ig relr past monkey
 DP iii
 "Where did the howler monkey
 fall out of?"

6.2.9.3. Distribution.

The Directional Phrase is distributed in the Clause and in the Numeral Phrase. Sub-classes of DP are set up on the basis of this distribution.

6.2.9.3.1. Sub-class 1.

This consists of three DP's:

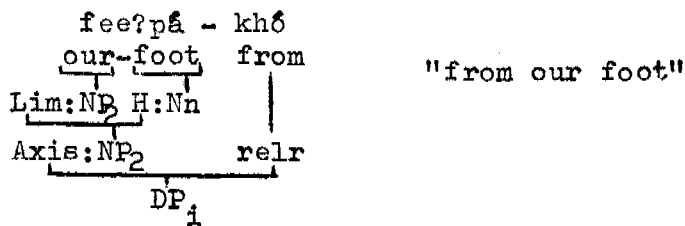
si²⁹ - ?osi - khó
 other hand from
 B:NnSt Sx 1:clsfr
 H:Nn
 Axis:NB₂ relr
 DP_i
 "from the other hand"

si - tu?á - khó
 other-foot from
 Axis: NB₂ relr
 DP_i
 "from the other foot"

²⁹si- is clearly a noun stem in Resígaro, even though the English gloss "other" is not. It also occurs elsewhere, with the appropriate classifier in each case.

e.g. si - koomí
 other village "the other village"
 B:NnSt Sx 1:clsfr

si - pekó
 other-day "the other day" (i.e., "the day after
 B:NnSt Sx 1:clsfr tomorrow")



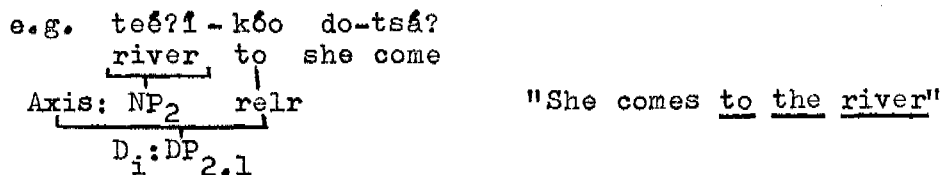
These are distributed in Numeral Phrase type ii, sub-types ii and iii(cf. 6.1.3.2.2., above).

6.2.9.3.2. Sub-class 2.

This consists of all other Directional Phrases, which are distributed in the Clause, where they fill the Directional slot. Two sub-groups are established on the basis of this distribution.

6.2.9.3.2.1. Sub-class 2.1.

This consists of all sub-class 2 Directional Phrases with an NP or an interrogative in the axis slot. The members of this sub-class group are distributed in Directional tagmeme type i (which only occurs when the Predicate slot in the clause is filled by a verb of motion).



6.2.9.3.2.2. Sub-class 2.2.

This consists of all sub-class 2 Directional Phrases with a NomCl or AP in the axis slot. The members of this sub-class group are distributed in Directional tagmeme type ii (which has no co-occurrence restriction such as that in the case of type i).

e.g. gi?daá - khó kamá - kaá tsú
 he-drink from drunk incho he
 Axis:NomCl relr "From drinking, he got
 D_{ii}:DP_{2.2} drunk"

6.2.10. Locative Phrase.

6.2.10.1. Contrast.

The Locative Phrase (LP) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) It may consist of an Axis-Relator phrase, or of a locative word or an interrogative, alone. When consisting of the former, it has the following additional features:

ii) Its axis tagmeme slot is filled by a recursive NP₂ or by a back-looped clause which has been nominalized.
 iii) Its relator tagmeme slot is filled by one of the following clitics:-

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| i) -hií(+pó) "on, above" | v) -gí "in" |
| ii) -náapí "under" | vi) -nú "in" ³¹ |
| iii) -a?nú "beside" | vii) -gikó "inside" |
| iv) -ípe "in front of" ³⁰ | |

iv) The relator is phonologically bound to the last constituent of the axis.

³⁰ -hivé? also occurs on a few occasions, with the meaning "in front of". (cf. Verb Group ii.i -- 4.1.2.2.1.

³¹ For the difference between this and the preceding relator, see examples below. It may be that -gí is basically used in clauses indicating motion, whereas -nú is basically used in clauses indicating states. -nú may thus be better rendered as "at".

6.2.10.2. Variation.

Two types of LP are set up on the basis of internal structure:-

$LP_i = +H:loc \text{ word/interrogative}$
 $LP_{ii} = +Axis: \alpha \text{ NP/NomCl } +rel.r: \alpha \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{One of the} \\ \text{set of Loc-} \\ \text{ative relators} \end{array} \right\}$

α reads: the choice of NP or NomCl is dependent on the choice of locative relator. cf. 6.2.10.2.2., below.

6.2.10.2.1. Locative Phrase Type i.

The structure of this phrase type is as indicated in the formula in the preceding paragraph.

i) Locative filler.

e.g. ve?e gi-tsa?
here he-come "He comes here"
 H: loc
 |
 LP_i

nee? tsu
there he "He (is) there"
 H:loc
 |
 LP_i

ii) Interrogative filler.

e.g. hea?e tsu
where he "Where (is) he?"
 H: ig
 |
 LP_i

6.2.10.2.2. Locative Phrase Type ii.

The structure of this phrase type is as indicated in the formula in 6.2.10.2., above. Cases of nominalized clauses filling the axis slot have only been observed to co-occur

with the relator -gikó. (cf. section (vii), below.) Thus, all other relators are illustrated only with NP fillers of the axis slot.

Following the convention established in 6.2.5.2., above, seven sub-types of LP_{ii} are set up, each sub-type corresponding to a different filler of the relator slot. It is considered unnecessary to give two examples in every case, if the meaning and form is sufficiently clear with one.

i) Sub-type i: -hií(±pó), "on, above".

i) gi?ithé jíjáhú paginoótsihá - hií tsó
 that big blanket on she
 Axis: NP₂ relr
 LP_{ii.i} "She (is) on that big blanket"

ii) kó?piidá paníftsí - hií(pó)
 bird house above
 Axis: NP₂ relr "The bird (is) above the house"
 LP_{ii.i}

ii) Sub-type ii: -náapí, "under".

paginoótsihá - náapí tsó
 blanket under she "She (is) under the blanket"
 Axis: NP₂ relr
 LP_{ii.ii}

iii) Sub-type iii: -a?nú, "beside".³²

³²There are two other forms which are occasionally glossed as "behind". However, structural analysis indicates that these are in fact examples of sub-types v and vi of Loc-

paniitsi - a?nã tsó
house beside she "She (is) beside the house"
 Axis:NP₂ relr
 LP ii.iii

iv) Sub-type iv: -ipe, "in front of".³³

paniitsi - ipe tsó
house in front of she "She (is) in front of the house"
 Axis:NP₂ relr
 LP ii.iv

v) Sub-type v: -gi,³⁴ "in".

tša-mi tēbahd - gi kanãú
 he rec jungle in get-lost "He got lost in the
 past Axis:NP₂ relr jungle"
 LP ii.v

"Beside"

As indicated in sub-type iii, above, this relator may follow a noun bearing the classifier -?aavi, "side, edge", when the resultant meaning is "beside".

e.g. teé?i-?aavi - gi m6?vu
river-side in I-walk "I walk beside the river"
 Axis: NP₂ relr
 LP ii.v OR: "I walk on the riverside"

"Temporal" use

-gi may combine with an NP₁ consisting of temporal nouns, with a temporal meaning.

ative Phrase type ii, and relevant examples are to be found in the appropriate sections.

³³There is no separate relator for "behind". This is indicated in a structure using -nã. cf. sub-type vi, below.

³⁴This relator is homophonous with the Instrument marker -- cf. 6.2.4., above.

e.g. aámé - ?pe kainéé jú apáapí kámiiká - gi
 my-mother rem dead be other year(dl) in
 past
 Axis: NP₁ relr
 LP ii.v

"My mother died in the other year" (i.e., "last year")

vi) Sub-type vi: -nú, "in, at".

This relator has a more widespread meaning and use than the preceding relator, as the following examples make clear.

pó?kónoomá - ná tsó
 doorway in she "She (is) in the doorway"
 Axis: NP₂ relr
 LP ii.vi

As indicated in (iii) and (iv), above, this relator may indicate other locative relations, when co-occurring with certain items in the NP in the axis slot.³⁵

"Beside"

e.g. teé?i-?aavi - ná té - koomí
 river-side in that-village
 Axis: NP₂ relr "Beside the river (on the
 LP ii.vi river-bank) (is) that village"

In this case there is no obvious difference between the use of -nú and the use of -gi, illustrated in the previous sub-type.

"Behind"

e.g. paniitsi-váni - ná tsó
 house back in she "She (is) behind (in back of)
 Axis: NP₂ relr the house"
 LP ii.vi

³⁵It is not -nú that means "beside" or "behind", but the combination of -nú with other elements that gives these meanings.

ii) paniĩtsĩ-gikó tsó
 house inside she
 "She (is) inside the house"
 Axis: NP₂ relr
 └──┬──┘
 LP
 ii.vii

iii) kiĩtá-gikó tsó
 canoe in she
 "She (is) in the canoe"
 Axis: NP₂ relr
 └──┬──┘
 LP
 ii.vii

iv) hamáaká-gikó tsó
 hammock in she
 "She (is) in the hammock"
 Axis: NP₂ relr
 └──┬──┘
 LP
 ii.vii

In all the above cases, -gikó is clearly a Locative relator. The following example raises the question whether it also occurs (or a homophonous relator occurs) in a Directional phrase.

e.g. teé?ĩ-gikó nóká?phaavú
 river in I-enter "I enter (go into) the water"
 Axis: NP₂ relr
 └──┬──┘
 LP or DP ?

However, this appears to be no more than a consequence of the English gloss "I go into the water", overcome in the alternative gloss, "I enter the water". This is closer to the informant's Spanish gloss, "Entro en el agua". In both cases (and in the Resigaro) the phrase indicates the location in which the speaker entered. The different English gloss in this case is merely a consequence of the presence of a motion verb in the Predicate of the clause in which this LP occurs.

Isabeel-mí Maanoel tshéni maa?má da?mitáa
Isabel rec Manuel see cassava he-eat
 | past | | |
 S:NP₂ DummyO:NP₂ P:VP Extrap O:NomCl

"Isabel saw Manuel eat cassava"

Here, no temporal relation is specified at all. (For
 extraposition, cf. 7.2.1.2.3., below.)

6.2.10.3. Distribution.

The Locative Phrase is distributed in the Clause, where it
 may fill the Predicate slot in non-transitive clauses, or
 the Locative slot in other clause types. Since all LP's
 (of both structural types) may occur in either clause-
 level tagmeme (subject to possible semantic restrict-
 ions), distribution sub-classes are not established.

In Locative slot.

e.g. Peedrô ímá hamáaká-gikó
 Peter sleep hammock in
 Axis:NP₂ relr
 L:LP
 "Peter sleeps in the
hammock"

In Predicate slot.

e.g. Peedrô hamáaká-gikó
 Peter hammock in
 Axis:NP₂ relr
 P:LP
 "Peter (is) in the hammock"

Chapter 7

CLAUSE LEVEL

The Clause is set up as a level of construction above the Phrase and below the Sentence. All clauses consist of a Predicate, plus or minus certain other clause-level tag-memes, such as Subject, Object, Causative Object, etc., according to clause type.

Clauses are divided into classes on the basis of their distributional possibilities in sentence types and other structures. In Resfigaro the Declarative, Interrogative, and Imperative classes are distributed principally in the sentence, and the Nominalized and Relativized Clause classes are distributed recursively in the Declarative Clause and other lower-level structures.

Types are set up within each class on the basis of internal structure. These types correspond to varying degrees of transitivity, from non-transitive through to tri-transitive.

In the description which follows, the constituents of the Clause are described first, and the structure of each type of each Clause class is described next -- i.e.,

clause-level tagmemes are described one by one, and then the clauses in which these tagmemes function are described. This is followed by a description of the distribution of the Declarative clause.

After the description of the Declarative clause, Interrogative and Imperative clauses are derived by multiplication, and this section is followed by two which deal with dependent clauses: nominalization and relativization.

7.1. Clause-level Tagmemes.

In view of the varied structure and widespread distribution of clause-level tagmemes, it is advantageous to describe them consecutively before going on to the description of the clauses themselves, instead of describing them one at a time as they crop up in different clause types, which at the same time would have the disadvantage of overburdening the description of clause structure with detail not immediately relevant and liable to distract attention from this structure.

Clause-level tagmemes are either nuclear or peripheral. Nuclear tagmemes are diagnostic of clause types, while peripheral tagmemes are not.

For instance, if an Object tagmeme occurs in a clause, that clause must be at least transitive. If a Dative Ob-

ject occurs, it must be at least ditransitive. Likewise, if a clause cannot have an Object, it is intransitive (or non-transitive). Thus, the presence (or obligatory absence) of these tagmemes indicates (along with other tagmemes) the type of clause in question.

Non-diagnostic tagmemes, on the other hand, may occur in most -- and in some cases in all -- clause types, without affecting in any way the identification of the clause. Examples are the tagmemes that indicate the spatio-temporal context of an event or state described by a clause.

Non-diagnostic tagmemes are, by their very nature, optional.¹ Diagnostic tagmemes, however, are not always obligatory -- so long as they are understood in the context. A key example is the Object tagmeme, which is frequently omitted. But the very possibility of occurrence of a nuclear tagmeme in one construction, as opposed to its obligatory absence in another, is diagnostic.

A problem was encountered with the Dative or Dative Object tagmeme, which cannot occur in non-transitive and intransitive clauses when the DOP manifesting it contains an NP in the axis slot, but can occur in these clauses

¹Unless one analyses at levels beyond the sentence, when certain tagmemes here viewed as optional in certain contexts may be seen to be obligatory because of the broader context. However, in the present description, analysis does not go beyond the sentence.

(without in consequence making them transitive) when the DOP contains a Nominalized Clause in its axis slot.

This could have led to the separation of NomCl + relator from NP + relator, and to the establishing of a separate Axis-Relator clause (or a set of such clauses), parallel to the Axis-Relator phrases. But this alternative was rejected for the reasons given in chapter 6, and the retention of one DOP followed from this.

The problem concerning distribution has been overcome by the establishment of two sub-classes of DOP, the first of which (with an NP or an interrogative filler of the axis slot) is distributed in Dative Object tagmeme (DO), which is diagnostic, and the second of which (with a NomCl filler of the axis slot) is distributed in Dative tagmeme (Dat), which is non-diagnostic (and in consequence has a wider distribution).²

This solution also allows handling of the co-occurrence restriction on the filler of the Predicate slot in the case of Dative Object, and the same type of co-occurrence restriction is handled in identical fashion with the Purposive.

Contrast of clause-level tagmemes is dependent both

²This solution parallels the establishment of types of Predicate tagmeme.

on the possible fillers of the slot of each one, and the occurrence possibilities of each tagmeme, and is therefore not described separately, sufficient evidence being clear both in the description of phrases, above, and in the subsequent description of clause structure.

All nuclear tagmemes are identified by their constituents (this separates the majority of Predicates from all other nuclear tagmemes) and/or by their position in the clause (this separates all other nuclear tagmemes), having no marker (with the exception of the Dative Object tagmeme, which is filled by DOP_1 , with the marker -ké). Thus, the order of these tagmemes is quite rigid, as is indicated in Clause Structure (7.2.), below.

All peripheral tagmemes are identified by a phrase-level marker, and their positions are variable, subject to limitations indicated below. (The marker is occasionally omitted with Adjunct, as described in 6.2.8.2., above. However, identity is clearly established on the basis of constituents.)

Variation in clause-level tagmemes is indicated in the sections describing each tagmeme, which follow.

Distribution is summarized in matrices 7.1. (nuclear) and 7.2. (peripheral). These indicate the clause types in

which each tagmeme may occur. The actual position of the tagmeme within any given clause type (and any possible permutations of this) is indicated in the description of the clause in question.

7.1.1. Nuclear Tagmemes.

7.1.1.1. Predicate (P).

There are five types of Predicate tagmeme (three of which correspond to sub-classes of VP, plus Predicative Adjectives, etc., and a boosted VP). These result in five clause types.³

7.1.1.1.1. Type i Predicate: Non-transitive.

This is the only non-verbal Predicate. It may consist of an adjective, an NP₂, an A-R phrase, or an interrogative.

7.1.1.1.1.1. Sub-type i: Adjectival.

This is the principal filler of the type i Predicate slot. Adjectives of types ii and iii (i.e., distributional sub-class 2) may occur (level-skipping, since there is no Adjectival Phrase).

e.g. i) anii? n6
 well I "I (an) well"
 P_i: Aj₂(type ii)

ii) ani n6
 better I "I (get) better"
 P_i: Aj₂(type iii)

³This is a case of the structural type corresponding almost exactly to the distributional sub-class in terms of the next level. If this were always the case, there would be no need to distinguish type and sub-class.

(When type iii adjectives occur, these may be followed by the inchoative suffix, as indicated in 3.4.2.3., above.

e.g. anf-kaá nó
 incho "I am beginning to get better")

7.1.1.1.1.2. Sub-type ii: Nominal.

The NP₂ occurring here is of very limited expansion, generally consisting of a Head only, possibly prefixed by an assimilated pronoun indicating possession. The structure has an essive (or identificational) meaning.

e.g. i) inádoné fú
 women we "We (are) women"
 P_i: NP₂

ii) nó - na oo tsonígi
 I rest int her-father "I (am) her father"
 P_i: NP₂

In this second example, nó (which occurs in an NP functioning as Subject) bears the nominal restrictive suffix, while tso-nígi co-occurs with the intensifier normally attested in the VP.

7.1.1.1.1.3. Sub-type iii: Axis-Relator.

Three different Axis-Relator Phrases have so far been attested in the Predicate slot: Concomitant, Locative, and Purposive.

(i) Concomitant.

Of the three Concomitant relators, two have so far been attested in this construction:-

i) -neé
 e.g. i) do - neé tsí
 her with he "He (is) with her"
 P_i: CP_i

ii) kée - n6 tsú
 whom with he "Whom (is) he with?"
 P_i: CP_i

ii) -kápo?

e.g. gi-kápo? tsú
 he alone he "He (is) alone"
 P_i: CP_{iii}

(ii) Locative.

Both types i and ii of the LP may occur in this construction.

i) LP_i

e.g. i) ve?e tsú
 here he "He (is) here"
 P_i: LP_i

ii) henéé tsú
 where he "Where (is) he?"
 P_i: LP_i

ii) LP_{ii}

Various locative markers have been observed in this construction.

e.g. i) jakádé-gikó n6⁴
 field in I "I (am) in the field"
 P_i: LP_{ii.vii}

ii) kó?píidá paniítsí - híí "The bird (is) above
 bird house above the house"
 P_i: LP_{ii.i}

iii) epíjé p6?k6noomá - ná "She (is) in the doorway"
 she doorway in
 P_i: LP_{ii.vi}

⁴This relation may also be expressed by an intransitive clause, as in jakádé-gikó no-žú
 field in I-be "I am in the field"
 L:LP S:NP-P:VP

(iii) Purposive.

When the Purposive Phrase occurs as Predicate, the resulting construction indicates possession.⁵

e.g. i) $\begin{array}{l} \text{jijaami hiitá gi - hó} \\ \text{big canoe him ppsv} \end{array}$ "He (has) a big canoe"
 $P_i: PP$

ii) $\begin{array}{l} \text{Hoaa - nó va?agajá?} \\ \text{Juan ppsv knife} \end{array}$ "John (has) a knife"
 $P_i: PP$

7.1.1.1.4. Sub-type iv: Interrogative.

This consists of an interrogative only.

e.g. $\begin{array}{l} \text{káhee phú} \\ \text{who you} \end{array}$ "Who (are) you?"
 $P_i: ig$

7.1.1.1.2. Type ii Predicate: Intransitive.

This tagmeme consists of a sub-class 1 ("intransitive") VP.

e.g. $\begin{array}{l} \text{Peedró imá} \\ \text{Pedro sleep} \end{array}$ "Peter sleeps"
 $P_{ii}: VP_1$

⁵The structure is quite different from that which indicates possession within the NP, as described in 6.1.2.2.1.2., above. Note the following grammatical "minimal pair":

Clausal possession: $\begin{array}{l} \text{hapitá no - hó} \\ \text{pig me ppsv} \end{array}$ "I have a pig"
 $S: NP_2 \quad P_i: PP$

Phrasal possession: $\begin{array}{l} \text{nó hapitá} \\ \text{my pig} \end{array}$ "my pig"
 $Lim: NP_2 \quad H: Nn$
 NP_2

This NP may of course occur without modification as Subject of a clause. e.g. $\begin{array}{l} \text{nó hapitá no - hó} \\ \text{my pig me ppsv} \end{array}$ "I have my pig"

$S: NP_2 \quad P_i: PP$

(Assimilation of the pronoun in the Limiter slot to the

gi?i kaʃoo? é?jo
 this-one well run "This one runs well"
 P_{ii}:VP₁

7.1.1.1.3. Type iii Predicate: Transitive.

This tagmeme consists of a sub-class 2 ("transitive") VP, or a sub-class 1 VP boosted one degree on the transitivity scale by addition of the causative marker.⁷

7.1.1.1.3.1. Sub-type i: with VP₂.

e.g. tsó maa?má a?mitú
 she cassava eats "She eats cassava"
 P_{iii.i}:VP₂

7.1.1.1.3.2. Sub-type ii: with VP₁ + causative.

e.g. tsá tsó imotú
 he she sleep-cstv "He makes her sleep"
 P_{iii.ii}:VP₁ + cstv

7.1.1.1.4. Type iv Predicate: Ditransitive.

This tagmeme consists of a sub-class 3 ("ditransitive") VP, or a sub-class 2 VP boosted one degree on the transitivity scale by addition of the causative marker.

7.1.1.1.4.1. Sub-type i: with VP₃.

e.g. tsá do-ké pišaaní aa?ní
 he her dat meat give "He gives the meat
 P_{iv.i}:VP₃ to her"

noun in the Head slot could reduce this to nopítsá nohó.

⁶This relation may also be expressed by an intransitive clause, as in Hoaa-nó va?agajá? jú "John has a knife"
 Juan-ppsv knife be
 Ppsv:PP S:NP P:VP

⁷cf. Longacre, 1965b on "boosting".

7.1.1.1.4.2. Sub-type ii: with VP₂ + causative.

e.g. Isabeel Maanoel maa?má a?mitotú
 Isabel Manuel cassava eat-cstv
 P_{iv.ii}: VP₂ + cstv

"Isabel makes Manuel eat cassava"

7.1.1.1.5. Type v Predicate: Tritransitive.

This tagmeme (which is of infrequent occurrence) consists of a sub-class 3 VP boosted one degree on the transitivity scale by addition of the causative marker. Only aa?ni, "to give", has as yet been attested in this construction.

e.g. tsá Isabeel pišaani no - ké o?tú
 he Isabel meat me-dat give-cstv
 P_v: VP₃ + cstv

"He makes Isabel give the meat to me"

7.1.1.2. Subject (S)

This tagmeme consists of an NP₂, a nominalized clause, or an interrogative (for examples of the latter, cf. 7.2.2.-1.2.2., below, especially Group 1).

e.g. gi?ithé jijaagi jaaná imú
that big child sleep "That big child sleeps"
 S:NP₂

gi-va?aadégaǰǰá? tsóó?ve gi-kháá nó ifotú
his-knife sharpen he-do-(nom) me feat-cause
 S:NomCl

"That he sharpens his knife frightens me"

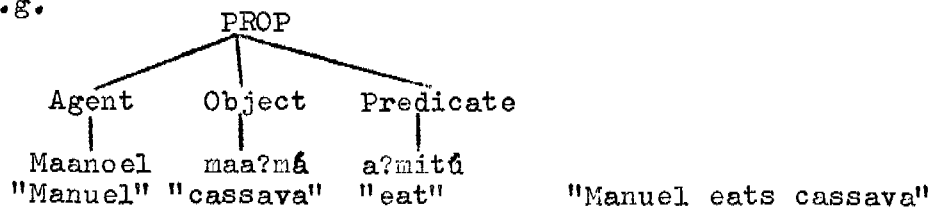
7.1.1.3. Object (O)

This tagmeme consists of an NP₂, a nominalized clause, or

for distinguishing Object and Causative Object, especially in clauses where the former does not (or cannot) occur. However, this distinction is maintained for the following reasons:

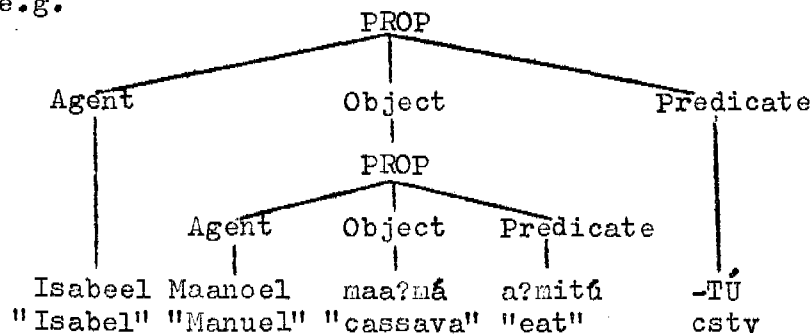
- i) It is necessary to distinguish these two in Ditransitive clauses, where they co-occur, and thus it is desirable to retain the distinction elsewhere.
- ii) As indicated above, the Causative Object co-occurs with a different type of filler of the VP in the Predicate slot.
- iii) The Causative Object is not an Object in the same sense as the ("Direct" or "Simple") Object, as a study of the Deep Structure would reveal⁹: the ("Direct") Object

⁹In terms of generative semantics (as in, for instance, Franz, 1971), the ("Direct") Object may occur as an argument in a simple proposition with a single predicate.
e.g.



The postulated Causative Object, on the other hand, occurs in a semantically complex sentence consisting of two propositions, one governing the other.

e.g.



Isabeel Maanoel maa?má a?mitotú "Isabel causes Manuel to

is simply the object of the action described by the verb, whereas the Causative Object is the object of the causing, but the subject of the action described by the verb-minus-causative. Thus, the filler of the CO slot must be potentially an agent. For this reason, I have maintained the distinction between Object and Causative Object at all times, and have adopted the term Causative Object, in common with some other tagmemicists.¹⁰

7.1.1.5. Quotative Object (QO)

This tagmeme consists minimally of a clause or a nominalized clause, and maximally of a sentence, or, potentially, a higher level unit such as a paragraph or a discourse (the analysis of which is beyond the scope of the present description). The clause is used for direct quotations, and the nominalized clause is used in reporting the substance of what someone has said, with appropriate changes of person, etc.

eat cassava"

Here, Maanoel is the Agent of the action referred to in the lower predicate, but also part of the proposition which is the Object of the higher (causative) predicate. In the Surface Structure of Resfigaro, these Agent and Object aspects are united in one tagmeme, creating an entity clearly distinct from the purely complemental maa?má ("cassava").

¹⁰ e.g. Longacre, 1965b. Another possible term would be Wise's "Indirect Subject" (1963:108, 1968:17). This highlights the tagmeme's semantic status as subject of the action caused by the ("Direct") Subject of the clause. Other possibilities would be "Object-as-Patient" vs. "Object-as-Agent", or "Object Complement" vs. "Agent Complement".

e.g. Maanoel-ní kemá, ee?phi khéne no?pi¹¹
 Manuel rec say fish do-to I-go,
 past QO: Cl

"Manuel said, 'I'm going fishing'."

Maanoel-ní kemá ee?phi khéne gi?pinaá
 Manuel rec say fish do-to he-go-nom
 past QO: NomCl

"Manuel said he was going fishing"

7.1.1.6. Dative Object (DO)

This tagmeme consists of a DOP, sub-class 1, which has an NP filler of the axis slot, or of an interrogative (for examples of the latter, cf. 7.2.2.1.2.2., Group 1, below).

e.g. gi?ithé jaána-ké maa?ná daa?ni
that child dat cassava she-give
 DO:DOP₁

"She gives cassava to that child"

Dative Object (DO) is distinguished from Dative (Dat) by its filler, and by its different distribution. DO only occurs when the Predicate of the clause is filled by aa?ni, "to give", and is diagnostic. No such restriction applies to Dat, which is non-diagnostic.

Nuclear Tagmeme Distribution Matrix.

The following matrix indicates the possibility of occurrence of clause-level nuclear tagmemes in each of the clause types. It does not indicate co-occurrence possibilities

¹¹On this construction, cf. 5.1.2.2.1. (Verb Piece type ii, sub-type i.

between these tagmemes. Details are given below, in the description of clause structure.

Clause Types \ Nuclear Tagmemes	P	S	O	CO	QO	DO
i Non-transitive	/	/	---	--	--	--
ii Intransitive	/	/	---	--	--	--
iii Transitive	/	/	/	/	/	--
iv Ditransitive	/	/	/	/	/	/
v Tritransitive	/	/	/	/	--	/

Matrix 7.1.: Nuclear Tagmeme Distribution.

7.1.2. Peripheral Tagmemes.

In the majority of the following tagmemes, identity is dependent on the particular phrase-level tagmeme which alone may fill the clause-level slot in question, and if there were no exceptions to this, there would be no need to describe clause-level peripheral tagmemes separately, since the result might merely be repetition, and circularity. However, this separate section enables us to handle such cases as that of the clause-level Temporal tagmeme, which is filled by a sub-class 1 NP or an interrogative, without introducing this complication into the description of any particular clause type.

Even where no such complications exist, the presence of this section avoids constant repetition of information

for each tagmeme in each clause type.

Thus, it is preferable to follow the same procedure for all peripheral clause-level tagmemes, even where no inherently new information is conveyed (though here the clause level slot is in focus, and not its filler, as in chapter 6, above).

In the matrix which concludes this section, the distribution of all peripheral tagmemes is summarized.

7.1.2.1. Dative (Dat)

This tagmeme consists of a sub-class 2 DOP, which has a nominalized clause filler of the axis slot.

e.g. gimña - ké dodo?phaavú
 he-sleep-dat she-work
 Dat:DOP₂ "While he sleeps, she works"¹²

7.1.2.2. Purposive (Ppsv)

This tagmeme consists of a PP or an interrogative. Three types of Purposive tagmeme are established on the basis of these fillers.

7.1.2.2.1. Type i Purposive.

This tagmeme type consists of a sub-class 1 PP (in which the axis slot is filled by an NP or an interrogative), and only occurs when the Predicate slot is filled by a VP con-

¹²This could also be glossed, in appropriate circumstances, "Although he sleeps, she works". cf. discussion in 6.2.1.2.

taining kemú "to say, to tell".

e.g. phaipiǰé - n6 - ?pe gimú¹³ gi-tapoǰgi
old woman ppsv rem he-tell his-dream
 Ppsv_i:PP₁ past "He told the old woman his
 dream"

7.1.2.2.2. Type ii Purposive.

This tagmeme type consists of a sub-class 2 PP (in which the axis slot is filled by a nominalized clause), and is not subject to the above occurrence restriction.

e.g. gi?vexo6 - n6 gi?pi
he-field-burn ppsv he-go "He goes to burn a field"
 Ppsv_{ii}:PP₂

7.1.2.2.3. Type iii Purposive.

This tagmeme type consists of the interrogative kope?hee, "why?".

e.g. kope?hee gimú
why he-sleep "Why does he sleep?"
 Ppsv_{iii}:ig

(An interrogative may also occur in the axis slot of PP sub-class 1, which is distributed in type i Purposive tagmeme.)

7.1.2.3. Benefactive (Ben)

This tagmeme consists of a Benefactive Phrase.

e.g. i) va-ke?vigi-poká? hiltá gi-khú
our-chief ben canoe he-make
 Ben:BP "He makes a canoe for our chief"

¹³The first syllable of kemú is deleted when a pronoun is assimilated to the verb

- ii) náginági-mí do - žá - pa
 angry rec she-be - prog
 past
- tsó vatshoótsí?oohá-mí haama na-khaá-poká?
 her pot rec steal they-do ben
 past

Ben:BP

"She was angry because they had stolen her pot"

7.1.2.4. Instrument (I)

This tagmeme consists of an Instrument Phrase.

- e.g. tsá do?mótshó aváanaí - gí
 him she-hits stick - with "She hits him with a stick"
 I:IP

7.1.2.5. Concomitant (Conc)

This tagmeme consists of a Concomitant Phrase. Two types of Concomitant tagmeme are established on the basis of internal and external differences.

7.1.2.5.1. Type i Concomitant

This tagmeme type consists of a sub-class 1 CP (i.e., a CP in which the relator is -ma? and the axis is filled by a nominalized clause). This only occurs when the Predicate slot is filled by a VP containing ifú, "to fear".

- e.g. dóffú tsá dophotaá - ma?
 she-fear him she-awaken relr "She is afraid to awaken
 Conc_i:CP₁ him"

7.1.2.5.2. Type ii Concomitant

This tagmeme type consists of a sub-class 2 CP, and is not subject to the above restriction.

7.1.2.9.1. Type i Directional

This tagmeme type consists of a sub-class 2.1. Directional Phrase (i.e., one in which the axis slot is filled by an NP or an interrogative). This only occurs when the Predicate slot is filled by a VP containing a verb of motion.

e.g. no-paáná-kóo do?pí
 my-house - to she-go
 D_i:DP_{2.1} "She goes to my house"

7.1.2.9.2. Type ii Directional

This tagmeme type consists of a sub-class 2.2. Directional Phrase (i.e., one in which the axis slot is filled by a nominalized clause or an AP), and is not subject to the above restriction.

e.g. dómaá - khó - mí ãeke? tsó
 she-sleep from rec get-stronger she
 D_{ii}: DP_{2.2} past "After sleeping, she got stronger"

7.1.2.10. Locative (L)

This tagmeme consists of a Locative Phrase.

e.g. ve?e gi-tsa?
 here he-come "He comes here"
 L:LP

panitsí-a?ná dodo?phaavú
 house - beside she-work
 L:LP "She works beside the house"

7.1.2.11. Temporal (T)

This tagmeme consists of an NP sub-class 1, an interrogative, or a nominalized clause. Three types of Temporal

As the glosses indicate, when the Temporal slot is filled by a nominalized clause, the function is iterative.¹⁴ In such cases, the future temporal clitic always occurs.

7.1.2.12. Vocative (Voc)

This tagmeme consists of a level-skipping vocative noun (Noun word sub-class 2), or a name.

e.g. i) aame, no?mitama?u
 mother, I-eat-desid "Mother, I want to eat"
 Voc:Nn₂

ii) Hoaa, vée pi-tsa?
 Juan, here you-come "John, come here"
 Voc:name

7.1.2.13. Negative (Neg)

This tagmeme consists of the negative work nif, "not", only, level-skipping, since there is no negative phrase.

e.g. nif na?tsanaá n6
 not tired I "I am not tired"
 Neg:neg

(The negative imperative is indicated by a verb suffix, and so no separate clause-level tagmeme occurs in that case. (cf. 3.1.2.6.1.2. and 3.1.2.6.2.2., above.) This also

¹⁴The difference between iterative and habitual is clear on both structural and semantic grounds in Resígaro: Structurally, iterative is indicated by use of a NomCl in the Temporal slot in the clause, while habitual is indicated by Verb Piece type ii, sub-type i (cf. 5.1.2.2.1.). Semantically, iterative refers to the inherent correlation between two events (working and getting tired, catching fish and eating well, etc.), which holds in any time-scale, whereas habitual refers merely to repeated action in the past.

It is immediately obvious from the above matrix that though all peripheral tagmemes are attested in Intransitive and Transitive clauses, there is a considerable fall-off in Ditransitive and Tritransitive clauses, which can probably be attributed to the following two reasons:-

- i) These clause types are of relatively infrequent occurrence.
- ii) As the number of nuclear tagmemes increases, the number of peripheral tagmemes diminishes, to avoid overloading structures. As the following sections indicate, overloading is relieved by measures such as replacement of an independent manifestation of the Subject tagmeme by a pronoun assimilated to the verb in the Predicate; extraposition; deletion of Object; relativization to embed phrases within phrases (cf., for instance, 6.2.-9.2.2., above), etc.

Information conveyed by non-nuclear tagmemes thus tends to be omitted from the more highly-complex clauses, being given instead in adjacent, less complex clauses, in the same or other sentences. A description of this distribution is dependent on the postulation of a level higher than the Sentence -- often called the Paragraph by tagmemicists. Since the scope of the present description is limited to the Sentence, no analysis of inter-sentential relationships is presented.

Where tagmemes have not been attested in Ditransitive and Tritransitive clauses, matrix cells have been left blank, to indicate that some of these tagmemes may possibly occur. Thus, one would expect Locative and Temporal tagmemes, at least, to be possible, though they have not yet been observed in these types.

Few peripheral tagmemes occur in Non-transitive clauses, either, since these are generally of quite limited expansion, apparently only permitting such peripheral tagmemes as are appropriate to the Predicate selected.

7.2. Clause Structure.

Five clause classes (Declarative, Interrogative, Imperative, Nominalized, and Relativized) are established on the basis of their distribution. Within each class, five types are set up on the basis of degrees of transitivity.¹⁶

Interrogative, Imperative, Nominalized and Relativized can be most economically described by means of multiplication operating on the Declarative, which is described first. As well as being more economical, this is also more illuminating than the original (now discard-

¹⁶In the Imperative, there are only four types, since non-transitive clauses cannot be imperative.

ed) practice of describing every class and type of clause exhaustively and independently, totally ignoring the forms already described, and thus introducing wholesale repetition.

Of these four derived clauses, Interrogative and Imperative are independent (i.e., they can fill the Base slot in simple sentences), while Nominalized and Relativized are dependent, being embedded in other structures at clause level and lower.

7.2.1. Basic -- The Declarative Clause.

7.2.1.1. Contrast.

The Declarative Clause (DeclCl) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) It consists minimally of a Predicate and a Subject tagmeme, the slots of which are typically filled by phrase-level units, most frequently a VP and an NP_2 , respectively.
- ii) The remaining constituent tagmemes are classified as either peripheral or nuclear (S and P are also nuclear), the number and nature of the latter determining the type of clause.
- iii) The slots of these tagmemes are also typically filled by phrase-level units.
- iv) As well as consisting of tagmemes, the clause may contain non-tagmeme elements -- clitics, which may be

affixed to any constituent tagmeme (the one chosen depending on the factors indicated in 7.2.1.2.6., below).

7.2.1.2. Variation.

Five types of Declarative Clause are set up on the basis of internal structure. These are dependent on which nuclear tagmemes may occur, and follow the distinctions of the Predicate types described in 7.1.1., above, reflecting varying degrees of transitivity in the clause.

7.2.1.2.1. Declarative Clause Type i, "Non-Transitive".¹⁷

7.2.1.2.1.1. Basic Structure.

Non-transitive declarative clauses have non-verbal predicates. They have two nuclear tagmemes, Subject and Predicate. The Subject slot may be filled by an NP₂ or a NomCl. When the filler is an NP type iii consisting of a type i pronoun only, the S follows the P. When the filler is any other manifestation of the NP, or a NomCl, the S precedes the P. This is indicated in the following composite formula (in which peripheral tagmemes are not indicated):-

¹⁷There is no separate meteorological clause type in Resigaró, in contrast to some Mesoamerican languages (cf. Longacre, 1964a:57), and climatic conditions are described using various clause types.

e.g. ha?moo? fú

hot we "It [the weather] is hot"

P: Aj S:NP (Clause type i)

A more "literal" gloss may appear to be "we are hot", and this would be possible, too, in appropriate circumstances. However, the first person plural inclusive is used in all meteorological statements, including some where a double

$Cl_i = \underline{+S:NP-R/NomCl} +P_i:Aj/NP/A-R \text{ phrase/ig } \overline{+S:NP}_{iiiR}$

In all cases, the NP or NomCl in the Subject slot tends to be of quite limited expansion.

e.g. i) $\underline{\text{dep}^{\text{litsh}} \text{ oo}^{\text{ja}}\text{ja}^{\text{a}}?}$
his-axe small "His axe (is) small"
 S:NP_i P:Aj

ii) $\underline{\text{giva}^{\text{a}}\text{aad}^{\text{e}}\text{ga}^{\text{ja}}\text{a}^{\text{a}}?}$ $\underline{\text{ts}^{\text{o}}\text{o}^{\text{e}}\text{?ve} \text{ gi-kha}^{\text{a}}}$ $\underline{\text{oo}^{\text{ja}}\text{ja}^{\text{a}}?}$
his-knife sharpen he-do(nom) small
 O:NP₂ S:NP₂-P:VP nom P:Aj
 Cl S:NomCl

"He sharpens his knife^(nom) (is) small"

i.e., "His knife that he sharpens (is) small"

iii) $\underline{\text{oo}^{\text{ja}}\text{ga}^{\text{i}} \text{ tsu}^{\text{a}}}$
small he "He (is) small"
 P:Aj S:NP_{iii}(Pn)

Two exceptions to the above general rule are to be noted:

1) When the Predicate is filled by an NP, the NP filling the Subject slot is generally the variant of type iii consisting of a pronoun only, and the resulting construction has an essive, or identificational, function (cf. 7.1.1.-1.1.2., above). In this construction, the pronoun in

interpretation would be more difficult.

e.g. $\underline{\text{fa}^{\text{a}}\text{?vu}^{\text{a}}}$ "It is raining"
 S:NP-P:VP (Clause type ii)

I understand that Bora makes meteorological statements in a similar manner (personal communication from Wesley Thiesen).

the NP functioning as Subject is frequently marked by the nominal suffix -ná, "restrictive", which is usually followed by oo "intensifier" occurring initially in the Predicate. Thus, in this case, the Subject tagmeme precedes the Predicate.

e.g. tsó - ná oo noótó
she-rest int my-daughter "She (is) my daughter"
 S:NP_{iii}(Pn) P:NP_i

2) When the Predicate is filled by an LP,¹⁸ the NP filling the Subject slot has been observed to follow the Predicate, even when it contains a noun and not a pronoun (i.e., an NP_i and not an NP_{iii}).

e.g. gi - ná vakhājakáatsí
him-in sickness "(There is) sickness in him"
 P: LP S:NP_i (i.e., "He is sick")

In this construction, the Subject may also precede, instead of following, the Predicate, in accordance with the general rule.

7.2.1.2.1.2. Peripheral Tagmemes.

Negative, Dative, Comparative, Conditional, Directional, and Vocative tagmemes are attested in this clause type, though it is rare to find more than the Vocative, the Negative, and one other peripheral tagmeme occurring in any given non-transitive clause. Peripheral tagmemes occur either initially or finally in the clause -- never between S and

¹⁸For interrogatives in the LP in the Predicate slot, cf. 7.2.2.1.2.2., Group 2, below.

P. Initial position is by far the most frequent.¹⁹

Dative, Negative.

The Negative always precedes the Predicate, though the Subject, and other peripheral tagmemes, may occur between these two tagmemes.

e.g. anepuu? dodo?phaavaa-kó, ní maa?tsá tsú
 much he-work dat not tired he
 Dat:DOP₂ Neg:neg P:Aj S:NP₂

"Although he works a lot, he is not tired"

Comparative, Vocative.

e.g. čhomi, gi - ve?níi tseinoo? phú
 sister him-more than tall you
 Voc:Nn₂ Ctv:CtvP P:Aj S:NP₂

"Sister, you are taller than him"

No tagmeme other than S may separate the Comparative and Predicate tagmemes, whether the former precedes or follows the latter. The Vocative is only attested in initial position.

Conditional.

e.g. nodo?phaavaa-tshí-vá ma?tsanaá nó
 I-work if fut tired I
 Cond:CondP P:Aj S:NP₂

"If I work, I shall get tired"

¹⁹Position of peripheral tagmemes is no doubt dependent on higher-level features, such as initial setting (with spatio-temporals), given versus new information, focus, and preserving the thread of discourse. However, analysis of this is beyond the scope of the present discussion.

Directional.

e.g. gi-pedo?naá-khó ñeke? tsí
 he-lick from get-better he
 D_{ii}:DP₂ P:Aj S:NP₂
 "From licking (it), he got better"

Other peripheral tagmemes can probably also occur in this clause type, especially L and T, which indicate the spatio-temporal axes of any action or state. However, Non-transitive clauses are generally of quite limited expansion, and no occurrences of such clauses containing these or other peripheral tagmemes have so far been observed.

7.2.1.2.2. Declarative Clause Type ii, "Intransitive"7.2.1.2.2.1. Basic Structure.

Cl_{ii} = +S:NP₂ +P:VP₁

The Intransitive Declarative Clause has two nuclear tagmemes, S and P, both of which are obligatory. P is filled by an Intransitive VP (sub-class 1). S is filled by an NP (sub-class 2). If this consists of a pronoun, the phonological form of the two tagmemes may be fused, as the pronoun may be assimilated to the following verb (For assimilation, cf. 3.3.2.1.1., above). However, this fused form still manifests the two tagmemes, though it is sometimes difficult to indicate the boundary between the realizations of the two tagmemes.

e.g. tsa imú
 he sleep "He sleeps"
 S:NP₂ P:VP

 gimú
 he-sleep "He sleeps"
 S:NP₂ P:VP

No cases have been observed of a nominalized clause filling the S slot in the Intransitive Clause.

7.2.1.2.2.2. Peripheral Tagmemes.

All peripheral tagmemes have been observed in the Intransitive Clause, though rarely do more than two or three co-occur in any given clause. For this reason, no formula is given, as this co-occurrence restriction and the possible permutations described below make it impossible to present a meaningful order of occurrence of all tagmemes.

Some tagmemes occur more than once in the Intransitive Clause. The following examples and comments account for those peripheral tagmemes which most frequently occur in the Intransitive Clause. Examples of the other tagmemes are to be found in the descriptions of these tagmemes (in section 7.1.2, above) and of their fillers (in section 6.2., etc., above).

Negative.

This tagmeme always comes near the beginning of the Intransitive Clause, only being preceded by Vocative and Temporal tagmemes, when these are present.

Adjunct.

This would appear always to precede the Predicate, and generally to occur initially in the clause (unless Vocative is present). It occurs frequently in texts.

e.g. aváana níiká gi-khá-kaá - tsí no-ǰíigi
 tree fruit he-eat-incho-adct my-husband
 A:AP S:NP

iteevi?é-pee? ké?ǰo
 aguaje - like become
 Ctv:CtvP P:VP

"Eating the fruit of the tree, my husband became like
 an aguaje-tree"

Temporal.

When present, this tagmeme always occurs initially in the clause (except when Vocative is present, when T occurs in second position after Voc).

e.g. nokótsa - mí naapi?é? eénó novíigipí
 yesterday rec morning thunder speak
 past
 T:NP₁ S:NB₂ P:VP

"Yesterday morning the thunder spoke" (i.e., "Yesterday morning it thundered/there was thunder")

Locative.

This tagmeme occurs either after the T and before the S, or after the P.

e.g. nokótsa - mí naapí teé?í?aavi-ná Peedró imú
 yesterday rec night river-side-on Pedro sleep
 past
 T:NP₁ L:LP S:NB₂ P:VP

"Last night Peter slept on the riverbank"

In the same clause, the Locative may alternatively occur after the Predicate.

The Locative tagmeme may occur twice in the clause, both realizations occurring contiguously, either before the S or after the P, or one in each position. However, the most normal permutation is with both Locative tagmemes occurring contiguously, after the Predicate tagmeme, as in the following example:-

nokótsa - mí naapí Peedrô yesterday rec night Pedro <u>past</u>	ímú kašoo? hamáaká-gikó sleep well hammock - in	
<u>T:NP₁</u>	<u>S:NP₂</u>	<u>P:VP</u>
<u>gi-paáná-náapí</u> his-house-under <u>L:LP</u>	"Last night Peter slept well in a hammock under (i.e., in) his house"	

Directional.

This tagmeme normally occurs after the Predicate tagmeme, though it has been attested elsewhere, as may be seen in the Benefactive example, below.

e.g. áápaná nóokó - vá tomorrow afternoon-fut	do?pí sí- koomi - kóo she-go other-village-to	
<u>T:NP₁</u>	<u>S:NP₂-P:VP</u>	<u>D:DP</u>

"Tomorrow afternoon she is going to the other village"

The Directional tagmeme may occur twice in the clause, in which case the first occurrence usually indicates source,

and the second, destination or goal. Both occurrences are contiguous and follow the Predicate in the examples so far observed.

e.g. aápaá nóokó - vá noónó i?pí
 tomorrow afternoon-fut my-wife go
 T:NP₁ S:NP₂ P:VP

hí - koomi - khó sí - koomi - kóo
 this-village-from other-village- to
 D:DP D:DP

"Tomorrow afternoon my wife is going from this village to
 the other village"

Benefactive.

This tagmeme may occur in various positions within the clause, as the following example and others elsewhere (cf. 7.2.1.2.3.2., below, etc.) illustrate.

e.g. tsanáva - poká? gi-páána-kóo gi-tsá?nu
 his-mother-ben his-house-to he-come
 Ben:BP D:DP S:NP₂-P:VP

"He comes home for (because of) his mother"

7.2.1.2.3. Declarative Clause Type iii, "Transitive"

7.2.1.2.3.1. Basic Structure.

Three sub-types of Transitive Clause are set up on the basis of internal structure:-

Cl_{iii.i} = +S:NP₂/NomCl +O:NE₂/NomCl +P_{iii}:VP₂

Cl_{iii.ii} = +S:NP₂/NomCl +CO:NP₂ +P_{iii}:VP₁ + cstv

Cl_{iii.iii} = +S:NP₂ +P_{iii}: (kemú)
 (hetsanotú) +QO:Cl/NomCl

(Peripheral tagmemes are not shown.)

7.2.1.2.3.1.1. Transitive Clause Sub-type i, "Basic"

This sub-type consists minimally of a Transitive Predicate filled by a transitive Verb Phrase (sub-class 2) and a Subject. As with the intransitive clause, the realization of the Subject may be fused with that of the Predicate.

e.g. tsó-?pe gi-vá?nu
 her rem he-command "He gave her an order"
 O: NP₂ past S:NP₁-P:VP₂

The Object is optional in terms of the structure of the clause (the "surface structure"), but is semantically obligatory -- i.e., an object is understood in the context. Thus, for instance, gi-tshéni "he sees" or da?mitú "he eats" are complete transitive clauses, but the object of his seeing or eating is implicit in the meaning, and may, of course, be made explicit by a linguistic (as opposed to an extra-linguistic) reference:

e.g. a?mithoótsí da?mitú
 meal/food he-eat "He eats the meal/food"
 O:NP₂ S:NP₁-P:VP₂

As in the case of the Subject, if the Object is manifested by an NP consisting of a pronoun only, this may in certain cases be assimilated to part of the filler of the Predicate slot -- this time to the filler of the periphery slot of a Verb Group type ii, sub-type i, as indicated in 3.3.2.1., above. (cf. 4.1.2.2.1. on the Verb Group.)

e.g. doḡte gi-khú
 her-help he-do
 O:NP₂ - S:NP₂-P:VP²¹ "He helps her"

(Contrast

ókógiḡi gi-naníkaná ifte khú
 young-man his-sister help do
 S:NP₂ O:NP₂ P:VP

"The young man helps his sister")

A further example of this is to be found in the comments on extraposition (with manáa tḡ? "to know") which follow.

In the Transitive Clause, the order S O P is quite rigid (though other, peripheral, tagmemes may occur between these constituents). The Subject may only move from its position before the Object if its realization is fused with that of the Predicate. When extraposition of the Object operates, a "dummy" Object consisting of a pronoun (or occasionally of a name) fills the normal Object slot in the clause, and a second Object slot occurs after the Predicate, containing the Object moved by extraposition.

Extraposition may operate if the Object is of complex structure -- generally one manifested by an NP

²¹Since the Verb Group is discontinuous, with the phonological form of the Object fused with its first part, and the phonological form of the Subject fused with its second part, the indication of constituent tagmemes here does not attempt to show this detail.

e.g. gi-manáa no-tó?²² da?mitáa
 it-know I-get he-eat (nom)
 Dummy O:NP_{iii} S:NP₂-P:VP Extrap O:NomCl

"I know that he eats"

kaašoǰa?i khú "to want"

When the Predicate is filled by kaašoǰa?i khú "to want", the Object may, as elsewhere, contain an NP or a NomCl.

e.g. i) maa?má kaašoǰa?i no-khú
 cassava want I-do
 O:NP₂ S:NP₂-P:VP "I want cassava"

ii) da?mitáa kaašoǰa?i no-khú
 he-eat (nom) want I-do
 O:NomCl S:NP₂-P:VP "I want him to eat"²³

An alternative way of expressing the same idea as that contained in the second of the above examples is by embedding within a Purposive Phrase the nominalized clause referring to the action desired, in which case an Object does not occur in the clause, this being replaced by the Purposive tagmeme. (This may occur in various positions in the clause, as indicated in the paragraphs on the Purposive tagmeme in 7.2.1.2.3.2.

²² Again, with a complex Verb Group, the assimilated Subject occurs between the two constituent elements.

²³ If the proposed performer of the desired action is co-referential with the desirer of the action, the desiderative clitic is usually used on the verb.

e.g. da?mitáa-ma?u
 he-eat - desid
 S:NP₂-P:VP "He wants to eat"

(cf. 7.2.1.2.6.3., below.)

("Peripheral Tagmemes"), below.)

7.2.1.2.3.1.2. Transitive Clause, Sub-type ii, "Causative"

When the Predicate slot is filled by an Intransitive VP (sub-class 1) to which the causative has been added, the Causative Object (cf. 7.1.1.4., above) must occur. This may not be omitted, and assimilation of a pronoun in the CO to the filler of the peripheral slot of a Verb Group has not been observed.

The comments on occurrence of the Subject tagmeme made in the preceding section apply equally in this case.

e.g. giva?aadégaǰá? tsóó?ve gi-khaá - mí nó i?pínotú
 his-knife sharpen he-do (nom) rec me go-cstv
 S:NomCl past CO:NP₂ P:VP₁+cstv

"His sharpening his knife made me go"

The order S CO P is rigid, though, as in the case of sub-type i, peripheral tagmemes may occur between the nuclear ones, and extraposition may occur, though few cases of this have been observed, since attested Causative Objects tend not to have very complex structure.

e.g. no-mí ífotovigí - mí gi?pínotú
 me rec frighten-one-who rec he-go-cstv
 past past
 CO:NP₁ iii(RelCl) S:NP₂-P:VP₁+cstv

"He made the one who had frightened me go"

With extraposition, this becomes:

of the Transitive Clause, the only changes being that the QO slot is filled by a nominalized clause, and appropriate changes of person are made, as indicated in 7.1.1.5., above.

e.g. domá - mí teé?í-kóo - má do?pínaá
 she-say rec river-to-desid she-go-nom
 S:NP₂-P:VP past QO:NomCl

"She said that she wanted to go to the river"

When the QO occurs with hetsaotú "to ask", there is the (logical) restriction that the clause in the QO is interrogative.

e.g. tsetsaotú haphá pamá?kaani
 he-ask ig you-are hungry
 S:NP₂-P:VP QO:IgCl

"He asked, 'Are you hungry?'"

7.2.1.2.3.2. Peripheral Tagmemes.

All peripheral tagmemes may occur in any sub-type of the Transitive Clause, though, as in the case of the Intransitive Clause, rarely do more than two or three co-occur in any given clause. Hence, no meaningful formula can be given. The following examples and comments refer to some of the peripheral tagmemes that are most frequently observed in the Transitive Clause. Further examples are to be found throughout the thesis.

Negative.

As always, this precedes the Predicate.

ii) tsó-?pe gi-vá?nu paniitsí boto? khaá - nó
 her rem he-command house sweep do - ppsv,
 O:NP₂ past S:NP₂-P:VP Ppsv:PP
 "He commanded (told) her to sweep the house"

In the second of the above examples, subject is not marked on the nominalized verb in the Purposive Phrase, since this is indicated in the Object slot.

In Sub-type ii.

Since the Causative sub-type of the Transitive Clause tends to be of more complex structure than the basic sub-type, less peripheral tagmemes generally occur, and the Purposive is no exception to this rule. When it occurs, it tends to follow the Predicate, as in sub-type i.

e.g. tsa-mí do?pínotú ee?phi gi-khaá - nó
 him rec she-go-cstv fish he-do - ppsv,
 CO: NP₂ past S:NP₂-P:VP Ppsv:PP

"She made him go fishing"

In this case, subject is marked on the nominalized verb in the Purposive Phrase, since the tsa in the CO slot is object of the causative and (semantically) agent of the going, not the fishing (cf. description of Causative Object in 7.1.1.4., above).

In Sub-type iii.

In this sub-type, the long Quotative Object is final, and since this immediately follows the Predicate, peripheral tagmemes must occur earlier in the clause, and generally are quite short. This applies equally to the Purposive.

e.g. i) gi-hó - mí domú teé?í-kóo - má no?pí
him-ppsv rec she-say river-to - desid I-go
 Ppsv:PP past S:NP₂-P:VP QO:Cl

"She said to him, 'I want to go to the river'."

ii) Hoaa - nó - mí domú no?pína-má?²⁶
Juan-ppsv rec she-say I-go-desid
 Ppsv:PP past S:NP₂-P:VP QO:Cl

"She said to John, 'I want to go'."

Concomitant.

See comments on this tagmeme in the section on the Intransitive Clause.

In the Transitive Clause, Concomitant tagmeme type i is related to the Predicate, which it immediately follows.

e.g. e.g. gífú tsó daphotá - má?
he-fear her he-awaken relr
 S:NP₂-P:VP Conc_i:CP₁

"He is afraid to awaken her"

It is also occasionally attested to precede the Predicate.

e.g. tsokódo?²⁷ - má - mí dófú
she-return relr rec she-fear
 Conc_i:CP₁ past S:NP₂-P:VP

"She was afraid to return"

²⁶On presence of -na (< -nú) when i?pí is suffixed, cf. 3.1.2.5.1., above.

²⁷From hekó?do "to return". In the nominalization of this verb there is ?-movement one syllable to the right before suffixation. In this case the glottal of the relator is missing -- no doubt a joint consequence of the presence of the temporal clitic affixed to it, and the proximity of the glottal in the verb.

As indicated in 7.1.2.5., above, when type i Concomitant occurs, the VP filling the Predicate slot must contain ifá "to fear". Furthermore, in this construction, the CP acts as a semantic object of the Verb in the Predicate, and no surface structure Object tagmeme is observed to occur.

Concomitant tagmeme type ii is related to other tagmemes in the Transitive Clause -- principally the Subject or the Object.

e.g. i) Hoaa - mi Maanoel - neé kajfiigi hani
Juan rec Manuel - with yucca bring
 S:NP₂ past Conc_{ii}:CP₂ O:NP₂ P:VP

"John and Manuel brought yucca"

ii) Hoaa - mi kajfiigi šakoo?gi - neé hani
Juan rec yucca bananas - with bring
 S:NP₂ past O:NP₂ Conc_{ii}:CP₂ P:VP

"John brought yucca with (i.e., "and") bananas"

In either case, above, the Concomitant may be moved by extraposition to clause-final position, in which case the dual marker -musi (f: -mupi) is added to the tagmeme to which the Concomitant is related, if the referent of the tagmeme in question is animate. (But since Concomitant ii is not considered as an Object, no dummy Object occurs with extraposition -- though the dual marker occurring in the case of animates could be viewed as a "Dummy Concomitant".)

e.g. i) Hoaa-musi - mí kajǵigi haní Maanoel-neé
 Juan-dual rec yucca bring Manuel-with
 S:NP₂ past O:NP₂ P:VP Conc_{ii}:CP₂

"John and Manuel brought yucca"

ii) Hoaa - mí kajǵigi haní šakoo?gi-neé
 Juan rec yucca bring bananas-with
 S:NP₂ past O:NP₂ P:VP Conc_{ii}:CP₂

"John brought yucca and bananas"

iii) Maanoel-musi - mí no-tshéni giinó - neé
 Manuel - dual rec I - see his-wife-with
 O:NP₂ past S:NP₂ P:VP Conc_{ii}:CP₂

"I saw Manuel with (and) his wife"

Temporal.

As in the Intransitive Clause, the Temporal tagmeme almost always occurs initially.

e.g. tsa-pekó - ?pe atśáa aepuu? hapitsmá šú
 that-day rem men many wild-boars meat-eat
 T:NP₁ past S:NP₂ O:NP₂ P:VP

"That day the men ate a lot of wild boars"

In one case, the Temporal tagmeme is observed to be preceded by the Locative tagmeme, occurring clause-initially (this could alternatively occur finally in this clause):²⁸

²⁸ The differences in position apparently correspond to differences of emphasis given to the various constituents of the clause, or to the introduction of new information, as opposed to information already given.

tébahú-gi tsa-pekó naapi-?pe atsáa anepun? hapitsámú
 jungle-in that-day night rem men many wild-boars
L:LP T:NP₁ past S:NP₂ O:NP₂

kainéé khú "In the jungle that night the men
 kill do killed many wild boars"
P:VP

Locative, Instrumental.

These tagmemes may occur in various positions in the clause. The following example shows one of the longest

Transitive Clauses observed:

nokótsá naapi?é? - mí noónó kadátá mótshó va?aga - gi
 yesterday morning rec my-wife chicken kill machete-with
T:NP₁ past S:NP₂ O:NP₂ P:VP I:IP

paniítsí-a?nú "Yesterday morning my wife killed a
 house-beside chicken with a machete beside the house"
L:LP

Benefactive.

This may occur in various positions within the clause.

e.g. jakádé himiítsí do-khú do - tsáaté-poká?
 field cultivate she-do her-brother - ben
O:NP₂ S:NP₂-P:VP Ben:BP

"She cultivates the field for her brother"

Adjunct.

This is of quite frequent occurrence in the Transitive Clause. It generally occurs initially.

e.g. phaa? - mí oo hamo? gi-kháá-tsí gi-khú
 inter- rec int heat he-do - adct he-eat
 sent past A:AP S:NP₂-P:VP

"Then heating (it), he ate (it)"

7.2.1.2.4. Declarative Clause Type iv, "Ditransitive"

7.2.1.2.4.1. Basic Structure.

Two sub-types of Ditransitive Clause are set up on the basis of internal structure:-

$$\text{Cl}_{iv.i} = +S:NP_2/\text{NomCl} \quad \underline{+DO:DOP}_1 \quad +O:NP_2 \quad \overline{+DO:DOP}_1 \\ +P_{iv}: aa?nf$$

$$\text{Cl}_{iv.ii} = +S:NP_2/\text{NomCl} \quad +CO:NP_2$$

$$\underline{+O:NP_2} \quad +P_{iv}: c \quad \overline{\alpha +/ +} \quad \overline{VP_2 + cstv} \quad +QO:Cl/\text{NomCl}$$

Where the tie bar in $\text{Cl}_{iv.ii}$ indicates that either the Object occurs optionally or the Quotative Object occurs obligatorily, but both cannot occur, and where α indicates that if the Predicate is filled by kemá "to say" or hetsanotú "to ask" + causative, the QO or the O may occur, but if the Predicate is filled by any other VP_2 + causative, only the O may occur.

Because of the more complex structure of this clause type, the constituents tend to be less complex. This shows itself in an almost total absence of recursive NomCls, except on rare occasions.

7.2.1.2.4.1.1. Ditransitive Clause, Sub-type i, "Basic"

The only verb attested in the Predicate of this sub-type of the Ditransitive Clause is aa?nf "to give".

The remarks concerning the Subject tagmeme made for

Intransitive and Transitive clauses apply equally here.

The Object can only consist of an NP₂ (i.e., no NomCl occurs in this slot in this sub-type). The Object has nowhere been observed to be assimilated to the verb in the Predicate (nor, indeed, would this be expected, since assimilation is to the filler of the Periphery in Verb Group type ii (complex) only). Nor has it been observed to be omitted. It is therefore regarded as obligatory in this construction.

The Dative Object tagmeme occurs either immediately before or immediately after the Object, generally in the latter position.

e.g. i) naikoogigi-mi ti?phoótsi phaipíje - ké aa?ní
 shaman rec medicine old woman-dat give
 S:NP₂ past O:NP₂ DO:DOP₁ P:VP

"The shaman gave the medicine to the old woman"

do - ké - mi pišaani daa?ní
 her-dat - rec meat he-give
 DO:DOP₁ past O:NP₂ S:NP₂-P:VP

"He gave the meat to her"

7.2.1.2.4.1.2. Ditransitive Clause, Sub-type ii, "Causative"

This sub-type of the Ditransitive Clause has the following distinctive characteristics:-

- i) The Predicate is filled by a transitive verb to which the causative suffix has been added.
- ii) As the formula and statement, above, indicate, if

the filler of the Predicate slot is kemú "to say", or hetsanotú, "to ask", + causative, the Quotative Object or the Object may occur.

iii) If the filler of the Predicate slot is any other transitive verb + causative, the Object may occur, though this may be omitted in the surface structure.

iv) The second object tagmeme in the clause is the Causative Object, which always follows the Subject (if this is not assimilated to the Predicate) and precedes the Object (if present).

e.g. i) tsa-mí tsó kemotú pi?pí
he-rec her say-cstv you-go!
 S:NP₂ ^{past} CO:NP₂ P:VP QO:Cl

"He made her say, 'Go away!'"

ii) ná - ho - mí tsó do-tapoógi gimotú
them-ppsv rec her her-dream he-tell-cstv
 Ppsv:PP ^{past} CO:NP₂ O:NP₂ P:VP

"He made her tell them her dream"

iii) gi-nánikána ǰakádé himiitsi gi-khotú
his-sister field cultivate he-do-cstv
 CO:NP₂ O:NP₂ S:NP₂-P:VP

"He makes his sister cultivate the field"

iv) tsó tsá a?mitotú
she him eat-cstv
 S:NP₂ CO:NP₂ P:VP

"She makes him eat"

7.2.1.2.4.2. Peripheral Tagmemes.

As indicated in the Peripheral Tagmeme Distribution Matrix and accompanying comments at the end of section

itive verb aa?ní "to give" + causative, Subject, and three Objects:

Cl_v = +S:NP₂ +CO:NP₂ +O:NP₂ +DO:DOP₁ +P_v: aa?ní + cstv

e.g. ao - mí naikoogígi ti?phoótsi phaipiíje - ké o?tá²⁹
 I rec shaman medicine old woman-dat give-cstv
 S: NP₂ past CO:NP₂ O:NP₂ DO:DOP₁ P:VP

"I made the shaman give the medicine to the old woman"

7.2.1.2.5.2. Peripheral Tagmemes.

As with the Ditransitive Clause, very few peripheral tagmemes are observed to occur. In the Tritransitive Clause, never has more than the Negative and one other peripheral tagmeme been observed in any given clause, and then the Subject tagmeme has been fused with the Predicate.

e.g. ní - mí gi - nángí pišaani do - ké do?tá
 not rec his-brother meat her-dat he-give-cstv
 Neg:neg past CO:NP₂ O:NP₂ DO:DOP₁ S:NP₂-P:VP

tsonává - poká?
 her-mother-ben
 Ben:BP

"He didn't make his brother give
 meat to her for her mother"

7.2.1.2.6. Clitics.

There are five orders of clause-level clitics,³⁰ These

²⁹The final syllable of aa?ní "to give" is omitted here, as on many occasions. The change of vowel from a to o is regular with the causative suffix, but the shortening of the vowel is not. This would appear to be an exception to the general rule.

³⁰As clitics have no structure, distribution is the key fact concerning them. The distribution of these clitics is at clause level -- hence the description here.

are suffixed to the first tagmeme after the Vocative in the clause. When the Predicate is the only separate tagmeme in the clause (i.e., when the Subject is fused to the Predicate, and no other tagmemes occur), there are two possible positions for the clitics: finally, and -- only if the Predicate contains a Complex Verb Group subtype i -- suffixed to the peripheral element of the Group (cf. 4.1.2.2.1., above).

e.g. boto? do - khá - pa? - mí
sweep she-do - frus - rec
past

OR boto? - pa? - mí do - khá "She wanted to sweep
sweep-frus - rec she - do (but didn't)"
past

When one clause is embedded within another (whether by nominalization or relativization), clitics may occur both in the matrix and the embedded clause.

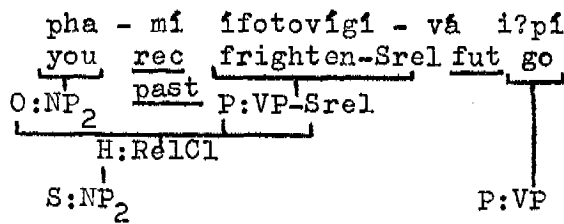
e.g. i) With Nominalized Clause:-

tso?vóma-mí	do-kavóó?	-ké	-vá	nif	gi-ké
<u>fariña</u>	<u>-rec</u>	she-toast	-dat	fut	not
O:NP ₂	past	S:NP ₂ -P:VP	relr	Neg:neg	DO:DOP ₁
Axis:NomCl					
Dat:DOP ₂					

tsá	doo?ní
<u>it</u>	<u>she-give</u>
O:NP ₂	S:NP ₂ -P:VP

"Though she has toasted the fariña, she won't give it to him"

ii) With Relativized Clause:-



"The one who frightened you will go away"

7.2.1.2.6.1. Clitic Order 1: Reportative: -tsá.

e.g. teé?i-kóo do?pí
 river-to she-go "She goes to the river"
 D:DP S:NP₂-P:VP

teé?i-kóo-tsá do?pí
river-to-rep she-go "It is said that she goes
 D:DP S:NP₂-P:VP to the river"

This clitic is homophonous with the third person singular masculine pronoun in non-final position, though the very different distribution and positions in the clause of the two morphemes precludes confusion, as is illustrated in the following two examples:-

tsá-?pe kemá ha?moo? n6
he rem say hot I "He said, 'I'm hot'."
 S:NP₂ past P:VP QO:Cl

gimá - tsá-?pe ha?moo? n6
he-say - rep rem hot I "It is said that he
 S:NP₂-P:VP past QO:Cl said, 'I'm hot'."

Having the two morphemes in sequence is here avoided by assimilation to the verb in the Predicate of the pronoun manifesting the Subject tagmeme, though such a sequence may occur when the third person singular masculine pronoun functions as Object:-

tsá - tsá - ?pe do?mótshó
him rep rem she-hit "It is said that she
 O:NP₂ past S:NP₂-P:VP hit him"

The first morpheme must be the third person singular masculine, since the reportative is a clitic suffix, and thus cannot occur initially. This becomes clear when the feminine tsó is substituted for tsá:-

tsó - tsá - ?pe do?mótshó
her rep rem she-hit "It is said that she
 O:NP₂ past S:NP₂-P:VP hit her"

For a while it was thought that this clitic could occur initially in the clause, in an apparently variant form, phaa?tsá. This form is used very much in story-telling (cf. chapter 9).

e.g. phaa?-tsá-?pe foo na-khú
rep rem fire they-make
 past S:NP₂-P:VP

"It is said that they made a fire"

However, it is now clear that phaa? is an inter-sentential relator, since it occurs sentence-initially or after a connector in a compound sentence, but never initially in a discourse.

7.2.1.2.6.2. Clitic Order 2: Frustrative: -pa?.

e.g. i) Hosé-tsá - pa? - mí a?mitú
José rep frus rec eat
 S:NP₂ past P:VP

"It is said that José wanted to eat but didn't (couldn't)"

glottal. Also, if the reportative is present, it precedes the frustrative, but follows the progressive.

Furthermore, the progressive may be followed by -ná (cf. 3.1.2.5.1., above).

e.g. da?mitá-tsá-pa? - ma - ?pe
 he-eat rep frus desid-rem
 S:NP₂-P:VP past

"It is said that he wanted to eat but didn't (couldn't)"

da?mitá-paná-tsá-?pe
 he-eat - prog-rep-rem
 S:NP₂-P:VP past

"It is said that he was eating"

The occurrence of the progressive is in any case very closely tied to the context, which precludes ambiguity.

7.2.1.2.6.3. Clitic Order 3: Desiderative/Stated Intention.

7.2.1.2.6.3.1. Desiderative: {-ma?u}.

The first and most obvious fact about this morpheme and its allomorphs is that it is (and they are) homophonous with the negative imperative clitic described in 3.1.2.-6.1.2., above. However, it has less allomorphs, and differences of distribution avoid ambiguity.

Allomorphs

{-ma?u}: -ma?u ~ -má³¹

-ma?u occurs finally on all verbs

-má " elsewhere (i.e., non-finally on verbs,

³¹There is no allomorph *-má? of the desiderative -- contrast 3.1.2.6.1.2.1., above.

and finally anywhere else)

Distribution

Whereas the negative imperative clitic is applied only to verbs where the Subject of the clause is the second person (singular, dual, or plural), the desiderative is almost never applied to clauses where the Subject is in the second person;³² it occurs principally with reference to the first person, though it may occur with reference to the third person, as examples in the preceding section illustrate.

A further difference between the negative imperative and the desiderative is that whereas the former can only be applied to a verb or the peripheral element in a complex verb group (sub-type i), the latter is suffixed to whichever clause-level tagmeme except the Vocative (or Interrogative, in an Interrogative Clause) that occurs initially in the clause, and only to the verb or the periphery of a complex verb group if there is no other separate tagmeme in the clause.

e.g. tsa - mǎ ee?phi khǎ
 he desid fish do

 S:NP₂ P:VP

³²This reflects on the general reluctance in Resígaro to make any statement involving the second person except a command or a question -- which is logical, since to tell a person what they are doing or what they want to do is of little if any information-value (though of course in some languages such statements form part of greetings procedures).

examples abound throughout the description. There are three temporal clitics:-

-mí "recent past"

-?pe "remote past"

-vá "future"

- e.g. i) $\begin{array}{l} \text{nó} \quad \text{a?mitú} \\ \text{I} \quad \text{eat} \\ \text{S:NP}_2 \quad \text{P:VP} \end{array}$ "I eat"
- ii) $\begin{array}{l} \text{no-mí} \quad \text{a?mitú} \\ \text{I-rec} \quad \text{eat} \\ \text{S:NP}_2 \quad \text{past} \quad \text{P:VP} \end{array}$ "I have eaten"
- iii) $\begin{array}{l} \text{nó-?pe} \quad \text{a?mitú} \\ \text{I-rem} \quad \text{eat} \\ \text{S:NP}_2 \quad \text{past} \quad \text{P:VP} \end{array}$ "I had eaten"
- iv) $\begin{array}{l} \text{no-vá} \quad \text{a?mitú} \\ \text{I-fut} \quad \text{eat} \\ \text{S:NP}_2 \quad \text{P:VP} \end{array}$ "I am going to eat"
- v) $\begin{array}{l} \text{tša-ná} \quad \text{oo no-náagi} \\ \text{he-rest} \quad \text{int my-friend} \\ \text{S:NP}_2 \quad \text{P:NP}_2 \end{array}$ "He is my friend"
- vi) $\begin{array}{l} \text{tša-ná-?pe} \quad \text{oo no-náagi} \\ \text{he-rest} \quad \text{rem} \quad \text{int my-friend} \\ \text{S:NP}_2 \quad \text{past} \quad \text{P:NP}_2 \end{array}$ "He was my friend"

The future clitic is frequently followed by the Order

5 dubitative clitic:-

$\begin{array}{l} \text{Hosé-vá-eké?tsí} \quad \text{a?mitú} \\ \text{José} \quad \text{fut} \quad \text{dub} \quad \text{eat} \\ \text{S:NP}_2 \quad \text{P:VP} \end{array}$

"Perhaps José is going to eat"

7.2.1.2.6.5. Clitic Order 5: Dubitative/Incompleteive

7.2.1.2.6.5.1. Dubitative: {-eké?tsí}.

{-eké?tsí}: -eké?tsí ~ -eké?

This variation appears to be completely free.³⁴

e.g. i) tsa - mí - eké?tsí tsa?nú
 he - rec dub come
 S:NP₂ past P:VP

"Perhaps he has come"

ii) níf gi - manáa no-tó?
 not it know I - get
 Neg:neg O:NP₂ S:NP₂-P:VP
 |
 Dummy

kehee-mí - eké? ahoógi kainée kháa
 who rec dub tapir kill do
 S:ig past O:NP₂ P:VP
 |
 Extrap O:NomCl

"I don't know who could have killed the tapir"

7.2.1.2.6.5.2. Incompleteive: -khé?.

e.g. no?mitá - va - khé?
 I-eat fut incomp
 S:NP₂-P:VP

"I am still going to eat" OR "I am going to go on eating"

"Still" and "yet" are the best glosses for this (todavía in Spanish). This clitic frequently occurs with the negative.

e.g. níf - khé? da?mitá
 not incomp he-eat "He hasn't eaten yet"
 Neg:neg S:NP₂-P:VP

7.2.1.3. Distribution.

The Declarative Clause is distributed in the Base slot in simple and compound sentences, and in derived clauses (Interrogative, Imperative, Nominalized and Relativized). Since all Declarative clauses share the same distributional possibilities, it is not necessary to establish subclasses.

e.g. i) (In Sentence Base):

nodo?phaavú	miké	tso	ímú
I-work	but	she	sleep
B:DeclCl	conn	B:DeclCl	

"I work but she sleeps"

ii) (Nominalized, and in Sentence Base):

a?mithoótsi-mí	do - ké	noo?ní	níi	kainée	do-khaá	- nó
food	rec her-dat	I-give	not	die	she-do	ppsv
O:NP ₂	past	DO:DOP ₁	S:NB ₂	-P:VP	DeclCl	nom
					Axis:NomCl	relr
					Ppsv:PP	
					B:DeclCl	

"I gave her food so that she wouldn't die"

7.2.2. Derived Clauses.

There are four classes of derived clauses: Interrogative, Imperative, Nominalized and Relativized.

7.2.2.1. The Interrogative Clause.

7.2.2.1.1. Contrast.

The Interrogative Clause (IgCl) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) Its Base is filled by a Declarative Clause of any of the five types described in 7.2.1.2., above.
- ii) An additional Interrogative tagmeme occurs, or an interrogative manifests one of the tagmemes of the Declarative Clause in the Base, or an interrogative occurs in the Quantifier slot in an NP manifesting one of the tagmemes of the Declarative Clause in the Base, or in the Axis of an Axis-Relator Phrase.

7.2.2.1.2. Variation.

Two types of Interrogative Clause are set up on the basis of internal structure:-

$IgCl_i = +Ig: haphá +B:DeclCl$

$IgCl_{ii} = +B:DeclCLR$

where R indicates the restriction that one of the constituent tagmemes in the DeclCl must be manifested by or contain an interrogative.

7.2.2.1.2.1. Interrogative Clause Type i: Corroborative.

To form corroborative interrogative clauses from declarative clauses, the interrogative word haphá is preposed to the latter clause.

e.g. i) $\begin{array}{l} \text{haphá ma?tsnaá phú} \\ \text{tired you} \\ \text{Ig:ig B:DeclCl}_{(i)} \end{array}$ "Are you tired?"

ii) $\begin{array}{l} \text{haphá ní pišaaní gišápa} \\ \text{not meat he-eat-prog} \\ \text{Ig:ig B:DeclCl}_{(iii)} \end{array}$

"Isn't he eating the meat?"

iii) haphá do - ké - mí tḗ?aamí paa?ní
 her-dat rec book you-give
 └───┬───┘
 Ig:ig B:DeclCl(iv)

"Have you given her the book?"

7.2.2.1.2.2. Interrogative Clause Type ii: Information.

To form the Information Interrogative, various clause-level and phrase-level tagmemes are manifested by appropriate interrogatives. If a clause-level tagmeme containing an interrogative is one of those defined above as peripheral for the Declarative Clause, it is placed initially in the Interrogative Clause (unless Vocative or Temporal are present, since both may precede the tagmeme containing or manifested by an interrogative). If it is one of those defined above as nuclear, it occupies its usual place in the clause.

Tagmemes manifested by interrogatives have a port-manteau function, i.e., they are simultaneously interrogative and Subject, or Object, etc.

The interrogatives are best described in various groups.

Group 1.

kḗe-ní³⁵ }
 kḗ-hee } "who?"/"whom?"

³⁵The hyphens indicate apparent morpheme breaks, though a complete analysis of the structure of interrogatives is not attempted.

kóo-ní }
 kó-hee } "what?"
 hě?e³⁶ }

These interrogatives may fill Subject, Object, and Causative Object slots at clause level.

e.g. i) nokótsa - mí kéhee Maanoel tshéni
 yesterday rec who Manuel see
 T:NP₁ past S:ig O:NP₂ P:VP

"Yesterday who saw Manuel?"

ii) nokótsa - mí Maanoel kéhee tshéni
 yesterday rec Manuel whom see
 T:NP₁ past S:NP₂ O:ig P:VP

"Yesterday whom did Manuel see?"

iii) kéhee maa?ná do?mitotú
 whom cassava she-eat-cstv
 CO:ig O:NP₂ S:NP₂-P:VP

"Whom does she make eat cassava?"

They may also fill the axis slot in DO, Benefactive, Purposive, Instrument and Concomitant phrases (which are distributed in DO, Bēn, Ppśv, Ī, Cónc and P slots at clause level).

e.g. i) kéeni - ké - mí šakoo?gi?ó daa?
 whom - dat rec banana he-give
 Axis: ig relr past O:NP₂ S:NP₂-P:VP
 DO:DOP₁

"Whom did he give the banana to?"

ii) kéhee-poká? - mí tsá?votú
 whom ben rec he-rain-cstv
 Axis: ig relr past S:NP₂-P:VP
 Ben:EP

³⁶ Related to demonstrative hě?e- "that", apparently. cf. 3.6.2., above.

"For whom did he make it rain?"

iii) kēhee - n6 - mī gimú ee?phi khēae gi?pinaā
 whom ppsv rec he-say fishing "to" he-go-nom
 Axis: ig relr past
 Ppsv:PP S:NP₂-P:VP QO:NomCl

"To whom did he say that he was going fishing?"

iv) kōhee - gī - mī ts6 gi?m6tsh6
 what instr rec her he-hit
 Axis: ig relr past
 I:IP O:NP₂ S:NP₂-P:VP

"What did he hit her with?"

v) kēhee - n6 odo?phaavāmusi
 whom with you-work-dual
 Axis: ig relr
 Conc_{ii}: CP₂ S:NP₂-P:VP

"With whom do you (dual) work?"

vi) kēhee - n6 hapitsú
 who ppsv pig
 Axis: ig relr
 P_i:PP S:NP₂

"Who has a pig?" (cf. 7.1.1.1.1.3.(iii) and
 7.2.1.2.1., above.)

Another form of interrogative apparently derived from
kē-hee is

kē - (classifier) - hee "which?"

The classifier may refer to people or things (cf. 3.2.2.2.1.,
 above).

e.g. i) kē - piǰé - hee - mī kádatá kainēe khú
 woman rec chicken kill do
 S:ig past O:NP₂ P:VP

"Which (of the women) killed the chicken?"

ii) kě-pasi-hee kaašo ja?i pi-khú
 ring want you-do
 O:ig S:NP₂-P:VP

"Which (of the rings) do you want?"

iii) kě-hugi-hee - vá ve?pi
 path fut we-go
 L:LP_i S:NP₂-P:VP

"Which (path) shall we take?"

Here, this interrogative is seen in the Head slot of LP type i. It may also occur in the Temporal slot, when the classifier is -pekó, "day":

iv) kě-pekó-hee - vá gi-tsa?
 day fut he-come
 T:ig S:NP₂-P:VP

"Which (day) is he coming?"

Group 2.

This consists of two interrogatives:-

hě?ee "where? (near)"

heńóé "where? (far)"

The first of these interrogatives is no doubt related to hě?e "what?" in Group 1. These occur in LP type i, which fills the Locative slot at clause level for clause types ii-v.³⁷

e.g. i) hě?ee - mí no-náagi pi-tshéni
 where rec my-brother you-see
 H:ig past | |
 L:LP_i O:NP₂ S:NP₂-P:VP

"Where did you see my brother?"

³⁷The LP may fill the Predicate slot in Clause type i. cf. 7.1.1.1.1.3.(ii), above.

- ii) heaéé tsú
 where he
 H: ig
 P: LP₁ S:NP₂
- "Where (is) he?"
 OR
 "Where does he live?"

These interrogatives also fill the axis slot in the DP (which is distributed in the Directional slot at clause level).

- e.g. i) heaéé - khó - mí na-tsa?nu
 where from rec they-come
 Axis: ig relr past
 D: DP₁ S:NP₂-P:VP
- "Where did they come from?"

- ii) heaéé - kóo - vá ve?pi
 where to fut we-go
 Axis: ig relr
 D: DP_{ii} S:NP₂-P:VP
- "Where are we going to?"

Group 3.

This consists of two interrogatives:-

- hidé?-hee }
 hidee?-gi-hee } "how?"

They fill the Comparative slot at clause level.

- e.g. i) hidé?hee i?dákáatsí pi-khú
 how yucca-juice you-make
 Ctv: ig O:NP₂ S:NP₂-P:VP
- "How do you make sweet yucca juice?"
- ii) hidee?gihee anogímu na-minápví
 how tapirs they-hunt
 Ctv: ig O:NP₂ S:NP₂-P:VP
- "How do they hunt tapirs?"

Group 4.

This consists of the interrogative

hidee?-tsi-hee "when?"

hidee?- is apparently related to the first element of the interrogatives in Group 3. -hee occurs also in interrogatives in Groups 1, 3, and 5.

This interrogative fills the Temporal slot at clause level.³⁸

e.g.	hidee?tsihee-mi	Isabeel	Maanoel	tshóni	
	when	rec	Isabel	Manuel	see
	T:ig	past	S:NP ₂	O:NP ₂	P:VP

"When did Isabeel see Manuel?"

Group 5.

This consists of the interrogative

kope?-hee "why?"

This fills the Purposive slot at clause level.

e.g.	kope?hee	jaóná	kóni	
	why	child	cry	
	Ppsv: ig	S:NP ₂	P:VP	"Why does the child cry?"

Group 6.

This consists of two interrogatives:-

hé?e anepuu?	}	"how much?"/"how many?" ⁴⁰
hidé? anepuu?		

³⁸For another interrogative filler of the Temporal slot, cf. last paragraph under Group 1, above.

³⁹For another interrogative filler of the Purposive slot, cf. Group 1, above.

⁴⁰These two interrogatives may be viewed as representing the only Interrogative Phrases in Resigaro, all other in-

hé?e is apparently related to interrogatives in Groups 1 and 2, and hidé? to interrogatives in Groups 3 and 4, above. These interrogatives fill the Quantifier slot in the Noun Phrase.

e.g. hé?e æepuu? hiitámiihi-mí pi-tshéni
 how - many canoes rec you-see
 Q: ig H: Nn past S:NB₂-P:VP
 O: NB₂

"How many canoes did you see?"

+ + +

From the above, it is clear that all clause-level slots except Vocative, Negative, Quotative Object, Ad-junct and Conditional may be filled directly or indir-ectly by information interrogatives.

7.2.2.1.3. Distribution.

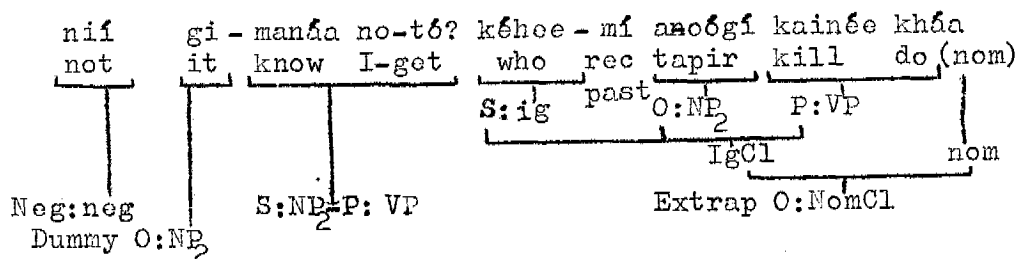
The Interrogative Clause is distributed in the Base slot in simple and compound sentences and in nominalized clauses.

e.g. i) (In the Sentence)

kóhee pi-khú
 what you-do "What are you doing?"
 O:ig S:NB₂-P:VP
 B: IgCl

terrogatives (i.e., those described in Groups 1-5) being interrogative words. However, since no detailed analysis of the interrogative is made, a separate Interrogative Phrase is not established.

ii) (In the Nominalized Clause)



"I don't know who killed the tapir"

7.2.2.2. The Imperative Clause.

7.2.2.2.1. Contrast.

The Imperative Clause (ImpCl) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

- i) Its Base is filled by a Declarative Clause of any of the types described in 7.2.1.2., above, except type i, "Non-transitive".
- ii) The performer (or proposed performer) of the action must be in the second person.
- iii) There is no separate Subject tagmeme, as Subject is always manifested by an NP consisting of a pronoun, which is obligatorily assimilated to the verb in the Predicate.
- iv) The verb filling the Predicate must have the appropriate imperative form, as described in 3.1.2.6., above.

7.2.2.2.2. Variation.

Few peripheral tagmemes tend to occur in the Imperative Clause. Temporal can only be filled by words referring to the present time or the immediate future, as indicated in example (i), below.

e.g. i) (Intransitive)

mooháá teé?i-kóo pí?pi
today, river - to you-go "Go to the river
 T:NP₁ D:DP S:NP₁-P:VP today!"

ii) (Transitive)

maa?má pá?nitá
cassava, you-eat "Eat the cassava!"
 O:NP₂ S:NP₁-P:VP

iii) (Ditransitive)

no - ké nanáaná?ó paa?ní
me-dat, pineapple you-give "Give me the pine-
 DO:DOP₁ O:NP₂ S:NP₁-P:VP apple!"

iv) (Tritransitive)

tsá nanáaná?ó phanáva - ké pó?tá
him pineapple your-mother-dat you-give-cstv
 CO:NP₂ O:NP₂ DO:DOP₁ S:NP₁-P:VP

"Make him give the pineapple to your mother!"

If the Declarative clause is in the negative, the Negative tagmeme is deleted and replaced by the appropriate form of the negative imperative clitic, as indicated in 3.1.2.6.1.2. and 3.1.2.6.2.2., above.

e.g. i) níí phá a?nitá
not you eat "You do not eat"
 Neg:nég S:NP P:VP
 DeclCl

> pá?nitáná?
you-eat-neg imptv "Don't eat!"
 S:NP₁-P:VP

ii) ve?e i-tsána?-má?
here you-come-neg imptv
 L:IP S:NP₁-P:VP

"Don't (you (pl)) come here!"

7.2.2.2.3. Distribution.

The Imperative Clause is distributed in the Base slot in simple and compound sentences and in the Quotative Object slot in Declarative, Interrogative and Imperative Clauses.

e.g. i) foo pi-khee?ká miké tso?vómu pi-kávó?-má?
 fire you-make-come but fariña you-toast-neg imptv
 B:ImpCl conn B:ImpCl (Sentence)

"Come and make a fire but don't toast the fariña!"

ii) gimá - mí tsá kainéé pi-khá
 he-say rec him kill you-do
 S:NP₂-P:VP^{past} QO:ImpCl (DeclCl)

"He said, 'Kill him!'"

iii) haphá tsa-mí kemú pi-paáná-kóo pí?pí
 he rec say your-house-to you-go
 Ig S:NP₂^{past} P:VP QO:ImpCl
 (IgCl)

"Did he say, 'Go to your house!'"

iv) pímú pí?pí
 you-say you-go "Say 'Go away!'"
 S:NP₂-P:VP QO:ImpCl (ImpCl)

7.2.2.3. The Nominalized Clause.

7.2.2.3.1. Contrast.

The Nominalized Clause (NomCl) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

i) It consists of a modified Declarative or Interrogative Clause (types ii-v).

- ii) No tagmemes in this clause may follow the Predicate.
- iii) There tend to be few if any peripheral tagmemes in this clause.
- iv) Whereas previously-described derived clauses (i.e., Interrogative and Imperative Clauses) are independent, though derived, the Nominalized Clause is dependent. That is to say, it cannot stand on its own as a complete statement. While Declarative, Interrogative, and Imperative Clauses have their principal distribution in the Sentence, the Nominalized Clause is distributed back-looped in lower-level structures (in the clause and the phrase -- details of its distribution are given in 7.2.2.-3.3., below).

7.2.2.3.2. Variation.

Clauses are nominalized by doubling the final vowel of the verb in the Predicate and adding to this a rising tone.⁴¹ If the final vowel is u, this becomes a. No other vowels change their quality. A glottal closing the penultimate syllable of the verb moves right one syllable (cf. second example, below).

e.g. i) tsó gi-tshéni do-khonfi
 her he-see she-laugh-nom
 Dummy O:NP₂ S:NE₂-P:VP Extrap O:NomCl

"He sees her laugh" (from khonfi "to laugh")

⁴¹This may change to a level low tone, or to a falling tone in some contexts, as may be observed in various examples, including (i), below.

- ii) No type i Declarative Clause ("Non-transitive") may be relativized,⁴² and no intransitive clause may be object-relativized.
- iii) The Relativized Clause is of minimal expansion, consisting only of a Predicate and a Subject or an Object.
- iv) Either Subject or Object is deleted to form the Relativized Clause, depending on whether it is subject-relativized or object-relativized (cf. 7.2.2. .2., below).
- v) Like the Nominalized Clause (but unlike the Interrogative and Imperative Clauses), the Relativized Clause is dependent as well as being derived. That is to say, it cannot stand on its own as a complete statement -- i.e., it cannot be distributed in the Sentence, but only back-looped in the NP. (For distribution, cf. 7.2.2. .3., below.)
- vi) The Relativized Clause conveys the meaning "the one who did something", as opposed to "(I saw) him do something" in the Nominalized Clause.

7.2.2.4.2. Variation.

There are two types of relativization: Subject-relativization and Object-relativization.⁴³ Two English examples

⁴²The information conveyed by non-transitive clauses may also be conveyed by intransitive clauses in which the Predicate is filled by to be, as indicated in footnotes to section 7.1.1.1.1., above. The resulting clauses may be relativized.

⁴³Since the distinctions in Resigaro between these two are seen more clearly by parallel treatment, I do not here describe each type in separate sections.

e.g. gi?ithé atsaagi-mí ifotáa-ní-gí
 that man rec frighten-one-whom
 S:NP₂ past P:VP O-rel
 O-rel Cl

"The one whom that man frightened ..." ⁴⁷

All the above examples have dealt with animate masculine subjects and objects in the singular, all based on the same verb, for ease of comprehension and comparison. We must now look at the changes that occur when the subject or object is feminine, or inanimate, or dual or plural, and some changes that occur with certain specific but frequently-used verbs. Most of this information is best presented (and compared with what has already been described) in tabular form.

In the matrices that follow, the notation "(Cl)-o" and "(Cl)-áa" indicates that the final vowel of the verb

⁴⁷If it is desired to give more information about the object of an object-relativized clause, this is given in the NP in which the relativized clause is embedded, but the lexical items which express this information are not part of the relativized clause itself.

e.g. jaaná-já gi?ithé atsaagi-mí ifotáa-ní-gí
 child-dim that man rec frighten one whom
 H:Nn S:NP₂ past P:VP O-rel
 M:RelCl
 NP₂

"That little child whom that man frightened"

For further details, cf. description of NP type i in 6.1.2.2.1.5., above.

in the Predicate (except i, as indicated above) becomes o (S-rel) or ǎa (O-rel). It does not imply that this o or ǎa is something added to the Declarative Clause, but that it replaces a part of the latter.

The numbers in the matrices refer to the examples given subsequently.

		SINGULAR	NON-SINGULAR	
A N I M A T E	M	(Cl)-o-ví-gí ₁	(Cl)-o-ǰo-ví { -musi ₂ -?a ₃	Dual ----- Plural
	F	(Cl)-o { -ví-pijé ₄ -tsó ₅	(Cl)-o-ǰo-ví { -mupi ₆ -pijéhi ₇	Dual ----- Plural
INAN		(Cl)-o-ví ₈	(Cl)-o-ǰo-ví { -clsfr-dl ₉ -pl sx ₁₀	Dual ----- Plural

Matrix 7.3. Subject-relativization Formation.

Matrix 7.3. is self-explanatory except for the middle left-hand cell. Here, -tsó varies with -ví-pijé. The latter may occur with all verbs; the former is in free variation with this on khá "to make, to do" and ǰá "to be" only.

[For Matrix 7.4., cf. next page]

		SINGULAR	NON-SINGULAR	
A N I M A T E	M	(Cl)-áa-ní-gí ₁₁	(Cl)-áa-ní	-musi ₁₂ Dual ----- -?a ₁₃ Plural
	F	(Cl)-áa-ní-píjě ₁₄	(Cl)-áa-ní	-mupi ₁₅ Dual ----- -píjěhí ₁₆ Plural
INAN		(Cl)-áa ₁₇	(Cl)-áa-ní	-clsfr-dl ₁₈ Dual ----- -pl sx ₁₉ Plural

Matrix 7.4. Object-relativization Formation.

Matrix 7.4. is self-explanatory.

Examples relating to Matrices 7.3. and 7.4.

Subject-relativization.

- 1) (M.sg.) jááná nŕúhigá kho-ví-gí
child shelter do - S-rel

"The one (m) who shelters (OR: shades) the
child"

- 2) (M.dl.) jááná nŕúhigá khojovimusi

"The ones (OR: the two (m)) who shelter the
child"

- 3) (M.pl.) jááná nŕúhigá khojoví?a

"The ones (pl - m) who shelter the child"

- 4) (F.sg.) a?mitovípijě

"The one (f) who eats"

- 5) (F.sg.) jááná nŕúhigá kho (-tsó
(-ví-píjě

"The one (f) who shelters the child"

- 6) (F.dl.) jááná nŕúhigá khovímupi .

"The ones (OR: the two (f)) who shelter the

child"

- 7) (F.pl.) ǰaáná nǔhigá khovípiǰéhi
 "The ones (f.pl.) who shelter the child"
- 8) (Inan.sg.) haa-?pe ǰo-ví
 sink rem be-S-rel
 past
 "The one that had sunk" (from haa ǰá "to sink" (intrans))
- 9) (Inan.dl.) i) haa-?pe ǰo - ǰo - ví - miiká
 non-Srel canoe-dl
 sg
 "The ones (the two canoes) that had sunk"
 (-mi is the classifier for canoes; ǰá:ká
 is dual. cf. sections 3.2.2.2.1. & 3.2.2.2.3. .,
 above.)
- ii) ha?vano - ǰo - ví - uuka - mí
 fall non-Srel dl rec past
 sg round things
 "The round things (dl) that fell"
 (from ha?vanǰ "to fall", -ǰ classifier for
 spherical objects, and ǰá:ká dual)
- 10) (Inan.pl.) i) haa-?pe ǰo-ǰo-ví-miihi
 pl
 "The canoes (pl) that had sunk"
 ii) ha?vano-ǰo-ví-uuhí-mí
 "The round things (pl) that fell"

Object-relativization.

- 11) (M.sg.) nǔhigá gi-kháa-ni-gí
 shelter he-do-Orel - m
 "The one (m) whom he shelters"
- 12) (M.dl.) nǔhigá gikháanimusi
 "The ones (the two (m)) whom he shelters"
- 13) (M.pl.) nǔhigá gikháani?a

"The ones (pl, m) whom he shelters"

- 14) (F.sg.) nũhigá gi-kháa-ní-pijé
shelter he-do-Orel - f

"The one (f) whom he shelters"⁴⁸

- 15) (F.dl.) nũhigá gikháanimupi

"The ones (the two (f)) whom he shelters"

- 16) (F.pl.) nũhigá gikháanipijéhi

"The ones (pl, f) whom he shelters"

- 17) (Inan.sg.) tsopáa
she-wash-Orel

"That which she washes"⁴⁹ (from hipú
"to wash")

⁴⁸Note that here the M or F refers to the object of the verb, as indicated in the object-relativization present in the structure, and not to the Subject (in this case, gi-, "he"), which may be of any person, number, or gender.

⁴⁹In this case the singular inanimate form of Object-relativization is homophonous with the nominalized form of the same verb. However, the difference is clearly established by -ní in the dual and plural (exceptionally deleted in the inanimate singular), and elsewhere is generally indicated by distributional differences.

e.g. i) tsopáa oojájá?
H:RelCl small "That which she washes is
S:NP_(iii) P:Aj small"

ii) tsopáa no-tshéni
I-see "I see her wash"
O:NomCl S:NP₂-P:VP

In addition to this, in certain contexts (cf. 7.2.2.3.2., and examples in Axis-Relator phrases) most NomCls are distinguished from RelCls containing the same verb by different tone. Note the following example, which is typical:-

do?pi tsopáa - nó
she-go she-wash ppsv "She goes to wash
Axis:NomCl relr (something)"
S:NP₂-P:VP Ppsv:PP

- 18) (Inan.dl.) tsopáa-ni-?ijókú
 "The vessels (dl) that she washes"
 (-?ijók is the classifier for "earthenware
 container for liquid")
- 19) (Inan.pl.) tsopáani?ijókhi
 "The vessels (pl) that she washes"

When the verb in the Predicate bears the reflexive suffix -phaavá (cf. 3.1.2.2.1., above), one would expect only Subject-relativization to operate. However, this is not the case; both Subject- and Object-relativization may occur, thus yielding a difference of emphasis not paralleled in English, since the Subject and Object refer to the same person. The following examples illustrate this:-

i) Subject-relativization:

haa?- phoo - vi - piǰé
 comb reflex Srel f

"The one who combs (herself)"

ii) Object-relativization:

daa? - phaavá - ni - piǰé
 she-comb reflex Orel f

"The one (herself) whom she combs"

As these examples (and others not reproduced here) indicate, the normal Subject- and Object-relativization rules apply, with two modifications:-

- i) In the case of Subject-relativization, the final syllable of -phaavá is deleted, and relativization therefore

operates on the now-final -aa.

ii) In the case of Object-relativization, the final syllable is not deleted, but neither is it lengthened, since the preceding syllable is long, and sequences of two long syllables are generally avoided where possible. Apart from this, the usual Object-relativization rules apply.

7.2.2.4.3. Distribution.

The relativized clause (of either type) is distributed back-looped in the NP only, either as Modifier in NP_i or NP_{iv}, or as Head in NP_{iii}.

e.g. i) atsãagi tso-mí kainêe khovígi
 man her rec kill do-Srel
 └───┬──────────────────────────┘
 H:Nn M:RelCl
 └──────────────────────────┘
 NP_i "The man who killed her"

ii) tso-mí kainêe khovígi
 her rec kill do-Srel
 └───┬──────────────────────────┘
 H:RelCl
 └───┘
 NP_{iii} "The one who killed her"⁵⁰

Further details are to be found in the description of the NP in 6.1.2.2.1.5., 6.1.2.2.3. and 6.1.2.2.4., above. NP's containing relativized clauses are attested in all the Clause-level and Phrase-level slots where other NP's may occur.

⁵⁰There is no morpheme in the Resigaro here corresponding to the English "one". Thus, a more "literal" gloss might be: "The ∅ who killed her". i.e., there is no Head for the Relativized Clause to modify, so this itself becomes the Head of a different type of NP. cf. 6.1.2.2., above, for further details.

Chapter 8

SENTENCE LEVEL

The Sentence is set up as a level of construction above the Clause and below the Paragraph. Sentences are either Simple or Compound.¹ A Simple sentence consists of a Base filled by an Independent Clause, and an intonation tagmeme. A Compound sentence consists of two or more Bases (each of which is filled by an Independent Clause), joined by connectors, plus an intonation tagmeme.

In the Distribution mode of the Sentence, details of distribution in terms of the Paragraph are not given, since the present description does not include an analysis of Paragraph structure.

8.1. Contrast.

The Sentence (Snt) has the following contrastive-identificational features:-

¹There are no complex sentences in Resigaro, since all "subordinate" (dependent) clauses fill Clause- or Phrase-level slots, as described in chapters 6 and 7, above, and thus form an integral part of the independent clauses in which they occur, without leading to the establishment of structurally different relationships from those present when the Clause- or Phrase-level tagmeme in question has a non-clausal filler. This is fully exemplified and explained in the chapters referred to.

- i) It consists of one or more Bases, each of which is filled by an independent clause.
- ii) It is marked by a supra-segmental Intonation tagmeme.
- iii) If more than one Base occurs, each pair of Bases is joined by a connector.

8.2. Variation.

Two types of Sentence are set up on the basis of internal structure.

$$\text{Snt}_i = +B:\text{Indep Cl} +\text{Inton}:\text{Intonation Contour}$$

$$\text{Snt}_{ii} = +B:\text{Indep Cl} + (+\text{conn} +B:\text{Indep Cl})^r +\text{Inton}:\text{Intonation Contour}$$

where r indicates that the part of the formula within brackets may be repeated an indefinite number of times.

8.2.1. Sentence Type i, "Simple".

The Simple Sentence may be Declarative, Interrogative, or Imperative, with a different Intonation Contour in each case. This leads to the establishment of three sub-types of Simple Sentence:-

$$\text{Snt}_{i.i} = +B:\text{DeclCl} +\text{Inton}_i: ". "$$

$$\text{Snt}_{i.ii} = +B:\text{IgCl} +\text{Inton}_{ii}: "? "$$

$$\text{Snt}_{i.iii} = +B:\text{ImpCl} +\text{Inton}_{iii}: "! "$$

The different Clause Classes have been described in chapter 7, above. An analysis of the different intonation types falls outside the scope of the present descrip-

tion (cf. Introduction), though these types are distinguished by the intonation notation (punctuation conventions) indicated in the formulae above.

Absence of further distinguishing features between these three sub-types of the Simple Sentence renders separate treatment of each sub-type unnecessary. Three examples follow, and further examples of the Clause Classes filling the Base are to be found in chapter 7, above.

e.g. i) (Snt_{i.i})

no-náadó	jakádé-gikó	odo?phaavá-	pa	.
my-sister	field-in	work	- prog	
B: DeclCl				Inton _i

"My sister is working in the field"

ii) (Snt_{i.ii})

haphá	níf	tso-mí	gi-tshéni	do?mitáá	?
ig	not	her	rec	he-see	she-eat
past					
B: IgCl					Inton _{ii}

"Didn't he see her eat?"

iii) (Snt_{i.iii})

paníftsi	boto?	pi-khá	!
house	sweep	you-do	
B: ImpCl			Inton _{iii}

"Sweep the house!"

8.2.2. Sentence Type ii, "Compound".

Compound Sentences consist of two or more Independent Clauses joined by a connector or connectors, + an intonation contour. In theory, there is no limit to the num-

ber of clauses that may be joined in this way to form one sentence, though in practice sequences of more than two clauses joined by one connector are rare in normal speech, though more common in traditional stories.

There are five sub-types, each corresponding to a different connector and a consequential difference of relation (and meaning) between the Clauses filling the two Bases thus joined.

8.2.2.1. Sub-type i: "Co-ordinate".

The connector is hamee?ná "also" -- often equivalent to English "and" between clauses.

e.g. i) $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{ʃakáde-giko-mi} & \text{nodo?phaavú} & \text{hamee?ná-mi} & & & & \\ \text{field in rec I-work} & & \text{also rec} & & & & \\ & \text{past} & & & & & \text{past} \\ \hline & & & & & & \\ & \text{B:Cl} & & & \text{conn}_i & & \end{array}$

$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{teé?fi-gikó} & \text{ee?phi} & \text{no-khú} & & & & \\ \text{river-in fish I-do} & & & & & & \\ \hline & & & & & & \\ & \text{B:Cl} & & & & & \text{Inton} \end{array}$

"I have worked in the field and I have fished (with hook and line) in the river"

As this example indicates, the temporal clitic referring to the second clause may be suffixed to the connector.

ii) $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{no-náagi} & \text{mɛni-pa} & \text{hamee?ná} & \text{no-nánikána} & \text{imá-pa} & & \\ \text{my-brother} & \text{play-prog} & \text{also} & \text{my-sister} & \text{sleep-prog} & & \\ \hline & & & & & & \\ & \text{B:Cl} & & & \text{conn}_i & & \text{B:Cl} & & \text{Inton} \end{array}$

"My brother is playing and my sister is sleeping"

8.2.2.2. Sub-type ii: "Temporal Sequence".

The connector is mineefkhó "and then", which is derived from mi- "and", neefi "there" and -khó "from" (DP relator).

e.g. i)

ĵakáde-mí	vodo?phaavó	mineefkhó-mí	vapaáná-kóo	ve?pí	.
field	rec we-work	and_then	rec our-house-to	we-go	
past	past	past	past	past	
B:Cl	conn _{ii}	B:Cl	B:Cl	Inton	

"We worked in the field and then we went to our house"

ii)

no-khíigi	- vá	no?vánó	mineefkho-vá	no?mitó	.
my-maternal	uncle	fut I-visit	and_then	fut I eat	
B:Cl	B:Cl	B:Cl	conn _{ii}	B:Cl	Inton

"I shall visit my maternal uncle and then I shall eat"

8.2.2.3. Sub-type iii: "Alternative".

The connector is haphánakhé? "or". This is derived from three morphemes: haphá "Corroborative Interrogative", -ná "restrictive" and -khé? "incompletive clitic".² It is the only interrogative connector and the resulting sentence is interrogative, though its constituent clauses are declarative.

e.g. i)

fá?vu	haphánakhé?	há?í	hó?ku	?
it-rains	or	sun	shines	
B:Cl	conn _{iii}	B:Cl	B:Cl	Inton

"Is it raining or is the sun shining?"

ii)

vodo?phaava-vá	haphánakhé?	- vá	va?mitó	?
we-work	fut	or	fut we-eat	
B:Cl	B:Cl	conn _{iii}	B:Cl	Inton

² It is probable that the final syllable of hamee?ná is also identifiable with the restrictive.

"Shall we work or eat?"

8.2.2.4. Sub-type iv: "Adversative".

The connector is miké "but", which is derived from mi- "and" plus -ké Dative relator.³

e.g. i) fá?vu miké ha?moo? fú .
it-rain but hot we |
 B:Cl conn_{iv} B:Cl Inton

"It is raining but it is hot" (OR: "... but we are hot" -- cf. footnote 17 to 7.2.1.2.1., above.)

ii) peedó - koomi - ná -?pe no-ké?jo miké
isango-village - in rem I - born but
 past
 B:Cl conn_{iv}

no-nánikána depóo - koomi - ná ké?jo .
my-sister upriver-village - in born |
 B:Cl Inton

"I was born in Isango⁴ village, but my sister was born in the village upriver"

³When the DOP has a nominalized clause in the axis slot, the relation between the embedded clause and the matrix clause is one of Concession or Concurrence. The former meaning is very close to the adversative function when -ké is part of the type iv connector at Sentence level, the difference being that the concessive relation shows the speaker's reaction to two contrasting propositions, whereas the adversative relation is neutral, merely stating the way things are. (I am indebted to Dr. Mary Ruth Wise for this insight. Her article with Green (1971b) touches on this and other related points.)

⁴Isango is the local Spanish name for a very small insect that lives in the grass, and bites people and animals. The village of my main informant, Pablo Andrade, was notorious for these insects, and appropriately has the Spanish name Puerto Isango -- Isango Port. I have been unable to find this word in any Spanish or bi-lingual dictionary other than those produced in Peru and Colombia by S.I.L. for other Indian languages.

Whereas previous examples have frequently shown a temporal clitic on the connector, in this case, the second clause has no temporal clitic, though it refers to the past. Yet this is clear both from the previous clause and the particular verb in the Predicate of this clause.

8.2.2.5. Sub-type v: "Grounds-Implication".

The connector is mipoká? "thus, so", which is derived from mi- "and" and -poká? Benefactive relator.⁵

When the Grounds-Implication connector is used, the second clause frequently bears the dubitative clitic -eké?tsi (cf. 7.2.1.2.6.5.1., above), or this may be suffixed to the connector itself, as is the case with other clitics referring to the second clause.

⁵When the Benefactive Phrase has a nominalized clause in the axis slot, the relation between this embedded clause and the matrix clause is one of Cause-Effect. This is close to the Grounds-Implication function when -poká? is part of the type v connector at Sentence level, the difference paralleling that between Concessive and Adversative referred to in the footnote on miké, above: Grounds-Implication shows the speaker's reaction to a situation, whereas Cause-Effect merely states neutrally a causal relationship.

In relating the semantic to the syntactic difference, we see that the situation here is the reverse of that in the previous case: here, the speaker's reaction is shown at Sentence level, and the clause embedded in the BP is neutral, whereas Sentence-level Adversative is neutral, and Phrase-level Concessive is not.

e.g. i) aæpʉu?-mí dodo?phaavú
 much rec she-work
 past
 B:Cl

mipoká? - eké?tsí maá?tsa tsó .
 thus dub tired she
 conn_v B:Cl Inton

"She has worked a lot, so I think she must be tired"

ii)

níí-mí da?mitú mipoká? damá?kaa - eké?tsí .
 not rec he-eat thus he-hunger - dub
 past
 B:Cl conn_v B:Cl Inton

"He has not eaten, so I think he is hungry"

8.3. Distribution.

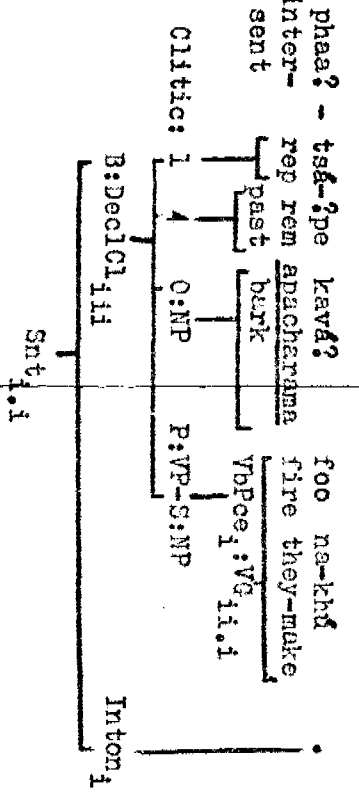
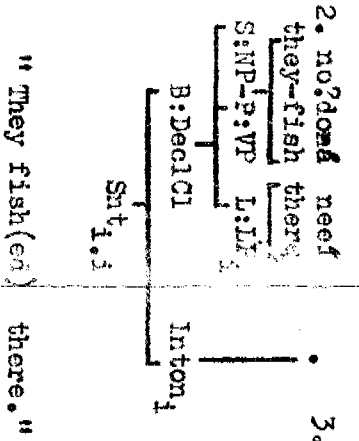
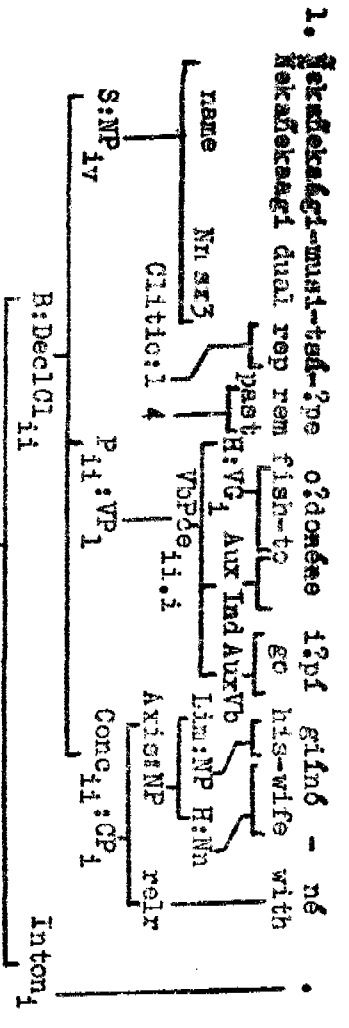
The Sentence is distributed in the Paragraph. Though an analysis of this level falls beyond the scope of the present description, the text in the next chapter gives some examples of the distribution of the Sentence.

Chapter 9

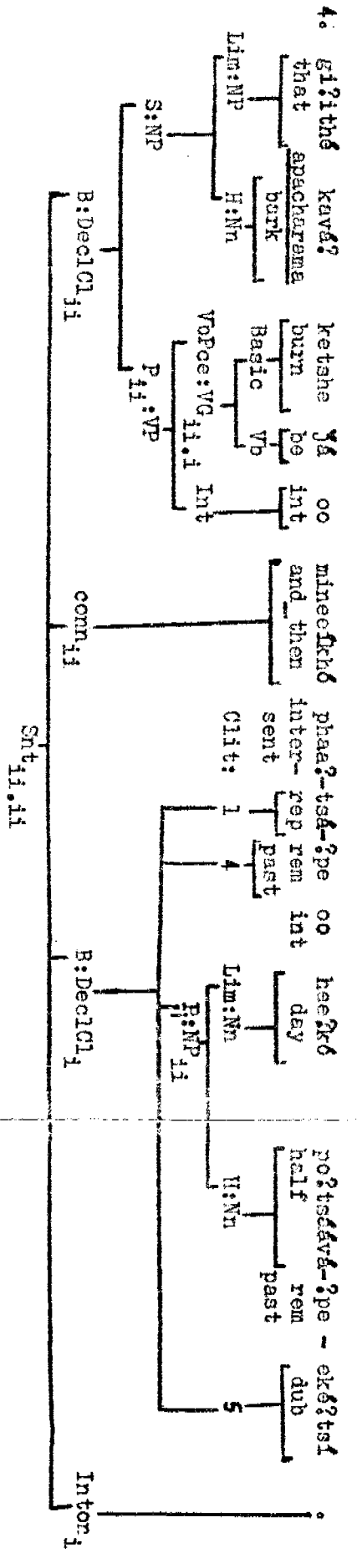
TEXT

A detailed analysis is now given of the first section of a text. This would in fact appear to correspond to what might be called the first paragraph, though no analysis of Paragraph level as such is carried out.

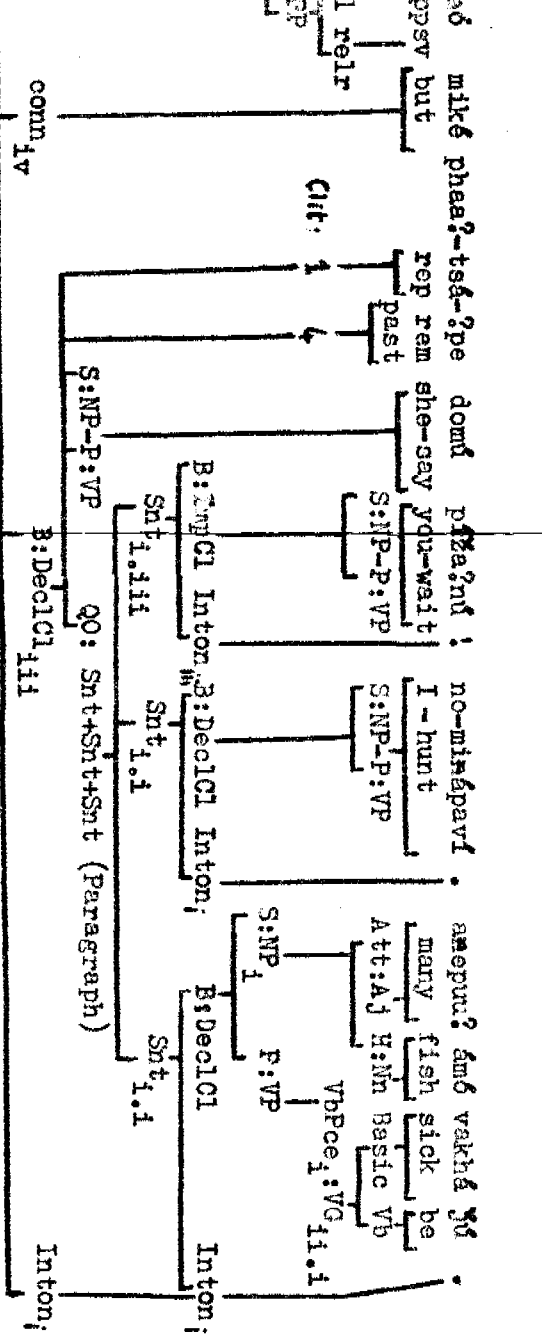
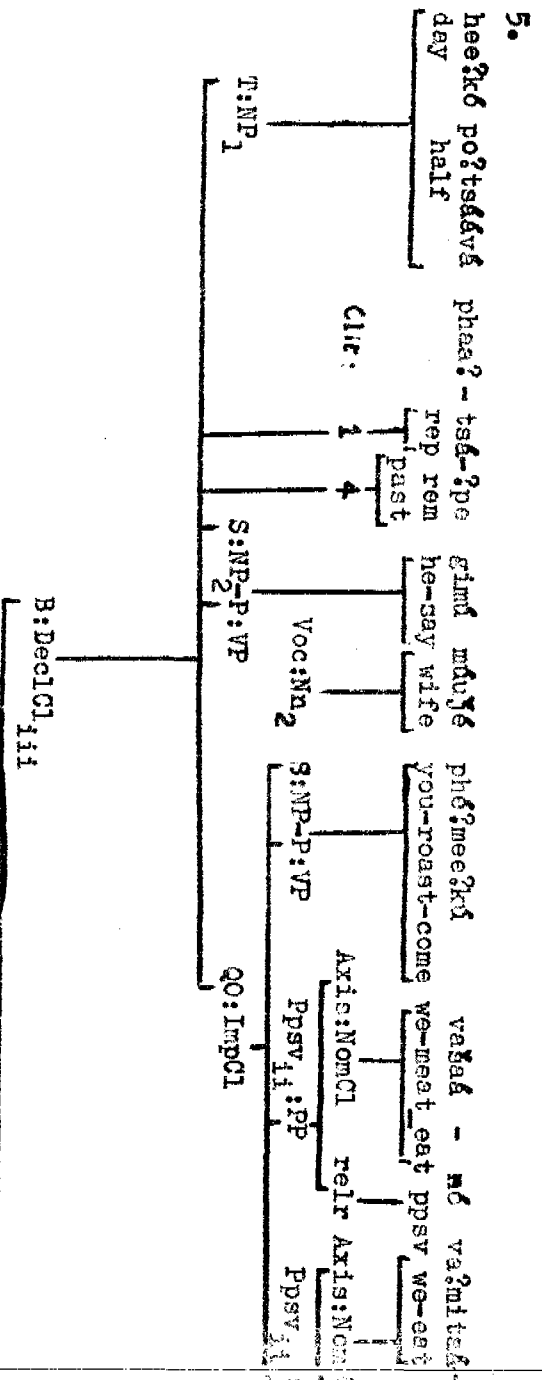
Inevitably, some features of the Paragraph appear in this, such as the "inter-sentential relator", and the presence of clitics on this, rather than on the first tagmeme in the clause.



"It is said that kekakekagegi went fishing (with berbasco poison) with his wife."

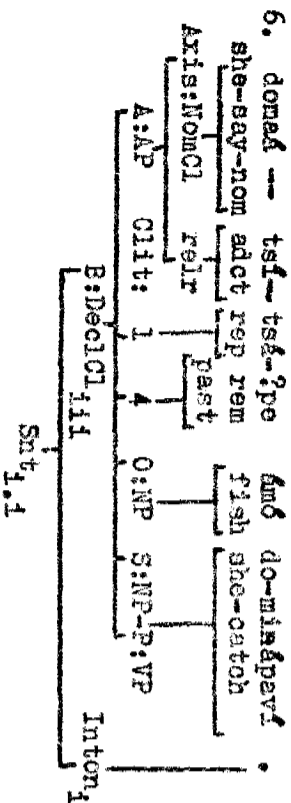


"That apacharama bark burned and then it is said that it was already mid-day, I believe."

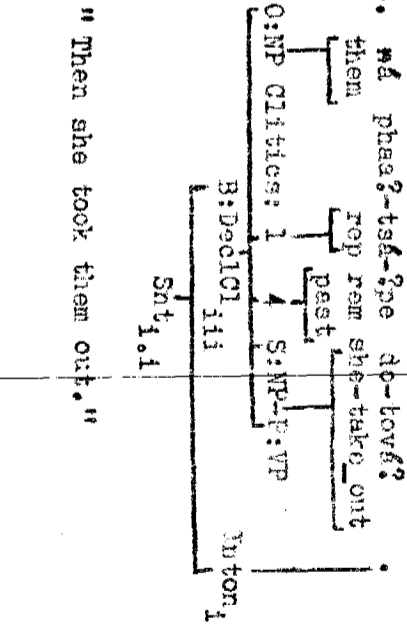
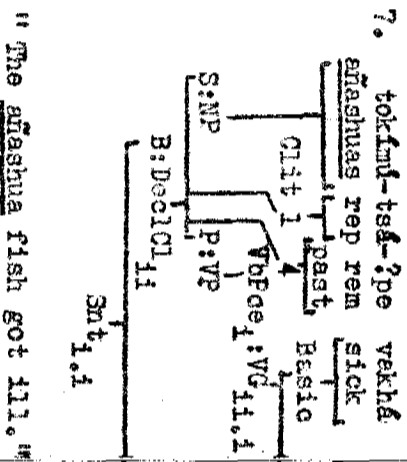


"At midday it is said that he said, 'Wife, come and cook, so that we may eat meat and fishing]. Many fish are getting sick'."

"but it is said that she said, 'Wait! I am hunting [i.e.,

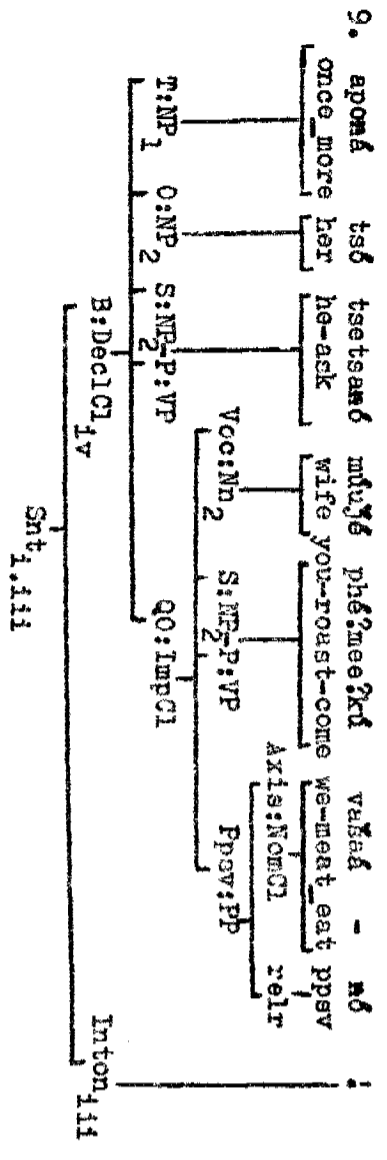


" So saying, she caught the fish."

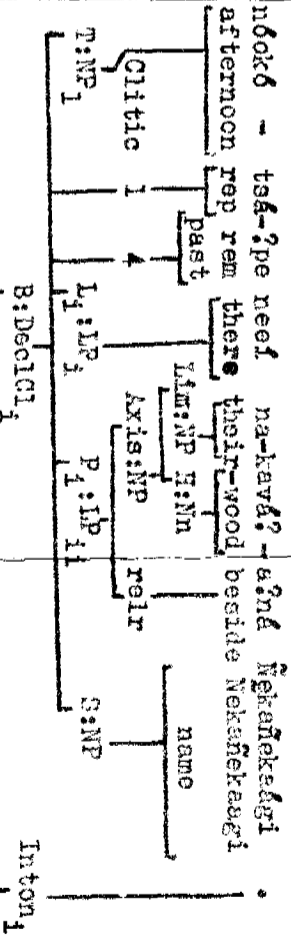


" Then she took them out."

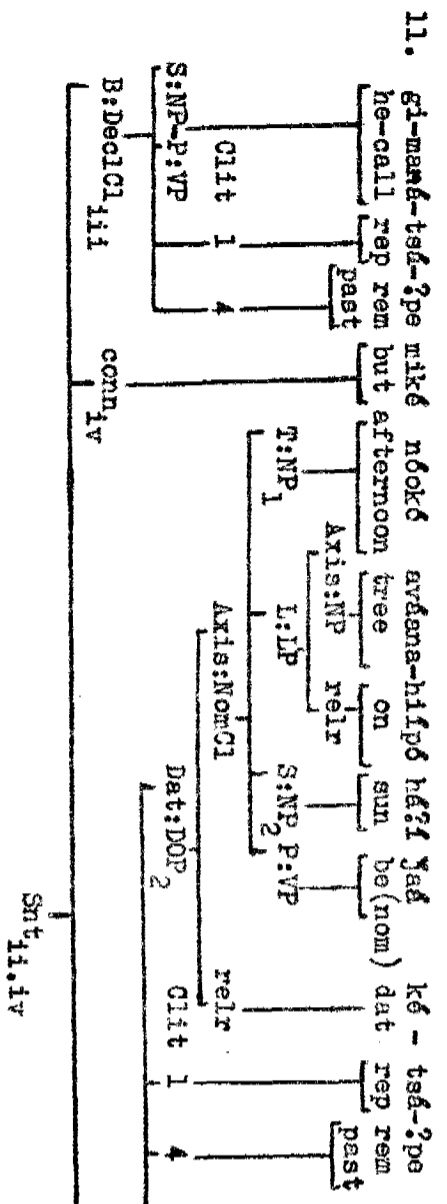
" The afashua fish got ill."



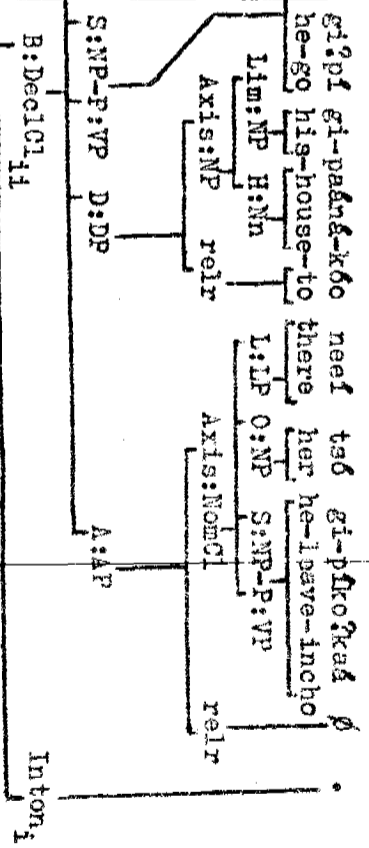
" Once more he asks her, 'Wife, come and cook so that we may eat meat!'"



" (In the) afternoon, it is said that Nekañekaeagi was beside their apacharama-wood (fire) there."



" It is said that he called her, but (in the) afternoon, while the sun was on the leaving her there."



tree (-tops), it is said that he went to his house,

A GRAMMAR

OF

RESÍGARO

by

Trevor R. Allin

Bound in three volumes

VOLUME III

SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

A P P E N D I X I :

L E X I C O N

As indicated in the Introduction, the lexicon is presented for reference, and as the basis for future analysis.

Lexical items mostly correspond to words, but in some cases correspond to units higher up (or, rarely, lower down) the grammatical hierarchy (as in Halliday, 1961:273).

The dialect of Spanish given in the glosses is that which is spoken in the region of Peru in which the Resígaros live. For some plants and animals it has been impossible to find the English equivalents, and in these cases the Latin names have been given if positive identification has proved possible, but in certain cases this has not been possible, and in these instances only the Spanish gloss is given, with an explanation in English.

The alphabetical order adopted for the phoneme symbols of Resígaro is as follows:-

a	f	m	s	v
b	g	n	š	ž
č	h	ñ	t	?
čh	i	ñ	th	(x)
d	ǰ	ñ	ty	(r)
dy	k	o	ts	
dz	kh	p	tsh	
e	m	ph	u	

Note on hyphens

In the lexicon, an initial hyphen indicates that in the case of a noun, this is obligatorily possessed (e.g., all body parts), and in the case of a verb, that this is an abstracted form, since the verb must normally have a subject. In the case of kinship terms, those preceded by a hyphen are terms of reference, normally assimilated to a preceding pronoun, while those without an initial hyphen are terms of address (vocative forms).

A hyphen between two parts of an entry occurs in the case of complex verb groups only (cf. 4.1.2.2., above). If it is necessary to divide an entry at the end of a line, should this division co-occur with the structural boundary within the complex verb group, a hyphen is repeated at the beginning of the next line.

A final hyphen indicates that the entry is a subclass 2 adjective, i.e., a predicative adjective, which occurs in a Predicate that is followed by the Subject if this is manifested by a pronoun (cf. 3.4.3.2. and 7.2.1.2.1., above).

-(?)... verbs.

Verbs with which a glottal is added initially when there is assimilation to a pronoun functioning as subject have

this glottal indicated in brackets before the entry,
which is filed according to the letters after the glottal
(cf. 3.3.2.1.2.3., above).

Part I:

RESÍGARO--SPANISH--ENGLISH

- A -

aa-jú	admírerse, maraví- llarse	to be surprised, amazed
aaí	sí	yes
aáme	maná, hija (voc)	mother, daughter (reciprocal terms of address - voc)
aañó = aáme		
aanú	caldo	liquid, juice, broth
aápanú	mañana	tomorrow
-aápi dl: -aápiikú pl: -aápiiné	hueso	bone
-aápi?íikú	esqueleto	skeleton
-aápi	mendrugos, los res- tos de cualquier comida, residuos	crusts, remains of a meal, residue
aatyáadá	un árbol cuyas ho- jas se usan para teñir las hamacas, etc. de rojo, y que da fruto que los animales comen	a tree the leaves of which are used for dyeing hammocks, etc. red, and which pro- duces a fruit that animals eat
aatshiu	aji	chili, red pepper
-aa?ni	dar	to give
aá?pe	papá, hijo (voc)	father, son (recip- rocal terms of ad- dress -- voc)
-adotú	bailar	to dance

adovfigi	ave	bird
adovfigimi	avión	aeroplane
adovfimi	aves	birds
-adú	volar	to fly
ai	ese	that one
aijãuu?	estar cerca	to be near
aijãú?	cerca	near
aitsábo?	se dice que	it is said that
ajãpó dl: ajãpookú pl: ajãpoochí OR ajãpóné	trocha, camino	path
akaká?	cántaro, olla para preparar comida	pot in which food is prepared
akú	cocinar (cual- quier cosa)	to cook (any- thing)
amae?kãtshi	podrido	rotten
amadu	bajar el río (una canoa, lle- vada por la co- rriente)	to go down the river (a canoe, carried by the current)
amá?ka	hambre	hunger
-amá?koani	tener hambre	to be hungry
ameétshaú	piña (distinta de y más pequeña que el <u>nanãaná?ó</u>)	pincapple (diff- erent from and smaller than the <u>nanãaná?ó</u>)
ãmoogi dl: ãmoogĩnusi pl: ãmõgĩnu OR ãmõgĩihĩ OR ãmõ	pescado, pez	fish
-amo?tú	hacer podrir	to cause to rot

an'adó dl: an'adómusi pl: anadómu	guacamayo	macaw
anilkhó	afuera	outside
-óno?tá	derribar un árbol	to topple a tree (by cutting it down)
anepuu?	muchos, tantos	much, a lot, so much, so many
anepuu?nú	muchedumbre	crowd
anevfidógi	huangana	white-lipped pec- cary
anevfi?	muchas (per- sonas)	many (people)
anevii?nú	muchas (per- sonas)	many (people)
ani-khú	sanar	to heal
aniigi	vivo (adj), sano	alive, healthy
anii?	estar sano	to be healthy
anoógi dl: anoógimusi pl: anogimu	sachavaca, danta, tapir	tapir
anoógi eémáñfi?o	azote (lit: cuero de sachavaca)	whip (lit: tapir skin)
anoógi eémú	cinturón, látigo	belt, whip
anoógi?ási	lugar en la selva donde se encuen- tra la sachavaca	place in the jungle where tapirs are to be found
áñeahí	marañón (el fruto)	cashew fruit
áñeahí?é	marañón (el árbol)	cashew tree
apáapi	otro	another, other
apáapivaá	otro tiempo	another (a diff- erent) time

apáná?aeñi dl: apáná?aa- míkú pl: apá- ná?aeñihí OR apánú	hoja	leaf
--apánú	sembrar	to sow
ápa?mi	(por la) mitad	(in) half
apá?mihú	el revés de un vestido	the reverse side of a garment
apá?mi?osi	(mano) izquierda, izquierdo	left (hand, side)
--apá?pavú	recordar	to remember
--apó	estar despierto	to be awake
--apókaá	despertarse	to wake up (one- self)
apoaú	otra vez	once more, again
--apoonú	despertarse	to wake up (one- self)
--áphó	meter algo en agua, remojar, preparar tinta	to put a thing in water, to soak, to prepare dye
--aphotú	despertar	to awaken (someone)
asiná	lugar	place
--athé?eenú dl: --athé?ee- mákú pl: --athé- ?eenáhi	vientre	stomach
atsáegi dl: atsáegi- musi pl: atsáa- giihi OR atsá- giné	hombre, macho	man, male
atsáegigi	gallo	cock
--atshó	roncar	to snore

atshimuthébu	época de lluvia, invierno	rainy season, winter
aváanagaa?ʔó	balsa	balsa, raft
aváanaí dl: aváanaíikú pl: aváanaíihí	palo, garrote	stick, club
aváanavuudú	trozo de madera	a piece of wood, a log
aváana?é dl: aváana?eekú pl: aváana?eehí	árbol	tree
aváana?eehíjá?	arbustos	bushes
aváana?évuudú	trozo de madera del tronco de un árbol	a log, a piece of wood from the trunk of a tree
avoótshí	cerco	enclosure, fence
-a?kó	abrir	to open
-é?komú	atorarse (con comida)	to choke (intrans) (with food)
-a?mákaní	enloquecerse, hablar mientras se está dormido	to go mad, to speak in one's sleep
-a?mitú	comer	to eat
a?mithoótsí	alimento, comida	food, meal
-a?mithoótsibá	buche	belly
a?mithoótsigú	tijeras	scissors
a?mithoótsihú	cocina, comedor	kitchen, dining- room, eating place
a?mithoótsikótsó	cocinera	cook (f)
-a?mitsú	borrar, limpiar	to erase, to clean
-a?mótsú	quemar algo en un fuego	to burn something in a fire
-a?mú	quemarse una per- sona	to burn oneself

-a?mú	podrirse	to rot
a?ná	mientras	while
-a?náapi dl: -a?náapiikú OR -a?náapikú pl: -a?náapinó	brazo, ala	arm, wing
a?námináagi	siervo	servant
-a?naaú	exprimir	to squeeze out, to wring out
-a?nápu	calentarse	to warm oneself, to get hot
-a?nátu	atrapar (algo que se cae)	to catch (something that falls)
-a?nú	lado, al lado de	side, beside
-á?nú	caerse (árboles)	to fall (of trees)
-a?naani	orina (forma pose- ida)	urine (possessed form)
a?noótsi	orina (forma no poseída)	urine (non-poss- essed form)
-a?nú	orinar	to urinate
-a?pitú	bañarse, teñirse (los cabellos o el cuerpo con huito)	to bathe, to have a bath, to dye (one's hair or body with <u>huito</u>)
-a?vénonú	chamuscarse, quemar superficialmente	to burn (something) superficially
-a?véno	quemar una chacra	to burn a field
-a?véno	matar con escopeta	to kill with a rifle

- B -

bahí	raya (pez)	stingray (fish)
bedo?-khú	arrancar, destrozar	to uproot, to destroy

beʃiiʔi	tucán	toucan
béʔdouukunúʔ	bañado de sangre	bathed in blood
beʔé	nuevo	new
boeʔ-khú	remar	to paddle, row
boeʔkxoótsi dl: boeʔkxoó- tsígaakú pl: boeʔkxoótsi- gaahí	remo	paddle, oar
-booʃáú	hueso del tobillo	ankle-bone
botoʔ-khú	barrer	to sweep
botoʔkxoótsi- kooʔú	escoba	broom
boʔotáhi dl: boʔotáhiikú pl: boʔotáhiihí	plato	plate
budóomú	renacuajo	tadpole
bugúde	secreto (Nn)	secret (Nn)
buʔ-khú	desarmar, desatar, desenvolver	to disarm, untie, unwrap

- Č -

čačhi	carbón	coal
čačhikaá	carbonizar(se)	to char, to make/ become charcoal
čiveú - aʔpitoóú	bautizar	to baptize
čooʔ-khú	besar	to kiss
čooʔkxoótsi	beso	kiss (Nn)
čoʔčhiuu-ʃú	mecerse (p.ej., en una hamaca)	to swing oneself (e.g., in a ham- mock)

- ČH -

čhakóʔ-khú	masticar	to chew
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čhě?ke?ó dl: čhě?ke?ookú pl: čhě?ke?oohí	maraca, sonajero	maraca, rattle
čhě?keú dl: čhě?keuukú pl: čhě?keuuhí	maraca, sonajero	maraca, rattle
čhiipó	exterior	outside
čhiivaná	en medio (de ello), en el centro (de ello)	in the middle, centre (of it)
čhómí	hermana (de hermana, de hermano -- voc)	sister (of sister, of brother - voc)
čhóo-khí	escupir	to spit

- D -

daápa?idzí	afrecho de yuca (lo que se bota), ba- sura	yucca bran (the part which is thrown away), rubbish
daápemífnú	resígaro	Resígaro
dáá?ó	hueco (p.ej., en una casa, en la ropa)	hole (e.g., in a house, in clothing)
da?mí	(su) corteza, (su) cáscara	(its) bark, peel, shell
dá?vané	ocainas	Ocainas
deénú	(su) corteza, (su) piel	(its) bark, (its, his) skin
déene?é	agamí, trompetero (ave)	trumpeter (bird)
depóo	arriba (en el río)	upriver
depó?	último, fin	last, end
depó?mífnú	huitoto murui (Lit.: "el grupo de arriba, de la cabecera del río")	Huitoto Murui (Lit.: "the group from up- river, from the headwaters")

devo?-khá	hacer girar, hacer voltear	to cause to turn round, over
-dê?edê?é	cabecear, dar cabe- zadas	to nod one's head (when sleepy)
dê?po	último, fin	last, end
dogíga?é?	amarillo	yellow
doová	fruta (especie de almendra)	"fruit" (a type of almond)
do?ó	ésta	this one (f)
do?othé	aquella	that one (f)
duu-ǰú	quedarse en un sitio	to remain in a place

- DY -

dyoomáú?é?	orgullosa	proud
dyufiśikó	huasaf (palmera)	a type of palm tree
dyufiśugá	ripia (tabla delga- da de madera que se deja sin cepillar. Se usa para hacer paredes en la casa)	thin, flat pieces of unplanned wood used for making house walls

- DZ -

dzaa-khá	echar agua al fuego	to throw water on the fire
dzee-ǰú	salir, escaparse (p. ej., un animal, de los cazadores)	to get out, to escape (e.g., an animal, from the hunters)
dzoo-ǰú	tomar un chapuzón (entrar en el agua y salir rápidamente)	to take a quick dip
dzu?-ǰú	encoger (p.ej., la ropa cuando se lava)	to shrink (e.g., clothes when washed)

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-emá	morder	to bite
enaf	boquichico	a species of fish (Sp: <u>boquichico</u> , Lit. "small-mouthed")
eniítsi dl: eniítsimusi pl: enitsímu	gusano	bot-fly larva
enitsi	engusanarse	to become infested with bot-fly larvae
enógi	guabas (fruto)	fruit of the <u>guamá</u> tree
enógi?é	guabo (árbol)	<u>guamá</u> tree
epípi	támishi	liana
epípiuu?ó dl: epípiuu- ?ókká pl: epíi- piuu?óhi	soga de támishi	liana cord, liana
epíitsi?i	cadena	chain
epíitshi dl: epíitshi- hiikká pl: e- piitshihiihi	hacha	axe
epíitshi	alacrán	scorpion
epítshi?	amargo	bitter
-époopági	hermano menor	younger brother
epoopágá	dedo meñique	little finger
-époopá	hermana menor	younger sister
epo?khó	después	after(wards)
epo?ná	después	after(wards)
epó?patsi-	el (la) menor	the youngest, smallest
epó?patsigi	hermano menor	youngest brother
epó?patsigá	dedo meñique	little finger

epó?patsipijé	hermana menor	youngest sister
epú	arco iris	rainbow
etsogfipi	viga principal en lo alto de un techo	ridgepole of a roof
-etshó	acabar (intrans)	to finish (in- trans)
-etshootú	terminar (trans)	to finish (trans)
evetsiita?é	tronco de ishanga, ortiga	stem of stinging nettle
evetsiitú	ishanga, ortiga	stinging nettle
evitsóogi(pí)	leche caspi (la savia)	sap of the rubber tree
evitsóogi?é	leche caspi (el árbol)	rubber tree
-e?hóepé dl: -e?hóepékú OR -e?hóepégaa- kú pl: -e?hóe- póné	lengua	tongue
-e?hóepó epó?	punta de la lengua	tip of the tongue
-ó?jo	huir, escapar, correr	to flee, escape, run
-e?piitsú	sobrino, sobrina (de hombre)	nephew, niece (of a man)
-e?phódé dl: -e?phódeekú pl: -e?phódecné	ombligo	navel

- F -

fanigi	Creator (Dios - Lit. "Nuestro Padre")	Creator (God - Lit. "Our Father")
fa?á	nosotros (incl)	we (incl)
fá?vajápa	llover	to drizzle

fá?vu	llueve	it is raining
fee?pákhó mi- gaakú	doce	twelve
fee?pákhó mi- gaakú? sagú?	trece	thirteen
fee?pákhó po?- tsáávégaahí	catorce	fourteen
fee?pákhó sagú	once	eleven
fee?pákhó sá- ?osí	quince	fifteen
fenó	tarrafa, atarraya (una red que se bota al agua)	casting net (a net that is thrown into the water)
fidodó	flauta	panpipes
fii-khú	empujar	to push
fio?-khú	silbar	to whistle
fitsó-jú	salir de la tierra	to come/go out of the ground
fitsó?-khú	jalar, sacar, de la tierra	to pull, take, out of the ground
fóo-jú	hincharse	to swell up
foc-khú	hacer fuego, atizar	to make a fire
fóo-khú	soplar	to blow
fóojakáatsí	sarampión	measles
foto?-khú	hacer un hueco en cualquier cosa, perforar	to perforate, to make a hole in anything

- G -

gábe-khú	hacer enfermar (con oración)	to make s.o. get sick (by witch- craft)
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gadagí?-jǎ	atajarse	to get caught up (in something)
gadagí?-khǎ	atajar	to catch, hook onto, entwine in
gadya?-jǎ	enojarse	to become angry
gǎkaámi	barro, pantano, charco, lodazal	mud, puddle, swamp
-gi	en	in
-gi	por medio de, con (instr)	by means of, with (instr)
giigó?i	cosquillas	tickling, ticklish- ness
giigó?i-khǎ	cosquillear, hacer cosquillas	to tickle
giiví(?eté) dl: giiví?etékú pl: giiví?etéhi	flor	flower
gikó	pus, resina	pus, resin
-gikó	en medio de, dentro de	in the middle of, inside
giniika-jǎ	producirse (fruto)	to come forth (of fruit)
giniikaúváfó	interior del fruto	interior of fruit
ginómó	sur, repartición de una quebrada o ca- mino	south, division of a river or path
ginomomi	gente blanca (los de abajo, del sur)	white people (those from below, from the south)
ginomomihiigi dl: ginomomihii- gimusi pl: gi- nomomihigimu	conejo (Lit. "rata de la gente blanca")	rabbit (Lit. "white people's rat")
ginomomináagi	extranjero, gente blanca	foreigner, white person

gipáginó	(su) nido	(its) nest
giváfó	dentro de	inside
givení-khú	recompensar	to recompense
givení -aa?ní	comprar, pagar	to buy, pay for
gi?í	carne	meat, flesh
gi?í	éste	this one (m)
gi?ithé	aquél	that one (m)
godoóhí	boras	Boras
googíá	molleja	gizzard
go?-khú	meter un palo en la tierra, cuando se está construyendo una casa; inyectar; punzar	to put a stick or pole in the ground when building a house; to give an injection; to make a hole
guu-jú	alcanzar, encontrar, a una persona	to reach, to find, a person

- H -

haa-jú	hundirse (sin querer), deshincharse (p.ej., una herida)	to sink (reflex -- unintentionally), to go down (e.g., a swelling)
haádahí dl: haádámusi OR hádaakú pl: hadámu OR hádaahí OR haá- dí	tortuga terrestre, motelo	land turtle
haádfí	vamos (tú y yo)	let's go (you & I)
haagú	perdiz	partridge
haájabú	yaripa, huacrapona (palmera -- el tronco, derribado)	species of palm tree (the trunk, cut down)

HAA-HAD

haája?é	tronco de yaripa, huacrapona, sin derribar	trunk of yaripa palm - standing
haáka-khá	rozar (quitar arbus- tos)	to clear land (by removing bushes, etc.)
háakadúí	montete (ave)	a species of bird
haáma-khá	robar	to rob
haámámináagi	ladrón	thief
haamée?ku	quizás	perhaps
haánimiinú	avispero	wasps' nest
haánimináagi pl: haánimi	avispa	wasp
-haapú	pasar	to pass, go past
-haa?	coger (p.ej., fruto de un árbol)	to pick, take (e. g., fruit from a tree)
haa?-jú	atorarse (con bebidas)	to choke (intrans) (with drinks)
haa?-khá	atorar (de bebidas)	to choke (trans) (of drinks)
-haa?ní	enterrar	to bury
-haa?ní	peinar	to comb (trans)
-haa?phaavú	peinarse	to comb oneself
-hadá?pú	cantar	to sing
hada?phoótsigi pl: hada?phoó- tsi?á	cantante (m)	singer (m)
hada?phoótsihá pl: hada?phoótsi OR hada?phoótsi- huuhí	canción	song
hada?phoótsipíjé	cantante (f)	singer (f)

hádeeváji	bujurqui (pez)	a species of fish
háke	sí	yes
hamáakú	hamaca	hammock
dl: hamáaká- baakú pl: ha- máakábaahí		
hamaánú	buefo, delfín	dolphin
hamee?ná?oo	correcto, exacto	correct, exact
hamee?nápii?oo	costumbre (ser una)	to be a custom
hamee?nú	también	also
hamé?	así	thus
-hamiináminéagi	toda la familia	all the family
-hamiinú	paisanos, familia	fellow country- men (& women), family
hamo?-khú	calentar, planchar	to heat up, to iron
hamo?khoótsi?i- pi	plancha	an iron
-hanápi	llevar (una cosa), conducir (una per- sona)	to carry (sthg), to take (s.o.)
-hanáva	madre	mother
-hanávaa?jé	madrina, madrastra, tía paterna (her- mana del papá)	"godmother", step- mother, paternal aunt (father's sister)
-hani	traer	to bring
-hanigi	padre	father
dl: -hanigimusi pl: -haniginé		
-hanigii?jé	padrino, padrastro	"godfather", step- father
-haniginé	padres	parents
-haniginémoki	antepasados (muer- tos)	(dead) ancest- ors
hanfitsó	zancudo	mosquito
dl: hanfitsó- musi pl: ha- nitsómu		
hapiitsú	sajino, jabalí, cer- do, chancho	wild boar, pig
dl: hapiitsá- musi pl: ha- pitsámu		

hapótovigí	un sabio, una persona acostumbrada	a wise person, an accustomed person
-hapótú	acostumbrarse	to accustom oneself, to become accustomed
-hapú	contestar	to answer
haphá	interrogativo	interrogative
hatáakú	oruga, crisálida	chrysalis
háta?	como (comparación)	like (comparison)
ha?á	ustedes	you (pl)
ha?agá?i-khú	bostezar	to yawn
há?i	sol, reloj	sun, a watch, clock
ha?i	toma	"here, take this"
há?ihí	cielo	sky
há?ihí tsaphó? jū	estar nublado	to be cloudy
ha?moo?-	tener calor	to be hot (of people & animals)
ha?moo?fú	hacer calor	to be hot (weather)
ha?moo?tsú	estar caliente	to be hot (things)
ha?mo?	caliente	hot
-ha?pótú	salvar (de peligro)	to save (from danger)
ha?pothoótsigi	salvador	saviour
-ha?pú	cruzar (un río), pasar (adelantar), ganar, exceder, inyectar	to cross (a river), to pass, go past, to win, to exceed, to inject
-ha?vanú	caerse	to fall
-hedú	aserrar, descuartizar (carne)	to saw, cut up (meat)
-heéde	nalgas	buttocks
heégi	tábano (mosca)	horsefly
-heenáagi	tío paterno (hermano del padre)	paternal uncle (father's brother)
héepé	antorcha hecha de madera, tea	wooden torch
héepémi	fósforo	match (for lighting things)

hēpēpī	kerosene	kerosene, paraffin
hēpēfī	lamparina, farol	small oil lamp (usu. in round tin)
heštē dl: heštēmusi pl: hetēmu	mosca	fly
heévā	pintura (como huito)	paint (such as <u>hui-</u> to dye)
heevē?i	balanza, báscula	balance, scales
heevē?i-khā	amenazar, señalar, medir, leer, estudiar, apuntar, calcular	to threaten, to indicate, to measure, to read, to study, to note down, to calculate
heevē?ii	palo que se usa para medir	a stick used for measuring
heevē?ikhākaami	lo que se estudia	that which is studied
heevē?ikhōtsi	lección	lesson
heevē?ikhōthōnagī	regla (para medir)	ruler (for measuring)
heevē?ikhōtsogi	estudiante (m)	student (m)
heevē?ikhōtso-píjē	estudiante (f)	student (f)
hee?kō	día	day
hee?kōfā	amanecer, alborear	to dawn
hee?kōnā	madrugada	early morning, dawn
hēē?mā	asar	to roast
hee?ñā	una especie de cazabe	a type of cassava
heffi?	blanco	white
hofii?ūmi	(cara) pálida	pale (face)
hejāpenū	sudar	to sweat
-hekō?do	regresar, volver	to return, go back
-hekō?dotū	devolver, entregar	to return, give back
-hekōnū	cosechar yuca (p.ej., para una fiesta)	to harvest yucca (e.g. for a fiesta)
hemoo?vigī	persona inteligente	intelligent person
-hēmo?tōtū	burlarse de alguien	to ridicule s.o., to scoff at s.o.

HEM-HE?

-hémotú	entender, escuchar (de cerca)	to understand, to listen (from nearby)
-hemú	pedir, suplicar	to ask for, to beg for
-henákó	oreja, oído	ear, hearing
dl: -henákookú		
pl: -henácooné		
-henákoíi?o	cuerno	horn
dl: -henákóii-		
?ókú pl: -hená-		
kóii?óhí		
henákopási	orejera, arete, pen- diente	earring
dl: henákópa-		
sikú pl: he-		
nákópasihí		
-henú	igual	same
henéé	¿dónde?	where?
hepitakaá	acostarse	to go to bed, to lie down
-hepitú	estar acostado, echado, estirarse	to be in bed, lying down, to stretch
hěšó	prima (de hombre)	cousin (f) (of a man)
heté?	hamaca	hammock
-hetsanotú	preguntar	to ask a question
hevo?-khú	aventar, abanicarse	to fan oneself
hě?čihuu-khú	estornudar	to sneeze
hě?ee	¿qué (cosa)?	what (thing)?
hě?e anepúú?	¿cuánto?	how much?
he?egi-heeva?ome	¿por dónde?	which way?
-hě?kó	correr	to run
-hě?kó	sacar yuca, rayar (yuca)	to get yucca, to grate (yuc- ca)
-hě?mú	oír (de lejos), en- tender	to hear (from a distance), to understand
he?ní?	liso, resbaloso	smooth, slippery
he?opié?	antes	before

he?opié?moki	antes (lejano -- en los tiempos de los que están ahora muertos)	before (a long time ago - in the times of those now dead)
-hibii?éte	lugar donde se hace la coca (se prepara para el consumo)	place where coca is made (prepared for consumption)
hidee?tsí	¿cuándo?	when?
hidé? anepáá?	¿cuánto(s)?	how much, how many?
hidé?hee	¿cómo?	how?
hidé?hee tsá	¿qué pasa?(Lit.: ¿cómo (está) él /ello?)	what's happening? (Lit.: how (is) he/it?)
higabú	trampa para pescar (un tubo cortado de un árbol algo parecido al bambú)	fishing trap (a tube cut from a tree something like bamboo)
hihi	tierra	earth, land
híhuuu	paloma	dove, pigeon
-hií	sobre, encima de	on, above
hiibí?é	coca	coca
hiibí?é-khú	coquear (comer coca)	to eat (chew) coca
hiibí?é?asinohú	lo que se cuenta (acerca de la coca), mientras se está tomándola	that which is recounted (about coca), while taking it
hiibí?é?iño	cántaro para hacer coca	pitcher or pot for making coca
-hiidó	abuela (materna o paterna)	grandmother (maternal or paternal)
hiigi dl: hiigimusi pl: higímu	rata	rat
hiímiaakú	horcón, huacapú (madera dura que se usa para construir las casas)	a type of hard wood used in house construction
hiímiaaku?é	horcón, huacapú (el árbol)	a tree whose wood is used in house construction
hiimó	escarabajo	beetle
hiipó	sobre, encima de	on, above

hiišuvé?i-ǰú	salir	to come/go out
hiitabú	cajón	drawer
hiitá	canoa	canoe
dl: hitákú		
pl: hitaahí		
OR hitámu		
hiivá?	parecerse a	to look like (i.e., to have the same appear- ance as)
hiivaná	en el centro de	in the middle of
-hiivú	medio, centro	middle, centre
hii?ko-ǰu	aparecer	to appear
hii?ko-khú	aclarar, declarar	to become clear, to declare
hii?pabábú	media, calcetín	stocking, sock
-hii?págú	dedo del pie	toe
dl: -hii?pá-		
gaakú pl: hii?-		
págaahí		
-hii?pákuba	pierna	leg
hii?pátsi?aa?dó	zapato	shoe
-hii?páú	talón	heel
-hii?pú	pie, pata	foot, animal's leg
dl: -hii?pákú		
pl: -hii?páné		
himaágbú	caimito (fruto)	a species of fruit
pl: himaági		
himiitsi	hierba	grass
himiitsi-khú	limpiar terreno, cultivar	to clear ground, to cut grass, to cultivate
himiitsikhákáamí	lugar donde se ha quitado la hierba	clearing (place where the grass has been cut)
himiitsi?ó	lugar donde hay hierba	a place where there is grass
-himiú	semilla	seed
dl: -himiúukú		
pl: -himiúuhí		
-hino?	poner, esconder, causar, guardar	to put, to hide, to cause, to keep

-hino?kaã	dejar	to leave
-hino?phaavú	ponerse (ropa, etc.), perderse, escon- derse	to put on (cloth- ing, etc.); to get lost, to hide (oneself)
hiñuhui?é	topa (árbol)	a species of tree
-hipáphaavú	lavarse	to wash oneself
hipeégi dl: hipeégi- hiikú pl: hi- peégihihi	estera	mat
hipekó	anoche	last night
hipé?-	helarse	to freeze (intrans)
hipohí	tierra, suelo, pa- tria, mundo	land, ground, floor, country, world
hipohí bedo?- khákáamí	frontera	frontier
hipohí kio?kho- toó	límite (geográfico)	(geographical) limit
hipojíhú	polvo	dust
-hiponaági	anudar, hacer soga	to knot, to make rope, cord
hiponáuu?ó dl: hiponáuu- ?ókú pl: hi- ponáuu?óhi	cuerda	cord, string
hiponoótsi?oohú	cárcel	prison
-hiponú	atar, amarrar, li- gar, encarcelar, llevar preso	to tie up, bind up, take prisoner, im- prison
-hipóo	abajo	below, under(neath)
-hipóomí	de abajo	from below, under- (neath)
hipóonéhu	falda	skirt
-hipú	lavar	to wash
hiphoótsigú	jabón	soap
hiphoótsipíjé	lavandera	washerwoman
-hitákó dl: -hitákookú pl: -hitákooné	nariz	nose
hityeší	estos dos (hombres)	these two (men)

hivá	época, estación del año	period, season
-hiveú	cabeza	head
dl: -hiveuukú		
pl: -hiveuhí		
-hiveú -a?pitoó- tá	bautizar	to baptise
hiveubábú	almohada	pillow
hiveúpi?khoó- tsigi	peluquero	barber
-hive?	delante de (personas)	in front of (people)
hive?-khú	adelantarse, ir delante de, guiar	to pass, to go in front of, to guide
-hive?ási	corona (de la cabeza)	crown (of the head)
dl: -hive?a- sikú pl: -hive? asíhí		
-hive?jii?ó	cabello, pelo largo	(long) hair
dl: -hive?jii- ?óká pl: -hive? jii?óhí		
hive?ná-	estar enfrente de	to be opposite
-hive?paahí	cráneo	skull
hive?pási	gancho (para el pelo), horquilla	hairpin
hivfigí	estrella, luciérnaga	star, glow-worm
dl: hivfigí- musi pl: hiv- viginu		
hižameégi	pesado (Nn)	heavy thing
hižanii?	ser pesado	to be heavy
hižaní?	pesado (Adj)	heavy
hižapoógi	libélula	dragonfly
-hižá?phaavú	pintarse	to paint oneself
hižoo?ipí	arado	plough
hižoo?vigi	cavador	one who digs or ploughs
hí?koo?ní	claramente	clearly
hí?kova	transparente	transparent

hi?kovaa-	ser transparente	to be transparent
hi?kó?	claro, aclarado	clear, cleared
-hi?no	poner, guardar, es- conder, causar	to put, keep, hide, cause
hi?pfi?	frío	cold
hi?pfi?-	tener frío	to feel cold
hi?pfi?fá	hacer frío	to be cold (wea- ther)
hi?pfi?tsá	estar frío (algo)	to be cold (sthg)
-hi?pó	amarrar (una canoa), colgar (una hama- ca), tejer las ho- jas para el techo de una casa	to tie up (a can- oe), to hang up (a hammock), to weave leaves to- gether to make a roof for a house
-hi?pókó	fondo, pie (de un árbol, etc.)	bottom, foot (of a tree, etc.)
-hi?pókóná	al pie de	at the foot of
-hi?távi dl: -hi?távi- gaakú pl: -hi?- táviiné	uña, garra	(finger-/toe-) nail, claw
-hi?vu	andar, caminar	to walk
-hi?žo	escarbar, cavar, ha- cer hoyos para sem- brar	to dig, to make holes for sow- ing
-hó	relacionador en la frase de propósito, con pronombres	Purposive Phrase relator, with pronouns
hodétsa	¿verdad?	really?
-hodó?kó	bajar	to go down
hožo?noómá	puerto	port, harbour
hoká?pé	dirección	direction
hoká?pé	(en) ese momento	(at) that moment
-hoká?phaevú	entrar (en una ca- noa, una avioneta, una casa, agua), ponerse ropa, ves- tirse	to get into (a canoe, a small plane, a house, water), to put on clothes, get dressed
hokoomé?ó dl: hokoome?óká pl: hokoomé?oohi	colmena en el tron- co de un árbol	beehive in the trunk of a tree

hoo-khú	quemar	to burn
hoódo?ó	shirui (pez)	a species of fish
hoomavú	yaguas (grupo idiomático)	Yaguas (language group)
hooní	agua	water
hooni?éhu dl: hooni?eháku pl: hooni?eháhi	pozo	well (Nn)
hooni?i?vothoonú	hielo	ice
hoótsi	resfriado, catarro, gripe	cold, catarrh, influenza
hoofú	cumala (un fruto algo parecido al aguaje)	a species of fruit similar to the <u>aguaje</u>
hoou?é	cumala (árbol)	a species of tree
ho?bú dl: ho?bámusi pl: ho?bámu	carpincho, capibara, ronsoco	capybara
-ho?dónaú dl: -ho?dóna-uukú pl: -ho?-dónauuhi	rodilla	knee
-ho?dónaúgi -i?- tónú	arrodillarse	to kneel down
-hó?ku	picar (p.ej., un insecto, o del sol), encajar (meter una cosa en su lugar)	to bite (of insects), to warm/make itch (of the sun), to put a thing in its place
huduúgi	curuhuinse (hormiga)	curuhuinse ant
húneú dl: húneuukú pl: húneuuhí	lago, cocha	lake
husóodó	nutria	otter
hutooba?žó? dl: hutooba?-žookú OR hutooba?žó?eekú pl: hutooba?žóhi	ayahuasca (narcótico)	Banisterium (narcotic)
huu	respuesta afirmativa de una persona que escucha a otra que habla	affirmative reply from a listener to s.o. who is speaking

- I -

i-	ustedes (imptv)	you (pl - imptv)
idekee?tsi?á	esa clase	that type
idekee?tsikeva	esa clase	that type
idéke?tshí	ahora	now
idé?vá	así	thus
ido-ǰú	sangrar	to bleed
-ifakaá	arrepentirse, asus- tarse	to repent, re- gret, be fright- ened
ifotákatsí	susto	fright
-ifotú	asustar	to frighten
-ifú	temer	to fear, be a- fraid
ihíhu	lugar que sirve de letrina	a place used as a latrine
-ifidú	sangre	blood
iimamamí	porque	because
ifímu?ó	colmena, panal	beehive, honey- comb
ifímu?opókkó	miel de abeja	honey
finí	tigre, perro	tiger, jaguar, dog
dl: finímausi		
pl: inímu		
finíjǰá?	tigrillo	small tiger, jaguar
-ifinó	esposa	wife
dl: -ifinómupi		
pl: -inóné		
iinó-	cansar	to tire
-ifité-khú	ayudar	to help
-ifitó	hija	daughter
iitsi?eté	sustancia parecida al algodón, que vie- ne de las hormigas. (¿Seda?)	substance similar to cotton, that comes from ants (Silk?)
-ifitsú	soltar	to release, let go
ifitshíǰhú	azúcar	sugar

iftshikó	caña brava	wild sugar cane
iftshímú	caña de azúcar	sugar cane
iftshú	neblina, humo, nube	mist, smoke, cloud
iivé-	pequeño (NnSt)	small (NnSt)
iiví	sal del monte (que se come con la coca), ampiri (pasta de tabaco tomada con la coca)	rock salt (eaten with coca), a tobacco paste eaten with coca
-iivíí	cuerno	horn
dl: -iivíikú		
pl: -iivíné		
iiví?ó	invitación (a una fiesta)	invitation (to a <u>fiesta</u>)
-iivú	nombre	name
pl: -iiváné		
ii?ñé	cosa, posesión	thing, possession
pl: ii?ñéné		
-ii?šákó	intestinos, tripas	intestines
dl: -ii?šákookú		
pl: -ii?šákoo hí		
-ii?šáú	barriga	belly
dl: -ii?šáuukú		
pl: -ii?šáuu hí		
ii?šú	excremento	excrement
-ímú	dormir	to sleep
ináadó	mujer	woman, wife
dl: ináadómupi		
pl: inádoné		
ináavi?žaa	gente	people
ináavi?žaanigí	persona	person
ináavi?žaaápee?-	fortalecerse (después de una enfermedad)	to get stronger (after an illness)
-iní	esposas	wives
inó	pereza	laziness
inó-	cansar	to tire
-inó	arponear, picar (con lanza)	to harpoon, to spear
ino?kó?	vago, ocioso, holgazán	lazy

-iaigahí	ceja	eyebrow
-iaimii?ó	párpado	eyelid
iaipási	anteojo	spectacles
-iaipí	lágrima	tear (from crying)
-iaíí dl: -iaiuukí pl: -iaiuuhi	ojo, "hueso de la alegría" (extremidad del húmero al codo)	eye, "funny bone" (extremity of the humerus at the elbow)
-iai?aenu	lágrimas	tears (from crying)
-iai?aavi	pestañas	eyelashes
iaómináagi	haragán, perezoso, vago (Nn)	lazy person
-iñoóchi dl: -iñoóchiikí pl: -iñoóchiné	cuello	neck
ipádo?hi	cangrejo	crab
-ipe	delante de	in front of
-ipó	estar encinta	to be pregnant
ipogí?	verde	green
ipóotsovu-	estar encinta, embarazada	to be pregnant
ipotí	hacer encinta	to cause to be pregnant
-iphi	muslo	thigh
-iphíkuba dl: -iphíkubákí pl: -iphíkubaahí	pierna	leg
iphíuukí	pantalón	trousers
-iphí	pisar	to step on
istú?i-jáphaaví	pensar	to think
itávaagi	sachashuyo, tucho (pez)	a species of fish
-itá?	olla de barro	earthenware pot
iteevikaahí	canaguchal (lugar donde crecen los aguajes)	place where <u>aguaje</u> palms grow
iteevimaa?dé	cahuana de aguaje	sweet, starchy drink made from <u>aguaje</u> fruit

iteevi?ó	aguaje (palmera)	a species of palm tree
iteevi?ó pl: iteevi	aguaje (fruto)	fruit of the <u>aguaje</u> palm
-itá	cerrar, tapar un hueco	to close, to cover a hole
itsaa?ni?i?ó dl: itsaa?ni?i- jóká pl: itsaa?- ni?i?óhi	cántaro, olla de barro	earthenware pot, pitcher, jug
itsaphaavá	faltar para terminar	to remain to be finished
itsíigi	zarigüeya	opossum
itsíitsi	lamprea (pez)	lamprey (eel-like fish)
itsitsó	leña	firewood
-itsootá	poner	to put
-itshápa	estar sentado	to be seated
itshíitágu	peine	comb
itshíito dl: itshíitó- músi pl: i- tshitómu	nigua, pique (un insecto que deja su larva debajo de la piel de los pies)	chigoe, sand flea (an insect that deposits its larvae under the skin of the feet)
-itshá	sentarse, serenarse, calmarse (el agua)	to sit down, to calm down (water)
ivá	hermano (de hermana)	brother (of sister)
i?ó	espíritu de un muerto, fantasma, diablo, foto	spirit of a dead person, ghost, devil, photograph
i?dákáatsi	caldo de yuca dulce	sweet yucca juice or broth
i?dákáa?dó	colpa, abrevadero (de los animales silvestres)	watering place (of wild animals)
i?doótsi	bebida	drink
i?doótsi?oová	vasija	(drinking) vessel
-i?dú	beber ("tomar")	to drink

-i?glinó	nuera	daughter-in-law
-i?jiigi	yerno	son-in-law
-i?kóaniíku	vómito (forma poseída)	vomit (possessed form)
i?káaniítsi	vómito (forma no poseída)	vomit (non-possessed form)
-i?kaná	vomitar	to vomit
-i?kapó	ver una trampa (para averiguar si ha atrapado algo)	to check a trap (to see if it has caught anything)
-i?kotaá(nu)	llegar (de otra parte)	to arrive (from elsewhere)
-i?kotú	dar de beber, hacer beber	to water (animals), to cause to drink
i?navii?tégi	enemigo	enemy
-i?nímá	pezón	nipple
dl: -i?nímuuká		
pl: -i?nímuuhi		
i?ni?caná	leche	milk
-i?ná	enfadarse, regañar	to become angry, to tell off, to rebuke
i?pehó	vamos (varias personas)	let's go (several people)
-i?pi	ir	to go
-i?phaná	pisotear	to trample, to tread underfoot
-i?šapaahí	ano	anus
i?šoótsií	escalera	ladder, stairs
-i?šú	subir (p.ej., una escalera, no un río)	to go up (e.g., a ladder, not a river)
-i?teviidé?ó	aguaje (forma poseída)	<u>aguaje</u> fruit (possessed form)
-i?tómá	estar de pie	to be standing up
-i?totá	destetar	to wean
-i?tú	ayunar	to fast
-i?tso	cernir	to sift, sieve

-i?tsomú	excrementar	to defecate
-i?tsu	despreciar, rechazar	to scorn, dislike, reject
-i?tsháká	sentarse	to sit down
i?tshoótsígú	banco, silla	bench, seat
dl: i?tshoótsígaakú	pl: i?tshoótsígeahí	
-i?voóťú	secar, cocinar jugo de yuca para secarlo	to dry (trans), to cook yucca juice in order to dry it
-i?vú	evaporarse (agua), bajarse el nivel de un río	to evaporate (water), to go down (the level of a river)
-i?vú	torcer sogá	to twist cord, rope
-i?žaa	hijo	son
-i?žaaní	hijo, hija	son, daughter
-i?žaanígi	hijastro	stepson
-i?žaanípíjé	hijastra	stepdaughter
-i?žaatová?	nieto, nieta, bisnieto, bisnieta	grandson, granddaughter, great-grandson, great-granddaughter
-i?žánii?jé	hijastra	stepdaughter
-i?žotú	terminar	to finish

- J -

žáakágikó	espíritu (de un muerto)	spirit (of a dead person)
-žáakovégi	vida (duración, periodo de tiempo)	life (duration, period of time)
žaaná-khú	dar a luz	to give birth
žaanú	niño, bebé	child, baby
-žaa?é?	pasar, ocurrir (una cosa a alguien)	to happen
žada?ígú	ciempiés	centipede
žakádé	chacra	field
dl: žakádeekú	pl: žakádeené	

ǰákamí	espíritu de un muerto	spirit of a dead person
ǰákamiitsí	fotografía	photograph
ǰaká?demí	purma (chacra vieja ya no usada)	old field no longer used
ǰavákú?	lejos	far
ǰa?kámí	algo tejido	something woven
-ǰá?nú	esperar, atalayar, vigilar, cuidar (p.ej., de un ni- ño)	to wait, to keep watch, to look after (e.g., a child)
ǰeéví	lobo	wolf
-ǰiigí	marido	husband
ǰíio	tucán chico, caca- cocón	a species of small toucan
ǰíǰaagi	grueso, grande (de personas)	thick, big (of people)
ǰíǰaagú	ancho	wide
ǰíǰaahú	anchura	width
ǰijá?aamí	grande (de hojas, libros, etc.)	big (of leaves, books, etc.)
ǰi?-ǰú	reunirse	to meet, to have a meeting
ǰi?-khú	juntar (cualquier cosa, p.ej., fruto)	to join together, to gather to- gether, to coll- ect (e.g., fruit)
ǰodoo?figú dl: ǰodoo?fi- gákú pl: ǰo- doo?figáhi	caída de agua, chorro, fuente	waterfall, jet of water, fountain
ǰogi?khoótsihí	pala	spade, shovel
ǰoimokó?to	garza	heron
ǰoóda dl: ǰoódamusi pl: ǰoóamu	loro	parrot
ǰó?nó	priodonte (armadi- llo grande)	giant armadillo
ǰo?thoónú	tejido	woven material
ǰú	ser, estar	to be

- K -

kaádé	espuma	foam, spray
-kaádéuná	espumajear (un río cuando crece)	to froth, bubble (of a river when rising)
kaádó dl: kaádó- hiikú pl: kaádóhiihí	caraná, irapai (palmera), techo de hojas de caraná	a species of palm tree, roof of leaves of the same tree
kaádó?é	tronco de irapai, caraná	trunk of the <u>irapai</u> or <u>caraná</u> palm
kaaháve?i-khú	causar una inundación	to cause a flood
kaákusó?i-khú	hacer caso, creer, tener fe	to take notice of, to believe, to have faith
kaámahú	pretina	belt with buckle
kaáni	yuca brava, mandioca	wild yucca, manioc
kaáśó	fiel, legítimo	faithful, legitimate
kaaśóǵá?i-khú	gustar, querer	to like, to want
kaáśoná-	estar bien	to be well
kaáśo?osí	derecha, -o	right (not left)
-kaavaí dl: -kaava- iikú pl: -kaa- vaihí	espinilla, canilla, pierna inferior	shin, lower leg
kábudu?-ǵú	inclinarse	to bend over
kádatú dl: kádatá- musi pl: ká- datámu	gallina	chicken
kaí	nada	nothing
kainé-ǵú	morir	to die
-kainé-khú	matar	to kill
kainéǵotsopǵé	cadáver (de mujer)	body, cadaver, of a woman
kainéǵovíǵi	cadáver (de hombre)	body, cadaver, of a man

kaĵaĵkú	exprimidor (una prensa de fibra para apretar el veneno de la masa de yuca), tipití	squeezer (a press made from fibres for squeezing the poison from yucca pulp)
kaĵiigi	yuca	yucca
kaĵiigibú	masato	drink made from fermented yucca, bananas or maize
kaĵiigigá	palo de yuca no venenosa	a stick (root) of non-poisonous yucca
kamaĵdú dl: kamaĵdámusi pl: kamaĵámu	comején	termite, white ant
kameĵi?	malcriado, travieso	bad-mannered, badly-behaved, mischievous
kámfi	año, verano	year, summer
-kamiikú	edad	age (of a person)
kamoótsi	bebida fermentada	fermented drink
kamovíigi	borracho (Nn)	a drunk (m)
kamovíipiĵé	borracha (Nn)	a drunk (f)
kamó?	canasta de támishi	basket made from liana cord
-kamú	emborracharse	to get drunk
kamíidó	uvilla (fruto)	berry of the currant bush
kamíidó?é	uvilla (planta)	currant bush
kanacgi	espejo	mirror
kanaĵkokhi	hacer encinta	to cause to be pregnant
kanaamanú?i-khú	salar (la carne, etc.)	to add salt to (meat, etc., as a preservative)
kanaamá?o	sal (de comer, de mesa)	salt (for eating; table salt)
kanakó-	estar encinta	to be pregnant
kanakó?	difícil	difficult
-kanánu	enredarse (p.ej., en unas sogas, sin querer), equivocarse, perderse	to become entangled (in rope, etc.), to make a mistake, to get lost

kanatsúú?	bullá, ruido	noise
-kání	llorar	to cry
kanídefú	camote	sweet potato
dl: kaníde- uukú pl: ka- nídeuuhí		
kaníikámi	llanto	weeping
kaníko?gú	palo de yuca vene- nosa	a stick (tuber) of poisonous yucca
kanimapó-	desear, envidiar	to desire, envy
kanimápogi	persona envidiosa	envious person
kanimapoógi-	envidiar, desear, ser envidioso	to envy, desire, to be envious
kanimapoo?-	ser deseada una cosa	to be desirable (a thing)
kanimapó?	envidia	envy
kanívakáadó	bruja	witch (f), shaman (f)
kanívakáagi	brujo, hechicero	witchdoctor (m), shaman (m)
kanívakákáatsi	cosas de brujería, de hechicería	things of witch- craft
kanívakú?	temible, que da miedo	fearful, causing fear
kapáadó	choro (un mono algo parecido al coto, pero de otro color -- el choro es ma- rrón oscuro, el co- to es rojo)	a species of mon- key similar to the howling mon- key, but dark brown, whereas the latter is red
-kapanú	arrojar	to throw, fling, cast
kapážu?-khú	abrazar	to hug, embrace
kapi	rápidamente, aprisa, apresuradamente	rapidly, hurried- ly, quickly
kapiinú	chacra nueva	new field
kapiitshi	achuni, coatí	coatí (animal related to the raccoon)
kapíkuu?	muy rápidamente, in- mediatamente	very fast, im- mediately

kapinfigi	picarón, bagre (pez)	catfish
kaponiki?	vergonzoso	shy
-kápo?	voluntad	will
-kaphídō	brazo superior	upper arm
dl: -kaphii- dókú pl: -ka- phidóné		
kásikó?i-khú	espíar, mirar	to spy on; to look at
kásiivé?i-jú	conseguir pasar (sin ser visto)	to get past (without being seen)
kásikó?igi	espía	a spy, scout
kásoogá	rallador metálico	metal grater
kašoné-khú	arreglar	to arrange, re- pair
kašonú?-	ser pacífico (de personas)	to be peaceful (of people)
kašonú?	amable, pacífico (de personas)	kind, peaceful (of people)
kašónaka	demasiado	too much
kašoo?nōpikhú	gracias	thank you
kašóva?nuu?-	ser elegante, lindo	to be smart, pretty
kašóva?nú?	lindo, bonito, ele- gante, hermoso, be- llo	pretty, smart, nice, beauti- ful
kašó?	bueno, bien, limpio	good, well, clean
kavá?	corteza del apacha- rama (árbol)	bark of a species of tree
kava?é	apacharama (árbol)	a species of tree
kava?jfhú	arcilla	clay
-kavii-tó?	perseguir (p.ej., cuando se caza), fijarse en, pres- tar atención a	to pursue (e.g. when hunting), to take notice of, pay atten- tion to
-ka?akáú	mandíbula	jaw
dl: -ka?aká- uukú pl: -ka- ?akáuné		

ka?foonagú	tablilla de madera que se emplea cuando se hace el cazabe	small wooden board used when cassava bread is made
ka?ma-	fermentar (de bebidas), pudrirse (de comida)	to ferment (of drinks), to go bad (of food)
ka?maághú	bebida fermentada	fermented drink
ká?meníkí?-	ser juguetero (de un niño a quien le gusta jugar)	to be playful
ká?meníkí?	juguetero	playful
ka?mó	canasta de támara	liana cord basket
ka?mu	ácido (como en el limón)	acid (as in a lemon)
ka?múú?-	estar fermentado	to be fermented
-ka?pú	tirar, botar	to throw
ka?tadákó	chachalaca (pájaro)	chachalaca (bird)
ka?vátsi dl: ka?vátsi- musi pl: ka?- vatsímu	pulga	flea
-ka?vó	tostar	to toast
-ké	relacionador de la frase dativa	Dative Phrase relator
-ké dl: -kékú pl: -kéné	mano	hand
kedávíí?	rojo, colorado	red
keéghí	luna, mes	moon, month
kéoné	¿con quién?	with whom?
kéeni	¿quién?	who?
keétse-khú	encender, prender (una antorcha, un fuego -- con piedras o fósforos)	to light (a firebrand, a fire -- with stones or matches)
keétsé?oovú	linterna	lantern, flashlight (torch)
keétséú	bombilla eléctrica, foco eléctrico	electric light bulb
keé?šé	venado, vaca	deer, cow

kefekii?jovigi	cobarde, miedoso (Nn)	coward, one who is afraid
kefekí?	miedoso, temeroso, astuto, mañoso	fearful, afraid, astute, clever
-kégu	dedo de mano	finger
dl: -kégaakí		
pl: -kégaahi		
-kói	antebrazo	forearm
kejoo?kátsi	historia	history
kejoo?kátsihu	cuento, leyenda	story, legend
-kéjó?	convertirse, cambiarse, transformarse, nacer	to be converted, changed, transformed, to be born
-kéjo?tá	crear	to create
kemekí?	dormilón	sleepyhead, person much given to sleeping
-kemá	decir	to say
kenee?já	despacio	slowly
-képási	anillo	ring (for finger)
képekó	¿qué día?	which day?
-ketsíiká	al principio	at the beginning
ketshe-já	quemarse (una casa, etc.), arder	to burn (intr)(of houses, etc.)
ketshii?(ní/tsá)	estar encendido (un fuego), ser sabroso, delicioso	to be alight (a fire), to be delicious, tasty
ketshii?-váfó	estar contento, feliz	to be content, happy
ketshii?noógi	amable	friendly
ketshí?	delicioso, sabroso, rico (sabor), agradable (olor -- p.ej., de una flor)	delicious, tasty, pleasant (smell -- e.g., of a flower)
ketshi?-pá?	regocijarse	to rejoice
-kéú	muñeca, puño	wrist, fist
ke?iníne	gordo	fat
-ké?jó	cambiarse, convertirse, nacer, comenzar	to change (intr), to be converted, to be born, to commence

ke?nu?	un lugar que tiene arbustos	a place where there are bushes
ke?pi-	estar satisfecho (se dice cuando se ha comido demasiado), satisfacer	to be satisfied (said when one has eaten too much), to satisfy
ke?pií?-	estar lleno después de comer mucho	to be full after eating a lot
ke?tsoótsigi	maestro, profesor	teacher (m)
ke?tsoótsihá	enseñanza (buena)	(good) teaching
ke?tsoótsipíjé	maestra, profesora	teacher (f)
-kó?tsá	contar (narrar), en- señar (dar enseñan- za), corregir, anun- ciar, avisar, acusar	to recount (narrate), to teach, to correct, to announce, to in- form, to accuse
ke?vigi pl: ke?viné	cacique, curaca, ca- pitán, jefe, auto- ridad	chief, captain, authority
ke?vigipákó	aguardiente	brandy
ke?víikátsi	dolor	pain
ke?víí?-	doler	to hurt
ke?víja?i-khú	respetar	to respect
ke?ví?	fuerte (dolor), do- lorido, profundo (de dormir), pi- cante (de sabor)	strong (pain), painful, deep (sleep), hot (flavour)
ke?víikági dl: ke?víiká- gimusi pl: ke?víikágiihí	cacique, curaca, ca- pitán, jefe, auto- ridad	chief, captain, authority
kiokó?i-khú	cortar, hacer pedazos	to cut into pieces
kio?-khú	cortar (por la mitad)	to cut (in half)
kobe?-khú	recoger, levantar.	to pick up
-kobú	grande (sufijo)	big (suffix)
kočhíivu	aire, viento	air, wind
kófé	arriera (especie de hormiga que vuela de noche. Son gran- des y la gente las come)	a species of ant that flies at night. They are big and people eat them.
kogiígi	zúngaro, pintadillo (pez)	a species of fish

konaázi?é	chambira, cumare (palmera)	Astrocaryum (a species of palm tree)
komaági?í	herbazal (fruto de la palmera cham- bira)	fruit of the Astro- caryum (<u>chambira</u>)
-komaáákáuu?ó	vena	vein
komee?tsí	fibra (de la pal- mera chambira)	fibre, string (from the <u>chambira</u> palm)
kome?	brazalete	bracelet
komé?mii?óhí	vestido de mujer	woman's dress
konáapí	barbasco	great mullein (or mullen) (a poison- ous plant of the Verbascum family)
kone	vender	to sell
-koneéku	mercancía (forma poseída)	merchandise (poss- essed form)
koneétsí	mercancía (forma no poseída)	merchandise (non- possessed form)
koneétsí?oohú	tienda	shop
konóogi	jebe, caucho	rubber
konóogi?é dl: konóogi- ?eekú pl: ko- nóogi?eehí	shiringa, guansoco (árbol)	a species of rubber- producing tree
konóogítovoo?- vígí	cauchero	man who collects rubber from trees
konóogi?ípi	máquina de coser	sewing machine
-kóo	hacia	towards
-koomí	pueblo, grupo, tribu	village, group, tribe
koómó dl: kómoókú pl: kómoohí OR koómómu	manguaré (tambor grande para man- dar mensajes)	big drum for sig- nalling
koómobú dl: koómobaa- kú pl: koómó- baahí	tambor	drum
kóonégi	fiesta	fiesta

kóonéǵi-jǵá	hacer una fiesta	to organize a fiesta
kóoneǵá	algo, alguna cosa	something
kóoni	¿qué? (cosa)	what? (thing)
koónú	almendra	almond
kóonae?	¿qué será?	what can it be?
-(?)koo?pá?tú	aborrecer	to abhor
kopáǵi	garrapata (insecto parasítico que se encuentra en algunos animales), plata, dinero	a species of parasite to be found on some animals, money
kopáǵihí	moneda, plata, dinero	coin, money
kopee?	¿por qué?	why?
-kopá	acarrear, transportar, descargar	to carry, transport, unload
kotsí	chosna (mono)	a species of monkey
-kovanu	seguir	to follow
-ková?nú	colgar	to hang up
kovéé?kóveú dl: kovéé?kó- veukú pl: kó- véé?kóveuhí OR kovéé?kóveuu?á OR kovéé?kové?	piedrecita	small stone
kovéé?kóve?ǵihú	arena, playa	sand, beach
koveǵii?ké	hace tiempo	some time ago
koveǵi?	hace (tiempo)	...ago
koveǵáavi	Ocaina dyohxááyah (grupo idiomático)	Dyohxááyah Ocaina (language group)
koviitsí	paujil (ave silvestre)	cashew bird
-kovú	hacer cazabe	to make cassava
ko?igi	¿quién?	who?
kó?oogí	lagarto	lizard
ko?piidú dl: ko?piidá- musi pl: ko?- pidámu	pájaro	bird
kó?ve	chaquira	beads

-ko?ví	tenderse (en hamaca)	to lie down (in a hammock)
kuhú?-khú	señalar, indicar	to signal, indicate
kuuhuf	bastón	walking stick

- KH -

-khada?-jǎ	separarse (dos personas), retirarse, trasladarse	to separate (intrans -- e.g., of two people), to withdraw, move away
-khada?-khú	separar (algo)	to separate (trans -- e.g., things)
khákakávátsi	guerra, combate, lucha, pelea	war, combat, battle, fight
-khákakávú	pelear	to fight
-khákhi pl: -khákiiné	mejilla	cheek
khavakú?-	ser hondo	to be deep
khavakú?	hondo, profundo	deep
kha?-khú	jalar	to pull
kha?gii?-	ser delgado	to be thin
kha?gi?	flaco, delgado	thin (of people)
khékhé?	espera	wait
khéme?kii?-	ser obediente	to be obedient
khéme?ki?	obediente, apto, capaz	obedient, capable
-khé?	no más (p.ej., <u>jaánakhé?</u> "un niño, no más")	no more, only, just (e.g., <u>jaánakhé?</u> "just one child")
-khé?	todavía	still, yet
khé?akhé?	más tarde	later
-khe?jothóo-nigi	Primer Padre (Creador)	First Father (Creator)
-khe?jothóo-píjé	Primera Madre (Creadora)	First Mother (Creator)
khé?mi	no me importa	it doesn't matter to me, I don't mind

khíigi	tío materno	maternal uncle
-khó	de (procedencia)	from
khonaa?é	rana	frog
-khoní	reírse	to laugh
-khonííkkakávú	bromear	to joke
khóniikátsi	broma	joke
khóni?aponéé	triste (lugar)	sad (place)
khóni?apoógi-	estar triste, en- tristecerse	to be sad, to become sad
khóni?apó?	triste, afligido, pobre (persona)	sad, afflicted, poor (to be pitied) (of people)
khóótsigaǰá?	cucharita	small spoon
khóótsigá	cuchara	spoon
khovakó?i-ǰú	partirse, descas- cararse (un fruto, etc.)	to break up (in- trans), to lose its shell, peel (fruit, etc.)
khovakó?i-khú	romper en pedazos, descascarar	to break up into small pieces (trans), to peel, to shell
khová?-ǰú	romperse	to break, tear (in- trans)
khová?-khú	hender, romper, rasgar, rajar, partir (p.ej., un tronco o leña)	to tear, break (trans), split, scratch, break up (e.g. a log or firewood)
khove?kí?	quebradizo	fragile, easily break- able
-khú	comer (fruto y cosas dulces)	to eat (fruit and sweet things)
-khú	hacer	to make, do

- M -

maáóó	ofrenda (de carne que los invitados llevan a la fies- ta)	offering (of meat that the guests take to the fies- ta)
maagi	una especie de fruto	a species of fruit
maáni	brea	pitch, tar

mañni-khú	embrear (tapar con brea una canoa)	to tar (to seal a canoe with pitch)
mañni?úmí dl: mañni?u- nikú pl: mañ- ni?umíhi	máscara	mask
maañá?o dl: maañá?o- musi pl: ma- ñá?ómu	iguana	iguana
maññaná-	callarse	to become silent
maññánú	silencio	silence
maápú dl: maápámusi pl: mapámu	abeja (que no da miel), enjambre	bee (that does not produce honey), swarm of bees
maa?gí	cahuana (bebida de almidón hecha de harina de yuca)	a starch drink made from yucca flour
maa?gi-khú	hacer cahuana	to make a starch drink from yucca flour
maa?má-khú	hacer cazabe	to make cassava
maa?mú	cazabe	cassava
maá?tsa-	estar cansado	to be tired
majakáadó	señorita, muchacha, virgen	young lady, girl, virgin
makaápá	peje torre (pez parecido al zúngaro y al bagre)	a species of fish similar to the catfish
makáda-	secarse (ropa, etc.)	to dry (intrans) (clothes, etc.)
makádú	seco	dry
makápi	toda clase	all sorts
-maká?dú	secar (ropa, etc.)	to dry (trans) (clothes, etc.)
mamenii?-	ser insípido	to be insipid
mamení?	insípido, agrio, sin gusto	insipid, bitter
maméni-khú	abandonar (a alguien), dejar (de hacer algo)	to abandon (s.o.), to stop (doing sthg)

-manaá-tó?	conocer, saber	to know
manegí	conga, isula (hor-	large poisonous
pl: mané	miga)	ant
-manú	llamar	to call
mapíitsi	mal agüero	bad omen
mapíitsi-khú	presagiar	to presage, to forbode
matsi-	enmohecerse, cubrir-	to go mouldy
	so de moho	
-matsika	por rencor	out of bitterness, spite
matsikáatsigi	maleante	bad person
pl: matsikáa-		
tsihú		
matshaákú	maní	peanut
matsháapoká?	por rencor	because of bitter- ness, spite
matshíi?-	heder	to give off an un- pleasant smell
matshivaa?náhú	pecado	sin
matshiva?ná?	malo	bad
matshí?	hedor	unpleasant smell
matshó?	corto, bajo	short
mavó?	mico, huapo (mono)	long-tailed monkey
má?do	pucacunga (ave noc-	a species of noc-
	turna)	turnal bird
ma?pho?é?	más tarde	later
ma?tsaakátsi	fatiga, cansancio	tiredness
ma?tsanaá-	cansarse, estar	to become tired,
	cansado	be tired
ma?tsuu?-	estar cansado,	to be tired,
	débil	weak
ma?tsu?	cansancio	tiredness
-má?u	negativo imperativo	negative imperative
ma?vó	horqueta (gancho pa-	hooked or forked
	ra coger frutos de	stick used to
	los árboles)	get fruit from trees
má?vo	huapo, mico (mono)	long-tailed monkey
medá-	estar asado	to be roasted

meegi	cazabe	cassava
méeme?ó	chicha (de pijuayo)	chicha (fermented drink) made from <u>Guilnelma</u> fruit
menfigi	ardilla	squirrel
meni?	olor (p.ej., de comida; no es desagradable)	smell (e.g., of food; not disagreeable)
-meni?vu	desconfiar, no creer	to distrust, disbelieve
-(?)mêni	jugar	to play
metshóovigi	maduro	ripe
-mé?kó	pelar (fruto)	to peel (fruit)
me?niitsi	juego	a game
-me?nitota-phaavó	sufrir	to suffer
-mi	pasado reciente	recent past
migaakú	dos	two
nigaakú? sa-gú?	tres	three
migi	él, ese (hombre)	he, that (man)
-míigi	cuñado (marido de la hermana de la mujer)	brother-in-law (wife's sister's husband)
míipakó	canasta de hojas de palmera (capillejo)	basket made from palm leaves
miiší	gato	cat
miitsimí	ahumado	smoked
mii?óhí	vestido de mujer	woman's dress
mikašo	creo que	I think that...
miké	pero	but
míkovégi	durante	during
mináadó	dueña	owner (f)
mináagi	dueño	owner (m)
mineeí	por eso	for that reason
-minápavi	cazar	to hunt
minopiivigi	cazador	hunter
-minú	buscar	to look for

-mitá	ahumar	to smoke (i.e., to preserve food by smoking it)
mitshá-jú	levantarse (de es- tar sentado, de la cama, etc.)	to get up (from a seated position, from bed, etc.)
mi?á	ellos	they
mi?é?	así	thus
mi?íjô	esa (olla de barro)	that (earthenware pot)
-mi?tsotú	hervir	to boil (trans)
-mi?tsu	hervirse	to boil (intrans)
mi?žo	tuerto, chejo	blind in one eye
moi?-khú	remover	to stir
-mojá?	tocar	to touch
moká?gi	churuco, musmuqui (mono)	a species of mon- key
-moki	fallecido	deceased
-mókhô	cortar madera con hacha	to cut wood with an axe
-(?)mókhô	oler (exhalar un olor)	to emit a smell
moniitsi-khú	tener ganas de co- mer carne	to feel like eat- ing meat
-(?)mónoná	ahogarse	to drown (intrans)
monôotsi	tamandú, shihui (animal parecido al oso hormiguero, pero más pequeño)	tamandua (an ani- mal similar to the anteater, but smaller)
moneédô	huérfana, viuda	orphan (f), widow
moneégi	huérfano (m), viudo	orphan (m), widower
moohá	recién	recent
mooháná	hoy	today
moótsihú	cama, mosquitero	bed, mosquito net
dl: moótsi- huuktú pl: moótsihuuhí		
-(?)móthô	romper la cáscara de nani	to break the shell of peanuts

-motshānī	amar (a una persona o cosa), mezquinar (no querer compartir con los demás), perdonar	to love (a person or thing), to be stingy with (unwilling to share with others), to forgive
-(?)móts'hó	matar, golpear, azotar, maltratar a una persona	to kill, beat, whip, mistreat a person
motsho?kó?	miserable	miserable
-mó?do	ahuyentar	to frighten off
-mó?jǎ	tocar	to touch
múubé	hermano (de hermano), esposo (de esposa)	brother (of brother), husband (of wife)
múujé	esposa (de marido)	wife (of husband)
muu?á	nosotros (exclusive)	we (exclusive)

- M -

mepókó	piraña, paña (pez)	piranha
mé?koní?	deslustrado	dull (not bright)
-motǎ	probar (p.ej., comida)	to try (food, etc.)

- N -

-náádó	hermana (de hermana), amiga, compañera	sister (of sister), friend (f), companion (f)
-náadopijé	prima (de f)	cousin (f, of f)
naági	cólera, mal humor	anger, bad temper
-náagi	hermano (de hermano), amigo	brother (of brother), friend (m)
-náagigi	primo (de m)	cousin (m, of m)
naána	huito (la tinta)	red dye from a plant
naána?é	huito (la planta)	a plant from which a red dye is made
naapi	noche	night

-náapi	debajo de, parte inferior	under, lower part, bottom
náapigi	abajo (más que <u>hipóo</u>)	low (lower than <u>hipóo</u>)
naapi?é?	la mañana, temprano	the morning, early
naápi	paca, majás	paca, spotted cavy
dl: naápámsi		
pl: napámu		
naa?ká	idioma	language
-naa?kápi	garganta (por dentro)	throat (inside)
dl: -naa?kápi-		
ká pl: -naa?-		
kapíné		
-naa?ni	disputar, reñir	to dispute, to argue
naginagi-jú	enfadarse, rabiarse	to get angry
naikoogi	curación	healing (Nn)
naikoogigi	curandero	witchdoctor, shaman
dl: naikoogigi-		
gímsi pl:		
naikoogí?a		
naikoogihu	oración	prayer
-nai?kó	curar (usando los métodos del curandero: plantas, oraciones, etc.)	to heal (using the methods of the shaman: herbs, prayers, etc.)
-nakéegi	sobrino	nephew
-nákóotsá	cuñado (de hombre)	brother-in-law (of a man)
-(?)náwakaá	dejar boca abajo, agacharse, poner huevos (gallina)	to leave upside-down, to bow down, to lay eggs (hen)
-(?)náwú	estar boca abajo	to be upside-down
-náná	cuerpo	body (living)
nanáanamaa?dé	cahuana de piña	sweet starchy drink made from pineapples
nanáaná?aanú	jugo de piña	pineapple juice
nanáaná?iikó	hijuelo, retoño (de piña)	shoot, new growth (of pineapple)
nanáaná?ó	piña	pineapple

nanapitá?ó	macambo (tronco)	pumpkin vine
nanapitá?ó dl: nanapii- tá?ookú pl: nanapitá?oohi	macambo (fruto), ca- labazo	pumpkin
-nánikána	hermana (de her- mano)	sister (of bro- ther)
navif	lo que se atrapa cazando	that which is caught hunting
na?athé	ellos (lejos)	they (far)
na?i dl: na?imusi pl: na?fnu OR na?iihi	gusano (que se en- cuentra en los ár- boles. La gente lo come.)	worm (that is found in trees. People eat it.)
-na?kakávu	discutir (con al- guien)	to argue (with someone)
na?námináadó	criada, empleada, moza	maid, employee (f)
na?námináagi	criado, empleado	servant (m), em- ployee (m)
-neé	con (acompañando)	with (accompanying)
neé	allí	over there (farther than <u>neef</u>)
neégi	sábalo (pez)	shad (fish)
neehi	allá	there
neef	ahí	there
neefimif	habitante	inhabitant
nehitshindú	el lugar de	the place of
netetshí?ó dl: netetshí- musi OR nete- tshí?ookú pl: netetshímu	piojo	louse
niginomámú	cementerio	cemetery
niginoomú	tumba, sepulcro	tomb
nihi?-khú	paladear, sabor- ear, laner	to taste, lick
niíhonoovigi	bobo	foolish
niíkanakó?	fácil	easy
niikó	no	no

níiká, níikaá dl: níikáauuká pl: níikáuuhi	fruta	fruit
níikhémí	no	no
níikhé?	todavía no	not yet
níinóvigípi- vígí	mudo (Nn)	dumb person
níipá?	aunque no	although not
níitsí	tabaco	tabacco
níitsíviižú	ampiri	paste made from tabacco
níitsí?ó	tabaco	tabacco
níivá eké?tsí	nunca	never
níi?ó	señora (se dice a una mujer que ya no es virgen)	"Mrs" (said to a woman who is no longer a virgin)
-níineovú	cuñada (de hombre)	sister-in-law (of a man)
-nó dl: -nókú pl: -nóné	boca	mouth
nóhú	idioma, palabra	language, word
-nojíhi dl: -nojíhiiká pl: -nojíhihi	barba	beard
nokokáá	atardecer	to get dark, to fall (night)
nokótsahé?kóku	anteayer	the day before yesterday
nokótsapéko	anteanoche	the night before last
nokótsú	ayer	yesterday
nomáagi?é	umari	a species of tree
nomoná	salida de un río de un hueco	coming-forth of a river from a hole
nonó?náagi	relación entre sue- gros de un matri- monio	relationship be- tween parents-in- law of a married couple

nóokó	tarde	late
noótsigá dl: noótsi- gaakú pl: noótsigachi	lanza, arpón, flecha	lance, harpoon, arrow
noótsihá	palabra	word
-novigipi	hablar	to speak
noviigi	espina (p.ej., de palmera), aguja	needle (e.g. of a palm tree), (sewing-)needle
-nó?aaví dl: -nó?aa- vikú pl: -nó?aaviné	labio	lip
-nú	en (la puerta, etc.)	in (the doorway, etc.), at
núhiga-já	protegerse, refugiar- arse	to protect oneself, to take refuge
núhiga-khú	dar sombra	to shade
núhigá dl: núhi- gaakú pl: núhigaachi	tambo	a shelter, home

- N -

naa?dó?ó	calabaza hecha en forma de una taza	pumpkin gourd made made into the shape of a bowl or cup
néhá?póovigi	ganador	winner
námupi	ellas dos	they two (f)
námusi	ellos dos	they two (m)
-nigi dl: -nigikú pl: -niginé	frente, cara	forehead, face
nó	yo, mi	I, my
nú	ellos	they

- Ñ -

ña?i?-já	doblarse (de cosas)	to double up (intrans -- of things)
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ña?i?-khá	doblar	to fold (trans)
ñii?šóǵá	ruiseñor	nightingale
ñoi-khá	frotar, lustrar	to polish, shine (trans)
ño?há-	hacerse suave, suavizar	to make smooth, become smooth
ño?huu?	ser blando, suave	to be soft, smooth

- Ñ -

ñee?ke-khá	sanar (con medicina)	to heal (with medicine)
ñeke?-	sanarse, hacerse más fuerte	to get better, stronger
ñeke?khoótsi	medicina (cualquier cosa que da fuerza)	medicine (any- thing that gives strength)
ñe?-jú	aplastarse, mordi- car, punzar	to squash (oneself), to sting, smart, hurt (intrans)
ñe?-khá	apretar	to press
ñe?kii?-	ser fuerte (de per- sonas)	to be strong (of people)
ñe?kí?	fuerte (de fuerza física)	strong (of people)

- O -

oǵhi	daledale (planta)	a species of small tuber
-odo?phaavú	trabajar	to work
offináu	ñame, sachapapa	yam
oǵa-	achicarse	to become small
ókóǵiǵi	jóven, muchacho	youth (m), boy
ókóniǵi	fuego, candela	fire (of logs, etc.)
ókóniǵihá	escopeta	rifle
ókóniǵijihá	ceniza	ash
ókónfiǵimí	lancha	launch, boat
ókóniǵiǵi	bala (para esco- peta), cartucho	bullet, cartridge

ókóniigivuudú	tizón	burning log
okhóodoú	fruto del <u>okhóo-</u> <u>do?é</u>	fruit of the <u>okhóo-</u> <u>do?é</u> tree
okhóodo?é	árbol que da fruto que sólo los anima- les comen	a tree which gives fruit that only the animals eat
oméapí	lombriz	worm, earthworm
omeké	¿por qué (no)?	why (not)?
ómú	salsa picante	highly seasoned sauce
oná?kó dl: oná?kó- musi pl: ona?kómu	serpiente, culebra, cascabel, jergón, víbora	snake
-oné dl: -onéhiikú pl: -onéné	diente	tooth
-ónó	derramar, vaciar	to spill, to empty
oñu	el agua que inunda las casas cuando el río está crecido	the water that floods the houses when the river is high
oo	intensificador - ya	intensifier - al- ready
ooja-	ser delgado, poco	to be thin, little
ooja-khú	achicar, hacer más pequeño, hacer dis- minuir	to shrink (trans), make smaller, make diminish
oojaǵá?	poco, estrecho, pe- queño, chico	little, narrow, small
óóna?é	mafala (tubérculo co- mestible)	a species of edible tuber
ópimíí	bastante, suficiente	enough
ópimíími?oo	entonces	then
ootshí	collar	necklace
oovú dl: oovámusi pl: ovámu	coto	howling monkey
opéanú	hígado	liver
opíitsí(kó)	trampa para pescar	trap for fishing
opíitshomii	antiguos (personas de antes)	ancients (people from olden times)

-δpokotú	cantar un duo antes de una fiesta	to sing a duet before a fiesta
-ophú	crecer (plantas)	to grow (intrans) (of plants)
otsóomú	larva comestible, nojojóis, suri	edible larva or worm
-otshó	dar de comer (cosas que no sean carne)	to feed (trans) (with food other than meat)
ovéetsi-khú	hacer trampa	to make a trap (for catching animals)
ovéetsikó	trampa para coger ratones	mousetrap
ovi?	limpio, libre (tierra)	clear (of a clearing in the jungle)
-ovo?tú	mojar (alguien)	to wet, moisten (s.o.)
ó?dónækíi?jovigi	pescador (que usa barbasco)	fisherman (who uses great mullein poison)
-o?domú	pescar (con barbasco), machacar barbasco para que salga el veneno cuando se pesca	to fish (with great mullein poison), to crush great mullein in order to squeeze out the poison when fishing
o?doótsiphaavú	trabajo	work
-o?hoogi	abuelo	grandfather
-ó?kógigíiká	juventud	youth, early life
-o?kónó	fluir, gotear, escurrir, chorrear	to flow, drip, drain, run (of water)
-ó?kótáepi dl: -ó?kótáa- píkú pl: -ó?- kótáapíné	garganta (por fuera)	throat (outside)
-ó?kótáapigú dl: -ó?kótáa- piguukú pl: -ó?kótáapigúuhi	pecho	chest
-ó?kótáepi?ootsi	agalla, bronquio (de peces)	gill, branchia (of fish)
-o?korí?	fuego (forma poseída)	fire (possessed form)
-o?kú	tumbar un árbol	to fell a tree
-o?métsinú	saludar	to greet

-o?vápú	nadar	to swim
-o?vu	mojarse	to get wet

- P -

-pa	sufijo progresivo	progressive suffix
paagáú	araña	spider
dl: paagáú-		
musi OR paa-		
gáúukú pl:		
pagámu OR		
paagáúuhi		
-paánú	casa (forma pose- ida)	house (possessed form)
paa?ó	pan (uno)	bread (one)
-padú	enflaquecer enorme- mente (como un caso de tuberculosis), palidecer	to become ex- tremely thin (as in a case of tuber- culosis), to be- come pale
páginó	nido	nest
paginoótsihú	frazada, cobija, manta	bed-cover, blan- ket
pagino?oogú	tapaje (valla de ca- ña u otra madera pa- ra pescar)	covering (cane or other wooden barr- rier for fishing)
-paginú	extender una fraza- da, manta	to spread out a bed- cover, blanket
pakó	(bastante) agua	(quite a lot of) water
pákoonivá	todos los pueblos, todas las perso- nas	all the villages, all the people, everybody
panáagi-jú	hacer amistad	to make friends
panáagi-khú	acompañar	to accompany
pánaminú	lugar donde había una casa	place where there has been a house
paniitsí	casa	house
dl: paniitsí-		
haakú pl:		
panitsimá		

paniitsi-khú	construir una casa	to build a house
paniitsi?epó?	cumbre del techo de una casa	the highest point of the roof of a house
panitsimú	caserío	village, hamlet
panonoótsi-koo?ú	escoba	broom
papási	encurvado, redondo, círculo (de ruedas, aros, anillos, etc.)	curved, round, circle (of wheels, rings, etc.)
pápekóvá	todos los días, siempre	every day, always
páphokote-kii?-	ser un tirador experto	to be a good shot
páphokote-ki?	la cualidad de ser un tirador experto	the quality of being a good shot
patophé	primero	first
patsagikoovú	lugar donde se sientan los dueños de una fiesta	place where the leaders of a fiesta are seated
patsoviité	boa, exprimidor bora (tipití)	boa constrictor, tube-shaped wicker-work strainer for squeezing poison from yucca, etc. (Bora style)
patshánuu?-	ser húmedo, estar mojado	to be wet, damp
patshánu?	húmedo, mojado	wet, damp
patshiiná-	quedarse (en casa)	to stay behind (at home)
páú	cosa redonda	round thing
pavuudú	redondo (como un tronco de madera), mocho	round (like a log), a cut piece of tree trunk
pá?aná	juntamente, todos (de personas)	together, all (of people)
pa?oogáhi	claro (del día)	clear, light (of daytime)
pá?osikuaé	diez	ten
pa?toónagi	vigilante	watchman
pa?toovigi	uno que vigila	one who keeps watch

-pa?tú	mirar, atisbar	to look, watch, spy on, observe
peedógi pl: peedó	cucusa, isango	a species of in- sect that bites people & animals
peégi	harina de yuca, almidón	yucca flour, starch
peegi	gavilán	sparrowhawk
-pee?	como (relacionador de la frase compa- rativa)	same as, like (Comparative Phrase relator)
peglinú dl: peglinámusi pl: peglinámu	caimán, lagarto	alligator, caiman, lizard
-(?)péno	tragar	to swallow
-pé?do	lamer	to lick
-pidáadéú	codo	elbow
pido-khú	criar (animales)	to raise, rear (animals)
pidú	animal doméstico	domestic pet
piigi dl: piigimusi pl: pigimu	oso hormiguero	anteater
piikapá	yare (jugo de yuca brava)	juice of bitter yucca
piimé dl: piimémusi pl: pimému	hormiga	ant
pináú	bolsillo, bolsa	pocket, bag
pináubábú	bolsa	bag
pitékhovi	ayudante	assistant, helper
pii?né	tuyo	yours
-piko?paví	servir	to serve
-piko?phaaví	reverenciar al Creador	to revere the Creator
pinó	campo (que no tie- ne dueño)	field (that does not have an owner)
pipigíú dl: pipigíuukú pl: pipigíuuhí	pijuayo (el fruto)	the fruit of the Guilelma
pipigí?é	palmera de pijuayo	Guilelma (palm tree)

pipfiigi?i dl: pipfiigi- ?ikú pl: pi- piigi?ihí	un racimo de pijuayo	bunch of Guilelma
pišaañi	carne de animal	animal flesh, meat
piší?-khú	desmigajar	to crumble (trans)
pitsínuu?-	ser lindo, bonito (no se refiere a belleza física, si- no a acontecimien- tos o sonidos, p.ej., una canción)	to be nice, pretty (not referring to physical beauty, but to an event or sound, e.g., a song)
pitsínú?	lindo, bonito	nice
pitshéedó	pichico (mono)	a species of mon- key
pitshíigi dl: pitshíi- gímusi pl: pitshigímas	murciélago, chim- bilá	bat
pi?ijó	inválido (enfermo)	invalid (sick per- son)
pi?ijó-	ser deformado (al nacer)	to be deformed (from birth)
-pi?ko	echar, botar	to throw (away)
pi?mí dl: pi?mímusi pl: pi?mímu	picaflor, colibrí	hummingbird
pi?ža?é	shimbillo, churina (árbol)	a species of tree
pi?žu	fruto del <u>shimbillo</u>	fruit of the <u>shim- billo</u> tree
pomenú?	trabajador (Adj)	hard-working
ponaámájii?o	chonta, cogollo	tocuma (heart of the <u>hungurahui</u> tree)
ponaáma?é dl: ponaáma- ?eekú pl: ponaáma?eehí	tronco de hungura- hui (un tipo de pal- mera)	a species of palm tree
-poní	avergonzarse	to be ashamed, timid
ponuu?-	dar vergüenza	to cause shame or timidity

ponfí?	vergüenza	shame, timidness
póotsigá	rana	frog
poótshó	punchana (roedor)	a species of rodent
poo?gi	tortera (utensilio de cocina en que se cocina el cazabe)	type of frying-pan used for cooking cassava
popóogi dl: popóogi- musi pl: po- pogímu	lechuza, buho	owl
potsánuu?-	ser pegajoso	to be sticky
potsántí?	pegajoso	sticky
potsiitsa-khá	endulzar	to sweeten
potsitsuu?-	ser dulce	to be sweat
potsitsú?	dulce, salado	sweat, salted
potsháadó	perezoso (animal)	three-toed sloth
potshí?mó	lleno	full
po?iitsí	azulejo (pájaro)	bee-eater (bird)
pó?kónoomá dl: pó?kóno- maakú pl: pó?kónomaahí OR pó?kónoománé	puerta	door
pó?manuu?-	ser alto (tono musical), fuerte (ruido)	to be high (musical tone), loud
pó?manú?	alto (tono musical), fuerte (ruido)	high (musical tone), loud
po?poótakó	pona, cashapona (fruto)	a species of fruit
po?poóta?é	cashapona (palmera)	a species of palm tree
po?tsáává	medio, centro	half, centre
po?tsáávágaahí	cuatro	four

- PH -

phá	tú, tu	you, your (sg)
phaa?mí?oo	entonces	then

PHA--PHU

phaigi	un viejo, adulto	old man, adult (m)
dl: phaigiiká		
OR phaimusi		
pl: phaigihi		
OR phainé		
phaiké?naavá	tía materna (hermana de la mamá)	maternal aunt (mother's sister)
phaipijé	una viejita, anciana	old woman
dl: pheipi- jeeká OR		
phaimupi pl:		
phaipijéhi		
phedee?kátsi	grasa, manteca	grease, fat
phedee?katsipi	aceite	oil
phede?-	engordarse	to get fat
phede?-khú	saludar	to greet
phédo?phédó?	brillante, lustroso	brilliant, shiny
phédo?vakhú	relampaguear	to strike (of lightning)
phe?dótsi	hermana mayor	elder sister
phe?gitsi	hermano mayor	elder brother
phé?tó?	todos	all
phigitsaaná	(una tribu -- el informante no conoce el nombre castellano)	(a tribe -- informant does not know Spanish name)
phiigi	achiote	annatto, annato (red dye from the pulp of the Bixa orellana tree)
phiitsi	aguti, añuje, guara	agouti
-phokotá	alcanzar (con escopeta, lanza, etc.)	to hit, strike (with bullet, spear, etc.)
phóo-khú	agitar	to shake, agitate
phóódená	verdad, cierto	true
pho?khoótsi	abanico	fan (for cooling oneself)
phú	tú	you
phúú-jú	chocar	to collide with

- S -

saa?du-khú	freír	to fry
sabo?-jǎ	hundirse, sumergirse (voluntariamente)	to sink, submerge (voluntarily)(in-trans)
sabo?-khú	hundir, sumergir	to sink, submerge (trans)
sádumi	gajo, racimo	bunch, cluster
sagi	veinte	twenty
sagú	uno	one
sapijé	una (mujer)	one (woman)
sa?á	otras personas, los demás	other people, others
sá?osi	cinco	five
seu?-khú	cortar cosas pequeñas (p.ej., tela, con tijeras)	to cut small things (e.g., cloth, with scissors)
sigá?-khú	alumbrar, iluminar	to illuminate
siigi	ajeno	alien, foreign to
sii?-khú	oler, percibir un olor	to smell, perceive a smell
sii?ú	grupo (p.ej., tribu), ajeno	group (e.g., tribe), alien
siku?-jǎ	respirar	to breathe
siku?khoónú	respiración	breath, breathing
sipekó	pasado mañana	the day after tomorrow
sítu?ákhó mi-gaakú	diecisiete	seventeen
sítu?ákhó mi-gaakú? sagú?	dieciocho	eighteen
sítu?ákhó po?-tsáávágaahí	diecinueve	nineteen
sítu?ákhó sagú	dieciséis	sixteen
si?osikhó mi-gaakú	siete	seven
si?osikhó mi-gaakú? sagú?	ocho	eight
si?osikhó po?-tsáávágaahí	nueve	nine

si?osikhó sagú seis		six
soe?-khú	arañar, rascar	to scratch
soo?-khú	chupar	to suck
sovidákó	lagartija (del monte)	small lizard
sufigibá	tupido	thick, close-knit (of undergrowth, basket-work, etc.)
suú?	estrecho, fino	narrow, fine
- Š -		
šaa-jú	dispersarse	to disperse (intrans)
šaašaa-khú	regar	to water (a field, etc.), irrigate
šakoo?gipi	chapo (bebida de plátano)	banana drink
šakoo?gi?i dl: šakoo?gi- ?ikú pl: ša- koo?gi?ihí	racimo de plátanos	bunch of bananas
šakoo?gi?ó dl: šakoo?gi- ?ókú pl: ša- koo?gi?óhí	plátano	banana
šéedó	suegra	mother-in-law
šiinée	el amanecer, claro (del día)	dawn, light (of day)
šiiia-	aquietarse, estar tranquilo	to be/become calm, quiet
šiinú	¡quieto!, ¡déjame!	be still!, leave me alone!
ší?tyu	gorila	gorilla
šódí	sarna	scabies
šóhó dl: šóhómusi pl: šóhómu	pavo, pava de monte	turkey, peacock
šoko?-jú	moverse	to move (intrans)
šoko?-khú	espantar, hacer huir	to frighten, cause to flee

šoo-khŭ	derramar, echar agua (para lavar)	to pour out water (in order to wash)
šooĥŭ	mentira	lie, falsehood
šooĥé-ǰŭ	engañar, mentir, ser falso	to deceive, tell lies, be false
šooĥéǰakšami	decepción, mentira	deception, lie
šoo?gŭ	suegro	father-in-law
-šotŭ	dar de comer carne	to feed with meat
-šŭ	comer carne	to eat meat
šuu-khŭ	aconsejar (no hacer algo), impedir, pro- hibir	to advise against, hinder, prohibit
šuuĥhákšami- hŭ	mandamiento	command
šuuĥhoŭtsihŭ	mandamiento, consejo	command, piece of advice

- T -

taa	frío, fresco	cold, cool
taa-ǰŭ	enfriarse (una cosa, p.ej., una comida), calmarse (el agua, una herida, una per- sona, etc.)	to get cold (e.g., a meal), to calm down (intrans)(of water, a wound, a person, etc.)
taaǰé	abuela (materna y pa- terna)	grandmother (mat- ernal and paternal)
taanŕe-ǰŭ	desmayarse	to faint
taasa?iǰŭ dl: taasa?i- ǰŭkŭ pl: taa- sa?iǰŭhi	taza	cup
taavi?é	llaruma, cetico (ár- bol cuyas hojas se mezclan con la coca)	a species of tree the leaves of which are mixed with coca
taa?giu	liza (pez)	mullet (fish)
tabo?-khŭ	arremangar	to turn up, roll back (one's sleeves, etc.)
-(?)támŭ	tapar, cubrir (un hueco), cerrar (una puerta)	to cover (a hole), to close (a door)

tánaaká?é	variedad de árbol que	species of tree
dl: tánaaká-	da caucho (más gran-	producing rubber
?eekú pl:	de que leche caspi)	(bigger than the
tánaaká?eehí		<u>leche caspi)</u>
-tapóní	soñar	to dream
tapóniivigi	soñador	dreamer
tapóníkatsí	sueño	dream
taveé-khú	cambiar	to change (trans)
-taveéni	sobrina (de mujer)	neice (of a wo- man)
ta?akábú	anona	soursop (Annona muricata)
ta?aká?é	tronco de anona	trunk of the sour- sop tree
ta?duu?-	ser duro	to be hard
ta?dú?	duro	hard
ta?moótsihí	sombrero	hat
tébahú	monte, bosque, selva	uninhabited part of the jungle, wood
tébaké	raíz	root
teégu	mesa	table
teé?í	río grande	big river
dl: té?iikú		
pl: té?iihí		
teé?ijá?	quebrada chica, arro-	small stream,
dl: té?iiku-	yo, riachuelo	brook
já? pl: té-		
?iihijá?		
teé?í?aaví	orilla del río	river bank
teé?í?ápo	atajo	short-cut (on the river, a- voiding a big bend)
tégahú	cerro, loma, altura	peak, hill, height
dl: tégahuukú		
pl: tégahuuhí		
tégakú	rama	branch
téhuu?ó	fronda, hoja larga de palmera	palm leaf frond
teí?iku	barbacoa	support on which meat, etc., is cooked (barbecue- fashion)

témooŋ	mar	sea
dl: témooákŋ		
pl: témooáhi		
-(?)témphaavú	plancar, proyectar, imaginar	to plan, imagine
tosaadá?ó	astilla	splinter
tétuhi	cicatriz, herida	scar, wound
tétyoi	isla, restinga	island, sandbar, mudbank
dl: tétyoiikú		
pl: tétyoihi		
téuu?ó	esa sogá	that rope
dl: téuu?ókú		
pl: téuu?óhi		
télaami	cuaderno, libro,	notebook, (printed)
dl: té?aamikú	papel	book, paper
pl: té?aamihi		
té?aamihi	escuela	school
té?ehú	bache, hueco	(pot-)hole
dl: té?ehuukú		
pl: té?ehuuhi		
té?etébú	callampa, hongo, seta	mushroom
té?ipi	raíz	root
-te?khi	ir a traer	to fetch, go and bring
tíñeenebú	una especie de trampa	a type of animal trap
ti?phoótshi	medicina, remedio	medicine, cure
ti?phoótshigi	médico, doctor	doctor
todetóodé	un tipo de baile	a type of dance
todokáakú	sapo	toad
dl: todokáa-		
kámusi pl:		
todokakámu		
toki	añashúa (pez)	a species of fish
tókhó	shapaja (fruto)	a species of fruit
tókho?é	shapaja (palmera)	a species of palm tree
-(?)tónú	abofetear	to slap, hit
tóó-jú	dislocarse (un hue- so), herirse, lisi- arse	to become disloc- ated (a bone), to hurt, wound oneself

tóó-khí	dislocar, quebrar (p.ej., un palo, en dos)	to dislocate (trans), break (e.g., a stick, in two)
toodóhí	cucaracha	cockroach
tóójovígi	un cojo	lame man
tóójovípijé	una coja	lame woman
toopáú	panguana (ave)	a species of bird
-tovaa?gi	conseguir	to obtain, get
tovígi	paucar, mochilero (ave)	a species of bird
-tó?makaá	acostarse	to lie down, go to bed
-tó?mu	estirarse, estar echado, acostado	to stretch oneself, be lying down
-to?vakaa?nú	casarse	to get married
-to?vú	conseguir, sacar	to obtain, get
tua-ǰú	brincar, saltar	to jump
tuu-khú	amputar, cortar (cosas grandes como árboles)	to cut (off) (big things like trees)

- TH -

tha?-ǰú	naufragar, anegar, inundarse	to sink (intrans)
thiithí?ó	sumileoncito (mono)	a species of mon- key
thónaa?kámí	turbio (río)	turbulent (of a river)
thóo-khú	sacudir	to shake (trans)
thootshí?o	clavo	(iron) nail
tho?-ǰú	llegar	to arrive
tho?-khú	machacar, machucar, moler	to crush, pound, grind
tho?khoónagú	batán (para moler yuca)	wooden mallet (for grinding yucca)
tho?khoótsigú	fuelle de madera en la que se pone la yuca para molerla	wooden bowl in which yuca is put to be ground
tho?khoótsií dl: tho?khoó- tsiikú pl: tho?khoótsiíhí	palo para machacar coca	pestle, stick used to grind coca

tho?khúmá	huitoto muinani (grupo idiomático)	Huitoto Muinani (language group)
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- TY -

tya?difo	abuelo (materno o paterno)	grandfather (maternal or paternal)
tyoédé	carpintero chico (pájaro)	small woodpecker (bird)
tyó?otyóbu	mariposa	butterfly
tyo?tyá?	bonito, bello	pretty
tyugaší?-khá	patear, dar patadas	to kick
tyugí?ó	pihuicho, perico	parakeet
dl: tyugí?ó-		
musi pl: tyu-		
gi?ómu		
tyuókó	ratón	mouse

- TS -

-tsá	se dice que	it is said that
ttaa-jú	gritar de alegría	to shout for joy
ttaagi	dibujo (en la cara)	a drawing (on a person's face)
ttaagi-khá	pintar, escribir, adornar	to paint, draw, adorn, decorate
ttaagibaná-	ser listado (p.ej., como un tigre)	to be striped (e.g., like a tiger)
ttaagikha-	escritura	writing
kaámi		
ttaagikhoó-	lección	lesson
tsihá		
-tsáaté	hermano (de hermana)	brother (of sister)
ttaátshi	tucán grande, picofeo	large toucan
dl: ttaátshi-		
musi pl:		
tsatshímu		
ttaa?ká?ó	camarón	shrimp, prawn
tsagímá	fruto del aguaje o humarí que se ha enterrado para madurarlo	fruit of the <u>aguaje</u> or <u>humarí</u> palm which has been buried to mature it

tsagimú	masa de aguaje	dough made from <u>aguaje</u> fruit
tsagif?o	lápiz	pencil
-tsakóotú	apagar	to put out (a fire, etc.)
-tsaku	apagarse	to go out (a fire, etc.)
-tsaniná	coser	to sew
tsapáagi	camaleón	chameleon
tsaphoogi- ?oohú	cárcel	prison
tsághovaa	oscuridad	darkness
tsaphó?	oscuro, negro	dark, black
tsavaákaná	todo de una vez	all at once
tsavaaná	en seguida	at once
t?a?i	armadillo	armadillo
dl: t?a?imu- si pl: t?a- imu		
-t?a?kú	escoger	to choose
-t?a?nú	venir	to come
-t?a?tu	adherir(se), pegar(se)	to adhere, stick to (intrans)
-t?a?tú	cargar, llevar un bulto	to carry a load
t?a?thoótsi	carga	load, weight
-t?a?voóttú	asegurar, hacer se- guro (p.ej., poner el seguro en una ar- ma para que no dis- pare)	to make safe (e.g., position the safety catch on a firearm so that it will not fire)
tseemánági	compadre (amigo entre hombres)	friend (between men)
tseemánápijé	comadre (amiga entre mujeres)	friend (between wo- men)
-tsee?gi	cuñado (de mujer)	brother-in-law (of a woman)
tseinoogi	altura	height
tseinó?	alto, largo (tamaño)	high, long (of size)
tsení	arriba (en el cielo)	above (in the sky)

tsenímí	los de lo alto, de arriba (p.ej., los monos)	those from above, high (e.g., the monkeys)
tseníméhú	blusa, camisa	blouse, shirt
tsenímémi	avión	aeroplane
-(?)tséno	topar (chocar una cosa con otra)	to collide
-tsínáhi	pluma	feather
-tsíni	hijos (pl)	sons (pl)
-tsínú	vello, pelo del cuerpo, de animal	body hair, fur
-tsítú	hacer salir con humo (a un animal de un hueco, cuando se caza)	to smoke out (an animal from a hole, when hunting)
tsii?tsi?ó pl: tsii?tsi	grillo	cricket (insect)
tsíkíú	calvo	bald
tsíkí?	solamente	only
tsíkí?gi-	estar desnudo	to be naked
tsíkí?húhi	tontería	silly thing
tsíkí?ná	vacío	empty
tsíkí?né- -khú	enderezar	to straighten (out) (trans)
tsíkí?ná?o	cualquier (de cosas y personas)	any, whichever (of things and people)
tsíkí?nú	por gusto	because one wants to
-tsíni	detrás	behind
tsimíná	después	after
-tsí?dá	arrastrar	to drag
tsí?kí?	recto, derecho, directamente	straight, direct(ly)
-tsí?kó	quitar (una cosa a una persona), arrebatar	to take (something from someone), to snatch
tsó	ella, su (de ella)	she, her
tsóó?vi-khú	afilarse, hacer filoso	to sharpen
tsopókó	noticia, mensaje	notice, news, message

tsopóko?ípi	acusador (Adj)	accusing (Adj)
tsopóko?ípi-	ser contador, narrador, de cuentos	to be a story-teller, narrator of stories
tsopókómináagi	acusador (Nn)	accuser
-tsotú	fastidiar, incomodar, molestar	to bother, inconvenience
tso?kó?	feo, sucio, lodoso	ugly, dirty, muddy
tsó?vii?-	ser, estar, filoso	to be sharp
tsó?vó	comadreja (animal parecido al perro. No es nocturno)	animal similar to the dog. It is not nocturnal.
tso?vómá	fariña	grated manioc
tsú	él	he
-tsú	aclararse, limpiarse (p.ej., agua)	to (become) clear (e.g., water)

- TSH -

tshá?thooná	goma	glue
-tshéni	ver, hallar	to see, find
tshidóogi	cedazo	sieve
tshigi-jú	deslizarse, resbalar	to slip (along), to slide
-tshiipi	rabo, cola	tail
-tshí?to	pellizcar	to pinch
tshóé-khú	sacar con alguna cosa	to scoop out (as from a cooking pot)
tshomaátshi	algodón	cotton
tshomaátshi?ó	hilo	thread
tshoóffú	carpintero grande	large woodpecker
tshoo?kojá- ?i-khú	tener asco	to feel revolted, disgusted
-tshopá	cantar un dúo	to sing a duet
tshoveeni	animal	animal
tshóvinoótsi	fiambre, víveres	cold food, provisions
tshá	eso	that

- U -

úni	saliva	saliva
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- V -

vaa-khú	acuchillar (matar con cuchillo u otra arma parecida)	to knife (to kill with a knife or other similar instrument)
-váakó	hombro	shoulder
-váakóbaú dl: -váakó- bauukú pl: váakóbauuhi	hombro	shoulder
vaánamú	bambú	bamboo
vaánú	nombre de una fiesta en la que se baila con el bambú	name of a fiesta in which the people dance with bamboo sticks
vaátsáhi	shacapa, sonaja (adorno hecho de la semilla de un fruto y llevado en los tobillos en una "fiesta idioma")	rattle (a decoration made from fruit seeds and worn on the ankles in a "language fiesta")
vaátsáhi- póó?jó	hacer sonar shacapa (cuando se baila)	to cause the rattle to make a noise (when dancing)
-vaavú	alma	soul
vadóva-khú	negociar	to carry on a business
vadóvá?oohú	tienda	shop
-váfó dl: -váfókú pl: -váfooné	interior, dentro de, estómago	interior, inside, stomach
-váfó -hénótú	meditar, pensar	to meditate, think
-vafogú	escama	scale (of fish, etc.)
-váfoú	corazón	heart
-váfó?o pl: -váfó- ?oohú	costilla	rib

-váfó?ootsi	pulmón	lung
dl: -váfó?oo-		
tsikú pl:		
-váfó?ootsihi		
vagii?tó	suguisugui, tocón (mono)	a species of monkey
vagito	un invitado a una fies-	person invited to a
pl: vagitoné	ta, un bailarín	fiesta, dancer
-vagitú	ir a una fiesta	to go to a fiesta
vakéjo?thoó-	Dios	God
nagi		
-vakématshi	estar tranquilo	to be calm
vakéné	nuestras manos	our hands
-vakétsa-	olvidar	to forget
pho-jú		
vakhá-jú	enfermarse, estar enfermo	to become ill, to be ill
vanaánahú	fruto del <u>vanaána?é</u>	fruit of the <u>vanaá-</u> <u>na?é</u> tree
vanaána?é	árbol que da fruto que no se come	species of tree that produces a fruit which is not eaten
-vanaa?jé	concuñada (hermana de cuñado o cuñada)	sister-in-law (sis- ter of sister-in- law or brother-in- law)
-vanaa?jégi	concuñado (hermano de cuñado o cuñada)	brother-in-law (bro- ther of brother-in- law or sister-in- law)
-(?)vānoná	visitar	to visit
-vāni	espalda	back
dl: -vāni-		
kú OR -vā-		
nigiikú pl:		
-vāniiné		
-vāniná	detrás de	behind
-vāni?aapi	columna vertebral, espinazo	spinal column, backbone
-(?)vānó	entrar (en una casa), visitar	to go into (a house), to visit
-(?)vānotú	hacer entrar	to cause to enter

vatsóogi	gallinazo	turkey buzzard
dl: vatsóogi-		
musi pl: va-		
tsogímu		
-vatsú	cocinar carne	to cook meat
vatshoótsi-	olla de estaño	tin pot or pan
?oohú		
dl: vatshoó-		
tsi?ooháku		
pl: vatshoó-		
tsi?ooháhi		
va?agaǵá?	cuchillo	knife
dl: va?aga-		
ǵaakú OR		
va?agaakuǵá?		
pl: va?agaǵaahi		
va?agú	machete	machete
dl: va?agaakú		
pl: va?agahi		
-va?i?pipa	tener diarrea	to have diarrhoea
va?i?pimoótsi	diarrea	diarrhoea
va?kaá	llanchama	bark-cloth
-va?nú	mandar, enviar	to command, to send
va?moótsihú	ley	law
vá?paánahú	pucuna	blowpipe
vá?paánú	cerbatana, pucuna	blowpipe
vedéemábu	cinta para el cabello de una mujer, pañuelo	ribbon for a woman's hair, (woman's) scarf
vedéemáko	ojé, llanchama (árbol)	tree from which bark-cloth is made
vedéemá?é	tronco del llanchama	trunk of the tree from which bark-cloth is made
vedéemú	ropa, tela (forma no-poseída)	clothing, cloth (non-possest form)
pl: vedemámú		
-vedéma	ropa (forma poseída)	clothing (possest form)
vée	acá, por aquí	here, this way
vée-	dar comezón, picar, escocer, irritar	to cause itchiness, itch, irritate
veéká?ó	maíz, mazorca, tusa	maize, corn

věethě	allí	there
veni	pago (por cualquier cosa)	payment (for anything)
-(?)vétshá	desplumar	to pluck
ve?e	aquí	here
ve?i	aquí	here
-ve?nii	más que	more than
vě?niná?	más allá	further away
vigi-khú	arrollar, enrollar, envolver, revolcar	to roll (up), wrap (up)
vfiší?ógu	catarata	rapids
dl: vfiší?o-gákú pl: vfi-ší?ogáhí		
vfiší?óú	roca, piedra grande	rock, large stone
dl: vfiší?ó-uukú pl: vfi-ší?óuuhí		
-vikó?phaavú	repartirse, separarse	to break up (intrans)(of a group of people), to separate (intrans)
vio-ǰú	rizar (p.ej., su pelo una mujer)	to curl (e.g. a woman her hair)
vio-khú	mezclar (p.ej., cuando se prepara una comida o una bebida)	to mix (e.g., when preparing a meal or a drink)
viti-	obstruirse, taparse	to become obstructed, blocked, covered over
viti?-khú	rodear	to surround
vitsónakátsi	clamor	shout, cry, clamour
-vitsóná	gritar, quejarse, clamar	to shout, complain, clamour
-vi?do	fumar	to smoke (of people)
-vi?ko	repartir, dividir	to share out, divide up
voši?-ǰú	reventar	to burst

- ? -

-?pe	pasado remoto	remote past
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- X -

xuu-ǰá	descansar	to rest
xuukhoótsi	domingo	Sunday

Part II:

SPANISH -- RESÍGARO

- A -

a: -kóo	acompañar: panáagi-khú
abajo: hipóo (más) abajo (que <u>hipóo</u>): náapigi	aconsejar (a no hacer una cosa): šuu-khú
abandonar: maméni-khú	acostado: estar acostado: -hepitú, -tó?mu
abanicarse: hevo?-khú	acostarse: -hepitakaá, -tó?makaá
abanico: pho?khoótsi	acostumbrada: una persona acostumbrada: hapótovigí
abeja (que no da miel): maápu	acostumbrarse: -hapótú
abofetear: -(?)tómú	acuchillar: vaa-khú
aborrecer: -(?)koo?pá?tú	acusador (Nn): tsopókómi- náagi
abrazar: kapažu?-khú	acusador (Aj): tsopóko?ipi
abrevadero (de los ani- males silvestres): -i?- dákaa?dó	acusar: -ké?tsú
abrir: -a?kó	achicar: dzu?-khú, ooja- khú
abuela (materna y pater- na): -hiidó, taájé	achicarse: oja-
abuelo (materno y pater- no): -o?hoogi, tya?difo	achiote: phiigi
acá: vée	achuni (animal silvestre): kapiitshí
acabar: -etshó	adelantar: -ha?pu
acarrear: -kopú	adelantarse: hive?-khú
acechar: -pa?tú	adentro: giváfó
aceite: phedee?katsipi	adherir: -tsa?tu
acercarse: aiǰanuu?-	admirarse: aa-ǰú
ácido (como el limón): ka?mu	adornar: tsaagi-khú
aclarado: hi?kó?	adulto: phaigi
aclarar: hii?ko-khú	afilar: tsóó?vi-khú
aclararse (p.ej., agua): -tsú	afirmación (sí): aai
se aclara: gitsú	afligido: khóni?apó?
	afrecho de yuca: daápa?idzi
	afuera: anikhó

agacharse: -(?)námakáá	alimento: a?mithoótsi
agalla (de peces): ó?kó- táapi?ootsi	alma: -vaavú
agamí (ave): déene?é	almendra: koónú
agarrar: eke?-khú	almidón: peégi
agitar: phóo-khú	almohada: hiveubábú
agrio: mamení?	alto (grande): tseinó?
agua: hooní	los de lo alto: tseníimí
bastante agua: pakó	alto (tono musical): pó?- manú?
el agua que inunda las casas cuando el río cre- ce: oñu	ser alto (tono musical): pó?manuu?-
aguaje (fruto): iteevi?ó	altura: tseinoogí, tégahú
(árbol): iteevi?é	alumbrar: siga?-khú
aguardiente: ke?vigipákó	allá: neéhi
aguja: novíigi	allí: neé, véethé
agutí: phíi?tsi	amable: ketshii?noógi, kašonú?
ahí: neef	amanecer (Vb): hee?koffú
ahogarse: -(?)mónonú	amanecer (Nn): šíinee
ahora: idéke?tshí	amar: -motsháni
ahora sí: hodé?é	amargo: epíitshí?
ahumado: miftsimí	amarillo: dogíiga?é?
ahumar: -mitú	amarrar: hí?pó, -hiponú
ahuyentar: -mó?do	amenazar: heevé?i-khú
aire (viento): kočhíivú	amiga: náadó, tseemáná- pijé
ajeno: siigi, sii?á	amigo: náagi, tseemánagi
aji: aatshíu	ampiri: íiví, niitsíivíižú
ala: -a?náapi	amputar: tuu-khú
alacrán: epíitshí	anciana: phaipiǰé
alborear: hee?koffú	anciano: phaigi
alcanzar: a una persona: guu-ǰú	ancho: ǰíǰaagú
con escopeta, etc.: -phokotú	anchura: ǰíǰaahú
alegre: ser alegre: ke- tsíi? -váfó	andar: -hí?vu
algo: kóoneǰá	anegar: tha?-ǰú
algodón: tshomaátshí	anillo: kópási
algunos: sii?á	animal: tshoveení
	animal doméstico: píidú

ano: -i?šapaahi	aquí: ve?e, ve?i
anoche: hípekó	aquietarse: šína-
anona (tronco): ta?aká?é	arado: hižoo?ípi
(fruto): ta?akábá	araña: paagáú
anteanoche: nokótsapékó	arañar: soe?-khú
anteayer: nokótsahé?kóku	árbol: avána?é
antebrazo: -kéi	árbol que da fruto que los
anteojo: inipási	animales comen, y cuyas ho-
antepasados (muertos) de	jas se usan para teñir las
uno: haniginémoki	hamacas, etc., de rojo:
antes (más bien reciente):	aatyádá
he?opíé?	árbol que da fruto que so-
(antes de he?opíé?):	lamente los animales comen:
he?opíé?moki	okhóodo?é
antiguos (personas de an-	árbol que da fruto que no
tes): opítshomii	se come: vanaána?é
antorcha: hēepé	arbustos: avána?eehijá?
anudar (hacer sogas): -hi-	lugar que tiene arbustos:
ponaági	ke?nu?
anunciar: -ké?tsú	arcilla: kava?jihú
anzuelo: ee?phigú	arco iris: epú
añashúa (pez): toki	arder (p.ej., una casa):
año: kámi	ketshe-jú
añuje (animal): phii?tsi	ardilla: menfigí
apacharama (árbol): ka-	arena: kovéé?kóve?jihú
va?é	arete: henákopási
apagar: tsakóotú	armadillo chico: tsa?i
apagarse: -tsaku	armadillo grande: jó?nó
aparecer: hii?ko-jú	arpón: noótsigú
aplastarse: ñe?-jú	arponear: -inó
apresuradamente: kapi	asegurar (poner el seguro
apretar: ñe?-khú	en una arma para que no
aprisa: kapi	dispares): -tsa?voštú
epto: khéme?ki?	arrancar: bedo?-khú
apuntar (señalar): hee-	arrastrar: -tsi?dú
vé?i-khú	arrebatar: -tsi?kó
aquéi: gi?ithé	arreglar: kašoné-khú
aquélla: do?othé	arremangar: tabo?-khú
	arrepentirse: -ifakaá
	arriba (en el cielo):
	tšeni

los de arriba (p.ej., los monos): tsenfimi	atrapa: lo que se atrapa, cazando o pescando: navif
arriba (en el río): depóo	atrapar (algo que se cae): -a?nátú
arriera: kófé	aunque (no): niipá?
arrodillarse: ho?dónaŋ-gi -i?tónú	autoridad: ke?vigí
arrojar: -kapanú	ave: adovifigi
arrollar: vigi-khú	aventar: hevo?-khú
arroyo: teé?iǰá?	avergonzarse: -poní
asado: estar asado: medá-	avión: adovifigimí, tsenfi-mémí
asar: -hésé?mú	avisar: -ké?tsú
asegurar (poner el seguro de una arma para que no dispare): -tsa?voótú	avispa: haánimináagi
aserrar: -hedú	avispero: haánimimú
así: hamé?, idé?vá, mi-?é?	ayahuasca: hutooba?žó?
asir: eke?-khú	ayer: nokótsú
asombrar (dar sombra): núuhiga-khú	ayudante: piitékhovi
astilla: tesaadá?ó	ayudar: -iité-khú
astuto: kefekí?	ayunar: -i?tú
asustar: -ifotú	azotar: -(?)mótshó
asustarse: -ifakaá	azote: anoógi eémámí?o
atajar: gadagi?-khú	azúcar: iitshiǰihú
atajarse: gadagi?-ǰú	azulejo (pájaro): po?iitsí
atajo: teé?i?ápo	
atalayar: -ǰá?nú	- B -
atar: -hiponú	bache: té?ehú
atardecer: -nokokaá	bagre: kapinfigi
atarraya: fenó	bailar: -adotú
atisbar: -pa?tú	bailarín: vagito
atizar (remover el fuego para que arda más): foo-khú	baile (fiesta): kóonégi
atorarse (con comida): -á?komú, haa?-khú	un tipo de baile: tode-tóodé
(con bebida): haa?-ǰú	bajar: -hodó?kó
	bajar el río (una canoa, llevada por la corriente): -amadu
	bajarse (el río): -i?vú

bajo (corto): matshó?	biznieto: -i?žáátová?
(debajo de): -náapí	blanco: hefíí?
bala: ókóniigíú	blando: ño?húu?
balanza: heevé?í	blusa: tsenfinéshú
balsa: aváanagaa?žó	boa: patsoviité
bambú: vaánamú	bobo: nihemoo?vigí
banana: šakoo?gí?ó	boca: -nó
banco: i?tshoótsigú	boca abajo; estar boca a-
bañarse: -a?pitú	bajo: -(?)námú
barba: -noǰíhí	dejar boca abajo: -(?)ná-
barbacoa: teí?iku	makaá
barbasco: konáapí	bola: eétsiú
barrer: boto?-khú	bolsa: piínaá, piínaubábú
barriga: -ii?šáú	bolsillo: piínaá
barro: gákaámí	bombilla eléctrica: keé-
bastante (mucho): aen-	tseú
píú?	bonito: kašóva?nú?, pitsi-
(suficiente): oópimíí	nú?, tyo?tyú?
bastón: kuuhuí	boquichico (pez): enaf
basura (de yuca): daá-	boras (grupo idiomático):
pa?ídzi	godoóhí
batán (para moler yuca):	borde: -?aaví
tho?khoóbnagú	borracha: kamovíipíjé
bautizar: -híveú -a?pi-	borracho: kamovíigí
toóttú	borrar: -a?mitsú
bebé: jaánú	bosque: tébahú
beber: -i?dú	bostezar: ha?agá?i-jú
dar de beber, hacer be-	botar (tirar): -ka?pú
ber: -i?kotú	(echar): -pí?ko
bebida: i?doótsí	branquia: -ó?kótáapí?ootsí
bebida fermentada: ka-	brazalete: kome?
moótsí	brazo: -a?náapí
bejuco: epíipíuu?ó	brazo inferior: -kéí
bello: tyo?tyú?, kašó-	brazo superior: -kaphíídó
va?nú?	brea: maání
besar: čoo?-khú	brillante: phédo?phédó?
beso: čoo?khoótsí	brincar: tua-jú
bien: kašó?	broma: khóniikátsí
estar bien: kaášoná-	

bromear: -khonifikakávú	caimán: pegiinú
brompio (de peces): -ó?- kóttápi?ootsi	caimito (fruto): himaágibú
bruja: kanivakáadó	cajón: hiítabú
brujería: cosas de bru- jería: kanivakákáa	calabaza hecha en forma de una taza: naa?dó?ó
brujo: kanivakáagi	calabazo: nanapitá?ó
buche: -a?mithoótsibá	calcetín: hii?pabábú
bueno: kašó?	calcular: heevó?i-khú
bufeo: hamaánú	caldo de yuca: i?dákáatsi
buhó: popóogi	calentar: hama?-khú
bujurqui (pez): hádeeváhi	calentarse (personas): -a?nápu
bullá: kanatsúú?	caliente: ha?mo? estar caliente: ha?moo?-
burlarse de alguien: -hé- mo?tóttú	calmarse (agua hervida, persona, etc.): taa-ǰú (agua del río): -itshú
buscar: -minú	calor: tener calor: ha?- moo?-
	calvo: tsíkiú
- C -	callampa: té?etébú
cabecear: -dó?edé?é	callarse: maššana-
cabello: -hive?ǰii?ó	cama: moótsihú
cabeza: -hiveú dar cabezadas: -dó?edé?é	camaleón: tsapáagi
cacacocón (ave): ǰífo	camarón: tsaa?ká?ó
cacique: ke?vigi	cambiar: taveé-khú
cadáver (de hombre): kai- néšǰovigi (de mujer): kainéšǰo- tsopiǰé	cambiarse: -ké?ǰó
cadena: epíitsi?i	caminar: -hi?vu
caerse (personas, etc.): -ha?vanú (árboles): -á?nú	camino: ajápó, šhuhí
cahuana: maa?gi cahuana de aguaje: itee- vinaa?dó	camisa: tseníinóhú
cahuana de pijuayo: pi- píigimaa?dó	camote: kaniídeú
cahuana de piña: nanáa- namaa?dó	campo (que no tiene dueño): pinó
caída de agua: ǰodoo?figú	canaguchal: iteevikaahú
	canagucho: iteevi?é
	canasta: míipakó (de támishi): ka?mó, ka- mó?

bajo (corto): matshó?	biznieto: -i?žáštová?
(debajo de): -náapí	blanco: hefíí?
bala: ókóniigiú	blando: ño?húu?
balanza: heevé?í	blusa: tseníinéhú
balsa: aváanagaa?žó	boa: patsoviíté
bambú: vaánamú	bobo: niíhemoo?vigi
banana: šakoo?gi?ó	boca: -nó
banco: i?tshoótsigú	boca abajo: estar boca a-
bañarse: -a?pitú	bajo: -(?)námú
barba: -nojííhí	dejar boca abajo: -(?)ná-
barbacoa: tei?iku	makaá
barbasco: konáapí	bola: eétsiú
barrer: boto?-khú	bolsa: piínaú, piínaubábú
barriga: -ii?šáú	bolsillo: piínaú
barro: gákaámí	bombilla eléctrica: keé-
bastante (mucho): aen-	tseú
páú?	bonito: kašóva?nú?, pitsí-
(suficiente): oópimíí	nú?, tyo?tyú?
bastón: kuuhuí	boquichico (pez): enaf
basura (de yuca): daá-	boras (grupo idiomático):
pa?idzi	godoóhí
batán (para moler yuca):	borde: -?aaví
tho?khoónagú	borracha: kamovípijé
bautizar: -híveú -a?pi-	borracho: kamovíigi
toóttú	borrar: -a?mítsú
bebé: jáánú	bosque: tébahú
beber: -i?dú	bostezar: ha?agá?i-jú
dar de beber, hacer be-	botar (tirar): -ka?pú
ber: -i?kotú	(echar): -pí?ko
bebida: i?doótsí	branquia: -ó?kótáapi?ootsí
bebida fermentada: ka-	brazalete: kome?
moótsí	brazo: -a?náapí
bejuco: epíipíuu?ó	brazo inferior: -kéi
bello: tyo?tyú?, kašó-	brazo superior: -kaphíidó
va?nú?	brea: maání
besar: čoo?-khú	brillante: phédo?phédó?
beso: čoo?khoótsí	brincar: tua-jú
bien: kašó?	broma: khóniikátsí
estar bien: kaášoná-	

canción: hada?phoótsihú	carne: gi?i
candela: ókóniigi	carne de animal: pišaaní
cangrejo: ipádo?hí	carpincho: ho?bú
canilla: -kaavaí	carpintero chico: tyoédé
canoa: hiftú	carpintero grande: tshoófú
cansado: estar cansado: ma?tsuu?-, ma?tsanaá-	cartucho: ókóniigiú
cansancio: ma?tsu?, ma?tsáakatsí	casa: paniitsí
cansar: inó-	casarse: -to?vakaa?nú
cansarse: ma?tsanaá-, maá?tša-	cascabel: oná?kó
cantante (m): hada?phoó- tsigi	cáscara: da?mí
(f): hada?phoótsipiǰé	caserío: panitsímú
cantar: -hadá?pú	cashapona (palmera): po?- poóta?é
cantar un dúo: -tshopú	cashapona: po?poótakó
cantar un dúo antes de una fiesta: -ópokotú	catarata: viíši?ógú
cántaro: itsaa?ni?iǰó	catarro: hoótsí
(para preparar comida): akaká?	catorce: fee?pákhó po?- tsáávágaahí
(para hacer coca): hii- bí?é?iǰo	cauchero: konóogitovoo?- vígi
caña brava: iítshikó	caucho: konóogi
caña (de azúcar): ii- tshímú	causar: -hi?no
capaz: khemekí?	cavador: hižoo?vígi
capibara: ho?bú	cavar: -hi?žo
capillejo (canasta): míipakó	cazabe: maa?mú, meegi
capitán: ke?vígi	una especie de cazabe: hee?ñá
cara: -nigi	hacer cazabe: -kovú
caraná (palmera): kaádo	cazador: minopiivígi
carbón: čačhí	cazar: -minápavi
carbonizarse: -čačhikaá	cedazo: tshidóogi
cárcel: hiponoótsi?oo- hú, tsaphoogi?oohú	ceja: -inigahú
carga: tša?thoótsí	cementerio: niginomámú
cargar: -tša?tú	ceniza: ókóniigiǰihú
	centro: hiivú, po?tsáává
	en el centro de: hiivaná
	cerbatana: vá?paánú, vá?- paánahú

cerca: aiĵánú?	carlo): -i?voóťú
estar cerca: aiĵaanuu?-	cocinera: a?mithoóťsikó-
cerco: avoóťshí	ťsó
cerdo: hapíťsú	cocha: húnéú
cernir: -i?ťso	codo: -pidáadéú
cerrar (la puerta, un hueco): -(?)ťámó	coger (p.ej., fruto de un árbol): -haa?
(una quebrada): -itú	cogollo (de palmera): po-
cerro: tégahú	naámáĵii?ó
cetico (árbol): taavi?é	coja: ťóóĵovípiĵé
cicatriz: ťéťuhi	cojo: ťóóĵovígi
cielo: há?ihí	cola: -ťshípi
ciempiés: ĵada?igú	cólera: naági
cierto: phoódenú	colgar: -ková?nú
cinco: sá?osi	colibri: pi?mi
cinta: vedéemábú	colina: tégahú
cinturón: anoógi eémú	colmena: ímu?ó
círculo: papási	(en el tronco de un árbol): hokoomé?ó
clamar: -vitsónú	colorado (rojo): kedáví?
clamor: vitsónakáťsí	colpa (abrevadero de los animales silvestres):
claramente: hí?koo?ní	i?dákaa?ó
claro: hí?kó?, pa?oogáhi	columna vertebral: -váni-
claro del día: šíinée	?aapi
clase: esa clase: ide-	collar: ootshí
kee?ťsí?á, idekee?ťsí-	comadre: tseemánapiĵé
keva	comadreja: ťsó?vó
clavo: thootshí?o	combate: khákakáváťsí
coatí: kapiťtshí	comedor: a?mithoóťsihú
cobarde: kefekí?ĵovígi	comején: kamaáđú
cobija: paginoóťsihú	comenzar: -ké?ĵó
coca: hiibi?é	comer: -a?mitú
cántaro para hacer coca:	comer carne: -šú
hiibi?é?iĵo	comer fruto y cosas dul-
lugar donde se hace la	ces: -khú
coca: hibii?éťé	comezón: véé
cocina: a?mithoóťsihú	comida: a?mithoóťsí
cocinar (cualquier cosa):	como: háťa?-, hiivá?-,
-akú	-pee?, -?é?
(carne): -vatsú	
(jugo de yuca, para se-	

¿cómo?: hidé?hee	(madera, con hacha): -mó- khó
¿cómo están ustedes?: hidé?heehú	corteza: da?mí, deémú (de apacharama): kavá?
compadre: tseemánági	corto: matshó?
compañera: náadó	cosa: ii?ñé
comprar: givení -aa?ní	cosechar (yuca): -hekonú
con (por medio de): -gi (acompañamiento): -neé	coser: -tsaniá
¿con quién?: kéené	cosquillas: giigó?í
concuñada: -vanáa?jé	cosquillear: giigó?í-khú
concuñado: -vanáa?jégi	costilla: -váfó?o
conducir: -hanápi	costumbre: hamee?nápii?oo
conejo: ginomomihiigi	coto: oovú
conga: manegi	cráneo: -hive?paahí
conocer: -manaá -tó?	creador (dios): fanígi
consejo: šutúkhoótsihú	crear: -kéjjo?tú
conseguir: -to?vú	crecer (plantas): -ophú
construir (una casa): paniitsi-khú	creer: kaákusó?i-khú creo: mikašo, -eké?tsí
contador: ser contador de cuentos: tsopóko- ?ipí-	criada: na?námináadó
contar (narrar): -ké?tsú	criado: na?námináagi
contento: estar conten- to: ketshii?-váfó	criar (animales): pído-khú
contestar: -hapú	criatura: jaánú
convertirse: -ké?jé	crudo (de fruto no maduro): emí?
coquear (comer coca): hiibi?é-khú	cruzar (un río): -ha?pú
corazón: -váfoó	cuaderno: té?aamí
corona (de la cabeza): -hive?ásí	cualquiera: tsiki?ná?o
correcto: hamee?ná?oo	¿cuándo?: hidee?tsí
corregir: -ké?tsú	¿cuánto?: hidé? anepúú?, hé?e anepúú?
correr: -hé?kó, -é?jjo	cuatro: po?tsáávágaahí
cortar (por la mitad): kio?-khú	cubrir: -(?)támó
(cosas pequeñas): seu?- khú	cucaracha: toodóhí
(cosas grandes): tuu-khú	cucusa: peedógi
	cuchara: khoótsigú
	cucharita: khoótsigajá?

cuchillo: va?agajá?	chachalaca (pájaro): ka?- tadákó
cuello: -iñočhi	chambira (palmera): komaá- gi?é
cuento: ke?joo?kátshu lo que se cuenta acerca de la coca mientras se está tomándola: hiibí- ?é?asinohá	chamuscarse: -a?vénoná
cuernada: hiponáuu?ó	chancho: hapitsá
cuerno: -iiví, -henáko- fi?o	chapo (bebida de plátano): šakoo?gipi
cuero: eémú, eémamí?o	chapuzón: dzoo-?jú
cuerpo: -náná	chaquira: kó?ve
cuidar: -?á?ná	charapa: haádahí
culebra: oná?kó	charco: gákaámí
cultivar, limpiar terre- no: himiitsí-khú	chejo: mí?žo
cumala (el fruto): hooú (el árbol): hooú?é	chico: oo?ajá?
cumare (palmera): komaá- gi?é	chicha: mééme?ó
cumbre (del techo de la casa): paniitsí?epó?	chimbilá: pitshíigi
cuñada: -ninaavú	chocar: phúú-?jú
cuñado (de hombre): -ná- kóotsá (de mujer): -tsee?gi (marido de la hermana de la mujer): -míigi	chonta: ponaámá?jii?ó
curaca: ke?vígi	choro: kapáadó
curación: naikoogi	chorrear: -o?kónó
curandero: naikoogigi	chorro: ?odoo?figú
curar: -nai?kó	chosna: kotsí
curuhuinse (hormiga): hu- duúgi	chupar: soo?-khú
	churima (árbol): pi?ža?é (fruto): pi?žu
	churuco: moká?gi
	- D -
	daledale: očí
	danta: anoógi
	dar: -aa?ní
	dar de comer (cosas que no sean carne): -otshó
	dar de comer carne: -šotú
	dar comezón: vée-
	dar de beber: -i?kotú
	dar a luz: jaáná-khú
	dar vergüenza: ponuu?-

- CH -

chacra (nueva): kaplinú
(cultivada): jakádé
(vieja, ya no usada):
jakádemí

de: -khó	desconfiar: -meni?vu
debajo de: -náapí	descuartizar (carne): -he- dú
débil: ser débil: ma?- tsuu?-	desear: kanimapó-
decepción: šoónějakáamí	desenvolver: bu?-khú
decir: -kemú	deshinchar (de una herida): haa-ǰú
declarar: hii?ko-khú	deslizarse: tshigi-ǰú
dedo (de mano): -kéǰú (meñique): épó?patsígú (de pie): -hii?páǰú	deslustrado: mé?koní?
deformado: ser deformado (al nacer): pi?iǰó-	desmayarse: taané-ǰú
dejar: -hino?kaá, -hí?no (botar): -pí?ko	desmigajar: piší?-khú
dejar boca abajo: -(?)na- makaá	desnudo: estar desnudo: tsikí?gi-
delante: -ipe, hive? ir delante de: hive?-khú	despacio: kenee?ǰú
delgado: kha?ǰí? ser delgado: kha?ǰii?-, ooǰa-	despejarse (el cielo): há?ihí oo kašó?
delicioso: ketshí? ser delicioso: ketshii?-	despertar: -aphotú
demasiado: kašónaka	despertarse: -apókaá, -apoonú
dentro de: -gikó, -váfó	despierto: estar despier- to: -apó
derecha (contrario de iz- quierda): kaášo?osí	desplumar: -(?)vétshú
derecho (no torcido): tsí?kíf?	despreciar: -í?tsu
derramar: -ónó (para lavar): šoo-khú	después: epo?khó, epo?ná, tsimíná
derribar (p.ej., un ár- bol): -áno?tú	destetar: -i?totú
desarmar: bu?-khú	destrozar: bedo?-khú
desatar: bu?-khú	detrás de: tsimí, -váminá
descansar: xuu-ǰú	devolver: -hekó?dotú
descargar: -kopú	día: hee?kó el otro día (pasado ma- ñana): sípekó
descascarar: khovakó?i- khú	diablo: ižo
descascararse: khovakó?i- ǰú	diarrea: va?i?pínoótsí tener diarrea: -va?i?- pípa
	dibujo (en la cara): tsaa- ǰí
	dice: se dice que: -tsá, aitsábo?

diecinueve: situ?ákhó
po?tsáávágaahí
dieciocho: situ?ákhó mi-
gaakú? sagú?
dieciséis: situ?ákhó sa-
gú
diecisiete: situ?ákhó
migaakú
diente: -oné
diez: pá?osíkuaá
difícil: kanakó?
dinero: kopáagihí, ko-
páagi
Dios: vekéjo?thoónagi
dirección: hoká?pé
directamente: tsí?kíf?
dislocar: tóó-khú
dislocarse: tóó-ǰú
disminuir: hacer dismi-
nuir: ooǰa-khú
dispersarse: šaa-ǰú
disputar: -naa?ní
dividir: -vi?ko
doblar: ña?i?-khú
doblarse: ña?i?-ǰú
doce: fee?pákhó migaakú
doctor: ti?phoótsigi
doler: ke?ví?~
dolor: ke?víikátsí
dolorido: ke?ví?
domingo: xuukhoótsí
donde (están -- en el
lugar de, a): -kóo
¿dónde?: he?éé
¿por dónde?: he?egi-
-heeva?ome
dondequiera: kaašoǰa?i-
pikháanee
dormilón: kemekí?

dormir: -ímú
dos: migaakú
dueña: mináadó
dueño: mináagi
dulce: potsítsú?
ser dulce: potsítsuu?-
durante: míkovegi
duro: ta?dú?

- E -

echado: estar echado (a-
costado): -tó?mu, -he-
pitú
echar (botar): -pi?ko
echar agua al fuego: dzaa-
khú
echar agua para lavar:
šoo-khú
edad: kamiikú
él: tsú, eégi
(ese hombre): migí
elegante: kašóva?nú?
ser elegante: kašóva?-
nuu?~
ella: tsó, -ǰotsó
ellas (dos): námupi
ellos: ná, ná, mi?á
(dos): námusi
(lejos): na?athé
embarazada: estar embara-
zada: ver: encinta
embotado: ní tsó?vii? tsú
emborracharse: -kamú
embrear: maáni-khú
embriagarse: -kamú
empezar: -ké?ǰó
empleada: na?námínáadó
empleado: na?námínáagi
empujar: fii-khú

en: -nú, -gí	enmohecerse: matsi-
encajar (meter una cosa en su lugar): -hó?-ku	enojarse: gadya?-jǔ
encarcelar: -hiponú	enredarse: -kanánú
encender: keétse-khú	enrollar: vigi-khú
encendido: ketshii?ní, ketshii?tsú	enseñanza (buena): ke?-tsoótsihú
encima: -hiipó	enseñar (dar enseñanza): -ké?tsú
encinta: estar encinta: -ipó, ipóotsova-, kanakó-	entender: -hé?mú, -hómo?-tú
hacer encinta: -ipotí, kanaákokhí	enterrar: -haa?ní
encoger: dzu?-jǔ	entonces: phaa?mí?oo, oópimiímí?oo
encontrar: guu-jǔ	entrar (en una casa): -(?)-vámó (en una casa, una canoa, un hidroavión, el agua): -hoká?phaavú (al agua, y salir rápidamente): dzoo-jǔ
encorvado: papási	entristecerse: khóni?a-poógi-
enderezar: tsiki?née-khú	enviar: -va?nú
endulzar: potsiftsa-khú	envidia: kanimapó?
enemigo: i?navii?tégi	envidiar: kanimapoógi-, kanimapó-
enfadarse: -i?nú, nagí-nagí-jǔ	envidiosa (persona): kanimápogi
enfermarse: vakhá-jǔ	envolver: vigi-khú
enfermo: estar enfermo: vakhá-jǔ	época: hivá
hacer enfermo (con oración): gábe-khú	época de lluvia: atshí-muthébu
enflaquecer enormemente: -padú	equivocarse: -kanánú
enfrente de: estar enfrente de: -hive?ná	esa (olla): mi?iǔó
enfriarse (una cosa, p. ej., una comida): taa-jǔ	escalera: i?šoótsií
enganchar: eke?-khú	escama: -vafogú
engañar: šoóné-jǔ	escapar: -é?jo
engordarse: phede?-	escarabajo: hiímó
engusanarse: enitsi-	escarbar: -hí?žo
enjambre: maápú	escoba: panonoótsíkoo?ú, boto?khoótsíkoo?ú
enloquecerse: -a?mákaní	

escocer: vée-	(río): hí?í
escoger: -tsa?kú	estera: hipeégi
esconder: -hí?no	estirarse: -tó?mu, -tó?- maá, -hepítú
esconderse: -híno?phaa- vú	estómago: -váfó
escopeta: ókóniigihú	estornudar: hé?čhíhuu-khú
escribir: tsaagi-khú	estos does (hombres): hitye- ší
escritura: tsaagikha- kaámí	estrecho: suú?, oojajá?
escuchar: -hémotú	estrella: hiviigi
escuela: tš?aamihú	estudiar: heevé?i-khú lo que se estudia: hee- vé?ikhákaamí
escupir: čhóo-khú	estudiante (m): heevé?i- khótsogi, (f): heevé?i- khótsopišé
escurrir: -o?kónó	evaporarse: -i?vú
ese: aí	exacto: hamee?ná?oo
eso: tshú	exceder: -ha?pú
espalda: -váni	excrementar: -i?tsóná
espantar: šoko?-khú	excremento: ii?šú
espejo: kanaagi	exprimidor: kajaáakú, pa- tsoviíté
¡espera!: khekhé?	exprimir: -a?naná
esperar: -já?nú	extender (una manta): -pa- ginú
espía: kásikó?igi	extranjero: ginomomináagi
espíar: kásikó?i-khú	
espina: noviigi	
espinazo: -váni?aapi	
espinilla: -kaavai	
espíritu (de un muerto): jáakágikó, jákamí, ižo	- F -
esposa: múužé, -iínó (sg), -íni (pl)	fácil: níkanakó?
esposo: múubé. -jfiigi	falda: hipónéhu
espuma (de agua): kaádé	falso: ser falso: šóó- né-žú
espumajear (un río cuan- do crece): -kaádéuná	falta terminar: -itsa- phaavú
esqueleto: -aápiif?ikú	fallecido: -moki
ésta: do?ó	familia: haníinú toda la familia: ha- miínámináagi
estar bien: kaášóná-	
éste (hombre): gi?í	

fantasma: ižo	frazada: paginoótsihú
fariña: tso?vómfú	freír: saa?du-khú
farol: hēepéú	frente: -aigi
fastidiar: -tsotú	fresco: taa
fatiga: ma?tsaakátsí	frío: hi?pií?, taa
fe: tener fe: kaákusó?i-khú	hace frío: hi?pií?fú
feliz: estar feliz: ke-tshii?-váfó	está/tiene frío: hi?pií?-tsú
feo: tso?kó?	fronda (de palmera): té-huu?ó
fermentado: ka?maághú, ka?ma- estar fermentado: ka?-mú?-	frontera: hipohíbedo?khá-káamí
fermentar: ka?ma-	frotar: ñoi-khú
fiambre: tshóvínoótsí	fruta: níikú
fibra (de palmera -- chambira): komee?tsí	fruto: fruto del aguaje o humarí que se ha enterrado para madurarlo: tsagimá
fiel: kaášó	fruto del <u>okhóodo?é</u> : o-khóodoú
fiesta: kóonégi	fruto del <u>vanaána?é</u> : vanaánahtú
hacer una fiesta: kóonégi-jú	(especie de almendra): doová
fiesta del bambú: vaá-nú	fuego: ókóniigi
fijarse en: kavii-tó?	hacer fuego: foo-khú
filoso: tsó?vii?tsú	fuelle (de agua): jodoo?-figú
fin: dé?po, depó?	fuelle de madera en la que se pone la yuca para molerla: tho?khoótsigú
fino: suú?	fuerte: ñe?kí?
flaco: kha?gi?	(ruido fuerte): pó?manú?
flauta: fidodó	(dolor fuerte, dormir fuerte): ke?ví?
flecha: noótsigú	fumar: -ví?do
flor: giiví	futuro (sufijo): -vá
fluir: -o?kónó	
foco eléctrico: keétseú	
fondo: hi?pókó	
fortalecerse: ináavi?-Zaápee?-	
fósforo: hēepémí	
foto: jákaniítsí, ižo	

- G -

gajo: sádumí

gallina: kádatú

gallinazo: vatsóogi

gallo: atsaagigi	gritar de alegría: tsaa- -jǔ
ganador: náhá?póovigi	grueso: jijaagi
ganar: -ha?pǔ	grupo: -koomí (tribu, etc.): sii?ǔ
ganas: tener ganas de comer carne: moniitsi- -khǔ	guabas (fruto): enóogi
gancho (para el pelo): hive?pási (en la ropa): eke?khoó- tsí	guabo (árbol): enóogi?ǔ
garganta (por dentro): -naa?kápi (por fuera): -ó?kótáa- pi	guacamayo: anáadó
garra: -hi?távi	guansoco (árbol): konóo- gi?ǔ
garrapata (insecto para- sítico): kopáagi	guara (aguti): phii?tsí
garrote: aváanaí	guardar: -hi?no
garúa: hay garúa (está lloviendo un poco): fá?vajápa	guerra: khákakávátsí
garza: joimokó?to	guiar: hive?-khǔ
gato: miiší	gusano(que se encuentra en los árboles): na?í (que se encuentra bajo la piel de los animales): e- niitsí (lombriz): omáapi
gavilán: peegi	gustar: kaašoǔá?i-khǔ por gusto: tsiki?ná
gente: ináavi?žáá gente blanca (sg): gi- nomomínaagi	
golpear: -(?)mótshó	
goma: tshá?thoonǔ	
gordo: ke?inine ser gordo: phe?dii?-	
gorila: ší?tyu	
gotear: -o?kónó	
gracias: kašoó?nópikhǔ	
grande (sufijo): kobǔ grande (hoja, etc.): jijá?aami	
grasa: phedee?kátsí	
grillo: tsii?tsi?ó	
gripe: hoótsí	
gritar: -vitsónǔ	
	- H -
	habitante: neefimí
	hablar: -novigipi hablar mientras se está dormido: -a?mákaní
	hace (tiempo): kovegi?, kovegii?ké
	hacer: -khǔ (causar): -hi?no, hino? hacer amistad: panáagi- -jǔ
	hacer cahuana: maa?gi-khǔ
	hacer calor: ha?moo?fǔ
	hacer caso: kaákusó?i-khǔ
	hacer cazabe: -kovǔ, maa?- má-khǔ
	hacer entrar: -(?)vánotǔ
	hacer (tostar) fariña: tso?- vómǔ -ka?vó
	hacer una fiesta: kóonégi-jǔ

hacer frío: hi?pií?fú	hermana (de hermana, de hermano): čhómí
hacer fuego: foo-khú	(de hermana): -náadó
hacer girar: devo?-khú	(de hermano): -nánikána
hacer hoyo para sembrar: -hi?žo	hermana mayor: phe?dótsí
hacer un hueco: foto?-khú	hermana menor: époo?ú,
hacer huir: šoko?-khú	épo?patsipíjé
hacer pedazos: kiokó-?i-khú	hermano (de hermana): ivá
hacer salir con humo: -tsíitá	(de hermano): múubé
hacer salir de nuevo una herida vieja: -(?)-tséno	(de hermana): -tsáaté
hacer sonar shacapa: -vaátsáhipóó?jé	(de hermano): -náagi
hacer trampa: ovéetsi-khú	hermano mayor: phe?gitsí
hacer voltear: devo?-khú	hermano menor: époo?pagí,
hacia: -kóo	épo?patsigí
hacha: epiitshí	hermoso: kašóva?nú?
hallar: -tshéni	hervir: -ní?tsotú
hamaca: hamáakú, heté?	hervirse: -ní?tsu
hambre: amá?ka	hielo: hooní?i?vothoonú
tener hambre: -amá?kaani	hierba: himiitsí
haragán: inómináagi	lugar donde hay hierba: himiitsí?ó
harina de yuca: peégi	higado: -opáanú
hechicería: cosas de hechicería: kanivakákáatsí	hija: aáme, -itó, -i?-žááni
hechicero: kanivakáagi	hijastra: -i?žáánipíjé,
hecho (Nn): nakhaáni	-i?žánii?jé
heder: matshí?-	hijastro: -i?žáánigí
hedor: matshí?	hijo: aá?pe, -i?žáá, -i?-žááni
helarse: hipé?-	hijos: -tsíini
hender: khová?-khú	hijuelo (de piña): nanáaná?iikó
hendir: ver <u>hender</u>	hilo: tshomaátshí?ó
herbazal (fruto del chambera): komaági?i	hincharse: fóo-žú
herida: tétu?i	historia: kežoo?kátsí
herirse: tóó-žú	hoja: apáná?aami
	hojas: apánú
	hojas largas (como de palmera): téhuu?ó
	holgazán: ino?kó?
	hombre: atsáagi

hombro: -váakó, -váakó- bañ	na?é (la tinta): naáná
hondo: khavakú? ser hondo: khavakú?-	huitotos (grupo idiomá- tico): muinaná: tho?- khúmú
hongo: té?etébú	murui: depó?miinú
horcón (árbol): kiimi- aaku?é (madera): hiimiaakú	hūmedo: patshánu?
hormiga: píimé	humo: iitshá
horqueta (para coger fruto de los árboles): ma?vó	hundir: sabo?-khá
horquilla (para el pe- lo): hive?pási	hundirse (voluntariamen- te): sabo?-jǎ (sin querer): haa-jǎ
hoy: mooháá	hungurahui (tronco): po- naáma?é
huacapú (árbol): hiimi- aaku?é (madera): hiimiaakú	- I - -----
huacrapona (palmera): (el árbol, sin cortar): haáǎa?é (el tronco, derribado): haáǎabú	idioma: nõhú, naa?ká
huahuasapa (lanza): nõó- tsigú	igual: hend
huangana: anevfidógi	iguana: maañá?o
huapo (mono): má?vo	iluminar: siga?-khá
huasá (palmera): dyu- fišikó	imaginar: -(?)témophaavú
hueco (en una casa, en la ropa): dáá?ó (en la tierra): té?ehú	impedir: šuu-khá
huérfana: moneédó	importar: no me importa: khé?mi
huérfano: moneégi	inclinarse: kábudu?-jǎ
hueso: -aápi hueso de la alegría: -iniú hueso del tobillo: boo- jǎá	incomodar: -tsotú
huevo: eéveú, eévé, eévi poner huevos: -(?)ná- makaá	indicar: kuhú?-khá
huito (el tronco): naá-	inferior: parte inferior: -náapi
	inmediatamente: kapikuu?
	insecto (grillo): tsii?- tsi?ó
	insípido: namaní?
	inteligente: persona in- teligente: hemoo?vigi
	interior: -váfó lo interior del fruto: giniíkaúváfó
	interrogativo: haphá

intestinos: -ii?šákó	jefe: ke?vígi
inundación: causar una inundación: kaaháve?i- -khú	jergón (víbora): oná?kó
inundarse (en una canoa): tha?-jú	jóven: ókógiigi
inválido (deformado): pi?ijó	juego: me?niitsi
invitación (a una fiesta): iiví?ó (una pelota de tabaco que se reparte entre los invitados)	jugador: -(?)móni
invitado (a una fiesta): vagito	jugo (de piña): nanáaná- ?aanú (de yuca dulce): i?dákáa- tsi
inyectar: go?-khú, -ha?- pú	juguetón: ká?meniki? ser juguetón: ká?meni- kifi?
ir: i?pi ir a una fiesta: -va- gítú ir delante de: híve?- -khú ir a traer: -te?khi	juntamente: pa?anú
irapai (palmera): kaádó- ?é	juntar: ji?-khú
irritar: vée-	juventud: ó?kógigikiá
isango: peedógi	
ishanga (planta): eve- tsiitú	- K - <hr/>
isla: tétyoi	kerosene: hēepēpi
isula (hormiga feroz): mané	- L - <hr/>
izquierdo, -a: apá?mi- ?osí	labio: -nó?aavi
	lado: al lado de: -a?nú
- J - <hr/>	ladrón: haámámináagi
jabalí: hapitsú	lagartija (del monte): so- vidékó
jabón: hiphoótsigú	lagarto: kó?oogi, pegiinú
jalar: kha?-khú jalar de la tierra: fitsó?-khú	lago: hūneú
jebe: konógi	lágrimas: imi?aanú, imipi
	lamer: -pé?do, nihi?-khú
	lamparina: hēepēú
	lamprea: itsiitsi
	lancha: ókónfigimi
	lanza: noótsigú
	lápiz: tsagifi?o
	largo: tseinó?
	larva comestible: otsóomú

látigo: anoógi eémú	(libre, p.ej., una cha- cra, una trocha): oví?
lavandera: hiphoótsipi- jé	lindo: kašóva?nú?, pi- tsínú?, tyo?tyú?
lavar: -hipú	linterna: keétsé?oovú
lavarse: -hipáphaavú	líquido: -?aanú
leche: i?ní?aanú	lisiarse: tóó-já
leche caspi (el árbol): evitsóogi?é	liso: he?ní?
(la savia): evitsóogi- pí	listado: ser listado: tsaagibana-
variedad de leche cas- pi (más grande): tá- naaká?é	liza (pez): taa?giu
lechuga: popóogi	lobo: jeévi
lección: heevé?ikhoótsí, tsaagikhoótsihú	lodazal: gákaámí
leer: heevé?i-khá	lodoso: tso?kó?
legítimo: kaášó	loma: tégahú
lejos: javákú?	lombriz: omáapí
lengua: -e?hēepé	loro: joódu
leña: itsítsó	luciérnaga: hivíigi
letrina: lugar que sir- ve de letrina: ihíhu	lucha: khákakávátsi
levantar: kobe?-khá	lugar: asiná
levantarse: mitshá-jú	lugar que tiene arbus- tos: ke?nu?
ley: va?noótsihú	lugar donde había una casa: pánamínú
leyenda: ke?joo?kátsihu	lugar donde hay hierba: himiítsi?ó
libélula (insecto): hi- žapoógi	lugar donde se ha qui- tado la hierba: himiítsi- khákáamí
libre: oví?	lugar donde se encuentra la sachavaca: anoógi?ási
libro: té?aamí	lugar donde se sientan los dueños de una fies- ta: patsagíkoovú
ligar: -hiponú	el lugar de: nehítshinú
límite (geográfico): hipohíkio?khothoó	luna: keégi
limpiar: -a?mitsú	lustrar: noi-khá
limpiar terreno: hi- miítsi-khá	lustroso: phédo?phédó?
limpiarse (aclararse, p.ej., agua): -tsú	
limpio: kašó?	

- LL -

llamar: -manú

llanchama: va?kaá (tronco del árbol): vedéemá?é	maíz: veéká?ó
llanto: kaníkámi	majás: naápu
llaruma (árbol): taavi?é	mal agüero: mapíitsi
llegar: tho?-jü leegar de otra parte: -i?kotaá(nu)	mal humor: naági
lleno: potshi?mó estar lleno después de comer mucho: ke?pií?-	mal olor: matshi?
llevar: -hanápi llevar preso: -hiponú	malcriado: kamemí?
llorar: -kánfi	maleante: matsikáatsigi
lloviznar: fá?vajápa	malo: matshiva?nú?
llueve: fá?vu	maltratar a una persona: -(?)mótsihó
lluvia: fá?voótsi	mamá: aáme, aamíó
	manantial: jodoo?figú
	mandamiento: šuukhákaa- mihú, šuukhoótsihú
	mandar (dar órdenes): -va?nú
	mandíbula: -ka?akáú
	mandioca: kaánfi
	manguaré: koómó
	maní: matshaákú romper la cáscara de maní: -(?)móthó
	mano: -ké
	manta: paginóótsihú
	manteca: phedee?kátsi
	mañana: aápanú pasado mañana: sipekó
	la mañana: naepi?é?
	mañoso: kefekí?
	máquina de coser: konóo- gi?ípi
	mar: témooú
	maraca: čhé?ke?ó, čhé?- keú
	marañón (fruto): áñaahi (árbol): áñaahi?é
	maravillarse: aa-jü
	marido: máubé, -jfiigi

- M -

macambo (árbol): nana-
piitá?é
(fruto): nanapiitá?ó

machacar (barbasco para
que salga el veneno al
agua cuando se pesca):
-o?donú

machete: va?agú

macho: atsáagi

machucar: tho?-khú

madera, trozo de: aváa-
na?évuudú, aváanavuudú

madrastra: -hanávae?jé

madre: aáme, -hanáva

madrina: -hanávae?jé

madrugada: hee?kónú

maduro: metshóovigi

maestra: ke?tsoótsipíjé

maestro: ke?tsoótsigi

mafala: óóna?é

mariposa: tyó?otyóbbú	(una acción mentirosa): šóónéjakkáamí
más allá: vé?niná?	meñique: dedo meñique: e- pó?patsigú, epoo?págú
más que: -ve?nii	mercancia: koneétsí
masa de canagucho: tsa- gimú	mermar (bajar el nivel del agua en el río): -i?vú
masato: kajjigibú	mes: keégi
máscara: maáni?úmi	mesa: teégu
masticar: čhakó?-khú	meter (algo en agua): -á- phó (una cosa en su lugar): -hó?ku (en la tierra un palo): go?-khú
matar: kainéé-khú, -(?)- mótsihó (con cuchillo u otra arma parecida): vaa- -khú (con escopeta): -a?- véno	mezclar: vio-khú
mayor (de edad): phe?- gitsí (m), phe?dótsí (f)	mezquinar: -motsháni
mazorca: veéká?ó	mi: nó
mecerse: čo?čhiuu-ǰú	mico (mono): má?vo
media (ropa): hii?pabá- bú	miedoso: (Aj): kefekí? (Nn): kefekí?ǰovígi
medicina (cualquiera): ti?phoótsihí (que da fuerza): ĩe- ke?khoótsí	miel de abeja: ínu?opákó
médico: ti?phoótsihigi	mientras: -a?ná
medio: po?tsáává, hiivá por medio de: -gi	mirar: -pa?tú
medir: heevé?i-khú palo que se usa para medir: heevé?if	miserable: motsho?kó?
meditar: -váfó -hénotú	mitad: ápa?mi
mejilla: -khákhí	mochilero (pájaro): to- vígi
mendrugos: -aápú	mocho: pavuudú
menor (m): epó?patsigi (f): epó?patsipíǰé	mojado: patshánu? estar mojado: patshánuu?-
mensaje: tsopókó	mojar: -ovo?tú
mentir: šóóné-ǰú	mojarse: -o?vu
mentira (una palabra mentirosa): šóohú	mojojóis (gusano comes- tible): otsóomú
	moler: tho?-khú
	molestar: -tsotú
	molleja: -googíú
	momento (en ese momento): hoká?pé

moneda: kopáagihi
 mono: choro: kapáadó
 chosna: kotsí
 pichico: pitshéedó
 monte: tébahí
 montete (ave): háakudúí
 morder: -emú
 mordicar: ñe?-jú
 morir: kainé-jú
 mosca: heeté
 mosquitero: moótsihá
 motelo: haádahí
 moverse: šoko?-jú
 moza (criada): na?ná-
 mináadó
 muchacha: majakáadó
 muchacho: ókógiigi
 muchedumbre: aepuu?nú
 muchos (de cosas): aepuu?
 (de personas): aevíi?,
 aevíi?nú
 mudo: niinovígi pivigi
 mujer: ináadó
 una (mujer): sapijé
 mundo: híphi
 muñeca (del brazo): -kéú
 murciélago: pitshíigi
 muslo: -íphi
 musmuqui (mono): moká?-
 gi

- N -

nacer: -ké?jé
 nada: kai
 nadar: -o?vápú
 nadie: no hay nadie:
 nii kéené ii(žú)

nalgas: -heédé
 narcótico: hutooba?žó?
 narrador: tsopoko?ipi-
 narrar: -ké?tsu
 nariz: -hitákó
 naufragar: tha?-jú
 neblina: itshú
 negociar: vadóva-khú
 negro: tsaphó?
 nido: págiadó
 nieta: -i?žáátová?
 nieto: -i?žáátová?
 nigua: itshíitó
 niño: jaánú
 no: níi, níikó, níikhá-
 mí
 noche: naapi
 nombre: iivú
 nosotros: (exclusive):
 fa?á
 (inclusive): muu?á
 norte: depóo
 noticia (buena): tso-
 pókó
 nube: itshú
 nublado: estar nublado:
 há?ihí tsaphó? jú
 nuera: -i?giinó
 nueve: sí?osíkhó po?tsáá-
 vágashí
 nuevo: be?é
 nunca: níivá eké?tsí
 nutria: husóodó

- Ñ -

ñame: offináú

- O -

obediente: khéme?kí?
 ser obediente: khéme?-
 kii?-

oscuro: tsaphó?

observar: -pa?tú

obstruir: viti-

ocainas (grupo idiomá-
 tico): uvohsa: dá?va-
 né
 dyohxaya: kovejáavi

ocioso: ino?kó?

ocurrirle una cosa a
 alguién: -jaa?é?

ocho: sí?osíkhó migaa-
 kú? sagú?

ofrenda (de carne): maá-
 dó

oído: henákó

oír: -hé?mú

ojé (árbol): vedéemákó

ojo: -iniú

oler (exhalar un olor):
 -(?)mókhó
 (percibir un olor):
 sii?-khú

olor (desagradable):
 matshí?
 (agradable): ketshí?
 (p.ej., de comida):
 meni?

olvidar: vakétsapho-jú

olla (de barro): itsaa?-
 ni?iǰó, itá?
 (de estaño): vatshó-
 tsí?oohú
 (para preparar comi-
 da): akaká?

ombligo: -e?phódé

once: fee?pákhó sagú

oración: naikoogihu

oreja: -henákó

orejera: henákopási

orgulloso: dyoomáú?é?

orina: a?noótsí
 (forma poseída: -a?naa-
 ní)

orinar: -a?nú

ortiga: evetsiitú

oruga (larva): hatáakú

oscuridad: tsáphovaa

oscuro: tsaphó?

oso hormiguero: piǰí

otra vez: aponú

otro: apáapí
 otro tiempo: apáapivaa

- P -

paca: naápu

pacífico: kašonú?
 ser pacífico: kašonú?-

padraastro: -hanǰii?jé

padre: aa?pe, -hanǰí

padres: -hanǰiné

padrino: -hanǰii?jé

pagar: givení -aa?ní

pago (por cualquier co-
 sa): vení

paisano: hamiínú

pájaro: ko?piidú

pala: jǰogi?khoótsihí

palabra: noótsihá, nohú

paladear: nihi?-khú

palidecer: -pađú

pálido: hefii?úmí

palmera de pijuayo: pi-
 piǰí?é

palo: aváanaí
 palo que se usa para
 medir: heevé?ii

palo para machacar: tho?khoótsif	pecho: -ó?kótáapigú
paloma: hihuuu	pedir: -hemú
pan: paa?ó	pegajoso: potsánú?
pan de yuca (cazabe): maa?mú	ser pegajoso: potsánuu?-
panal: íimu?ó	pegar(se): -tsa?tu
panguana: toopáú	peinar: -haa?ní
pantalón: íphiuukú	peinarse: -haa?phaavú
pantano: gákaámí	peine: itshíitágú
pañã (pez): mepókó	peje torre (pez): makaá- pú
pañuelo (para la cabeza): vedéemábú	pelar (fruto): -mó?kó
papá: aá?pe	pelea: khákakávátsi
papel: té?aamí	pelear: -khákakávú
parar (estar de pie, pa- rado): -i?tómá	pelo (del cuerpo, de ani- mal): -tsiinú
parecerse: -hiivá?	(largo -- cabello): -hi- vé?jii?ó
párpado: -íaimii?ó	pelota: eétsiá
partir (madera): khova?- -khú	peluquero: hiveúpi?khoó- tsigi
partirse (descascararse un fruto, etc.): khova- kó?i-jú	pellizcar: -tshí?to
pasado mañana: sípekó	pendiente: henákopási
pasar (adelantar): -ha?- pú, -haapú	pensar: -váfó -hénotú, isú?i-jáphaavú
(sin ser visto): kásii- vé?i-jú	pequeño: oojajá?, iivé- -já?
(ocurrir una cosa a al- guien): -jaa?é?	perderse (alguien): -ka- nánú
paso: dar un paso: -hí?vu	(algo): -híno?phaavú
pata: -hii?pú	perdiz: haagú
patear: tyugaší?-khú	perdonar: -motsháni
patria: hípohí	pereza: inó
paucar: toviigi	perezoso (persona): inó- mináagi
paujil: kovliitsi	perezoso (el animal): po- tsháadó
pava de monte: šóhó	perforar: foto?-khú
pavo: šóhó	perico: tyugii?ó
pecado: matshivaa?nánú	pero: miké

perro: iini	piel: eémú, eémámí?o
perseguir: kavii-tó?	pierna: -iphikuba, -hii?- pákuba
persona: ináavi?žánigi otras personas: sa?á	pierna inferior: -kaa- vai
pesado: hižaneégi, hi- žani?	pifayo: ver <u>pijuayo</u>
ser pesado: hižanii?-	pihuicho: tyugii?ó
pescado: ámoogi una especie de pesca- do: konáató	pijuayo (árbol): pipii- gi?é (racimo de): pipiigi?i (fruto): pipiigiá
pescador (con anzuelo): ee?phikhekí?jovígi (con barbasco): ó?dó- nekí?jovígi	pintadillo (pez): kogígi
pescar (con anzuelo): ee?phi-khú (con barbasco): -o?do- nú	pintar: tsaagi-khú
pestaña: -ini?aavi	pintarse: -hižá?phaavú
pez: ámoogi boquichico: enai	pintura (como huitó): heévá
pezón: -i?nínú	piña: ameétshaú, nanáa- ná?ó
picaflor: pi?mi	piojo: netetchi?ó
picante (p.ej., ají): ke?ví?	pique: itshító
picar (dar comezón): vée- (con lanza): -inó (hormiga): -hó?ku	piraña: nepókó
picarón (pez): kapinii- gi	pisar: -iphú
picofeo (ave): tsaátshi	pisotear: -i?phanú
pichico (mono): pitshée- dó	plancha: hamo?khoótsi- ?ipi
pie: -hii?pú al pie del tronco de un árbol: hi?pókoná estar de pie: -i?tónú	planchar: hamo?-khú
piedra: víiši?óú	planear: -(?)ténophaavú
piedrecita: kovéé?kó- veú	plata (moneda): kopáagihí
piedrecitas: kovéé?- kové?, kovéé?kóveuu?á	plátano: šakoo?gi?ó racimo de plátanos: ša- koo?gi?i
	plato: bo?otáhi
	playa: kovéé?kóve?jínú
	pluma: -tsfináhi
	pobre (triste): khóni- ?apó?
	poco(s): oojajá?
	podrir(se): ver <u>podrir-</u> <u>(se)</u>

podrido: amaa?kátshí	profesora: ke?tsoótsipíjé
polvo: hipojíní	profundo: khavakí?
pona: po?poótakó	prohibir: šuu-khí
poner: -hí?no (sobre el fuego): -i- tsootá (huevos): -(?)námu	pronto: kapi
ponerse (ropa): -hoká?- phaavú (ropa u otras cosas, como collares): -hí- no?phaavú	protegerse: núúhiga-jí
por eso: mineei	provocar (irritar): -tso- tú
por medio de: -gi	proyectar: -(?)ténophaavú
¿por qué?: kopee?, ko- pe?hee	pucacunga: má?do
pozo: hooni?éshí	pucuna: vá?paánahí, vá?- paánú
preguntar: -hetsanó, -hetsanotú	podrirse: -a?nú se pudre (comida): ka?- mátsú hacer pudrir: -amo?tú
preparar tinta: -áphó	pueblo: panitsímú, pani- tsímúkoomí
presagiar: mapíitsí-khú	todos los pueblos: pá- koomívá
prestar atención: ka- vii-tó?	puerta: pó?kónoomú
pretina: kaámahí	puerto: hojjo?noómú
prima (de hombre): héšó (de mujer): -náadopíjé	pulga: ka?vátsi
primer padre: khe?jo- thóonigi	pulmones: -váfó?ootsí
primera madre: khe?jo- thóopíjé	punchana: poótshó
primero: patophé	punta de la lengua: -e?- héepé epó?
primo: -náagigi	punzar: go?-khú
príncipe: ke?vígi	puño: -kéú
principio: al principio: ketsíiká	purma: jaká?demi
priodonte: jó?nó	pus: gikó
probar: -motú	
producir (fruto): giniika-jú	
profesor: ke?tsoótsigi	

- Q -

¿qué (cosa)? : hé?e, hé?ee,
kóoni
¿qué día?: képekó(hee)
¿qué será?: kóonae?
¿qué pasa?: hidé?hee tsú
¿qué pasó?: hode?e
quebrada chica: teé?ijá?

quebrar: too-khú
 quebradizo: khove?kí?
 quedarse (atrás): pa-
 tshíiná-
 (en un sitio): duu-jú
 quejarse: -vitsónú
 quemar: hoo-khú
 (algo en el fuego):
 -a?mótú
 (una chacra): -a?vénoó
 (superficialmente):
 -a?vénoamú
 quemarse (una persona,
 sin querer): -a?mú
 (una chacra, una casa,
 etc.): ketshe-jú
 querer tener, hacer:
 kaašojá?i-khú
 ¿quién?: kšeni, kéhee,
 ko?igi
 ¡quieto!: šíinú
 quince: fee?pákhó sá-
 ?osí
 quitar (una cosa a una
 persona): -tsí?kó
 quizás: haamše?kú

- R -

rabo: -tshíipi
 racimo: sádumí
 raíz: tébaké, tš?ipi
 rajar: khová?-khú
 rallador metálico: ká-
 soogú
 rallar (yuca): -hé?kó
 rama: tégakú
 rana: khonaa?é
 (otra especie): pšo-
 tsígú
 rancho (comida): tshó-
 vīnoótsí

rápidamente: kapi
 rascar: soe?-khú
 rasgar: khová?-khú
 rata: hiigi
 ratón: tyuúkó
 raya (pez): bahi
 rayar (yuca): -hé?kó
 recién: moohá
 recoger: kobe?-khú
 recompensar: givení-khú
 recordar: -apá?pavú
 recto: tsí?kí?
 rechazar: -i?tsu
 red: fenó
 redondo: (como un tronco
 de madera): pavuudú
 (como ruedas, aros, etc.):
 papási
 (como una pelota): páú
 refugiarse: nūúhiga-jú
 regañar: -i?nú
 regar: šaašaa-khú
 regla (para medir): hoe-
 vé?ikhóthoónagú
 ver: palo para medir
 regocijarse: ketshí?-pá?
 regresar: -hekó?do
 reír(se): -khoní
 relación entre suegros
 de un matrimonio: nonó?-
 náagi
 relámpago: phédo?vakhoó-
 tsí
 relampaguear: phédo?vakhú
 reloj: há?í
 remar: boe?-khú
 remedio: ti?phoótsí
 remo: boe?khoótsí

remojar: -áphó	robar: haána-khú
remover: moi?-khú	roca: vííši?óú
renacuajo: budóomá	rodear: viti?-khú
rencor: por rencor: ma- tsháapoká?	rodilla: -ho?dónaú
reñir: -naa?ní	rojo: kedáví?
repartición: ginómó	romper: khová?-khú
repartir: -ví?ko	romper en pedazos: kho- vakó?i-khú
repartirse: -vikó?phaa- vú	romper la cáscara de ma- ní: -(?)móthó
resbalarse: tshígi-jú	romperse: khová?-jú
resbaloso: he?ní?	roncar: -atshó
resfriado: hoótsi	ronsoco: ho?bá
residuos: -aápú	ropa: vedéemá
resigaró: daápemiinú	rozar: haáka-khú
resina: gikó	rueda: papási
respetar: ke?víja?i-khú	ruido: kanatsúú?
respiración: siku?khoó- nú	ruiseñor: ñii?šóggá
respirar: siku?-jú	
restinga: tótyoi	
retirarse: khada?-jú	
retoño: nanáaná?iikó	
reunirse: jí?-jú	
reventar: voši?-jú	
reverenciar al Creador: -píko?phaavú	
revés (de un vestido): apá?mihú	
revolcar: vigi-khú	
rey: ke?vígi	
riachuelo: teé?ijá?	
rico (sabroso): ketshí?	
riñón: -iniú	
rio (grande): teé?i	
ripia: dyuíšugú	
rizar: vio-jú	
	- S -
	sábalo (pez): neégi
	saber: -manaá-tó?
	sabio: hapótovigi
	saborear: nihi?-khú
	sabroso: ketshí?
	ser sabroso: ketshii?-
	sacar: -to?vú, tshóée- khú
	sacar yuca: -hó?kó
	sacar de la tierra: fi- tsó?-khú
	sacudir: thóo-khú
	sachapapa: offináú
	sachashuyó: itávaagi
	sachavaca: anoógi
	lugar donde se encuentra la sachavaca: anoógi?asi
	sajino: hapíitsú

sal (de mesa): kanaamá- ?o (del monte -- que se come con la coca): ii- ví	seguida: en seguida: tsa- vaánu
salado: potsítsú?	seguir: -kovanú
salar: kanaamanú?i-khú	seis: sí?osíkhó sagú
salida de un río: no- moná	selva: tébahú
salir: dzee-ǰú, fitsó?- -ǰú, hiišuvé?i-ǰú	sembrar: -apánú
saliva: -úni	semilla: hímiú
salsa picante: ómú	sentarse: -itshú, -i?tshá- ká
saltar: tua-ǰú	estar sentado: -itshápa
saludar: -o?métsinú, phede?-khú	señalar: kuhú?-khú, hee- vé?i-khú
salvador: ha?pothoótsi- gí	señor: ke?vígi
salvar: -ha?pótú	señora: níí?ó
sanar: ani-khú (dando pastillas, etc.): ñee?ke-khú	señorita: maǰakáadó
sanarse: ñeke?-	separar: khada?-khú
sangrar: ido-ǰú	separarse: khada?-ǰú, -vikó?phaavú
sangre: -íídú, -íídó bañado de sangre: bé?- douukunú?	sepulcro: nigínoomú
sano: aniigí estar sano: anii?-	serenarse (el agua): -i- tshú
sapo: todokáakú	serpiente: oná?kó
sarampión: fóǰakáatsí	servir: -píko?paví
sarna: šódí	seta: té?etébú
satisfacer (estar sa- tisfecho): ke?pi-	shacapa (adorno): vaá- tsáhi
savia: evitsóogipi	shapaja (el árbol): tó- kho?é (el fruto): tókho
secar: -i?voóttú, -i?- vóttú (ropa): -maká?dú	shihui: monóotsí
secarse: makáda-	shimbillo (árbol): pi?- ža?é (fruto): pi?žu
seco: makádu	shiringa (árbol): konóo- gí?é
secreto: bugúdé	shirui (pez): hoódo?ó
	sí: aaf, háke
	sioto: sí?osíkhó nigaa- ká
	siempre: pápekóvú

siervo: a?námináagi	suegra: šeedó
siete: si?osíkhó migaa- kú	suegro: šoo?gi
silbar: fio?-khú	suelo: hipohí
silencio: maáñánú	sueño (de soñar): tapó- nikatsí
silla: i?tshoótsigú	(de tener sueño): imaa- kátsí
siquiera: eké?	sufrir: -me?nitotaphaa- vú
sobre: -hiipó	suguisugui (mono): va- gii?tó
sobrina (de hombre): -e?piitsú	sumergir: sabo?-khú
(de mujer): -taveéni	sumergirse: sabo?-jú
sobrino (de hombre): -e?piitsú	sumileoncito: thiithi?ó
(de mujer): -nakéegi	suplicar: -hemá
soga (de támishi): epfi- piuu?ó	sur: ginómó
(para anzuelos): ee?- phiuu?ó	suri: otsóomú
(esa soga): téuu?ó	susto: ifotákatsí
sol: há?i	
solamente: tsikí?	
soltar: -iitsú	- T - -----
sombra: dar sombra: núñhiga-khú	tabaco: niitsí, niitsi?ó
sombrero: ta?moótsihí	tábano: heégi
sonaja: vaátsáhi	tablilla (para hacer ca- zabe): ka?foonagú
sonar: hacer sonar sona- ja o shacapa (cuando se baila): -vaátsáhipóó?- jó	talón: -hii?páú
sonajero: čhé?ke?ó, čhé?keú	tamanduá: monóotsí
soñador: tapóniivigi	también: hamee?nú
soñar: -tapóni	tambo: núñhigú
soplar: fóo-khú	tambor: koómobú
suave: ño?huu?	támishi: epfipi
suavizer: ño?há-	soga de támishi: epfi- piuu?ó
subir: -i?šú	tanto: aepuu?
sucio: tso?kó?	tapaje (valla de caña pata pescar): pagino- ?oogú
sudar: -hejápenu	tapar: -(?)támó
	tapar un hueco: -itú

taparse: viti-	tierra: hípohí, híhí
tapir: anoógi	tigre: íini
tarde: nókó	tigrillo: íinijá?
más tarde: ma?pho?é?, khé?akhé?	tijeras: a?mithoótsigá
tarrafa: fenó	tío (materno): -khíigi (paterno): -heenáagi
taza: taasa?ijó	tipiti: kaJaáku
tea: héepé	tipiti bora: patsoviité
techo: kaádó	tirador experto: pápho- koteki?
tejido: jo?thoónú, ja?- kámí	ser un tirador experto: páphokotekii?-
tela: vedéemá	tirar: -ka?pú
temor: -ifú	tirar una lanza: -ínó
temeroso: kefekí?	tizón: ókóniigívuudú
temible: kanívakú?	tocar: -mó?já, -mojá?
temprano: naapi?é?	tocón (mano): vagii?tó
tender (frazada): -pa- ginú	todavía: -khé?, khekhé? no todavía: níikhé?
tenderse (en hamaca): -ke?vú	todo:
tener:	todas (cosas): phé?tó?
tener asco: tshoo?ko- jé?i-khú	todas (las personas): pá?anú
tener calor: ha?moo?-	toda clase: makápi
tener frío: hi?pii?-	todos los pueblos: pá- koomivá
tener ganas de comer carne: monítsi-khú	todos los días: pápe- kóvá
tener hambre: -amá?kaa- ní	tomar (beber): -i?dú
teñir (los cabellos o el cuerpo con huito): -a?pitú	toma: ha?i
terminar: -etshootá, -i?žotá	tontería: tsikí?húhí
tía (materna -- herma- na de la mamá): -phai- ké?naavú (paterna): -hanávaa?- jé	topa (árbol): híñuhui?é
tiempo: kovegi?	topar: -(?)tsénó
hace tiempo: kovegii?ké	torcer sogá: -i?vú
tienda: koneétsi?oohú, vadóvá?oohú	tortera: poo?gi
	tortuga (terrestre): haá- dahí
	tos: ehe?khoótsi
	toser: ehe?-khú
	tostar: -ka?vó
	trabajador: pomenu?

trabajar: -odo?phaavú	trozo de madera: aváana- ?évuudú, aváanavuudú
trabajo: o?doótsíphaavú	trueno: eénó
traer: -haní, -hanápi, -kopú	tú, tu: phú, phá
ir a traer: -te?khí	tucán: bejíi?í
tragar: -(?)pénó	tucán chico: jíio
trampa: para pescar: higabú, opíitsí(kó)	tucán grande: tsaátshí
para coger ratones: ovéetsíkó	tucho (pez): itávaagi
otro tipo de trampa: tiíneenebú	tuerto: mí?žo
tranquilo: šíinaú	tumba: nigínoomú
ester tranquilo: -va- kémats hí, šíina-	tumbar (un árbol): -o?kú, -áno?tú
transformarse: -ké?jó, -kéjós?	tupido: suúgibá
transparente: hí?kova	turbio (río): thónaa?ká- mí
ser transparente: hí?- kova-	tusa (maíz): vešká?ó
transportar: -kopú	tuyo: pii?hó
trasladarse: khada?-jú	- U -
travieso: kamei?	último: dé?po, depó?
trece: fee?pákhó migaa- kú? sagú?	umarí (árbol): nomáagi?é
tremendo: jíjjaagi	una (mujer): sapíjé
tres: migaakú? sagú?	uno: sagú
tribu: koomí	uña: -hi?távi
(nombre de una tri- bu): phigítsaáná	ustedes: ha?á, i-
tripa: -ii?šákó	uvilla (fruto): kamíidó
triste (persona): khóni- ?apó?, khóni?apoógi	(planta): kamíidó?é
(lugar): khóni?aponé	- V -
trocha: ajápó, éhuúhí	vaca: keé?šé
trompetero (ave): dée- ne?é	vaciar: -ónó
tronco del árbol que da leche caspi: evi- tsóogi?é	vacío: tsiki?ná
tronco de hungurahui: ponáama?é	vago: ino?kó?, inómináagi
tronco de ishanga: e- vetsíita?é	vamos (tú y yo): haádú (varios): í?pehó
	vasija: í?doótsí?oovú
	veinte: sagí

vello: -tsfinú
 vena: komáákáuu?ó
 venado: keé?šé
 vender: -kone
 venir: -tsa?nú
 ver: -tshéni
 ver una trampa: -i?ka-
 pú
 verano: kámi
 ¿verdad?: hodétsa
 es verdad: phoódenú
 verde: ipogí?
 vergonzoso: kaponikí?
 vergüenza: ponú?
 dar vergüenza: ponuu?-
 vestido: vedéemú
 vestido de mujer: ko-
 mé?mii?óhi, mii?óhi
 vestirse: -hoká?phaavú
 vez; otra vez: aponú
 todo de una vez: tsa-
 vaákaaú
 vía: ajápo
 víbora: oná?kó
 vida: jaákovégi
 viejita: phaipiǵé
 viejo: phaigi
 viento: kočhiivú
 vientre: -athé?eemú
 viga principal en el te-
 cho de una casa: etso-
 gipí
 vigilante: pa?toónagi,
 pa?toovigi
 vigilar: -já?nú
 virgen: majakáadó
 visitar: -(?)vánó, -(?)-
 vánonú
 viuda: moneédó

viudo: moneégi
 víveres: tshóvinaótsi
 vivo: aniigi
 volar: -adú
 voluntad: kápo?, ká?po
 volver: -hekó?do
 vomitar: -i?kanú
 vómito: i?kánaniitsi

- Y -

ya: oo
 yaguas (grupo idiomáti-
 co): hoemavú
 yare: piikapá
 yaripa (árbol): haája?é
 yerno: -i?jiigi
 yo: nó
 yuca: kajfigi
 palo de yuca (no vene-
 nosa): kajfigigá
 yuca brava: kaáni
 palo de yuca venenosa:
 kaníko?gú

- Z -

zancudo: hanitsó
 zapato: hii?pátsi?aa?dó
 zarigüeya: itsíigi
 zúngaro (pez): kogíigi

A P P E N D I X I I :

C O M P A R A T I V E

W O R D L I S T

COMPARATIVE WORD LIST:

RESÍGARO-BORA-OCAINA-HUITOTO MUINANE

The following comparative vocabulary is based on the Rowe Standard Comparative Vocabulary (tropical forest area) of 232 items, with an additional 140-odd of the items that are in the Swadesh list but not in that compiled by Rowe. (A raised "S" after the Rowe list number indicates that the item is also in the Swadesh list.)

Spanish glosses are given beside the English, the dialect being that spoken in the department of Loreto in Peru. The Spanish forms were used to obtain the forms in the other four languages.

The Resígaro entries are from the data I gathered in Peru. The Bora was supplied to me by a literate Bora from Brillo Nuevo, Miqueas Soria, who was about 17 years old in 1972. The Ocaina is from Leach (1969), which lists in the Uvohsa dialect, except where entries are followed by (D), indicating the Dyohxaya dialect. The Huitoto is from Minor & Minor (1971).

The orthography for the Resígaro is that used throughout this thesis. The orthography for Bora is that used in Bora bilingual schools in Peru. It

is described in Thiesen & Thiesen (MS). The concept behind this orthography -- as behind those for Ocaina and Huitoto Muinane (but not Resfigaro as presented here) -- is that symbols should have values as close as possible to those they have in the prevalent dialect of Spanish. Thus, the comments in Leach (1969:163-4) and Minor & Minor (1971:137-8) will facilitate an approximate appreciation of the pronunciation of Bora (except that plosives are either voiceless -- written b, d, g, etc. -- or voiceless aspirated -- written p, t, k, etc.).

In all three cases, these orthographies are phonemic, with minor concessions to Spanish spelling rules (e.g., /k/ is c before a, o and u, but qu before i and e).

No attempt at analysis of this data is attempted herein, though even a brief perusal reveals that Resfigaro and Bora are closer to each other than to either of the other two languages, and Ocaina and Huitoto Muinane are closer to each other than to the former two.

There are cases of clear cognates affecting all four languages, and all possible combinations of two and three languages, but the degree of difference between the languages is such that no sets of equiva-

lences spring to view, and considerable work would be necessary to arrive at such equivalences.

	RESÍGARO	ECRA	OCAINA	HUITOTO MUIANANE
1. S	tongue (lengua)	-e?héepé	néjéwáh	imépe
2. S	mouth (boca)	-no	híhjuú	pue
3. S	lip (labio)	-no?aaví	únibá	pue ini
4. S	tooth (diente)	-oné	híhwáñéé	itido
5. S	nose (nariz)	-hitákó	tújúhó	dopo
6. S	eye (ojo)	-íniú	hálluú	ui, uíjé
7. S	ear (oreja)	-henákó	núúmáhóh	jepo, jepótolóé
8. S	head (cabeza)	-híved	níwáuh	épo
9.	forehead (frente)	-nigi	úwáóh	ótóé
			dyahú:hxá	
10. S	hair (cabello)	-híve?jii?ó	níwáóh	épotdái
11.	chin (mandíbula)	-ka?akáú	méhwaí	ámááco
12.	beard (barba)	-no?jii	újáhé	ámááé
13. S	neck (cuello)	-iñóóhí	kéjtúhí	ámócairo
14. S	chest (pecho)	-?kótáapígú	páújéh	jogóbe

	RESÍGARO	BORA	OCAINA	HUITOTO MUINANE
15. woman's breast (nipple) (pezón, teta)	-ihnímú	mújpanéh	monño	moncə
16. abdomen (vientre)	-athé?eemú	háaməhó	gəfotyo	jəbe, nemúlgə
17. ^S back (espalda)	-vəní	méhállúh	juuhxo	emódo
18. shoulder (hombro)	-vəákó	medjəbáh	dyuxáavu	jerəlləjədo
19. ^S arm (brazo)	-əfnápí	nėjúwəh	dyuxa	tdəgəllə
20. upper arm (brazo superior)	-kəphídó	ménéjúwəé- tsijtyó	jáyuxáavu	---
21. elbow (codo)	-pidáadéú	némúh	naróóhtyo	dagəchirú
22. ^S hand (mano)	-ké	hojtsəí	oñóómpo	onoí
23. finger (dedo de mano)	-kégú	hojtsəwá	oñóóvniñi	onócaə
24. fingernail (uña)	-hi?táví	hójtəwáməíhó	xáátyo	onóbeco
25. ^S leg (pierna)	-íphíkuba	tájkií	odsácona	ədəcairo
26. thigh (muslo)	-íphí	cúbáá	foxoo	rəfətti
27. ^S knee (rodilla)	-ho?dónaí	mámóccóh	jojóónhxo	cañícauru

	RESÍGARO	BORA	OCAINA	HUITOTO MUIWANE
28. shin (espinilla)	-kaavaí	tyoóńójé	ńańavúroga	ńeréda
29. ^S foot (pie)	-hií?pú	túhaá	uhyoó	eéba; édaé
30. toe (dedo de pie)	-hií?págú	túwaá	jéhuhyóóbińi	eécaé
31. ^S skin (piel)	-eémú	ńááheé	xonúúhca	ini
32. ^S bone (hueso)	-eapí	bájcuú	ńonhóónhcovo	icuru; úlleeé
33. blood (sangre)	-iídú	tújpácyo	tsijín	éé; naébi
34. ^S heart (corazón)	-váfoú	éábúú	xonúúńonti	conééé (+ ijeé)
35. lungs (pulmones)	-váfo?ootsí	váhváváéané	fávaxo	jatallé; llogóllé
36. penis (pene)	---	ńáéheó	---	moda
37. vulva (vulva)	---	iíhyówáh- ńámáńjyú	---	jiáni
38. ^S man (hombre)	atsáagí	wájpíh	oohu	éíma
39. nan (varón)	---	wájpíwú	---	conína; éíta
40. ^S woman (mujer)	ináadó	wálléh	naani	jié; rángo
41. ^S people (gente)	ináví?zaá	ńáárunáa	jaróńtih	come; conééé

	RESÍGARO	BORA	OCAINA	HUITOTO MUIVANE
42. S husband (marido)	-jligí	hátyájíí	onna	ini
43. S wife (esposa)	-ini	hátyáábáá	munhton	as; jíí
44. S father (papá)	asípe	llihiyóh	noonjon	noo
45. S mother (mamá)	asame	wáharó	ánhinh	año
46. baby; infant (niño, criatura)	jáánú	tsáámené	xaviin	jíta; ííta
47. old man (viejo)	phaigí	keéné	jahííniía	---
48. S water (agua)	hooní	nújpácyó	ñoon; ñoonjun	jañoí
49. S river (río)	teé?í	teéhín	naaíú; tyaaú	iráni
50. island (isla)	tétyof	cáméhbáú	óóshóhá	uláti
51. S lake (lago)	húneú	úneúh	jonháánjin	joraí; joraítidibu
52. swamp (pantano)	gáakodní	caájánéba	bohíhityonó	cinére
53. waterfall (caída de agua)	jódoco?fígú	nééwáwáh	ásóórohfi (fuente)	nopácotdúa
54. rapids (catarata, raudal)	vííí?óggú	tyóhcá	dyajíihí; gotáhi	nopácotdúa
55. S fire (candela, fuego)	ókóniigí	cújúwáh	tyaaro	iráicé

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56. ^S ash (ceniza)	ókóniigiŷíhú	balliŷíyúh	chtihi	jitue; jifue; imú- cango
57. charcoal (carbón)	ŷačhí	cuújúwáyú	xónaatyo	coocé; cooruacé
58. ^S smoke (humo)	iftshú	óhtsó	jahfího	uillíe
59. firewood (leña)	itsífsó	cooh	dyaihoon (+ jun)	reiéé
60. ^S sky (cielo)	háŷihí	nijkyéjé	aaijón; buionña	mona; bico
61. ^S rain (lluvia)	fá?voótsí	níŷjyábá	ñoon (+ jun)	nocé
62. ^S wind (viento)	kočhíwú	kíŷjyébá	juvóódyo	jairípoé
63. ^S sun (sol)	há?í	núhbáh	núna	jitdóma
64. ^S moon (luna)	keégí	péjcoéjpi núhbáh	fodyoome	pávéi
		(luna llena: fodyoome nuvaaga)		
65. ^S star (estrella)	hivígí	nácurúwá	ohxóóhtyo	ucúdo
66. ^S day (día)	hee?kó	coóŷíé	noña	mona; birúido
67. ^S night (noche)	naapí	péjcoh	natyón	naéé
68. thunder (trueno)	eéno	chíjchí	anunhño	gíríde (tronar)
69. lightning (relámpago)	phédo?vakhoótsí	rórínco	uuváyo	anéó

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70.	rainbow (arco iris)	epú	óllihó	rotiguéó
71. S	earth (tierra)	hípohí	áííoonhun; nahaaxo	eníe
72. S	stone (piedra)	víííi?ód	gotúúhxó	guánájá
73. S	sand (arena)	kovéé?kové?jínú	llííoonjin	conilláe
74.	house (casa)	paníítsí	foojo	jopo; iráco
75.	roof (techo)	kaádó	nohxóóhfi	itdáca
76.	door(way) (puerta)	pó?kónoomú	tyaafochá	nate; #báira
77.	seat, stool (banco)	i?tshoótsigú	biííiráávojo	raáirebécé
78.	mat (estera)	hipeégí	---	ranítá; teecaíño
79.	hammock (hamaca)	hanáakú	xoneajin	cáncá; maígaí
80.	bed (cama)	noótsihú	unonhxatsííivo; fojódóyo	báiragora
81.	cooking pot (olla)	vatshoótsí?oohú	fluxóóhtyo	caáéru
82.	action of clearing (rozar, haaka khú; hi- lirpiar terreno)	haáka khú; hi- níítsí khú	aacho	airáde
83.	village (pueblo, case- río)	tékooní; pani- tsímú	óóxuma; fojóón	ñueno

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84. S path, trail (camino, sendero)	ajápó	juúv	naajon	io; jaílledé
85. fish net (red)	fenó	tsánúcóohó	bohtáhtí; uróxatu	lloíiji; poicui
86. fish hook (anzuelo)	ee?phígú	pííjyúwá	fehxooti	pacuáti
87. axe (hacha)	epíitshí	úwaaájé	fuuxo	chovéna; chovéchojé
88. knife (cuchillo)	va?agajá?	náátsúwawú	murááboya; muráábojo	chovétdárá; duéra chovépai
machete:	va?agú	---		nocae
89. canoe (canoa)	hiítú	náiné	jonfáanhu	
90. paddle (remo)	boe?khoótsí	bóhdówá	monhsodyáávojo	ja.ʔ r á b e, j á ʔ b e
91. club (porra, macana)	---	wáhyóóuh	biillavóójo	améacá; bégé
92. spear (lanza)	noótsigú	aámábá	oodyáátya	canída; chovéti
93. bow (arco)	---	túboówá	tsipóxatya	téúúña
94. arrow (flecha)	noótsigú	wánuúwá	oudyátsahso	téúúrada
95. blowgun (cerbatana)	vá?paanáhu	tollííjyá	fajííhxatya	obííllacá

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96.	tapir (danta, sachavaca)	ámógi	tyoonjan	turúma
97.	jaguar (tigre)	íiní	jónhxo; chiva- váána	jáco
98.	puma (león, puma)	---	---	---
99.	deer (venado)	keé?sé	uxo	otádo
100.	dog (perro)	íiní	jónhxo	jáco
101.	armadillo (armadillo)	tsa?i	ásoojo; nóónion	ñenángo; baina- ngo; júáca
102.	bat (murciélago)	pitshígi	nocun; noáánh- fihya	líáni
103.	otter (nutria)	husódo	jítóoro	jítóórooángo
104.	cebus monkey (capuchín)	---	---	tdillá
105.	howler monkey (mono aullador, coto)	rovú	joojo	iu
106.	spider monkey (marimonda, maquisapa)	---	---	meecu

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107. capybara (ronsooco, carpincho)	hoʔbú	óhbá	ñóóniá	meréjáiño
108. anteater (oso horniguero)	piǵí	ííjú	jíáanco; jooohan	dobólli; eréño
109. paca (paca, majás)	naǵpú	tájcuh	axaáño	íme
110. crocodile (caimán, la- garto)	pegíinú	níhbá	jehóóniá	teena
111. iguana (iguana)	maáñáʔo	maáñáhó	maáñáhó	cuéna; cuèogoma
112. tortoise (galáspago)	---	íívo	---	---
113. river turtle (tortuga, motelo)	haádd	cuúmuǵ	dsóhdso	juri
114. collared peccary (sai- no, sajino)	hapíitsú	meéni	jáánehova; naíóónpa	nero
115. white-lipped peccary (jabalí mayor, huangana)	anevíidógi	naánebé	jáánehova; naíóónpa	eínoí
116. agouti (agutí)	phíiʔtsí	bááruujuǵ	fúútyo; moonno	máguí
117. cat (gato)	niíʃí	niichíí	---	jíco

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118. rat (rata)	hiigi	cúuvéba	muñóonco	joitá
119. mouse (ratón)	tyúukó	llihpyé	tsóraaxo	jeedo; mau; niñké
120. ^S tail (cola)	-tshipií	bówád	ohoo	oda
121. ^S snake (serpiente,culebra)	oná?kó	ifíinye	tyorocho	jaic
122. anaconda, water bea (anaconda)	---	ifwacyó	toxóóhyc	---
123. rattlesnake (cascabel)	oná?kó	chifíyáwá	nanaañi	nonórai
124. coral snake (coral)	---	caábuú	caráárahoo	raádu
125. toad (sapo)	todokáakú	áhcówáh	gocóójo; tyooco	acáñño; gucu
126. ^S bird (pájaro)	ko?piidú	cóomáacóh	afótsoyi	iguilláicóñ
127. hummingbird (picaflor, colibrí)	pi?ni	páábáhc	fahfífihtyo	pitído
128. nacaaw (guacamayo)	anaadú	ííwad	faaro; cúúraña	ííva; nocova
129. toucan (tucán, pinshe)	Yíío	núlléh	ñoxaahcho; llífoovu	nocáido
130. parrot (loro)	Yoodú	lloórá	tyóóbra	jirilláicóñ

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131. parakeet (perico, pu- huicho)	ty ^u gigifó	túriíhyó	llííyi	gairicongo
132. buzzard (gallinazo)	vatsóogí	ámí	uunnócho	ino
133. curassow (pavo)	šóhó	---	xóóásojo	llooda
134. owl (lechuza)	popóogí	péetsóó	Ésóónñanjon	tðurída
135. guan (pava de monte)	šóhó	páicájá	---	muido
136. hen (gallina)	kádatú	cáracá	atyava (U); cárava (D)	atdáva
137. ^S fish (pescado, pez)	ánoogí	ánoobé	injacamá	chama
138. piranha (pireña)	hepókó	wájcyójjá	noonxo	---
139. bee (abeja)	maápú	déhtsíbá	dyoinúúraco	caínungo; jirángo
140. fly (mosca)	heeté	tsuúneu	áánbeco	šnicá
141. flea (pulga)	ka?vátsí	úúcsówá	cróóvutyá	paárádo
142. ^S louse (piojo)	netetshí?ó	wááníhó	ohfóókaca	šbóna
143. mosquito (zancudo)	haníitsó	wáájyú	anhchoccc	uúóódo
144. termite (comején, har- niga blanca)	kaméádú	tákíhkíká	ojuun; ojúnxoh	---

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145. ant (hormiga)	piíné	piimeybá	foraaja	callángo
146. spider (araña)	paagáñ	paáwájí	ooru	ááóóí; jebecíngo
147. chigger (nigua, pique)	itshító	niipájí	orootyo	oróoongo
148. brush (monte)	tébahú	bájúpáñé	tyaáánhin	daáre; jatíí
149. open grassland (pajonal, sabana)	---	tsójóómují	tyojáánhavo	---
150. hill (cerro, loma)	tégahú	caánewájú	tyavúúro	caipónedu; iperí
151. ^S tree (árbol)	aváana?é	únéhé	aiúunña	aména
152. ^S leaf (hoja)	apáná?aaní	áanááámé	opaavi	rabe
153. tree leaf (hoja de árbol)	apáná?aaní	únéhéháámé	opaavi	---
154. ^S flower (flor)	giiví	wájóó	tsín	mullialleba; moolleba
155. ^S fruit (fruta)	niikú	neevábá	dyaanjun; jurzaan	ria
156. sap (savia)	evitsóogí	únehéjápáyó; únehé pañotu tsááne nújpacyó	ajiin; máánjin	íjí

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157. ^S root (raíz)	tébaké	bájkyeé	tsifíínhonfe	jaínað
158. ^S seed (semilla)	-híniú	páñevawá	naviíñi	ido
159. stick (palo)	aváanaí	únéheíh	dyáátya; añuunña	báğá; duíraá
160. ^S grass (hierba)	himiítsí	tsójóómujé	tyojáán (± jan)	jenúicé
161. corn, maize (maíz)	veékkíó	ujéhó; paúhjé	xófiíro	bella
162. manioc (yuca)	kajjiigí	baajuriú	johhtáánjin	juti
163. manioc flour (harina de yuca)	peégí	ijtyácollijyú	---	---
164. tobacco (tabaco)	niítsí	báñecóh	tyohoooco	dáóna
165. cotton (algodón)	tshonaátshí	ándíh	fíaanja	jaicáe
166. gourd (calabazo, poro)	nanapítá?ó	téhtebá	noñáñfu; toonhfú	domeco; nerígá
167. yan (ñame)	ofíináu	cúnííú	ahxaahiti	---
168. sweet potato (camote)	kaniídeú	caatuú	botyootyc	repíjé
169. achiote (achiote, bija)	phiigí	néebabá	ñioñónya	nonócé

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170.	chili pepper (aji) eatshiu	déhóú	jahfíhovu	jipijá
171.	coca (coca) hiibiné	iibíí	jibi (± ro)	jibíe
172.	Banisterium (ayahuasca) hutooba?á?	ítóóbahye	omáanhon	unab
173.	pantain (plátano) Yakoo?gí?ó	ujáhó	juxearo	ocóragodo
174.	chonta palm (chonta) pcaaná?jii?ó	toálliuájíllihyo	johxóora	neegóá
175.	essai palm (asahí, manaca, yaguarrana)	tókehífbane; tólliuujáane;	---	---
176.	niriti palm (moriche)	---	---	---
177.	cane (caña brava) íftshikó	néepajyubá	focanáúhtya	á cánida
178. S	salt (sal) kanaaná?o	canáaná	jááidya	áaltaá
179.	chicha (chicha, nasato) nééne?ó	báajúribá	janíí?oru	jinébé
180. S	one (uno) sagú	tsané	tya-nah	da
181. S	two (dos) nigeakú	miñécúú	jaána	mena
182. S	three (tres) nigeakú? sagú?	pápihcúú	---	daáani
183. S	four (cuatro) po?tsáávógaahí	pááneéhójtá	---	págonénarie
184. S	five (cinco) sá?osi	tsáhojtá	tyahfúfforoh	jubéba

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185. six (seis)	sí?osíkhó sagú	iñejcuéhójtstsitu tsáné	---	enépebanoda
186. seven (siete)	sí?osíkhó migaakú	iñejcuéhójtstsitu niñéécú	---	---
187. eight (ocho)	sí?osíkhó migaakú? sagú?	iñejcuéhójtstsitu pápihchúú	---	---
188. nine (nueve)	sí?osíkhó po?tsáá- vágaahí	iñejcuéhójtstsitu páñeéhójtst	---	---
189. ten (diez)	pá?osíkúná	pahójtstacunévá	---	nagápeba
190. first (primero)	patophé	tújkenúh; tújkenuóné	nahe; óohfo	nano
191. last (último)	dé?po	niñmeréh; niñééneré	---	idáipuena; iraipuena
192. rattle (sonajero, maraca)	ché?ké?ó	chéhkeú	toonhfu	garáda
193. drum (tambo)	koómobú	cuúrnbá	arén	juáàtádiru; juáraá
194. cushna (cushna)	---	---	---	---

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195. ear ornament (orejera, arete)	hentkópási	nújuíwáh;nújuíú	xónoontyavóco	cunátáicá
196. mask (náscara)	naánípúní	nánnif	fonhuúnxora; orúhca	já-gape
197. medicine man (curandero)	naikoogígí	llúúvábé	juhxaforáama	rapócana
198. chief (cacique, curaca)	ke?vígí	aveyejuúbé	ahitihyáma; farááhfuina	illáama
199. S I (yo)	nó	oó	xon; xoun	cuè
200. S thou (tú)	phú	úú	on; oun	---
201. S he (él)	tsú	adáif	ahiima; uúma	apéma; daa
202. S she (ella)	tsó	áállé	ahiico; unco	apéngo
203. S it (ello)	---	áábyé	---	---
204. S we (nosotros)	faiá (incl) mu?á (excl)	muúhá	xajo	caá
205. S ye (ustedes)	ha?á	anuúhá	monhto	olaa
206. S they (ellos)	na?á	ca?tyé; díityé	uúma	daáoh

	RESÍGARO	BORA	OCAINA	HUITOTO MUIANANE
207.	my hand (mi mano)	noké	táhójtstsíí ---- (oñóonpo --- mano)	---- (onoñ -- mano)
208.	thy hand (tu mano)	piké	díhyoyjtsíí ----	----
209.	his hand (la mano de él)	giké	aábyehójtstsíí; áádihojtstsíí ----	----
210.	our hands (nuestras manos)	fa?ákéné	méhójtstsíné ----	----
211.	your hands (sus manos de ustedes)	ha?ákéné	amúháhójtstsíné ----	----
212.	their hands (las manos de ellos)	na?ákéné	aátyehójtstsíné ----	----
213.	my bow (mi arco)	---	tátyúboowá ----	----

(Nos. 213-218 are only available for Bora. Therefore, the rest of this group is omitted from this comparative list.)

219. ^S	big (grande)	Yíja-; -kobá	nityané; nityanecóbbá	óóxu; oxííja	áallue; jeerie
220. ^S	small (pequeño)	oojájá?	ayanéwú; uhjénewú	síí'tih; sóógo; tóógo; Xavi-	---

	RESÍGARO	BORA	OCAINA	HUITOTO MUIWANE
221. S cold (frío)	hi?pií?	tsuúó	dyótu	roti
222. S hot (caliente)	ha?no?	áallocoó	dyóho	eúide (calentado) utide (calentar)
223. S good (bueno)	kašó?	iniwú; #máaáné	fónjun	ñuera; pãgóde; caide
224. S bad (malo)	metshíva?nú?	inityúné	úúra	aíñára; puenípueniáá
225. S white (blanco)	hefíí?	ts#ts#íné	furáánña	---
226. S black (negro)	tsaphó?	cúúvené	juhtóóhfu	jitdãrede
227. go! (¡vaya! ¡ive!)	pi?pi	dípyeé	jaaun (ir)	jaide (ir)
228. come! (¡ven!)	pítsá?	díchaá	aaji (venir)	bitde (venir)
229. eat! (¡come!)	pá?mítú	majchoó	ooxo (comer)	ocóde (comer)
230. drink! (¡bebe!)	pii?dú	dádoó	ñooxo (beber)	jiróde (beber)
231. sleep! (¡duerme!)	pínú	cúwáá	uunon (dormir)	inãde (dormir)
232. crown of head (la corona)	-híve?ásí	néhnaájcaú	dyováhitya	ellégã; llagãni; nuicãraí
233. front teeth (dientes delanteros)	-onéné	pãineéné néhwañéé	natoobi	itido (diente)

	RESÍGARO	BORÁ	OCAINA	HUITOTO MUIÑANE
234. tongue tip (punta de la lengua)	-e?héepé e?pó	néhnéjéwanéjcaú	---	iépe (lengua)
235. long hair (pelo largo)	-hivé?jii?ó	níwacóh	ochfo; ohfotohóófe	---
236. around the neck (toda la garganta y cuello)	-iñóchí	néjkeépaéjé	johxóho (gar- ganta)	cánoçó; cánoçairo (garganta); cánoçé; jeráçé (cuello)
237. Adam's apple (muez de la garganta)	---	nénéhdóró	caáanxo	uriragoé
238. upper back (la espalda, parte superior)	---	naráhbá; nehállú	juuhxo; juuh- xomó (espalda)	enódo (espalda)
239. lower arm (brazo inferior)	-kéí	nejúwátsijtyó	jáhoónconca	tádagáilloé (brazo)
240. wrist (la muñeca)	-kéú	hótsájkejé	onónpoca	onóbecé
241. lower leg (la pierna inferior)	-kaavaí	tájkií	odsáátsi (pierna y pie)	áçáçairo (pierna)
242. body hair (el pelo del cuerpo, vello)	-tsífinú	áhjénéé; tahjénéé	tyafáánjin; ohfo- tohófe (p. del brazo)	áimáé

	RESÍGARO	BORA	OCAINA	HUITOTO MUIÑANE
243.	stomach (estómago)	ihbaúú	gáxotya	duubeniuro; jebegóñ; ocóceagñ
244. S	intestines (intestinos)	ihbaúnoohóné	mañíco	jebeo
245.	old woman (la vieja)	kéemelléh	jahínco	ñáñtairo
246. S	clouds at rest (nubes quietas)	vaáúneítyúne ójtsó	jafího; tsojóhuxa (nube)	uñllie
247.	storm clouds (nubes de tormenta)	ullene ójtsó	---	páñtirañ (nubes negras)
248.	stream (quebrada)	téshiwí	tyaváaga; ñon-juntsajúúñto	ille
249.	swamp (aguajal, pantano)	inécaajá	bohíhihtyono	oñéne
250.	field (chacra)	úññé	jonháñjin	jacápoñ
251.	pebbles (piedrecitas)	néwayúúñá; néwayúúwúñé	gotúñxo (piedra)	guamádo (piedrecilla)
252.	huge rocks (rocas)	néwayúúcobané	---	jaññáre (roca escarpada)

	RESÍGARO	BORA	OCAINA	HUITOTO MUINANE
253.	path (trocha)	juúvė	naajon; tóvuhtya	d+rope
254.	window blinds (estera)	ihbotá	---	ranítta; teecaño
255.	shelter (tambo)	núujúwá	fojóóvonu	bátani; jamáico; jípoco

ADDITIONAL VOCABULARY FROM THE SWADESH LIST

256.	this (este)	gi?í; hí-	aánuú; iñee	bín; bíñan	bedá
257.	that (aquél)	gi?ithé; hé?e-	tšaápih	xahiina	---
258.	who? (¿quién?)	kéení	núhá	bón	---
259.	what? (¿qué?)	kóoní	inabáj	dsoh	nápóde (¿qué cosa?)
260.	not (no)	níí	---	---	---
261.	all (todos)	phé?tó?	páneéréh; panééré	chíí; jántih	nana (todo)
262.	many (muchos)	aapúú?	nítyané	-óóxu	dágana
263.	long (largo)	tseinó?	caámené	ááni	are
264.	bark (corteza)	da?ní	wáhdaháve; báhrineuvú	dyacán;	icuíro; igóra

	RESÍGARO	BORA	OCAINA	HUITOTO MUINANE
265. flesh (carne)	gí?í	héecoo	dyajííhxa; onhaanjín	uətʃ
266. blood (sangre)	-ííúú	tújpacyó	tsijín	č̣e; naʃbi
267. grease (grasa)	phedeekátsí	dúurúbá	fajin	pare
268. egg (huevo)	eéveú	ííhyuú	jóónhto	jʃeʃ; jʃjʃ; uáijʃ
269. horn (cuerno)	-íivíí	ócajító	mócaatyó	ticaʃ
270. feather (pluma)	-tsíínáhí	ʃhʃnéé	tyafóoro	---
271. claw (uña)	-hí?taví	hɔjtsíwamíʃhó	xáatyó	onébeco
272. belly (barriga)	-íiʃáú	ihbaúú	gáájo	jébe; nemúigʃ
273. liver (hígado)	-opáanú	ihwáneé	fahúúnxo	banójʃ
274. drink (beber)	-í?dú	ádó	ʃooxo	jiróde
275. eat (comer)	-a?mitú	májchó	coxo	ocode
276. bite (morder)	-emú	ʃhóón	aanun	aʃníde
277. see (ver)	-tshéní	ʃtén	xaa	eróide
278. hear (oír)	-hó?mú	lléebó	xaara	ocáde

	RESÍGARO	BORA	OCAINA	HUITOTO MUIWANE
279. know (saber)	-manaá -tó?	waajacú	áaxa; coroja	onóde; páðide
280. sleep (dormir)	-ímú	cúwáh	uunon	ínide
281. die (morir)	-kainée -jú	dsájávéh	uráun (U); ñómeonbi (D)	llícaide; tdiide; llíide
282. kill (matar)	-kainée -kñí	dsájávetso	urá ña janúta	meínetde; paítide
283. swim (nadar)	-c?wápú	íncháh	onhan	íide
284. fly (volar)	-adú	wáhpé	dyaahi	peede
285. walk (andar)	-hí?vu	úlléh	maaxa	macáde
286. come (venir)	-tsa?nú	tsá; tsaábé	aa_; uu_	bitde
287. lie (acostarse)	-hepítakaa(+nú)	tódsáucunú	iaan; tuúya	baide
288. sit (sentarse)	-i?tsnákg(+nú)	acuúcunú	biñini	bájttáttde; raíide
289. stand (estar de pie)	-i?tónú	ijycúúvé; áijycúúvé	---	---
290. to give (dar)	-aa?ní	éjcuá	juuh	itde; kéde
291. say (decir)	-kemú	uúbállé	uun; aan	daíde

	RESÍGARO	BORA	OCAINA	HUITOTO MUINANE
292. burn (arder)	-ketshe -júj	alló'cúo	biih	bobicaide
293. mountain (sierra)	---	cánewájúné	---	---
294. red (rojo)	ke'ávíí?	tújpañé	tsíího	---
295. green (verde)	ipogí?	ájtyúvané	moxóoso; jiááho	mocorede; mocotóochide
296. yellow (amarillo)	---	llíjcyáne	bóóra	berátóochide (amari- llo y redondo)
297. full (lleno)	potshí?mó	wáhpéné; tsúú- ca wáhpéné	faahtu; moóhun (llenar)	crúide; ritírede
298. new (nuevo)	be?é	béhneé	juht;-	comue
299. round (redondo)	pavuudú	páuh	---	etó'ochide; ritó'obide
300. dry (seco)	makádú	ááaríné	jáánhta	tapénaitde
301. name (nombre)	-iivú	mémé	maainú	abíicá; mamecá
302. how (¿cómo?)	hidé?hee	múh'úhá	ásohxámmu	naítóí
303. when (¿cuándo?)	hidee?tsí	muíjyúháj	ásohean; ásohaa	nírúí

	RESÍGARO	BORA	OCUINA	HUITOTO MUIVANE
304. where? (¿dónde?)	henéé	kiáhaj	dsoc; dsocn	nee; néné; neeméi
305. here (aquí)	ve?i	híchíí; híchíhvú	bá; bún	benó
306. there (allí)	neé	héhleeé	tyaan; dsirájunh	jadé
307. other (otro)	apáapí	tsijpíh; tsiíné	añíi	jááá
308. few (pocos)	oojájá?	úhjéneré; úhjémeré	sítih; sógo; xavinh	jíire; jabóí
309. fog (neblina)	íítshá	ójtso	---	úllíe
310. flow (correr -- del río)	-o?kónó	---	---	tdotde
311. sea (mar)	témooí	mooá	maanú	monáillai
312. wet (mojado)	patshánu?	múriivyené	jááji	riáitde (mojar)
313. wash (lavar)	-hipu	nijtyu	joxootu	jocode
314. worm (gusano)	na?í	úúbá	aguuma; uunco; judsaaco	igároó; jirígá

	RESÍGARO	BORA	OCAINA	HUITOTO MUIÑAVE
315. wing (ala)	-a?naapí	núwaá	fonióóruuca	iaíco
316. fur (pelo de animal)	-tsíimú	níiwácojsh; shjijsh	---	---
317. navel (ombbligo)	-e?phodé	híjyúbá	máántyo	notda; rábeño
318. saliva (saliva)	úni	unín	fóocojin	pahale; pahaigat
319. milk (leche)	i?ní?aanú	mújpañéjpácyó	moniocéjun	monóhji
(cf. item 15 -- woman's breast)				
320. with (con)	-neé	---	muunhto; -jún	dága
321. in (en)	-gikó	---	jaa; jadya	manomó
322. at (a -- en un lugar)	-ná	tsatsii	uunnah	dánéna
323. if (si)	-tsiá	---	---	---
324. ice (hielo)	hooní?i?vothoonú	nújpacyó arááwewáh	---	jànoíjsh
325. snow (nieve)	---	nújpacyó aráá- vewáh tsítsájnénéé	---	---
326. freeze (helarse)	taa -jú	dañcájtso	---	---

	RESÍGARO	BORA	OCAINA	HUITOTO MUINANE
327. child (niño)	ʔaánu	tsáámené	xaviin	caáma; jitaru
328. dark (oscuro)	tsaphó?	cuúvené; cuvéhteéné	juhtóóhfú	jítá+rede
329. cut (cortar)	tuu -khú	wáhdáhró	baah; aavo; juubo	bopéde; tdtááde
330. wide (ancho)	ʔiʔaagú	coráiné; carájneené	ojáára	iairorede
331. narrow (estrecho)	o:ʔáʔá?	úhjí; tsúúriwú; i:ʔánéwú	iibi	ritírede
332. far (lejos)	ʔavákú?	tsihyúllé	aánu	are; jáca
333. near (cerca)	aiʔáá?	páhréhreé; páhréné	áánurah	abá; iánori; nagapenerie
334. thick (grueso)	ʔiʔaagí	mityáwúúrún	jutyááxo	jeerie
335. thin (delgado)	ooʔa-	újtsiñéwú	bójo; xavlihtyó- fch	---
336. short (corto)	matshó?	báhriñéwú	injánjun	iánori
337. heavy (pesado)	hiʔaai?	padúucuné	faahxa (pesar)	merede

	RESÍGARO	BORA	OCAINA	HUITOTO MUIANANE
338. dull (emlotado)	nií tsó?vii? tsú	tsúhjávatuné	---	gairáde (embotar)
339. sharp (filoso)	tsó?vii? tsú	tsúhjávanéh	jáú	jaírede
340. dirty (sucio)	tsó?ko?	iínúvané	áánma; avóóhxo; ñááhun	janórede
341. rotten (podrido)	amea?kátshí	tóóouné	bacóóna; dsoou; dsavóóña (pudrirse)	tabíde
342. smooth (liso)	he?ní?	rúturútu nééneé	fííyí	riigairode
343. straight (recto)	tsí?kí?	tsátujkevéh	fóóhtya	---
344. correct (correcto)	hamee?má?oo	tsaímíyéh	johaahcho; ba- róóta (corregir)	---
345. left (izquierda)	apá?mí?osí	nánínéjocú	urochfatí	jarépe
346. right (derecho)	kaášo?osí	ináánéjocú	fóóhtya	jaóóina; nabéti
347. old (viejo)	phaigí	tsúfcaáne; keéneé	jahífmá; uroojun	---
348. rub (frotar)	ñoi -khú	tákiyohocó	tsóofi; tsoora; xuuru	gítde; melléno- (+tde); llegendé

	RESÍGARO	BORA	OCAINA	HUITOTO MUINANE
349. pull (jalar)	kha? -khú	lliúóh	aanhti; tsoonhmu	áááááde
350. push (empujar)	fíi -khú	catújcaáyó	jaalla	ñuitde
351. throw (echar)	-pí?ko	picyoó; wááóh	iintsa	áááááde; paááde
352. hit (golpear)	-(?)mótshó	hilleáyú	adsityójo;	betáááde;
353. split (hender)	khová? -khú	wachereacóh	bahxoora	patde
354. pierce (punzar)	go? -khú	wáhéjuró	tearu	botáááde; llaáde
355. dig (escavar)	-hí?o	tséhdí	faah; jaara; tyoonhfo	--- raááde (cavar)
356. tie (atar)	-hiponú	tállíjicyó	ccááfu; gaan	cuiná (áde); jállíde; naáááde
357. sew (coser)	-tsanimú	dsájcoóh	moontyo	jállíde; tápóde
358. fall (caerse)	-ha?vanú	aakityehí	ocha; joovu; faati	jotáááde
359. swell (hincharse)	fóo -khú	oorifné	juuhxa	piipbuucúe; uájá- tide (hinchado)

	RESÍGARO	BORA	OCAINA	HUITOTO MUINANE
360. think (pensar)	-váfo -hénetyí	šjtsameih	xomuxohyálli	duenáitde; merídal- tdáde
361. sing (cantar)	-hadá?pú	májtsivá; májtsí	šnoomun	rotde
362. smell (cler)	sii? -khú	ullíjoyd	dyoro	jalléde; tíóruide
363. to vomit (vomitar)	-i?kamú	illímutúhedh	xohxu	cácula
364. suck (chupar)	soo? -khú	šéháh	tsoonhño; goon	moníde; mugúde
365. blow (soplar)	fóo -khú	šbatsuhjacó	fofo; juuhxa	puunotde
366. fear (temer)	-ífyí	illityé	tuuro	jacáruitde; líide
367. squeeze (apretar)	še? -khú	aamútsó; pachíú- jacóh	tsaaca	llimánotde; náá- tdáde
368. hold (tener, agarrar)	eke? -khú (agarrar)	íjoyané (tener)	uróóta; fooga (agarrar)	cuátdáde (agarrar)
369. down (abajo)	hipóo	baári	aan; aanna; šooóhi	ana
370. up (arriba)	tsení	cašané	aamijón; buimoor	caipo
371. ripe (maduro)	metshóovigií	náámené	aaa; juuhto; jean- jin (madurar)	jeede; miríde

	RESÍGARO	BORA	OCAINA	HUITOTO MUIWANE
372. dust (pulvo)	hípojímí	pállíjyúh	ajóóhu; añoonhunvóra	imúíta
373. alive (vivo)	aniigi	bóháíbé	jiityóra iin	jierede
374. rope (cuerda)	hiponáuu?ó	wáabyaú	---	iga
375. year (año)	kámí	píjcyabá	dyohoonjin	páína

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