INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

RICE UNIVERSITY

A GRAMMAR OF TIRIYÓ

by

Sérgio Meira S. C. O.

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

APPROVED, THESIS COMMITTEE

Spike Gildea, Committee Chair
Associate Professor of Linguistics

Philip W. Davis,
Professor of Linguistics

Berend J. Hoff
Gastdocent Algemene Taalwetenschap
Universiteit Leiden

Suzanne E. Kemmer,
Associate Professor of Linguistics

Marianne Mithun
Professor of Linguistics
University of California,
Santa Barbara

Houston, Texas

May 1999

UMI Number: 9928570

UMI Microform 9928570
Copyright 1999, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.

This microform edition is protected against unauthorized
copying under Title 17, United States Code.

UMI
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48103

Abstract

A Grammar of Tiriyó

by

Sérgio Meira

The Tiriyó language has approximately 2,000 speakers (whose autodenomination is *tarëno* [taɽə:nɔ], the term *tiriyó* or *trio* being of uncertain origin) who live in lowland South America, on both sides of the border between Brazil and Surinam. Like most other languages of the Cariban family, Tiriyó is chronically underdescribed. In the 117 years since Crevaux's first word list came out, very little has been written on the language: a few articles on specific points of phonology or grammar, two small tentative dictionaries, and two longer but incomplete sketches.

This dissertation is intended as an effort to improve this situation by offering a more detailed description of the Tiriyó language based on extensive field work. It has a traditional format: after an introductory chapter on the Tiriyó people and previous research on the language, it begins with a description of the segmental and suprasegmental phonology, continuing on to the definition of word classes and the description of their morphology and arriving at the syntax, using what could be broadly defined as a functional-typological approach. A certain number of diachronic remarks and

hypotheses are added when deemed appropriate; however, the synchronic descriptive goal is always the primary concern. After the basic description, a further chapter examines the lexicon, describing some formal regularities and also exploring its semantics via a closer look at some selected semantic fields. The appendices contain a collection of texts and a preliminary dictionary with grammatical information on every morpheme.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

> EXCEPTION, n. A thing which takes the liberty of differing from other things of its class, as an honest man, a truthful woman, etc. "The exception proves the rule" is an expression constantly upon the lips of the ignorant, who parrot it to one another with never a thought to its absurdity. In the Latin, *"Exceptio probat regulam"* means that the exception *tests* the rule, puts it to the proof, not *confirms* it. (....)
>
> AMBROSE BIERCE, *The Devil's Dictionary*

Nothing ever ends. Nor does anything ever begin. There is no first moment; no single word or place from which any story springs. Nor is there any final moment, beyond which no story ever continues. Perspective is all there is, and our decisions (or maybe our limited capacity) to see certain connections but not others. So let me take a perspective, since I must; and, once that is done, the first image that strikes my eyes is the beauty of this language.

Tiriyó was not the first language I studied, not even the first Amerindian one; but it was the first that I examined over a long period of time, both by reading the (rather meager) literature and by going to places where it is the everyday language. Nothing beats the feeling of hearing people use this language till one becomes accustomed to it; the feeling of being addressed in it for the first time, and being able to answer meaningfully. The melody of its stress, the intricacies of its morphology, the charm of its words, all that and more; what else could I want? My only fear is that of doing injustice to this language by trying to capture some of it in this description. Looking back at my field notebooks, I am saddened by the thought that I may have mistranscribed words, misunderstood explanations and translations, misinterpreted judgments of adequacy, or misanalyzed patterns. I have tried hard, and I would like to think that I have managed to avoid many pitfalls; yet I have no illusions. My last field trip saw many changes; I am sure there would be many more, had there been other field trips. I do hope that no future researcher of this language (myself included), who may find this description useful as a guide for further work, will ever mistake its content for The Truth. Hypotheses they are, and as hypotheses they will remain, ready to be changed if a fresh batch of data makes it necessary; just like the contents of any other descriptive grammar.

My first task is thus to thank the Tiriyó people, who so willingly shared their little treasure with me. They must have thought I was strange—why would any non-Tiriyó want to learn Tiriyó?—; nevertheless, they helped me, and were apparently delighted by whatever little progress I was able to make. I thank them as a people, but I particularly thank those who helped me more directly: my consultants Pedro Asehpë, Simetu, Nasau and João do Vale, and also Sebastião, Juliana, Rosene, Valéria, Berenice, Angelica, César, Ruki, in the Missão Tiriós; Maminpë, in Mataware; Ananpai, Tëmeta, Wekïimae and Onore, in Tepoe; Torohpa, Kamanja Panashekung, and Tomas, in Kuwamarasamutu. The Tiriyó speakers who helped me outside of their villages—Jacira and Júnior in Macapá and Belém, Jutesi and Moses in Paramaribo—also have my gratitude.

Of course, I could never have gone to the Tiriyó alone. I was a member of Dr. Spike Gildea's Northern Brazilian Cariban Languages Documentation Project, supported by NSF grant DBS-9210130, which provided the material means to make my field work possible; its final phase was again financed by the NSF, by means of the Dissertation

Improvement Grant BCS-9818244. Other sources of financial support at various phases in my research were: CNRS (*Centre national de la recherche scientifique)*, Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi, and CNPq (*Conselho nacional de pesquisa científica*). Fellowships from Rice University (including a Presidential Fellowship for 1995-1998, and the Lodieska Stockbridge Vaughan Fellowship for 1998-1999) were my main means of survival while away from the field; summer research funding from the Dean of Humanities was also very important for a prolonged period of data entry and analysis at Rice. The Department of Linguistics at Rice allowed me to use all their resources (computers, paper, books, etc.). The same is true for the Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi, in Belém, and for the IRD (*Institut de recherches pour le développement*, ex-ORSTOM), in Cayenne. The Brazilian Bureau of Amerindian Affairs, FUNAI (*Fundação Nacional do Índio*), authorized me to do field work in Brazil; they were also very helpful and cooperative in all phases of my research. The Surinamese Ministry of Education (MINOV —*Ministerie van Onderwijs en Volksontwikkeling*), and especially Dr. Karin Boven, from the *Afdeling Cultuurstudies*, have helped me in Paramaribo. To all of them, my sincerest thanks.

Dr. Gildea, my thesis director, is a never-ending source of ideas and energy—may his Force always be with me. Many of the potential pitfalls were avoided because of his accurate comments. My project colleague Nila Tavares has contributed significantly to the development of my ideas, both with criticism and with her Wayana data (which I consulted even when she was not looking...). My fellow graduate students at Rice, John Newell, Ada Rohde, Colin Harrison, Raquel Guirardello, Xiuhong 'Mimi' Zhang, Dave

'Matsés' Fleck (to whom I owe Maps 1 and 2), Anatol Stefanowitsch, Jack Wiedrick, Desrey Fox, and Hillary Young, a fine collection of young linguists indeed, must really be praised for the admirable patience with which they treated my outbursts of feverish Cariban enthusiasm, and for their contributions to my personal ideas about language and language description. The faculty members of the Rice Department of Linguistics, of course, have, more than anything else, shaped my vision of this field: Dr. Philip Davis, Dr. Suzanne Kemmer, Dr. Sydney Lamb, Dr. James Copeland, Dr. Timothy Pulju, and, more than anyone, my advisor, Dr. Spike Gildea. Dr. Marianne Mithun and Dr. Berend Hoff, the outside members of my dissertation committee, gave me detailed written comments; their efforts to help me went well beyond the call of duty. A special note of thanks to Ursula Keierleber, the Department Coordinator, who always defended my side; without her coffee, this dissertation would have taken at least an additional two months for its completion.

Many people have contributed to make my field work possible. So many would have the right to be mentioned here, if I wanted to be exhaustively fair, that the list—together with the description of the connections—would become unbearably tedious. I could simplify this task by simply thanking the whole world for existing (or myself, for that matter, which would amount to the same), but that would be unreasonable. Let me then begin by mentioning Dr. Denny Moore and the field workers—Ana Carla dos Santos Bruno, Gessiane Lobato Picanço, Sebastian Drude, Ana Vilacy Galucio and Eduardo Rivail Ribeiro—from the Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi, in Belém, who helped me with their ideas, friendship and support, Dr. Francisco Queixalos, Dr. Odile Renault-Lescure and Laurence Goury, from the *Centre ORSTOM de Cayenne* (French Guiana), who made my stay in Cayenne both enjoyable and stimulating, and Dr. Eithne Carlin, the person with whom I share the joys of studying the grammar of Tiriyó. Dr. Henk Courtz, who studies the Kali'na language in Surinam, also helped me with useful comments. Special thanks go to the Missão Tiriós, both in Belém and in the Tumucumaque area (and especially to Frei Bento Letschert, OFM, who generously shared his manuscript of a Tiriyó dictionary with me), to the Peace Corps volunteers at Tepoe, Matt and Renée, and to the Medische Zending personnel at Kwamarasamutu (especially Gilbert and John), for their help and cooperation.

A final word to you, the Reader, the ultimate goal of this work. If this grammar, inconclusive though it may be (hence the 'first' in the title), still ends up being a source of valuable information for you, then my goals will have been fulfilled. If you also happen to enjoy reading it—who knows, this world is full of all kinds of people, including those who like Cariban languages—, then I will be happy. For I will think that someone else has managed to understand the joy and satisfaction that my forays into the Tiriyó language have brought me. *Etiam homo sum.*

to the Tiriyó people

(*kurano rën nai ijomiikon*),

to my mother and sisters

(*um obrigado merecido!*)

and

to the Reader

(*utinam semper legas!*)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract ii
Acknowledgements iv
Table of contents x
List of abbreviations xvii

1. Introduction 1
  1.1. Geography, demography, and economy 1
  1.2. Autodenominations 7
  1.3. A sketch of Tiriyó external history 10
  1.4. Previous work on Tiriyó 18
  1.5. An overview of the Tiriyó language 20
  1.6. Outline of the present work and notational conventions 26

2. Phonology 29
  2.1. Introduction 29
  2.2. Segments 30
    2.2.1. Consonants 30
    2.2.2. Vowels 33
  2.3. Phonological domains 34
    2.3.1. The syllable 35
      2.3.1.1. The problem of trivocalic sequences 36
    2.3.2. The phonological word 38
    2.3.3. The utterance 40
  2.4. Phonotactics 40
    2.4.1. Syllable types and the phonological word 41
    2.4.2. Distribution of consonants 42
      2.4.2.1. Nasal clusters 43
      2.4.2.2. /h/-clusters, dialectology, and the status of /h/ 45
    2.4.3. Distribution of vowels 50
      2.4.3.1. Vowel sequences 50
    2.4.4. Statistical data 53
      2.4.4.1. Syllable statistics 53
      2.4.4.2. Segment statistics 55
      2.4.4.3. Segment sequence statistics 57
  2.5. Prosody 60
    2.5.1. Rhythmic stress 60
      2.5.1.1. Identifying underlying sequences of identical vowels 64
      2.5.1.2. Words with less than three syllables 66
      2.5.1.3. The phonetic correlates of stress 70
      2.5.1.4. The question of primary stress 71
    2.5.2. Intonation 71
  2.6. Morphophonology 73
    2.6.1. Ablaut 74
    2.6.2. Syllable reduction 77

2.6.2.1. Stem-initial syllable reduction........ 82
2.6.2.2. Stem-final syllable reduction........ 83
2.6.2.2.1. Verbal stems........ 86
2.6.2.2.2. Non-verbal stems........ 88
2.6.2.3 Similarities to other languages........ 91
2.6.2.4. Unsuspected lexeme-final VV sequences........ 93
2.6.2.5. 'Floating' morphemes........ 94
2.6.3. Reduplication........ 95
2.6.3.1. External reduplication........ 95
2.6.3.1.1. Diachronic change in progress........ 99
2.6.3.1.2. The ambiguous phonological status of the reduplicant........ 101
2.6.3.2. Internal reduplication........ 102
2.6.4. Reduction of trivocalic sequences........ 106
2.6.5. Nasal assimilation across word boundaries........ 106
2.6.6. Sporadic processes: vowel harmony and assimilation........ 107

3. Introducing Tiriyó morphology........ 109
3.1. Introduction........ 109
3.2. Morphological units........ 110
3.2.1. Clitics and affixes........ 113
3.2.1.1. A problematic case: nominal affixes vs. postnominal particles........ 118
3.2.1.2. The case of **n(i)-** '3AO'........ 123
3.2.2. Inflection and derivation........ 124
3.2.3. Formatives, stems, and roots........ 130
3.3. Cross-categorial phenomena........ 132
3.3.1. Argument marking........ 132
3.3.1.1. Zero-argument ('0')........ 134
3.3.1.2. Person........ 134
3.3.1.3. Coreferentiality ('3R')........ 135
3.3.1.4. Reflexivity and reciprocity ('Recp/Detr')........ 136
3.3.2. Number........ 139
3.4. Lexical classes........ 141
3.4.1. Nouns and pronouns........ 142
3.4.2. Verbs........ 145
3.4.3. Adverbs........ 145
3.4.4. Postpositions........ 147
3.4.5. Interrogatives........ 148
3.4.6. Particles........ 149

4. Nouns........ 150
4.1. Pronouns........ 151
4.1.1. SAP (Speech Act Participant) pronouns........ 152
4.1.2 Third-person pronouns........ 154
4.2. Derivation........ 159
4.2.1. Meaning-changing morphology........ 160

4.2.1.1. **-npë, -hpë** ‘Past’ 160
4.2.1.2. **-imë** ‘Augmentative’ 163
4.2.1.3. **-pisi(kë)** ‘Diminutive’ 163
4.2.1.4. **-sepï** ‘Predilective’. 164
4.2.1.5. **-rïpï** ‘Pejorative’ 165
4.2.2. Nominalization 166
4.2.2.1. Verb nominalization 167
4.2.2.1.1. A nominalizers: **-ne** ‘Actual A’, **-to(-no)** ‘Potential A’ 169
4.2.2.1.2. O nominalizers: **n-** ‘Actual O’, **t- -se(mï)** ‘Potential O’ 171
4.2.2.1.3. S nominalizers: **i- -ke(tï)** ‘Actual S’, **t- -se(mï)** ‘Potential S’ 173
4.2.2.1.4. Event nominalizers (‘infinitives’): ∅ ‘Specific’, **-në** ‘Generic’ 175
4.2.2.1.5. Circumstance nominalizer: **-to(po)** ‘Circumstantial’ 183
4.2.2.2. Adverb and postposition nominalization 187
4.3. Inflection 192
4.3.1. Possession 192
4.3.1.1. Possessibility 193
4.3.1.2. Person markers 200
4.3.1.3. Reciprocal forms 203
4.3.1.4. Irregular possessed stems 206
4.3.1.4.1. Syllable-reducing stems 206
4.3.1.4.2. **j**-adding stems and alienability 207
4.3.1.4.3. Idiosyncratic cases 209
4.3.1.5 Possessive suffixes 211
4.3.1.5.1. Past possession 216
4.3.2. Number 220
4.3.3. Vocatives 222

5. Verbs 225
5.1. Stem allomorphy 226
5.1.1. Ablaut 227
5.1.2. Syllable-reducing stems 228
5.1.3. **t**-adding stems 230
5.1.4. Irregular **mï** stems 234
5.1.5. The problem of **i-** vs. **C**-initial stems. 236
5.1.6. Further stem irregularities 239
5.2. Morphosyntactic subclasses 242
5.2.1. Transitive and intransitive verb stems 243
5.2.2. S_A and S_O stems: the epiphenomenal split-S system 245
5.3. Derivation 253
5.3.1. Valence-changing morphology 254
5.3.1.1. Detransitivization 254
5.3.1.2. S_O transitivization 260
5.3.1.3. S_A transitivization 262
5.3.1.4. Causativization 264
5.3.2. Noun incorporation 265

5.3.3. Verbalization 268
5.3.3.1. Transitive verbalizers 270
5.3.3.1.1. The privative verbalizer **-ka** 270
5.3.3.1.2. The beneficiative verbalizers **-ntë**, **-htë**, **-pa**, and **-ma** 271
5.3.3.2. Intransitive (S_O) verbalizers 274
5.3.3.2.1. Inchoative verbalizers (**-ta**, **-na**, **-wa**, **-pa(mï)**, **-ma(mï)**) 275
5.3.3.2.2. The cessative **-ke(pï)** 277
5.4. Inflection 279
5.4.1. The conjugated (Set I) system 282
5.4.1.1. Person marking 282
5.4.1.1.1. Transitive stems: the two-level person hierarchy 283
5.4.1.1.2. Intransitive stems: the epiphenomenal split-S system 290
5.4.1.2. Number 294
5.4.1.3. Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM) 297
5.4.1.3.1. Present: **-(ja)-e**, **-(ja)-(në)** 'Imperfective', **-∅** 'Perfective' 299
5.4.1.3.2. Future: **-ta-e**, **-ta-(ne)** 'Imperfective', **-(ja)kë(mï)** 'Perfective' 304
5.4.1.3.3. Past: **-(ja)kë(ne)** 'Imperfective', **-ne** 'Perfective' 306
5.4.1.3.4 Certainty (**-e**) and Doubt (**-(në)**, **-(ne)**) forms 310
5.4.1.3.5. Non-factual: **-i** 'Hypothetical', **-:je(pe)** 'Incredulitive', **-ne(nu)** 'Admonitive' 314
5.4.2. Imperatives 318
5.4.2.1. Second-person imperatives 319
5.4.2.2. Non-second-person imperatives 325
5.4.3. Non-conjugated forms 326
5.4.3.1. The **-se** forms 327
5.4.3.1.1. Supine and habitual past 328
5.4.3.1.2. Remote past 333
5.4.3.1.3. Negative forms 335
5.4.3.2. The adverbial forms: **-tuuwë** 'Posteriority', **-tëkërë** 'Cause' 329
5.4.4. Forms of the copula **e(i)** 339

6. Adverbs 342
6.1. Monomorphemic adverbs 344
6.1.1. Primitive adverbs 344
6.1.1.1. **-a(ka)** adverbs 347
6.1.1.2. **-aarë** adverbs 349
6.1.1.3. **-po** adverbs 350
6.1.1.4. **-ke(ne)** adverbs 350
6.1.1.5. **-(n)je** and **-në** adverbs 352
6.1.1.6. 'Pure' primitve adverbs 353
6.1.2. Non-primitive adverbs 354
6.2. Derived adverbs 357
6.2.1. Nominal adverbialization 357
6.2.1.1. T-adverbs 358
6.2.1.1.1. **t- -ke**, **t- -ne**, **t- -je**, **t- -e** 'Having' 359

6.2.1.1.2. **t- -pore, t- -re** ‘Having a good N’ 363
6.2.1.2. I-adverbs 364
6.2.1.2.1. **i- -nna** ‘Not having’ (Privative) 365
6.2.1.2.2. **i- -:ra** ‘Inefficient’ 366
6.2.1.2.3. **i- -poora** ‘Defective, Negative Abilitative’ 368
6.2.1.2.4. **i- -kinje** ‘Having a small N’ 369
6.2.1.2.5. **i- -tïïse** ‘Having a big N, a lot of N’ 370
6.2.2. Verbal adverbialization 370
6.2.2.1. **-të** ‘Potential A’ 370

7. Postpositions 372
7.1. Postpositional morphology 373
7.1.1. Person and number marking 373
7.1.2. Nominalization 377
7.1.3. The reciprocal prefix 377
7.2. The postpositional class as a prototype category 381
7.3. Formal and semantic units 385
7.3.1. Spatial postpositions 386
7.3.1.1. Simple spatial postpositions 386
7.3.1.1.1. Locatives 388
7.3.1.1.2. Directionals 393
7.3.1.1.3. Perlatives 397
7.3.1.2. Derived spatial postpositions 399
7.3.1.2.1. The **-wë/-hkïï** group 402
7.3.1.2.2. The **-o/-na(ka/kïï)** group 404
7.3.1.2.3. Minor groups 407
7.3.2. Relational postpositions 411
7.3.3. Experiencer postpositions 416
7.3.4. Special cases 423
7.3.4.1. The postposition **_:ja** ‘Directional/Dative/Causee/Agent’ 424
7.3.4.2. The postposition **_ke** ‘Instrumental’ 425
7.3.4.3. The postposition **_me** ‘Attributivizer’ 426
7.3.4.4. The postposition **_pe(ke)** ‘Negative Attributivizer’ 429

8. Interrogatives 431
8.1. Nominal interrogatives 434
8.2. Adverbial interrogatives 436
8.2.1. Non-spatial adverbial interrogatives 436
8.2.2. Spatial (**an-**) adverbial interrogatives 439

9. Particles 441
9.1. Grammatical particles 445
9.1.1. Conjunctions 445
9.1.2. Subjunctions 452
9.1.3. Second-position particles 453

9.1.3.1. Predicational particles: **_mo** 'irrealis', **_pitë** 'a sec.', **_pa** 'repetition'.. 453
9.1.3.2. Formal groups: **tahka, hka** and **ka** 458
9.1.3.3. **_to** 'Collective' 465
9.1.4. Scope particles 466
9.1.5. Others 477
9.2. Lexical particles 480
9.2.1. Sentence equivalents 481
9.2.2. Interjections and ideophones 486
9.3. Other possible particles 489

10. Syntax 491
10.1. Introduction 491
10.1.1. Formal units 492
10.1.2 Constituency criteria 493
10.1.3. Semantic-syntactic units: roles and grammatical relations 499
10.1.3.1. Nuclear participants 500
10.1.3.2. Peripheral participants 509
10.2. Phrases 515
10.2.1. Noun phrases 515
10.2.1.1. Possessive noun phrases 515
10.2.1.2. Noun phrases based on nominalizations 522
10.2.1.3. Emergent noun phrases: the problem of noun-noun sequences 525
10.2.2. Verb phrases 532
10.2.3. Postpositional phrases 537
10.2.4. Phrases with scope particles 539
10.3. Clauses and sentences 542
10.3.1. Equative ('verbless') clauses 543
10.3.2. Conjugated (Set I) clauses 545
10.3.2.1. Conjugated copular clauses 545
10.3.2.2. Conjugated intransitive clauses 547
10.3.2.3. Conjugated transitive clauses 549
10.3.3. Remote past clauses 552
10.3.4. Habitual past clauses 554
10.3.5. Negative clauses 555
10.3.5.1. Non-verbal negation 556
10.3.5.2. Verbal negation 558
10.3.6. Questions 560
10.4. Complex sentences 561
10.4.1. Subordinate clauses 564
10.4.1.1. Finite subordinate clauses 565
10.4.1.1.1. **ahtao** clauses 565
10.4.1.1.2. **iweike** clauses 567
10.4.1.2. 'Adverbial' subordinate clauses. 568
10.4.1.2.1. Supine ('purpose-of-motion') clauses 569

        10.4.1.2.2. Posteriority (**-tuuwë**) and cause (**-tëkërë**) clauses........................ 570
      10.4.1.3. Nominalized subordinate clauses........................ 571
        10.4.1.3.1. Absolute clauses........................ 572
        10.4.1.3.2. Relative clauses........................ 573
        10.4.1.3.3. Postpositional clauses........................ 574
    10.4.2. Coordination........................ 579
  10.5. Preliminary observations on rheme and word order........................ 581

11. Lexicon and lexical semantics........................ 583
  11.1. General considerations on the Tiriyó lexicon........................ 583
  11.2. Formatives........................ 584
  11.3. Selected semantic fields........................ 587
    11.3.1. Kinship terms........................ 587
    11.3.2. Color terms........................ 590
    11.3.3. Generic animal words........................ 593
    11.3.4. Body parts........................ 596
    11.3.5. Eating and drinking terms........................ 597
    11.3.6. 'Seizing' and 'getting' verbs........................ 598
    11.3.7. 'Helping' verbs........................ 599
    11.3.8. The verb **ku(ku)** 'evaluate; try; greet; imitate; speak'........................ 603
  11.4. Borrowing........................ 602

Appendices

A. Texts........................ 606

  A1. Asehpë iwehtoponpë, *Asehpë's story*........................ 606
  A2. Naaki iwehtoponpë, *Naaki's story*........................ 628
  A3. Katamïimë siminatë, *the katamïimë liana*........................ 639

B. Preliminary Tiriyó-English Dictionary........................ 642

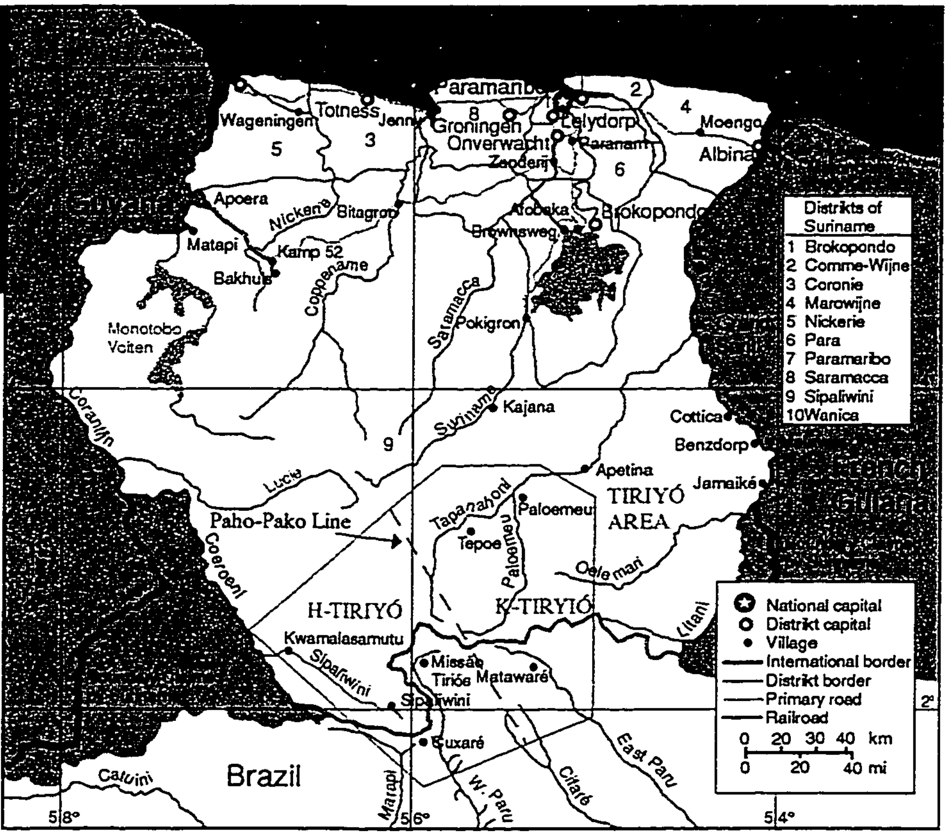
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person non-collective
1+2	first person dual inclusive
1+3	first person exclusive
2	second person non-collective
3	third person non-collective
3AnAna	third person animate anaphoric
3AnInv	third person animate invisible
3AnMd	third person animate medial
3AnPx	third person animate proximal
3AnRm	third person animate remote
3Col	third person collective particle
3InAna	third person inanimate anaphoric
3InInv	third person inanimate invisible
3InMd	third person inanimate medial
3InPx	third person inanimate proximal
3InRm	third person inanimate remote
A	A participant; A-marking
A.act.Nzr	Actual A nominalizer
Abl	Ablative
Ad	Adessive
Adm	Admonitive
Agt	A participant ('Agent') marker
All	Allative
A.pot.Azr	Potential A adverbializer
A.pot.Nzr	Potential A nominalizer
Apprec	Appreciative ('appreciate')
Apprh	Apprehensive ('afraid of')
Aq.Ill	Aquatic Illative
Aq.In	Aquatic Inessive
a.sec	(for) a second
Attn	Attention
Attr	Attributivizer
Aug	Augmentative
Ben	Beneficiative
Caus	Causative; Cause
Cess	Cessative
cfx	circumfix
Char	Characterizative
Circ.Nzr	Circumstance Nominalizer
Cogn	Cognoscitive ('know')
Col	Collective
Cont	Continuative
Cop	Copula
Cty	Certainty
Dat	Dative
Dbt	Doubt
Defc	Defective
Detr	Detransitivizer
Diff	Difficultative
Dim	Diminutive
Dir	Directional
Distr	Distributive
Emph	Emphatic
E.RD	External Reduplication
Exist	Existential
Fidel	Fidelitive
Frust	Frustrative
Fut.Ipf	Future Imperfective
Fut.Prf	Future Perfective
G.Inf	Generic Infinitive
Go.Imper	Allative ('Go') Imperative
Hab	Habitual
Hort	Hortative
Hyp	Hypothetical
I	I-prefix on adverbs ('generic')
Ident	Identificational
Ill	Illative
Ignor	Ignorative ('not know')
Imper	Imperative
In	Inessive
Indef	Indefinite
Ineff	Inefficient
Inst	Instrumental
Intens	Intensifier
Intrg	Interrogative
Irasc	Irascitive
Iter	Iterative
I.RD	Internal Reduplication
Loc	Locative
:N	∅-nominalized verb stem
N.Attr	Negative attributivizer
Neg	Negation; Negative
Neg.Exist	Negative Existential
Npos	Non-possessed

Nzr	Nominalizer
O	O participant; O-marking
O.act.Nzr	Actual O nominalizer
Odi	Odiative
O/S.pot.Nzr	Potential O/S nominalizer
P.Col	Possessor collective
Pej	Pejorative
Perl	Perlative
pfx	prefix
Pos	Possession suffix; possessed form
Post	Posteriority
PP.Col	Possessor+Possessed collective
Prdl	Predilective
Priv	Privative
Prot	Protective
Prs.Ipf	Present Imperfective
Prs.Prf	Present Perfective
Prtcp	Participial
Pst	Past
Pst.Ipf	Past Imperfective
Pst.Prf	Past Perfective
Recp	Reciprocal
Rm.Pst	Remote Past
Rpt	Repetition
S	S participant
S_A	S_A participant; S_A class marker
S_O	S_O participant
S.act.Nzr	Actual S nominalizer
Satis	Satisfactive
sfx	suffix
Sup	Supine (purpose-of-motion)
Super	Superioritive
Surr	'Surrounding' locative
Surpr	Surprise
syn	synonym
T	T-prefix on adverbs
t	irregular **t(ɨ)** on **t**-adding verbs
Tmp	Temporal
Total	Totalitative
Tr	Transitive
Trvzr	Transitivizer
Ven	Venitive
Voc	Vocative
Vzr	Verbalizer
wh.An	Interrogative Animate ('who')
wh.In	Interrogative Inanimate ('what')

1. INTRODUCTION

MAP 1.
South America


Paramaribo
Wageningen
Totness
Jenny
Groningen
Onverwacht
Lelydorp
Zanderij
Paranam
Moengo
Albina
Apoera
Nickerie
Bitagron
Matapi
Kamp 52
Bakhuis
Coppename
Monotobo
Voiten
Saramacca
Afobaka
Brownsweg
Brokopondo
Pokigron
Suriname
Kajana
Cottica
Benzdorp
Jamaiké
Apetina
TIRIYÓ
AREA
Corantijn
Lucie
Paho-Pako Line
Coeroeni
Tapanahoni
Paloemeu
Tepoe
Paloemeu
Oelemari
H-TIRIYÓ
K-TIRIYÓ
Litani
Kwamalasamutu
Sipaliwini
Missão Tiriós
Mataware
Sipaliwini
Cuxaré
Caluini
Brazil
Marapi
W. Paru
Citaré
East Paru
Guyana
French Guiana
1
2
3
4
5
6
8
9
Districts of Suriname
1 Brokopondo
2 Comme-Wijne
3 Coronie
4 Marowijne
5 Nickerie
6 Para
7 Paramaribo
8 Saramacca
9 Sipaliwini
10 Wanica
National capital
District capital
Village
International border
District border
Primary road
Railroad
0 20 30 40 km
0 20 40 mi
58°
56°
54°
2°

MAP 2.
Surinam
and the
Brazilian
Border

1.1. Geography, demography, and economy. The Tiriyó people number around 2,000, living in various villages on both sides of the Brazilian border, close to the Tumucumaque (Tumuc-Humac) mountains, in lowland South America (cf. Maps 1 and 2). Table 1.1 has a list of the main villages, rivers, and estimated populations (demographical data on the Surinam villages from Carlin 1998).

Table 1.1 Geographic distribution of the Tiriyó population

Country	River	Village	Population	Minority Groups
Surinam	Palomeu	Palomeu	50	Wayana, Akuriyó
Surinam	Tapanahoni	Tepoe	200-300	Wayana, Akuriyó
Surinam	Sipaliwini	Kwamalasamutu	800-1,000	Waiwai (Serewu, Tunayana), Sikïyana, Mawayana, Akuriyó
Surinam	Sipaliwini	Sipaliwini	80	Wayana
Brazil	West Paru	Missão Tiriós	700-1,000	Katxuyana(Sikïyana), Tunayana
Brazil	Paru	Mataware	50	
Brazil	Cuxaré	Cuxaré (Marapi)	50	

There is thus a sharp contrast between the three major demographic centers (in Surinam, Kwamalasamutu [kuʋa:maɽa:ʂamu:tu]), with 800-1,000 inhabitants, and Tepoe [təpu], with 200-300 inhabitants; in Brazil, Missão Tiriós, with 700-1,000 inhabitants) and the four smaller villages, Paloemeu (actually a mixed village, with 50 Tiriyó and 50 Wayana), Sipaliwini, Cuxaré and Mataware. The smaller villages seem to be the remnants of the earlier Tiriyó settlement pattern: the larger centers have emerged out of the concentration of populations originally much more widely spread out, as a direct consequence of missionary activity in the early 1960's (cf. Rivière 1969, 1984, Frikel 1971). Modern conveniences are already available in the larger centers: each of them has an airstrip, a nursery or clinic, a school, and some source of electric power. Western medicine is readily available. However, the earlier small-village pattern has left its marks: the three larger centers are organized in a number of small subvillages not far from each other, with distances varying from less than a mile to several miles (for example, at Missão Tiriós, the subvillages would include Sawaru, Patanpë or 'Missão Velha', Oroi Entu, Paaruwaka, etc.). There seem to be other small villages in the area (Carlin 1998 mentions a small Tiriyó group at Kuruni [Coeroeni] and Amatopo, near the Guyana border; Janette Forte [pers. comm.] mentions that a small Tiriyó village has formed in Guyana), and there are also some Tiriyó living among other Amerindian groups (e.g. among the Wayana-Apalaí in the village of Bonna, on the East Paru). The interpersonal tensions in the larger centers have led to a certain tendency toward decentralization via the foundation of new villages, visible both in the Surinamese and in the Brazilian villages. At least in Brazil, this tendency is apparently becoming stronger: the formation of new villages is now encouraged by the missionaries as a means to occupy the land and protect it against squatters.

In all villages, the population is linguistically homogeneous: all speak Tiriyó as their daily language, and the overwhelming majority of the population is monolingual. Languages of other Amerindian groups, if they are conserved at all, are spoken only by the members of these groups, who become fully bilingual in Tiriyó at an early age. The surrounding national languages, Portuguese in Brazil and Dutch and Sranantongo in Surinam, are known only to a very limited extent. Although Western languages enjoy a clear prestige—most people express the desire to learn them, and many believe that they should remain, as they now are, the only languages taught at school—, in practice, very few people have acquired more than a few words, phrases, and sentences. In spite of being taught Portuguese (Missão Tiriós) and Dutch (Kwamalasamutu and Tepoe) at school, most children cannot use it to communicate and address foreigners in Tiriyó instead. Most people welcome with relief any degree of proficiency in Tiriyó by a foreigner. Of course, the main reason for this is the relative isolation of the Tiriyó villages, which keeps the degree of exposure to outside languages very low. As the ties between the Tiriyó and the surrounding national societies become stronger, this situation will probably change.

The Tiriyó have good relations with their immediate neighbors, the Wayana (in Tiriyó *waijana*), who live to the east and southeast of the Tiriyó, in Brazil and French Guiana, and even better relations with the Waiwai (also *waiwai* in Tiriyó), who live to the west and southwest of the Tiriyó, in Brazil and Guyana.[1] Their languages are also Cariban and thus related to Tiriyó, but the differences between them are considerable. To the north, along the Tapanahoni river, live the Ndyuka, a Maroon group with whom the Tiriyó had maintained extensive commercial contact in the past.[2] In fact, a Ndyuka-Tiriyó pidgin language was the basic means of communication between both groups in the 19th and early 20th century. This pidgin has an interesting history, having arisen from the contacts between the Ndyuka and the Tiriyó when the former established themselves along the Tapanahoni river at the end of the 18th century. It was also used by the Ndyuka in their dealings with the Wayana. Nowadays, however, most Amerindians who trade with the Ndyuka use Sranantongo, which has caused the pidgin to decline. Only a few older people remember it now (cf. Huttar & Velantie 1997 for further information, including grammatical details).

As Table 1.1 shows, there are people from other Amerindian groups among the Tiriyó. The Wayana are there basically because of intermarriage (except at Paloemeu, which is a mixed village). The Waiwai have also often intermarried with the Tiriyó; in addition, there is a group of Waiwai (specifically, Serewu and Tunayana) who live among the Tiriyó at Kwamalasamutu. Both the Wayana and the Waiwai usually conserve their language in spite of learning Tiriyó. This is not the case for the Akuriyó, recent newcomers (cf. 1.3) who have a definitely inferior social status (cf. Carlin 1998:13); in their case, Tiriyó has become the mother tongue of the younger generation, and even older speakers have changed their language due to Tiriyó influence (which is facilitated by the fact that Akuriyó, also a Cariban language, is more closely related to Tiriyó than either Wayana or Waiwai; cf. Meira 1998a). The Akuriyó language is not being learned by children anymore. The same can be said for the Mawayana; in fact, Carlin could not find a single speaker at Kwamalasamutu.[3] The language of the Katxuyana and Sikïyana (the two groups speak very close dialects of the same language), also a Cariban language but relatively distant from Tiriyó, has been better preserved; at Missão Tiriós, in Brazil, approximately 100 speakers of all ages remain, and the language is being actively learned by children.

---

[1] There are, however, registers of former wars with the Wayana in the Tiriyó oral tradition (cf. e.g. Koelewijn 1987:262ff. With the Waiwai, on the other hand, the relationship is more fraternal, especially for the Surinam Tiriyó, who are, like the Waiwai, Protestants. Waiwais from Brazil and Tiriyós from Surinam often visit each other. Mutual friendly relations are also the case for the Tiriyó families who live among the Wayana at Bonna, on the East Paru river.

[2] The Tiriyó—and also Wayana and Waiwai—term for them is *meekoro*, a word probably derived from *negro*. The initial *m* is puzzling; it may have resulted from the influence of the Wayana and Waiwai term for capuchin monkey, *meku* (in Tiriyó, *tarïpi*).

Linguistically, the Tiriyó can be divided in two major dialectal groups, here termed K-Tiriyó and H-Tiriyó. This distinction, already noticed by Jones 1972:45 (cf. also Carlin 1998:22), is based on the pronunciation of *h*-clusters (/hk/, /ht/, /hp/, and marginally /hs/). Basically, K-Tiriyó has no /h/, so that *h*-clusters are realized as single consonants with lengthening of the preceding vowel, whereas H-Tiriyó conserves the /h/, which affects, to different degrees, the pronunciation of a following stop (cf. 2.4.2.2). Jones calls H-Tiriyó the 'Sipaliwini dialect' and K-Tiriyó the 'Paru dialect'. The author's field work, however, leads to a somewhat different geographical distribution, with K-Tiriyó spoken in the northeast half of the Tiriyó area, along the East Paru and the Tapanahoni, while H-Tiriyó covers the southwest part, along the Sipaliwini, West Paru, and Cuxaré (Marapi) rivers. In Map 2, the presumed border between these two dialects is indicated as the '*Paho-Pako line*', from the pronunciation of the word for 'father', [pah(h)o] to the west of the line and [pa:ko] to the east.[4]

---

[3] The author, together with Dr. Spike Gildea, was able to locate Mawayana speakers living among the Waiwai during a field trip to their village on the Mapuera river, in Brazil. Even there, however, the language is dying: only a few older people are fully fluent, younger people being at best semi-speakers. The Mawayana language is clearly a member of the Maipuran (Arawakan) family. In view of its moribund state, it needs urgent attention from linguists.

Economically, the Tiriyó are basically self-sufficient. Their diet consists of meat from hunting and fishing, and root crops from small-scale plantations. There is a clear division of labor between the sexes: men usually hunt, fish and cut the fields, men and women cooperate in the planting, and women take care of the fields, harvest the crops, and cook. In Brazil, cattle (water buffaloes) have been introduced by the missionaries. Cassava is their staple food; yams and sweet potatoes are also frequent, as well as banana, pineapple, sugar cane, local fruits (açaí, pupunha, etc.). Given the distance and relative inaccessibility of the Tiriyó villages, the Tiriyó have until now lived independently from the governments of Brazil and Surinam. However, contact with Western civilization has brought desire for Western goods (clothes, firearms, radios, flashlights, batteries, medicines), which they satisfy by trading handicraft and captured animals (there is an especially good marked for songbirds in Surinam). This has led to a favorable attitude towards increasing relations the surrounding Western societies. Most people have already been exposed to a money economy, and seem eager to be more fully integrated.[5]

---

[4] This distribution is based on field trips to Tepoe, Mataware, Kwamalasamutu, Missão Tiriós, and Cuxaré. No detailed dialectal surveys were conducted; rather, the author's daily experience in these villages is used to determine the main dialect spoken there. In spite of the presence of certain individuals who speak the other dialect (apparently because of intermarriage), the dominant dialect is usually obvious. The speakers themselves are aware of the differences and of their geographical distribution. The inclusion of the villages of Sipaliwini and Paloemeu, which the author has not visited, is based on second-hand information obtained from speakers in the other villages.

1.2. Autodenominations. The Tiriyó call themselves *tarëno* [taɽəːnɔ], a word which is not synchronically analyzable. Comparative evidence suggests that it is derived from an earlier word for 'here' (e.g. Karihona [tərə], Apalaí [taro] 'here', from Meira 1998a:10ff), with the adverbial nominalizer *-no* (cf. 4.2.2.2). If this is the case, *tarëno* would mean etymologically 'someone from here', 'a local person'; cf. also Apalaí *tarono*, which has exactly this meaning.[6] Note also the (possibly related) Tiriyó adverb *sarë* 'hither' (cf. 6.1.1.2), and the existential particle *tëërë* (cf. 6.1.1.2); the latter may be the present-day cognate of the Karihona and Apalaí words for 'here' mentioned above (with a change in meaning: 'here' > 'there is').

The word *Tiriyó* or *Trio* (the former, sometimes spelled *Tirió*, generally used in the Brazilian literature, while the latter occurs in Dutch and English publications) is actually pronounced *tïrïjo* [tɨrɨːjɔ]. It is mostly used by non-Tiriyó to refer to the Tiriyó. Sometimes, different groups identify themselves as *tarëno*, and use the label *tïrïjo* for others (a K-Tiriyó speaker once explained the dialectal difference as resulting from the fact that her people were 'the real *tarëno*', while the Missão Tiriós people were 'just *tïrïjo*'). The ending *-jo* or *-so*/*-ʃo* occurs in other names of Cariban groups, apparently derived from animal and plant names (e.g. Akuriyó [compare Tiriyó *akuri* 'agouti'], Akawayo, Aramicho, Maracho[7]). Frikel claimed that *tïrïjo* means 'club people' or 'murder people' (*wohl Keulen- oder Totschlägervolk*, 1957:559); according to one of his Prôuyana consultants, the word comes from *wátüre* 'to kill with a club'.[8] This etymology, as Rivière 1969:17-18 has already pointed out, is not convincing. The word mentioned by Frikel is actually an idiom for 'to kill', literally *wa(a) tïrï* 'to make nothing, to annihilate, to kill' (formed with the negative particle *wa(a)* [cf. 9.1.4] and the *t*-adding verb stem *[t]rï* 'do, make O' [cf. 5.1.3]); the word for 'club', *(si)warapa*, is unrelated. It is not impossible that the word *tïrïjo* be related to *[t]rï* (maybe meaning 'the makers', a possible allusion to a presumably higher technological level). A more interesting (though also, for the time being, speculative) possibility, already mentioned in Meira 1998a:11(fn. 3), is to compare *tïrïjo* with the Kari'na (Carib) word *tïre:wuyu* [tɨɽɛ:ʋuju], the name of a (dialectally and geographically determined) subgroup of Kari'na speakers (cf. Hoff 1968:26). According to Hoff, there are two main Kari'na groups: the *tïre:wuyu* and the *mura:to*. The Kari'na believe that the *mura:to* had intermarried with escaped Negroes (Maroons), but not the *tïre:wuyu* (*mura:to* is an obvious borrowing, originally from Spanish-Portuguese *mulato* 'half-breed'). These two words, if really cognate, are suggestive of a possible closer relationship between Kari'na and Tiriyó.

---

[5] It is interesting to mention that the Tiriyó have two words for Westerners: *karaiwa*, of unknown origin, which is used to refer only to Brazilians, and *pananakiri*, used for other foreigners (presumably with the original meaning 'person from the sea'; the Tiriyós do not have a word for 'sea' anymore, but cf. e.g. Kari'na *parana* 'sea', a borrowing from Tupian [cf. Hoff 1968:14).

[6] This idea came originally from Desrey Fox (pers. comm.).

---

[7] The word *Maraso*, a Tiriyó subgroup according to Friken 1957:541-62 (cf. also Rivière 1969:16ff), may be the source of the Portuguese name of the island of Marajó, in the mouth of the Amazon river.

[8] "Der Name leitet sich gemäß der Erklärung der Prôuyana von *wátüre* ab (= mit der Keule totschlagen). Die Tiriyó wären also das Totschläger- oder Keulenvolk." (1959:525-526).

As was said, the word *tarëno* is used, by and large, as a general autodenomination by all Tiriyó groups, while *tïrïjo* is more frequently used by non-Tiriyós, or by a group of Tiriyós to characterize another. This, however, seems not to have always been the case. Rivière 1969:11 says that *tïrïjo* was the autodenomination of the eastern groups (presumably, K-Tiriyó speakers), while *tarëno* applied only to the western groups. Before Rivière, as Carlin 1998:11 points out, the term *tarëno* is not found in the literature; one wonders if it may be a relatively recent coinage.[9] Given the existence of various different ethnic names, it is also possible that *tarëno* and *tïrïjo* used to refer to only one subgroup each and were later extended to the others. Even today, it is easy to elicit names for ethnic groups (e.g. *okomojana* or 'wasp people', *pïrëujana* or 'arrow (cane) people', *pïropï* or 'chest people', *pïhton* or 'mountain people', *aramajana* or 'bee people', *pijanakoto* 'hawk people', etc.). For further considerations on these ethnic groups, cf. Frikel 1957, 1964, Rivière 1969.

Etymologies for the various village names can also be suggested (except for *Cuxaré* [kuʃarɛ], which appears not to be a Tiriyó word). *Sipaliwini* is probably from *sipari (w)enï* 'stingray container', a reference to the many stingrays of that area. *Tepoe* is actually *tëpu*, the word for 'rock, stone', and refers to a big rock not far from the village. *Mataware* is originally the name of a species of fish. *Paloemeu* may come from *paru-imë*, i.e. the 'big Paru' (cf. 4.2.1.2 on the augmentative *-imë*). *Kwamalasamutu* appears to comprise two elements, one *kuwama*, a kind of bamboo, and the other *samu* 'sand'; it seems to describe a sandy area, with *kuwama*, probably by the river bank. The final syllable *tu* may be an archaic pronunciation of *samu* (more conservative languages have this syllable, or some remnant for it, at the end of the word for 'sand'; e.g. Wayana *hamut*, Akuriyó *tʃamutu*, Karihona *samutu* [cf. Meira 1998a:182]); the syllable *la*, however, remains unexplained.

---

[9] It would not be implausible for the word *tarëno* to have spread as a generic term precisely because it was not the ethnic name of any of the groups and could thus be seen as more neutral.

1.3. A sketch of Tiriyó external history. The earliest mentions in the literature refer not to one group, but to various different tribes inhabiting the territory of the present-day Tiriyó; in many cases, their names still exist, or are remembered, as denominations of Tiriyó subgroups (cf. e.g. Frikel 1957, 1958, 1960). Harcourt (cited in Frikel 1970:8, originally from De Goeje 1943:339) already mentions some of them (Aramagóto, Aramixó, etc.) in 1609-1610. According to Frikel, these groups occupied the area from the Corantijn/Sipaliwini rivers to the Oyapock river, between Brazil and French Guiana. Lombard 1928:124 found references in various documents, dating from 1674 to 1763, to the 'Aramišo' and the 'Armagotu, Armagotous, Aramacoutous' as inhabitants of the southern part of French Guiana, close to the Oyapock river. These groups were later driven out by the invasion of the Oyampi (Wayãpi) Indians, a Tupi-Guaranian group who now occupies these areas, with the help of their allies, the Portuguese.[10] Thus, the former inhabitants were pushed westward, in the direction of the present-day Tiriyó territory, around the Tumucumaque mountains (cf. e.g. Figueiredo 1963, who mentions the

---

[10] Lombard 1928:126 even cites the date of 1736 or 1737: "l'an 1736 ou 1737, les Indiens Armacotous furent attaqués et dispersés par les Indiens des Portugais".

'Aramagóto' of the West Paru). Frikel concludes that these groups, in addition to the ones that were already in the area (he mentions the Salúma/Xarúma; 1970:8), have become the modern Tiriyó.

In general, researchers agree that the Tiriyó are the result of intertribal mixing. It is quite possible that, at some point in the last several hundred years, a series of tribes, speaking related dialects (and perhaps forming a dialect continuum), occupied the area between the Sipaliwini/Corantijn and the East Paru/Tapanahoni. Some of these tribes apparently remained separate, giving rise to the modern Akuriyó and Karihona (the latter having subsequently migrated to Colombia), while the others converged to form the Tiriyó. The origin of this dialect continuum is not clearly understood. Meira 1998a, having reconstructed Proto-Taranoan as the ancestor language of Tiriyó, Akuriyó and Karihona, suggested that Proto-Taranoan speakers may have separated off from a larger group (which possibly included Kari'na, and lived closer to the coast) and gone to the Tumucumaque area, where they may have spread and given rise to the various pre-Tiriyó groups. However interesting, this suggestion remains speculative in the absence of clearer historical data.[11]

At the end of the 18th century, runaway slaves (Maroons) came to live in the areas between the coast and the Tiriyó territory. With one of these groups, the Ndyuka, who lived along the lower Tapanahoni, the Tiriyó seem to have established contact relatively early. They maintained regular commercial relations, which led to the formation of a Ndyuka-Tiriyó pidgin, mentioned by several contemporaneous authors (cf. Huttar & Velantie 1997:101ff). For a while, the Ndyuka were the Tiriyó's only contact with the external world, and thus the only source of valuable items such as knives, axes, beads, red cloth, etc.

---

[11] There are references, in the Tiriyó oral tradition, to a time when the ancestors of the Tiriyó lived together in one big village called Samuwaka (cf. Koelewijn 1987:262, cited in Carlin 1998:8-9). One may feel tempted to analyze these memories as reflecting a Proto-Taranoan 'pre-dialectal-continuum' period; however, given the time depth involved (at least 500 years, according to Meira 1998a:160), this interpretation looks quite unlikely.

Although Westerners on the Surinam coast had heard about the 'Trios' relatively early (Carlin 1998:27 mentions that F. Meyer, originally cited in De Goeje 1943:340, writes, in a report to the governor in 1796, about "a sort of Akolie called Trios" who had been warded off in an attack), the first recorded contact between the Tiriyó and a European took place only in 1843, when Robert Schomburgk came upon a village of "Drio" on the Cutari river. Schomburgk classified them as "a sister tribe of the Pianoghotto" (Schomburgk 1845:84). The following contact was with the French explorer Jules Crevaux, who met a few Trio on the East Paru in 1878, apparently the survivors of an epidemic (Crevaux 1883:261ff). Thus, during the whole 19th century, only two encounters between the Tiriyó and Europeans were recorded.

In the first two decades of the 20th century, three Dutch scientific expeditions reached the area (Herderschee 1905, De Goeje 1906, 1908, Käyser 1912, cited in Carlin 1998), finally producing a better ethnographic and linguistic description of the region. In 1916, the American Farabee crossed the region by the same route as Schomburgk, and met the Tiriyó (whom he called 'Diau') in the same area as his predecessor, where he collected a word list (cf. Farabee 1924:208-211), but added relatively little to what was already known. In 1928, the first contact from the Brazilian side was established when an expedition led by General Rondon came to the area to survey the border. They met some Tiriyó of the Pianakotó group, close to the meeting of the Marapi and West Paru rivers (Rondon 1953:12, 43ff, cited in Frikel 1970:12; Frikel claims that the Tiriyó whom Rondon met were really of the Maraxó subgroup). In 1940-1942, Lodewijk Schmidt, in three journeys to the area of the Tiriyó, traveled through nearly all their territory, gathering very valuable ethnographic data. Based on Schmidt's data, Rivière 1969:36 shows the geographic distribution of Tiriyó villages in 1942. An east-west division is already visible, corresponding to the present-day K- and H-Tiriyó dialect areas respectively. In 1948, Protasio Frikel (then a Roman Catholic priest) visited the area for the first time, collecting information on the various Tiriyó subgroups over the following decades.

Rivière 1969:14 considers Schmidt the last representative of the 'exploratory phase' of the contacts between the Westerners and the Tiriyó. According to Rivière, Frikel's activities in the area culminated with the establishment of a Franciscan mission (the present-day Missão Tiriós on the West Paru), opening what may be called the 'missionary phase'. The Brazilian Air Force (FAB) built the first provisory airstrip in 1958, and a permanent one in 1959, as part of a small air base, on the West Paru. This made the area much more readily accessible. The FAB cooperated actively with the missionaries in building the first provisory mission, which became definitive in 1963. The cooperation was motivated by the idea of placing permanent settlements all around the northern Brazilian border for reasons of national security. The Commander of the First Air Zone (which included the Tiriyó area), Colonel João Camarão Teles Ribeiro, defended the 'FAB-Mission-Indian Trinomial' as a way of creating these settlements, the first of which was precisely Missão Tiriós.

In Surinam, similar changes began in the wake of Operation Grasshopper, an initiative taken by the central authorities to open up the interior by cutting a series of airstrips. In 1960, work was begun on airstrips in the Sipaliwini savanna and on the left bank of the Tapanahoni. This enabled the American Door-to-Life Gospel Mission, which had been granted permission in 1959 to work among the Tiriyó by the Surinamese government, to finally reach them in the spring of 1960. In 1962, the Door-to-Life Gospel Mission collapsed and was replaced by the West Indies Mission (which later became Worldteam). The two main centers of activity, however, remained the same: Alalaparu, on a tributary of the Sipaliwini river, and Paloemeu, on the Tapanahoni. Around 1970, the village of Alalaparu was abandoned, and its inhabitants seem to have moved to Kwamalasamutu.

The Protestant missions in Surinam actively encouraged the concentration of the Tiriyó in the two main centers, since it was believed that larger agglomerations would facilitate the process of conversion to Christianity. Their leader, Rev. Claude Leavitt, used methods that had already worked in the formation of the Waiwai village of Kanashen in Guyana (cf. Yde 1965, Guppy 1958, cited in Frikel 1971:29ff): converted Tiriyós were sent to other villages, where they talked about the 'new good things' that existed in the Mission village, distributed gifts (knives, mirrors, etc.), described the better living standards in the Mission village, and invited the listeners to move there. On the Brazilian side of the border, according to Frikel, there was no active effort to concentrate the population, although some smaller groups did join the Missão Tiriós for protection reasons (1970:32). However, as the Protestant missions in Surinam began to attract people from the upper West Paru and Marapi areas, the Catholic missionaries in Brazil felt concerned and tried to oppose this process. They succeeded in convincing a number of families to come back to Brazil; however, instead of going back to their original areas, they settled around Missão Tiriós. Frikel's statistics indicate that, from an original population of 50-60 people, the Missão Tiriós had already reached 222 inhabitants in 1970.

At about this time, certain non-Tiriyó groups came to live among the Tiriyó. In Surinam, the Waiwai had been present from the start of the missionary phase, mostly because of the fact that the missionaries had first worked with them in Guyana, and they became 'role models' for the Tiriyó in the first phases of Christianization. Contacts between the Waiwai and the Tiriyó remained alive, especially at Kwamalasamutu, which is closer to the Guyana border. There is, to this day, a sizeable Waiwai contingent there, and visiting Tiriyós are frequently found in the Waiwai village on the Mapuera river in Brazil.[12] It seems that the Mawayana who live at Kwamalasamutu have also come from the Mapuera Waiwai village. The Akuriyó, however, have a different history. After sporadic contacts in the late 30's, the Akuriyó were, in 1970-71, contacted by a missionary expedition and convinced to move *en masse* to the Tiriyó villages of Tepoe and Kwamalasamutu. A few Akuriyó seem to have remained in the area where they were contacted, along the Oelemari river and in the Oranje mountain range, but most of them agreed to go to the Tiriyó villages. There, they acculturated linguistically to Tiriyó (a process which was facilitated by the high degree of lexical and grammatical similarity between the two languages, comparable to that between Portuguese and Spanish; cf. Meira 1998a); only a handful of older people retain some knowledge of their language, with heavy Tiriyó influence. Because of their originally lower technological level, the Akuriyó were not treated as equals by the Tiriyó; to this day, their social status remains definitely inferior.

---

[12] During a field trip among the Waiwai on the Mapuera, the author and Dr. Gildea were informed of a joint effort, by the Waiwai and the Tiriyó from Kwamalasamutu, to open a permanent path between their villages, so as to facilitate visits.

In Brazil, the late 60's saw the migration of the Katxuyana to Missão Tiriós from their original area on the Kaxúru river, a tributary of the Trombetas, in Brazil, where epidemics had almost killed them off (cf. Frikel 1970:47ff, 1971:34). In 1968, reduced to 64 individuals (all related, so that there were no intergrupal marriage possibilities left), suffering from tuberculosis and skin diseases, the Katxuyana were transported by the FAB to Missão Tiriós; in 1969, an additional 13 Ewarhoyana/Káhyana were brought from the Kaxpakúru river. The Tiriyó, with whom the Katxuyana had had previous experiences, had given them permission to move. There, they recovered, after receiving medical care, and intermarried with the Tiriyó. Nowadays, there are over 100 Katxuyana (including here subgroups like the Sikïyana, Ewarhoyana and Káhyana) among the Tiriyó. Unlike the Akuriyó in Surinam, the Katxuyana do not have an inferior social status; rather, they have kept a certain independence and pride (they have built their own subvillage). Their language, which, although Cariban, is definitely different from Tiriyó (it is closer to Hixkaryana and Waiwái; its distance from Tiriyó is perhaps comparable to the distance between English and Icelandic), is still actively learned by children. In the past thirty years, it seems to have undergone important changes due to Tiriyó influence (e.g., according to Gildea [pers. comm.], among younger speakers, the use of the Katxuyana *t- -txe* verb form is now very similar to that of its Tiriyó cognate *t- -se* 'remote past' [cf. 5.4.3.1.2]). Young and middle-aged speakers have apparently stopped using certain words (especially particles), which they admittedly do not understand anymore, though they are still found in the speech of older people. The fact that these changes must have taken place over the last thirty years, since the Katxuyana emigrated *en masse* to Missão Tiriós (cf. Frikel 1970) makes Katxuyana a very interesting case for a sociolinguistic study of language contact.

At present, the situation of the Tiriyó is as was described above in 1.1 and 1.2. It is interesting to find some smaller villages (Sipaliwini, Mataware, Cuxaré) besides the three larger centers, since most researchers had claimed that there were none left (e.g. Rivière 1969:16, Frikel 1971:33). It is not clear whether all or some of these villages are remnants of older, non-assimilated small villages, or instead more recent phenomena. At any rate, a certain tendency towards forming new small villages can now be discerned. At Missão Tiriós, this is being encouraged by the missionaries as a means to occupy and protect their land; in Surinam, the inevitable conflicts brought about by large agglomerations are leading people in this direction. At any rate, the most obvious feature of the present situation of the Tiriyós is that, although they retain a very high level of autonomy (mostly due to living in an area of difficult access), they are becoming increasingly more interested in strengthening their ties with the surrounding Western societies.

It is at best temerarious to speculate about the future of any human group. However, the Tiriyó seem eager to be integrated into the surrounding society. They have visited Western cities (Paramaribo in Surinam, Macapá and Belém in Brazil); especially among the young, this seems to have brought the desire to become a part of their more complicated and thus more fascinating society. Transmitters of Western cultural values, such as radios, television sets, and even VCRs, can now be found among the Tiriyó of the three major centers. Although the language is not in immediate danger, it is not difficult to see that these new elements are precisely the ones capable of sapping its strength and viability. Even their very physical survival, which seemed to be definitely assured not so long ago due to the decrease in the mortality rate brought about by Western medicine, has become more dubious since the discovery of a few cases of HIV-positive individuals. In spite of that, the best thing to say is perhaps that their future—like our own—is hardly predictable.

1.4. Previous work on Tiriyó. Anthropological studies on the Tiriyó are not plentiful. The works of Protasio Frikel (1957, 1958, 1960, 1961a-b, 1964, 1966, 1970, 1971, 1973, and also Frikel & Cortez 1972) are very rich and stimulating, and certainly worth consulting. Peter Rivière, however, has convincingly criticized several of Frikel's viewpoints, while making substantial contributions to our knowledge about this group (1963, 1969, 1971, 1981, 1984; cf. also Rivière's contribution to Koelewijn 1987). These two authors should be considered as the basic reference for anyone interested in knowing more about the Tiriyó; both provide extensive bibliographies of earlier relevant works. A more popular approach to some aspects of Tiriyó culture can be found in Plotkin 1994. Heyde 1992 treats some aspects of the history of Surinamese Amerindians. Some general details can also be found in wider-scope history books such as Bakker et al. 1998.

Linguistic works on the Tiriyó language are few and usually poor in details. Schomburgk apparently did not record anything about the language during his first encounter with the Tiriyó; the first word list of their language seems to be Crevaux 1882, a list of 29 items, with two additional sentences in Ndyuka-Tiriyó pidgin. De Goeje 1909 is a much richer source of information, including a short grammar sketch and a sizeable vocabulary, from which the reader can have a first real glimpse of the language; however, it is fairly short, and has many inaccurate and inconsistent transcriptions.

The other studies, all rather limited in scope, date from more recent times. On the phonology of Tiriyó, there are Migliazza 1965, a tentative exploratory study, and Jones 1972, a more careful, but still quite short, work (the first one to mention the two dialects, here called K- and H-Tiriyó); Meira 1997, 1998b deal with specific aspects (the status of [ɸ], [ɲ] and [h], and rhythmic stress, respectively). On the morphology, Wallace 1980, 1983 can be cited, short studies on the verbal morphology and on possessive prefixes respectively; Carlin 1997 deals with the morphosyntax of possession. A longer work, unfortunately still unpublished, is Leavitt (ms.), which presents most of the morphological elements; it is intended to help missionaries become acquainted with the language. Meira 1998a also describes certain aspects of Tiriyó morphology in a comparative perspective. No work (except for the present one) has treated Tiriyó syntax. Letschert 1998 is a first tentative (Portuguese-Tiriyó) dictionary; Plomp & Plomp 1986, a longer Dutch-Tiriyó, Tiriyó-Dutch word list, has additional data. A good collection of texts (though speakers have criticized it as containing transcription errors) is Koelewijn 1984, two volumes with 105 traditional narratives told by older speakers (Koelewijn 1987 contains English translations of 100 of them). Sanëpë et al. 1977 contains texts written by native speakers about a trip to Paramaribo, the capital of Surinam. Texts translated into Tiriyó can be found in Worldteam 1979, 1982 (a translation of the New Testament and a hymnal, respectively); Leavitt 1981, a Tiriyó phrase book, also contains expressions translated by the author. It goes without saying that translations are much less valuable than original texts.

The above is, as far as is known, an exhaustive list of publications on the Tiriyó language. The author hopes that the present work will add a significant contribution to this bibliography.

1.5. An overview of the Tiriyó language. Tiriyó is a member of the Cariban language family, a group of 40-60 genetically related languages spoken in lowland South America in the Amazon, Orinoco and Xingu basins. Most of them remain, to this day, chronically underdescribed; in fact, the hesitation in the number of languages comes from the fact that many of them are known from little more than short word lists, so that it is not possible to tell whether they are dialects or independent languages. For further details on the current state of Cariban linguistics, cf. Gildea 1998.

The position of Tiriyó within the family is not clear. A satisfactory classification of Cariban languages has yet to be done; the three extant ones (Girard 1971, Durbin 1977, Kaufman 1994) have all been convincingly criticized (cf. Gildea 1998:3-11, in which the three classifications are reproduced). In particular, Durbin's classification has several major flaws, one of which concerns Tiriyó. By giving too much importance to a certain phonetic change (p > ɸ), Durbin placed Tiriyó and Karihona in two different major branches of the family, a position first taken in Durbin & Seijas 1973 and reiterated in Durbin 1977. However, these two languages are so close that they can be shown to form a minor sub-branch within the family, which Meira 1998a (in which Akuriyó is also added) has termed 'Taranoan' (from *tarëno*, the current autodenomination of the Tiriyó, the most widely spoken of the three languages). A similar sub-branch is posited by both Kaufman and Girard; the phonology and inflectional morphology of the protolanguage of this sub-branch is tentatively reconstructed in Meira 1998a. Thus, all that is known thus far is that, of all Cariban languages, Karihona and Akuriyó are the closest ones to Tiriyó. As was mentioned in 1.3 above, Meira 1998a speculates about a link between Taranoan languages and Kari'na (Carib), but the evidence on this matter is not conclusive.

Tiriyó is a fairly typical Cariban language (although some divergences are noted below). Its phonology is relatively simple, with seventeen segments (seven vowels and ten consonants), a rich set of vowel sequences, but only a few possible consonant clusters. There is an interesting system of iambic stress, and at least two kinds of reduplication. There is also a very pervasive allomorphic pattern of syllable reduction, involving changes in the final and/or initial syllable of a considerable number of stems.

Tiriyó morphology is also typical of its family, intermediate between the highly isolating Jê languages and the highly synthetic Arawakan family (cf. Doris Payne 1990, and also Derbyshire 1987, 1986b). In terms of richness of inflectional morphology and its degree of fusion, Tiriyó (and Cariban languages in general) could be compared to families like, for instance, Romance or Uto-Aztecan. Verbs, nouns and postpositions inflect for person, with four person distinctions (first person, second person, third person, and first person dual inclusive, i.e. 1, 2, 3 and 1+2), and for number, distinguishing collective—or rather, totalitative—from non-collective. Person marking on the verb appears at first to follow a typical split-S pattern, but closer inspection shows connections with reflexivization (detransitivization) that should be of interest for case-marking typologists. Verbs have, in addition, a rich system of tense-aspect-mood markers. Nouns, on the other hand, take a number of derivational suffixes that further elaborate their meanings (diminutive, augmentative, predilective, etc.). A further class of adverbs (which includes adjectival stems, not differentiable from other adverbs) does not inflect, but can be nominalized. In fact, verbs, adverbs, and postpositions can all be nominalized in different ways, with different semantic results. Nouns can be verbalized, again with several different affixes resulting in different semantics, but members of other classes must be nominalized before they can be verbalized. In addition, there is a class of particles which comprises all uninflectables (including, besides more 'grammatical' particles, also sound-symbolic words and interjections). A cross-cutting category of interrogatives, comprising nouns and adverbs, can also be established.

Tiriyó syntax is also probably typical of its family, though the lack of studies on Cariban syntax makes this claim difficult to assess. Recognizable constituents include an OV verb phrase, a (possessor-possessed) genitive phrase, and a postpositional phrase; groups of appositional nouns can sometimes have phrase-like properties. In the simple sentence, the ordering of constituents is pragmatically determined, with topical elements tending to occur in initial position. Several kinds of dependent sentences occur, mostly (but not all) non-finite. Case marking depends on the sentence type: in most cases, it is (superficially) split-S, but there are also ergative and nominative sentence types. The two strongest semantic roles are Agent and Patient, with good arguments in favor of Dative as well; all non-Dative obliques can be seen as one broad type of Circumstantials or Peripheral Participants. Grammatical relations (subject, object) are not really useful tools for the description of Tiriyó syntax.

The Tiriyó lexicon includes a high number of surprisingly long monomorphemic stems ('roots'). Bisyllabic roots are less frequent than trisyllabic ones, and stems with four or five syllables are not rare. In many of these stems, a certain number of submorphemic elements ('formatives') can be detected, which are probably older morphemes that should be particularly interesting for comparative studies. Interesting semantic fields include verbs of eating, verbs of seizing, and kinship terms. In the postpositional class, a group of *experiencer* postpositions, with meanings such as 'hate', 'want', 'appreciate', 'know', 'not know', 'be afraid of', 'be favorable to', etc., forms an interesting subgroup.

The above characterization situates Tiriyó as a normal, well-behaved Cariban language. However, the practicing Caribanist may be more interested in a comparison between Tiriyó and other Cariban languages that highlights the unusual features. The following deserve mention:

— There are two reduplicative processes in Tiriyó, here termed external and internal reduplication (cf. 2.6.3). Reduplication in Cariban languages has received very little attention (the only previous mention seems to be Jackson 1972:57, on Wayana). It is apparently not very widespread in the family (e.g. Katxuyana [Gildea, pers. comm.] has no reduplicative process).

— There is an innovative possessive construction, formed with the possessor followed by the third-person form (with a prefix *i-/Ø-*) of the possessed, which replaced the usual Cariban pattern (i.e. the use of possession-indicating suffixes like *-rï*, *-nï*, etc. on the possessed noun; cf. Gildea 1998:112-113); cf. 4.3.1, 10.2.1.1.

— The past imperfective form of the verb (in *-jakë(ne)*) is all but dead, having been replaced by an innovative habitual past in *-se*; the same may be happening with the future imperfective form (in *-jakë(mï)*), if it really is in competition with the particle *_pitë*; cf. 5.4.1.3.2-3, 9.1.3.1.

— The *t- -se* form of the verb, presumably an erstwhile participial or adverbial, has become a fully fledged verb tense, called 'remote past' here (cf. Gildea 1998:218-236); cf. 5.4.3.1.2, 10.3.3.

— The negative form of the verb, which is usually marked with a morpheme that probably reconstructs as **pïra* (e.g. Wayana *-ra*, Kari'na *-hpa* [Hoff 1968:140], Hixkaryana *-hïra* [Derbyshire 1985:238], Apalaí *-pïra/-ra* [Koehn & Koehn 1986:64], Waiwai *-hra* [Hawkins 1998:66]) has in Tiriyó a different marker, the morpheme *-sewa*, which apparently replaced *-pïra* in a 'hermit crab' way (cf. Heath 1998), inheriting the morphosyntax associated with *-pïra* in other Cariban languages; cf. 5.4.3.1.3, 10.3.5.

— The evidential system has been impoverished. The doubt/certainty distinction on the verb does not exist for third-person (cf. 5.4.1.3.4). Accordingly, there is only one third-person copular form in the present gnomic (cf. 5.4.4), instead of the two or three that usually occur in Cariban languages.

— Cariban languages have a system of simple spatial postpositions, which ascribes different postpositions to different kinds of location (usually distinguishing at least 'flat surface', 'open area', 'enclosed place', and 'liquid') and with different postpositions for stative location and motion (i.e. 'essives', 'ablatives', 'allatives' and 'perlatives'); cf. Derbyshire (in print) for a general overview, or Derbyshire 1985:205-219, Koehn & Koehn 1986:100, and Hawkins 1998:103 for the specific cases of Hixkaryana, Apalaí, and Waiwai. In Tiriyó, however, this system has fewer location distinctions, and almost no perlative postpositions; cf. 7.3.1.

— Most of the adverbial interrogatives ('where?', 'whither?', 'when?', etc.) in Tiriyó start with the vowel *a*, also found in the nominal interrogatives ('who?', 'what?', etc.), which, in most known Cariban languages, start with *ə* or *o* (cf. Chap. 8). Meira 1998a:71ff explains this as a replacement of earlier adverbial interrogatives with new ones, based on combinations of *aano* 'which' with various postpositions, with posterior analogical extension of the initial *a* to the other (previously *ə*-initial) interrogatives.

— Most Cariban languages only have non-finite subordinate clauses, usually based on nominalizations or adverbializations. However, cases of subordinate adverbial clauses based on finite (conjugated) verb forms have arisen in Tiriyó, with *ahtao* 'when/if' and *iweike* 'because'; cf. 10.4.1.1.

1.6. Outline of the present work and notational conventions. The present grammatical description attempts to give a first account of all aspects of Tiriyó grammar. It is based on intermittent field work carried out over the last five years, with a total of almost six months spent in five different Tiriyó-speaking villages: Missão Tiriós, Kwamalasamutu, Tepoe, Bonna (mostly a Wayana village), and Mataware. A short one-day trip to Cuxaré, in which it was established that this village belongs to the H-Tiriyó dialectal area, can also be included. This field work led to a corpus of approximately twenty texts of varying length and style, and several notebooks of elicitation. All examples used here come from this corpus. Furthermore, the author was able to acquire a reasonable degree of fluency in the language, which made it possible to observe many linguistic phenomena in monolingual conversations among native speakers.

The present work follows a rather traditional organizational style. Chapter 2 treats the phonology. Chapter 3 introduces the morphological units, defines the lexical classes and discusses the cross-categorial semantic distinctions. Chapters 4-9 discuss the morphology of each lexical category. Chapter 10 introduces the necessary syntactic units and semantic concepts, and proceeds to a description of the syntax of constituents, clauses, and simple and complex sentences.

In general, the description adheres to the following notational conventions:

(a) slashes (/ /) = 'underlying', 'phonemic' representation (with symbols as in Table 2.1)
(b) brackets ([ ]) = 'surface', 'phonetic' representation (with IPA symbols);
(c) parentheses = syllables that follow the syllable reducing pattern (cf. 2.6.2)
(c) dots (.) = syllable boundaries;
(d) dashes (-) = morpheme boundaries;
(e) underscores (_) = clitic boundaries;
(g) colons (:) = phonetic (non-distinctive) vowel length;
(h) number symbols (#) = pauses;
(i) asterisks (*) = incorrect or non-attested form.

In the description of the phonology (Chap. 2), morphemes are cited in slashes (e.g. "the suffix /-ne/"), to stress the fact that they are being viewed only from the perspective of their pronunciation. In other chapters, all language data are in boldface. Furthermore, in the non-phonology chapters, elements in brackets in a cited morpheme (in boldface) represent irregular stem allomorphic patterns (e.g. the t-adding verb stems; cf. 5.1.3).

In the grammar, interlinear glosses follow a four-line system (original utterance in the first line, morphemic analysis in the second line, glosses in the third line, and a free translation in the fourth line). In the texts (Appendix A), the morphemic analysis line is broken into two lines, so that morphophonological changes can be better viewed. Glosses are as given in the list of abbrevations. A dot is used to link words in multiple-word glosses (e.g. 'Prs.Prf' for 'Present Perfective'). In the grammar, non-segmental ('∅' or lengthening) allomorphs are not segmented; their glosses are linked to the following or preceding ones by a colon. Thus, the verb form **wene** 'I see him/her/it' has a first-person prefix **w-** and zero allomorphs of the present imperfective (-(**ja**)) and certainty (**-e**) suffixes on the verb stem **ene** 'see'; it is segmented as **w-ene** (rather than **w-ene-∅-∅**) and glossed as '1A-see:Prs.Prf:Cty'. In the texts, again to facilitate the visualization of morphophonology, zero allomorphs are segmented out and glossed like all other elements.[13]

---

[13] A special case is that of the 'Specific Infinitive' or '∅-nominalized verb form'. As is discussed in 4.2.2.1.4, there is no zero suffix; rather, verb stems can be used as nouns, under certain circumstances, without any additional morphology. The nominal use of a verb stem is thus glossed with a ':N' appended to the gloss of the verb stem (i.e. 'see:N', 'go:N', 'hear:N', etc.), both in the grammar and in the texts.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1. Introduction. The phonology of Tiriyó is relatively simple and straightforward. There are only seventeen distinctive segments, seven vowels (all of which can be simple or geminated) and ten consonants (cf. 2.2). The relevant phonological domains are: syllable, word, and utterance. Syllables conform to the (C)V(V)(C) template; phonological words are combinations of syllables with a few restrictions (cf. 2.4) There are many vowel sequences, but relatively few consonant clusters (always heterosyllabic), always involving either /h/ or a nasal as the first element; the pronunciation of /h/ clusters can be used to define two independent dialects (cf. 2.4.2.2). There is a rhythmic stress system, sensitive to syllable weight, of the iambic type (cf. Hayes 1995), based on pitch and vowel length (i.e. Tiriyó has both phonetic long vowels and 'phonemic' long vowels, in the form of sequences of identical vowels); its domain is the phonological word, including cliticized material (cf. 2.5.1). The most important morphophonological processes include ablaut (2.6.1), two kinds of reduplication (2.6.3), as well as syllable reduction and loss (which can occur word-finally in situations that are reminiscent of cases such as the *liaison* in French and certain kinds of Celtic floating elements, in that the realization of the final syllable of certain words depends on the phonological nature of the following word; cf. 2.6.2).

2.2. Segments. Table 2.1 shows all the seventeen distinctive segments of Tiriyó (seven vowels and ten consonants), represented with the orthographic symbols used throughout this grammar sketch.

Table 2.1
Tiriyó distinctive segments.

Consonants						Vowels			
	Lab	Alv	Pal	Vel	Glo		Front	Central	Back
Ocl	p	t		k		High	i	ï	u
Fri		s			h				
Nas	m	n				Mid	e	ë	o
Liq		r							
Gli			j	w		Low		a	

2.2.1. Consonants. The **stops** are /p/, /t/, and /k/. /p/ is a bilabial stop, less strongly articulated than is usual for [p] in European languages, to the point that it may have some friction in fast speech, especially when it is the onset of the last syllable of a word: thus /iputupë/ 'his/her head', in less careful speech, can come very close to [ipu:tuβə] (but [p] occurs in slow speech and always remains possible, even in fast speech). /t/ is an alveopalatal stop, and /k/ is a velar stop, i.e. [t] and [k]. All stops are usually voiceless; voiced pronunciations can be found word-internally, especially in nasal clusters (i.e. /mp/, /nk/, and less frequently /nt/, can be heard as [mb], [ŋg], and [nd]), but voiceless pronunciations, even in these cases, remain acceptable, especially in slow speech. In one of the two main Tiriyó dialects (cf. 2.4.2.2), /p/ and /k/ in /h/+stop clusters occur as fricatives ([ϕ] and [h] ~ [x]); in the other dialect, they remain as [p] and [k].

The **fricatives** are /s/ and /h/. /s/ is a voiceless palatal fricative, ranging from [ʂ] to [ʃ] (the latter more frequent when the following vowel is /i/) in pronunciation; certain speakers can even have a true [s]. It is never voiced. /h/ can be a voiceless glottal fricative ([h]), but it often takes the form of a voiceless continuation of the preceding vowel (i.e. it becomes more palatal (close to [ç]) when preceded by /i/, and more velar (close to [x]) when preceded by /u/). It occurs only syllable-finally, and only in H-Tiriyó, one of the two main dialects; in the other dialect, K-Tiriyó, /h/ corresponds to vowel length (cf. 2.4.1.2).

The **nasals** are /m/ and /n/. /m/ is a bilabial nasal, apparently undistinguishable from the [m] found in European languages. /n/ is an alveopalatal nasal (i.e. [n]) syllable-initially. At the end of a syllable, /n/ is realized as [ŋ], if nothing follows (i.e. utterance-finally, or if a pause is made after it in very slow speech; cf. 2.3.1). If a consonant follows, /n/ assimilates to it, even across word boundaries (cf. 2.4.2.1).[1] Utterance-finally, the velar realization [ŋ] sometimes comes close to being simply the nasalization of the preceding vowel.

The only **liquid** is /r/, a flap with some lateral release. It sounds rather different from the non-lateral flaps often found in European langauges (e.g. Spanish or Italian [ɾ]); phonetically, it lies somewhere between a laterally released flap ([ɺ]) and a retroflex flap ([ɽ]).

---

[1] In fact, the point of articulation of a syllable-final nasal is always predictable from what follows it. This amounts to saying that the /n/ - /m/ opposition is neutralized syllable-finally; strictly speaking, there is an undefined nasal N in this position. For orthographic simplicity, N has been treated here as a positional variant of the least marked nasal consonant /n/.

The **glides** are /j/ and /w/. /j/ is a palatal glide, very close to [j] as found in many European languages. When followed by /i/, it often has some additional friction, approaching [ʒ] or [dʒ], but [j] remains possible, especially in slow speech. /w/ is a labiovelar glide with very little (if any) lip rounding (i.e. it is close to [ʋ], a labial approximant). When followed by /i/ or /e/, some friction is usual (coming close to [β]). Because of its behavior in nasal cluster assimilation, in which its velar character is dominant (the sequence /nw/ is realized as [ŋʋ]; cf. 2.4.2.1), /w/ is classified as a velar consonant in Tiriyó.

(1) Minimal/analogous sets:

/p/, /m/, /w/	/p/, /m/, /w/, /k/	/t/, /n/	
[əpə] 'about you'	[ɛpa] 'her vulva'	[pata] 'place'	[mɔtɔ] 'worm'
[əmə] 'you'	[ɛma] 'throw it!'	[pana] 'ear'	[mɔnɔ] 'big'
[əʋə] 'later'	[ɛʋa] 'his/her rope'		
	[ɛka] 'his/her name'	[ɔ:ta] 'hole'	
		[ɔ:na] 'nose'	

/n/, /ɾ/		/n/, /ɾ/, /s/	/t/, /s/, /j/
[ʋanə] 'honey'	[ɛnɨ] 'his/her container'	[jɛnɛ] 's/he saw me'	[ma:ta] 'not far'
[ʋaɽə] 'I took'	[ɛɽɨ] 'her vagina'	[jɛɽɛ] 'my liver'	[ma:ʂa] 'a little far'
		[jɛʂɛ] 'liking teeth'	[maja] 'knife'

/n/, /j/		
[nɛnɛ] 's/he saw him/her/it'	[kɨnɛ] 's/he came'	[jijɔ:tɔ] 'my lover'
[jɛnɛ] 's/he saw me'	[kɨjɛ] 'liking us'	[jinɔ:tɔ] 'afraid of me'

/t/, /j/

[pɨtai] ‘sandals’
[pɨjai] ‘shaman’

/m/, /n/

[mɔnɔ] ‘big, big one’
[nɔnɔ] ‘earth, land’

2.2.2. Vowels. /a/, /i/, /u/ are very close to the cardinal vowels [a], [i], [u], without much appreciable variation (except that /a/ is slightly raised when followed by a tautosyllabic nasal; phonetically, it may come very close to /ë/ in this position, though speakers still clearly distinguish them and immediately correct mispronunciations.).

/e/, /o/ usually occur as lax mid vowels ([ɛ], [ɔ]), though tense realizations ([e], [o]) sometimes happen, especially word-finally or when followed by a nasal consonant; the vowel sequences /ëe/ and /eu/ also tend to be realized tense ([əe], [eu]).

/ë/, /ï/ are the mid and high central vowels, closest to [ə] and [ɨ], respectively. Especially when following labial consonants, /ï/ may tend towards [ɯ].

(2) Minimal sets for vowel quality

all vowels:

[əpa] ‘your grandson’, ‘vulva’
[əpə] ‘about you’
[əpɨ] ‘your wife’
[əpi] ‘medicine (non-poss.)’
[əpɛ] ‘your forehead’
[əpɔ] ‘your clothes’
[əpu] ‘main pole (non-poss.)’

/a/, /ë/

[a^{i}ɲɲa] ‘we (exclusive)’
[əˈɲɲa] ‘hand’

[kɨta:ti] ‘we all are’
[kɨtə:ti] ‘we all are going’

[ampɔ] ‘where?’
[əmpɔ] ‘on your back’

/u/, /ï/, /ë/

[tuɽəe] ‘talked, warned’
[tɨɽəe] ‘made’
[təɽəe] ‘took, taken’

Most cases of phonetic vowel length are the result of the stress system and thus non-distinctive; however, there are ‘underlyingly long’ vowels (in fact, sequences of identical vowels; cf. 2.5.1.1 for how to distinguish them). The following minimal pairs establish this fact (cf. also 2.6.6 for word-initial vowel lengthening as one of the allomorphs of the second-person prefix /ë-/, generating cases in which vowel length is the only factor differentiating second from third-person forms, as in the 'your arm' vs. 'his/her arm' contrast in (3)).

(3) Minimal pairs for distinctive vowel length.

[jɛka] 'my name'	[kɨja] 'cricket sp.'	[munu] 'blood'	[apə] 'his/her arm'
[jɛ:ka] 's/he bit me'	[kɨ:ja] 'to us'	[mu:nu] 'kind of bait'	[a:pə] 'your arm'

[jɛku] 'he had sex with me'	[nana] 'pineapple'	[pitɔ] 'spittle (ideophone)'
[jɛ:ku] 'my sap; my source'	[na:na] 'what's-his-name'	[pi:tɔ] 'cousin'

[mə:ɽə] 'that one (animate)'
[məɽə] 'that one (inanimate)'

In the phonemic transcription, and in the orthography used in the remainder of this work, 'long' vowels are written as sequences of identical vowels: /jeeka/, /kïïja/, /muunu/, /aapë/, /jeeku/, /naana/, /piito/.

2.3. Phonological domains. Before describing the distribution of the segmental units, as well as the processes that operate on them, it is necessary to know the various relevant domains in terms of which these phenomena are best stated. In Tiriyó, three domains have phonological relevance: the *syllable*, the *(phonological) word*, and the *utterance*.[2] In the following paragraphs, these domains will be defined, and their main characteristics will be presented.

---

[2] The syntactic *phrases* that occur in Tiriyó (Possessive Noun Phrase, Verb Phrase, Postpositional Phrase; cf. 10.2) also present a certain level of phonological unity, mainly expressed through the intonational contour. Their phonological properties are still being researched. Cf. also 2.6.3.1.2 for the ambiguous status of reduplicated words.

2.3.1. The syllable. The syllabic domain can be thought of as a group of segments that is pronounced together in one articulatory movement. There are three main criteria for defining and classifying syllables in Tiriyó:

(a) Pauses. When pronounciation is sufficiently slow, syllables are separated by small pauses; syllable-final consonants are then treated as if they were utterance-final. This tends to happen only in elicitation, or (rarely) when an unknown word is being explained for the first time. The examples below were obtained in elicitation:

(4a)	/amatakana/	'small toucan'	[a # ma # ta # ka # na]
(b)	/kïtënne/	'Let's go!'	[kɨ # təŋ # nɛ]
(c)	/nenpa/ [nempa]	'S/he taught'	[neŋ # pa]
(d)	/moikë/	'small ant'	[mɔi # kə]
(e)	/tëekarama/	'I gave myself'	[təɛ # ka # ɾa # ma]

(b) Stress. The iambic stress system of Tiriyó depends on syllable weight: (C)V ('light') syllables are treated differently from other ('heavy') syllables (cf. 2.5.1 for details and more examples). The stress patterns clearly show that two-vowel sequences are tautosyllabic:

(5a)	/kïtaitëtëne/	'We all pushed O'	[kɨ.tái.tə.tə́:.nɛ]	* [kɨ.tá:.i.tə́:.tə.nɛ]
(b)	/kïtëewetï/	'We (two) have eaten O'	[kɨ.tə́e.ʋɛ.tɨ]	* [kɨ.tə́:.e.ʋɛ́:.tɨ]
(c)	/kïneurëpo/	'S/he made O bark'	[kɨ.néu.ɾə.pɔ]	* [kɨ.né:.u.ɾə́:.pɔ]

(d)	/ëtoimatëkë/	‘You all get mixed!’	[ə.tɔ́i.ma.tə́ː.kə]	* [ə.tɔ́ː.i.máː.tə.kə]
(e)	/kïnaeruta/	‘S/he made noises’	[kɨ.náɛ.ɽu.ta]	* [kɨ.náː.ɛ.ɽúː.ta]

(c) Reduplication. External reduplication, one of the two reduplicative processes in the language, is also sensitive to syllable weight (cf. 2.6.3 for details, more examples, and coda restrictions). If the first syllable of the base word is light (i.e. (C)V), the reduplicative domain includes the first two syllables; if the first syllable is heavy, then it is the only syllable in the reduplicative domain (a dash separates the reduplicant from the base):

(6a)	/wekarama/	‘I gave’	→	/weka - wekarama/	‘I gave many times’
(b)	/maitëne/	‘You pushed it’	→	/mai - maitëne/	‘You pushed many times’
(c)	/wenpae/	‘I am teaching it’	→	/wee - wenpae/	‘I keep teaching it’

2.3.1.1. The problem of trivocalic sequences. Trivocalic sequences are very rare in Tiriyó. Most of the cases in which a morphological process should generate one of them actually fail to do so (cf. 2.6.4). However, the following isolated cases of $V_iV_jV_k$ sequences were found:

— The verb stem /ao/ ‘swell’, with vowel-initial suffixes (/-e/ ‘Certainty’, the /-e/ allomorph of the /-se/ morpheme (cf. 5.4.3.1), the /-i/ ‘Hypothetical’):

(6a)	/jaoe/	‘I am swelling’[3]
(b)	/kaoi/	‘We would swell / have swollen’

---

[3] Some speakers have /jaojae/ rather than /jaoe/, which frees them from this problem.

— The transitive verb stem /ëu/ ‘remove O’, only with the /-i/ ‘Hypothetical’:

(7) /wëui_mo/ ‘I would have removed it’

— Nouns ending in a /Vu/ sequence followed by the augmentative suffix /-imë/:

(8) /ëkëreu-imë/ ‘big, scary disease’

The low frequency of these sequences makes them clearly marginal cases.[4] As a consequence, their syllabic status fluctuates:

(i) Pauses were sometimes inserted and sometimes not, by the same speaker:

(9a) /jaoe_pitë/ ‘I swell, for a second’ [jaɔɛ # pi # tə] ~ [ja # ɔɛ # pi # tə]
(b) /taoe_to/ ‘They swelled’ [taɔɛ # tɔ] ~ [ta # ɔɛ # tɔ]
(c) /taoe_marë_to/ ‘They swelled, too’ [taɔɛ # ma # ɽə # tɔ] ~ [ta # ɔ # ɛ # ma # ɽə # tɔ]

(ii) Iambic stress treats $V_iV_jV_k$ sequences ambiguously, as $V_i.V_jV_k$ or $V_iV_jV_k$ (but not as $V_iV_j.V_k$ or $V_i.V_j.V_k$):

(10a) /jaoe_pitë/ ‘I swell, for a second’ [jaɔ́ɛ.pi.tə] (i.e. /jaoe.pi.të/ or /ja.oe.pi.të/)
(b) /taoe_pa_to/ ‘They swelled again’ [taɔ́ɛ.pa.tɔ] (i.e. /taoe.pa.to/ or /ta.oe.pa.to/)
not */jao.e.pi.të/, */ja.o.e.pi.të/
*/tao.e.pi.të/, */ta.o.e.pi.të/

(iii) Reduplication gives no clue to syllabification

(11) /jaoe/ ‘I am swelling’ → /jao - jaoe/ ‘I keep swelling’ (i.e. /jao.e/, /jao.e/, /ja.oe/, or /jaoe/)

---

[4] For /jaoe/ ‘I am swelling’, and other forms of /ao/ ‘to swell’, there is some dialectal variation: one Surinamese speaker from Tepoe (in the K-Tiriyó area) said /jaojae/ (with the /-ja/ allomorph of the present imperfective suffix; cf. 5.4.1.3.1) instead of /jaoe/.

Of the two possibilities in (ii), the heterosyllabic analysis ($V_i.V_jV_k$) unnecessarily violates the generalization that word-internal onsetless syllables do not occur (cf. 2.4.1). The only other possibility allowed by (ii) is the tautosyllabic analysis ($V_iV_jV_k$); therefore, it will be preferred here.[5] This would imply adding a new heavy syllable type, $(C)V_iV_jV_k$, to the ones listed in 2.4.1; owing, however, to its rarity, and to the fluctuations noted in (i), it will be considered as a marginal type.

2.3.2. The phonological word. The phonological word domain is composed of a grammatical word (cf. 3.1) combined with cliticized material. The two following criteria are relevant to its identification (an underscore character (_) marks the link between a clitic and the word to which it cliticizes):

(a) Rhythmic stress (cf. 2.5.1). This prosodic process has the phonological word as its domain; it can thus be used as a definitional criterion. As can be seen in the examples below, the particle /_marë/ 'also' may cliticize to the preceding material, forming a single phonological word (i.e. a single rhythmic stress domain), while the verb form /marë/ 'you took O away' (from the verb stem /arë/ 'to take O away', with the second-person A-marking prefix /m-/) does not:

(12a) /kïnoro/ 'macaw sp.' + /_marë/ → [kɨ.nɔ́ː.ɽɔ_máː.ɽə] 'the macaw, too'
(b) /kana/ 'fish' + /_marë/ → [ka.náː_ma.ɽə] 'the fish, too'
(c) /kïnoro/ 'macaw sp.' + /marë/ → [kɨ.nɔ́ː.ɽɔ ma.ɽə] 'You took the macaw'
(d) /kana/ 'fish' + /marë/ → [ka.ná ma.ɽə] 'You took the fish'

---

[5] It would be possible to imagine an analysis such as $V_iV_i.V_j.V_k$ (i.e. a heavy syllable followed by two onsetless syllables, the first of which having a long vowel; e.g. [jáá.ɔ.ɛ́ɛ́.pi.tə] for (9a). Besides going twice against the ban on word-internal onsetless syllables, this analysis is an unnecessary, *ad hoc* complication. *Entia* (and one might add, *complicationesque*) *non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem.*

Usually, these criteria suffice to determine whether or not a sequence of morphemes forms one phonological word or not.[6] There are, however, certain cases of fluctuation that suggest the existence of some combinations of elements that have intermediate status. For instance, the monosyllabic forms of the copula in the present gnomic tense, /wae/ 'I am' and /nai/ 's/he is', behave like clitics, forming one phonological word with what precedes; the bisyllabic forms, however (/manae/ 'you are' and /kïtae/ 'we [dual inclusive] are'), may optionally not cliticize:

(13a) /kure_wae/ 'I am well' [ku.ɽɛ́ː_waɛ]
(b) /kure_nai/ 'S/he is well' [ku.ɽɛ́ː_nai]

(c) /irë_po manae/ 'You are there' [i.ɽə́ː._pɔ ma.naɛ] ~ [i.ɽə́ː._pɔ_máː.naɛ]
(d) /irë_po kïtae/ 'We are there' [i.ɽə́ː._pɔ kɨ.taɛ] ~ [i.ɽə́ː._pɔ_kɨ́ː.taɛ]

(b) Syllable reduction. This morphophonological process can be used to diagnose clitic status in the cases to which it applies (cf. 2.6.2 for details).[7] For instance, the occurrence of the coda grade /epih/ of /epi(tï)/ 'his/her medicine' with the particle /_ta(ike)/ 'Negation' demonstrates the clitic status of the latter (and thus diagnoses /epïh_ta/ as one phonological word), whereas the occurrence of the zero grade /epi/ with the verb form /tëneese/ 'brought' indicates that they are different phonological words:

(14a) /epi(tï)/ + /_ta(ike)/ → /epih_ta/ 'not his/her medicine'
(b) /epi(tï)/ + /tëneese/ → /epi tëneese (iija)/ '(s/he) brought medicine'

---

[6] Note, *en passant*, that nasal assimilation (cf. 1.4.2.1) cannot be used as a criterion for phonological word status.

[7] Notice that syllable reduction cannot be used to distinguish clitics from affixes, since it applies to both; it can only be used to distinguish clitics/affixes from independent words.

2.3.3. The utterance. Phonologically speaking, an utterance can be defined with two criteria:

(a) it is a stretch of discourse that is uttered by itself, with pauses at the beginning and at the end (i.e. it is the result of a specific speech event);

(15a) /mëneh_pa ?/ [# mə.nɛ́h.ɸa #] 'Have you come ?'
(b) /wipuunëëjae_pitë/ [# ʋi.púː.nə́ː.jáɛ.pi.tə #] 'I'll think a little first.'
(c) /aja_mïtën ?/ [# a.já.mɨ́.təŋ #] 'Where are you going ?'
(d) /tïrïtohpoora wïja/ [# tɨ.ɽɨ́ː.tɔ́h.ɸɔ́ː.ɽa wɨ́.ja #] 'I can't do this!'

(b) it is the maximal domain of intonational contours (cf. 2.5.2).

The utterance, being a single speech event, is the most variable, subjective, and fuzzy-boundaried of all phonological domains. The two criteria above aim at providing a starting point, a 'prototypical' case; the reality of discourse is, of course, more complicated than that.

2.4. Phonotactics. There are several restrictions on segmental sequences in Tiriyó. Since the best frame of reference for describing them is the syllable, the next section will treat the syllabic templates of Tiriyó.

2.4.1. Syllable types and the phonological word. Based on the criteria for defining and classifying syllables (listed in 2.3.1), the following syllable types can be isolated (V_iV_j represents a vowel sequence, while VV represents a sequence of identical vowels):[8]

(16)

(C)V		(C)VC		(C)VV	
/o.to/	'animal'	/ji.pih.ta/	'I married'	/tëë.kae/	'bit, bitten'
/ka.na/	'fish'	/eh.të.to/	'planning'	/tïï.re.ke/	'armed'
/a.ku.ri/	'agouti'	/pan.pi.ra/	'paper'	/oo.ko/	'curassow'
/se.rë/	'this'	/nï.tën/	's/he goes'	/ïï.mo/	'egg'
/ko.no.po/	'rain'	/an.ja/	'we (excl.)'	/ëi.waa.rë/	'clever'

(C)V_iV_j		(C)V_iV_jC	
/kai.mo/	'game'	/se.rë.maon/	'someone/something of today'
/pï.rëu/	'arrow'	/kï.nëeh.të/	'S/he thought, planned O'
/ae.ru/	'noise'	/ëeh.po.ka.kë/	'Shave!'
/koe.kae/	'I am defecating'	/jïh.tëin.ka.pan/	'I forgot'
/tï.kui.je/	'dirty'	/ëen.ta/	'You woke up'

These syllable types can be further classified as 'light' ((C)V) or 'heavy' (non-(C)V), based on the way that they are treated by rhythmic stress and reduplication; cf. 2.5.1, 2.6.3 for details.

A phonological word (cf. 2.3.2) can be described as a sequence of syllables ($\sigma_i\sigma\sigma...\sigma_f$), with the following restrictions:

(i) onsetless syllables (V, VV, V_iV_j, VC, V_iV_jC) only occur word-initially (as σ_i)

(ii) syllables with sequences of identical vowels or /h/-codas cannot occur word-finally (as σ_f).

---

[8] Aside from these types, a few (apparently marginal) instances of trivocalic sequences have been found; their syllabicity appears to be ambiguous (cf. 2.3.1.1, 2.6.4).

Schematically (cf. examples in (16)),

σ_i = (C)V, (C)VC, (C)VV, (C)V_iV_j, (C)V_iV_jC (all syllable types)

σ = CV, CVC, CVV, CV_iV_j, CV_iV_jC (only syllables with onsets)

σ_f = CV, CVn, CV_iV_j, CV_iV_jn (no final /h/ or VV sequence)

Monosyllabic words, as expected, combine features of both σ_i and σ_f: they have the final segment restrictions of σ_f (no final /h/ or VV sequence), but they can be onsetless like σ_i (e.g. /oi/ 'grass, grasslands'). Furthermore, sound-symbolic words (ideophones, interjections) do not obey the above restrictions, often having coda consonants other than /h/ or a /n/ [ŋ] (e.g. /kap/, /tum/), or word-final VV or Vh sequences (e.g. /kuuh/, /pëë/); cf. Table 9.1 in Chap. 9.

2.4.2. Distribution of consonants. All consonants can occur as onsets (except /h/, which is attested only syllable-finally); any gaps are probably spurious. In syllable-final position, only a nasal consonant (N) or /h/ can occur. Thus, all consonant clusters (always heterosyllabic) are word-internal and of the form /N.C/ or /h.C/; the only two exceptions are the words /npa/ [mpa] 'let's go', and /nkan/ [ŋkaŋ] 's/he says'.[9]

---

[9] There are cluster-initial particles like /nkërë/ 'still' or /hpe/ 'Indefinite'. However, unlike /npa/ and /nkan/, these particles can never be utterance-initial; phonologically, they cliticize to the preceding word and thus constitute no exception. In addition, /hk/-initial particles like /hkaarë/ 'Surprise' (cf. 9.1.3.2) sometimes fail to condition the full grade of a preceding syllable-reducing word (i.e. they seem to be in the process of becoming independent words with an initial /h/ rather than clitics with an initial cluster).

2.4.2.1. Nasal clusters. In nasal clusters, the nasal consonant always assimilates in place of articulation to the following consonant (which is optionally voiced).[10] For this reason, it is always written here as /n/, the least marked nasal, in the phonemic transcription. Examples of all clusters are given below; the four subgroups correspond to the four places of articulation (labial, alveolar, palatal, velar) to which nasal consonants assimilate. Notice that /nm/, /ns/, /nr/ and /nw/ are rare and seem to occur only across morpheme boundaries, while the other clusters occur also in monomorphemic words.

(17a)	/np/ [mp]	/anpo/	[am.pɔ]	'where?'
(b)		/enpane/	[ɛm.pa.nɛ]	'(someone's) teacher'
(c)	/nm/ [mm]	/eekanmao/	[ɛː.kam.mao]	'when?'
(d)		/jinmuku/	[jim.mu.ku]	'my son'
(e)	/nt/ [nt]	/entu/	[ɛn.tu]	'owner'
(f)		/nitunta/	[ni.tun.ta]	'S/he has arrived'
(g)	/nn/ [nn]	/nunnë/	[nun.nə]	'moon'
(h)		/wïtënne/	[ʋɨ.tən.nɛ]	'I went'
(i)	/ns/ [nʂ]	/kïnsaika/	[kɨn.ʂai.ka]	'S/he made mistakes about O'
(j)		/insaikaewa/	[in.ʂai.kaɛ.ʋa]	'not making mistakes about O'
(k)	/nr/ [nɽ]	/kïnrama/	[kɨn.ɽa.ma]	'S/he returned O'
(l)		/kïnripita/	[kɨn.ɽi.piː.ta]	'S/he got thinner'
(m)	/nj/ [ⁱɲɲ]	/senje/	[ʂɛⁱɲ.ɲɛ]	'this side'
(n)		/anja/	[aⁱɲɲa]	'we (exclusive)'
(o)	/nk/ [ŋk]	/kïnka/	[kɨŋ.ka]	'S/he said'
(p)		/manko/	[maŋ.kɔ]	'my mother'
(q)	/nw/ [ŋʋ]	/sepïnwïhka/	[ʂe.pɨŋ.ʋɨh.ha]	'I nodded'
(r)		/kïnwekena/	[kɨŋ.ʋɛ.kɛː.na]	'S/he ran after O, persecuted O'

---

[10] Nasal assimilation is obligatory within a phonological word. Across phonological words, however, it can still happen, albeit optionally (cf. 2.6.5).

The pronunciation of /nj/ as [ⁱɲɲ] calls for some discussion. Phonetically, it often strikes the ear as a single sound [ɲ], without any apparent [j]; this suggests a single-sound analysis (e.g. as /ñ/), rather than a cluster. The cluster analysis is preferred here for two reasons:

(i) Morphophonology. Nasal assimilation occurs whenever a nasal cluster is produced in a morphophonological process. If a nasal consonant and /j/ are brought together, [ⁱɲɲ] is the result, in parallel to [mp], [nt], [ŋk] etc. from nasal + /p/, /t/, /k/. The [ⁱ] is probably a transitional sound between the preceding vowel and the [ɲɲ]; as can be seen in 18, it appears automatically when /n/ and /j/ come together but not when other nasal clusters are produced. Due to its predictability, it is analyzed here as part of the realization of /nj/.[11]

(18a)	/m-/ ‘2A’ + /onamï/ ‘hide’	+ /-po/ ‘Caus’	[mɔnampɔ]	‘You made him/her hide O’
(b)		+ /-tan/ ‘Fut.Ipf’	[mɔnantaŋ]	‘You will hide it’
(c)		+ /-kepï/ ‘stop’	[mɔnaŋkɛpɨ]	‘You stopped hiding it’
(d)		+ /-ne/ ‘Pst.Prf’	[mɔnannɛ]	‘You hid it (long ago)’
(e)		+ /-jae/ ‘Prs.Ipf’	[mɔnaⁱɲɲaɛ]	‘You are hiding it’

(ii) Stress. Words that contain [ⁱɲɲ] behave as if the preceding syllable were heavy for the purposes of rhythmic stress assignment (cf. 2.5.1). If this sequence were analyzed as a single element /ñ/, it would be the only one to be always preceded by a stressed syllable. If, however, it is seen as a heterosyllabic /nj/ cluster, then the /n/ can be seen as the coda of the preceding syllable, which would be heavy.

---

[11] Notice that the two orthographies in use in the Tiriyó-speaking area represent this transitional sound as a part of the word. Thus, they write *ainja* or *ainya* for /anja/ ‘we (exclusive)’

(19a) /ponjeke/ 'white-lipped peccary' [pɔ́ⁱɲ.ɲɛ.kɛ] * [pɔⁱ.ɲɛ́ɛ́.kɛ]
(b) /wënjepu/ 'baby-hammock' [ʋə́ⁱɲ.ɲɛ.pu] * [ʋəⁱ.ɲɛ́ɛ́.pu]
(c) /anja_rë/ 'we (exclusive), really' [áⁱɲ.ɲa.ɽə] * [aⁱ.ɲáá.ɽə]

Note that the lack of [ɲ]'s at the beginning of phonological words is easy to explain with the cluster analysis: since /nj/ is heterosyllabic, there has to be at least one preceding syllable (of which /n/ is the coda). In this respect, it behaves like the other clusters, which are all heterosyllabic and thus never occur at the beginning of a phonological word.

2.4.2.2. /h/-clusters, dialectology, and the status of /h/. The pronunciation of /h/-clusters defines different dialects of Tiriyó. Based on their realizations of the /hk/ cluster, I propose to call them H-Tiriyó and K-Tiriyó. Map 2 (Chap. 1) has the presumed geographic distribution of the two dialects (cf. also 1.1). Table 2.2 describes the different realizations of each dialect for all attested /h/-clusters.

Table 2.2
Realizations of /h/-clusters in different dialects.

/h/-clusters	H-Tiriyó	K-Tiriyó
/hp/	[hɸ]~[:ɸ]	[:p]
/ht/	[ht]	[:t]
/hk/	[hx]~[hh]~[:h]	[:k]
/hs/	[:ʂ]~[hʂ]	[:ʂ]

			H-Tiriyó	K-Tiriyó
(20a)	/pihpë/	'skin'	[pihɸə]~[pi:ɸə]	[pi:pə]
(b)	/mëhparë/	'birds, monkeys'	[məhɸaɽə]~[mə:ɸaɽə]	[mə:paɽə]
(c)	/mahto/	'fire'	[mahtɔ]	[ma:tɔ]
(d)	/kïhtaone/	'among us'	[kɨhtaɔnɛ]	[kɨ:taɔnɛ]
(e)	/pahko/	'my father'	[pahxo]~[pahhɔ]~[pa:hɔ]	[pa:kɔ]
(f)	/tuhka/	'Brazil nut'	[tuhha]~[tu:ha]	[tu:ka]
(g)	/wïhse/	'urucu plant'	[ʋɨ:şɛ]~[ʋɨhşɛ][12]	[ʋɨ:şɛ]
(h)	/tënïhsen/	'drink, beverage'	[tənɨ:şɛŋ]~[tənɨhşɛŋ]	[tənɨ:şɛŋ]

In K-Tiriyó, /h/ is non-existant; only vowel length is to be found. In H-Tiriyó, however, /h/ clusters are very different from simple vowel length, as in the following pairs, which are homophonous in K-Tiriyó:

			H-Tiriyó	K-Tiriyó
(21a)	/witaaka/	'I hit O softly'	[ʋita:ka]	[ʋita:ka]
(b)	/witahka/	'I lost O'	[ʋitahha]	[ʋita:ka]
(c)	/witooka/	'I patted O'	[ʋitɔ:ka]	[ʋitɔ:ka]
(d)	/witohka/	'I broke O open', 'I made O burst'	[ʋitɔhha]	[ʋitɔ:ka]

Because of the spirantizing effect that they have in H-Tiriyó when the following consonant is /p/ or /k/, H-Tiriyó /h/'s are sometimes barely audible, coming rather close to vowel length. Only in /ht/ clusters are they really obvious.

Thus, the realization of /hp/, /ht/ and /hk/ clearly distinguishes the two dialects. The realization of /hs/, on the other hand, is in fluctuation in H-Tiriyó, with the same speaker pronouncing [:ʂ] and [hʂ]. Older speakers tend to prefer [hʂ], but even among them several inconsistencies occurred (see below).

---

[12] When it is present, the aspiration in /hs/ clusters is often closer to a velar than to a glottal fricative: [ʋɨxşɛ], [tənɨxşɛŋ].

The varying pronunciation of /h/-clusters immediately suggests diachronic change. In fact, Tiriyó /h/ is the result of a historical process of syllable reduction and loss (cf. Gildea 1995 for a general picture of syllable reduction in the Cariban family, and Meira 1998a for the Taranoan sub-branch; cf. 2.6.2 for synchronic morphophonological reflexes). At some point in the past, before H- and K-Tiriyó split from Pré-Tiriyó, all /h/-clusters were probably pronounced as such: [hp], [ht], [hk], [hʂ]. Then the dialect split occurred; in K-Tiriyó, /h/ quickly became vowel length in all cases, while in H-Tiriyó it remained long enough to cause the spirantization of a following /p/ or /k/. In modern H-Tiriyó, /h/ seems to be undergoing further changes: in the /hs/ cluster, younger speakers appear to have replaced it with vowel length, while older speakers show inconsistencies; in the /hp/ cluster, it is becoming weaker and sometimes fluctuates with vowel length; in the /hk/ cluster, it has absorbed the /k/ (except in the speech of some older speakers, who can still produce [hx] in slow speech), forming a long [hh] which often fluctuates with [:h], especially among younger speakers. Only the cluster /ht/ has conserved the pronunciation [ht] (cf. examples in 20-21). Thus, /h/ has been conserved as a distinctive segment only in H-Tiriyó; K-Tiriyó has lost it entirely.

In H-Tiriyó, the present cases of fluctuation suggest a further development: in the future, /hp/ may become a new distinctive segment /ɸ/, and /hk/ may become a simple /h/ occurring intervocalically, as a word-internal syllable onset (which would make its distribution more similar to that of the other consonants). The 'in-between' status of /h/-

clusters is reflected in the two main Tiriyó writing systems: the Surinam orthography uses *hp* and *hk*, whereas the Missão Tiriós orthography, probably based on the more innovative pronunciation, has *f* and *h*.

In the present work, the analysis of these cases as /h/-clusters (and thus the spellings /hp/, /ht/, /hk/) has been preferred, for the following reasons:

(i) it serves as a compromise between the two dialects; the actual pronunciation for each dialect is always retrievable via Table 2.2;

(ii) the /ht/ cluster in H-Tiriyó is actually pronounced as such ([ht]);

(iii) morphophonological processes that generate [ht]-clusters also produce [hɸ]~[:ɸ] and [hh]~[:h], suggesting the same analysis for all of them; this is illustrated in (22) below, in which the final syllable /-pï/ of the verb stem /ponopï/ 'tell stories about O', following the syllable reduction pattern described in 2.6.2, becomes /h/ with certain consonant-initial suffixes (only the vowel-length variant is shown for simplicity):

(22a) /ni-/ '3AO' + /ponopï/ 'tell' + /-tan/ 'Fut.Ipf' [ni.pɔ́:.nɔ́h.taŋ] 'S/he will tell O'
(b) + /-po/ 'Caus' [ni.pɔ́:.nɔ́:.ɸɔ] 'S/he made O tell'
(c) + /-kepï/ 'stop' [ni.pɔ́:.nɔ́:.hɛ.pɨ] 'S/he stopped telling O'

(iv) an analysis of /hp/ and /hk/ as single segments, say /ɸ/ and /h/, would have as a consequence that they would always be preceded by heavy syllables (since there will either be an /h/ closing the preceding syllable, or vowel lengthening, depending on the dialect). This would make any words with /ɸ/ or syllable-initial /h/ an exception to the rhythmic stress pattern, in that the /ɸ/- or /h/-initial syllable would never be stressed and would always be preceded by a stressed syllable (cf. (23) below, in which only the vowel length variant is given for simplicity; cf. 2.5.1 for the stress system):

(23a) /mehpoka/ 'You shaved O' [mɛ́:.ɸɔ.ka] *[mɛ.ɸɔ́:.ka]
(b) /miponohpotëne/ ´You all asked O´[mi.pɔ́:.nɔ́:.ɸɔ.tə́:.nɛ] *[mi.pɔ́:.nɔ.ɸɔ́:.tə.nɛ]
(c) /nahkëtë/ 'S/he cut O' [ná:.hə.tə] *[na.hə́:.tə]

The spelling /hs/ for [hş]~[:ş] should also be preferred; in fact, (iii) above is also valid for /hs/, as in (24), in which /-se/ 'Supine' parallels the suffixes in 22:

(24) /i-/ ´3O´ + /ponopï/ 'tell' + /-se/ 'Sup' [i.pɔ́:.nɔ́:.şɛ] ~ [i.pɔ́:.nɔ́h.şɛ]
´in order to tell O´

However, the inconsistencies found even in the speech of older speakers make it difficult to distinguish cases of /hs/ from cases of /:s/.[13] Apparently, in H-Tiriyó, /h/-loss before /s/ is already more advanced than before other obstruents; a more detailed sociolinguistic survey would be necessary to evaluate the current situation of the /hs/-/:s/ merger. In the absence of such an evaluation, the present work will treat this merger as already complete; all synchronic examples will be transcribed as /:s/.

---

[13] For instance, two older speakers who agreed on the /hs/ in (24) disagreed on the pronunciation of the word for 'happy, joyful': while one accepted both [şá:.şá:.mɛ] and [şáh.şá:.mɛ] (i.e. /sahsaame/), the other accepted only [şá:.şá:.mɛ], refusing [şáh.şá:.mɛ] as a possible pronunciation (i.e. he had /saasaame/). This was never the case for the other /h/-clusters. One intriguing possibility is that some speakers may have generalized /hs/ to all cases of word-internal /s/; this would have been facilitated via a prior change whereby intervocalic /s/'s were lost, making /hs/ much more frequent than word-internal /s/. As the /h/ became less clear, speakers might have reinterpreted it as part of the phonetic realization of /s/ intervocalically, thus making /hs/ an allophone of /s/. In this case, [şáh.şá:.mɛ] would be an innovation. It would be interesting to see a spectrographic analysis of words with /hs/ clusters and with intervocalic /s/'s.

2.4.3. Distribution of vowels. There is one general restriction: /ï/ cannot be word-initial (or, equivalently, syllable-initial, since there all onsetless syllables are word-initial). All seven vowels can occur in (C)V, (C)VV and (C)VC (i.e. single-vowel) syllables. In the V_i position of (C)V_iV_j and (C)V_iV_jC syllables, all vowels but /i/ can occur,[14] while in the V_j position only /i, e, o, u/ are found.

2.4.3.1. Vowel sequences. V_iV_j sequences form tautosyllabic vowel sequences (cf. 2.4.1, 2.5.1) with the syllabic peak falling on the first vowel, V_i. There are no vowel sequences in which the syllabic peak falls on the second vowel (i.e. there is no [áu] vs. [aú] distinction).[15]

From the fact that seven vowels can occur in the V_i position and four vowels in the V_j position, a total of 7 x 4 = 28 (minus 4 VV sequences) = 24 vowel sequences would be expected. However, only the following 14 are attested:

(25) Attested vowel sequences.

/ai/: /nai/ ‘s/he/it is’, /kurairu/ ‘chicken’, /kaikë/ ‘fox (sp.)’, /aimara/ ‘fish (sp.)’
/ae/: /wirinae/ ‘sloth (sp.)’, /aeru/ ‘noise’, /aene/ ‘alive’, /mïkae/ ‘you are saying’
/ao/: /ahtao/ ‘when’, /jaohpï/ ‘my mother-in-law’, /aoja/ ‘twisted’, /ëerao/ ‘three’
/au/: /wïkapau/ ‘deer (sp.)’, /aunkë/ ‘Stand up!’, /karau/ ‘fruit (sp.)’, /sautu/ ‘salt’[16]

---

[14] /i.jV/ sequencies tend to be pronounced as /i.V/ in fast speech, as e.g. /pija_sa/ ‘a little bit’ [pi.ja:.ṣa]~[pi.a:.ṣa] (notice that the /a/ is still stressed, showing that there still is a syllable boundary before it). In slow speech, especially when the word is carefully enunciated, the /j/ is consistently pronounced.

[15] Given this fact, one might wonder whether sequences of vowel + /i/ and vowel + /u/ should not be analyzed as vowel + /j/ and vowel + /w/. However, in the absence of any phonological processes distinguishing these two cases, no principled decision can be made. Descriptively speaking, it seems to be a question of arbitrary choice to decide whether to increase the set of vowel sequences (which would include /ae/, /ao/, /ëe/, /oe/ anyway), or the set of syllable-final consonants (which already has /h/ and /n/). A similar situation applies to the analysis of inherently long vowels as underlyingly long, or as sequences of identical vowels (cf. 1.5.1.1).

[16] There is some variation between /ao/ and /au/ in certain words; one speaker had /jaohpï/ ‘my mother/father-in-law’ and /waokïnjae/ ‘I hug O’, while another had /jauhpï/ and /waukïnjae/. This may be a

/ei/: /pepei/ 'wind', /rupei/ 'lizard (sp.)', /meine/ 'you were', /eire/ 'angry (at it)'
/eu/: /seu/ 'coati', /eurëto/ 'barking', /meujan/ 'You are answering O'

/ëi/: /tëinë/ 'one', /ëkëi/ 'snake', /pëmëi/ 'pepper', /apëi/ 'his/her seat', /ëire/ 'angry'
/ëe/: /akïpëe/ 'hard', /tëënakëe/ 'liar', /ëema/ 'path', /kïtëenpa/ 'we (1+2) learned'[17]
/ëu/: /pïrëu/ 'arrow', /ërukëu/ 'tree (sp.)', /tëuse/ 'answered', /aakëu/ 'monkey (sp.)'

/ëo/ /apëo/ 'beside' (only attested example, and a controversial one; cf. 7.3.1.2)

/oi/: /oroi/ 'cashew', /joi/ 'lizard (sp.)', /oima/ 'mix O!', /moikë/ 'ant (sp.)'
/oe/: /epoe/ 'over it', /mapoe/ 'You are digging O', /koekapo/ 'wanting to defecate'

/ïi/: /nïrïi/ 'cricket', /tïika/ 'tobacco', /amïima/ 'heavy', /akïi/ 'tiny, small'
/ïu/: /kïrïu/ 'toucan (sp.)', /pïura/ 'palm tree (sp.)' (only two attested exemple)

/ui/: /makui/ 'monkey (sp.)', /pukuita/ 'paddle', /kaikui/ 'jaguar', /tëturui/ 'I'd talk'

The following minimal/analogous sets involving vowel sequences are also worth mentioning:

(26)

/wae/ 'I am'
/wai/ 'tree (sp.)'
/wei/ 'sun'; 'I was'
/weu/ 'I answered O'
/wëe/ 'I came'
/wëu/ 'I took O out'
/wïi/ 'manioc'

/tëuje/ 'took/taken out'
/tëije/ 'scolded'
/naun/ 's/he stood up'
/nëun/ 's/he got warmer'
/naon/ 'it is swelling'

/kae/ 'used to say'
/kai/ 'S/he fried us (1+2)'
/kao/ 'We (1+2) swelled'
/kau/ 'cow (loanword)'
/kei/ 'We (1+2) were'
/keu/ 'We (1+2) answered O'
/këi/ 'fever'
/këu/ 'S/he took us (1+2) out'
/koi/ 'buriti palm'
/kui/ 'babaçu palm'

/mëe/ 'this one (animate)'
/mëu/ 'You took O out'
/moi/ 'spider (sp.)'

/pai/ 'tapir'
/pau/ 'island'

/wapoe/ 'I am digging O'
/wapoi/ 'I would dig O'
/wapëi/ 'I took O'

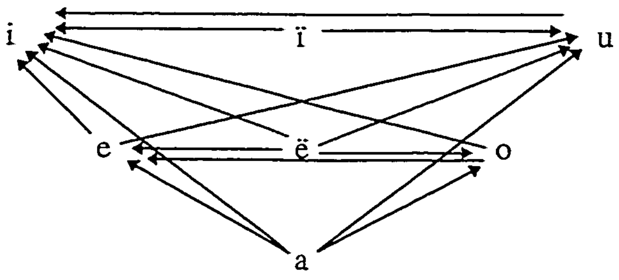
---

dialectal feature (the speaker who had /ao/ was from Missão Tiriós and spoke H-Tiriyó; the one who had /au/ was from Surinam but had been living for years at Missão Tiriós and spoke K-Tiriyó with some H-Tiriyó influence); more research is needed to determine whether or not this is the case.

[17] In fast speech, word-initially, /ëe/ is especially hard to distinguish from /ëi/; in slow speech, however, the difference becomes more obvious.

The first noticeable regularity is the lack of symmetry: whenever a V_iV_j sequence is attested, its mirror image V_jV_i is not. This fact can be more easily appreciated in the lack of double-headed arrows in Fig. 2.1:

Figure 2.1
Attested Tiriyó vowel sequences.



The diagram further reveals an interesting outward-upward-leftward directionality. All attested vowel sequences end in a peripheral vowel ('outward') and are either raising or level ('upward'); moreover, when both vowels are peripheral and have the same height, the arrow goes back to front ('leftward', i.e. /ui/, /oe/ but not */iu/, */eo/). The two extreme vowels are /i/, which serves as a second element for any other vowel, and /a/, which serves as a first element for any non-central vowel. The only 'surprises' are the missing */ou/, and the doubtful status of /ëo/, attested in only one word, /apëo/ 'beside', which not all speakers accepted; these two vowel sequences would parallel /ïu/ and /ei/, respectively.[18]

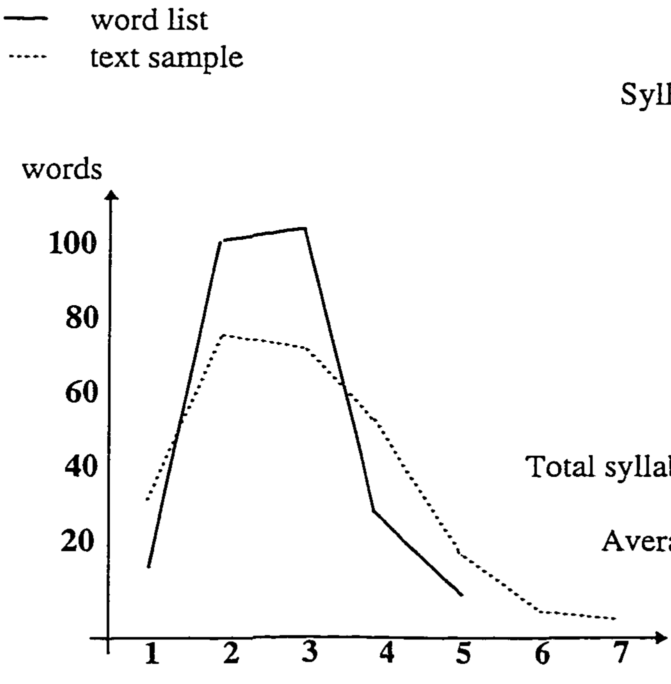
---

[18] Some comparative evidence suggests a diachronic explanation for these gaps. First, it seems that an earlier */ou/ has become a long /oo/ in modern Tiriyó (cf. e.g. Tiriyó /oona/ 'nose', /oota/ 'hole' and Kaxuyana /owna/, /owta/). Second, Tiriyó /ë/ appears to be a reflex of Proto-Carib /o/ (though the

2.4.4. Statistical data. To further illustrate the segmental patterns of Tiriyó, statistical calculations were carried out on two samples: a list of, as far as could be determined, 250 synchronically monomorphemic words (animals, plants, natural phenomena, pronouns, adverbs), and the first 250 (phonological) words of a narrative text (*Asehpë iwehtoponpë*). Both samples are reproduced in the Appendix.

2.4.4.1. Syllable statistics. Fig. 2.2-3 display the result of counting the syllables and syllable types in both samples:

Figure 2.2
Statistics on the number of syllables per word.



Total words: 250

Syllables	Word list	Text sample
1	16 (6.4%)	32 (12.8%)
2	98 (39.2%)	75 (30 %)
3	102 (40.8%)	69 (27.6%)
4	27 (10.8%)	52 (20.8%)
5	7 (2.8%)	15 (6 %)
6	0	4 (1.6%)
7	0	3 (1.2%)
Total syllables:	661	717
Average:	2.6 syl/wd	2.9 syl/wd

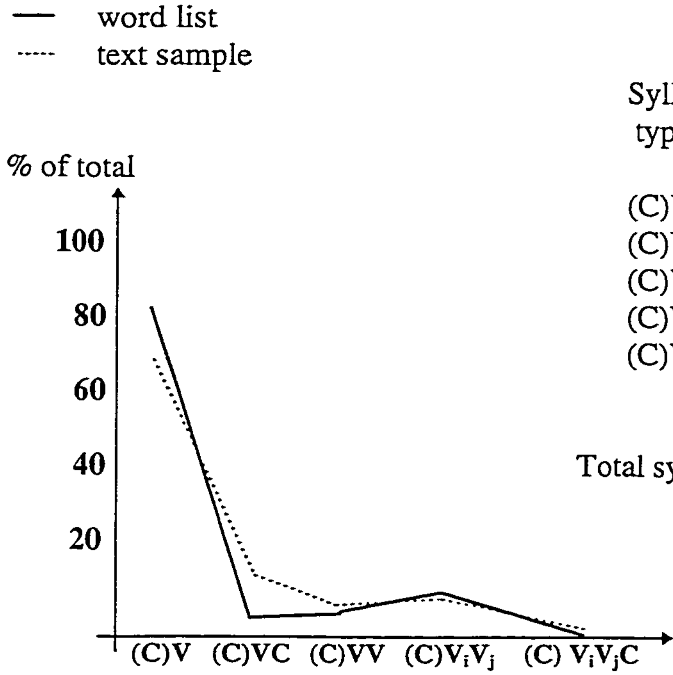
---

environment conditioning the change is still poorly understood); if /ë/ and /o/ used to be the same sound, it would be difficult, without further changes, for them to occur in the same syllable.

It is interesting to observe *en passant* that the directionality of Tiriyó vowel sequences is begging for an Optimality account with e.g. three directionality constraints, GoOut (i.e. toward the peripheral vowels), GoUp (i.e. toward the high vowels), and GoLeft (i.e. toward the front vowels). From the absence of */aë/, */aï/ it follows that GoOut > GoUp; from the absence of */ue/, */io/, that GoUp > GoLeft. However, such approaches would still leave the absence of */ou/, and the 'semi-existence' of ?/ëo/, unexplained.

As expected, longer words are less frequent. The existence of longer words in the text, as well as the slightly higher syllables-per-word average, are undoubtably due to the presence of polymorphemic words (including affixes and clitics) in the text sample.

Figure 2.3
Statistics on syllable types.



Total words: 250

Syllable types	Word list	Text sample
(C)V	538 (81.4%)	502 (70 %)
(C)VC	29 (4.4%)	97 (13.5%)
(C)VV	33 (5 %)	54 (7.5%)
(C)V$_i$V$_j$	61 (9.2%)	58 (8.1%)
(C)V$_i$V$_j$C	0	6 (0.8%)
Total syllables:	661	717

As expected, (C)V is by far the most frequent syllable type, while (C)V$_i$V$_j$C is by far the rarest. The slight increase in non-(C)V syllables in the sample text is probably caused by a number of high-frequency affixes and clitics that either are or generate non-(C)V syllables (/-npë/, /-hpë/ 'Past', /_nkërë/ 'still', /-e/ 'Certainty', /-e/ allomorph of /-se/ 'Remote Past', /-n/ 'Doubt', /ë-/ 'Detransitivizer', etc.). In fact, all cases of (C)V$_i$V$_j$C syllables apparently involve affix or clitic boundaries.

2.4.4.2. Segment statistics. The following table displays the result of absolute segment counts; Table 2.3 contains statistics on the occurrence of segments at syllable and word boundaries.

Table 2.3
Segment frequencies
(VV sequences counted as two instances of the same vowel;
syllable-final nasal consonants counted always as /n/)

Word list (1371 segments, average 5.5 segs/word)						Text sample (1591 segments, average 6.4 segs/word)					
Vowels = 755 (55%) Consonants = 616 (45%)						Vowels = 835 (52.4%) Consonants = 755 (47.6%)					
1. a	255	16.4%	10. o	70	5.1%	1. a	185	11.6%	10. w	79	4.9%
2. i	128	9.2%	11. t	47	3.4%	2. e	179	11.2%	11. t	77	4.8%
3. k	119	8.6%	12. ï	46	3.3%	3. ë	148	9.3%	12. o	76	4.7%
4. r	114	8.3%	13. w	35	2.5%	4. i	130	8.1%	13. j	63	3.9%
5. ë	108	7.8%	14. s	34	2.4%	5. k	104	6.5%	14. u	62	3.9%
6. u	102	7.4%	15. j	27	1.9%	6. n	103	6.4%	15. ï	55	3.4%
7. m	79	5.7%	16. h	8	0.5%	7. p	89	5.6%	16. h	51	3.2%
8. p, n	77	5.6%				8. m	81	5 %	17. s	29	1.8%
9. e	76	5.6%				9. r	80	5 %			

The higher segments-per-word average in the text sample is undoubtably due to the occurrence of polymorphemic words. The most frequent vowel is /a, and the most frequent consonant is /k/. The least frequent vowel is /ï/; the least frequent consonants are (in different orders in the word list and in the text sample) /j, s, h/. Most segments remained relatively stable; the most dramatic differences were observed for: /h/ (three times as frequent in the text sample as in the word list), /j/, /e/, /w/ (approximately twice as frequent), and /u/ (almost half as frequent). The reasons for these changes are not hard to find. Since the text is a first-person narrative, first-person markers and pronouns (/j-/, /w-/, /wï/) occur relatively often. Certain frequently used items (/tahken/ 'maybe', /ahtao/ 'while', the /eh/ allomorph of the copula, /ke/ 'Instrumental', /me/ 'Attributivizer', the /t- -se/ remote past) appear to have a positive effect on /h/ and /e/, which are present in them, and a negative one on /u/, which is not.

Table 2.4
Percentage of the instances of each segment occurring at word / syllable boundaries.
(VV sequences counted as two instances of the same vowel;
syllable-final nasal consonants counted always as /n/)

Word list				Text sample			
Word-initial	Syllable-initial	Word-final	Syllable-final	Word-initial	Syllable-initial	Word-final	Syllable-final
1. s 61.7%	1. p,t,k,	1. e 44.1%	1. h 100%	1. j 57.1%	1. p,t,k,	1. e 44.6%	1. h 100%
2. w 48.5%	m,r,s,	2. ë 41.6%	2. i 97.6%	2. t 42.8%	m,r,s,	2. ë 35.1%	2. i 86.1%
3. t 44.6%	w,j 100%	3. u 41,1%	3. u 89.2%	3. w 39.2%	w,j 100%	3. o 28.9%	3. ï 81.8%
4. m 43 %	2. n 72.7%	4. i 39.3%	4. e 87 %	4. m 32 %	2. n 49.5%	4. a 27 %	4. ë 79 %
5. p 35 %	3. ë 14.8%	5. o 31.4%	5. ë 78.7%	5. i 28.4%	3. i 28.4%	5. n 17.4%	5. u 75.8%
6. k 33.6%	4. a 14.2%	6. ï 21.7%	6. a 78.6%	6. p 23.5%	4. a 5.4%	6. ï 16.3%	6. e 69.8%
7. ë 14.8%	5. i 11.8%	7. a 17.7%	7. o 78.5%	7. s 20.6%	5. e 4.4%	7. u 11.2%	7. o 65.7%
8. j 14.7%	6. o 11.4%	8. n 9.2%	8. ï 73.9%	8. k 20.1%	6. ë 4 %	8. i 10 %	8. a 63.7%
9. n 14.4%	7. e 2.5%	9. p,t,k	9. n 27.2%	9. n 9.7%	7. o 3.9%	9. p,t,k,	9. n 50.5%
10. a 14.2%	8. u 0.9%	m,r,s	10. p,t,k,	10. a 5.4%	8. ï, h, u 0%	m,r,s,	10. p,t,k,
11. i 12.5%	9. ï, h 0%	w,j,h 0%	m,r,s,	11. e 4.4%		w,j,h 0%	m,r,s,
12. o 11.4%			w,j 0%	12. ë 4 %			w,j 0%
13. e 2.5%				13. o 3.9%			
14. u 0.9%				14. r 2.5%			
15. r 0.8%				15. ï,h,u 0%			
16. ï, h 0%							

The data confirm the claims on consonant distribution (2.4.1-3): /h/ occurs only syllable-finally (but never word-finally). All other consonants (except /n/) occur only syllable-initially; /n/ is the only one possible in both environments. /ï/ does not occur word- (i.e. syllable-)initially. /i/ cannot be the first vowel in a vowel sequence, therefore it is almost always syllable-final (except for /ii/'s, counted as two-vowel sequences, so that one of the two /i/'s was not syllable-final). Again, facts such as the first-person style of the sample text, and the concurrent high frequency of the first-person prefix /j-/, probably help explain the high percentage of word-initial /j/. One surprise stands out: the overwhelming majority of instances of /s/ in the word list (61.7%) are word-initial; this suggests that word-internal /s/'s may have been lost.[19]

2.4.4.3. Segment sequence statistics. Table 2.5 shows the result of counting consonant-vowel sequences in the two samples; Table 2.6 contains the frequencies of consonant clusters and vowel sequences.

---

[19] Cf. Meira ms-a for a comparative study that comes to the same conclusion. It is still an open question whether or not the remaining cases of word-internal /s/ (in the word list, a respectable 38.3% of the total instances of /s/) are all borrowings, or are polymorphemic.

Table 2.5
Two-segment (CV) sequences (absolute numbers).

Word list								Text sample							
C V	a	e	ë	o	i	ï	u	C V	a	e	ë	o	i	ï	u
p	21	11	12	6	16	4	7	p	18	4	40	9	14	3	1
t	15		7	4		6	15	t	16	7	13	15		13	13
k	29	3	25	15	4	15	28	k	14	34	9	19		6	22
m	26	8	14	11	7	3	8	m	35	28	4	1	5		8
n	23	6	8	9	3	2	4	n	16	12	9	8	1	2	3
s	10	5		1	15		3	s	7	12		1	7		2
h								h							
r	25	14	16	7	26	5	21	r	11	6	42	2	8	8	3
w	14	8	3		3	7		w	15	23	19		1	21	
j	18	6		1			2	j	28	6		2	25		2

The absence of /h/-initial syllables is as expected; the other gaps, however, are more surprising. The sequence /te/, which occurred in the text sample but did not in the word list, always includes a morpheme break (/t-/ 'Rem.Pst' + /e/-initial Sa verb; the /e/ is lengthened if not followed by a tautosyllabic consonant (cf. 5.4.3.1.2)); the sequence /ti/, which did not occur at all, is found only in ideophones and in the collective suffix /-ti(i)/. In both cases, there is reason to think that the sequences are relatively new (/t-e/ < */t-w-e/; /-tii/ < */-tëi/; cf. Meira 1998a:133, 121). Since front vowels are a well-known palatalizing environment, the lack of /te/ and /ti/ sequences suggests an evolution of the form */te, ti/ > /se, si/. /wu/ is a rare, but attested, sequence (e.g. /wurujae/ 'I am giving advice to O'); /wo/, on the other hand, is unattested, as are /së/, /sï/, and /jë/. The sequence /jï/ is rare; it was attested only as the first-person object prefix /jï-/ on /rï/ 'make, do' (as in /saasaa_me jïrï/ 'S/he has made me happy'). The sequence /ji/ is attested only in the first-person marker /ji-/ (which explains the large incidence of /ji/-sequences in the text sample, which is a first-person narrative).[20]

Table 2.6
Consonant clusters and vowel sequences.

Word list			Text sample		
C-Clusters	VV seq.'s	V_iV_j seq.'s	C-Clusters	VV seq.'s	V_iV_j seq.'s
hp 1 (4.5%)	aa 12 (36.7%)	ae 4 (6.6%)	hp 14 (16.5%)	aa 15 (27.8%)	ae 8 (12.5%)
ht 4 (18.2%)	ee 3 (9.1%)	ai 12 (19.7%)	ht 15 (17.6%)	ee 12 (22.2%)	ai 9 (14.1%)
hk 3 (13.6%)	ëë 7 (19.4%)	ao 4 (6.6%)	hk 22 (26.9%)	ëë 6 (11.1%)	ao 8 (12.5%)
	oo 4 (12.1%)	au 6 (9.9%)		oo 8 (14.8%)	au
np 2 (9.1%)	ii 2 (6.1%)	ei 3 (4.9%)	np 15 (17.6%)	ii 4 (7.4%)	ei 10 (15.6%)
nt 2 (9.1%)	ïï 4 (12.1%)	eu 1 (1.6%)	nt 2 (2.4%)	ïï 2 (3.7%)	eu
nk 2 (9.1%)	uu 1 (3.1%)	ëi 3 (4.9%)	nk 6 (7.1%)	uu 7 (13.0%)	ëi 2 (3.1%)
nm		ëe 6 (9.9%)	nm 7 (8.2%)		ëe 18 (28.1%)
nn 1 (4.5%)		ëu 2 (3.3%)	nn 2 (2.4%)		ëu 1 (1.6%)
nj 7 (31.8%)		oe	nj 2 (2.4%)		oe 1 (1.6%)
ns		oi 6 (9.9%)	ns		oi 4 (6.2%)
nw		ïi 7 (11.5%)	nw		ïi
nr		ïu 1 (1.6%)	nr		ïu
		ui 6 (9.9%)			ui 3 (4.7%)
Total: 22	Total: 33	Total: 61	Total: 85	Total: 54	Total: 64
11.4 words/CC	7.6 words/VV	4.1 words/V_iV_j	2.9 words/CC	4.6 words/VV	3.9 words/V_iV_j

The higher frequency of consonant clusters in the text sample (almost four times that of the word list) is due to the existence of a number of affixes and clitics that either have or generate CC clusters (e.g. /-npë/, /-hpë/ 'Degraded', /_nkërë/ 'still', /-n/ 'Doubt', etc.). In fact, CC clusters are fairly frequent at such boundaries; certain low-frequency clusters (/5 ns/, /nr/, /nw/) are not attested in monomorphemic roots. Similarly, VV sequences and some V_iV_j sequences are also made more frequent in the text sample because of the existence of high-frequency morphemes that either have or generate them (e.g. /-tuuwë/ 'after', the vowel length allomorphs of /-rï/ 'Possession', and of /w-/ 'Sa'; /ëe/ and /ae/ are made frequent by the /-e/ 'Certainty', the /-e/ allomorph of /-se/ 'Remote Past', etc.). Notice that this does not happen to all vowel sequences (e.g. /ai/, /oi/ are not favored, since they do not occur in high-frequency morphemes).

---

[20] Meira ms-a concludes that former /Vwo/ and /Vwu/ sequences have become vowel sequences (/Vo, Vu/). The */te, ti/ > /se, si/ change must be older; Meira ms-a could detect no trace of it. No explanation was found for the lack of /së, sï, jë/, and for the rarity of /jë, jï, ji/.

2.5. Prosody. In Tiriyó, there are two main prosodic phenomena: rhythmic stress (with the phonological word as its domain) and intonational contours (with the utterance as their domain). These two phenomena interact in Tiriyó, since both involve pitch and vowel length as their main phonetic cues. Stress follows a pattern of rhythmic alternation (affected by syllable structure) that has been called *iambic* in the literature (cf. e.g. Hayes 1995, Kenstowicz 1996). Intonation is superimposed on rhythmic stress, changing some of its phonetic consequences to signal pragmatic information.

2.5.1. Rhythmic stress. Tiriyó phonological words follow a pattern of alternation between non-prominent (unstressed) and prominent (stressed) syllables. If the phonological word is composed exclusively of (C)V syllables, then every second syllable from the beginning of the word will be stressed, except for the last syllable, which is always unstressed. Table 2.7 illustrates this pattern. (Stressed syllables are marked with an acute accent and a colon, representing length; cf. 2.5.1.3. for a discussion of the phonetic correlates of stress).

Table 2.7
Stress pattern on words composed only of (C)V syllables.

3 syllables		*5 syllables*	
/pawana/ 'friend'	[pa.ʋáː.na]	/ïkapurutu/ 'cloud'	[i.káː.pu.ɽúː.tu]
/tarëno/ 'Tiriyó person'	[ta.ɽə́ː.nɔ]	/əkərəpukə/ 'river otter (sp.)'	[ə.kə́ː.ɽe.púː.kə]
/kïnoro/ 'macaw (sp.)'	[kɨ.nɔ́ː.ɽɔ]	/kanamitəkə/ 'tick (insect)'	[ka.náː.mi.tə́ː.kə]
/sipari/ 'fan, stingray'	[ʃi.páː.ɽi]	/nemuririma/ 'it wrinkled'	[nɛ.múː.ɽi.ɽíː.ma]
/arokï/ 'tail, penis'	[a.ɽɔ́ː.kɨ]	/kïwëturuto/ 'our talking'	[kɨ.ʋə́ː.tu.ɽú.tɔ]
/pereru/ 'butterfly'	[pɛ.ɽɛ́ː.ɽu]		
/okomo/ 'wasp'	[ɔ.kɔ́ː.mɔ]	*6 syllables*	
/akuri/ 'agouti'	[a.kúːɽi]	/ekaramatəkə/ 'Give it! (col.)'	[ɛ.káː.ɽa.máː.tə.kə]
/sunari/ 'cricket (sp.)'	[ʂu.náː.ɽi]	/kïtapotomati/ 'we all help'	[kɨ.táː.pɔ.tɔ́ː.ma.ti]
/tarïpi/ 'monkey (sp.)'	[ta.ɽɨ́ː.pi]	/kïtëturutëne/ 'we all talked'	[kɨ.tə́ː.tu.ɽúː.tə.nɛ]
/ëripo/ 'cooking stone'	[ə.ɽíː.po]		
		7 syllables	
4 syllables		/jikïrïkïrïpamï/ 'I shivered'	[ji.kɨ́ː.ɽɨ.kɨ́ː.ɽɨ.páː.mɨ]
/arawata/ 'monkey (sp.)'	[a.ɽáː.ʋa.ta]	/apotomatatəkə/ 'Go help!'	[a.pɔ́ː.tɔ.máː.ta.tə́ː.kə]
/jaramata/ 'chin'	[ja.ɽáː.ma.ta]		
/tamutupə/ 'old man'	[ta.múː.tu.pə]	*8 syllables*	
/arimina/ 'electric eel'	[a.ɽíː.mi.na]	/kïtapotomapotəne/	[kɨ.táː.pɔ.tɔ́ː.ma.pɔ́ː.tə.nɛ]
/mapotoma/'You helped'	[ma.pɔ́ː.tɔ.ma]	'We made him help'	
/jiputupə/ 'my head'	[ji.púː.tu.pə]		
/kïjapoko/ 'toucan (sp.)'	[kɨ.jáː.pɔ.kɔ]	*9 syllables*	
/tëtïrïne/ 'I worked'	[tə.tɨ́ː.rɨ.ne]	/kïtëtapotomapotëne/	[kɨ.tə́ː.ta.pɔ́ː.tɔ.máː.pɔ.tə́ː.nɛ]
/tïpatoro/ 'straight, right'	[tɨ.páː.tɔ.ɽo]	'We made him help us'	

Since the stressed vowels in Table 2.7 are realized as phonetically long, one might wonder whether the stressed syllables could be analyzed as different from phonetically short vowels (e.g. as long vowels or VV sequences). However, it is easy to show that, for these words, stress (i.e. vowel length) is not an inherent property of the syllable, but merely a consequence of its position within the word. (27) shows how the addition of syllabic prefixes causes stress shifts to conform to the general pattern; (28) gives a further illustration with a number of words based on /apoto/ 'helper' (morphemes are separated by hyphens in the phonemic transcription).

(27a)	/pakoro/	[pa.kɔ́ː.ɽɔ]	‘house’	→	/ji-pakoro/	[ji.páː.kɔ.ɽɔ]	‘my house’
(b)	/pawana/	[pa.ʋáː.na]	‘friend’	→	/ə-pawana/	[ə.páː.ʋa.na]	‘your friend’
(c)	/jaramata/	[ja.ɽáː.ma.ta]	‘chin’	→	/i-jaramata/	[i.jáː.ɽa.máː.ta]	‘his/her chin’

(28a)	/apoto/	[a.pɔ́ː.tɔ]	‘helper, assistant’
(b)	/m-apoto-ma/	[ma.pɔ́ː.tɔ.ma]	‘You helped’
(c)	/kɨt-apoto-ma/	[kɨ.táː.pɔ.tɔ́ː.ma]	‘The two of us helped’
(d)	/m-apoto-ma-ti/	[ma.pɔ́ː.tɔ.máː.ti]	‘You all helped’
(e)	/kɨt-apoto-ma-ti/	[kɨ.táː.pɔ.tɔ́ː.ma.ti]	‘We all helped’
(f)	/m-apoto-ma-po-ti/	[ma.pɔ́ː.tɔ.máː.pɔ.ti]	‘You all made him help’
(g)	/kɨt-apoto-ma-po-ti/	[kɨ.táː.pɔ.tɔ́ː.ma.pɔ́ː.ti]	‘We all made him help’
(h)	/m-apoto-ma-po-tə-ne/	[ma.pɔ́ː.tɔ.máː.pɔ.tə́ː.nɛ]	‘You all made him help’
(i)	/kɨt-apoto-ma-po-tə-ne/	[kɨ.táː.pɔ.tɔ́ː.ma.pɔ́ː.tə.nɛ]	‘We all made him help’
(j)	/kɨt-ət-apoto-ma-po-tə-ne/	[kɨ.tə́ː.ta.pɔ́ː.tɔ.máː.pɔ.tə́ː.nɛ]	‘We all made him help us’

Such stress shifts are the basis for the analysis of the above words as consisting only of (C)V syllables. Non-(C)V syllables behave differently: they conserve their stress regardless of their position within the word, so that it is not shifted by the addition or removal of a syllabic prefix. (Hyphens signal morpheme breaks; asterisks mark incorrect pronunciations.)

(29a)	/kɨn-empaka/	[kɨ.nɛ́m.pa.ka]	‘S/he woke him/her up’
(b)	/m-empaka/	[mɛ́m.pa.ka] *[mɛm.páː.ka]	‘You woke him/her up’

Furthermore, the presence of non-(C)V syllables disturbs the alternating stress pattern on following (C)V syllables: the pattern restarts with an unstressed syllable, as if a new word had begun. (30) exemplifies this for syllables of the types (C)Vh (a), (C)VN (b), CV_iV_j (c), CV_iV_jh (d) and CV_iV_jN (e); (f) has an example with two adjacent (C)VN heavy syllables.

(30a)	/kɨn-erahtə-po-ti/	[kɨ.nɛ́:.ɽáh.tə.pɔ́:.ti]	'S/he made him/her find them all'
		*[kɨ.nɛ́:.ɽah.tə́:.pɔ.ti]	
(b)	/mi-repentə-tə-ne/	[mi.ɽɛ́:.pɛ́n:.tə.tə́:.nɛ]	'You all paid him/her'
		*[mi.ɽɛ́:.pɛn.tə́:.tə.nɛ]	
(c)	/m-aitə-po-tə-ne/	[mái.tə.pɔ́:.tə.nɛ]	'You all made him/her push it'
		*[mai.tə́:.pɔ.tə́:.nɛ]	
(d)	/m-ə-ehtə-tə-ne/	[mə́ɛh.tə.pɔ́:.tə.nɛ]	'You all meditated'
		*[məɛh.tə́:.pɔ.tə́:.nɛ]	
(e)	/m-ə-enpa-tə-ne/	[mə́ɛm.pa.tə́:.nɛ]	'You all learned'
		*[məɛm.pá:.tə.nɛ]	
(f)	/wanpan-to/	[ʋám.pán.tɔ]	'the singing of hymns'
		*[ʋám.pàn.tɔ]	

The following rules summarize the various facts described above, giving an overall characterization of Tiriyó rhythmic stress in terms of (C)V ('light') or non-(C)V ('heavy') syllables.

(i) Final syllables are not stressed.

(ii) Every non-final heavy syllable is stressed.

(iii) Every second light syllable, counting from either the beginning of the word or the nearest heavy syllable, is stressed.

Schematically (– = heavy syllable, ⏑ = light syllable, ´ = stress),

(a) light syllables only: /⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ... ⏑/ → [⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑́ ... ⏑]

(b) one heavy syllable
in a stress position: /⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ... ⏑/ → [⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ –́ ⏑ ⏑́ ... ⏑]

(c) one heavy syllable
in a stressless position: /⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ... ⏑/ → [⏑ ⏑́ –́ ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ ... ⏑]

(d) several heavy syllables
in various positions: /⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ... ⏑/ → [⏑ ⏑́ –́ ⏑ –́ –́ ⏑ ⏑́ ... ⏑]

This pattern has been described in the literature on stress as an *iambic foot* system (cf. Meira 1998b, using Hayes' 1995 formalism, or van de Vijver 1998, for an account based on Optimality Theory). In Tiriyó, it can be used to argue for certain points concerning syllable structure: the tautosyllabicity of vowel sequences (cf. 2.3.1), the 'underlying cluster' analysis of certain phones (cf. 2.4.2.1 for [ɲ] and 2.4.2.2 for [ɸ] and syllable-initial [h]), and the presence of underlying VV sequences (cf. 2.5.1.1). Phonological words with less than three syllables deserve special attention (cf. 2.5.1.2).

2.5.1.1. Identifying underlying sequences of identical vowels. The iambic stress system outlined above can account for the fact that there are certain vowels which always bear stress: they can be analyzed as underlying sequences of two identical vowels, i.e. as

(C)VV syllables.[21] (32) illustrates this by comparing forms of the verb for ‘bite O’, analyzed as /eeka/, in which the stem-initial vowel is always stressed, with the verb for ‘to hear’, analyzed as /eta/, in which this is not the case.

(32a)	/kɨn-eta/	[kɨ.nɛ́:.ta]	‘S/he heard him/her/it’
(b)	/kɨn-eeka/	[kɨ.nɛ́:.ka]	‘S/he bit him/her/it’
(c)	/m-eta-ti/	[mɛ.tá:.ti]	‘You all heard him/her/it’
(d)	/m-eeka-ti/	[mɛ́:.ka.ti] *[mɛ.ká:.ti]	‘You all bit him/her/it’

In the transcription used in the present work, identifiable sequences of identical vowels will always be written, even if they occur in stressed positions, where their length would not be noticeable. Thus, we shall write /kɨneeka/, but /kɨneta/, although the second vowels of both words sound alike. From a strictly phonological viewpoint, it could be argued that the distinction between VV sequences and single vowels is neutralized in stressed positions, and that a single notation should be used (much as the single notation /n/ was adopted for syllable-final [n], [m] and [ŋ], on account of their predictability). Nevertheless, it seems much more important to identify consistently the stems with underlying VV sequences from those that do not with a double vowel letter. This allows every mention of a morpheme to convey information about its realization in other words.

---

[21] One might wonder whether these cases represent ‘truly’ long vowels or sequences of indentical vowels (i.e. /V:/ or /VV/). Since there seems to be no phonological process in Tiriyó that distinguishes these two cases, the difference is immaterial. The label ‘sequence of identical vowels’ is chosen simply to parallel non-identical vowel sequences. The representational choice of using VV rather than V: reflects no deeper claims, but simply notational convenience. VV will be used in the phonemic transcription; V: will be used in the phonetic transcription to represent stressed vowels, regardless of whether they are underlying sequences of vowels or single vowels.

The cases in which no syllabic prefixes can be added are technically ambiguous: since there is no way to force stress to shift, it is impossible to tell if any phonetically long vowels are actually underlying VV sequences. In some cases, comparative evidence suggests that there should be a VV sequence, resulting from the process of syllable reduction (cf. 2.6.2); however, on account of the lack of any derived forms with a syllabic prefix, even these forms will be transcribed as having underlyingly short vowels synchronically.

2.5.1.2. Words with less than three syllables. As described in 2.5.1, the iambic stress system would not assign any stress to all-(C)V phonological words with fewer than three syllables. Since the last syllable does not count, a monosyllabic word would have no remaining material to be stressed, and a bisyllabic word would have only one remaining syllable, which would not bear stress since the pattern starts with an unstressed syllable.[22] In fact, all-(C)V bisyllabic words fail to have all the phonetic correlates of stress (cf. 2.5.1.3). When uttered in isolation, there is a pitch drop from the first to the second syllable, but the vowel of the first syllable is not lengthened. If the intervocalic consonant is a stop, it is optionally made longer, as if it had been geminated. In (33) below, the acute accents mark higher pitch, and the parenthetical consonants represent optional lengthening.

---

[22] In Hayes' 1995 terminology, the extrametricality of the final syllable means that all-(C)V bisyllabic and monosyllabic words cannot form a foot.

(33a)	/pata/	[pá(t).ta]	'place, village'
(b)	/meta/	[mɛ́(t).ta]	'you heard'
(c)	/mene/	[mɛ́.nɛ]	'you saw'
(d)	/tëpu/	[tə́(p).pu]	'stone, rock'
(e)	/epɨ/	[ɛ́(p).pɨ]	'tree trunk'
(f)	/eka/	[ɛ́(k).ka]	'his/her name'
(g)	/maja/	[má.ja]	'knife'
(h)	/kawë/	[ká.ʋə]	'high, tall'

That is not to say that bisyllabic words cannot have initial VV sequences. But, whenever that happens, the vowel remains phonetically long even when morphology is added that places it in an unstressed position. This can be seen in (34a-c), where the addition of a suffix or clitic, causing the word to become trisyllabic, brings no stress shifts about (cf. also the minimal pairs in (3), Sec. 2.2.2). These examples can be compared with (34d-f), in which the addition of a suffix does cause stress shift.

(34a)	/m-eeka/	[mɛ́:.ka]	'you bit'	→	/m-eeka-ti/	[mɛ́:.ka.ti] *[mɛ.ká:.ti]	'You all heard'
(b)	/maakë/	[má:.kə]	'mosquito'	→	/maakə_ton/	[má:.kə.tɔŋ] *[ma.kə́:.tɔŋ]	'all mosquitoes'
(c)	/ooko/	[ɔ́:.kɔ]	'curassow'	→	/ooko_ton/	[ɔ́:.kɔ.tɔŋ] *[ɔ.kɔ́:.tɔŋ]	'all curassows'
(d)	/m-eta/	[mɛ́(t).ta]	'you heard'	→	/m-eta-ti/	[mɛ.tá:.ti]	'You all heard'
(e)	/maja/	[má.ja]	'knife'	→	/maja_ton/	[ma.já:.tɔŋ]	'all knives'
(f)	/tëpu/	[tə́(p).pu]	'stone'	→	/təpu_ton/	[tə.pú:.tɔŋ]	'all stones'

Bisyllabic words with other kinds of initial heavy syllables also occur. These syllables can also be considered stressed in that the addition of a suffix or clitic again fails to cause stress shifts.

(35a)	/mahto/	[máh.tɔ]	'fire'	→	/mahto_ton/	[máh.tɔ.tɔŋ]	'all fires'
						*[mah.tɔ́ː.tɔŋ]	
(b)	/pinta/	[pín.da]	'peanut'	→	/pinta_ton/	[pín.da.tɔŋ]	'all peanuts'
						*[pin.dáː.tɔŋ]	
(c)	/m-ë-enpa/	[mə́ɛm.pa]	'you learned'	→	/m-ë-enpa-ti/	[mə́ɛm.pa.ti]	'you all learned'
						*[məɛm.páː.ti]	

The few attested monosyllabic words show no pitch drop; one might say that, when uttered in isolation, they have no stress.

(36a)	/je/	[jɛ]	'tooth'
(b)	/o/	[ɔ]	'carpentry tool'

The facts shown above can be summarized as follows:

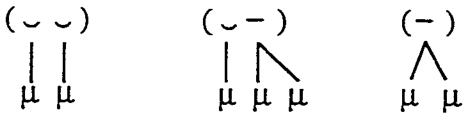
(i) monosyllabic words are not stressable;

(ii) bisyllabic words are stressable only if they have an initial heavy syllable.

In Hayes' 1995 theory (cf. also Meira 1998b), the special situation of bisyllabic and monosyllabic words can be described as a consequence of their 'unparsability'. Hayes considers light and heavy syllables to differ in the number of syllable weight units or 'moras': light syllables have only one mora, while heavy syllables have two moras.[23] Furthermore, well-formed iambic feet must have at least two moras, as (37) shows by listing the possible iambic feet adopted by Hayes (◡ = light syllable, – = heavy syllable, μ = mora).

---

[23] Equating 'moras' with 'syllable weight units' is actually not correct; Hayes' theory considers them 'time units' to which segments are attached. The syllable is thus a higher node dominating one or two moras, each of which dominates the segments that compose the syllable. For descriptive purposes, the details are not so important; the interested reader is directed to Hayes 1995.

(37)


In this framework, an iambic stress rule would simply 'parse' a phonological word into well-formed iambic feet, and then stress the leftmost element of every foot. Considering that final syllables do not count (i.e. they are 'extrametrical'), it becomes clear that monosyllabic and all-(C)V bisyllabic words do not have enough moras to form even one iambic foot (i.e. these words are 'unfootable'). (38) illustrates this by comparing the metrical parsing of an all-(C)V polysyllabic template with that of bisyllabic and monosyllabic templates. (Angle brackets (<>) mark the extrametricality of the final syllable).

(38) /⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ... ⏑/ → (⏑ ⏑)(⏑ ⏑) ... <⏑> → [(⏑ ⏑́)(⏑ ⏑́) ... <⏑>]
/– ⏑/ → (–)<⏑> → [(–́)<⏑>]
/⏑ ⏑/ → ⏑ <⏑> → [⏑́ ⏑]
/⏑/ → ⏑ → [⏑]

From this metrical perspective, the situation outlined above can be described as follows. Iambic stress only applies to phonological words in which two or more moras remain after the final syllable is excluded, so that at least one iambic foot can be formed. If less than two moras remain, the word simply cannot be stressed. In this case, the pitch drop observed in all-(C)V bisyllabic words would not come from stress assignment, but rather from a normal, unmarked intonational contour which indicates the end of a statement by dropping the pitch on its last syllable (cf. 2.5.2).

2.5.1.3. The phonetic correlates of stress. A first unaided hearing of Tiriyó words in isolation suggests that the phonetic expression of stress in Tiriyó involves vowel length and pitch: the vowel of a stressed (C)V syllable seems to become phonetically long and high-pitched. Vowels of non-(C)V syllables do not become long when stressed because there is another element (a second vowel or a coda consonant) which prevents this lengthening (i.e. there can be no phonetic syllables in Tiriyó in which a VV sequence is followed by another tautosyllabic element; cf. 2.4.1).

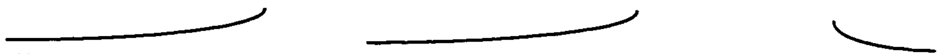
An analysis of phonetic data shows that length does, in fact, correlate with stress on syllables without codas. However, a closer look at pitch contours with the help of laboratory tools (the CECIL speech analysis software) shows that a clear correlation between high pitch and stressed syllables does not exist. Fig. 2.4-5, 2.6-7 show single words pronounced in isolation (each word was pronounced twice; all utterances came from the same speaker, a middle-aged man): /amatakana/, a species of toucan, and /mekaramapone/ 'You made him/her give O' (which should become, [a.má:.ta.ká:.na] and [mɛ.ká:.ɾa.má:.pɔ.nɛ], respectively). In all cases, however, the pitch remained unchanged in the first two syllables, in spite of the stress on the second one.

Such cases are fairly typical. The conclusion seems to be that high pitch, unlike length, is not an automatic element of stress; rather, it is an *intonational* element, which interacts with the stressed or unstressed status of a syllable (e.g. the 'surprise' interrogative intonation ascribes high pitch to non-stressed syllables, and low pitch to stressed ones), but is not part of it.

2.5.1.4. The question of primary stress. For the time being, aside from an impression that the last stressed syllable in a phonological word sounds stronger than the others, there seems to be no reason to analyze any single syllable in a phonological word as bearing primary stress. This conclusion may change when more is known about the phonetics of the Tiriyó stress system.

2.5.2. Intonation. Research on the various intonational patterns of Tiriyó is still ongoing. The following patterns have already been identified:

(a) Unmarked affirmative intonation. Throughout a non-final intonational phrase, pitch starts low and rises towards the end; on the last intonational phrase, pitch starts high and falls towards the end. (39) is a schematic illustration; Fig. 2.10 contains the actual pitch graph for this utterance (pronounced by a middle-aged male speaker).



(39) / pijukuku_me_nkërë # ji-w-eh-topo-npë_n-ai # ji-wame /
baby_Attr_still # 1-S_A-Cop-Circ:Nzr-Pst_3S_A-Cop # 1-Ignor

'What I was like as a baby, I don't know.'

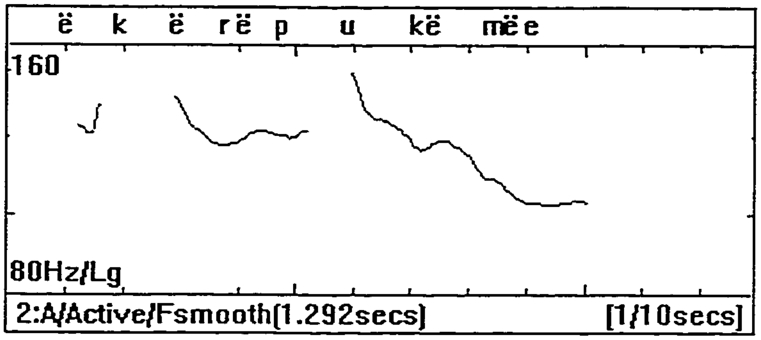


Figure 2.4
Affirmative Intonation

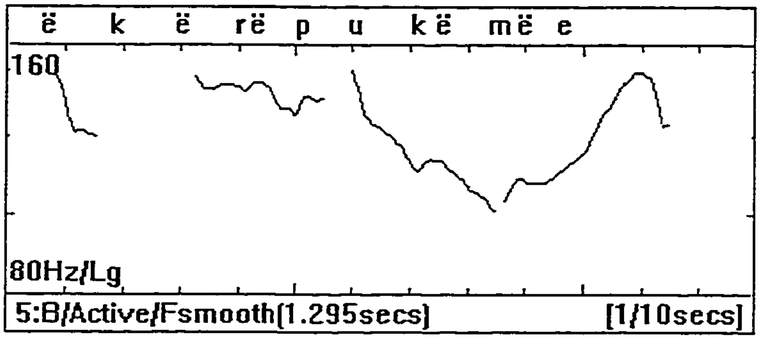


Figure 2.5
Interrogative Intonation

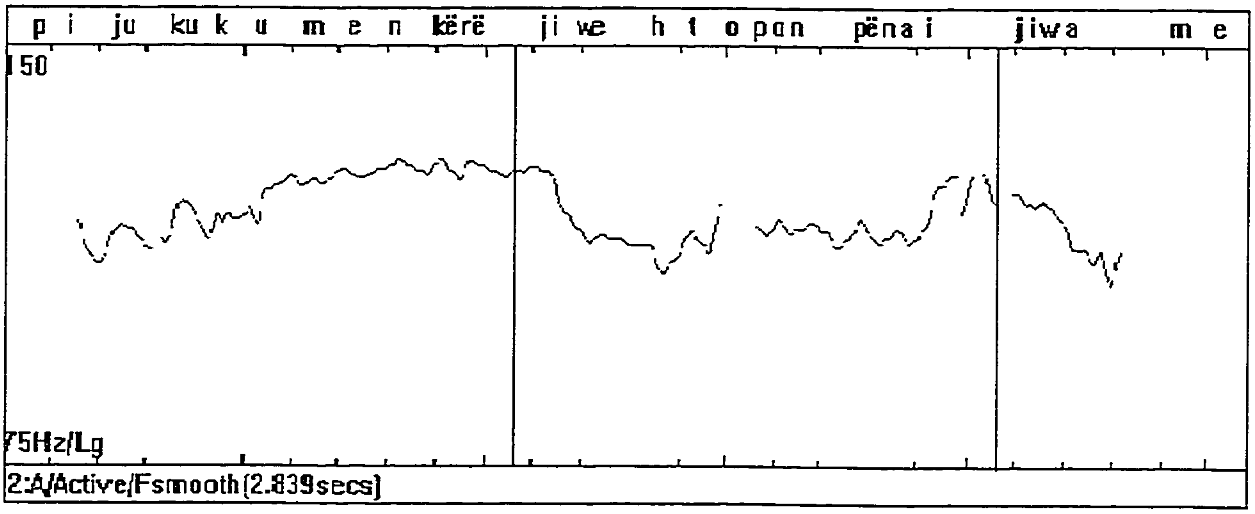
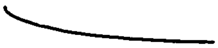
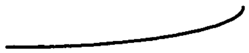


Figure 2.6
Normal Affirmative Intonation
(three intonational units)

(b) Interrogative Intonation. Similar to the affirmative intonation, but pitch rises at the end of the sentence instead of falling. (40) has schematic examples of the same statement, pronounced affirmatively (40a) and interrogatively (40b); Figs. 2.8-9 show the actual pitch graph for this utterance (pronounced by a young male speaker).



(40a) / ëkërëpukë_mëe /
tayra_3AnPx
'This one is a tayra.'



(b) / ëkërëpukë_mëe ? /
tayra_3AnPx
'Is this one a tayra?'

(c) 'Surprise' interrogative intonation. This contour marks questions that go against some prior assumption (e.g. 'John did that?', when it was not expected that he would). It is characterized by high pitch on the unstressed syllables and low pitch on the stressed syllables, as in (41).

(41) [má.taː.ʋá.rɛː.pɔ́.na mɨ́.təː.tí]
/ Mataware_pona mï-të-ti(i) ?/
Mataware to $2S_{A}$-go-Col
'Did you go to Mataware?!' (=I thought you hadn't)

2.6. Morphophonology. The two most productive morphophonological processes in Tiriyó involve mostly stem allomorphic patterns: ablaut and syllable reduction. Less productive processes are vowel harmony and assimilation.

2.6.1. Ablaut. Vowel-initial stems can be divided into two groups: one which follows the *ablaut* pattern described below, and one which does not. The former group is comprised of all the stems which, in the third-person (either possessor- or object-marking) form, begin with /e/, /aCë/ or /aCo/ (where C represents any consonant); the latter contains all other vowel-initial stems.

The ablaut stems have two allomorphs, with different initial vowels, conditioned by the morphological process applied to them. One of these allomorphs has either /ë/ or /o/ as the initial vowel (and is thus called here the *back grade*); its counterpart has either /e/ or /a/ (the *front grade*). The back grade occurs on forms that indicate the absence of an argument (e.g. non-possessed forms of nouns, transitive verbs with a generic or undetermined object), and also with the 1+2 (and also 12AO) prefix /k-/ and all the /t-/ prefixes (third-person reflexive [cf. 3.3.1.3], adverbializer [cf. 6.2.1.1], and remote past [cf. 5.4.3.1.2]); the front grade occurs on all other forms.

The back grade form of a stem can be predicted from the corresponding front grade form. If the front grade is /e/-initial, the back grade is /ë/-initial (including initial /ee/'s, which become /ëë/'s):

(42)	Front grade		Back grade	
(a)	/ewa/	'(his/her) rope'	/ëwa/	'rope (unpossessed)'
(b)	/eeka/	'bite O!'	/ëëka-të/	'good at biting, capable of biting'
(c)	/eremina/	'sing'	/k-ëremina/	'we sang'
(d)	/eemi/	'(his/her) daughter'	/k-ëëmi/	'our daughter'
(e)	/ene/	'see/watch O!'	/k-ëne/	'I saw you / you saw me / s/he saw us'
(f)	/erepa/	'(his/her) food'	/t-ërepa/	'his/her own food'
(g)	/enu/	'(his/her) eye'	/t-ënu-ke/	'having an eye, eyed'
(h)	/enïh-kë/	'drink O!'	/t-ënïï-se/	'drank'

If the front grade is /a/-initial, then the form of the back grade will depend on the vowel of the second syllable; if it is /ë/, then the back grade will be /ë/-initial; if it is /o/, then the back grade will be /o/-initial; if it is any other vowel, the back grade will be the same as the front grade.

(43) Front grade		Back grade	
(a) /apëi/	‘(his/her) seat’	/ëpëi/	‘seat (unpossessed)
(b) /akëërë/	‘with (him/her/it)’	/k-ëkëërë/	‘with us’
(c) /arë/	‘Take O!’	/k-ërë/	‘I took you, you took me, s/he took us’
(d) /awë/	‘inside (him/her/it)’	/t-ëwë/	‘inside him/herself’
(e) /akëmi/	‘(his/her) ygr. sibling’	/t-ëkëmi-ke/	‘having a younger sibling’
(f) /ahkë(të)/	‘Cut O!’	/t-ëhkëë-se/	‘cut’
(g) /amoi/	‘(his/her) finger nail’	/omoi/	‘finger nail (unpossessed)’
(h) /arokï/	‘(his/her) tail, penis’	/k-orokï/	‘our tail, penis’
(i) /anota/	‘Fall!’	/k-onota/	‘we have fallen’
(j) /akono/	‘(his) brother-in-law’	/t-okono/	‘his own brother-in-law’
(k) /apo/	‘Dig O!’	/t-opo-e/	‘dug’
(l) /aotï/	‘(his/her) rib’	/k-aotï/	‘our rib’
(m)/anïhta/	‘Grow!’	/k-anïhta/	‘we have grown’
(n) /akunu/	‘(his/her) laziness’	/t-akunu/	‘his/her own laziness’
(o) /arimika/	‘Raise/educate O!’	/t-arimika-e/	‘raised, educated’

Notice that ablaut affects stems starting with vowel sequences if the first element is /e/, but not if it is /a/, even if the vowel in the second syllable is /ë/ (and presumably also /o/, though no examples occurred in the corpus). Stems starting with an /ee/ sequence are also affected, but not those starting with an /aa/ sequence.

(44a)	/eire/	‘angry at O’	/k-ëire/	‘angry at the two of us’
(b)	/aitë/	‘push O’	/t-aitë-e/	‘pushed’
(c)	/eema/	‘path, way’	/k-ëëma/	‘our path’

(d)	/aajo/	‘cut O (several times)’	/t-aajo-e/	‘cut’

For the non-ablaut stems, there is no distinction between back and front grades:

(45a)	/urakana/	‘Walk around!’	/k-urakana/	‘We have walked around’
(b)	/otï/	‘meat food’	/t-otï-ke/	‘having meat food’
(c)	/oona/	‘(his/her/your) nose’	/t-oona/	‘his/her own nose’

Although it is always possible to predict the back grade from the corresponding front grade, the converse is not always true. Back grade forms with /ë/ or /o/ in the second syllable can correspond to front grades with /a/, as in (43) above, or /e/ or /o/, as in (46) below, as the first vowel:[24]

(46a)	/etë/	‘Smoke/blow O!’	/t-ëtë-e/	‘smoked/blew’
(b)	/onoh-kë/	‘Paint/smooth O!’	/t-onoo-se/	‘painted, smoothed’

On account of this, the front grade will always be used as the citation form for ablaut stems.

An interresting irregularity is the case of /ëema/ ‘path, way’. Its ‘0’ (non-possessed) form is /ëema/, and its third-person possessed form, /eema/; with the prefixes /k-/ ‘1+2’ and /t-/ ‘3R’, however, a third form /ëëma/ occurs (e.g. /k-ëëma/ ‘our path, trail’). In other words, /ëema/ is the only noun that has two back grades (/ëema/ and /ëëma/). [25]

---

[24] It must be said, however, that the cases with /a/ as the front grade vowel are by far the most frequent.

[25] This is certainly related to the fact that the initial vowel in this word was an independent syllable at some point in the past (Meira 1998a:180 reconstructs it as */ecema/). Apparently, the non-possessed form /ëema/ is a remnant from this time; /ëëma/ being probably the result of assimilation.

2.6.2. Syllable reduction. In addition to the ablaut described in the previous section, there is another allomorphic pattern, here called 'syllable reduction', which affects a high number of morphemes. Basically, this pattern relates allomorphs which differ only by one syllable (either the first or the last, here called the *reducing syllable*), and which are usually (though not always) conditioned by the form of the adjacent syllables. The allomorphs in question are:

(i) the *full* (or *CV*) grade, in which the affected syllable appears in its full form;

(ii) the *reduced* grades, of which there are two kinds:

— the *coda* (or *C*) grade, in which the affected syllable is replaced with a single consonant, either /h/ or /n/, which becomes the coda of the preceding syllable;

— the *length* (or *VV*) grade, in which the affected syllable is absent, but the preceding vowel is lengthened (i.e. becomes a VV sequence);

(iii) the *zero* (or *∅*) grade, in which the affected syllable is absent, without any effects on other parts of the stem.

Table 2.8 illustrates the syllable reduction pattern. For the verb stems, the full grade form is in the /-∅/ present perfective, followed by the particle /_nkërë/ 'still, yet; again'; the coda grade form, in the /-ta/ future imperfective; the length grade form, in the /-ne/ past perfective; and the zero grade form, in the /-∅/ present perfective without any following particle. For the noun stems, the full grade is the non-possessed form, and the reduced grade is the first-person possessed form (hyphens mark morpheme breaks, while dots mark syllabic breaks):

Table 2.8
The allomorphic pattern of syllable reduction.

Full (CV) Grade	Coda (C) Grade	Length (VV) Grade	Zero (∅) Grade
wi.-po.no.pï_n.kë.rë ‘I still told’	wi.-po.noh.-tae ‘I will tell’	wi.-po.noo.-ne ‘I told’	wi.-po.no ‘I told’
w-o.na.mï_n.kë.rë ‘I still hid’	w-o.nan.-tae ‘I will hide’		
pï.tai ´non-poss. shoe’	ji-h.tai ‘my shoe(s)’		
wï.wï ‘non-poss. ax’		jii.-wï ‘my ax’	
mï.ta ‘non-poss. mouth’	ji-n.ta ‘my mouth’		

In general, the distribution of the various allomorphs has the following characteristics (exceptional cases will be discussed later):

— The zero grade occurs when no affixes or clitics are added. Only stem-final reduction cases have a zero grade.

— Reduction (i.e., the choice of one of the other reduced grades) occurs when an affix or clitic is added to the stem. Reduction is prevented if the result would contain a syllable that does not conform to the possible syllable types (cf. 2.4.1). (47) shows that the stem /pono(pï)/ ‘to tell O’ cannot occur in any of its reduced forms when followed by the particle /nkërë/ ‘still, yet; again’, since this would generate unsyllabifiable sequences (*/hnk/ for the coda grade, */oonk/ for the length grade); this can be compared with

/wiponohtae/ 'I will tell it', from Table 2.8 above, in which the result is a syllabifiable /ht/ sequence:

(47) /wi-ponopï_nkërë/ 'I told it once more' * /wi-ponoh_nkërë/
* /wi-ponoo_nkërë/

— Full grade forms with a nasal (i.e. NV) reducing syllable only have the coda grade in /n/, which is used in all reducing situations (i.e. with all non-CCV, non-single-consonant affixes). So, the root /onamï/ 'to hide O', from Table 2.8, has no length or zero grades; its coda grade /onan/ occurs in all reducing situations (the form corresponding to the third column of Table 2.8 is /w-o.nan.-ne/, with an /nn/ cluster; the form corresponding to the fourth column would be simply /w-o.nan/). The /n/ of the coda grade, as expected, assimilates in place of articulation to the following consonant.

— Full grade forms with a non-nasal reducing syllable may have both the coda (in /h/) and the length grade. The coda grade is used whenever a possible /h/-cluster results (i.e. if the following consonant is /p, t, k/ or, marginally, /s/;[26] cf. 2.4.2.2); otherwise, the length grade is used. So, in Table 2.8, the suffix /-ne/ occurs with the length grade /ponoo/ of the stem /ponopï/, thus confirming the phonotactic pattern that marks */hn/ as an impossible consonant sequence (cf.1.4);

— If a non-nasal reducing syllable is stem-final, then its conditioning environment (the following consonant) will depend on the nature of the following suffix; therefore, the stem can theoretically have both a coda and a length grade, if suffixes beginning with the appropriate consonants exist. If, however, the reducing syllable is stem-initial, then its conditioning environment, which is the next syllable of the stem itself, is invariable; in this case, the stem can have either a coda or a length grade, but not both. It will also not have a zero grade.

---

[26] In fact, syllable reduction environments are usually the best cases of /hs/.

Table 2.9 summarizes these claims (with syllable-final N representing the general pattern of nasal assimilation in point of articulation to the following consonant [cf. 2.4.2.1]; the ellipsis (...) shows where the word continues):

Table 2.9
The allomorphic pattern of syllable reduction.

Full (CV) Grade	Coda (C) Grade	Length (VV) Grade	Zero (∅) Grade
...CVCV-C...	**...CVh-C...**	**...CVV-C...**	**...CV**
CV-CV...	**CV-h...**	**CVV-...**	(does not occur)
...CVNV-C...	**...CVN-C...**	(same as Coda Grade)	(same as Coda Grade)
CV-NV...	**CV-N...**	(same as Coda Grade)	(same as Coda Grade)

This allomorphic pattern clearly has a diachronic explanation. Internal reconstruction suggests that the full grade is the original form of the stem in all environments; at some point in time, a historical process of erosion affected certain syllables, causing them to be reduced. The first step was probably vowel loss, with the consequent formation of consonant clusters (cf. Gildea 1995 for a general overview of this phenomenon in the Cariban family). In Tiriyó, the first consonant became /h/ if it was not nasal, and appears now to be about to disappear completely, leaving the compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel as the only trace of its previous existence (cf. 2.4.2.2). As a further development, /h/-codas and VV sequences have been lost word-finally in Tiriyó, thus generating the zero grade (which must be a recent development). Since this happened word-finally, stem-initial reduction cases can never have a zero grade.

As a general practice, the citation form of reducing stems will include the reducing syllable in parentheses (e.g. /pono(pï)/ 'to tell O', /(pu)pu/ 'foot'). Nasal reducing syllables are also enclosed in parentheses (e.g. /rëke(ne)/ 'only', /ona(mï)/ 'hide O', /(mï)ta/ 'mouth'). It will be understood that a nasal reducing syllable like /mï/ corresponds to a /n/ in the reduced grade, whereas a non-nasal syllable like /pï/ corresponds to an /h/ in the coda grade and to vowel length in the length grade.

It is a difficult task, still unresolved among Caribanists, to decide what diachronic factors conditioned syllable reduction. The stress system probably played an important role, but in ways that are not really clear yet. For a synchronic description of Tiriyó, this implies that it is difficult to characterize the set of all stems that undergo reduction (i.e. that have full, reduced, and zero grades). Certain general features can be noted:

— the reducing syllable in its full grade is always of the CV type;[27]

— the vowel is usually /ï/ or /u/;

— the consonant is usually a non-glide, i.e. a stop (/p, t, k/), a nasal (/m, n/), or /r/.

Nevertheless, there is a considerable number of exceptions and irregularities. In order to discuss them in a meaningful way, it seems better to look at stem-initial and stem-final reduction separately first, concerning both which kinds of prefixes trigger syllable reduction (i.e. co-occur with the reduced grades), and which kinds of stems undergo reduction (i.e. have reduced grades at all).

---

[27] The only exception seems to be the particle /_ta(ike)/, which has a 'reducing part' larger than a syllable, /ike/.

2.6.2.1. Stem-initial syllable reduction. There is never a zero grade for stem-initial reduction. The full grade occurs only when the stem undergoes no prefixation; all prefixes trigger reduction. Since prefixes are all either vowel-final or have a vowel-final allomorph which occurs on consonant-initial stems, the prefix and the reduced grade always form a syllabifiable word, as can be seen in the diagram below (single dots represent syllable breaks, while triple dots represent the (possible) rest of the word or affix; parentheses delimit optional elements; a colon represents vowel lengthening; # represents the beginning of the phonological word):

Prefix		Reduced Grade		Resulting Word	
#(...)CV	+	CCV(...)	→	#(...)CVC.CV(...)	(Coda Grade)
	+	:CV(...)	→	#(...)CVV.CV(...)	(Length Grade)

There are only a few dozen stems that reduce their initial syllable; most of them are either nouns or derived from nouns. The initial syllables are /pï, mï, wï/. One case of reducing /pu/ (/(pu)pu/ ‘foot’, which becomes /ji-hpu/ ‘my foot’), and one of non-reducing /pu/ (/putupë/ ‘head’, /ji-putupë/ ‘my head‘), occurred in the available data. There was also one exceptional case: /pïtïkï/ ‘anus’, which gets a stem-initial /h/ without losing the first syllable: /ji-hpïtïkï/ 'my anus'.[28] It is possible that other potentially reducing syllables (e.g. /tï/, /mu/, etc.) would also undergo reduction, but no stems starting with these syllables have been found yet.

	Full Grade		Coda Grade		Length Grade	
(47a)	/(pï)ropï/	'chest'			/jii-ropï/	'my chest'
(b)	/(pu)pu/	'foot'	/ji-hpu/	'my foot'		
(c)	/(mï)nepu/	'bridge'	/ji-nnepu/	'my bridge'		
(d)	/(mï)ka/	'back'	/ji-nka/	'my back'		
(e)	/(wï)raapa/	'bow'			/jii-raapa/	'my bow'

With respect to the results of reduction, there is one exceptional stem: /(mï)me/ 'long hair', which has the length grade instead of the coda grade:

(48) /mïme/ 'long hair' → /jii-me/ 'my long hair'

2.6.2.2. Stem-final syllable reduction. It is easy to see that all suffixes and enclitics that are either a single consonant, or begin with a CCV syllable, will occur only with the full grade;[29] as is shown in the diagram below, this is the only case that would not create unattested syllables (single dots represent syllable breaks; triple dots represent the (possible) rest of the word or affix; parentheses delimit optional elements; asterisks mark impossible syllabifications; # represents the end of the phonological word; the unattested syllable is underlined):

---

[28] Stems like /pï(tï)/ 'wife' and /pu(nu)/ 'flesh, body' are also, *stricto sensu*, exceptions; however, it is so only because they also undergo stem-final syllable reduction. It would be strange if a bisyllabic word could reduce both its syllables simultaneously. It is as though stem-final reduction prevailed over stem-initial reduction; 'my wife' is /ji-pï/, not */ji-htï/, and 'my body' is /ji-pun/, not */jii-nu/.

[29] When the stem occurs without any suffixes or enclitics, there is variation between the full grade and a form in which the reducing syllable is totally lost; e.g. the first-person */-Ø/* 'present perfective' form of /pono(pï)/ 'tell O' is /wi-ponopï/ ~ /wipono/.

Full grade:	(...)CVCV	+	C(CV...)#	→	(...)CV.CVC(.CV...)#
Coda grade:	(...)CVC	+	C(CV...)#	→	* (...)CVCC.(CV...)# * (...)CVC.C(CV...)# * (...)CV.CC(CV...)#
Length grade:	(...)CVV	+	C(CV...)#	→	* (...)CVV.C(CV...)# * (...)CV.VC(CV...)# * (...)C.VVC(CV...)#

Apart from CCV-initial and single-consonant suffixes and enclitics, there are others that can co-occur with the full grade of a reducing stem. They occur with non-verbal stems (cf. 2.6.2.2.2 for the particularities involved in the syllable reduction pattern for non-verbal stems). Here is a list; the particular details of each case, considered as idiosyncratic, are discussed in the sections dealing with each item (given below in parentheses).

— /r/-initial particles like /rën(ne)/ 'truly', /rë/ 'exactly', /rëke(ne)/ 'only' (cf. 9.1.4)

— the vowel-initial suffix /-imë/ 'Augmentative' (cf. 4.2.1.2)

— the postpositions /ja/ 'Allative / Dative / Ergative' (cf. 7.3.4.1), /se/ 'Desiderative' (cf. 7.3.3), and also /ke/ 'Instrumental'(cf. 7.3.4.2) when it occurs with a /-∅/-nominalized verbal stem.

The zero grade, in principle, occurs only when no suffixes or clitics are added to the stem. In the case of nominal stems, this is the case; e.g. /emeku(nu)/ 'wrist', /epe(tï)/ 'medicine' and /apëre(mï)/ 'owner' occur as /emekun/, /epe/ and /apëren/ when no suffixes or clitics follow (and are in fact much more frequently found in this form than in any other). Verbal stems, on the other hand, do not do that. The two verb forms that most closely resemble a 'suffixless' form are the /-∅/ 'present perfective' form, and the /-∅/-nominalized form (used with the desiderative postposition /_se/ [cf. 7.3.3]). Interestingly enough, in the /-∅/ 'present perfective' form, the zero and full grades appear to be in free variation; in the /-∅/-nominalized form, only the full grade can occur. This results from the presence of a possessive suffix /-(rï)/ in the nominalized form, which prevents the final syllable from reducing (cf. 4.3.1.5).

(49) Stem		/-∅/ 'present perfective'		/-∅/-nominalization	
(a) /pono(pï)/	'tell O'	/wi-pono/ ~ /wi-ponopï/	'I told O'	/i-ponopï_se wae/	'I want to tell O'
(b) /ku(ku)/	'try O'	/wi-ku/ ~ /wi-kuku/	'I tried O'	/i-kuku_se wae/	'I want to try O'
(c) /ewe(tï)/	'feed O'	/w-ewe/ ~ /w-ewetï/	'I fed O'	/ewetï_se wae/	'I want to feed O'

As for the stems that undergo reduction, the highest level of regularity is found among verbal stems; on account of this, they will be treated separately.

2.6.2.2.1. Verbal stems. All the verb stems whose full grade form ends in /pï, tï, të, tu, kï, ku/ (about 100 stems thus far), as well as those ending in /mï, mu/, follow the syllable reduction pattern: the former have both the coda and the length grade, while the latter have only the coda grade.[30] The only exception thus far is /eku/ 'have sex with O', which has an irregular conjugation (cf. 5.1.6). The presence of /të/ in the list, as well as the absence of /pu/, is surprising. Note, however, that no verb stems ending in /pu/ were found (i.e. this is probably a spurious gap), and that there are only two ending in /të/, /ahkë(të)/ 'cut O' and /akë(të)/ 'to clear O (an area, for planting)'.[31]

In the examples below, the full grade form is the first-person /-Ø/-past form with the clitic particle /nkërë/ 'still, yet; again', the coda grade form is the /-ta/-'Go'-imperative, and the length grade is the first-person dual form of the /-ja/-present:[32]

(50)	Stem		Full Grade	Coda Grade	Length Grade
(a)	/ono(pï)/	'paint O'	/w-onopï_nkërë/	/onoh-ta/	/kït-onoo-jae/
(b)	/ewe(tï)/	'feed O'	/w-ewetï_nkërë/	/eweh-ta/	/ke-ewee-jae/
(c)	/ja(tu)/	'burn (intr.)'	/ji-jatu_nkërë/	/ë-jah-ta/	/kï-jaa-jae/
(d)	/ahkë(të)/	'cut O'	/w-ahkëtë_nkërë/	/ahkëh-ta/	/w-ahkëë-jae/
(e)	/ëënï(kï)/	'sleep'	/t-ëënïkï_nkërë/	/ëënïh-ta/	/t-ëënïï-jae/
(f)	/ku(ku)/	'try O'	/wi-kuku_nkërë/	/i-kuh-ta/	/kii-kuu-jae/
(g)	/kooma(mï)/	'spend night'	/ji-koomamï_nkërë/	/ë-kooman-ta/	/ji-kooman-jae/
(h)	/këhtu(mu)/	'shout'	/ji-këhtumu_nkërë/	/ë-këhtun-ta/	/ji-këhtun-jae/

---

[30] Monosyllabic stems like /pï/ 'to bathe O' or /të/ 'to go' are exceptions: /wï-pï-jae/ 'I am bathing O', /wï-të-e/ 'I am going'; cf. 5.4.1.3.1. Concerning /të/ 'to go', notice that, although it does not reduce in the /-ja/-present, it does reduce in the /-ta/-future; cf. /wï-të-e/ 'I am going', /wï-h-tae/ 'I will go'.

[31] /ahkë(të)/ and /akë(të)/ may be diachronically related via an old case of internal reduplication (cf. 1.6.3), made less transparent by syllable reduction: /a-kë-kë(të)/ > /ahkë(të)/.

[32] The person-marking prefix was chosen so as to make the stem-final long vowel more obvious; either the first person dual inclusive prefix (which either adds an extra syllable at the beginning of the stem, or makes the first syllable of the stem heavy), or the first person prefix (which does not affect the stem).

Verbs stems in /ru, rï/ appear to fall in two groups: one which follows the syllable reduction pattern, and one which does not (the latter contains stems that have irregular /-se/ forms cf. 5.4.3.1).[33]

(51) Stem		Full Grade	Coda Grade	Length Grade
(a) /entapu(ru)/	'cover O (w/lid)'	/w-entapuru_nkërë/	/entapuh-ta/	/kït-entapuu-jae/
(b) /enï(rï)/	'drink O'	/w-enïrï_nkërë/	/enïh-ta/	/ke-enïï-jae/[34]
(c) /apuru/	'close O'	/w-apuru_nkërë/	/apuru-ta/	/kït-apuru-jae/
(d) /rï/	'do/make O'	/wï-rï_nkërë/	/rï-ta/	/kïtï-rï-jae/ ~ /kïtïïjae/

An interesting group of reducing stems is those ending in /-i/. Historically, these stems ended in */-ci/, but the intervocalic */c/ was lost (cf. Meira 1998a:31). Only two i-educing stems exist; other /i/-final stems (which did not have */ci/ historically) fail to do so (compare 52a-b with 52c).

(52)			Full Grade	Coda Grade	Zero Grade
(a)	/e(i)/	'Copula'	/w-ei/	/eh-ta/	/t-ee-se/
(b)	/apë(i)/	'catch O'	/w-apëi/	/apëh-ta/	/t-apëë-se/
(c)	/moi/	'obey O'	/wi-moi/	/ïmoi-ta/	/tï-moi-je/

---

[33] Gildea 1995, based on comparative evidence, suggests that /rV/ syllables follow a different path of evolution and thus develop idiosyncratic morphophonological properties. In Tiriyó, they seem to be responsible for most of the cases of irregularities. It is interesting to notice, for instance, that the reducing suffix /-(rï)/ 'Possession' occurs in the coda grade (/-h/) when followed by /t/- or /p/-initial clitics or suffixes, but not /k/-initial ones: /ji-pakoro-h_tao/ 'in my house', /ji-pakoro-h_pona/ 'toward my house', but /kï-pakoro-:-kon/ 'our house', not */kï-pakoro-h-kon/.

[34] Among the /rï/-final reducing verbs, there is one verb, /eporï/ 'meet O', which presents an unexpected irregularity: along with its regular full grade, coda grade (e.g. /w-epoh-tae/ 'I will meet O'), and length grade (e.g. /epoo-se/ 'in order to meet O'), it has an allomorph /epon/ that co-occurs exclusively with the /-ne/-past suffix (e.g. /w-epon-ne/ 'I met O').

One unexpected irregularity of /i/-reducing stems is that they occur in the full grade with the /n/-initial suffixes (/-ne/ 'past perfective' [cf. 5.4.1.3.3], /-ne/ 'actual A nominalizer' [cf. 4.2.2.1.1]): /w-ei-ne/ 'I was', /w-apëi-ne/ 'I caught O', /apëi-ne/ 'catcher, one who catches'.[35] Notice also that they occur in their full grade in the present perfective, the zero grade being impossible (/w-apëi/ 'I have caught O', never */w-apë/).

2.6.2.2.2. Non-verbal stems. The highest level of unpredictability and apparent lack of motivation is found among non-verbal stems. For nouns, reducing stems end in /tï, mï, nu/ (e.g. /ireepi(tï)/ 'payment', /pun(u)/ 'flesh', /apëre(mï)/ 'owner'). Although there seem to be no non-reducing stems ending in /mï, nu/, there are apparently at least as many (possibly more; the available sample is still small) non-reducing as there are reducing stems in /tï/ (e.g. /moitï/ 'relative', /katï/ 'fat', /otï/ 'meat food').[36] The following examples illustrate this. The full grades given with the clitic particle /_nkërë/ 'still, yet; again'; the coda grade, with the locative postposition /_pona/ 'toward; for; in order to get'; and the length grade, with the clitic third-person gnomic present copula /nai/ 'is':

(53)	Stem		Full Grade	Coda Grade	Length Grade
(a)	/irepe(tï)/	'payment'	/irepetï_nkërë/	/irepeh_pona/	/irepee_nai/
(b)	/epe(tï)/	'medicine'	/epetï_nkërë/	/epeh_pona/	/epee_nai/
(c)	/apëre(mï)/	'owner'	/apëremï_nkërë/	/apëren_pona/	(/apëren_nai/)
(d)	/pu(nu)/	'flesh'	/punu_nkërë/	/pun_pona/	(/pun_nai/)

---

[35] Presumably also with the admonitive suffix /-ne(nu)/ (cf. 5.4.1.3.5), but the relevant forms are not attested in the available corpus.

[36] One regularity is that almost all reducing nouns in /tï/ actually end in /etï/ (cf. exs. above, and others such as nominalizations in /-ke(tï)/, e.g. /emeke(tï)/ 'one capable of transforming him/herself'), whereas the non-reducing nouns in /tï/ have a vowel other than /e/ preceding the /tï/. There are a few exceptions, though: e.g. /pï(tï)/ 'wife', which is a reducing syllable despite not ending in /etï/.

(e)	/moitï/	'relative'	/moitï_nkërë/	/moitï_pona/	/moitï_nai/
(f)	/katï/	'fat'	/katï_nkërë/	/katï_pona/	/katï_nai/
(g)	/otï/	'meat food'	/otï_nkërë/	/otï_pona/	/otï_nai/

Besides these cases, the following reducing syllables were also found, in at least one stem:

— /mo/, in the collective suffixes /-ko(mo)/ and /-to(mo)/ (cf.3.3.2);

— /no/, in some, but not all, nominalized adjectives (e.g. /pija(no)/ 'small one', but /kurano/ 'good, pretty one'; cf. 4.2.2.2);

— /ne/, in four particles, apparently all related (/_ke(ne)/ 'Continuous', /_rëke(ne)/ 'only', /tahke(ne)/ 'maybe', /ahke(ne)/ 'as if' (cf. 9.1.3.2, 9.1.4), and also in the allomorph /-ne/ of the Doubt suffix used with the future imperfective (5.4.1.3.4) and the copula (5.4.4);

— /nï/, in the privative adverbializer suffixes /-pï(nï)/ and /-mï(nï)/ (e.g. /wëpï(nï)/ 'incapable of shooting', /i-pana-mï(nï)/ 'earless individual'; cf. 4.2.2.2);

— /në/, in the 'Doubt' suffix /-(në)/ (e.g. /nï-wë-(në)/ 's/he shoots'; cf. 5.4.1.3.4)

— /pe/, in the particles like /_re(pe)/ 'frustrative' (cf. 9.1.4) and in the suffix /_je(pe)/ 'incredulitive' (cf. 5.4.1.3.5);

— /po/, in /-to(po)/ nominalizations (e.g. /wehto(po)/ 'being', reduced grades /wehtoh, wehtoo/; cf. 4.2.2.1.5);

— /ka/, in the /-a(ka)/ adjectives (e.g. /atuma(ka)/ 'warm, hot'; cf. 6.1.1.1), and in certain directional postpositions (/-ta(ka)/ 'into (container-like)', /-hka(ka)/ 'into (water)', etc.; cf. 7.3.1.1)

— /ke/, in certain postpositions (e.g. /wame(ke)/ ‘unknown to’; cf. 7.3.3);

— /kë/, in the postposition /pë(kë)/ ‘about, busy with’ (cf. 7.3.1.11), and in the imperative marker /-(kë)/ (cf. 4.4.2.1);

— /ike/, in the clitic particle /_ta(ike)/ ‘Negation’ (cf. 9.1.4; the only case in which the reducing element is more than a CV syllable):

The following examples illustrate these irregularities. The full grade is given with the particle /_nkërë/ ‘still, yet; again’; the coda grade, with the particle /pa/ ‘Repetition’; and the length grade, with the clitic third-person present gnomic copula form /nai/ ‘(there) is’:

(54) Stem		Full Grade	Coda Grad	Length Grade
/tëpu_to(mo)/	‘(all) stones’	/tëpu_tomo_nkërë/	/tëpu_ton_pa/	/tëpu_ton_nai/
/pija(no)/	‘small one’	/pijano_nkërë/	/pijan_pa/	/pijan_nai/
/kurano/	‘good one’	/kurano_nkërë/	/kurano_pa/	/kurano_nai/
/pata_rëke(ne)/	‘only the village’	/pata_rëkene_nkërë/	/pata_rëken_pa/	/pata_rëken_nai/
/wëpï(nï)/	‘bad shooter’	/wëpïnï_nkërë/	/wëpïn_pa/	/wëpïn_nai/
/nïwë(në)/	‘s/he shoots’	/nïwënë_nkërë/	/nïwën_pa/	—[37]
/ije_re(pe)/	‘want (in vain)’	/ije_repe_nkërë/	/ije_reh_pa/	/ije_ree_nai/
/iwehto(po)/	‘its being’	/iwehtopo_nkërë/	/iwehtoh_pa/	/iwehtoo_nai/
/atuma(ka)/	‘warm, hot’	/atumaka_nkërë/	/atumah_pa/	/atumaa_nai/
/iwame(ke)/	‘unknown’	/iwameke_nkërë/	/iwameh_pa/	/iwamee_nai/
/kana_pë(kë)/	‘busy w/ fish’	/kana_pëkë_nkërë/	/kana_pëh_pa/	/kana_pëë_nai/
/wewe_ta(ike)/	‘not a tree’	/wewe_taike_nkërë/	/wewe_tah_pa/	/wewe_taa_nai/

---

[37] The copula /_nai/ cannot occur right next to another finite verb.

An important detail to be noted about the more idiosyncratic cases is that many of them are optional, while the more regular cases are obligatory. Consider the following examples:

(55) /atuma(ka)/ ‘hot, warm’ + /nkërë/ → /atuma_nkërë/ ~ /atumaka_nkërë/
/_ta(ike)/ ‘Negation‘ + /nkërë/ → /_taike_nkërë/ ~ /ta_nkërë/

It is difficult to determine the ‘degree of optionality’ of each case without a massive analysis of text occurrences or a sociolinguistic survey; however, its very presence suggests that, for at least some of the cases of stem-final syllable reduction, the reducing syllable is actually being totally lost. Impressionistically, certain cases (e.g. the two examples in (55)) appear to be more frequent without the reducing syllable. The fact that certain /-n(o)/-nominalized adverbs always have the full form of the suffix (e.g. /kurano/), while others have its reducing form (e.g. /pija(no)/) also suggests different stages of a single process of evolution.

2.6.2.3. Similarities to other languages. In the case of reducing stems followed by particles, the syllable reduction pattern is quite reminiscent of cases such as the English indefinite article *a(n)*, French *liaison* and Celtic floating segments, in that the realization of some lexeme-final segments depends crucially on adjacent morphemes. Compare the following examples:

(56) Tiriyó:

/jeneto(po)/ 'my being seen'	+/_me/ 'as'	→	/je.ne.too._me/	'for me to be seen'
	+/_pë(kë)/ 'about'	→	/je.ne.toh_.pë/	'about seeing me'
	+/_npë/ 'Past'	→	/je.ne.to.po_n.pë/	'my having been seen'

(57) French (the pronoun *vous* /vu(z)/ 'you [plural]'):

vous (/vu(z)/)	+	mettez (/mete/)	→	vous mettez (/vu._me.te/)	'you (pl.) put'
	+	allez (/ale/)	→	vous allez (/vu.z_a.le/)	'you (pl.) go'

(58) Irish (the definite article *an* /ən(t)/ 'the [singular, masculine]') :

an (/ən(t)/)	+	fear (/fʲɑr/) 'man'	→	an fear (/ən._fʲɑr/)	'the man'
	+	ainm (/ænəm/) 'name'	→	an t-ainm (/ən.t_æ.nəm/)	'the name'

In these cases, a similar diachronic origin (the loss of stem-final segments in certain environments) explains the synchronic patterns. It is even the case that, as in Tiriyó, there is some degree of synchronic optionality between realizing and not realizing 'reducing' segments in certain words, especially in the spoken language (i.e. the segments seem to be in the middle of the process of being completely lost), as in the following French example:

(59) French:

êtres humains 'human beings' /ɛ.tʀə.z_y.mɛ̃/ ~ /ɛ.tʀ_y.mɛ̃/

Another similarity is the fact that a certain level of 'constituency' is necessary for the 'reducing' segments to be realized. In Tiriyó, a CCV affix or clitic must follow, i.e. a phonological word must be formed. In French, *liaison* is not possible if the words belong to different syntactic constituents, as in the following example:

(60) French

ils parlent de vous à Paris	/...də.vu.a.pa.ʀi/
'They talk about you in Paris'	* /...də.vu.za.pa.ʀi/

2.6.2.4. Unsuspected lexeme-final VV sequences. In both French and Irish, the existence of a 'floating segment' at the end of a lexeme can be detected by adding a (vowel-initial) lexeme (cf. examples above). Similarly, in Tiriyó, the existence of 'reducing elements' at the end of a word (i.e. the existence of a full grade) can be tested by the addition of the appropriate enclitic. It was this process that led to the discovery of the 'reducing syllables' of lexemes such as the postpositions /wame(ke)/ 'unknown to', (cf. 7.3.3), /pë(kë)/ 'about, busy with' (cf. 7.3.1.1.1), the particle /_ta(ike)/ (cf. 9.1.4) and /a(ka)/ adverbs such as /atuma(ka)/ 'hot, warm' (cf. 6.1.1.1). It also led to the discovery of a few monosyllabic morphemes that have only the zero and the length grade (i.e. they had a 'hidden VV sequence'), but no traces of the coda and full grades. These will be cited with a (V) at the end; e.g. /ma(a)/ 'far', /wï(ï)/ 'I', /pï(ï)/ 'mountain', /-ti(i)/ 'Collective'. In the examples below, these morphemes are given with the particles /_nkërë/ 'still, yet; again' (with which the full grade should occur), /_ta(ike)/ 'Negation' (which should condition the coda grade), and with the clitic copula forms /_nai/ 'S/he is' and /_wae/ 'I am' (which should occur with the length form).[38]

---

[38] The existence of a length grade must be the result of the historical process of syllable reduction and loss; in fact, cognates of these monosyllabic morphemes from other languages are not monosyllabic (cf. Karihona

(61)	Isolation	/_nkërë/	/_ta/	Copulas
	/ma/	/ma_nkërë/	/maa_ta/	/maa_nai/
	/pï/	/pï_nkërë/	/pïï_ta/	/pïï_nai/
	/wï/	/wï_nkërë/	/wïï_ta/	/wïï_wae/

2.6.2.5. 'Floating' morphemes. There is one morpheme which is a CV monosyllable in its full grade, and which occurs as /h/ in the coda grade, as simple vowel length in the length grade, and disappears completely in the zero grade: the possessive marker /-(rï)/ (cf. 4.3.1.5).[39] The examples below are based on the stems /pata/ 'village, place', and /pakoro/ 'house'.

(62) Zero Grade (Isolation)	Length Grade (/_me/ 'Attrib.')	Coda Grade (/_pona/ 'toward')	Full Grade (/_ja/ 'to, by')
(a) /jipata/ 'my place'	/jipataa_me/	/jipatah_pona/	/jipatarï_ja/
(b) /jipakoro/ 'my house'	/jipakoroo_me/	/jipakoroh_pona/	/jipakororï_ja/

The morpheme /-(rï)/ has thus the interesting property of depending crucially on the form of the following material (affixes/clitics) for its realization. The same possessed stem can have its possessed status indicated by nothing at all (when no affixes/clitics follow), by vowel length, by /-h/ or by /-rï/. In texts, the zero-grade form is by far the most frequent.

/mïha/ 'far', Wayana /ïpï/ 'mountain', Katxuyana /owï/ 'I'). Nevertheless, the reason the absence of the coda and full grades still awaits an explanation.

[39] The imperative marker /-(kë)/ apparently follows the same pattern. However, the necessary examples were not collected; only zero- and full-grade examples are attested (e.g. /ene/, /enekë/ 'look at it!').

2.6.3. Reduplication. There are two main reduplicative patterns in Tiriyó, here termed *external* and *internal*. They apply to verbs (with a few exceptions), generally with the meaning of repetition ('V-ing many times') or continuation ('keep V-ing').

Broadly speaking, external reduplication applies to the left edge of a verbal word, thus including any prefixal morphology within its scope. Internal reduplication, however, is more complicated, as it ignores at least the first mora of the base, and sometimes more than that. Both patterns are described in the following sections (based on Meira 1998b, with a few changes). In the underlying representation (in / /), morpheme breaks are indicated by dashes and the stem is in boldface. In the surface phonetic representation (in [ ]), a hyphen separates the reduplicant (which is underlined) from the rest of the word; moreover, a colon is used to distinguish the lengthening caused by the iambic stress system (cf. 2.5.1) from underlying VV sequences (which are represented as such, i.e. with a double letter).

2.6.3.1. External reduplication. Consider the following words, all of which have a light ((C)V) first syllable (the words are classified in different groups, depending on the second syllable; the syllabic structure of each group is given in parentheses):

(63) C-initial examples:[40]

(a) 'You gave O' /m-**ekarama**/ → [mɛká:-mɛká:ɽama] (CV.CV.CV...)
(b) 'S/he helped O' /n-**apotoma**/ → [napɔ́:-napɔ́:toma]
(c) 'I found O' /w-**erahtə**-e/ → [ʋɛɽá:-ʋɛɽáhtəɛ] (CV.CVh.CV...)

---

[40] The length of the second vowel of the reduplicant is always in the right position for it to be the result of rhythmic stress, which is why it is represented by a colon; however, since it is impossible to add another prefix to the reduplicated word and check the effects on the rhythmic pattern, this cannot be verified.

(d) ‘took a wife’	/tï-**pïhta**-e/	→	[tɨpɨ́:-tɨpɨ́htae]	
(e) ‘S/he taught O’	/kïn-**enpa/**	→	[kɨnɛ́:-kɨnɛ́mpa]	(CV.CVN.CV...)
(f) ‘I was lazy’	/j-**akunpamï/**	→	[jakú:-jakúmpamɨ]	
(g) ‘S/he is arriving’	/ni-**tuntë**-n/	→	[nitú:-nitúntəŋ]	
(h) ‘I scolded O’	/w-**akaama/**	→	[ʋaká:-ʋakááma]	(CV.CVV.CV...)
(i) ‘I am resting’	/j-**ereeta**-e/	→	[jɛɽɛ́:-jɛɽɛ́ɛ́taɛ]	
(j) ‘he killed game’	/ni-**kaimota/**	→	[niká:-nikáimɔta]	(CV.CV$_i$V$_j$.CV...)
(k) ‘I got tired’	/j-**apëepï/**	→	[japə́:-japə́ɛpɨ]	
(l) ‘learned’	/tï-w-**ëenpa**-e/	→	[tɨʋə́:-tɨʋə́ɛmpaɛ]	(CV.CV$_i$V$_j$C.CV...)
(m) ‘We are thinking’	/kït-**ëehtë**-e/	→	[kɨtə́:-kɨtə́ɛhtəɛ]	

(64) V-initial examples:[41]

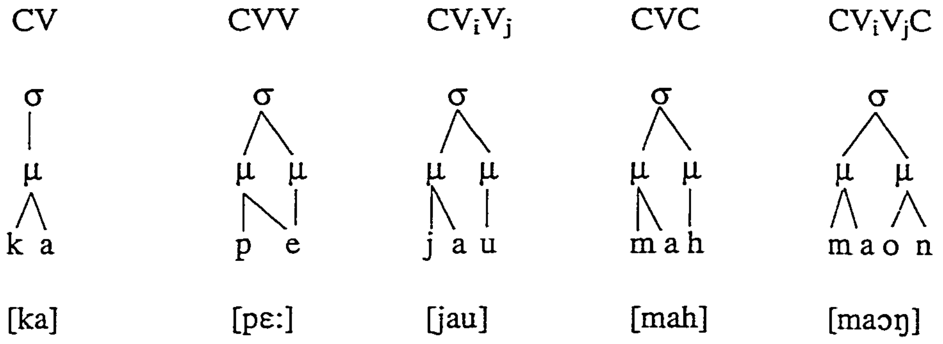
(a) ‘didn’t give’	/in-**ekarama**-ewa/	→	[inɛ́:-inɛ́:kaɽá:máɛʋa]	(V.CV.CV...)
(b) ‘Give!’	/**ekarama**-kə/	→	[ɛká:-ɛká:ɽamá:kə]	
(c) ‘didn’t think’	/in-**ehtë**-e-wa/	→	[inɛ́:-inɛ́htə́ɛʋa]	(V.CVh.CV...)
(d) ‘You married’	/ë-**pïhta/**	→	[əpɨ́:-əpɨ́hta]	
(e) ‘You bled’	/ë-**munta/**	→	[əmú:-əmúnta]	(V.CVN.CV...)
(f) ‘You are arriving’	/ë-**tunta**-e/	→	[ətú:-ətúntaɛ]	
(g) ‘didn’t adorn’	/in-**aarama**-ewa/	→	[iná:-inááramáɛʋa]	(V.CVV.CV...)
(h) ‘didn’t get fat’	/**epïina**-ewa/	→	[ɛpɨ́:-ɛpɨ́ináɛʋa]	(V.CV$_i$V$_j$.CV...)
(i) ‘You killed game’	/ë-**kaimota/**	→	[əká:-əkáimɔta]	

As can be seen, V- and C-initial words are treated alike. If the second syllable is light, the first two syllables are reduplicated; if the second syllable is heavy, the first syllable and the initial CV part of the second syllable (ignoring any second vowels or coda consonants) are reduplicated. Phonotactic constraints might account for the failure to copy the coda consonant of the second syllable; for instance, (63c) should never be able to reduplicate the /h/, since an /h/ can never precede a /w/ (only stops or, optionally, /s/ can occur after /h/; cf. 2.4.2.2). However, phonotactics is not enough: in (63d), the base starts with /t/, and a preceding /h/ (e.g. an unattested */tïpïh-tïpïhtae/) would have been perfectly acceptable. The same is valid for nasal codas (as in 63f-g) or second vowels (63j-k), which can both occur with all kinds of following consonant (nasals having the restriction that they must assimilate in point of articulation; cf. 2.4.2.1). Yet reduplication fails to include the coda in these cases as well.

---

[41] The corpus does not contain V.CV$_i$V$_j$C.CV... examples. It is assumed that, should any be found in future research, they will not deviate from this pattern.

The fact that only the initial CV sequence of the second syllable is reduplicated suggests the metrical structure of the syllable as a better basis for describing this process. Hayes 1995 formalizes the distinction between heavy and light syllables in terms of moraic structure: a heavy syllable contains two moras, whereas a light syllable contains only one mora (cf. 2.5.1.3). The schema below illustrates a possible moraic analysis of the Tiriyó syllable types.



Based on this analysis, the pattern illustrated in (63-64) can be characterized as the reduplication of the first two moras of the phonological word. With an initial light syllable, only the first mora of the second syllable is reduplicated. Any elements that depend on the second mora (second vowels, coda consonants) are ignored.

An immediate consequence of this analysis is that words with initial heavy syllables should only reduplicate their first syllable. This is in fact the case:

(65a)	'I laughed'	/j-**eerana**/	→	[jɛ́ɛ́-jɛ́ɛ́ɽana]	(CVV...)
(b)	'I adorned O'	/w-**aarama**/	→	[ʋáá-ʋááɽama]	
(c)	'I am sleeping'	/t-**ëënïï**-ja-e/	→	[tə́ə́-tə́ə́nɨ́ɨjaɛ]	
(d)	'You pushed O'	/m-**aitë**-ne/	→	[mái-máitənɛ]	(CV$_i$V$_j$...)
(e)	'I stood up'	/j-**aumu**/	→	[jáu-jáumu]	
(f)	'We answered'	/k-**euku**/	→	[kɛ́u-kɛ́uku]	
(g)	'They saw each other'	/n-**ëene**-n_to/	→	[nə́ɛ-nə́ɛnɛ́ntɔ]	
(h)	'It is barking'	/n-**eurë**-n/	→	[nɛ́u-nɛ́uɽəŋ]	

Thus, the pattern for CVV- and CV$_i$V$_j$-initial words fits well the idea of the reduplication of the first two moras of the phonological word. However, if initial syllables with coda consonants are taken into account, an extra restriction becomes necessary, for the coda consonants, in spite of depending on the second mora, are not reduplicated:

(66a)	'I am teaching'	/w-**enpa**-e/	→	[ʋɛ́ɛ́-ʋɛ́mpaɛ]	(CVN...)
(b)	'S/he tasted O'	/kïn-**joreka**/	→	[kɨ́ɨ-kɨ́njɔɽɛ́:ka]	
(c)	'A closed O'	/t-**ëntapuu**-se/	→	[tə́ə́-tə́ntapúúʃɛ]	
(d)	'I am going down'	/p-**ïhtë**-e/	→	[pɨ́ɨ-pɨ́htəɛ]	(CVh...)
(e)	'It is budding'	/n-**ahta**-n/	→	[náá-náhtan]	
(f)	'I burped'	/j-**ahpota**/	→	[jáá-jáhpɔta]	
(g)	'I am thinking'	/t-**ëehtë**-e/	→	[tə́e-tə́ɛhtəɛ]	(CV$_i$V$_j$h...)
(h)	'I am shaving'	/t-**ëehpoka**-e/	→	[tə́e-tə́ɛhɸɔkaɛ]	
(i)	'I am standing up'	/j-**aun**-ja-e/	→	[jáu-jáunjae]	(CV$_i$V$_j$N...)
(j)	'I am learning'	/t-**ëenpa**-e/	→	[tə́ɛ-tə́empaɛ]	
(k)	'It spilled'	/n-**ëentama**/	→	[nə́ɛ-nə́ɛntama]	

It is thus necessary to assume that the bimoraic reduplicant is subject to the condition that any coda consonants are deleted (i.e. do not reduplicate). Schematically,

$\mathrm{CVV.CV....} \rightarrow \underline{\mathrm{CVV}}\ \text{-}\ \mathrm{CVV.CV...}$

$\mathrm{CVC.CV...} \rightarrow \underline{\mathrm{CVV}}\ \text{-}\ \mathrm{CVC.CV...}$

$\mathrm{CV_iV_j.CV...} \rightarrow \underline{\mathrm{CV_iV_j}}\ \text{-}\ \mathrm{CV_iV_j.CV...}$

$\mathrm{CV_iV_jC.CV...} \rightarrow \underline{\mathrm{CV_iV_j}}\ \text{-}\ \mathrm{CV_iV_jC.CV...}$

2.6.3.1.1. Diachronic change in progress. Not all Tiriyó speakers agree on deleting only coda consonants from the reduplicant; some speakers also delete second vowels. (67a-b) contains examples of this variation, with some speakers reduplicating the second vowel and others not; (67c-e) shows additional examples from speakers who do not reduplicate the second vowel.

(67a) 'You pushed O' /m-**aitë**-ne/ → [mái-máitənɛ], [máá-máitənɛ]
(b) 'I am learning' /t-**ëenpa**-e/ → [tə́ɛ-tə́ɛmpaɛ], [tə́ə́-tə́ɛmpae]

(c) 'stood up' /t-**aun**-je/ → [táá-táu^{i}ɲɲɛ]
(d) 'S/he answered me' /j-**euku**/ → [jɛ́ɛ́-jɛ́uku]
(e) 'ran off with O' /t-**ainka**-e/ → [táá-táiŋkaɛ]

Obviously, the speakers who do not reduplicate the second vowel are treating $\mathrm{CV_iV_j(C)}$ syllables the same way that they treat the other heavy (CVC and CVV) syllables: they are now excluding both second vowels and coda consonants. A comparison of the age of the speakers who produced the utterances [máá-máitənɛ] and [mái-máitənɛ] is revealing:

Table 2.10
Synchronic variation in the reduplication of $CV_iV_j(C)$-initial words

Speaker	Presumed Age	mai-maitəne	maa-maitəne
Asehpə	50+	OK	
Naaki	40+	OK	
Simetu	40+	OK	
Angélica	40+	OK	
Nasau	50+	OK	
Rute	20+		OK
Berenice	15-20		OK

Thus, the speakers who preferred to treat $CV_iV_j(C)$ syllables like other heavy syllables were significantly younger than those who did not.[42] If this sample is representative of the community as a whole, then we seem to be looking at change in progress: the younger generation is regularizing the reduplication pattern, so that codas are not allowed to occur in the reduplicant, thus making the process more symmetric, as in the following schema (the reduplicants are underlined):

		Older Speakers		Younger Speakers
CVV.CV....	→	$\underline{\text{CVV}}$ - CVV.CV....	>	$\underline{\text{CVV}}$ - CVC...
CVC.CV...	→	$\underline{\text{CVV}}$ - CVC.CV...	>	$\underline{\text{CVV}}$ - CVV...
$CV_iV_j.CV$...	→	$\underline{CV_iV_j}$ - $CV_iV_j.CV$...	>	$\underline{\text{CVV}}$ - CV_iV_j...
$CV_iV_jC.CV$...	→	$\underline{CV_iV_j}$ - $CV_iV_jC.CV$...	>	$\underline{\text{CVV}}$ - CV_iV_jC...

---

[42] As a matter of fact, this variation can be observed within the same family, since Rute and Berenice are both daughters of Nasau and Angélica.

This pattern of evolution suggests an interesting possibility: the ongoing loss of vocalic codas in the reduplicant may be the last part of a larger diachronic process of simplification of the reduplicant. The reduplicant may have originally included coda consonants, which would, at a later stage, have been lost; nowadays, coda vowels would be following the same path. This idea is sketched in Table 2.11 (where asterisks mark internal reconstructions of unattested forms). The schema after Table 2.11 represents the structural evolution.

Table 2.11
Hypothetical stages of the loss of final reduplicant elements (internal reconstruction).

	Base	Earlier stage	Present stage (older speakers)	Present stage (younger speakers)
'A taught O'	/t-**ënpa**-e/	*[tə́n-tə́mpaɛ]	[tə́ə́-tə́mpaɛ]	[tə́ə́-təmpaɛ]
'I went down'	/p-**ïhtë**-e/	*[pɨ́h-pɨ́htəɛ]	[pɨ́ɨ́-pɨ́htəɛ]	[pɨ́ɨ́-pɨhtəɛ]
'ran off with O'	/t-**ainka**-e/	*[táin-táiŋkaɛ]	[tái-táinkaɛ]	[táá-tainkaɛ]
'you pushed O'	/m-**aitë**-ne/	[mái-máitənɛ]	[mái-máitənɛ]	[máá-maitənɛ]
	CVX...	*CVX-CVX...	CVV-CVC...	CVV-CVX...
			CVV-CVV...	
			CV$_i$V$_j$-CV$_i$V$_j$...	
			CV$_i$V$_j$-CV$_i$V$_j$C...	

2.6.3.1.2. The ambiguous phonological status of the reduplicant. It is an interesting fact that the V$_i$V$_j$-sequences generated by reduplication do not count as vowel sequences (i.e. they are not tautosyllabic), since they do not alter the stress pattern in the way that CV$_i$V$_j$ syllables would, and can even generate vowel sequences that are unattested elsewhere (e.g. [ɨə] below):

(68a) ‘He$_i$ made him$_j$ bathe you’ /ë-**pï**-po/ → [əpɨ́ː-əpɨ́ːpɔ]
* [ə.pɨ́ə.pɨ.po]
(b) ‘Give it!’ /**ekarama**-kë/ → [ɛkáː-ɛkáːɽamáːkə]
* [ɛ.káɛ.ka.ɽáːma.kə]

An immediate consequence of this fact is that the reduplicant and the base do not form a single phonological word (i.e. the reduplicant is not a clitic). Although they are always adjacent, they are clearly not treated as a unit by the iambic stress system. However, it is also not true that they are fully independent: the reduplicant can end in a VV sequence (e.g. (68b)), which never happens with independent phonological words (cf. 2.4.1). This places reduplicated words in an intermediate position between phonological words and phonological phrases.

2.6.3.2. Internal reduplication. Most of the examples examined in the preceding section were consonant-initial. In principle, words with a heavy vowel-initial first syllable behave just like their consonant-initial counterparts. (69) shows how VV reduplicants are produced if the first syllable of the base is VC (69a-d) or VV (69e), and V_iV_j reduplicants if the first syllable is V_iV_j (69f):

(69a) ‘didn’t imitate’ /in-**kuu**-sewa/ → [íí-íŋkúúʃɛʋa] (VN...)
(b) ‘didn’t tell’ /in-**ponoo**-sewa/ → [íí-ímpɔnɔ́ɔ́ʃɛʋa]
(c) ‘to wake up O’ /**enpaka**/ → [ɛ́ɛ́-ɛ́mpaka]
(d) ‘to think about O’ /**ehtë**/ → [ɛ́ɛ́-ɛ́htə] (Vh...)
(e) ‘adorn!’ /**aarama**/ → [áá-ááɽama] (VV...)
(f) ‘you are laughing’ /**ëerana**-e/ → [ə́ə́-ə́ɛɽanaɛ] (V_iV_j...)

Nevertheless, there is an alternative (and at least equally frequent) way of reduplicating VN-initial words. This alternative pattern is more difficult to characterize, and contains various exceptions and anomalies; it seems also to be less productive than external reduplication, and is thus probably older.

Let us first consider the examples below, all negative forms characterized by the third-person negative object prefix /in-/; this appears to be the only case in which internal reduplication is predictable (all other cases have exceptions):

(70a)	'didn't continue O'	/in-**tïpïhtë**-ewa/	→	[í-ntɨ́-ntɨpɨ́htə́ɛʋa]	(VNCV...)
(b)	'didn't select O'	/in-**meneka**-ewa/	→	[í-mmɛ́-mmɛnɛ́:káɛʋa]	
(c)	'didn't tell O'	/in-**ponoo**-sewa/	→	[í-mpɔ́-mpɔnɔ́ɔ́ʃɛʋa]	
(d)	'didn't abandon O'	/in-**nonta**-ewa/	→	[í-nnɔ́-nnɔ́ntáɛʋa]	(VNCVN...)
(e)	'didn't address O'	/in-**jompa**-ewa/	→	[í-ɲɲɔ́-^{i}ɲɲɔ́mpáɛʋa]	
(f)	'didn't imitate O'	/in-**kuu**-sewa/	→	[í-ŋkú-ŋkúúʃɛʋa]	(VNCV:...)
(g)	'didn't soap O up'	/in-**soopuntë**-ewa/	→	[í-nʃó-nʃóópúntə́ɛʋa]	
(h)	'didn't grab O'	/in-**saika**-ewa/	→	[í-nʃá-nʃáikáɛʋa]	(VNCVV...)

An informal description of this process would be: ignore the first mora, and reduplicate the two next moras of the word. Note that the reduplication is not simply skipping the word-initial morphology and going directly to the stem, since the /n/ of the negative prefix /in-/ is also being reduplicated. Consider also the examples below (with verb roots in an 'infinitival'/nominalized form that occurs in desiderative constructions), which also have a coda nasal in the first syllable:

(71a)	'to wake O up'	**/enpaka/**	→	[é-mpá-mpaka]
(b)	'to give orders to O'	**/ennokï/**	→	[é-nnɔ́-nnɔkɨ]
(c)	'to deceive O'	**/entahka/**	→	[é-ntá-ntáhka]
(d)	'to chew O'	**/ankətə/**	→	[á-ŋkə́-ŋkətə]

However, not all VN-initial verb stems can undergo this kind of internal reduplication (e.g. /enpa/ 'to teach O' cannot become */e-npa-npa/[43]).

Examples of internal reduplication with words that have an initial light syllable also do occur; in all cases, the second syllable of the base was heavy (there are no CV.CVN examples in my corpus):

(72a)	'I am breaking O'	/wi-**pahka**-e/	→	[ʋi-páh-páhkaɛ]	(CV.CVh...)
(b)	'I am frightening O'	/wi-**tɨhka**-e/	→	[ʋi-tɨ́h-tɨ́hkaɛ]	
(c)	'I am burning O'	/wi-**jahka**-e/	→	[ʋi-jáá-jáhkaɛ][44]	
(d)	'I am losing O'	/wi-**tahka**-e/	→	[ʋi-táh-táhkaɛ]	
(e)	'I am beating myself'	/s-e-**tuuka**-e/	→	[ʃe-túú-túúkaɛ]	(CV.CVV...)
(f)	'I am smoothing O'	/wi-**kɨɨka**-e/	→	[ʋi-kɨ́ɨ́-kɨ́ɨ́kaɛ]	
(g)	'I am bending O'	/wi-**juuka**-e/	→	[ʋi-júú-júúkaɛ]	
(h)	'I am grabbing O'	/wi-**saika**-e/	→	[ʋi-ʃái-ʃáikaɛ]	(CV.CV$_i$V$_j$...)
(i)	'I am jumping over O'	/wi-**waehka**-e/	→	[ʋi-wáɛ-wáɛhkaɛ][45]	(CV.CV$_i$V$_j$h...)
(j)	'I am running'	/s-e-**tainka**-e/	→	[ʃɛ-táin-táiŋkaɛ]	(CV.CV$_i$V$_j$N...)

However, once more there were exceptions, like /j-ahpota/ 'I burped' or /j-ereeta/ 'I rested', /w-akaama-e/ 'I am scolding O', which failed to undergo internal reduplication: */ja-hpo-hpota/, */je-ree-reeta/, */wa-kaa-kaamae/ (speakers would give external reduplication examples instead; cf. above (65), (66).[46] There was also one example in which the first syllable was CVh: /w-ahkəə-ja-e/ 'I am cutting' → /wa-hkə-hkəəjae/ (this looks like the pattern in (70)).

---

[43] This exception is also the only bisyllabic VN-initial verb stem that I am aware of; the reduplicant would have to include the entire base (minus the first mora); this fact may have something to do with minimal word phenomena. It should also be mentioned that there is some evidence that the first syllable /em-/ of /em-paka/ is etymologically a causative prefix (this might conceivably also be the case for /ennoki/ and /entahka/, though there is no evidence at present); morphology may be a factor to take into account. On /ankətə/, however, there seems to be no prefixing morphology.

[44] Again in this case, the absence of the /h/ in the reduplicant agrees with the restrictions in the distribution of this phoneme: it only occurs preceding occlusives (cf. 1.4.2.2). It is also hard to decide whether the long vowel in the reduplicant is underlyingly long or not, since it is in a position in which it would be lengthened by the stress system anyway.

[45] cf. previous footnote.

In some other words, the reduplicative process skipped the first two moras; these examples look like cases of reduplication applying to the verb stem before prefixation. Example (73c) and (73d), which have the same stems as (72d) and (72e), suggests that the same analysis might be valid for all the examples in (72). Example (73b) is strange in that it has a heavy first syllable but a light second syllable; it is as though the weight of the first syllable were part of the reduplicant ([:si]; maybe the remnant of a /hs/ cluster; cf. 2.4.2.2).

(73a)	'I am urinating'	/jii-**suhta**-e/	→	[yíí-súú-súhtaɛ]
(b)	'I am taking O out'	/wii-**sika**-e/	→	[wíí-ʃíí-ʃikaɛ]
(c)	'We are losing O'	/kii-**tahka**-e/	→	[kíí-táh-táhkaɛ]
(d)	'S/he beat O'	/kɨn-**tuuka/**	→	[kɨ́n-túú-túúka]
(e)	'S/he jumped'	/n-**eeseka/**	→	[nɛ́ɛ́-ʃɛ́ɛ́-ʃɛka]
(f)	'didn't close O'	/in-**entapuu**-sewa/	→	[inɛ́-ntá-ntapúúʃeʊa]

Finally, there are idiosyncratic irregular cases that apparently obey no pattern:

(74a)	'went; gone'	/tïï-**të**-e/	→	[tɨ́ɨ-tə́ə́-təe]
(b)	'said'	/tïï-**ka**-e/	→	[tɨ́ɨ-káá-kae]
(c)	'didn't say'	/**ka**-ewa/	→	[káá-káewa]
(d)	'didn't go'	/**të**-ewa/	→	[tə́ə́-tə́ewa]
(e)	'S/he/it bit O'	/n-**eeka/**	→	[néé-káá-ka]

---

[46] Curiously enough, all the examples in which this kind of internal reduplication was possible had the suffix /-ka/ 'transitivizer'.

More research (and some comparative work with reduplication in other Cariban languages) will hopefully help explain this state of affairs.

2.6.4. Reduction of trivocalic sequences. Certain morphological processes can lead to the occurrence V_iV_j sequences (e.g. the second-person prefix /ë-/ and its assimilated allomorphs /o-/, /a-/), when added to an /e/-initial stem). However, except for the cases mentioned in 2.3.1.1, these processes do not lead to trivocalic ($V_iV_jV_k$) sequences of any kind; instead, one of the vowels involved disappears, so that the result is merely bivocalic.

(75a) /ë-/ '2' + /eire/ 'angry at' → /ëire/ 'angry at you' (*/ëei/ > /ëi/)
(b) /eeka/ 'bite O' → /ëeka/ '(it) bit you' (*/ëee/ > /ëe/)
(c) /eemi/ 'daughter' → /ëemi/ 'your daughter'[47]
(d) /o-/ '2' + /oona/ 'nose' → /oona/ 'your nose' (*/ooo/ > /oo/)
(e) /a-/ '2' + /aame/ 'hating' → /aame/ 'hating you' /*/aaa/ > /aa/)

(f) /wïtëe/ 'I'm going' + /_irë/ 'really' → /wïtë_irë/ 'I'm really going' (*/ëei/ > /ëi/)
(g) /mëe/ 'this one' + /_ihta/'really' → /më_ihta/ 'really him!'
(g) /ëkëi/ 'snake' + /-imë/ 'Aug' → /ëkëimë/ 'anaconda' (*/ëii/ > /ëi/)
(h) /rupei/ 'lizard sp.' + /-imë/ 'Aug' → /rupeimë/ 'big lizard' (*/eii/ > /ei/)

2.6.5. Nasal assimilation across word boundaries. Syllable-final nasal consonants assimilate in point of articulation to a following consonant, so that only homorganic nasal clusters are generated (cf. 2.4.2.1). Within the phonological word, this happens obligatorily; but it can also happen optionally even across word boundaries, as is shown in (76). The conditioning factor appears to be slow vs. fast speech.

---

[47] Some speakers make the second vowel in these words much more noticeable than in other words, as if they were distinguishing e.g. /ëemi/ 'your daughter' from /ëenu/ 'your eye' by pronouncing [əɛ́(:).mi], but [ə́ɛ.nu]. In fact, the latter is often heard as [ə́i.nu] in fast speech, which is never the case for /ëemi/. This suggests that the above cases of trivocalic reduction are recent, and some remnants of earlier syllable types (i.e. /ëee.mi/, with a $V_iV_jV_j$ sequence) are still preserved.

(76) /irë_mao_rëken papa w-ene-ne/ [i.rə́:.máo.rə.kɛ́m pa.pa ʋɛ.nɛ́:.nɛ]~
that_time_only 2.father 1A-see-Pst.Prf [i.rə́:.máo.rə.kɛ́ŋ pa.pa ʋɛ.nɛ́:.nɛ]
'At that moment I saw your father.'

2.6.6 Sporadic processes: vowel harmony and assimilation. These processes are not very widespread; they concern only the following morphological elements:

(a) The possessive suffix /-(rï)/, which becomes /-(ru)/ if the last vowel of the preceding root is /u/ (vowel harmony), as in (77) (/j(i)-/ is a first-person marker):

(77a)	/pawana/	'friend'	→	/ji-pawana-rï_ja/	'by my friend'
(b)	/pakoro/	'house'	→	/ji-pakoro-rï/	'my house'
(c)	/kaari/	'strength'	→	/ji-kaari-rï/	'my strength'
(d)	/moitï/	'relative'	→	/ji-moitï-rï_ja/	'by my relative'
(e)	/nmuku/	'son'	→	/ji-nmuku-ru/	'my son'
(f)	/enu/	'eye'	→	/j-enu-ru/	'my eye'

(b) The clitic particle /rë/ 'Exactly', which becomes /ro/ if the last vowel of the preceding word is /o/ (vowel harmony):

(78a)	/mëe/	'3AnPx'	→	/mëe_rë/	'really, precisely him/her'
	/wïï/	'1'	→	/wïï_rë/	'really, precisely me'
	/ëmë/	'2'	→	/ëmë_rë/	'really, precisely you'
	/paaruru/	'banana'	→	/paaruru_rë/	'really, precisely banana'
	/tïika/	'tobacco'	→	/tïika_rë/	'really, precisely tobacco'
	/napi/	'potato'	→	/napi_rë/	'really, precisely potato'

/tïwërëno/	'other'	→	/tïwërëno_ro/	'really different'
/sen_po/	'here'	→	/sen_po_ro/	'really here'
/tïpato/	'aligned'	→	/tïpato_ro/	'well aligned; correct'

If the final /o/ is the second element of a vowel sequence, the harmony does not occur:

(79)	/irë_mao/	'at that time'	→	/irë_mao_rë/	'exactly at that time'

The particle /rëke(ne)/ 'only', diachronically related to /rë/, can still optionally undergo vowel harmony:

(80)	/irë apo/	'like that'	→	/irë_apo_rëken/	'only like that'
				/irë_apo_roken/	

(c) The second-person prefix /ë-/, which becomes vowel length (i.e. assimilates completely) if it is prefixed to a word that begins with /a/ or /o/:

(81a)	/pakoro/	'house'	→	/ë-pakoro/	'your house'
(b)	/ekï/	'pet'	→	/ë-ekï/	'your pet'
(c)	/uru/	'beiju'	→	/ë-uru/	'your beiju'
(d)	/apë/	'arm'	→	/a-apë/	'your arm'
(e)	/otï/	'meat food'	→	/o-otï/	'your meat food'

Nothing changes if the word already starts with /aa/ or /oo/ sequences:

(82a)	/oona/	'nose'	→	/oona/	'your nose'
(b)	/aame/	'hating (Postp)'	→	/aame/	'hating you'

3. INTRODUCING TIRIYÓ MORPHOLOGY

3.1. Introduction. The morphological complexity of Tiriyó is typical of the Cariban family, which lies somewhere between the highly polysynthetic Arawakan languages and the fairly isolating Jê languages (Doris Payne 1990). A quick count on the first 100 phonological words of one of the texts (*Taru*; cf. Appendix) revealed an average of 2.01 morphemes per phonological word (or 1.7 morphemes per grammatical word) — an average similar to that of the Romance languages.

Both prefixes and suffixes occur. Prefixes usually mark person and valence change (intransitivization, reciprocity); suffixes mark number, tense-aspect-mood, class change, valence change (causativization, transitivization) and meaning change. Certain cases of co-occurring prefix-suffix pairs have apparently evolved into synchronic circumfixes. No cases of infixation were found. Two reduplicative processes occur in the language, external and internal reduplication; the former is very productive and regular, the latter is less productive and more irregular (cf. 2.6.3). Stem allomorphic patterns include ablaut (cf. 2.6.1) and syllable reduction (cf. 2.6.2). There are some marginal cases of vowel harmony and assimilation (cf. 2.6.6), either as side-effects of a certain morphological process, or as one of its instantiating allomorphs. There are many clitics (particles, postpositions and some verb forms), as well as some words that can optionally cliticize (usually bisyllabic; cf. 3.2.1).

In this chapter, the formal units used in the description of Tiriyó morphology and their properties are listed and discussed (3.2). Some recurrent semantic distinctions (argument and number marking) are also considered here, because of their cross-categorial importance (3.3). A basic characterization of the lexical classes and their properties is then introduced (3.4). The detailed description of the morphology of every class is the topic of chapters 4 to 9.

3.2. Morphological units. Morphology is concerned with the description and analysis of *words* and the smaller units which compose them (the *morphemes*). In the preceding chapter, the concept of *phonological word* was introduced as the domain of rhythmic stress (cf. 2.3.2) and described as a sequence of syllables with certain distributional constraints (cf. 2.4.1). However, as is the case in most languages, the phonological word in Tiriyó is not always equivalent to the *grammatical* word, due to the existence of clitic elements:

(1a) **m-eta_pa?**
2A-hear:Prs.Prf_Rpt
'Did you hear it again?'

(b) **m-ënë-i_mo**
2A-eat-Hyp_Irr
'You would eat it.'

(c) **pahko_pa m-eta?**
1:father_Rpt 2A-hear:Prs.Prf
'Did you hear my father again?'

(d) **i-pun_mo m-ënë-i**
3-meat_Irr 2A-eat-Hyp
'You would eat its meat.'

The particles **_pa** 'Repetition' and **_mo** 'Irrealis' are *clitics*; their status is marked by the underscore character which separates them from the preceding word. Instead of being a necessary element of a specific word in a sentence, they are placed in a specific *position* within the sentence (in this case, after the first constituent; cf. 10.1.2). However, they form a single *phonological word* with the preceding element, according to both the rhythmic stress (2a) and to syllable reduction (cf. the coda grade of **mëneh** of **mëne(pï)** 'you came' in 2b).

(2a) **meta** + **_pa** → **meta_pa** [mɛ.tá:.pa] 'you heard again'
*[mɛ(t).ta pa]
(b) **mëne(pï)** + **_pa** → **mëneh_pa** [mə.nɛh.ɸa] 'you came back'
*[mə.nɛ́:.pɨ pa]

Such phenomena make it clear that a distinction between *grammatical* and *phonological* word must be recognized. The phonological word, as previously defined, remains as the basic unit of higher-level phonology (stress, intonation, phonological phrases, etc.; but cf. 2.6.3.1.2 for reduplication as an exceptional case). A *grammatical word* will be defined here as either (a) a clitic, or (b) a phonological word without any clitic material. This allows clitics to remain independent from the words to which they attach (their *host*). In addition, clitics tend to have morphosyntactic properties that are sufficient to place them in one of the definable lexical classes (usually particles or postpositions, but also a few verbs), together with other elements that are *not* clitics. Thus, the examples in (2) contain each one phonological word but two grammatical words.

As in most other languages, grammatical words can be further segmented into meaningful subelements (*morphemes*). For the purposes of the present description, the following types of morphemes and morpheme combinations are used (the word *combination* is used to include any number of elements, from zero to a reasonable maximum):

— *root:* a morpheme with lexical meaning, not synchronically segmentable;

— *stem:* a combination of one (or more) *roots* with (none, one or more) *derivational affixes*;

— *word:* a combinations of a stem with *inflectional affixes* (a *grammatical word*) and/or, optionally, *clitics* (a *phonological word*);

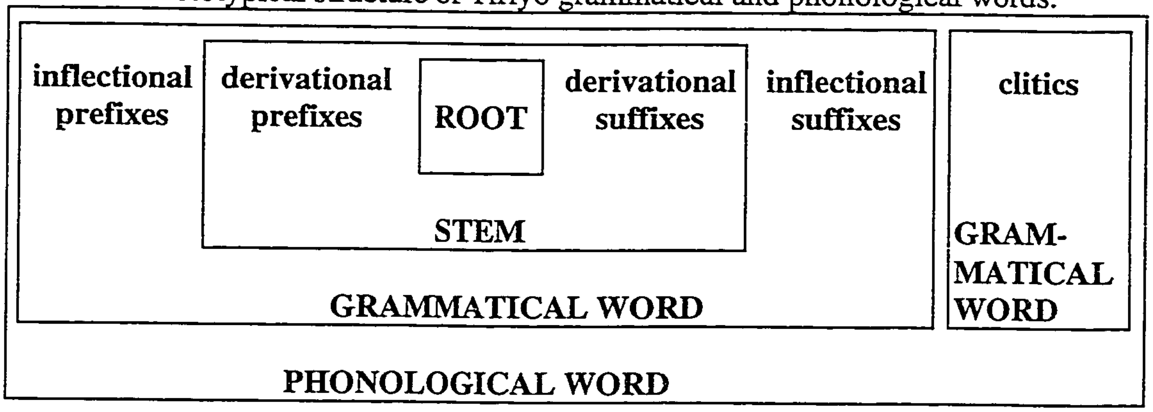
— *affixes* (*prefixes* if they precede the root or stem, *suffixes* if they follow it)*:* bound morphemes (i.e. incapable of occurring by themselves) with grammatical meaning; the most productive and regular ones are called *inflectional*, while the more irregular, less productive ones are called *derivational*;

— *clitics*: phonologically bound but morphosyntactically free morphemes, usually conveying grammatical content.

The terms defined above will be used to qualify the structural status of morphemes. In addition to them, the word *formative* will be used for submorphemic elements that have no synchronic morphological status but are still identifiable and may have been independent morphemes in the past (cf. 12.2).

The prototypical hierarchical structure of these elements within the phonological and grammatical words is illustrated in Fig. 3.1 below.

Figure 3.1
Prototypical structure of Tiriyó grammatical and phonological words.


inflectional prefixes
derivational prefixes
ROOT
derivational suffixes
inflectional suffixes
clitics
STEM
GRAMMATICAL WORD
GRAM-MATICAL WORD
PHONOLOGICAL WORD

The structure of Fig. 3.1 cannot be always strictly obeyed (hence the term *prototypical*). Clitics and affixes, or inflectional and derivational affixes, are best seen not as disjoint sets, but as the extreme poles of a *form-meaning continuum*. Even roots and stems may become difficult to distinguish, as older derivational affixes become less transparent and the resulting stem more root-like. For descriptive purposes, however, these categories are useful tools; the formal continuum is thus partitioned in disjoint subsets at convenient points. This partitioning is examined in further detail in the following sections.

3.2.1. Clitics and Affixes. As far as their morphophonological properties are concerned, clitics and affixes behave alike: the criteria in 2.3.2 and 2.4 (rhythmic stress, syllable reduction, phonotactic restrictions, etc.) do not distinguish them. The difference between them is their *level of independence*: clitics are freer, more 'word-like', than affixes, and typically play a higher-level role on the morphosyntactic plane. For instance, the particle **_pa** 'Repetition' and the suffix **-po** 'Causative' are morphophonologically indistinguishable, but **_pa**, being a second-position particle (cf. 9.1.3, 10.1.2), has a specific position within the sentence, following the first constituent regardless of its lexical class, while **-po**, being a suffix, cannot be separated from the stem on which it occurs.

Taking this into account, the features listed below will be considered as relevant for evaluating the level of morphosyntactic independence:

— sentence-level distributional restrictions;
— phrase-level phenomena;
— morphological possibilities;
— separability;
— categorial specificity.

Sentence-level distributional restrictions refer, for instance, to preferred positions within the sentence structure that clitics must occupy (e.g. the first, the last, or the second position). The particles in (1-2) above exemplify the case of restriction to second position.

Phrase-level phenomena characterize elements which can have scope over more than a single grammatical word. Typically, this is the case for postpositions such as **_pëe** 'Ablative', as in (3) (brackets indicate scope boundaries):

(3a)	**[pata]_pëe**	‘from the village’
(b)	**[pata mono]_pëe**	‘from the big village’
(c)	**[pata mono kurano]_pëe**	‘from the big beautiful village’

It may seem possible to argue that **_pëe** is a suffix on the last noun of the sequence, with the preceding ones as ‘modifying’ nouns in apposition (cf. 10.2.1.3 for nominal apposition in Tiriyó). Notice, however, that the term to which **_pëe** cliticizes must be the last one in the group; if, e.g. in an afterthought, a speaker wishes to add another appositive noun, **_pëe** must be repeated after it:

(4a)	**[pata mono]_pëe**	‘from the big village’
(b)	**[pata mono]_pëe, [kurano]_pëe**	‘from the big, beautiful village’
(c)	***[pata mono]_pëe, [kurano]**	

This can be compared to the behavior of a suffix like **-npë** ‘Past’, which is not limited to the last noun of a group of nouns in apposition:

(5a)	**pata-npë**	‘old, abandoned village’
(b)	**mono pata-npë**	‘big abandoned village’
(c)	**pata-npë mono**	‘big abandoned village’

The meaning of the whole can also help in the determination of the scope of a given element. Thus, (4a) above shows that, although **_pëe** cliticizes to **mono** ‘big (one)’, it does not refer only to it, but to the entity referred to as ‘big village’, **pata mono**. However, in (6b) below, the suffix **-npë** refers only to **pijanpisi(kë)** ‘small (one)’, not to

pata 'village' (i.e. **pata pijanpisikë-npë** means 'a village that used to be small', not 'a small abandoned village'); in (6a), it refers only to **pata**, not to **pijanpisi(kë)**. Note that (6a) thus makes sense in a sentence like (6c), while (6b) does not (a small village that was abandoned and thus no longer exists cannot become big). Thus, comparing (4) with (6), it can be said that **pijanpisikë-npë** 'one which used to be small' can be seen as being in apposition to **pata** in (6c), but **mono_pëe** in (4a) cannot.

(6a) **pijanpisi pata-npë** 'small abandoned village'
(b) **pata pijanpisikë-npë** 'a village which used to be small'

(c) **pata pijanpisikë-npë menjaarë mono_me t-ee-se**
village small-Pst now big.one_Attr Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst
'The village that used to be small has become big.'

(d) ***pijanpisi pata-npë menjaarë mono_me t-ee-se**

Morphological possibilities refer to the capacity of taking affixes, of behaving like a stem. If a certain element cannot be a phonological word by itself but can become a phonological word in combination with affixes, it must be more than a simple affix. In fact, this capacity makes it a *root* or *stem* (i.e. a base to which affixes can be attached) which can be further classified in one of the lexical classes (cf. 3.4). For instance, the clitic postposition **_pëe** can take affixes to mark person (7a-b), number (7c), and class change (nominalization, 7d); in this, it perfectly parallels the behavior of e.g. **akëërë** 'Comitative', a postposition which constitutes an independent phonological word. This fact argues in favor of **_pëe** as an independent *grammatical* word, differing from certain other members of the postpositional class only in that it is not at the same time an independent *phonological* word.

(7a)	**ji-pëe**	'from me'	**j-akëërë**	'with me'
(b)	**kï-pëe**	'from us'	**k-ëkëërë**	'with us'
(c)	**kï-pëe-ne**	'from all of us'	**k-ëkëërëë-ne**	'with all of us'
(d)	**kï-pëe-n**	'something from us'	**k-ëkëërë-n**	'something with us'

Separability refers to the possibility of introducing intervening material. For instance, if a certain morpheme of doubtful status can be separated from the preceding (or following) word by a clearly independent element (e.g. a particle), then the morpheme in question is not an affix, but a clitic. Thus, the particle **_pa** 'Repetitive', which was shown to be a clitic on account of its sentence-level distributional constraints ((1-2) above), can also be separated from the preceding noun by other particles, such as **_pitë** 'for a second':

(8) **pata_po_pitë_pa k-ei-ne**
village_Loc_a.sec_Rpt 1+2-Cop-Hort
'Let us be/stay in the village again a little (and then go do something else).'

Separability is the main argument for treating **_hpe** 'Indefinite' as a particle rather than a suffix occurring on interrogatives. (9c) shows the identificational interrogative **aano** 'which' followed by a noun, with **_hpe** occurring at the end (a combination such as ***wëri_hpe**, without a preceding interrogative, is not possible):

(9a)	**akï_hpe**	(b)	**aano_hpe**	(c)	**aano wëri_hpe**
	wh:An_Indef		which_Indef		which woman_Indef
	'Whoever.'		'Whichever.'		'Whichever woman.'

Categorial specificity refers to the degree of freedom that a certain element has to follow (or precede) morphemes from different lexical classes (nouns, verbs, adverbs, postpositions, etc.). In this respect, clitics tend to be freer than affixes (though class-crossing affixes do exist; cf. 3.3); thus, **_pa** can follow a verb or a noun, as in (1), another particle, as in (8), or a postposition or an adverb, as in (10).

(10a) **pata_pona_pa nï-tën**
village_Dir_Rpt 3S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf
'S/he went back to the village.'

(b) **kure_pa n-ee-ja-n**
well_Rpt 3S$_A$-Cop-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he is recovering (=getting well again).'

As a general rule in the present work, cliticization will be indicated by an underscore character between the host and the clitic, and affixation, when appropriate, by a hyphen.

3.2.1.1. A problematic case: nominal affixes vs. scope particles. Using the features discussed in the previous sections, it is possible to classify conveniently most phonologically dependent morphemes. However, since clitics and affixes are extremes of a single continuum, certain contradictory cases remain; due to their intermediary status, the decision to treat them as either clitics or affixes is somewhat arbitrary. This situation obtains for certain postnominal elements which will be examined in detail below.

There is a series of phonologically dependent elements that occur after nouns and modify their meanings. The ones which show one of the first three features that were listed above (sentence-level distributional restrictions, phrase-level phenomena, or morphological possibilities) also have the other two (separability, [lack of] categorial specificity), and thus are clearly clitics (e.g. **_pa** 'Repetitive'). There are elements, however, which do not have any of these first three features, and for which only the last two are relevant. Some examples are **rë** 'exactly', **rëke(ne)** 'only', **rën(ne)** 'truly', **sepï** 'Predilective', **rïpï** 'Pejorative', **imë** 'Augmentative', **pisi(kë)** 'Diminutive', etc. (cf. 4.2.1, 9.1.4).

Some of them, like **rën(ne)**, are separable (11a-b) and have low categorial specificity, occurring after nouns (11a), verbs (11d), adverbs (11e), postpositions (11c), interrogatives (11f), particles (11g-h). Other elements in this category are **rë** 'Exactly', **rëke(ne)** 'Only', **marë** 'too', etc.

(11a) **ji-nmuku_rën**
1-son:Pos_Truly
'My real son.'

(b) **kan_muku_me_rën**
god_son_Attr_Truly
'A true son of God.'

(c) **ë-moitï apo_rën**
2-people:Pos like_Truly
'Really like your people.'

(d) **n-ëtïhka_rën**
3S$_A$-be.over:Prs.Prf_Truly
'It's really over.'
(=There isn't any left.)

(e) **kure_rën_man-a-e**
good_Truly_2S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'You are really good!'
(i.e. really a good person)

(f) **eeke_rën**
how_Truly
'How on Earth?'

(g) **owa_rën_ken**
Neg_Truly_Cont
'No way!'

(h) **kura-no ahkene_rën**
good-Nzr as.if_Truly
'Just as if it were good.'

However, some dependent elements are quite specific to nouns; they cannot occur after members of any other lexical class. These include **npë** 'Past', **imë** 'Augmentative', **pisi(kë)** 'Diminutive', **sepï** 'Predilective', and **rïpï** 'Pejorative'. Let us consider **sepï** as a representative member of this class. It can follow a noun (12a), but not a verb (12b) or a postposition (12c).

(12a) **ji-majaa sepï**
1-knife:Pos Prdl
'My favorite knife;
the knife I like/want.'

(b) ***wï-të-∅-e sepï**
1S$_A$-go-Prs.Ipf-Cty Prdl
(The way I like to go.)

(c) ***maja apo sepï**
knife Like Prdl
(Like a knife.)

This suggests that **sepï** could be conveniently treated as a suffix. However, it can still be separated from the noun that it refers to by **rën(ne)**, which was analyzed as a clitic particle (13a). Thus, **sepï** seems too separable to be treated as a simple suffix; this implies considering also other elements, separable by **sepï**, as non-suffixal (like **npë** in 13b).

(13a) **ji-majaa_rën sepï**
1-knife:Pos_Truly Prdl
'Really my favorite knife,
really the knife I want.'

(b) **ji-maja sepï npë**
1-knife:Pos Prdl Pst
'The one which was my favorite knife,
the knife I used to like/want.'

However, **sepï** can be followed by morphemes that apparently have affixal status, such as **t- -ke** 'Having', or **i- -nna** 'Privative' (the **∅-** allomorph of **i-** occurs with vowel-inital stems; cf. 6.2.1.1-2):

(14a) **t-otï-ke t-ee-se**
T-meat-Hav Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst
'(He) had meat food.'

(b) **∅-otï-nna t-ee-se**
∅-meat-Priv Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst
'(He) didn't have meat food.'

(c) **t-otï sepï-ke t-ee-se**
T-meat Prdl-Have Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst
'(He) had (his) favorite meat food.'

(d) **∅-otï sepï-nna t-ee-se**
∅-meat Prdl-Priv Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst
'(He) didn't have (his) favorite meat
food.'

One possible explanation is that **t- -ke** and **i- -nna** might not be affixes, but something more independent. The fact that they can sometimes take objects more complex than one word argues in favor of considering them as clitics, e.g. as 'complex postpositions' (15a-b). However, the number of complex objects that **t- -ke** or **i- -nna** can take is severely limited, with many forms disallowed (15c) and others causing disagreement among the speakers (15d). This does not happen with a true postposition like **_pë(kë)** 'about, busy with' (15e-f).

(15a) **∅-otï wë-ne-nna t-ee-se**
∅-meat kill-A.act.Nzr-Priv Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst
'(He) had nobody to hunt for (him).'
(=He was without a meat-killer.)

(b) **t-orokï i-po-ke**
T-penis 3-clothes-Have
'Having/wearing a condom.'

(c) ***∅-panpira i-menuhtë-ne-nna**
∅-book 3-write-A.act:Nzr-Priv
(Without a book-writer.)

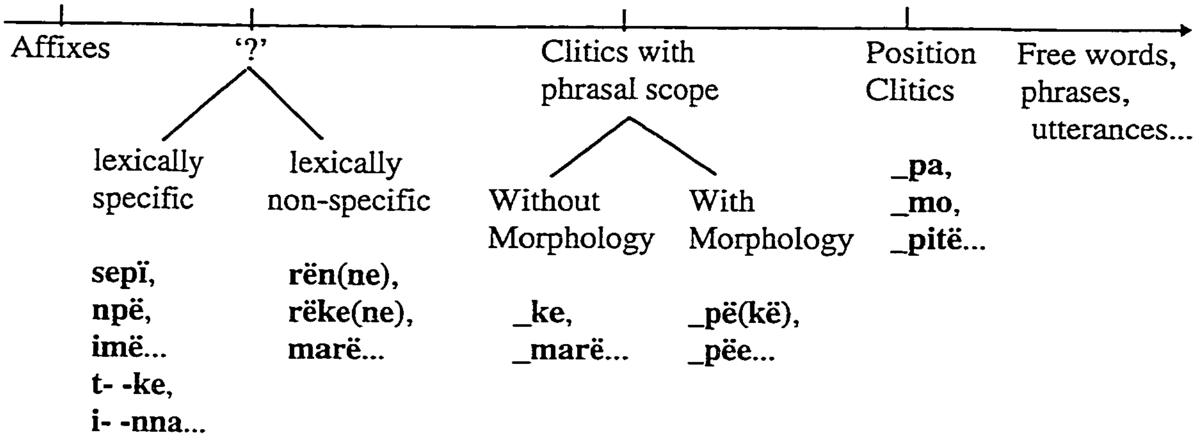
(d) **? tï-maja mono-ke**
T-knife big:one-Have
(Having a big knife.)

(e) **panpira i-menuhtë-ne_pë**
book 3-write-A.act:Nzr_busy.with
'Busy with the book writer;
(talking) about the book writer.'

(f) **maja mono_pë**
knife big:one_busy.with
'Busy with the big knife;
(talking) about the big knife.'

It is difficult to know exactly what to do with the above evidence if elements like **sepï** or **t- -ke** are to be analyzed as one specific kind of formal unit. Their degree of freedom appears to be intermediary between that of an affix and that of a clitic, as shown in Fig. 3.2.

Figure 3.2
Scale of formal freedom.


Affixes
'?'
lexically specific
lexically non-specific
sepï,
npë,
imë...
t- -ke,
i- -nna...
rën(ne),
rëke(ne),
marë...
Clitics with phrasal scope
Without Morphology
With Morphology
_ke,
_marë...
_pë(kë),
_pëe...
Position Clitics
_pa,
_mo,
_pitë...
Free words, phrases, utterances...

Thus, the elements that have been considered in the preceding paragraphs are less free than e.g. phrasal clitics (in that they cannot, or can only to a limited extent, take phrases as their object), and yet freer than affixes (in that they are either, like **rën(ne)**, lexically non-specific, or, like **sepï**, separable from the preceding word by a lexically non-specific element).[1] It is not even clear that they all occupy the same position in the continuum; a detailed analysis of their co-occurrence and positional restrictions would certainly spread them out.

Linguists might differ as to where they would draw the line separating clitics from suffixes in Fig. 3.2. In the present work, this line will be drawn between lexically specific and lexically non-specific elements, so that **-sepï** will be a suffix and **_rën(ne)** a clitic. The main reason for this decision is that elements like **_rën(ne)** can occur after too many lexical classes, including particles (cf. **owa** 'Negative' in 11g, **ahke(ne)** 'as if' in 11h); analyzing _**rën(ne***)* as a suffix would imply positing morphology for particles, which is otherwise unnecessary. The cost of this decision is that cases like 13a, in which _**rën(ne)** separates **-sepï** from the noun **maja** 'knife', must be considered exceptional (maybe remnants of a previous historical stage at which **-sepï** was freer). This labeling is adopted as a convenient presentation device; the 'reality', insofar as it is knowable, is closer to Fig. 3.2, in which structural labels such as 'clitic' or 'affix' delimit prototypical cases.

---

[1] This state of affairs seems to be the result of diachronic change. For some of the above elements, free-word sources can probably still be found (e.g. **wïrïpë** 'evil thing, sin' for **rïpï**; cf. 4.2.1); others have phonologically free cognates in sister languages (e.g. the collective markers **to(mo)**, **ko(mo)**; cf. 3.3.2).

3.2.1.2. The case of *n(i)-* '3AO'. One of the verbal person markers, **n(i)-** (used on transitive verbs when both participants are third persons), has the syntactic peculiarity of being in complementary distribution with an overt preverbal object (cf. 5.4.1.1.1, 10.2.2). (16a-c) illustrate this fact:

	A	n-V	O
(16a)	**pahko**	**n-eta**	**ji-pawana**
	1:father	3AO-hear:Prs.Prf	1-friend
	'My father heard my friend.'		

	A	O	V
(b)	**pahko**	**ji-pawana**	**eta**
	1:father	1-friend	hear:Prs.Prf
	'My father heard my friend.'		

This fact is interpreted as an indication that **n(i)-** occupies the same syntactic slot as a preceding object (forming a single constituent with the verb; cf. 10.2.2 for the OV phrase). Such behavior is reminiscent of e.g. French pronominal clitics such as *il* 'him/it', which is obligatory as a subject marker, but cannot co-occur with an overt subject (unless a pause is inserted between the subject and the verb):

(17a) Pierre est parti.
'Peter is gone.'
(b) Il est parti.
'He is gone.'
(c) *Pierre il est parti.
*Peter he is gone.

Gildea 1998:34ff considered morphemes with this kind of behavior to be pronominal clitics. In fact, **n(i)-** is occupying a higher-level position within the sentence rather than a simple morphological slot within the verb word. However, it has none of the properties that were mentioned in 3.2.1: it does not occupy a specific position within the sentence, it does not have phrasal scope, it takes no morphology, it cannot be separated from the verb word by any clitics, and it is specific to the verb class. It seems simpler to analyze it as a prefix, rather than to introduce new criteria so as to be able to add **n(i)-** to the set of clitics. Since the other person-marking prefixes already occupy the same syntactic slot as a freer morpheme (clitic or independent word; cf. 10.2.2) within the verb phrase, assuming the same for **n(i)-** does not entail any extra costs.

3.2.2. Inflection and derivation. Inflectional and derivational categories are notoriously difficult to define rigorously (cf. e.g. Bybee 1985; Thomas Payne 1997). Intuitively, derivational morphology creates 'new words' (e.. the English verbalizer *-ize*, as in *relativize*, from *relative*), whereas inflectional morphology creates 'different forms of the same word' (e.g. the English plural *-s*, as in *birds*, from *bird*). Thus, inflectional morphology is usually to be found where syntax requires 'a different form' of a certain word (e.g. agreement, as in English *the cat run-s*, not **the cat run*), whilst derivational morphology occurs in 'non-obligatory' contexts (e.g. diminutives, as in Spanish *hombre-cito* 'little man', from *hombre* 'man'). The 'obligatoriness' of inflection often correlates with more productive and regular processes, while derivation tends to be less productive and more irregular. Operations often expressed derivationally include *class change* (nominalization, verbalization, etc.), *valence change* (transitivization, causativization, reflexivization, etc.), and *meaning change* (diminutives, distributives, etc.). Processes usually expressed inflectionally mark *person*, *number*, *gender*, *tense*, *aspect*, *mood*, etc.

These intuitive ideas are relatively vague, leaving room for many ambiguous and difficult cases. As Bybee 1985 argues, it is better to view inflection and derivation as part of a *continuum*, with boundaries drawn at convenient points. For the purposes of the present description, the features of *productivity* and *regularity* (which often occur in association, though there are exceptions; cf. e.g. plural markers in Germanic and Nilo-Saharan languages) will be used to characterize the inflection-derivation continuum.

Productivity refers to the degree of exhaustiveness with which a morphological process covers its potential domain of application. Thus, the English third-person *-s* is very productive, since it applies to all verb stems (except modal auxiliaries); on the other hand, the English abstract nominalizer *-th* is very unproductive, since it occurs only in a few dozen nominalizations (*depth*, *breadth*, *greenth*, etc.). *Regularity* refers to the degree of predictability of the result of a certain morphological process. The third-person *-s*, for instance, can be applied to verb stems with predictable results, both semantically and morphophonologically; the nominalizer *-th*, on the other hand, has morphophonological irregularities (*depth*, not **deepth*; *width*, not **wideth*). Irregularity can also be semantic, as in English noun-noun compounds, in which the exact kind of relationship is not predictable (part-whole as in *rabbit paw*, material as in *stone knife*, 'environment' as in *star ship*, purpose as in *garbage can*, etc.).

In general, low productivity and low regularity (i.e., ultimately, a higher degree of *lexicalization*) lead to the derivational end of the continuum; high productivity and high regularity, to the inflectional side. Using these features as relatively measurable symptoms, the following classification of morphologically-expressed categories is proposed for descriptive convenience:

Inflectional Categories	*Derivational Categories*
— Person	— Class-changing
— Number	— Valence-changing
— Tense-aspect-mood	— Meaning-changing

Person, number, and tense-aspect-mood, for all the lexical classes to which they apply, show the highest degree of productivity and regularity (but see the case of certain number markers below); they are the best candidates for inflectional morphology in Tiriyó.

Class-changing morphology has a more intermediate status. There are class-changing affixes that are very productive and very regular (e.g. verbal nominalizers **-to(po)** 'Circumstance' [4.2.2.1.5], nominal adverbializers like **t- -ke** 'Having' [6.2.1.1.1] or **i- -nna** 'Privative' [6.2.1.2.1]); others, however, are quite unproductive (e.g. nominal adverbializers like **t- -pore** 'Having a good N' [6.2.1.1.2], nominal transitive verbalizers like the beneficiative **-ma** [5.3.3.1.2]). The verbal nominalizers are the most productive and regular of all; it is an interesting question whether or not it would be better to consider them inflectional (marking e.g. 'translational inflection') and the less productive, more irregular class-changers derivational. This is certainly a point at which linguists of different theoretical orientations would disagree. However, *for expository purposes*, it is simpler to be able to speak of class-changing morphology (nominalizers, verbalizers, adverbializers) as a whole, and to describe them in the same section, regardless of the level of productivity and regularity of specific processes. Thus, in general, when a group of morphological processes is more conveniently described as a single set, but has both productive/regular and unproductive/irregular members, it will be considered derivational.[2]

Valence-changing morphology in Tiriyó is usually very productive, but its irregularity is already noticeable. For instance, the verbal intransitivizer prefix (cf. 5.3.1.1., 5.2.2) has many different allomorphs (**ë-**, **ëës-**, **ët-**, **ëi-**, **e-**, **et-**, **es-**), some of which cannot be predicted from their environment (the O in the glosses indicates that the verb is transitive):

(18a) **ainka** 'to run off with O' → **et-ainka** 'to run (away)'
(b) **apëi** 'to catch/seize O' → **ët-apëi** 'to catch oneself, to hold on'

---

[2] A presentational problem with class-changing morphology is whether it should be part of the description of the source class or of the target class (i.e. are affixes that nominalize verbs verbal or nominal morphology?). A 'mixed' solution was adopted here, in which the affixes are presented twice (once under the target class and once under the source class), but explained only once (in the target class). Thus, affixes that nominalize verbs will be listed in the summary tables of both the noun and verb sections, but their meanings and uses will be exposed only in the noun section.

Semantic irregularity comes from cases of lexicalization with idiosyncratic meanings (19a), or cases in which some aspect of the resulting meaning is not predictable (the 'surviving argument' in 19b-c).

(19a)	**iwa**	'to look for O'	→	**ë-iwa**	'to hunt'	
(b)	**uru**	'to talk to O'	→	**ët-uru**	'to talk'	(agent survives)
(c)	**pahka**	'to break O'	→	**e-pahka**	'to break'	(patient survives)

Considering this kind of lexicalization, it seems more convenient to view the intransitivizing prefix (and meaning-changing morphology in general) as derivational.

Meaning-changing morphology has an even higher level of semantic irregularity. For instance, the nominal augmentative suffix **-imë** occurs in a number of cases of lexicalization (20a-c), sometimes even twice (20e); in some cases, the original word apparently does not exist anymore (20f). Such facts make it more convenient to see **-imë** (and other meaning-changing affixes) as derivational.

(20a)	**kanawa-imë**	'airplane'	←	**kanawa**	'canoe; vehicle'
(b)	**otono-imë**	'tuberculosis'	←	**otono**	'cold'
(c)	**arimina-imë**	'liana sp.'	←	**arimina**	'electric eel; cramps'
(d)	**pïmokoko-imë**	'helicopter'	←	**pïmokoko**	'dragonfly'
(e)	**pïreimë-imë**	'cane sp.'	←	**pïreimë**	'cane sp.' (cf. **pïrëu** 'arrow cane')
(f)	**katamï-imë**	'liana sp.'	←	***katamï**	

Of course, these distinctions are not without problems, and, in certain cases, arbitrary decisions were necessary. For instance, the verbal number marker **_to(o)** is not an affix, but a clitic particle (cf. 9.1.3.3). The nominal number suffixes **-to(mo)**

'Collective' and **-ko(mo)** 'Possessor Collective' should, as number markers, be considered inflectional; however, meaning-changing (and thus derivational) affixes like **-sepï** 'Predilective' can occur both before (21a-b) and after (21c-d) it, which goes against the hierarchical structure in Fig. 3.1 (according to which inflectional suffixes should, as the last layer, never be followed by inflectional ones).

(21a) **ë-majaa-kon-sepï**
2-knife:Pos-P.Col-Prdl
'You all's favorite knives;
the knives you all like/want.'

(b) **ji-majaa-ton-sepï**
2-knife:Pos-Col-Prdl
'My favorite knives;
the knives I like/want.'

(c) **ë-majaa-sepï-kon**
2-knife-Prdl-P.Col
'You all's favorite knives;
the knives you all like/want.'

(d) **ji-majaa-sepï-ton**
2-knife:Pos-Col-Prdl
'My favorite knives;
the knives I like/want.'

This interchangeability suggests that **-to(mo)** and **-ko(mo)** may belong in the same formal category as **-sepï**, unlike e.g. verbal number markers like **-ti(i)**, **-hki(i)**, **-të** which are more obviously inflectional (**-të**, for instance, precedes the inflectional suffix **-ne** 'past perfective'; cf. 5.4.1.3.3).[3] That would imply derivational status for **-to(mo)** and **-ko(mo)**, given that **-sepï**, a meaning-changing suffix, is considered derivational. As a consequence, there is a 'formal schism' in the number category, which includes particles (**_to(o)**), derivational affixes (**-to(mo)**, **-ko(mo)**) and inflectional affixes (**-ti(i)**, **-hki(i)**,

---

[3] At one point, it seemed possible that **-to(mo)** and **-ko(mo)** (especially the latter) would mark a boundary between affixes (which precede them) and clitics (which follow them). In view of examples like (21a-d), however, this idea was abandoned. Notice also that not all speakers agreed with the interchangeability; some speakers preferred one of the orders, others preferred the other one, and others yet accepted both. This agrees with the hypothesis of a transitional status for these morphemes. Comparative evidence further supports this idea: cognates of **-ko(mo)** in other Cariban languages (e.g. **komo** in Hixkaryana [Derbyshire 1985:245], **kumu** in Katxuyana [Gildea, pers.comm.]) were analyzed as independent particles.

-të), i.e. the number category is more widely spread out on the inflection-derivation continuum. Situations such as these militate against the use of 'inflectional' or 'derivational' as polar opposites.

3.2.3. Formatives, Stems, and Roots. Diachrony often makes certain derivational relations more obscure, and can even create new roots from old ones. For instance, Portuguese verbs such as *receber* 'receive', *conceber* 'conceive' or *perceber* 'perceive' (as well as their English glosses, all borrowings from French), were, at an earlier stage of the language, formed with prefixes on a single root (from Latin *capio* 'to catch'; thus, e.g. *re-cipio*, from **re-capio*, meant 'to catch back', and later 'to receive'). At present, however, there is no verb **ceber* to which the other ones could be derivationally related. Although a historical linguist can still identify a root and several affixes, from the synchronic viewpoint, these verbs are monomorphemic roots: *receb-*, *conceb-* and *perceb-*.

Some elements with characteristics similar to Portuguese *-ceb-* can be found in Tiriyó. For instance, the syllable **ku** occurs at the end of a series of lexemes for liquids (e.g. **etaku** 'saliva', **eramuku** 'sweat', **suku** 'urine', **eeku** 'sap, stream'); it also seems to be present in the word **ikutupë** 'lake' (with **-tupë** possibly being related to an old nominal past-tense suffix, reconstructed for Proto-Cariban in Gildea 1998:120 as ***-tupu**). There is, however, no word **ku** in present-day Tiriyó. Such elements, which are here called *formatives*, are not really part of the synchronic morphology of the language; rather, they seem to be (as in the Spanish case) fossilized remnants of earlier morphemes.

Formatives are potentially important for historical reconstruction; they are discussed in 12.2.

There are cases of elements, however, for which some degree of synchronic analyzability remains. Thus, in the field of spatial postpositions (cf. 7.3.1), certain elements can be related to certain aspects of the meaning of the postposition of which they are part (e.g. **(ka)**, on directional postpositions like **_ta(ka)** 'into (closed space)' **_hka(ka)** 'into (water)'; **o** or **wë** on locate postpositions like **_tao** 'in (closed space)', **_hkao** 'in (water)', **_juuwë** 'on top of (flat surface)'). There may be several elements for the same meaning feature (e.g. directional postpositions can also have **na, na(kïi)** or **hkïi,** such as **_pona** 'into (a generic space)', **rawëna(ka), rawëna(kïi)** 'into the middle part of', or **_juhkïi** 'onto'), and every element is usually limited to a couple of postpositions. For these elements, the question of whether or not they are affixes does not seem to depend on any substantive issues, but merely on how far the analyst is willing to push the unproductivity and irregularity scales for affixes. In the present work, they will be considered formatives, i.e. diachronically traceable elements that are not part of synchronic postpositional morphology; different analyses, however, probably remain possible.[4]

Finally, there is the case of analyzable stems which have developed idiosyncratic meanings. Sources of such cases are e.g. the 'Augmentative' suffix **-imë**, or the verbal intransitivizer prefix mentioned in the previous section. Here the problem is that the degree of lexicalization varies from case to case. Cases in which the semantic divergence between the original root and the derived stem are not too pronounced (e.g. the unpredictability of the 'surviving argument' with the intransitivizer; cf. 4.3.1.1) will be treated as synchronic derivation. More divergent cases such as **ëiwa** 'to hunt', from **iwa** 'to look for O', will be treated as new roots (cf. 4.3.1.1 for further details, and for a list of the idiosyncratic cases found in the available corpus). In the glossary in the Appendix, intransitivized stems, regardless of degree of divergence, will be listed as entries, with explicit mention of any significant semantic deviations and references to their transitive sources.

---

[4] Cf. Derbyshire 1985:205ff, in which the postpositions of a related language, Hixkaryana, are analyzed as combinations of postpositional stems and various spacial suffixes; cf. also Tavares (pers. comm.), who analyzes Wayana, another related language, in a similar way. In both cases, the degree of regularity seems to be higher than in Tiriyó.

3.3. Cross-categorial phenomena. Two recurring semantic categories are important enough in Tiriyó (and in the Cariban languages in general, for which Tiriyó is, in this respect, a typical example) to deserve an independent introduction: person and number. The three major lexical classes—nouns (including pronouns), postpositions, and verbs—are sensitive to these categories.

3.3.1. Argument marking. The three major classes — nouns, postpositions, and verbs — can be thought of as those which are compatible with *argument marking*. For these three classes, certain morphological processes are used to mark the presence or absence of an argument, and to further identify it if it is present, either by explicitly marking its person category (e.g. a first- or second-person argument), or by relating it to other entities already known to the hearer (e.g. 'the same as the subject', 'different from the subject', etc.).

Some of these morphological processes are very widespread (e.g. the first-person marker **j(i)-** occurs on most nouns, most verbs, and most postpositions), whereas others are restricted (e.g. the first-person marker **s-** only occurs on a specific subclass of verb stems), but the semantic categories which they instantiate have the same degree of generality (e.g. all possessible nouns and conjugatable verbs and postpositions have a first-person form).

Table 3.1 below offers an overview of the distribution of the morphological processes that correspond to each semantic category. The labels used for each category are explained in the following sections, in which a discussion of the more general characteristics of each category, common to all lexical classes which share it, is sketched. Specificities and irregularities are discussed in the chapter dedicated to the lexical class in which they occur.[5]

Table 3.1
An overview of the distribution of argument-marking processes.

	Pron.	Nouns	Postp.	Verbs					
				Supine	Neg.	S_O	O	A	S_A
0		*ablaut*							
1	**wï(i)**	**j(i)-**						**w(i)-**	**s- / t-**
2	**ëmë**	**ë- / a- / o-**						**m(i)-**	
1+2	**kïmë**	**k(i)-**						**k(:)- / kït-**	
1+3	**anja**	(identical to 3)							
3	(...)	**i- / 0-**			**in-**	**n(i)-**			
3R		**t(i)-**							
Rf/Rc		**ë- / ëi- / ët- / ëës- / es- / et-**							

---

[5] For certain verb forms (e.g. the **t- -se** 'remote past' discussed in 5.4.3.1.2 and 10.3.3), argument marking is not instantiated in verb morphology, but by other means (e.g. overt marking of the A participant with the postposition **_ja**).

3.3.1.1. Zero-argument ('0'). The absence of an argument — the possessor of a noun, the object of a postposition, or one of the arguments (usually the O participant) of a verb — is signaled via *ablaut*. Ablaut stems have two forms, the *front grade* and the *back grade*, differentiated by their initial vowels (cf. 2.6.1). The front grade indicates that the argument structure of the stem is as expected; the back grade, that an argument is missing. Examples are non-possessed nouns (22a-b), objectless postpositions (22c-d), or 'generic' negative or supine verb forms (22e-h).

(22a) **j-apëi**
1-seat:Pos
'My seat.'

(b) **ëpëi**
seat:Back.Grade
'Seat.' (without a possessor)

(c) **j-ewaaje_n-ai**
1-Apprec_$3S_A$-Cop
'S/he is happy about me, s/he likes me.'

(d) **ëwaaje_n-ai**
Apprec:Back.Grade_3-S_A
'S/he is a nice/jolly person, s/he likes everyone.'

(g) **in-apëë-sewa_n-ai**
3Neg-catch-Neg_$3S_A$-Cop
'S/he doesn't catch it.'

(h) **ëpëë-sewa_n-ai**
catch:Back.Grade-Neg_$3S_A$-Cop
'S/he does not (know how to) catch.'

(e) **mëe** **n-ee-ja-n** **j-eta-e**
3AnPx $3S_A$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 1O-hear-Prp
'S/he is coming to listen to me.'

(f) **mëe** **n-ee-ja-n** **ëta-e**
3AnPx $3S_A$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt hear:Back.Grade-Sup
'S/he is coming to hear/listen.' (= to exercise hearing).

3.3.1.2. Person. Semantically, five different persons can be distinguished: a *first person* ('1'), a *second person* ('2'), a *third person* ('3'), a *first person dual inclusive* ('1+2', i.e.

'you' and 'I' but nobody else) and a *first person exclusive* ('1+3', i.e. 'others' and 'I' but not 'you'). To each of these corresponds a different pronoun (third person has more than one; cf. 3.1.2). However, only the first four persons are morphosyntactically relevant, the first person exclusive being treated as a third person, as can be seen in (23a-c), concerning nominal possession (cf. 3.1.1), and in (23d-e), concerning person marking on the verb (with **n(ï)-** '3S_A'):

(23a) **i-pakoro**
3-house:Pos
'his/her house'

(b) **pahko i-pakoro**
1:father 3-house
'my father's house'

(c) **anja i-pakoro**
1+3 3-house:Pos
'our (excl.) house'

(d) **pahko nï-tën**
1:father 3S_A-go:Prs.Prf
'My father has gone.'

(e) **anja nï-tën**
1+3 3S_A-go:Prs.Prf
'We (excl.) have gone.'

Table 3.1 above gave an overview of the distribution of the various person-marking prefixes. Among these, **j(i)-** '1', **ë-/a-/o-** '2' and **k(ï)-** '1+2', given their similar distribution, form a natural subgroup (which Meira 1998 called 'O-oriented prefixes'). The allomorphic patterns of these prefixes are discussed under Nouns, in 4.3.1.2.

3.3.1.3. Coreferentiality ('3R'). For the third person, Tiriyó morphology distinguishes from the normal third person ('3') the *third person reflexive* ('3R'), which marks coreferentiality with the subject of the sentence. Similar distinctions exist in other languages: Latin, for instance, distinguishes two third-person possessive adjectives, the coreferential *suus* and the non-coreferential *eius* (cf. 24a-b). In Tiriyó, the 3R marker occurs on nouns (24a-b) and on postpositions (24c-d).

(24a) **i-pakoro-h_ta nï-tën**
3-house-Pos_Ill 3S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf
'S/he$_i$ went into his/her$_j$ house.'
(cf. Latin *In domum eius it*)

(b) **tï-pakoro-h_ta nï-tën**
3R-house-Pos_Ill 3S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf
'S/he$_i$ went into his/her$_i$ house.'
(cf. Latin *In domum suam it*)

(c) **irë_mao tï-w-ë-ehpee-se tï-nkae**
3InAn_Tmp Rm.Pst-S$_A$-Detr-look-Rm.Pst 3R-behind
'Then s/he$_i$ looked behind him/herself$_i$.'

(d) **irë_mao tï-w-ë-ehpee-se i-nkae**
3InAn_Tmp Rm.Pst-S$_A$-Intr-look-Rm.Pst 3-behind
'Then s/he$_i$ looked behind him/her$_j$.'

3.3.1.4. Reflexivity and Reciprocity ('Recp/Detr'). Verbs, postpositions and some nouns can take various prefixes to mark reflexivity and/or reciprocity. In most cases, their distribution is predictable, but there are cases of apparent free variation. In addition, while some of the prefixes can be found on verbs, postpositions and nouns, others are specific to one class. Table 3.2 summarizes the main facts (specific details are given in the chapters dedicated to each lexical class).

Table 3.2
An overview of the distribution of the various reflexive/reciprocal prefixes.

Verbs		Postpositions		Nouns	
ë-	/ _e	**ë-**	/ _e	**ë-, ëtë-**	/ _e
ët-	/ _V	**ët-**	/ _V	**ët-**	/ _V
ëës- ~ e-	/ _j	**ëis-**	/ _j-adding	**ëës-**	/ _j-adding
ëi- ~ e-	/ _C	**ëi-**	/ _C	**ëi-, ëtëi-**	/ _C
irregularities: **et-, ëh-, ëtï-,...**		irregularities: **ëë-**			

The semantic coherence of these prefixes (see below), together with their obvious family resemblance, suggests that they are better seen as constituting one morpheme. The irregularities and differences in detail seem to be the result of historical changes. For instance, the forms **ëtëi-** and **ëtë-**, found on nouns, certainly result from the co-occurrence of two prefixes, **ët-** + **ëi-** and **ët-** + **ë-**, presumably for emphasis.[6]

The meaning of the reflexive/reciprocal prefix is relatively homogeneous. On verbs, it derives an intransitive from a transitive verb stem, potentially covering the semantic range from 'true' reflexive/reciprocal situations to middle ones (25a-d; cf. also Kemmer 1993), with cases of lexicalization. On postpositions, the meaning is more clearly reciprocal (25e-f); cases of lexicalization also occur (25g). Only a few nouns — kinship terms or kinship-like relations ('brother', 'relative', 'friend', etc.) — can take the reciprocal/reflexive prefix, the result being reciprocity ('brothers to each other', 'mutual relatives', etc.; cf. 25h). When a postposition follows, however, almost any noun can bear the reflexive/reciprocal marker (cf. 25i-j). In both cases, it occupies the same slot as a possessor-marking prefix (cf. the possession suffix **-(rï)**, in its coda grade **-h**, in 25h).

(25a) **s-e-konka**
1S_A-Detr-pierce:Prs.Prf
'I have pierced myself.'

(b) **n-e-tuuka-n_to**
3S_A-Detr-hit:Prs.Ipf-Dbt_3Col
'They are hitting each other.'

---

[6] The forms with **e**, found only on verbs, are more difficult to explain. One possible idea—still speculative—is that they actually correspond to an earlier independent morpheme ***et-**, which would have merged with **ët-**. In this respect, it is interesting to notice that Tupi-Guaranían languages, with which Cariban languages may perhaps be related, distinguish two morphemes in this semantic area, **je-** 'reflexive' and **jo-** 'reciprocal', which are reminiscent of **et-** and **ët-** (especially if one thinks that Tiriyó **ët-** probably reconstructs to Proto-Carib as ***ot-** [Gildea, pers. comm.]). Rodrigues 1985:380 (cognate set 10) had already noted this possibility.

(c) **n-ët-oima**
1S$_{\text{A}}$-Detr-mix:Prs.Prf
'It got mixed (with other things);
they got mixed.'

(d) **t-ët-amorehtë**
1S$_{\text{A}}$-Detr-dream.of:Prs.Prf
'I have dreamed,
I have had a dream.'

(e) **ët-akëërë ni-tunta-n**
Recp-with 3S$_{\text{A}}$-arrive:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'They are arriving together.'

(f) **ëi-ja_to nï-tën**
Recp-Dir_3Col 3S$_{\text{A}}$-go:Prs.Prf
'They went to(ward) each other.'

(g) **ëi-waarë_to_n-ai**
Recp-Cogn_3Col_3S$_{\text{A}}$-Cop
'They know each other.';
'They are smart/intelligent.'

(h) **ëi-moitï-h-ton kït-a-ti**
Recp-relative-Pos-Col 1+2S$_{\text{A}}$-Cop-Col
'We all are relatives of each other.'

(i) **ëi-mënparë_pëh_taike_rën k-eh-të-ne**
Recp-belonging:Pos_about_Neg_Truly 1+2S$_{\text{A}}$-Cop-Col-Hort
'Let us really not mess with each other's things.'
(lit. 'Let us really not be about each other's things')

(j) **ëës-omi-h_tae kït-a-ti**
Recp-lang.-Pos_Perl 1+2S$_{\text{A}}$-Cop-Col
'We speak the same language.'
(lit. 'We are by each other's language.')

The fact that the reflexive/reciprocal prefix occupies the same slot as the person-marking prefixes on nouns and postpositions suggests that it might be one of them. As a synchronic analysis, this hypothesis is clearly unsatisfactory: the limitations on the use of the reflexive/reciprocal prefix on nouns clearly differentiate it from the person markers. In addition, it can occur on finite and nominalized verb stems in a position where no person markers are found (cf. 25a-d above). As a diachronic hypothesis, however, the idea that the reflexive/reciprocal prefix may have been part of the person-marking prefix set certainly deserves further investigation.

3.3.2. Number. The category of number is morphologically distinct from the category of person in Tiriyó. Number is marked by suffixes, whereas person-marking is done with prefixes. The semantics of number opposes 'all' to 'less than all' (instead of the Indo-European 'one' vs. 'more than one'), with 'less than all' being the morphologically unmarked member of the pair. Caribanists have generally used the terms 'collective' and 'non-collective' for 'all' and 'less than all', respectively, a rather unfortunate choice, since the word 'collective' already has other uses in Linguistics. The term 'totalitative' instead of 'collective' would probably be a better label; however, since 'collective' is already familiar to Caribanists, it will be adopted here.

The collective number indicates a reference to *all* the members of a certain group (which was mentioned by, or is somehow obviously relevant to, the speaker or the hearer). The non-collective number is used when *not all* the members of a certain group are meant, or else when there is no obviously relevant group. This means that a non-collective form can be used to refer to more than one entity, as in (26a). In (26b), the collective suffix **-to(mo)** indicates that all the members of some relevant group of people were eaten.

(26a) **tarëno irë _po t- ee -se, tuwei_me, tïreisi_me tahken**
Tiriyó 3AnAna_Loc Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst two_Attr three_Attr maybe
'There were Tiriyó Indians there, two, maybe three.'

(b) **wïtoto-ton ënë-ne, ameraarë**
person-Col eat-Pst.Prf every.one
'S/he ate the people, every one of them.'

An interesting feature of Cariban (and thus Tiriyó) collective number markers is that they cannot occur on first-person forms. If it is necessary to build a collective that includes the first person, it must be based on a first person dual inclusive form. Thus, the 1+2 pronoun **kïmë** has a collective form **kïmë-njamo** 'all of us (including me and you)'; the first-person pronoun **wï(ï)**, on the other hand, does not. This pattern holds true for all collective forms.

A noteworthy fact about collective forms in Tiriyó is that they can be used to refer to single individuals with whom the speaker has an 'avoidance' relationship (basically, his/her affines; cf. Rivière 1969:197ff). Thus, the collective pronoun **ëmënjamo** 'you all', instead of **ëmë** 'you' (cf. 4.1.1), is used talking to an affine, as well as the corresponding collective verb forms (e.g. **mënehtii_pa** 'have you all come?' as a greeting, instead of **mëneh_pa** 'have you come?'; cf. 5.4.1.2) and postpositional forms (e.g. **ë-pëkëë-ne** 'about you all' instead of **ë-pë** 'about you'; cf. 7.1.1).

Table 3.3 maps the distribution of the various collective markers in the major lexical classes. Notice that collective markers tend to be more class-specific than person markers. In the verb system, the different suffixes are conditioned by the tense-aspect-modality (TAM) inflections: **-ti(i)** occurs with **-Ø** 'present perfective', **-ja** 'present imperfective', and **-i** 'hypothetical' (P.I.H.), **-hki(i)** with the **-ta** 'Future Imperfective', and **-të** with the **-ne** 'Past Perfective', **-ne(nu)** 'Warning', **-:je(pe)** 'Incredulitive', and the **-kë** and **-ta** 'Imperative' (P.W.I.I.). Overlaps imply semantic differences (e.g. **-ko(mo)** collectivizes the possessor, **-to(mo)** the possessed, and **-kontoko(mo)** both; **_to(o)** collectivizes a third person participant, while **-:ne**, **-ti(i)**, **-të**, and **-hki(i)** collectivize a non-third-person participant; in 3AO situations, **_to(o)** collectivizes the O participant; cf. 5.4.1.2).

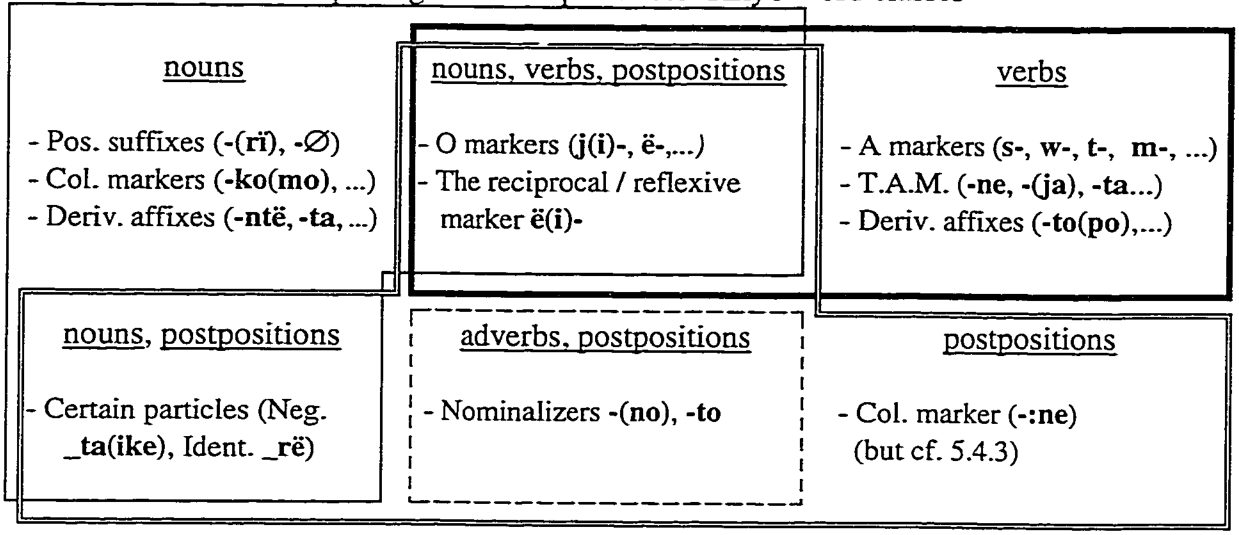
Table. 3.3
An overview of the distribution of collective markers

<table>
<tr><th rowspan="2">Pronouns</th><th rowspan="2">Nouns</th><th rowspan="2">Postp.</th><th colspan="5">Verbs</th></tr>
<tr><th>Supine</th><th>Neg.</th><th>P.I.H.</th><th>Future</th><th>P.W.I.I.</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">-ja(mo),
-sa(mo)</td><td colspan="3">-:ne</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td colspan="5">_to(o)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">-to(mo)</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>-ti(i)</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>-ko(mo)</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>-hki(i)</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>-kontoko(mo)</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>-të</td></tr>
</table>

3.4. Lexical classes. On syntactic and morphological grounds, Tiriyó stems can be divided in six lexical classes, to each of which names are given according to the semantic content of the majority of its members: nouns (including pronouns), verbs, adverbs, postpositions, particles, and ideophones (including interjections). Each class has prototypical members, which display all characteristic properties, and less prototypical members, which fail to have some of the expected properties. For instance, derived members of a class are often less prototypical than underived ones in that they participate in fewer morphological processes.

Figure 3.3 gives a preliminary overview of the degree of morphological overlap between the morphology-bearing classes (nouns, verbs, postpositions, and adverbs). The various features describe processes that can be applied to prototypical stems of a given class. These features are introduced in the following sections, and explained in detail in the chapters about each lexical class.

Fig 3.3
Morphological overlap between Tiriyó word classes


nouns
- Pos. suffixes (-(rï), -∅)
- Col. markers (-ko(mo), ...)
- Deriv. affixes (-ntë, -ta, ...)
nouns, verbs, postpositions
- O markers (j(i)-, ë-,...)
- The reciprocal / reflexive marker ë(i)-
verbs
- A markers (s-, w-, t-, m-, ...)
- T.A.M. (-ne, -(ja), -ta...)
- Deriv. affixes (-to(po),...)
nouns, postpositions
- Certain particles (Neg. _ta(ike), Ident. _rë)
adverbs, postpositions
- Nominalizers -(no), -to
postpositions
- Col. marker (-:ne) (but cf. 5.4.3)

In addition, there is a group of words from two different lexical classes, nouns and adverbs, which share certain characteristics: the *interrogatives*. These are words like **atï** 'what (inanimate)', **akï** 'who (animate)', with nominal properties, or **eeke** 'how', **anpo** 'where', etc., with adverbial properties. They will be treated as an independent class (described in Chap. 11)

3.4.1. Nouns and Pronouns. Morphologically, prototypical nouns are distinguishable from other classes by a number of specific affixes: possession markers, **-npë/-hpë** 'Past', **-to(mo)** 'Collective', **-imë** 'Augmentative', **-pisi(kë)** 'Diminutive', **-sepï** 'Predilective', **-rïpï** 'Pejorative':

(27a)	**maja**	'knife'
(b)	**ji-maja**	'my knife'
(c)	**ji-maja-hpë**	'my former knife'
(d)	**maja-npë**	'old, worthless (ex-)knife'
(e)	**maja-ton**	'all the knives'
(f)	**maja-imë**	'big knife'
(g)	**maja-pisi**	'little knife'
(h)	**maja-sepï**	'very good / favorite knife'
(i)	**maja-rïpï**	'bad knife'

Syntactically, prototypical nouns can instantiate subjects (A, S) and direct objects (O) of verbs (28a), and objects of postpositions (28b). In possessive constructions, they instantiate the possessor and the possessed (28c). In copular sentences, only nouns can occur in the predicate followed by the attributivizer postposition **_me** (28d). When a direct object noun precedes a transitive verb with a third-person subject, it fills the same slot as the third-person prefix **n-**, which means that they cannot co-occur (28e-f). Thus, a noun immediately preceding the prefix **n-**, like **ji-pawana** 'my friend' in 28f, cannot be a direct object.

(28a) A V O
ji-pawana n-ene wëri
1-friend 3AO-see:Prs.Prf woman
'My friend has seen a/the woman.'

(b) A PP V
ji-pawana pata_pona nï-tën
1-friend village_All 3S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf
'My friend has gone to the village.'

(c) **ji-pawana i-pï**
1-friend 3-wife
'My friend's wife.'

(d) **enpa-ne_me_n-ai** **ji-pawana**
3:teach-A.act:Nzr_Attr_$3S_A$-Cop 1-friend
'My friend is a teacher (of something/someone)'

(e)
A O V
ji-pawana **wëri** **ene**
1-friend woman see:Prs.Prf
'My friend has seen a/the woman.'

(f)
O A V
wëri **ji-pawana** **n-ene**
woman 1-friend 3AO-see:Prs.Prf
'My friend has seen a/the woman.'

Many of the 'adjectival' notions of standard Indo-European languages—property concepts like 'big', 'small', 'new', 'old', etc.—are nouns in Tiriyó (others are adverbs; cf. below). This is not typologically unusual (cf. e.g. Dixon 1982, Bhat 1994). (29) shows that the word **mono** 'big' is actually a noun, since it takes the attributivizer **_me**:

(29) **mono _me_n-ai** **mëe**
big:one_Attr_$3S_A$-Cop 3:D.Pro
'This one is big.'

Pronouns are considered to be a subclass of nouns. They are different from prototypical nouns in that they cannot bear possessive morphology, and they do not take the predilective suffix **-sepï**; they are also generally not used with postpositions, since the latter can bear person-marking prefixes. In other regards, however, they behave as nouns. Due to the verbal person-marking system, overt pronouns are not obligatory.

(30a)
A V O
(wï) **w-ene** **kaikui** (optional S pronoun)
1 1A-see:Prs.Prf jaguar
'I saw the jaguar.'

(b) O V A
(wï) j-ene mëe (optional O pronoun)
1 1O-seePrs.Prf 3AnPx
'This one saw me.'

(c) A V O
ji-pawana n-ene mëe (Postverbal 3rd-person O pronoun:
1- friend 3AO-see:Prs.Prf 3AnPx **n-** '3AO' prefix occurs)
'My friend saw this one.'

(d) O V A
mëe ene ji-pawana (Preverbal 3rd-person O pronoun,
3AnPx see:Prs.Prf 1- friend occupying the slot of **n-** '3AO')
'My friend saw this one.'

(e) **(ëmë) ë-pakoro** (Optional emphatic possessor)
2 2-house
'Your house.'

(f) **ëmë _me_w-a -e** (Copular predicate with **_me**)
2_Attr_1Sa-Cop-Cty
'I am you.'

3.4.2. Verbs. Verbs can be identified morphologically by the set of tense-aspect-modality and person-marking inflectional affixes that they take; most of their derivational morphology is also not found elsewhere (cf. Sec. 5.4.1.3 for details and examples). Syntactically, they have the leading role in most predicate types; thus, most of the cases of single-word sentences are verbs.

(31a) **w-ëepï** (b) **ë-ene** (Single verb sentences)
$1S_A$-come:Prs.Prf 2O-see:Prs.Prf
'I have come.' 'S/he has seen you.'

3.4.3. Adverbs. Unlike verbs, nouns and postpositions, non-derived adverbs cannot take any person-marking or collective affixes (derived adverbs are usually similar to non-derived ones in this respect). Their morphology is limited to nominalizing suffixes, usually **-(no)**, but also **-to** (both of which are also used to nominalize postpositions).

(32a)	**kure**	'well, good, pretty'	→	**kura-no**	'good one, pretty one'
(b)	**pija**	'small, little'	→	**pija-n**	'small one, little one'
(c)	**pena**	'long ago'	→	**pena-to**	'someone from long ago, an ancestor.'

As for syntactic properties, adverbs tend to modify the verb in non-copular sentences (33a); in order to refer to a noun, they must be nominalized (33b). Unlike nouns, adverbs cannot occupy the same slot as the third-person verbal prefix **n-**, which remains in place when they are placed before the verb (33e-f). Adverbs also cannot be followed by postpositions, or by the attibutivizer **_me** (33c-d).

(33a) **kure w-ene wëri** (Adverb modifying a verb)
well 1A-see:Prs.Prf woman
'I saw a/the woman well.'

(b) **kura-no w-ene wëri** (Nominalized adverb modifying a noun)
well-Nzr 1A-see:Prs.Prf woman
'I saw a/the good/beautiful/healthy woman.'

(c) **kure_n-ai mëërë** (Copular sentence without **_me**)
well_3S$_A$-Cop 3AnMd
'That one is well.'

(d) * **kure_me_n-ai mëërë** (**_me** impossible)
well _Attr_3S$_A$-Cop 3:D.Pro

(e) **kure n-ene** (3rd-person **n-** co-occurs with
well 3AO-see:Prs.Prf pre-verbal adverb)
'S/he has seen (it) well.'

(f) **kura-no ene ji-pawana** (3rd-person **n-** does not co-occur with pre-
well-Nzr see:Prs.Prf 1- friend verbal nominalized adverb)
'My friend saw a/the good/beautiful/healthy one.'

As can be seen above, nominalized adverbs frequently have 'adjectival' meanings. In fact, most of the basic adjectives of European languages correspond to adverbs or nouns in Tiriyó (cf. 6, 6.1).

3.4.4. Postpositions. Postpositions can inflect for person (with the same markers used to indicate the possessor on nouns, the object on transitive verbs, and the subject on one subgroup of intransitive verbs; cf. 3.3.1); they also have a reciprocal form (with a prefix also found on verbs and on some nouns; cf. 3.3.1.4). They can be morphologically distinguished from nouns and verbs in that they do not take typical noun or verb affixes other than person markers; moreover, the collective number of the object of a postposition is indicated with the suffix **-:ne** (instead of **-ko(mo)**, used on nouns, or **-ti(i)**, **-të**, **-hki(i)**, used on verbs). Like adverbs, postpositions can take the nominalizing suffixes **-(no)** and (more rarely) **-to**.

(34a)	**k-ëwë**	'inside of us (=me and you)'	
(b)	**k-ëwëë-ne**	'inside of us (=all of us)'	(collective marker **-:ne**)
(c)	**k-ëwë-n**	'something inside of us'	(nominalizer **-(no)**)
(d)	**kï-waarë**	'known to us (=me and you)'	
(e)	**kï-waarë-to**	'something known to us'	(nominalizer **-to**)

Syntactically, postpositions must always form a postpositional phrase, either by taking prefixes or an overt nominal object. Postpositional phrases behave like adverbs; therefore, they cannot be subjects or objects of verbs, or of other postpositions, without being nominalized.

(35) * **j-epinë_pëe**
1-under_Abl
(from under me)

3.4.5. Interrogatives. The most obvious morphosyntactic property of interrogatives is their occurrence in *wh*-questions (which could be called *a*-questions in Tiriyó, since most interrogatives start with *a*; cf. (36a-b)). In addition, they are the only words than can be affected by the particle **_hpe** 'Indefinite' (36c-d).

(36a) **akï n-ëturu-ja-n?**
wh:An $3S_A$-talk-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Who is talking?'

(b) **aja kïn-tën?**
wh:Dir 3Pst.Prf-go
'Where did s/he go?'

(c) **akï_hpe**
wh:An_Indef
'Whoever, I don't know.'

(d) **aja_hpe**
wh:Dir_Indef
'Wherever, I don't know.'

Some interrogatives have nominal properties (**atï** 'what (Inanimate)', **akï** 'who (Animate)', **aano** 'which'); these are the *interrogative pronouns*. Others have adverbial properties (**aja** 'where to', **anpo** 'where', **eeke** 'how', **atïtoome** 'why', etc.); these are the *interrogative adverbs*.

3.4.6. Particles. This class includes all words which take part in no morphological processes, either inflectional or derivational: they do not inflect for person or number, and cannot be nominalized, verbalized, or adverbialized.

Some particles have a more 'grammatical' meaning, and usually cannot occur by themselves as a single utterance. Others, however ('ideophones', 'sound-symbolic words', 'interjections'), can, and often do, occur by themselves, or together with the verb **ka** 'say, do'. They form a rich and varied class, sometimes with very specific meanings (e.g. **mëmëi** 'joke', **kapi** 'blink'; cf. 9.2.2).

(37a) **wï-të-e_marë**
1S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty_too
'I am going, too.'

(b) ***marë**
(Particles cannot be single-word utterances)

(c) **toran n-kan**
Ideo 3S$_A$-say:Prs.Prf
'S/he arrived.'
(lit. 'S/he said 'toran!')

(d) **toran!**
Ideo
'There s/he is!'
'S/he has come!'
(Ideophones can be single-word utterances)

Certain more obviously onomatopoeic words, sometimes involving sounds not elsewhere attested in Tiriyó, are probably not really words but interjections (e.g. **aha** 'yes', a word which can vary in pronunciation from [aha] to a sequence of voiceless nasals). For ease of exposition, they will be considered as a subgroup of ideophones.

4. NOUNS

The properties that define the nominal class, which were first mentioned and exemplified in 3.4.1, are listed below.

(A) Morphology: nouns can bear

(a) possession morphology;

(b) nominal suffixes (**-to(mo)** 'collective', **-npë/-hpë** 'past' **-imë** 'augmentative', **-pisi(kë)** 'diminutive', **-sepï** 'predilective', **-rïpï** 'pejorative');

(B) Syntax: nouns can

(a) occupy the possessor and/or possessed slot in possessive constructions;

(b) be subjects and objects of verbs, and objects of postpositions (including **_me**);

(c) occupy the O slot in the OV phrase.

As expected, the nominal category includes the more time-stable concepts, such as: natural elements (1a-c), natural phenomena (1c-d), animals and plants (1f-i), implements and manufactures (1j-k), people and personal relations (1l-m). Some of the 'property concepts' (using Dixon's 1982 term) which, in European languages, belong to the class of adjectives, are also members of the nominal category in Tiriyó (1n-o; cf. also adverbs in 5.1).

(1a)	**tuna**	'water'	(f)	**pai**	'tapir'	(k)	**kewei**	'fishhook'
(b)	**tëpu**	'stone, rock'	(g)	**aanai**	'corn'	(l)	**wëri**	'woman'
(c)	**wewe**	'tree, wood'	(h)	**kana**	'fish'	(m)	**pawana**	'friend'
(d)	**konopo**	'rain'	(i)	**oroi**	'cashew'	(n)	**mono**	'big (one)'
(e)	**nunnë**	'moon'	(j)	**wëitapi**	'hammock'	(o)	**kaina(no)**	'new (one)'

Given the prototypical nature of lexical classes, it is not the case that all nouns satisfy all the properties in (A-B) above. As a matter of fact, only (Bb-c), two of the syntactic properties, can be said to be valid for all nouns (but cf. next section for some restrictions concerning pronouns). Understandably, for semantic and/or cultural reasons, certain combinations of nouns and nominal suffixes were not accepted (e.g. a noun which already had the augmentative suffix **-imë** could not take the diminutive **-pisi(kë)**; pronouns cannot take the predilective **-sepï**; etc.), so that (Ab) is not universally valid. The other two properties, (Aa) and (Ba), relate to the same phenomenon, *possession*, and affect the same set of words, *unpossessible nouns* (cf. 4.3.1).

4.1. Pronouns. As was said in 3.4.1, pronouns differ from prototypical nouns in that they cannot bear possessive morphology, and in that they cannot take the predilective suffix **-sepï** (and, for non-third-person pronouns, the acceptability of the augmentative **-imë** and of the diminutive **-pisi(kë)** varied from speaker to speaker). Within the pronominal subclass, a distinction can be made between *speech act participant (SAP)* pronouns and *third-person* pronouns. SAP pronouns (listed in Table 4.1) can occupy the argument slot of postpositions, and the O slot in OV phrases, just like all other nouns (2a). Third-person pronouns (listed in Table 4.2) are generally not used with postpositions, since the option of using the corresponding person-marking prefix is much more comfortable (2b-c); the few available examples, such as (2b), have a dubious status.[1]

---

[1] The postposition _ke is exceptional: it takes intralocutive pronouns as objects instead of person-marking prefixes (cf. 7.3.4.2).

(2a) **mëe_pë n-ëturu-ja-n**
3AnPx_About $3S_A$-talk-Pres-Dbt
'S/he is talking about this one.'

(b) ? **ëmë_pë n-ëturu-ja-n**
2Pro_About $3S_A$-talk-Pres-Dbt
'S/he is talking about you.'

(c) **ë-pë n-ëturu-ja-n**
2-About $3S_A$-talk-Pres-Dbt
'S/he is talking about you.'

4.1.1. SAP (Speech Act Participant) Pronouns. There are SAP pronouns corresponding to every one of the non-third-person distinction mentioned in 3.3.1.2. They are listed in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1
SAP pronouns.

Person	Non-Collective	Collective
1	**wï(ï)**	
2	**ëmë**	**ëmënjamo**
1+2	**kïmë**	**kïmënjamo**
1+3	**anja**	

Since person-marking prefixes are usually sufficient to indicate all non-third-person participants, SAP pronouns (except for **anja**; cf. below) have an emphatic value (much like e.g. Spanish and Italian pronouns).

(3a) **ëmë ë-pata**
2 2-village:Pos
'*Your* village.'

(b) **wï j-ene**
1 1O-see:Prs.Prf
'S/he saw *me*.'

(c) **wï j-akëërë**
1 1-with
'With *me*.'

Formally speaking, the first-person pronoun **wï(ï)** stands out as having a final long vowel that can only be heard if a clitic particle follows ((4); cf. 2.6.2.4 for other such cases), and for not having a derived collective form: **kïmënjamo** and **anja** occupy this place. The second and first-person dual pronouns **ëmë** and **kïmë** are morphologically parallel: both have a final syllable **më**, and both have collective forms in **-njamo** (cf. **-ja(mo)**, without the initial **n** and with a reducing final syllable, for SAP pronouns).

(4a)	**wïï_rë** 1_Exact '(Really) me.'	(b)	**wïï_ta** 1_Neg 'Not me.'[2]	(c)	**wïï_pa** 1_Rpt 'Me again'; 'What about me?'

The first person exclusive (1+3) pronoun **anja** has an intermediate status between third-person and SAP pronouns. Semantically, it includes a first person, which brings it closer to other third-person pronouns; however, like the third-person pronouns, it is treated as a third person morphosyntactically (cf. (5a-b) for possession and (5c-d) for person marking on the verb). Moreover, it can be freely used with postpositions (5e). In fact, the morphosyntactic third-person behavior of **anja** frequently makes its use necessary; if it were not used in (5b) and (5d), a speaker's first interpretation would be 'his/her village' or 's/he has arrived'. On the other hand, **anja** is not sensitive to any of the semantic features that affect third-person pronouns; it clearly has no slot in Table 4.2. For this reason, it was placed with the SAP pronouns in Table 4.1 above.

---

[2] Cf. **Wïta**, the name of an inhabitant of Kuwamarasamutu, which forms a minimal pair with **wïï_ta**.

(5a) **mëe i-pata**
3AnPx 3-village:Pos
'This one's village.'

(b) **anja i-pata**
1+3 3-village:Pos
'Our (excl.) village.'

(c) **mëe ni-tunta**
3AnPx 3S$_A$-arrive:Prs.Prf
'This one has arrived.'

(d) **anja ni-tunta**
1+3 3S$_A$-arrive:Prs.Prf
'We (excl.) have arrived.'

(e) **anja_pë n-ëturu-ja-n**
1+3_About 3S$_A$-talk-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he is talking about us (excl.).'

4.1.2. Third-Person Pronouns. Third-person pronouns form a small closed subsystem sensitive to features such as animacy, visibility, and proximity. All attested forms are listed in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2
Third-person pronouns.[3]

	Inanimate		Animate	
	Non-Collective	Collective	Non-Collective	Collective
Anaphoric	**irë**	**irëto(mo)**	**nërë**	**namo**
Demonstrative				
Visible Proximal	**se(nï)** **serë**	**sento(mo)** **serëto(mo)**	**mëe**	**mëesa(mo)**
Medial	**mërë**	**mërëto(mo)**	**mëërë**	**mëëja(mo)**
Distal	**ooni**	**oonito(mo)**	**ohkï**	**ohkïja(mo)**
Invisible	**më(nï)**	**mënto(mo)**	**më(kï)**	**mëkïja(mo)**

---

[3] The pronouns in Table 4.2 have certain recurrent similarities that suggest quasi-segmentable submorphemic elements (se, më, kï, rë, etc.) — cf. 12.2 on formatives.

The first obvious formal distinction separates *animate* from *inanimate* pronouns. Semantically, animate pronouns are used to refer to animate entities, including human beings and animals (and, unexpectedly, **sirikë** 'star'), whereas inanimate pronouns are used to refer to everything else. Formally, inanimate pronouns form their collective like most nouns, with **-to(mo)**, whereas animate pronouns have special forms, with the suffix **-ja(mo)**, **-sa(mo)** (occasionally found on other nouns; cf. 4.3.2); the anaphoric form **namo** looks related, but is not clearly segmentable. Furthermore, inanimate pronouns are used with the spatial postpositions **_po** 'locative', **_pona** 'directional', **_pëe** 'ablative' to express the equivalent of English deictic adverbs: **irë_po** 'in the place that has been mentioned', **sen_po** 'here', **mërë_po** 'there', **ooni_po** 'there (far away)' (**mën_po** did not occur in the available corpus, but it does not seem impossible); similarly, **irë_pona** 'to the place that has been mentioned', **sen_pona** 'hither', etc.; **irë_pëe** 'from the place that has been mentioned', **sen_pëe** 'from here', etc.

The anaphoric pronouns are used to refer to portions of previous discourse, or to participant(s) mentioned in it (6a-b).

(6a) — **tamutupë_wï, tïï-ka-e, Përëpërëwa_wï, tïï-ka-e**
old.man_1 Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst Përëpërëwa_1 Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst
'I am an old man,' (he) said, 'I am Përëpërëwa,' (he) said.

— **aha, irë_rë w-eta, tïï-ka-e**
yes, 3InAna_Exact 1A-hear:Prs.Prf Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst
'Yes, that is exactly what I heard (=was told),' (she) said.

(b) **irë_po-n wëri, w-apëi-ne, ji-pï_me_n-ai nërë menjaarë**
3InAna_Loc-Nzr woman 1A-catch-Pst.Prf 1-wife_Attr_3S_A-Cop 3AnAna now
'A woman from there, I caught (=married) her, now she is my wife.'

The combination of the animate anaphoric pronoun **nërë** with the scope particle **_rë** 'exact'is irregularly realized as **nëërë**, instead of the expected but non-existent form ***nërërë**.[4]

The demonstrative pronouns distinguish visible from invisible referents. (7a) was uttered in a conversation in the speaker's house to ask about the identity of someone who was singing in an adjacent room; (7b) was used to ask about the cause of a certain noise (in this case, it was the noise made by the electricity generator of the village of Kuwamarasamutu).[5] In both cases, the visible referent pronouns were not accepted instead of the invisible referent ones. The reduced (zero) grade form **më** of **më(kï)** could have been used in (7a), but it is not obligatory; on the other hand, the reduced (coda) grade **mën** of **më(nï)** is the usual form, with **mënï** occurring only in emphatic situations, or when it is followed by a C(CV)-initial clitic (cf. 2.6.2 on syllable reduction).

(7a) **akï mëkï?**
wh.An 3AnInv
'Who is that?'

(b) **atï mën?**
wh.In 3InInv
'What is that?'

---

[4] There are cases of **nëërë_rë**, in which the particle **_rë** occurs twice. Although relatively rare, this phenomenon occurs with other words as well (cf. 9.1.4 on **_rë**). However, there were no cases of ***nërë_rë**; this form (which would be pronounced [nə.ɽə́ə́.ɽə]) was consistently refused. There is no phonological or phonotactic restriction in Tiriyó that makes **nërë_rë** impossible (compare e.g. the perfectly acceptable combination of the medial inanimate demonstrative **mërë** with **_rë**, **mërë_rë**, pronounced [mə.ɽə́ə́.ɽə]). Its non-occurrence apparently results from the idiosyncratic realization of the sequence **nërë** + **_rë** as **nëërë**.

[5] It seems that 'hearability' is an important factor in the use of **më(kï)** and **më(nï)**; situations in which the presence of a referent was noticed by means other than hearing (e.g. smell) produced inconsistent results.

The visible referent pronouns distinguish three degrees of deixis: proximal, medial and distal. The existence of three degrees is reminiscent of deictic systems of some European languages, which are based on person: proximal = close to first person, medial = close to second person, and distal = close to third person, or far away from the speech act situation (cf. e.g. Spanish *este*, *ese*, *aquel*). However, the Tiriyó demonstratives apparently depend on distance alone, not on person. (8a) was used by a character in a mythical narrative to show the way to a different village to another character who did not know where it was; obviously, **mërë** in this sentence cannot have second-person deixis, since the hearer is not yet there. (8b) was used by a speaker who was watching the hearer taking notes in a notebook; **se(nï)** refers to the hearer's writings, which were closer to the hearer than to the speaker.

(8a) **mërë_po pai i-pata**
3InMd_Loc tapir 3-village
'Tapir's village is over there.'

(b) **wapo w-ei-ne pëera, panpira ji-wame_marë, sen, i-menuhtë-to**
First 1S$_A$-Cop-Pst.Prf ignorant book 1-Ignor_also, 3InPx 3-write-Circ.Nzr
'First I was ignorant, I also did not know books, (nor) this, writing.'

Thus, **mëe** refers to an animate being close to the center of the speech event, **mëërë** to a more distant animate being, and **ohkï** to a far-away one.[6] Notice, by the way, that **ohkï** still contrasts with **më(kï)** with respect to the visibility of its referent: **akï ohkï**

---

[6] It is occasionally possible to find **mëe** used in texts as an anaphoric pronoun, apparently in competition with **nërë**. The semantic difference between them in this context is not clear.

'who is that?', but not **akï mëkï**, could be used to ask about someone who is on top of a distant hill.

The inanimate visible referent pronouns **se(nï) / serë**, **mërë**, and **ooni** are analogous to their animate counterparts. In the proximal area, there is an extra distinction: two pronouns, **se(nï)** and **serë**, correspond to the animate **mëe**. The difference between them seems to be that **serë** has some 'presentational' force. It may refer to something that is going to be introduced in the context of the conversation: something that the speaker is going to show to the hearer, or something that he is going to say (9b-c).

(9a) **pïhtë-kë! serë ë-mahto, serë ë-erepa, tïï-ka-e nïrïï**
descend-Imper 3InPx 2-fire:Pos 3InPx 2-food:Pos Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst cricket
"Come down! This is your fire, this is your food," said Nïrïï, the cricket.

(b) **serë_n-ai panpira i-ponoh-to**
3InPx_3S_A-Cop book 3-tell-Circ.Nzr
'This is to explain about the book:...'

(c) **serë_n-ai manko i-jomi-hpë**
3InPx_3S_A-Cop 1:mother 3-words-Pst:Pos
'These are my mother's words:...' (='That's what she told me to do.')

Se(nï), on the other hand, refers to a close inanimate object which is not being introduced, but is already present (10a-b). In (10a), the speaker was asking the hearer about a book which had been presented a few minutes before; in (10b), the same speaker was asking about one of the photographs in the book. An utterance like **Araraparu serë** 'this is Araraparu' would have been more appropriate if the photograph was being presented. Also in (10b) above, **sen** refers to the hearer's writing, which had been going on for almost half an hour and was thus not being presented.

(10a) **akï_pëe m-apëi-ne sen?**
wh.An_Abl 2A-get-Pst.Prf 3InPx
'Who did you get this from?'

(b) — **Mataware sen?**
Mataware 3InPx
'Is this (the village of) Mataware?'

— **Owa, Araraparu sen.**
Neg Araraparu 3InPx
'No, this is (the village of) Araraparu.'

4.2. Derivation. Table 4.3 offers a summary overview of the meaning- and class-changing affixes; their uses and meanings are explored in the following sections. Note that denominalizing affixes (verbalizers, adverbializers) are treated under the target category; only nominalizers will be treated in detail here.

Table 4.3
A summary overview of Tiriyó nominal derivational morphology.

Meaning-changing	Class-changing	
	Nominalizing	Denominalizing
-npë/-hpë 'Past' **-imë** 'Augmentative' **-pisi(kë)** 'Diminutive' **-sepï** 'Predilective' **-rïpï** 'Pejorative'	From all verbs: **-∅** 'Specific Infinitive' **-to(po)** 'Circumstantial' **-në** 'Generic Infinitive' **t- -se(mï)** 'Actual O/S' From transitive verbs: **-ne** 'Actual A' **n-** 'Actual O' From intransitive verbs: **i- -ke(tï)** 'Potential S' From adverbs/postpositions: **-(no), -to** 'Entity' From (derived) adverbs: **-(mï)** 'Entity' **i- -mï(nï)** 'Privative' **i- -pï(nï)** 'Inefficient' **i- -popï(nï)** 'Defective'	To transitive verbs: **-ka** 'Privative' **-htë** 'Beneficiative' **-ntë** 'Beneficiative' **-pa, -ma, (-në(pï), -nï(pï))** To intransitive verbs: **-ke(pï)** 'Cessative' **-ta** 'Inchoative' **-na, -pa(mï), -ma(mï)** To adverbs: **t- -ke** 'Having' **t- -pore** 'Having good' **t- -je, t- -re** **i- -nna** 'Privative' **i- -:ra** 'Inefficient' **i- -poora** 'Defective' **i- -kinje** 'Undersized' **i- -tïïse** 'Having a lot'

4.2.1. Meaning-changing Morphology.

4.2.1.1. *-npë, -hpë* 'Past'. This suffix is used on a given stem to signal that the referent in question can no longer be accurately described by that stem. With non-possessed forms, this usually implies that the referent is a 'degraded', 'no longer usable', 'former', 'ex-'

member of the category designated by the stem (11a-d). The 'former', 'ex-' meaning is compatible with pronouns (11e-f). With possessed forms, the 'old', 'no longer usable' meaning is still possible, but a more frequent interpretation is that of past possession, i.e. something which used to belong or be related to the possessor. In this case, the word still designates a member of the category in question; it is its relation to its possessor that is no longer valid ((11g-i), with **ji-** 'first person'). With a proper noun, the usual interpretation is 'old', 'no longer existent', 'the one which used to be' (cf. (11j), which was said of a photograph of an old village, Araraparu, which was abandoned several decades ago).

(11a)	**maja**	'knife'	→	**maja-npë**	'old, worthless knife'
(b)	**pata**	'village'	→	**pata-npë**	'abandoned village; ruins'
(c)	**pïrëu**	'arrow'	→	**pïrëu-npë**	'broken arrow'
(d)	**wewe**	'wood, stick'	→	**wewe-npë**	'broken, useless stick'
(e)	**irë**	'that (anaph.)'	→	**irë-npë**	'the thing which was that'
(f)	**ëmë**	'you (sing.)'	→	**ëmë-npë**	'the one which used to be you; your former self.'
(g)	**ji-maja**	'my knife'	→	**ji-maja-hpë**	'my old, broken knife; the knife that used to be mine.'
(h)	**ji-pata**	'my village'	→	**ji-pata-hpë**	'the ruins of my village; the village where I used to live.'
(i)	**ji-pi(tï)**	'my wife'	→	**ji-pïtï-npë**	'my ex-wife; my former wife; my late wife'
(j)	**Araraparu**	'Araraparu'	→	**Araraparu-npë**	'the (no longer existing) village of Araraparu'

In (12), the speaker means 'our future descendants'. The use of **-npë** is justified by the fact that the present-day ancestors of these children will certainly be dead in the distant future, so that the 'child(ren)-of' relationship designated by **munkë** will no longer hold. As in (11i) above, this does not imply that the children themselves are degraded (e.g. dead).

(12) **kï-munkë-npë-kon**
1+2-child(ren)-Pst-P.Col
'Our future children, our descendants'

The semantics of 'former', 'ex-' entities can be used with nominalized verbs to form past nominalizations (13a-e).

(13a) **ji-të-topo-npë**
1-go-Circ.Nzr-Pst
'My former/past going.'

(b) **enpa-ne-npë**
3:teach-A.act.Nzr-Pst
'Someone's former teacher.'

(c) **emeta-ketï-npë**
change-S.act.Nzr-Pst
'Something/someone which
used to change.'

(d) **ji-w-eh-topo-npë**
1-S_A-Cop-Circ.Nzr-Pst
'My former way of being.'
(Also: 'my story, the story of my life')

(e) **i-konka-hpë**
3-pierce:N-Pst
'His/her past piercing;
the one who was pierced;'
the one who was vaccinated'

(f) **ii-të-hpë**
3-go:N-Pst
'His/her past going;
the one who went.'

The distribution of **-npë** and **-hpë** is discussed in detail in 4.3.1.5. Briefly, **-hpë** occurs on possessed **(rï)**-class nouns, while **-npë** occurs elsewhere (i.e. on possessed Ø-class nouns, and on all non-possessed nouns). Although there are a few exceptions, these are probably due to the ongoing disappearance of the possessive suffix **-(rï)**.

4.2.1.2. ***-imë*** **'Augmentative'.** This suffix derives a noun with a larger, or more impressive, or more threatening and scary referent than that of the original noun (14a-e; note that **-imë** becomes **-më** if the original stem ends in an **i**-diphthong; cf. 2.6.4). In many cases, **imë**-nouns have lexicalized to varying degrees (14f-j).

(14a)	**pakoro**	'house'	→	**pakoro-imë**	'big house; building; chief's house'
(b)	**ëkëreu**	'disease'	→	**ëkëreu-imë**	'dangerous/scary disease'
(c)	**ariwe**	'cayman'	→	**ariwe-imë**	'big, threatening cayman'
(d)	**rupei**	'lizard sp.'	→	**rupei-më**	'big, threatening lizard sp.'
(e)	**oota**	'hole'	→	**oota-imë**	'big, scary hole/cave'
(f)	**ëkëi**	'snake'	→	**ëkëi-më**	'anaconda'
(g)	**oroi**	'cashew'	→	**oroi-më**	'jambo (a different fruit)'
(h)	**otono**	'cold; snot'	→	**otono-imë**	'tuberculosis'
(i)	**kanawa**	'canoe'	→	**kanawa-imë**	'airplane'
(j)	**pïmokoko**	'dragonfly'	→	**pïmokoko-imë**	'helicopter'
(k)	***iiso**		→	**iiso-imë**	'monkey sp.'

4.2.1.3. ***-pisi(kë)*** **'Diminutive'.** This suffix derives a noun with a smaller, more fragile referent than that of the original noun (15a-d). Affective overtones are possible (15e).

(15a)	**kaikui**	'dog'	→	**kaikui-pisi**	'little dog, puppy'
(b)	**pawana**	'friend'	→	**pawana-pisi**	'little friend'
(c)	**tonoro**	'bird'	→	**tonoro-pisi**	'little bird'
(d)	**maja**	'knife'	→	**maja-pisi**	'little knife'
(e)	**ji-nmuku**	'my son'	→	**ji-nmuku-pisi**	'my little / dear son'

16a-b exemplifies the coda and full grades of **-pisi(kë)**.

(16a) **maja-pisih_ke**
knife-Dim_Inst
'With a small knife.'

(b) **ëkëi-pisikë_ja**
snake-Dim_Agt
'By a tiny snake.'

4.2.1.4. ***-sepï*** **'Predilective'.** When it occurs on a possessed noun stem, **-sepï** indicates that it refers to something which the possessor particularly likes or prefers, something which he sees as good for him (17a-c). A possible context for (17a-b) is negotiation with a salesman. With the attributivizer postposition **_me**, **-sepï** reduces, forming **-see_me** (17a); in other contexts, **-sepï** occurs unreduced.

(17a) **ji-majaa-sepï** / **ji-majaa-see_me**
1-knife:Pos-Prdl 1-knife:Pos-Prdl_Attr
'The knife I like/want, the knife which is useful to me; my favorite knife.'

(b) **ji-po-sepï**
1-clothes:Pos-Prdl
'The clothes I like/want, which are useful to me; my favorite clothes.'

(c) **aano_hkatë otï-sepï**
which_Ptc 3:meat.food-Prdl
'But what could his favorite (meat) food be?'

On non-possessed noun stems, some speakers did not allow the occurrence of **-sepï**. Others, however, accepted it with a generic meaning ('which everybody likes or needs, which would be useful for anyone'). The question marks in (18) represents this variation.

(18a) ? **maja-sepï**
knife-Prdl
'A knife which everybody likes/wants'

(b) ? **pakoro-sepï**
house-Prdl
'A house which anyone would like.'

In spite of its similarity in form and meaning with the desiderative postposition **_se** (cf. 7.3.3), there does not seem to be any derivational relation between it and the predilective suffix **-sepï**. It would be interesting to investigate if a historical connection is plausible.

4.2.1.5. *-rïpï* 'Pejorative'. This suffix derives a noun stem with a referent that is a 'bad', 'flawed', 'inefficient' member of the category labeled by the original noun stem.

(19a) **maja** 'knife' → **maja-rïpï** 'a bad knife (a dull one)'
(b) **ji-pawana** 'my friend' → **ji-pawana-rïpï** 'a bad friend'

Unlike the past suffix **-npë** (cf. 4.2.1.1), which designates a referent that no longer belongs to the category, **-rïpï** marks a noun that still refers to a member of the category, although it performs poorly. Thus, **maja-npë** is 'something which used to be a knife' but now is not a member of this category anymore, while **maja-rïpï** is 'a bad, dull knife', and thus still a member, albeit very imperfect, of the category.

When applied to animate nouns, **-rïpï** may imply character flaws, or a propensity for evil:

(20) **wïtoto** 'person, human being' → **wïtoto-rïpï** 'evil person; bandit'

The suffix **-rïpï** is certainly related to the noun **(wï)rïpë** 'evil, sin, crime; bad one', which has **-:rïpï** as its possessible stem.

(21a) **wïrïpë_me**
evil_Attr
'Bad, evil, wicked.'

(b) **ii-rïpï-kon**
3-sin-P.Col
'Their sin(s), evil deed(s), bad thing(s)/act(s)'

The reason for distinguishing **-rïpï** 'Pejorative' from the possessed form of **(wï)rïpë** (which could conceivably be seen as forming a nominal compound with the preceding noun in (19-20)) is that the suffix **-rïpï** does not cause any lengthening on the preceding stem, whilst the possessed form of **(wï)rïpë** is accompanied by lengthening of the final vowel of the person prefix (i.e. **(wï)rïpë** has a length grade; cf. 2.6.2.1 for stem-initial syllable reduction). Their connection must be of a diachronic nature.[7]

4.2.2. Nominalization. Noun stems can be derived from all morphology-receptive classes (verbs, adverbs, postpositions). Some derived nouns (e.g. the 'entity' nominalizations for adverbs) do not have some of these morphological properties (e.g. the capacity of bearing person-marking morphology), i.e. they are less prototypical; the syntactic properties, however, are always present.

The various nominalizing affixes listed in Table 4.3 above are described below. Different subsections refer to different source categories (verbs, postpositions, adverbs).

4.2.2.1. Verb Nominalization. Tiriyó verb nominalizations are very sensitive to event structure. Given a certain verb stem, different affixes are used to derive nouns for the event itself and for nuclear and peripheral participants; furthermore, for every 'targeted' element, there usually is more than one nominalization, the difference between them being their degree of specificity or 'actuality'. For instance, there are, for transitive verbs, two A-nominalizations (cf. 10.1.3 for the labels A, O and S, inspired by Dixon 1979,): one, glossed as 'A.act', describes an *actual* A participant in a real situation with a well-defined, actual O participant ('hunter *of something*', 'teacher *of someone*'), while the other, glossed as 'A.pot', describes a *potential* A participant in a less well-defined situation, with a generic O participant ('someone who hunts, who can hunt, who is good at hunting', 'someone who teaches, who can teach, who is good at teaching').

---

[7] The exact historical development is not clear (i.e. whether **-rïpï** 'comes from' **(wï)rïpë**, or **(wï)rïpë** 'from' **-rïpï**, or both from some third source). Similar connections may exist for other meaning-changing suffixes (e.g. the augmentative suffix **-imë** and the noun **mono** 'big one', which looks like an old **-no** nominalized form).

Table 4.4 lists the various verbal nominalizers according to their transitivity restrictions. Table 4.5 lists them according to their participant- or event-orientedness. The **-to(-no)** nominalizer, which can still be synchronically analyzed as the nominalized form of **-të** 'potential A adverbializer' (cf. 6.2.2.1, 4.2.2.1), is included in order to fill a gap in the semantic field in question. All affixes listed here are totally productive within their domain of definition (all verb stems, all transitive verb stems, or all intransitive verb stems).

Table 4.4

Nominalizers classified according to the transitivity of the stems on which they occur.

Transitive		**Intransitive**		**Transitive and Intransitive**	
-ne	'Actual A'	**i- -ke(tï)**	'Actual S'	**-∅**	'Specific Infinitive'
-to(-no)	'Potential A'			**-në**	'Generic Infinitive'
n-	'Actual O'			**-to(po)**	'Circumstance'
				t- -se(mï)	'Potential Absolutive (S/O)'

Table 4.5
Nominalizers classified according to their event- or participant-orientedness.

	A	O	S	Event / Circumstance
Front Grade ('+Poss', 'Specific', 'Actual')	**-ne** 'A.act'	**n-** 'O.act'	**i- -ke(tï)** 'S.act'	**-∅** 'Specific Infinitive' **-to(po)** 'Circumstance'
Back Grade ('-Poss', 'Generic', 'Potential')	**-to-(no)** 'A.pot'	**t- -se(mï)** 'O.pot'	**t- -se(mï)** 'S.pot'	**-në** 'Generic Infinitive'

Back-grade affixes take the back grade of the verb stem (the ë-initial allomorph of e- and **a**Cë-stems, etc.; cf. 2.6.1 for Tiriyó ablaut). As is typical of back-grade forms, the resulting nominalizations are non-possessible and semantically less specific, with one or more participant(s) being 'less sharp', 'generic', 'out of focus'. Front-grade affixes, on the other hand, take the front grade (the **e**-initial allomorph of **e**-initial stems, etc.) of the verb stem. The resulting nominalizations are possessible (except for **i- -ke(tï)**) and semantically more specific.

Some general morphological observations are in order, for which examples will be given in the following sections:

— detransitivized ('S_A') verbs take an additional class-marking prefix **w-** (cf. 5.2.2) when nominalized with -∅ (32c), **-to(po)** (39f-h), or **-në** (34f-i, n), but not with **i- -ke(tï)** (28d-g);

— In the prefixless (i.e. non-possessed) form of **-Ø** and **-to(po)** nominalizations, and in the **-në** 'Generic Infinitive' form, **t-** adding verbs (cf. 5.1.3) occur with the extra initial **t(ï)-** (39d-e), and stem-initial reducing verbs occur in their full grade (34e);

— the possessible nominalizations are not all in the same possession class: **n-** and Ø nominalizations belong to the **-(rï)** class (26a-b), whereas **-to(po)** and **-ne** nominalizations are members of the -Ø class (40a-b, 24a; cf. 4.3.1.5.1).

4.2.2.1.1. A nominalizers: *-ne* 'Actual A', *-to(-no)* 'Potential A'. Only transitive verb stems can take A nominalizers[8]. The suffix **-ne** derives a noun denoting an actual A participant with a corresponding specific, well-defined O participant, usually occurring as the possessor (22a-b).[9] The resulting noun is possessible and belongs to the -Ø class (cf. (23), where the absence of the coda grade **-h** of **-(rï)** after **-ne** identifies a -Ø class stem; cf. 4.3.1.2).

(22a)	**enpa**	'teach O (=student)'	→	**enpa-ne**	'someone's teacher'
(b)	**eta**	'hear O'	→	**eta-ne**	'hearer of something'
(c)	**arimika**	'raise, bring up O'	→	**arimika-ne**	'someone's tutor'
(d)	**apë(i)**	'catch O'	→	**apëi-ne**	'catcher of something'
(e)	**entahka**	'deceive O'	→	**entahka-ne**	'deceiver of someone'
(f)	**[t]wë**	'shoot O'	→	**i-wë-ne**	'shooter of something'
(g)	**pono(pï)**	'tell O'	→	**i-ponoo-ne**	'teller of something'
(h)	**(mï)taka**	'translate O'	→	**i-ntaka-ne**	'translator of something'
(i)	**(pï)tarënma**	'warn/worry O'	→	**i-htarënma-ne**	'causer of worries'

---

[8] The S_A stem **ka** 'say' is the only known exception. Several bird names are formed by an onomatopoeic bird call and the word **kane** 'sayer'. One possible word for 'lightning' is **manan-kane**, i.e. '**manan**-sayer'. In these words, **ka** is apparently occurring with the Actual A nominalizer **-ne**. No examples of **ka** with **-to(-no)** have been found.

[9] It is not known whether these forms can occur without possessors, e.g. ? **ënpa-ne** 'teacher (in general)'. If this happens to be possible, this form would come closer in meaning to **ënpa-ton** 'someone who teaches', but one may still expect to find some semantic difference relating e.g. to the possibility of there being implied specific students whose identity is irrelevant or non-topical.

(23) **enpa-ne-ton**
3:teach-A.act.Nzr-Col
'his/her teachers'

The suffix **-to(-no)** is actually the nominalized version of the potential A adverbializer **-të** (hence its occurrence with the back grade of the stem; cf. 6.2.2.1, 4.2.2.1). It contrasts semantically with the actual A nominalizer **-ne** in that it is non-possessible and has a potential, non-realized meaning, with a generic O ('someone who is capable of, good at V-ing').

(24a) **pai eeka-ne-npë**
tapir 3:bite-A.act-Pst
'One who had bitten a/the tapir.'

(b) **ëëka-to-n**
bite-A.Pot-Nzr
'Someone, some animal capable of biting, good at biting.'

(c) **enpa-ne**
3:teach-A.act
'Someone's teacher.'

(d) **ënpa-to-n**
teach-A.Pot-Nzr
'Someone capable of teaching, someone who teaches well.'

The word **ëëkato(no)** was used by a speaker, in one occasion, to refer to a wild dog, as a warning to a child who was coming too close to him. Another speaker used the same word to describe a certain species of insect, well-known for its painful sting. The word **eekane**, on the other hand, was used in a story to describe a dog who had killed a tapir with one bite (he was described with (24a), translatable as 'the one who had bitten the tapir'). Likewise, **enpane** is the word for a professional teacher, someone who actually teaches people, while **ënpato(no)** is used for someone who teaches well, who has experience, who has a lot to teach, but has no specific, well-defined apprentices.

4.2.2.1.2. O nominalizers: *n-* 'Actual O', *t- -se(mï)* 'Potential O'. These affixes also occur on transitive verbs (**n-** —but not **t- -se(mï)**—being exclusive to transitives). The prefix **n-** has no epenthetic vowel,[10] which implies that it assimilates in point of articulation to the following stop (i.e. the clusters in (25ac, d, i, e, f, g) are pronounced with [mp], [nt], [ŋk], [^{i}ɲɲ], [nn], [mm]). It is used to derive a noun denoting an actual O participant with a corresponding specific, well-defined A participant. The resulting noun, which belongs to the **-(rï) class** (cf. the occurrence of the coda and length grades of **-(rï)** in (26), and of the **-(rï)** class past suffix **-hpë** in (25c-h)), is obligatorily possessed by the A participant.

(25a)	**eta**	'hear O'	→	**i-n-eta**	'something s/he hears'
(b)	**ene**	'see O'	→	**i-n-ene**	'something s/he sees'
(c)	**pono(pï)**	'tell O'	→	**i-n-ponopï-hpë**	'something s/he told'
(d)	**tuuka**	'hit O'	→	**i-n-tuuka-hpë**	'something s/he hit'
(e)	**jahka**	'burn O'	→	**i-n-jahka-hpë**	'something s/he burned'
(f)	**nonta**	'abandon O'	→	**i-n-nonta-hpë**	'something s/he abandoned'
(g)	**menuhtë**	'write O'	→	**i-n-menuhtë-hpë**	'something s/he wrote'
(h)	**[t]rï**	'make O'	→	**i-nï-rï-hpë**	'something s/he made'
(i)	**[t]ka(pï)**	'weave O'	→	**i-n-kapï-hpë**	'something s/he wove'

(26a) **ji-n-kapï-h-ton**
1-O.act.Nzr-weave-Pos-Col
'The things I weave.'

(b) **i-n-etaa-kon**
3-O.act.Nzr-hear:Pos-P.Col
'The thing(s) they hear.'

---

[10] With the monosyllabic **t**-adding stem **[t]rï** 'do, make O', the vowel **ï** occurs (cf. 25g). This is not the case for all **t**-adding verbs (cf. **[t]ka(pï)** in (25h), (26a)) This vowel presumably occurs with the other monosyllabic **t**-adding stems (**[t]pï** 'bathe O', **[t]kï** 'grate O'); unfortunately, however, the relevant forms are not attested in the available corpus.

The **t- -se(mï)** nominalizer is historically related to the verbal remote past form in **t- -se** (cf. 5.4.3.1.2). Gildea 1998:24ff (also 140ff, 218ff, 233ff) shows that **t- -se** and **t- -se(mï)** are modern reflexes of an old Proto-Cariban participial form and its nominalization (cf. 4.2.2.2 for the still extant adverb nominalizer **-(mï)**); in fact, the allomorphic pattern of the prefix **t-** and of the suffix **-se(mï)** are precisely the same as those for the two parts of **t- -se** (27). However, the synchronic semantic differences between them are so striking (**t- -se** is an eventive verb tense, a 'remote' or 'narrative past', while **t- -se(mï)** has remained closer to the etymological meaning of a participial) that it does not seem appropriate to treat them as derivationally related anymore.

(27)	verb stem		Remote Past	Potential O	
(a)	**eta**	'hear O'	**t-ëta-e**	**t-ëta-en**	'fit for hearing'
(b)	**ënë**	'eat O (meat)'	**t-ënë-e**	**t-ënë-en**	'edible meat'
(c)	**apë(i)**	'catch O'	**t-ëpëë-se**	**t-ëpëë-sen**	'catchable thing'
(d)	**apuru**	'close O'	**t-apurë-e**	**t-apurë-en**	'closable thing'
(c)	**tuuka**	'hit O'	**tï-tuuka-e**	**tï-tuuka-en**	'fit for hitting'
(d)	**pono(pï)**	'tell O'	**tï-ponoo-se**	**tï-ponoo-sen**	'fit for telling'
(e)	**ona(mï)**	'hide/bury O'	**t-onan-je**	**t-onan-jen**	'fit for hiding/burying'

Semantically, **n-** and **t- -se(mï)** contrast in actuality, i.e. the degree to which the resulting O participant is seen as 'being affected' (in a certain specific event, with a well-determined A participant) or as 'being affectable' (in any event, with a generic, non-specified A participant). A **n-** nominalization describes an actual O participant, which was, is, or will be affected by an actual specific A participant (which occurs as the obligatory possessor of the nominalized form). A **t- -se(mï)** nominalization of a transitive verb stem is non-possessible and has a potential, non-realized meaning, with a generic A participant ('something which can be or is fit for being V-ed, by any plausible A participant'), as (27) illustrate. This difference parallels the distinction between **-ne** and **-to-(no)** discussed in the previous section (cf. also 4.4.2.1.4 below for a comparison with Ø-nominalizations with O-oriented semantics).

(27a) **ji-n-ënë**
1-O.act-eat.meat
'Thing which I eat;
thing for me to eat.'

(b) **t-ënë-e-n**
Prtcp-eat.meat-Prtcp-Nzr
'Meat food; meat which is good
to eat, fit to be eaten'

4.2.2.1.3. S nominalizers: *i- -ke(tï)* 'Actual S', *t- -se(mï)* 'Potential S'. Only intransitive verb stems (both S_A and S_O, S_A ones without the class-marking prefix **w-**) can take the nominalizer **i- -ke(tï)**, which derives a non-possessible noun referring to the S participant of the original verb stem.[11] The **i-** prefix has the same allomorphs as the **i-** '3' (cf. 4.3.1.2) or the prefix on **i**-adverbs (cf. 6.2.1.2): **i-** on C-initial stems, **Ø-** on vowel-initial stems. Note that the **i- -ke(tï)** form of the verb stem **ëe(pï)** has an irregular **t-** prefix (also found in the Negative form; cf. 5.4.3.1.3), possibly related to—but not identical with—the unexpected prefix on **t**-adding verb stems (cf. 5.1.3).

(28a)	**emeta**	'change' (S_O)	→	**emeta-ke**	'one who changes (a shaman)'
(b)	**urakana**	'stroll' (S_O)	→	**urakana-ke**	'one who strolls, wanders around'
(c)	**këhtu(mu)**	'scream' (S_O)	→	**i-këhtun-ke**	'one who screams'
(d)	**të**	'go' (S_A)	→	**të-ke**	'one who goes'
(e)	**ëturu**	'talk' (S_A)	→	**ëturu-ke**	'one who talks'
(f)	**ëe(pï)**	'come' (S_A)	→	**t-ëeh-ke**	'one who comes'
(g)	**ëinenma**	'get drunk' (S_A)	→	**ëinenma-ke**	'one who gets drunk'

---

[11] This nominalizer is not mentioned in Gildea 1998.

The full grade **-ketï** can be observed with a following CCV-initial suffix:

(29) **ëësapëkëma-ketï-npë**
be.in.need-S-Pst
'Someone who used to be in need.'

For intransitive verbs, the **t- -se(mï)** nominalizer is an alternative way of creating a noun that refers to the S participant (i.e. it is, in fact, an absolutive nominalizer; cf. 4.2.2.1.2-3). Semantically, **t- -se-(mï)** and **i- -ke(tï)** are very close; many speakers considered them synonymous. Two speakers, however, mentioned a difference between (30a) and (30b) below.

(30a) **akï mëe, Makapa_pona të-ke**
wh.An 3AnPx Macapá_Dir go-S.act
'Who is this guy who goes to Macapá?'

(b) **akï mëe, Makapa_pona tïï-të-e-n**
wh.An 3AnPx Macapá_Dir Prtcp:S_A-go-Prtcp-Nzr
'Who is this guy who goes to Macapá?'

One speaker remarked that, if (30a) and (30b) were used to refer to a salesperson who is going to Macapá to buy merchandise and sell it in the Tiriyó village, then (30a) would be compatible with a situation in which the salesperson already goes regularly to Macapá, while (30b) would suggest that s/he is now going to begin this routine. The other speaker agreed that (30a) is about a salesperson who regularly goes to Macapá, while in (30b) s/he 'is going to go' to Macapá. The latter speaker offered two further examples:

(31a) **mëe_n-ai** **ë-enpa-ke**
3AnPx_3S_A-Cop Detr-teach-S.act
'S/he is a student, s/he studies.'

(b) **mëe_n-ai** **tï-w-ë-enpa-e-n**
3AnPx_3S_A-Cop Prtcp-S_A-Detr-teach-Prtcp-Nzr
'S/he is the one who is going to study.' (s/he has not started yet)

Thus, it seems that **i- -ke(tï)** describes the S participant of an actual event, while **t- -se-(mï)** refers to the S participant of a future, not-yet-started (and thus still potential) event. In this sense, the difference between **i- -ke(tï)** 'Actual S' and **t- -se-(mï)** 'Potential S'[12] parallels the one between **-ne** 'Actual A' and **-to-(no)** 'Potential A'.

4.2.2.1.4. Event nominalizers ('infinitives'): ∅ 'Specific', *-në* 'Generic'. The forms considered in this section, event nominalizations, cover an area in semantic space that is usually the realm of 'infinitives'. In fact, Gildea 1998:134ff used the word 'infinitive' for cognates of the **-në** form. Considering the parallelism between possessible and non-possessible nominalizations in Table 4.5, it would seem more appropriate, all other things being equal, to give all of them, including the ∅ and **-në** forms, labels that reflect this parallelism. Thus, calling only the **-në** form an infinitive, which Gildea justifies by comparing its 'non-specific participant' semantics with that of the Spanish infinitive, would hide the similar behavior found with other nominalizations: all of them have

---

[12] Note that 'potentiality', 'not-yet-ness' is a feature of **t- -se(mï)** both as an S-nominalizer and as an O-nominalizer, i.e. **t- -se(mï)** can be described as a 'potential absolutive nominalizer'. Compare the examples in (27) with (30b) and (31b).

'specific' and 'non-specific' forms. The label 'infinitive' is thus used here to qualify both ∅ and **-në** forms. Furthermore, there does not seem to be any strong reason not to consider the ∅ and **-në** forms as nominalizations. There do not seem to be any reasons for considering them less 'nominalizing' than their A-, O- and S-oriented counterparts in Table 4.5; again, the non-possessibility of **-në** seems to run parallel to that of **t- -se(mï)** and **-to(-no)**, and thus does not really set it apart from them. In fact, even among non-derived nouns there are some which are never possessed (cf. 4.3.1.1), so that no new niches need to be created for nominalizations. The situation in Spanish seems to be rather different, since there are morphosyntactic properties which distinguish infinitives from nouns (e.g. the accusative pronominal clitic *la*, from Gildea's Spanish example *conocerla es amarla* 'to know her is to love her', cannot be used on simple nouns). Therefore, 'infinitve' and 'event nominalization' would seem to be equivalent terms for Tiriyó, the former having the advantage of being shorter.[13]

All verb stems, transitve or intransitive, can be used as **-(rï)** class nouns, without any overt nominalization marker. Strictly speaking, it is pointless to ask whether or not there is a 'non-realized', 'abstract' nominalizer; the observed facts are the same, to wit, that verb stems can occur with nominal possessive morphology. In order to indentify these cases, a ":N" will be added to the gloss (e.g. *see:N*). For ease of exposition, the term

---

[13] Of course, one could also take the position that *all* the forms in Table 4.5 are not nominal. They could all be seen as 'participials', 'gerundials', 'infinitives', etc. It is not clear, however, that there would be any advantage in doing that.

Ø nominalization and derived expressions are used to refer to the nominal use of verb stems.[14]

Ø-nominalized verbs are usually possessed by the O participant, if they are transitive (32a-b), and by the S participant, if they are intransitive (32c-d); the transitive agent can be expressed in a postpositional (**_ja-**)phrase if necessary (32e-f). Cases of non-possessed Ø nominalizations occurred with the attributivizer postposition **_me**: in (32g), the length grade **ponoo** of **pono(pï)** 'tell O' implies the absence of the possession suffix **-(rï)**, which would have forced the full grade to occur (cf. 33b with **_ke** below, in which the final syllable of the verb stem does *not* reduce, presumably—since it is a possessed form—due to the (non-realized) suffix **-(rï)**).

(32a) **i-ponopï_se_w-a-e**
3-tell:N:Pos_Desid_1S_A-Cop-Cty
'I want to tell (it).'

(b) **ë-ene _se_w-a -e**
2-see:N:Pos_Desid_1S_A-Cop-Cty
'I want to see you'

(c) **ë-w-epï_se_w-a-e**
2-S_A-bathe:N:Pos_Desid_1S_A-Cop-Cty
'I want you to bathe.'

(d) **ë-këhtumu_se_w-a-e**
2-shout:N:Pos_Desid_1S_A-Cop-Cty
'I want you to shout.'

(e) **mëe eta_se_w-a-e ëë-ja**
3AnPx 3:hear:N:Pos_Desid_1S_A-Cop 2-by
'I want you to hear him/her.'

---

[14] Certain analyses of cognate forms in other Cariban languages consider the cognates of the possessive marker **-(rï)** as nominalizers when they occur on verbs (cf. Gildea 1998:119ff). The reasons why this is not done here for Tiriyó are:

(a) **-(rï)** is a marker of possession on nouns; analyzing it as a marker of possession on Ø-nominalized verbs keeps its function consistent;

(b) the nominal past marker **-hpë** occurs on Ø-nominalized verbs to mark past possession; rather than analyze **-hpë** as yet another nominalizer (which is Gildea's viewpoint), it seems simpler to view its occurrence as as consequence of the fact that Ø-nominalized verb stems belong to the **-(rï)** class;

(c) Ø-nominalizations have a non-possessed form, obviously without **-(rï)**, but still clearly nominal (cf. (32g-h), in which **pono(pï)** 'tell O' and **ene** 'see O' are followed by the attributivizer **_me**).

(f) **(kaikui_ja) a-apëi w-ekanïpï**
jaguar_Agt 2-catch:N:Pos 1A-think:Prs.Prf
'I thought s/he/it (the jaguar) had caught you.'

(g) **ponoo_me_n-ai**
tell:N_Attr_3S$_A$-Cop
'It is 'tellable' (=can be told).'

(h) **ëne_me_n-ai**
see:N_Attr_3S$_A$-Cop
'It is visible.'

The meaning of the possessed forms in (32a-f) is that of a *specific event*, with well-defined and usually identifiable participants. Although cases like (32g-h) suggest that this 'specificity' of Ø nominalizations is a consequence of their possessed status (the non-possessed forms in (32g-h) have a 'generic' A participant, like **t- -se(mï)** nominalizations [cf. 4.2.2.1.2]), it is still true that Ø nominalizations can be, and most often are, possessed, which is never the case for **-në** nominalizations (hence the difference between a 'specific(-participant) infinitive' and a 'generic(-participant) infinitive'). The most frequent uses of Ø nominalizations in the available corpus involve the desiderative postposition **_se**, as in (32a-e). Occurrences with other postpositions are also attested: **_ke** 'Instrumental', marking causality (33a-b), and **_htao** 'Locative', marking simultaneity or condition ('when, while' or 'if': (33c-d)). Cases such as (32f) above, without any postposition, were very infrequent.[15]

(33a) **j-epinëpï-hpë_ke ii-ja**
1-medicate:N:Pos-Pst_Inst 3-Agt
'Because he had given me medicine,...'

---

[15] The higher frequency of Ø-nominalizations in constructions with **_se**, **_ke** and **_htao** suggests that they may eventually grammaticalize as desiderative, causal and temporal verb forms (cf. 10.4). In the case of the third-person form of the Ø-nominalized copula with the instrumental postposition **_ke**, a new word **iweike** 'because' has resulted, which can now be used to introduce finite causal clauses (cf. 10.4.1.1.2).

(b) **saasaame pahko t- ee -se tï-w-ë-eweti̇̈_ke**
happy 1:father N.Pst-Cop-N.Pst 3R-S_A-Detr-feed:N:Pos_Instr
'Father was happy because he was eating.' (lit. 'with his own eating').

(c) **ë-etahta-rï_htao**
2-drool:N-Pos_Loc
'If/when you drool...' (Lit. 'in your producing spittle...')

(d) **Suurinan_po ji-w-ei-rï_htao**
Surinam_Loc 1-S_A-Cop:N-Pos_Loc
'When I was in Surinam...'

The **në**-nominalized 'Generic Infinitive' form exists for both transitive (34j-l) and intransitive (34a-i) forms. It takes the back grade of the stem, thus indicating the absence (or 'genericity') of participants. S_A verbs occur with their class-marking prefix **w-** (34f-i), and stem-initial reducing verbs occur in their full grade (34d). Notice that the irregular S_A stems **oeka / weka** 'defecate' occurs with the initial consonant **k-**, but **ïhtë** 'descend' has a **wï-** instead of a **p-** (34n-o). The resulting noun describes a 'generic event' in which participants are unimportant, unspecified.

(34a)	**eremina**	'sing' (S_O)	→	**ëremina-në**	'singing'
(b)	**eramuhta**	'sweat' (S_O)	→	**ëramuhta-në**	'sweating'
(c)	**anota**	'fall' (S_O)	→	**onota-në**	'falling'
(d)	**tunta**	'arrive' (S_O)	→	**tunta-në**	'arriving'
(e)	**(wï)rïhta**	'sweat' (S_O)	→	**wïrïhta-në**	'sweating'
(f)	**ëënï(kï)**	'sleep' (S_A)	→	**w-ëënïï-në**	'sleeping'
(g)	**ëturu**	'talk' (S_A)	→	**w-ëturu-në**	'talking'
(h)	**etuuka**	'beat self' (S_A)	→	**w-etuuka-në**	'beating; fight'
(i)	**ëtahkë(të)**	'cut self' (S_A)	→	**w-ëtahkëë-në**	'self-cutting (by accident)'
(j)	**eta**	'hear O'	→	**ëta-në**	'hearing'
(k)	**pono(pï)**	'tell O'	→	**ponoo-në**	'telling'
(l)	**erahtë**	'find O'	→	**ërahtë-në**	'finding'
(m)	**arë**	'take O'	→	**ërë-në**	'taking'

(n) **ïhtë** ‘descend’ (S_A) → **w-ïhtë-në** ‘descending’
(o) **oeka/weka** ‘defecate’ (S_A) → **koeka-në** ‘defecating’

In certain Cariban languages, cognates of **-në** are so frequent in certain contexts that they seem to have grammaticalized as new verb tenses (cf. Gildea 1998:23, 134ff, 197ff). In Tiriyó, however, **-në** is very infrequent. It occurred only a couple of times in the entire text corpus; most of the examples used here were obtained in elicitation (cf. (35), which illustrates a construction that, as Gildea has shown, served as the source for a progressive in other languages). Occasionally speakers referred to **-në** nominalizations as ‘more elegant speech’ typical of older people. It may be the case that **-në** is dropping out of usage in modern Tiriyó, being replaced by non-possessed **-to(po)** nominalizations (cf. next section).

(35a) **ërë-në_pëë_w-a-e**
take-G.Inf_Busy.with_1S_A-Cop-Cty
‘I am taking (things).’

(b) **ëmamina-në_pëë_w-a-e**
play-G.Inf_Busy.with_1S_A-Cop-Cty
‘I am playing.’

The meaning of **-në** is that of a generic nominalization that stresses the process itself, with very little attention or importance given to the participants or to any of the circumstances. With intransitive verbs, this semantic operation is simpler, since the events that they describe only have one participant. Thus, (36a-b) describe situations in which the speaker has heard nearby singing (or beating) without knowing anything about who is performing the action or why (36b) .

(36a) **ëremina-në w-eta-ne**
sing-G.Inf 1A-hear-Pst.Prf
'I heard singing.'

(b) **w-e-tuuka-në w-eta-ne**
S_A-Detr-beat-G.Inf 1A-hear-D.Pst
'I heard beating.'

(c) **w-ët-ahkëë-në epi**
S_A-Detr-cut-G.Inf 3:medicine:Pos
'Medicine for wounds that result from cutting.'

The O-oriented flavor of the non-possessed forms in (32g-h), however, suggests that ∅-nominalizations can also refer to participants. In fact, a ∅-nominalization with the past suffix **-hpë** can be used to refer to the S (37a-b) or O (37c) participant. This absolutive (S/O-oriented) semantics apparently does not occur without **-hpë**: the ∅-nominalizations in (32a-f) cannot participants.

(37a) **i-w-ëepï-hpë-ton**
3-S_A-come:N:Pos-Pst-Col
'The visitors (lit. those who came).'

(b) **i-tatï-hpë**
3-get.lost:N:Pos-Pst
'S/he who got lost.'

(c) **i-tuuka-hpë-ton**
3-beat:N:Pos-Pst-Col
'Those who were beaten.'

A comparison between a ∅-nominalization and the other O-oriented forms discussed in 4.2.2.1.2 above reveals interesting semantic differences.

(38a) **an-po_n-ai kaikui, pahko i-n-tuuka-hpë**
wh-Loc_3S_A-Cop dog 1:father 3-O.act.Nzr-beat:Pos-Pst
'Where is the dog which my father beat?'

(b) **an-po_n-ai kaikui, i-tuuka-hpë ?*(pahko_ja)**
wh-Loc_3S_A-Cop dog 3-beat:N:Pos-Pst 1:father_Agt
'Where is the dog which was beaten (?by my father) ?'

(c) **an-po_n-ai** **kaikui,** **tï-tuuka-en**
wh-Loc_3S$_{A}$-Cop dog O.pot.Nzr-beat-O.por.Nzr
'Where is the dog which may/will be beaten?'

The **t-** **-se-(mï)** 'Potential O' nominalization in (38c) yields a potential, not yet affected O participant. This can be opposed to **n-** 'Actual O' (37a) and ∅ (38b) nominalizations, which both describe an actual O participant of a specific event. The difference between them is the level of 'well-formedness' of the corresponding A participant. As in (38a), **n-** nominalizations are always possessed by the A participant, which is specific and usually identifiable. The ∅ nominalization in (38b), however, makes this A participant less relevant, less specific. An attempt at reintroducing the A participant with an oblique phrase was met with some resistence from the speakers: the **_ja** phrase was considered awkward, and (38a) was offered as a 'much better' solution. This was not the case in (32e-f), in which the 'specific event' meaning was perfectly compatible with an oblique A participant.

One possible interpretation of the above facts is that past events in Tiriyó have a special relationship, a 'conceptual closeness' to their absolutive (O/S) participant. The ∅ nominalization with **-hpë** could then refer to either the 'specific event in the past' (as in (33a)) and the S or O participant (37a-c, 38b), viewed as the 'result' of the event, as 'tangible evidence' of the event having taken place. With non-past (non-**hpë**-marked) ∅ nominalizations, this 'result'/'tangible evidence' relationship becomes less clear, since the event is not seen as having fully happened. As for the A participant, it is apparently less central, more removed from the conceptual core of the event; accordingly, it needs its own nominalizations (**-ne**, **-to-(no)**; cf. 10.1.3 on roles and participants).

4.2.2.1.5. Circumstance nominalizer: *-to(po)* 'Circumstantial'. All verb stems, transitive (39a-e) or intransitive (39f-j), can take the prefix **-to(po)**. The resulting noun denotes: an instrument used for the event described by the verb stem, a place where the event described by the verb stem is supposed to take place, or the specific event itself, with uses comparable to those of the Ø-nominalized form described in the preceding section.

(39a)	**ene**	'see'	→	**ene-to**	'instrument for seeing (e.g. glasses, a TV set)'
(b)	**pono(pï)**	'tell'	→	**ponoh-to**	'instrument for telling (e.g. a leaflet)'
(c)	**apëi**	'catch'	→	**apëh-to**	'instrument for catching (e.g. a trap)'
(d)	**rï**	'do'	→	**tïrï-to**	'instrument for doing (e.g. a plan, a blueprint)'
(e)	**je**	'cook'	→	**tïje-to**	'instrument for cooking (e.g. a stove)'
(f)	**ëenpa**	'learn'	→	**w-ëenpa-to**	'place for learning (e.g. school)'
(g)	**ëturu**	'talk'	→	**w-ëturu-to**	'conversation; speech'
(h)	**ei**	'Cop'	→	**w-eh-to**	'way of being (cf. Port. *jeito*)'
(i)	**tunta**	'arrive'	→	**tunta-to**	'arrival; place of arrival'
(j)	**enuru**	'be born'	→	**enuh-to**	'birth; place of birth; birthday'

Thus, **-to(po)** nominalizations seem to occupy a relatively wide semantic range: at one extreme, an entity-like instrument (glasses, trap); at the other extreme, an action-like 'generic' meaning (conversation, way of being). The more entity-like uses can be described as *purposive*: an instrument, or a place, *for the purpose of* carrying out the action described by the verb. In this respect, **-to(po)** can be seen as a means of generating a noun for a *peripheral* participant, one which is important to the event, but not central to it, unlike the *nuclear* participants A, O, and S (cf. 10.1.3). The exact nature of this peripheral or circumstantial participant can vary widely. For instance, in different occasions, the word **wëturuto(po)** '(something) for talking' was used for: a written text that was going to be read aloud, the tape recordings of people from other villages, a megaphone (used for diffusing news), and a radio.

The more action-like uses refer to the event as a whole ('arrival'; 'conversation'), and are frequent as titles of narratives with the past-marking suffix **-npë** (40a-b).

(40a) **kaikui entahka-topo-npë masiwë_ja**
jaguar 3:deceive-Circ.Nzr-Pst anteater_Agt
'(The story of) the deceiving of Jaguar by Anteater.'

(b) **Tëkujenë i-w-ëeh-topo-npë**
De.Goeje 3-S_A-come-Circ.Nzr-Pst
'(The story of) De Goeje's coming.'

In these uses, **-to(po)** nominalizations can be possessed or non-possessed. The possessed cases are more 'specific' and can be compared with Ø nominalizations, as in (41a-b) below.

(41a) **ë-w-ëturu w-ekanïpï**
2-S_A-talk:N:Pos 1A-think:Prs.Prf
'I thought it was you talking.'

(b) **ë-w-ëturu-to w-ekanïpï**
2-S_A-talk-Circ.Nzr 1A-think:Prs.Prf
'I thought it was your talk.'

The meaning of **ëwëturuto(po)** in (41b) can vary from more object-like to more event-like. An object-like interpretation would make (41b) clearly different from (41a). If, for instance, the speaker had seen a transcription of a speech supposedly written by the hearer but later found out that someone else had written it, s/he could say (41b), using **ëwëturuto(po)** to refer to the actual written document. Under such circumstances, (41a) would not be acceptable.

A more event-like reading, however, makes (41a-b) more similar. Both can be used to describe a situation in which the speaker heard someone delivering a speech (e.g. at a village meeting) and assumed that this person was the hearer, but later found out that this had not been the case. Under these circumstances, (41a-b) appear to be nearly equivalent. However, considering the slightly different glosses given to (41a) ('talking') and (41b) ('talk'), **-to(po)** still looks like a more 'concrete' event nominalizer than **-Ø**. **Ëwëturuto(po)** 'your talk' is apparently more 'point-like' or 'time-stable', while **ëwëturu** 'you talking' sounds more 'line-like', more 'time-structured'. One might say that **-to(po)**, in spite of having more abstract uses, still conserves some of its concreteness. This difference is also reflected in the very frequent occurrence of **-to(po)** nominalizations as story titles (41a-b): being more 'point-like', they are convenient 'summaries'. Also, the almost exclusive use of Ø nominalizations in postpositional constructions indicating desire, cause, or simultaneity (i.e. cases of concatenation of events) seems more compatible with their more 'time-structured' semantics.

Circumstantial **-to(po)** nominalizations have a non-possessed (back grade) form; the resulting semantics imply non-specificity of the S or O participant, as the case may be.

The non-possessed form of a circumstancial **-to(po)** nominalization has non-specific-participant (S or O) semantics. With intransitive verbs, the resulting form is quite close to that of the suffix **-në** 'generic infinitive'. However, as was the case for the possessed form, the non-possessible noun usually conserves a more object-like, time-stable flavor.

(42a) **w-ëturu-to w-ekanïpï**
S_A-talk-Circ .nar 1A-think:Prs.Prf
'I thought it was a talk.'

(b) **w-ëturu-në w-ekanïpï**
S_A-talk-G.Inf 1A-think:Prs.Prf
'I thought it was talking.'

In its more concrete, object-like interpretations, **wëturuto(po)** makes (41a) clearly different from (42b). For instance, it could refer to a written or recorded speech, or even to an instrument for speaking (e.g. a megaphone or a radio), which **wëturunë** in (42b) cannot do. However, the slightly different glosses appear to tell the same story as in the comparison with ∅ nominalizations in the preceding section: **wëturuto(po)** is more 'point-like' or 'time-stable' than **wëturunë**. According to one speaker, (42b) sounds more like a misinterpretation of noises heard in the forest (i.e. the speaker thought that s/he had heard people talking, but found out that the noises had come from animals), while (42a) could be a mistake about the purpose of a certain gathering (i.e. the speaker saw people gathering in a place and thought that they were there to talk, to discuss some important topic, but then found out that they were partying).

Because of the 'purposive' meaning of **-to(po)** nominalizations mentioned in the discussion of their more 'concrete' or 'participant-like' interpretation, one of their most frequent uses is the indication of purpose, together with the attributivizing postposition **_me** (cf. 10.4.1)

(43) **irë_mao n-ee-jan kaikui a-apëh-too_me**
3InAn_Time 3S$_A$-come-Pres jaguar 2-catch-Circ_Attr
'At that time, a jaguar comes to catch you.'

One **-to(po)** nominalizations has special uses: **wehto(po)** (from the copula **ei**). **Wehto(po)** is frequently used as a syntactic means of 'nominalizing' adverbs (44a), postpositions and postpositional phrases (44b), or even particles (44c), with which it forms a construction (cf. 10.4.1).

(44a) **irëme_n-ai sen ikuruma aeneme ë-w-eh-topo_ja**
thus_3S$_A$-Cop 3InPx dangerous alive 2-S$_A$-Cop-Circ_Dat
'Thus, this is dangerous to your life.' (=lit. 'to your being alive')

(b) **sen_po ji-wehto kure wïja**
3InPx_Loc 1-being good 1::to
'I like being here (lit. My being here is good to me).'

(c) **naka i-w-eh-to**
finish 3-S$_A$-Cop-Circ
'Its end; its being over.'

4.2.2.2. Adverb and postposition nominalization. Although there are several nominalizing suffixes that can be used on adverbs and postpositions, they do not differ in meaning: all of them are used to derive nouns for individual entities which have the semantic features of the original adverb or postposition. Thus, to **pija** 'small, little', corresponds **pija-n** 'small one, little one'; to **pena** 'long ago', **pena-to** 'someone from long ago, an ancestor'; to **tëpërike** 'having wings, winged', **tëpërike-n** 'winged one'.

The most frequent prefix is **-(no)**, which occurs on most non-derived adverbs (44a-h) and postpositions (44i-j). It usually occurs in its coda grade **-n**, but there were apparently unpredictable exceptions (45b-d). Notice that **-(no)** causes a stem-final **e** to change into **a** (44b-c), but not if the **e** is part of a diphthong (44e).

(44a)	**pija**	'small, little'	→	**pija-n**	'small, little one'
(b)	**kure**	'good; beautiful'	→	**kura-no**	'good, beautiful one'
(c)	**tïntïïje**	'short'	→	**tïntïïja-n**	'short one'
(d)	**ma(a)**	'long; far'	→	**maa-no**	'long one; far-away one'
(e)	**kawë**	'high, tall'	→	**kawë-no**	'high, tall one'
(f)	**aerë**	'true'	→	**aerë-n**	'true thing/statement'
(g)	**tupae**	'lying down'	→	**tupae-n**	'one who is lying down'[16]
(g)	**koko**	'night'	→	**koko-n**	'one who works at night'
(h)	**ëëkënë**	'two; in twos'	→	**ëëkënë-n**	'a pair'
(i)	**makapa_po**	'in Macapá'	→	**makapa_po-n**	'one who lives in Macapá'
(j)	**tuna_hkao**	'in the river'	→	**tuna_hkao-n**	'one who lives in the river'

Adverbs derived from verbs with **-të** 'potential A' (cf. 6.2.2.1) are nominalized as **-to-(no)**; this could be analyzed as a slightly irregular (given the **ë** > **o** change) case of the **-(no)** nominalizer.

---

[16] Notice that **tupae** does not seem to be derived from a verb (or noun) with **t- -se** (cf. 5.4.3.1.2), since a **t- -se** form would require the nominalizer **-(mï)** instead of **-(no)** but **tupae** does not (cf. **tupae-no-npë**, not ***tupae-mï-npë**, 'one who was lying down'). Besides, there seems to be no synchronic source: a verb (or noun) ***upa.** It is not excluded, however, that **tupae** was an old **t- -se** form at some point in the past, but lost its properties via diachronic change.

(45a)	**ënpa-të**	‘who can teach’	→	**ënpa-to-n**	‘someone who can teach’
(b)	**ëëka-të**	‘who can bite’	→	**ëëka-to-n**	‘one which can bite’
(c)	**wë-të**	‘who can shoot’	→	**wë-to-n**	‘someone who can shoot’

The nominalizing non-reducing suffix **-to** occurs with a smaller number of non-derived adverbs (46a-c) and most (but not all) experiencer postpositions (46d-g; notice that both **-to** and **-(no)** were accepted for the desiderative _se). Notice the **e** > **a** change for e-final stems (46e-5), which occurs even if the final **e** is part of a reducing syllable (e.g. **wame(ke)** ‘not known’, **aame(ke)** ‘hate’, in (46e-f).

(46a)	**pena**	‘long ago’	→	**pena-to**	‘someone from long ago’
(b)	**ëëseena**	‘sick, ill’	→	**ëëseena-to**	‘sick, ill person’
(c)	**ëënïhpo**	‘sleepy’	→	**ëënïhpo-to**	‘sleepy person’
(d)	**ji-waarë**	‘known to me’	→	**ji-waarë-to**	‘someone known to me’
(e)	**ji-wame**	‘not known to me’	→	**ji-wameka-to**	‘something not known to me’
(f)	**j-aame**	‘hating me’	→	**j-aameka-to**	‘someone who hates me’
(g)	**j-eire**	‘angry at me’	→	**j-eira-to**	‘someone who is angry at me’
(h)	**tuna_se**	‘liking water’	→	**tuna_sa-to** **tuna_sa-n**	‘someone who likes water’

For the sake of completeness, all known adverbs and postpositions that take the nominalizer **-to** are listed in (47). The in brackets are believed to nominalize with **-to**, in spite of being unattested in a nominalized form in the available corpus, because of some structural similarity with other adverbs which do take **-to** (cf. 6.1.1) for the formal subgrouping of primitive adverbs).[17] Two interesting details stand out in the list: it has all postpositions that end in (**ke**) (and some adverbs that seem to have a **ke**, too), and it has almost all the experiencer postpositions (cf. 7.3.3). In fact, the instrumental **_ke** (which also ends in **ke**) is only nominalizable in its more experiencer-like uses (i.e. **pïï_ke** 'ashamed', from **pïï** 'shame', nominalizes as **pïï_kato**; but **maja_ke**, 'with a knife', has no nominalized form: ***maja_kato**, ***maja_ka-(no)**; cf. 7.3.4.2).

---

[17] Speakers sometimes disagreed on this. For instance, the nominalized form of **kokonje** ‘afternoon’ was given by one speaker as either **kokonja(no)** or **kokonjato** ‘someone who e.g. works during the afternonn’ while another speaker refused **kokonja(no)** and corrected **kokonjato** to **kokonjeto** (i.e. he preferred a form

(47) A list of all attested adverbs and postpositions that take the **-to** nominalizer.

adverbs	
ëënïhpo	'sleepy, tired'
[suhtapo]	'wanting to urinate'
[koekapo]	'wanting to defecate'
ëëseenë	'sick, ill'
ënjeenë	'hungry'
onke(ne)	'calm; peaceful'
oorake(ne)	'calm; quiet'
pëera	'stupid, ignorant'
pena	'long ago'
menjaarë	'now; today'
kokonje	'afternoon'
kokonjaarë	'yesterday'
kokoro	'tomorrow'
aarerenna	'weak'

postpositions	
aame(ke)	'Odiative'
eire	'Irascitive'
ewaaje	'Appreciative'
_no	'Apprehensive'
(_)pïïnë	'Protective'
_se	'Desiderative'
(_)waarë	'Cognoscitive'
(_)wame(ke)	'Ignorative'
_ke	'Instrumental'
_pe(ke)	'Negative attributivizer'

The nominalizing suffix **-(mï)** usually occurs in its reduced grade **-n**, which is homophonous with the reduced grade of **-(no)**; in order to distinguish them, it is necessary to add a suffix or clitic that conditions the full grade (e.g., with the past suffix **-npë**;

---

without the **e** > **a** change). Similar disagreement occurred with **kokoroto** and **kokoro(no)** 'someone from tomorrow, who will work tomorrow' (from **kokoro** 'tomorrow'), and between *sato* and *sa(no)* 'one who wants' (from the desiderative **_se**; cf. (46h)). The postpositions **(_)waarë** 'know' and **(_)wame(ke)** 'not know' also have two attested forms (**waarë-to**, **waarë-n** 'one who knows'; **wameka-to**, **wameka-n** 'one who does not know'), but the forms in **-to** are clearly preferred. A first impression about these cases is that there may be a tendency to transfer some adverbs from the **-to** class to the (larger and thus more regular) **-(no)** class.

compare **pija-no-npë** 'one which was small' with **tï-pana-ke-mï-npë** 'one which had ears'). It only nominalizes derived **t**-adverbs: **t- -ke, t- -je, t- -e** 'having' (48a-c), **t- -se** 'participial' (48d), etc. 6.2.1.1.1).

(48a)	**tï-pana-ke**	'having ears'	→	**tï-pana-ke-n**	'one who has ears'
(b)	**tï-pï-je**	'having a wife'	→	**tï-pï-je-n**	'one who has a wife'
(c)	**tï-pana-e**	'hearing'	→	**tï-pana-e-n**	'a hearing person'
(b)	**t-ëënïï-se**	'drunk'	→	**t-ëënïï-se-n**	'drink (N.)'

The **i**-adverbs **i- -nna** 'Privative', **i- -ra** 'Inefficient' and **i- -poora** 'Defective' are nominalized as **i- -mï(nï)**, **i- -pï(nï)** and **i- -popï(nï)**, respectively. The nominalized forms of other **i**-adverbs (**i- -tïïse, i- -kinje**) are not known.

(49a)	**i-pana-nna**	'earless'	→	**i-pana-mïn**	'earless person'
(b)	**i-pana-ra**	'deaf'	→	**i-pana-pïn**	'deaf person'
(c)	**i-pana-poora**	'ugly-eared'	→	**i-pana-popïn**	'ugly-eared person'
(d)	**enu-nna**	'eyeless'	→	**enu-mïn**	'eyeless person'
(e)	**enu-ra**	'blind'	→	**enu-pïn**	'blind person'
(f)	**enu-poora**	'ugly-eyed'	→	**enu-popïn**	'ugly-eyed person'

Finally, here are the irregular nominalized forms found in the available corpus (cf. 5.1.1.2 also for the irregular nominalized forms of **-a(ka)** adjectives; cf. also 5.1 on possible reasons for the irregularities listed below).

(50a)	**menjaarë**	'now; today'	→	**menja-to(ro)**	'someone from today'
(b)	**onke(ne)**	'calm, peaceful'	→	**onka-to**	'a calm, quiet person'
(c)	**oorake(ne)**	'calm, quiet'	→	**ooraka-to**	'a calm, peaceful person'
(d)	**akïpëe**	'hard'	→	**akïpïrï**	'hard one' (also **akïpëe-(no)**)

4.3. Inflection.

4.3.1. Possession. All languages have strategies for relating two or more nouns, for various semantic purposes: to indicate ownership (Mary's luggage), kinship (John's sister-in-law), part-whole relation (the leg of the table), argument relation (animal tamer), etc. (cf., among others, Langacker 1991:167ff, and Thomas Payne 1997:40ff, 104ff). Similar, usually the same, strategies also link nouns to pronouns (e.g. your luggage, her sister-in-law, etc.). The strategies can vary quite a lot, even within one language, as the English examples show. In Tiriyó, the data support the existence of only one strategy for all these situations. The label 'possession' will be used as a convenient cover term for all of them.

The morphology of possession in Tiriyó is relatively simple. The possessed status of a noun is indicated by a possession-marking suffix, **-(rï)**, **-hpë**, or **-∅**; an additional prefix indicates the person of the possessor. Fig. 4.1 summarizes this situation, and the following sections describe the morphological details. The syntax of possession is treated in 10.2.1.1.

Figure 4.1
Structure of the possessed noun.

person prefix (expressing the possessor)	NOUN STEM	possession suffix (marking possessed status)

4.3.1.1. Possessibility. It is a frequent feature of languages to classify nouns with respect to possession, as e.g. possessible and non-possessible, obligatorily and optionally possessed, or alienably and inalienably possessed (cf. e.g. Thomas Payne 1997:40). In this section, the possible relevance of the first two distinctions for Tiriyó is examined; cf. 4.3.1.4.2, 4.3.1.5 for the question of alienability.

In Tiriyó, while certain nouns were always required to bear possessive morphology, others were never allowed to occur in their possessed form. These nouns are listed in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6
Non-possessible and obligatorily possessed nouns.

Never Possessed	Always Possessed
1. Pronouns (cf. 4.1) 2. Proper nouns: **Nasau** (a man's name) **Mataware** (a village) 3. Human groups: **karaiwa** (Brazilian) 4. Animal names: **ëkëi** 'snake' (but cf. below) 5. Certain nominalizations: **-to(-no)** 'Potential A' (cf. 4.2.2.1.1) **-(no), -to** 'adv.l nominalizers' (cf. 4.2.2.2) **t- -se(mï)** 'Potential O/S' (cf. 4.2.2.1.2-3) **i- -ke(tï)** 'Actual S' (cf. 4.2.2.1.3) **-në** 'Generic Infinitive' (cf. 4.2.2.1.4)	1. Kinship terms: e.g. **eemi** 'daughter' (cf. 12.3.2) 2. Generic nouns: e.g. **ekï** 'pet' (cf. below; cf. 10.2.1.3) 3. Certain nominalizations: **-Ø** 'Specific Infinitive' (cf. 4.2.2.1.4) **-ne** 'Actual A' (cf. 4.2.2.1.1) **n-** 'Actual O' (cf. 4.2.2.1.2) 4. Certain unclassified nouns: **arï** 'leaf; contents', **eperu** 'fruit', **epï** 'tree; plant', **enï** 'container', **jo(mï)** 'wrapping', **po** 'clothes'.

The non-possessible class includes, as might be expected, pronouns and proper nouns; languages which allow phrases such as English 'my Johnnie', 'your little Mark' or 'our New York' are few.

The non-possessibility of animal names (from large mammals like **kaikui** 'jaguar' to small insects like **okomo** 'wasp') may seem at first unexpected, but not so much once one realizes that only direct possession, i.e. possessive inflection, is not acceptable. Indirect possession, by means of apposition to a possessed generic noun, remains possible. Thus, (51a) is used to say 'my bird' if the bird in question is the speaker's pet; (51b), if it is the food that the speaker is going to eat; and (51c), if it is the game that the speaker has killed.[18]

(51a) **j-ekï tonoro**
1-pet bird
'My pet bird.'

(b) **j-otï tonoro**
1-meat.food bird
'My bird (for eating).'

(c) **ji-kaimo tonoro**
1-game bird
'My game, bird.'

It must be said that certain cases of directly possessed animal names occurred in the available corpus, but their status is doubtful. For instance, (52a) was accepted by one speaker as a way of saying 'the birds of this area, the birds of your country' (as opposed to the birds of the speaker's native region). However, most other speakers categorically refused it, offering (52b) instead. On account of this, (52a) is marked with a question mark. (52c-d) represent further cases of direct possession, accepted by the same speaker who accepted (52a); interestingly enough, he treated them as /j/-adding stems (i.e. stems which have an extra initial /j/ in their possessed form [cf. 4.3.1.4.2]). Other speakers reacted negatively to them.[19]

---

[18] One might feel tempted to analyze possession via generic nouns as a grammatical instantiation of alienable possession (with the directly possessible nouns being the inalienable class); this is the viewpoint of e.g. Carlson & Payne 1989. However, the more widespread pattern of apposition must be taken into account; cf. 10.2.1.1 for details on the analysis of possessive phrases.

(52a) ? **ë-tonoro-kon**
2-bird-P.Col
'You all's birds.'

(b) **tonoro ë-pataa_po-n**
bird 2-village:Pos_Loc-Nzr
'The birds who live in your village/area.'

(c) ? **ji-jariwe**
1-cayman
'My cayman'
(from **ariwe** 'cayman')

(d) ? **ji-jaimara**
1-fish.sp
'My aimara fish.'
(from **aimara** 'fish sp.')

The non-possessibility (or marginal possessibility) of animal names makes them look somewhat like proper nouns. In fact, the animate-inanimate distinction in the pronoun system (cf. 4.1) ensures that animals receive the same pronominal forms as human beings. Examples like (53a-b) below seem to parallel the indirect possession cases with generic words illustrated in (52a-c) above for animals. In fact, while reading Tiriyó texts, one has the impression that animal names are not simple nouns, but really represent sometimes 'animal tribes', similar to e.g. **tarëno** 'Tiriyó', **waijana** 'Wayana', etc., and sometimes individuals, like personal names (cf. the animal texts in the Appendix). In this respect, it is interesting to notice that, in some stories, vocative terms for animals occurred (e.g. **iwa** 'iguana-Voc', corresponding to **iwana** 'iguana'); kinship terms are the only other group of nouns with vocative forms (cf. 4.3.3 for vocatives).

---

[19] One case was accepted by several speakers, but it turned out to be a case of lexicalization: the word **arimina** 'electric eel', when possessed, means 'cramp' (e.g. **ji-jarimina** 'my cramp', the first-person form). There may be other such cases.

(53a) **j-enpa-ne tarëno**
1-teach-A:Nzr Tiriyó
'My Tiriyó teacher.'

(b) **ji-pawana karaiwa**
1-friend Brazilian
'My Brazilian friend.'

The obligatorily possessed class includes, as expected, kinship terms (e.g., in the third-person form, **i-pipi** 'his/her older brother', **i-mama** 'his/her mother', etc.). Generic nouns, as was mentioned above, are lexemes such as **ekï** 'pet', **kaimo** 'game', or **otï** 'meat food', which can be used in possessive constructions to show the relationship between (as in (51a-c); cf. 10.2.1.3 for a list and further details). One conspicuous missing class is body parts, which languages frequently treat as obligatorily possessed; in Tiriyó, however, they can occur without a possessor (cf. below). The obligatorily possessed nominalizations are discussed in 4.2.2.1.

The non-possessible and the obligatorily possessed nouns listed above form relatively small groups. Most nouns belong to the intermediate class of *optionally possessible* nouns: e.g. body parts, certain relational terms (**pawana** 'friend', **moitï** 'relative, member of the same group', etc.), manufactures, plant names, etc.

It is tempting to propose a simple three-class analysis based on the existence of non-possessible, optionally possessible, and obligatorily possessed nouns. This analysis would nevertheless hide an important feature of Tiriyó possession: upon closer inspection, it becomes clear that the optionally possessible nouns are not possessible to the same degree. Some of them are much more frequently possessed than others, which suggests that the optionally possessed nouns occupy different positions along a continuum that goes from non-possessible to obligatorily possessed nouns. Let us consider some specific cases as illustrations of this idea.

Body parts are usually possessed. Only in certain specific contexts, such as (54b, d) below, is it possible to find non-possessed body parts (even incorporated body parts are in the third-person form; cf. 5.3.2). (54b, d) were accepted by all consulted speakers; many of them also accepted simple non-possessed forms (e.g. **ënu** ‘eye’) as being ‘just the name’ of the body part, but it was clear that they were more comfortable with possessed forms. Human relation words are in a similar situation: e.g. **pawana** ‘friend’ occurs almost always possessed (54e), but it can occur with the postposition **_me** ‘Attributivizer’, as in (54f), which means ‘friendly, peaceful’.

(54a)	**enu**	(b)	**ënu**	**apo**	(c)	**apë**	(d)	**ëpë**	**apo**
	3:eye:Pos		eye:Npos	like		3:arm:Pos		arm:Npos	like
	‘His/her eye.’		‘Like an eye.’			‘His/her arm.’		‘Like an arm.’	

(e)	**ji-pawana**	(f)	**pawana_me**
	1-friend:Pos		friend:Npos_Attr
	‘My friend.’		‘Friendly; peaceful.’

Manufactured and cultural items are as often possessed as they are non-possessed. Both forms occur frequently in various contexts.

(55a)	**kanawa**	(b)	**i-kanawa**	(c)	**ëwa**	(d)	**ewa**
	canoe:Npos		3-canoe:Pos		rope:Npos		3:rope:Pos
	‘A canoe.’		‘His/her canoe’		‘A rope.’		‘His/her rope.’

Plant names are usually non-possessed. Like animal names, they can also occur in a possessive construction with a generic noun (56a); unlike animal names, however, they can also be directly possessed (56b). Notice that the meaning of 'food', as in (56a), can only be obtained with the generic term **nnapï**; (56b) describes either a cashew tree that belongs to the hearer, or cashew fruits which s/he was carrying around (to sell, to take home, etc.). (56c-d) illustrate the same situation with **paaruru** 'banana' (which has an irregular possessed stem **japaruru**).

(56a) **ji-nnapï oroi**
1-fruit.food cashew
'My cashew (=food).'

(b) **ë-joroi**
2-cashew
'Your cashew (e.g. tree).'

(c) **ji-nnapï paaruru**
1-fruit.food banana
'My banana (=food).'

(d) **ë-japaruru**
2-banana
'Your banana.'

Elements of nature are almost always non-possessed. However, a few cases of possession did occur. (57a) refers not to the real moon, but to a drawing of it, made by the hearer. A different speaker offered (57b) as an alternative way of referring to the same drawing, but still accepted (57a). (57c), which is the first-person possessed form of **wei** 'sun; dry season', is an idiomatic way of saying 'my clock, my watch'.[20] Like plant names, the word **tuna** 'water, river' can occur in a possessive construction with a generic noun (**jokï** 'drink') to mean 'water for drinking' (57e); if the speaker wishes to refer to e.g. his bath water, or to the part of the river where s/he bathes, or where s/he lives, then a directly possessed form can be used ((57d); notice that **tuna** reduces to its length grade form **:na**).

---

[20] This form is typical of Missão Tiriós, an H-Tiriyó community in Brazil. At Kuwamarasumutu, a different H-Tiriyó community in Surinam, the word **oroisi** 'clock' (a borrowing from either Sranantongo or Dutch) is used instead.

(57a) **ë-nunnë**
2-moon
'Your moon.'

(b) **nunnë ë-nï-rï-hpë**
moon 2-O.act.Nzr-make-Pst.Pos
'Your made thing, a moon.'

(c) **ji-wei**
1-sun
'My clock/watch.'

(d) **jii-na**
1-water
'My water.'
(e.g. bathing)

(e) **ji-jokï tuna**
1-drink water
'My water (=drink).'

Thus, body parts, human relations, manufactured and cultural items, plant names, and elements of nature are all optionally possessible, but to different degrees. Fig. 4.2 shows their places along the *possessibility continuum.*

Figure 4.2
Nominal possessibility continuum.

Always	Very often	Often	Rarely	Never
- Kinship terms - Generic words - Nominalizers (**-ne, n-**)	- Body parts - Human relations - Nominalizers (**-∅, -to(po)**)	- Manufactures - Cultural items	- Plants - Elements of nature	- Pronouns - Proper nouns - Animals - Nominalizers (**i- -ke(tï), -në, t- -se(mï)**)

Fig. 4.2 represents an approximation of the actual distribution. There certainly are finer possessibility distinctions between the various semantic fields (body parts,

nominalizers, cultural items, elements of nature, etc.), and probably even between different words from the same semantic field.

The above continuum seems to be a better way of visualizing the situation in Tiriyó than categorial distinctions. Even the three-category analysis mentioned above, which is more detailed than traditional two-way distinctions such as possessible-non-possessible or obligatorily vs. optionally possessed, would, as was seen, obscure the rather impressive differences in possessibility between optionally possessible nouns. Of course, one could also multiply the number of classes; but such adding of epicycles is less appealing than the continuum analysis, which captures in a simpler way the correlation between the degree of possessibility and the semantics of the noun.

4.3.1.2. Person Markers. The five persons discussed in 3.3.1.2 (1, 2, 3, 1+2 and 1+3) correspond to four person-marking prefixes (since **anja** '1+3' is treated as a third person). The reflexive possessive (3R) prefix discussed in 3.3.1.3 also occurs, marking possession by the subject. The non-possessed ('0') form discussed in 3.3.1.1 exists for the nouns which are not obligatorily possessed.

The person markers have different allomorphs, depending on the form of the stem to which they attach; moreover, the stem may also undergo certain changes, depending on which person marker attaches to it. The relevant factors are listed below; Table 4.7 and the examples following it illustrate the patterns (notice that stems which are always possessed have no non-possessed '0' form).

(1) C- vs. V-initial stems: the prefixes **j-** '1', **k-** '1+2' and **t-** '3R' become **ji-**, **kï-**, **tï-** on C-inital stems, and **i-** '3' becomes **Ø-** on V-initial stems;

(2) quality of the first vowel of V-initial roots: **ë-** '2' assimilates to **a-** or **o-** on **a-** and **o-**initial stems;

(3) ablaut: the front grade occurs with the prefixes **j-** '1', **ë-** '2' and **i-/Ø-** '3', while the back grade occurs with **k-** '1+2' and **t-** '3R', and in the non-possessed form. This implies the changes **e** > **ë**, **aCë** > **ëCë** and **aCo** > **oCo** for stems which begin with **e**, **aCë** or **aCo**; cf. 2.6.1 for the mechanics of Tiriyó ablaut).

Table 4.7
The allomorphic pattern of person markers

	_C	_e	_o	_a	_aCë	_aCo
1	**ji-**	**j-**	**j-**	**j-**	**j-**	**j-**
2	**ë-**	**ë-**	**o-**	**a-**	**a-**	**a-**
1+2	**kï-**	**k+e > kë**	**k-**	**k-**	**k+a > kë**	**k+a > ko**
3	**i-**	**Ø-**	**Ø-**	**Ø-**	**Ø-**	**Ø-**
3R	**tï-**	**t+e > të**	**t-**	**t-**	**t+a > të**	**t+a > to**
0	**Ø-**	**e > ë**	**Ø-**	**Ø-**	**a > ë**	**a > o**

(58)	**nono**	**munu**	**jahta**	**wereena**	**suku**	**pata**	**kanawa**
	'land'	'blood'	'armpit'	'knee'	'urine'	'village'	'canoe'
1	**ji-nono**	**ji-munu**	**ji-jahta**	**ji-wereena**	**ji-suku**	**ji-pata**	**ji-kanawa**
2	**ë-nono**	**ë-munu**	**ë-jahta**	**ë-wereena**	**ë-suku**	**ë-pata**	**ë-kanawa**
1+2	**kï-nono**	**kï-munu**	**kï-jahta**	**kï-wereena**	**kï-suku**	**kï-pata**	**kï-kanawa**
3	**i-nono**	**i-munu**	**i-jahta**	**i-wereena**	**i-suku**	**i-pata**	**i-kanawa**
3R	**tï-nono**	**tï-munu**	**tï-jahta**	**tï-wereena**	**tï-suku**	**tï-pata**	**tï-kanawa**
0	**nono**	**munu**	**jahta**	**wereena**	**suku**	**pata**	**kanawa**

(59)	**ewa**	**otï**	**arï**	**apë**	**amoi**
	'rope'	'meat.food'	'contents'	'arm'	'finger nail'
1	**j-ewa**	**j-otï**	**j-arï**	**j-apë**	**j-amoi**
2	**ë-ewa**	**o-otï**	**a-arï**	**a-apë**	**a-amoi**
1+2	**k-ëwa**	**k-otï**	**k-arï**	**k-ëpë**	**k-omoi**
3	**ewa**	**otï**	**arï**	**apë**	**amoi**
3R	**t-ëwa**	**t-otï**	**t-arï**	**t-apë**	**t-omoi**
0	**ëwa**			**ëpë**	**omoi**

Stems with an initial long **aa** or **oo**, or with an initial diphthong, do not distinguish '0', '2' and '3' forms; those with an initial long **ee** shorten it in the second-person form, following phonotactic restrictions which do not allow a **ëee** sequence (cf. 2.6.4). The word **ëema** 'path' has a possessed stem of this kind, **eema**, but its non-possessed form has only one **ë** rather than two (i.e. **ëema**, not **ëëma**). **Eema** is thus the only stem with two back grade forms (cf. 2.6.1).

(60)	**oona**	**aaji**	**aohpï**	**eemi**	**ëema**
	'nose'	'necklace'	'parent-in-law'	'daughter'	'path'
1	**j-oona**	**j-aaji**	**j-aohpï**	**j-eemi**	**j-eema**
2	**oona**	**aaji**	**aohpï**	**ë-emi**	**ë-ema**
1+2	**k-oona**	**k-aaji**	**k-aohpï**	**k-ëëmi**	**k-ëëma**
3	**oona**	**aaji**	**aohpï**	**eemi**	**eema**
3R	**t-oona**	**t-aaji**	**t-aohpï**	**t-ëëmi**	**t-ëëma**
0	**oona**	**aaji**			**ëema**

Two stems have an irregular prefixless first-person form, in variation with a regular **ji**-marked alternative: **pïrëu** 'arrow', with **pïre** and **jii-re** for 'my arrow' (the change in the ending is also irregular; cf. 4.3.1.4 for other such cases), and **pa** 'grandson', with **ji-pa** and **parï** for 'my grandson'. These forms, together with the first-person dative postposition **wïja** 'to me' (cf. 7.1.1, 7.3.4.1), are probably remnants of an earlier first-person marker *∅- (cf. Meira 1998a:80, 93ff). In fact, **pïre** and **parï** occurred in stories told by older people; younger speakers have referred to them as 'old men's language', and explained them with the more regular forms **jiire** and **jipa**.

4.3.1.3. Reciprocal forms. The reciprocal/reflexive prefix introduced in 3.3.1.3 occurs on nouns to mark reciprocity, but only in two specific cases: with certain kinship and kinship-like terms ('relational' nouns), and in postpositional phrases. The attested allomorphs are listed below.

ë-	with **e**-initial stems	(**ë-** ~ **ëtë-** occurs in the postpositional cases)
ët-	with other **V**-initial stems	
ëës-	with **j**-adding stems	
ëi-	with other **C**-initial stems	(**ëi-** ~ **ëtëi-** occurs in the postpositional cases)

The number of 'relational' stems which occurred with the reciprocal prefix in the attested corpus is rather small; (61) lists them all, and sentence examples are given in (62). There may of course be other stems in this category which happened not to be attested (e.g. other kinship terms like **wëi** 'older sister'; cf. 12.3.1 for some general considerations on kinship terms), but their number must be rather small; this is not a productive process. Notice that words like **ëi-pipi** 'each other's older brother', **ët-akëmi** 'each other's younger sibling' (which appear to be nearly synonymous; cf. (62c-d)) and **ëi-wëri** 'each other's younger sister' are reminiscent of the cases of non-symmetrical reciprocity in postpositions mentioned in 7.1.3 (i.e. it is contradictory to say that A is B's older brother and B is A's older brother at the same time).

(61a)	**pipi**	'older brother'	→	**ëi-pipi**	'each other's older brother'
(b)	**akëmi**	'younger sibling'	→	**ët-akëmi**	'each other's younger sibling'
(c)	**wëri**	'younger sister'	→	**ëi-wëri**	'each other's younger sister'
(d)	**moitï**	'relative'	→	**ëi-moitï**	'each other's relative'
(e)	**pawana**	'friend'	→	**ëi-pawana**	'each other's friend'
(f)	**tïpï**	'continuation'	→	**ëi-tïpï**	'each other's continuation'

(62a) **irëme ëi-tïpï_me kït-a-ti**
thus Recp-continuation_Attr 1+2S_A-Cop-Col
'Thus we are continuations of each other (=i.e. we are linked in time).'

(b) **ëi-pawana_me kï-w-ei_ke**
Recp-friend_Attr 1+2-S_A-Cop_Inst
'Because we are friends.'

(c) **ët-akëmi-h_ton mëëjan**
Recp-yngr.sblng-Pos_Col 3AnMdCol
'Those guys are (each other's) siblings/brothers.'

(d) **ëi-pipi-h_ton kït-a-ti**
Recp-oldr.brthr-Pos_Col 1+2S_A-Cop-Col
'We are all (each other's) brothers.'

The cases of reciprocal nouns followed by a postposition are apparently much less constrained. (63a-f) illustrate the possibilities. The majority of the examples involve the postposition **_pë(kë)** 'about; busy with' (63b-f); they can always be used with a form of the copula, as in (63b). Notice that the allomorph **ëës-** occurs in (63a) with the **j**-adding stem **(j)omi** 'language', but that **ëi-** occurs win (63b) with the **j**-initial stem **jokï** 'drink'. An extra **ët-** can be added to the allomorphs **ë-** and **ëi-**, forming **ëtë-** and **ëtëi-** (63c-d), without any apparent change of meaning, but not to **ët-** or **ëës-** (***ëtët-** and ***ëtëës-** were considered incorrect; (63e, a)).

(63a) **ëës-omi-h_tae_ta** **kït-a-ti**
Recp-language-Pos_Perl_Neg 1+2-Cop-Col
'We do not speak the same language.' (Lit. 'We are not by the same language.')

(b) **ëi-jokï_pë** **kït-a-e**
Recp-drink:Pos_About 1+2-Cop-Cty
'We are busy with (=lit. 'about') each other's drinks.'

(c) **ëi-maja_pë, ëtëi-maja_pë** 'busy with each other's knives (**maja**)'
(d) **ë-ekï_pë, ëtë-ekï_pë** 'busy with each other's pets (**ekï**)'
(e) **ët-apëi_pë** 'busy with each other's seats (**apëi**)'
(f) **ëi-re_pë, ëtëi-re_pë** 'busy with each other's arrows (**(pï)re**)'

As in the case of reciprocal postpositions, one wonders whether the reciprocal prefix should not be considered one of the person markers. Notice that it occurs on the possessed form of a noun stem (cf. e.g. the **-h** in (63a), the coda grade of the possessive suffix **-(rï)**), and that it occupies the same slot as the person markers. However, their use is much more constrained than that of the person markers; they can only occur with postpositions. Consider (64) below, in which a reciprocal form as the direct object of a transitive verb was considered incorrect. There are no clear semantic reasons for that ((64) could have meant, 'we have seen each other's knives').[21]

(64) * **ëi-maja k-eene**
Recp-knife 1+2-see:Prs.Prf

Another possible idea is to see the reciprocal forms above as cases of incorporation of a noun stem by a reciprocal postposition: **ëi-pë** 'busy with each other' → **ëi-maja_pë** 'busy with each other's knives', lit. 'busy with each other, with respect to knives'. It is not clear that there would be any advantages in this analysis, especially since less syntactically constrained nominal reciprocal forms exist independently (i.e. the 'relational' terms mentioned above).

4.3.1.4. Irregular possessed stems. In addition to the regular and predictable stem changes caused by the prefixes **k-** '1+2' and **t-** '3R', which can be treated as morphophonological properties of these suffixes, there are irregular changes which are best viewed as properties of the stems. These stems are marked in the glossary (cf. Appendix).

4.3.1.4.1. Syllable-reducing stems. The first class of irregular stems contains those which follow the syllable reduction pattern. The non-possessed form has the full grade, while the possessed forms have one of the reduced grades, depending on the following consonant: the coda grade (**h**, **n**) before stops, and the length grade otherwise (cf. 2.6.2.1, for stem-initial syllable reduction).

---

[21] It is not unthinkable, however, that the present-day restrictions may not have existed in the past. As a diachronic hypothesis, the link between the reciprocal prefix and the person markers deserves further comparative investigation.

(65)	**(pï)tai** 'shoes'	**(si)pari** 'fan'	**(wï)wï** 'ax'	**(si)warapa** 'club'	**(pï)repa** 'leg; shin'	**(mï)ta** 'mouth'
1	**ji-htai**	**ji-hpari**	**jii-wï**	**jii-warapa**	**jii-repa**	**ji-nta**
2	**ë-htai**	**ë-hpari**	**ëë-wï**	**ëë-warapa**	**ëë-repa**	**ë-nta**
1+2	**kï-htai**	**kï-hpari**	**kïï-wï**	**kïï-warapa**	**kïï-repa**	**kï-nta**
3	**i-htai**	**i-hpari**	**ii-wï**	**ii-warapa**	**ii-repa**	**i-nta**
3R	**tï-htai**	**tï-hpari**	**tïï-wï**	**tïï-warapa**	**tïï-repa**	**tï-nta**
0	**pïtai**	**sipari**	**wïwï**	**siwarapa**	**pïrepa**	**mïta**

4.3.1.4.2. J-adding stems and alienability. The second class of irregular stems contains those which add an extra stem-initial **j** in their possessed form. This is exemplified in (66) below. Notice that **akëreu** 'disease', in addition to adding the stem-initial **j**, also occurs in its back grade **ëkëreu** in the non-possessed form (but not with the prefixes **k-** '1+2' and **t-** '3R'; the stem-initial **j** apparently 'blocks' the ablaut). A parenthetical **(j)** marks these stems.

(66)	**(j)omi** 'voice; language'	**(j)ako** 'mortar'	**ëikëëkë** 'wound'	**akëreu** 'disease'
1	**ji-jomi**	**ji-jako**	**ji-jëikëëkë**	**ji-jakëreu**
2	**ë-jomi**	**ë-jako**	**ë-jëikëëkë**	**ë-jakëreu**
1+2	**kï-jomi**	**kï-jako**	**kï-jëikëëkë**	**kï-jakëreu**
3	**i-jomi**	**i-jako**	**i-jëikëëkë**	**i-jakëreu**
3R	**tï-jomi**	**tï-jako**	**tï-jëikëëkë**	**tï-jakëreu**
0	**omi**	**ako**	**ëikëëkë**	**ëkëreu**

(67) A list of the **j**-adding noun stems attested to date.[22]

(j)aipï	'speed'	**(j)osi**	'rash, skin disease'
(j)akëreu	'disease'	**(j)o**	'carpentry tool'
(j)akusa	'needle'	**(j)omi**	'voice; words; language'
(j)ako	'mortar'	**(j)oroi**	'cashew'
(j)ankai	'comb'	**(j)oroisi**	'clock; watch'[23]
(j)arimina	'electric eel; cramp'	**(j)oroko**	'work'
(j)eripo	'stone for cooking cassava'	**(j)orontï**	'wax'
(i)ëikëëkë	'wound'	**(j)otono**	'cold; snot'
(j)ëmëinë	'thorn; thorny shrub'	**(ja)paruru**	'banana' (cf. next section)
(j)isireti	'razor blade'		

The stems listed in (67) include tools and cultural items, plant names,[24] and certain substances ('wax', 'snot'). To them, one might marginally add animal names (for which direct possession, although highly doubtful, included adding a stem-initial **j**; cf. **(j)arimina** 'electric eel; cramp', and 4.3.1.1). The semantics of these stems is compatible with that of 'alienably (i.e. non-inherently) possessed nouns': all of them refer to entities which are not seen as dependent on (i.e. as a part of, as an inherent possession of, as conceivable only in terms of) some other entity. Languages which distinguish alienable from inalienable stems would place the stems in (67) in the alienable category. In view of that, it would not be impossible to analyze the stems in Table 4.6 as forming the alienable noun class in Tiriyó, with **j-** (**∅-** on vowel-initial stems) as a marker of alienable possession.

---

[22] The postposition **(j)apo** is also **j**-adding; cf. 7.1.1.

[23] This borrowing, ultimately from Dutch *horloge*, is apparently limited to Surinam. In the Brazil villages, the possessed form of the word **wei** 'sun; dry season' is used instead (cf. (57c) above).

[24] Since not all vowel-initial plant names were checked, it is not necessarily true that they are all **j**-adding.

The reason why this analysis is not adopted here is that the **j**-adding class is relatively small, and does not include a series of stems which are semantically just as 'alienable' as any of those listed in Table (67) (e.g. **aaji** 'necklace', **erimakë** 'plate, dish', **ewa** 'rope'). Thus, alienability does not seem to be the common thread here. Given the currently available data, what can be said is that this **j** occurs on vowel-initial plant (and marginally animal) names, and on many (but not all) borrowings from Western languages: **(j)akusa**, **(j)isireti** from Portuguese *agulha* 'needle', *gilete* 'razor blade', **(j)oroko**, **(j)oroisi** from the creole languages of Surinam, ultimately from English *work* or Dutch *werk*, and Dutch *horloge* (**(j)o** probably belongs here as well, though its source is unknown); but **arakapusa** 'rifle' (Portuguese, Spanish *arcabuz*).[25]

4.3.1.4.3. Idiosyncratic cases. There are stems with idiosyncratic alternations that range from small segment changes to full suppletion. These are listed below, in order of increasing irregularity. Only the non-possessed and the third-person possessed forms are given. If the stem is reducing, its citation form, in parentheses, follows the third-person form.

---

[25] There is some comparative evidence that the 'prefix' **j** is actually the remnant of a more regular dependence marker (cf. the relator prefix **y-** [i.e. **j-**] which Gildea 1998:112ff reconstructed for Proto-Cariban as a marker of continguity to a preceding possessor / object / argument: it occurred between any possessor, nominal or prefixal, and the possessed stem). Meira 1998a:39 suggests that this prefix was lost in Tiriyó, except when it was followed by a (proto) **w** (compare e.g. Tiriyó **omi** with Wayana *(w)omi*; cf. also **oroko** 'work', a borrowing from one of the creole languages of Surinam [Sranantongo *wroko*, Ndyuka *wooko*, ultimately from English *work*). In one obligatorily possessed noun (the generic noun **jokï** 'drink'; cf. Wayana *wokï*), this **j** has apparently solidified as part of the stem, given the impossibility of obtaining a synchronic non-possessed stem ***okï**.

(68a)	**pïtïkï**	→	**i-hpïtïkï**		‘anus’
(b)	**paaruru**	→	**i-japaruru**		‘banana’[26]
(c)	**wïï**	→	**jii-wi**		‘cassava bread’
(d)	**pïrëu**	→	**ii-re**	**((pï)re)**	‘arrow; arrow cane’
(e)	**watë**	→	**i-wetï**		‘excrement’
(f)	**ërentë**	→	**erein**	**(erei(nï))**	‘smoke’
(g)	**tïpitë**	→	**i-tupi**		‘field, garden’[27]
(h)	**ërinë**	→	**eri**		‘clay; pot’
(i)	**wëitapi**	→	**ehke**	**(ehke(tï))**	‘hammock’

The lexical field of kinship is particularly rich in possessive irregularities, all listed below (the glosses are only approximative; cf. 12.3.1). Notice that, for several terms, the possessed stem changes unexpectedly from one person-marked form to another. (Since kinship terms never occurred without a possessor, no ‘0’ form is given). Smaller irregularities can be seen in the paradigms for ‘younger brother (female ego)’, in which the 2, 1+2 and 3R forms have diphthongs (**ëi, ïi**) instead of the expected long vowels (**ëë, ïï**) that occur on **i**-initial stems, and ‘brother-in-law-2’, in which the first-person form has no prefix. The stem for ‘grandson’, **pa**, which is regular, has a more conservative first-person form **parï** ‘my grandson’, in alternation with the regular **ji-pa**.

(69)	father	mother	older brother	older sister
1	**pahko**	**manko**	**pihko**	**wëiko**
2	**papa**	**mama**	**pipi**	**ëë-wëi**
1+2	**kï-papa**	**kï-mama**	**kï-pipi**	**ii-wëi**
3	**i-papa**	**i-mama**	**i-pipi**	**kïï-wëi**
3R	**tï-papa**	**tï-mama**	**tï-pipi**	**tïï-wëi**

---

[26] The allomorphs **paaruru** ~ **japaruru** ‘banana’ suggest that the long vowel of the non-possessed form probably results from the loss of an initial **a**, which was preserved in the possessed form. Thus, an original **j**-adding ***aparuru** [a.páá.ɽu.ɽu] becomes **paaruru** [páá.ɽu.ɽu].

[27] Some of these stems may contain old de-possessivizing suffixes. For instance, the **të**-final stems **watë**, **ërentë**, and **tïpitë** are reminiscent of the Kaxuyana suffix **-to**, which derives non-possessed stems from obligatorily possessed ones (Gildea, pers. comm., and the author’s own field data).

(70)	grandfather	grandmother	brother-in-law (1)	brother-in-law (2)
1	**tamo**	**nosi(npë)**	**konoka**	**piito**
2	**tamo**	**kuku**	**okono**	**ë-piito**
1+2	**kï-tamu**	**kïï-no(tï)**	**akono**	**kï-piito**
3	**i-tamu**	**ii-no(tï)**	**k-okono**	**i-piito**
3R	**tï-tamu**	**tïï-no(tï)**	**t-okono**	**tï-piito**

(71)	younger brother (female ego)
1	**ji-ikïïrï**
2	**ë-ikïïrï**
1+2	**kï-ikïïrï**
3	**i-ikïïrï**
3R	**tï-ikïïrï**

For some of the above paradigms, more regular forms were occasionally mentioned by some informants: e.g. **ji-tamu** and **ji-no(tï)** for 'my grandfather' and 'my grandmother'. They were attributed to 'younger speakers', and may represent a tendency toward regularization. Unfortunately, these more regular forms did not occur in the available corpus of spontaneous speech; their status needs further research.

4.3.1.5. Possessive Suffixes. In most Cariban languages, the possessed status of a stem is obligatorily marked by one of a group of possession-marking suffixes (**-rï**, **-tï**, **-nï**, **-∅**). The nominal subclasses defined by each suffix sometimes have a certain semantic coherence (e.g. **-nï** occurs on instruments and manufactured and cultural items) and sometimes not (e.g. **-tï** occurs on a small group of nouns without an obvious semantic link; cf. Derbyshire 1985:201 for Hixkaryana).

In Tiriyó, this system has been greatly eroded. There is no sign of a suffix **-nï**. The suffix **-tï** has apparently lexicalized as part of the root in a small number of cases, since it does not disappear in the non-possessed form of the root, and thus cannot be considered as part of the possession morphology synchronically.[28] The **-e(tï)** abstract nouns that correspond to **ma(ka)**-adjectives apparently belong here, too (cf. 6.1.1.1), and also stems such as **ehke(tï)**, the possessed suppletive allomorph of **wëitapi** 'hammock'.

(72a)	**i-pï(tï)**	→	(no non-possessed form)	'wife'
(b)	**epi(tï)**	→	**ëpi(tï)**	'medicine'
(c)	**irepe(tï)**	→	**repe(tï)**	'payment, reward'
(d)	**ihpo(tï)**	→	**ihpo(tï)**	'body hair'

The suffix **-(rï)** (**-(ru)** with stems ending in **u**) does occur on the overwhelming majority of the possessed stems. However, it is a reducing morpheme; since it is word-final, it occurs in its full grade only if a -C(CV) suffix or clitic follows.[29] If a different kind of suffix or clitic follows, it will occur in one of its reduced grades (the coda grade **-h**, or the length grade **-:**). If no suffix or clitic follows, it occurs in the zero grade. The latter is the most frequent case. On account of that, the few previous analyses of Tiriyó possession (my own initial manuscripts, and also Carlin 1997) did not notice its presence. (73a-d) below, however, clearly show its synchronic existence. Notice that **-(rï)** assimilates to a stem-final **u** by becoming **-(ru)** (73d; cf. 2.6.6).

---

[28] Traces of the former independence of the final **(tï)** can be found in certain stems derived from these roots, in which there is no sign of a final syllable: **t-ëpi-je** 'medicated', 'having taken medicine'; **tï-pï-je** 'married to a woman', 'having a wife', **tï-hpo-e** 'hairy'; **(i)repe-ntë** 'to give payment/reward'. There is one case in which the final **tï** is not a reducing syllable: **otï** 'meat food', **o-pa** 'give O meat food'.

[29] In emphatic contexts, it can occur without any following clitic or suffix: **ji-nmuku-ru!** 'oh, my son!' (a mother's lamentative cry used during the ritual mourning of her deceased son).

(73a) **ji-pawana-rï_ja**
1-friend-Pos_Dat
'To my friend.'

(b) **ji-pawana-h-ton**
1-friend-Pos-Col
'(All) my friends.'

(c) **ji-pataa_po**
1-village:Pos_Loc
'In my village.'

(d) **ji-nmuku-ru_ja**
1-son-Pos_Dat
'To my son.'

There are some clear cases of the **-Ø** suffix (i.e. words that can be possessed without any overt marking of possession such as **-(rï)**). The clearest monomorphemic roots are shown below. The stress pattern of the 1+2 forms of **petï** 'thigh', **wetï** 'excrement', and **(mï)ko** 'throat; palate' show no trace of length on the vowel preceding the possessor collective suffix **-ko(mo)**; with **pata** 'village' and **(mï)ta** 'mouth', however, the length grande of **-(rï)** is there.[30]

(74a) **kï-petï-kon** [kɨ.péɛ́.tɨ.kɔŋ]
1+2-thigh-P.Col
'Our thigh(s).'

(b) **kï-pataa-kon** [kɨ.páá.táá.kɔŋ]
1+2-village:Pos-P.Col
'Our village(s).'

(c) **kï-wetï-kon** [kɨ.ʋéé.tɨ.kɔŋ]
1+2-excrement-P.Col
'Our excrement(s).'

---

[30] Notice that **-(rï)** does not reduce to **h** when the following syllable starts with **p** or **k**; cf. 2.6.2.2.1 for this behavior of reducing **-rV** syllables in verb stems.

(d) **kï-nko-kon** [kɨ́ŋ.kɔ.kɔŋ]
1+2-throat-P.Col
'Our throat(s).'

(e) **kï-ntaa-kon** [kɨ́n.táá.kɔŋ]
1+2-mouth-P.Col
'Our mouth(s).'

The words in **-(tï)** mentioned above synchronically take the **-∅** suffix. In (75b), if there were a suffix **-(rï)** after the **-(tï)**, it should occur in its coda grade **-rï** (cf. (73a) above), thus yielding a sequence ***ji-pïtï-rï_ja** in (75b); but this is not the case. In (75c), **-(rï)** should occur in its length grade, which should be able to force the full grade of the stem **pï(tï)** 'wife', generating the sequence ***kï-pïtïï-kon**, but this is not what occurs.[31]

(75a) **ji-pï**
1-wife
'My wife.'

(b) **ji-pïtï_ja**
1-wife_Dat
'To my wife.'

(c) **kï-pïï-kon**
1+2-wife-P.Col
'Our wife/wives.'

Curiously enough, the first-person forms **pahko** 'my father' and **manko** 'my mother' do not take **-(rï)** (cf. the absence of the coda grade **h** in (76a-b) and of the full grade **-rï** in (76c-d)), while the other forms do (76e-f).[32]

(76a) **pahko-ton**
father-Col
'My fathers.'
(=my father and his brothers)

(b) **manko-ton**
mother-Col
'My mothers.'
(=my mother and her sisters)

(c) **pahko_ja**
1:father_Dat
'To my father.'

(d) **manko_ja**
1:mother_Dat
'To my mother.'

---

[31] One example involving the stem **otï** 'meat food' seems to place it in the **-∅** class: **k-otï_ton** 'our meat foods'. Note that, if it were present, the **-(rï)** suffix should occur in its coda grade **-h**, but ***k-otï-h_ton** was not accepted. It would be interesting to check if **otï**, as expected, cannot take **-hpë** (cf. next section).

[32] Considering that the kinship terms with first-person forms ending in **ko** all take **-npë** rather than **-hpë** (cf. next section), they all seem not to take **-(rï)**. This is an indication that the **ko**-forms may once have been non-possessed (possibly vocative).

(e) **i-papa-rï_ja**
3-father-Pos_Dat
'To his/her father.'

(f) **i-mama-rï_ja**
3-mother-Pos_Dat
'To his/her mother.'

Nominal stems derived from verbs with the suffixes **-ne** 'Actual A' and **-to(po)** 'Circumstance' also belong to the **-∅** class. This can be seen in (77a) by the absence of the coda grade **h** of **-(rï)** after **-ne,** which should occur in the environment of a following **t** (cf. e.g. (73b) above). As for **-to(po)**, if it could co-occur with **-(rï)**, then, in an environment which conditions the coda grade **h**, one would expect the form **-topo-h-ton** (i.e. the coda grade **h**, being a -C suffix, would condition the full grade of **-to(po)**). In (77b), however, what occurs is **-toh**, the coda grade of **-to(po)**, without any sign of a following **-(rï)**. Compare these two cases with (77c-d), which show that ∅-nominalized verbs can be followed by **-(rï)**.

(77a) **i-jokooroka-ne-ton**
3-gather-A.act.Nzr-Col
'Those who gather it;
gatherers of it.'

(77b) **ë-erih-toh-ton**
2-be.dangerous-Circ.Nzr-Col
'Things dangerous to you.'

(77c) **j-eremina**
1-sing:N
'My singing.'

(77d) **ji-eremina-rï_htao**
1-sing:N-Pos_Loc.Surr
'During (lit. in) my singing.'

The existence of a **-∅** class is formally reminiscent of an alienable-inalienable distinction. In fact, languages which make this distinction usually have the inalienable class as (morphosyntactically) unmarked. It would be tempting to see the **-∅** class as the inalienable category and thus unmarked. However, the class is too restricted, and the semantics of its known members too far from the expected alienable areas (three body parts: 'thigh', 'throat, palate', 'body hair'; 'wife'; 'payment/reward'; 'medicine'; and agent and circumstance nominalizations) for this hypothesis to be seriously entertained.

Some cases of synchronic variation were observed. Certain words occurred both with and without **-(rï)** (e.g. (78a-b); both forms in each example were produced by a younger speaker). Such cases suggest that the possession classes are becoming unstable by means of the loss of the non-zero grades of the possessive suffix **-(rï)**.

(78a) **kï-munu-kon** / **kï-munuu-kon**
1+2-blood-P.Col 1+2-blood:Pos-P.Col
'Our blood.'

(b) **i-pawana-rï_ja** / **i-pawana_ja**
3-friend-Pos_Dat 3-friend_Dat
'To his/her friend.'

In sum, the only productive possessive suffix is **-(rï)**. More often than not, possessed words are not followed by C(CV)-initial suffixes or clitics, so that **-(rï)** occurs in its zero grade. Adding to this the symptoms of incipient loss of **-(rï)** described above, one cannot avoid the impression that the average speaker probably relies more on the presence or absence of a person-marking prefix, or in the front and back ablaut grades, when they exist, than on the presence of **-(rï)** to distinguish a possessed from a non-possessed form of a given stem.[33]

---

[33] Cf. for instance languages like German, in which case marking is mostly done via postpositions and the forms of the articles, with the few remaining nominal declension suffixes having very little importance.

4.3.1.5.1. Past possession. Cariban languages usually mark the cases of 'expired relations' between two nouns with specific suffixes on the possessed stem (the 'past possession markers'). Their semantic effect is the indication that the relation which used to hold between the two nouns, whatever it was, is no longer valid. In Tiriyó, the past suffix **-npë/-hpë** has precisely this effect. The two variants distribute as follows:

(a) **-(rï)** class stems take **-hpë**, which can be followed by **-(rï)** in the appropriate conditioning environment.[34]

(79a) **ji-pakoro-hpë**
1-house-Pst
'My ex-house.'

(b) **ji-pawana-hpë-(rï)_ja**
1-friend-Pst(-Pos)_Dat
'To my ex-friend.'

(b) **-∅** class stems take **-npë**:

(80a) **ji-pïtï-npë**
1-wife-Pst
'My ex-(or deceased) wife.'

(b) **j-epitï-npë**
1-medicine-Pst
'My former medicine.'

(c) **j-ehketï-npë**
1-hammock-Pst
'My former hammock.'

(d) **pahko-npë**
1:father-Pst
'My late father.'

(e) **j-arimika-ne-npë**
1-raise-A.Nzr-Pst
'The one which raised me.'

(f) **j-arimika-topo-npë**
1-raise-C.Nzr-Pst
'The way I was raised.'

Any attempts at using **-hpë** instead of **-npë** in (80a-f) are consistently refused. In fact, this property (the capacity of taking **-npë**, but not **-hpë**, when possessed) is probably a good test for membership in the **-Ø** class. Compare (80e-f) above with (81a-b), Ø-nominalizations that belong to the **-(rï)** class and thus must take **-hpë**:

---

[34] Even in such environments, **-(rï)** is optional; (79b) can occur as **ji-pawana-hpë_ja**, without the **-(rï)**.

(81a) **i-konka-hpë** (* **i-konka(-rï)-npë**)
3-pierce:N-Pst
'His/her past piercing; the one who was pierced/vaccinated.'

(b) **ii-të-hpë** (* **ii-të(-rï)-npë**)
3-go:N-Pst
'His/her former going; the one who went.'

Consider also the kinship terms in (82a-d), with the irregular first- and second-person forms taking **-npë** while the third-person and first-person dual forms take **-hpë**. More regular terms (82e) take only **-hpë**. The word for 'wife', **pï(tï)** (82f), belongs to the **-Ø** class and thus takes **-npë** in all its forms.[35]

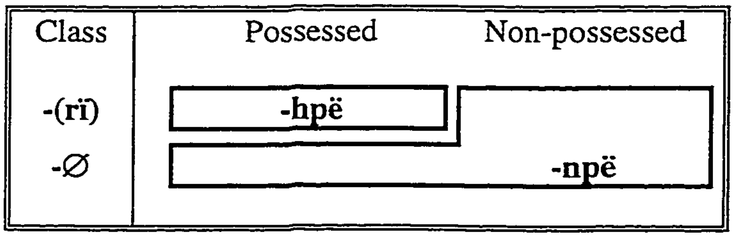
(82a)	**manko-npë**	'my ex-mother'	(b)	**pahko-npë**	'my ex-father'
	mama-npë	'your ex-mother'		**papa-npë**	'your ex-father'
	i-mama-hpë	'his/her ex-mother'		**i-papa-hpë**	'his/her ex-father'
	kï-mama-hpë	'our ex-mother'		**kï-papa-hpë**	'our ex-father'
(c)	**pihko-npë**	'my ex-older brother'	(d)	**wëiko-npë**	'my ex-older sister'
	pipi-npë	'your ex-older brother'		**wëi-npë**	'your ex-older sister'
	i-pipi-hpë	'his/her ex-older brother'		**i-wëi-hpë**	'his/her ex-older sister'
	kï-pipi-hpë	'our ex-older brother'		**kï-wëi-hpë**	'our ex-older sister'
(e)	**ji-nmuku-hpë**	'my ex-son'	(f)	**ji-pïtï-npë**	'my ex-wife'
	ë-nmuku-hpë	'your ex-son'		**ë-pïtï-npë**	'your ex-wife'
	i-nmuku-hpë	'his/her ex-son'		**i-pïtï-npë**	'his ex-wife'
	kï-nmuku-hpë	'our ex-son'		**kï-pïtï-npë**	'our ex-wife'

---

[35] One example involving the word **munkë** 'offspring, descendants' suggests that it is also a member of the **-Ø** class: **kï-munkë-npë-kon** 'our future descendants' (cf. (12) in 4.2.1.1 above).

Considering that **-npë** can also occur with all non-possessed stems, regardless of their possession class (as was seen in 4.2.1.1), the distribution of the two Pst suffixes can be represented as in Fig. 4.3.

Figure 4.3
Distribution of the past suffixes **-npë** and **-hpë**.



Given the ongoing breakdown of the possession classes mentioned in the previous section, the occurrence of exceptions to the above distributional rule is not surprising. In (83a-b) below, both noun stems (**pakoro** 'house' and **maja** 'knife') belong to the **(rï)** class and should take only **-hpë**.

(83a) **ji-pakoro-hpë / ji-pakoro-npë**
1-house:Pos-Pst 1-house:Pos-Pst
'My ex-house; the ruins of my house.'

(b) **ji-maja-hpë / ji-maja-npë**
1-knife:Pos-Pst / 1-knife:Pos-Pst
'My ex-knife; my broken knife.'

(c) **kï-tamu-ru-npë**
1+2-grandfather-Pos-Pst
'Our (late?) grandfather.'

At first sight, these forms suggest the existence of a contrast between **-npë** and **-hpë**. Though this may eventually happen, if the loss of **-(rï)** continues to its completion (with -

hpë probably assuming the semantics of 'past possession', and **-npë** the meaning of 'old, degraded'), the following facts make a synchronic contrast seem unlikely:

(a) ∅ class nouns simply cannot take **-hpë**, and **-(rï)** class nominalizations cannot take **-npë** (cf. (80a-f), (81a-b)); there is no possibility of a contrast here.

(b) Examples like (83a-b) cause suspicious reactions in Tiriyó speakers. Some consider the **-npë** forms impossible and deny that anyone uses them; others attribute them to 'speakers from other villages or tribes'. Some say that the **-npë** forms are possible, but less good. Few people felt comfortable with them, and only in elicitation.

(c) Examples like (83c) were accepted by all consulted speakers, and sometimes spontaneously produced. However, besides involving only a handful of kinship terms, the semantics is surprisingly different (the grandfather in (83c) is not necessarily dead, or 'degraded' in any sense; rather, the **-npë** seems to be adding a touch of respect). It is not clear that this is the past **-npë** (cf. 12.3.1).

4.3.2. Number. The general marker of the collective form of a nominal stem is the suffix **-to(mo)**:

(84a)	**tonoro**	'bird'	→	**tonoro-ton**	'(all the) birds'
(b)	**panpira**	'book'	→	**panpira-ton**	'(all the) books'
(c)	**wëri**	'woman'	→	**wëri-ton**	'(all the) women'
(d)	**tëpu**	'stone'	→	**tëpu-ton**	'(all the) stones'
(e)	**tarëno**	'Tiriyó'	→	**tarëno-ton**	'(all the) Tiriyó'

There are three exceptional cases, which take different suffixes, **-sa(mo)**, **-ja(mo)** (already known from pronominal collectives; cf. 4.1.2), and **-hti(i)**. A fourth exception has an unexpected stem-final **n** before the suffix **-to(mo)** (85d, with the first-person prefix **ji-**). Notice that these cases involve a certain degree of lexicalization, since **-to(mo)** can be added to the plural forms (which, in the case of 'grandfathers' and 'children', happens frequently).[36]

(85a)	**tamu**	'grandfather; old man'	→	**tamu-san, tamu-san-ton**	'ancestors'
(b)	**notïpë**	'grandmother; old woman'	→	**notï-jan, notï-jan-ton**	'old women'
(c)	**mure**	'child'	→	**mure-hti, mure-htii-ton**	'children'
(d)	**pa**	'grandchild'	→	**ji-pan-ton**	'my grandchildren'

The collective suffix **-to(mo)** does not necessarily imply a multiplicity of equivalent individual entities. It can also denote a group which is characterized with respect to a certain individual entity, as in (86), which implies a group of people often seen together around Sérgio.

(86) **Sesu-ton**
Sérgio-Col
'Sérgio's people (family; friends; 'gang'; etc.)'

On possessed nouns, **-to(mo)** is still used to mark the collective of the possessed stem (87a). For the collective of the possessor, the suffix **-ko(mo)**[37] is used (87b). If both the possessor and the possessed stem are collective, then these two suffixes merge into the form **-kontoko(mo)** (87c).

---

[36] The word **munkë** 'offspring, descendants' is a clear example of a lexicalized collective form (corresponding to **eemi** 'daughter' and **nmuku** 'son', which can also take **-to(mo)**.)

[37] As was mentioned in 7.1.1, when followed by the desiderative postposition **_se**, the suffix **-ko(mo)** can occur in its full grade, in its reduced grade, or in a special irregular form **-koe**:

(87a) **ë-pawana-h-ton**
2-friend-Pos-Col
'(All) your friends.'

(b) **ë-pawanaa-kon**
2-friend:Pos-P.Col
'The friend of (all) of you.'

(c) **ë-pawanaa-kontokon**
2-friend:Pos-PP.Col
'(All) the friends of (all) of you.'

The fact that almost all nouns take **-(rï)** when possessed implies that **-ko(mo)** is almost always preceded by a long vowel. This fact has lead to previous analysis of **-ko(mo)** as having a lengthening effect (e.g. a 'floating mora') that automatically affects the preceding stem-final vowel. (87a, c) above are, of course, counterarguments to this hypothesis. Given, however, that the overwhelming majority of noun stems belong to the **-(rï)** class, **-ko(mo)** may end up, as a side effect of the loss of **-(rï)**, having precisely this lengthening effect (thus becoming **-:ko(mo)**).

4.3.3. Vocatives. Vocative is not a pervasive category in the Tiriyó nominal system. However, certain kinship terms do have a special vocative form. As can be seen below,

---

(a) **ë-pawanaa-komo_se_w-a-e**
2-friend:Pos-P.Col_Desid_$1S_A$-Cop-Cty
'I want/need you all's friend(s).'

(b) **ë-pawanaa-kon se w-a-e**
2-friend:Pos-P.Col Desid $1S_A$-Cop-Cty
'I want/need you all's friend(s).'

(c) **ë-pawanaa-koe_w-a-e**
2-friend-P.Col:Desid_$1S_A$-Cop-Cty
'I want/need you all's friends.'

there is an interesting correlation between a ‘reduced’ vocative form, and the presence of the suffix **-ko** in the first-person form. The vocative of the other kinship terms coincides with the first person form (cf. 12.3.1).

(88a)	**tamo**	‘my grandfather’	→	**tamo**	‘grandfather!’
(b)	**noosi(npë)**	‘my grandmother’	→	**noosi**	‘grandmother!’
(c)	**pahko**	‘my father’	→	**pa(a)**	‘father!’
(d)	**manko**	‘my mother’	→	**ma(a)**	‘mother!’
(e)	**pihko**	‘my older brother’	→	**pi(i)**	‘older brother!’
(f)	**wëiko**	‘my older sister’	→	**wëi**	‘older sister!’

For spouses, there are a few address formulas: **mi**, **minko**, **ae**, **aenpë**, which can be used both by a woman to refer to her husband (**i-njo**) and by a man to refer to his wife (**i-pï(tï)**). They look more like endearment terms (‘darling’) than real vocatives.

Certain terms are used to address people, regardless of the existence of a true kinship relation between the speaker and the hearer. Thus, an older man can be addressed as **tamo**, or an older woman as **noosi**. For younger people, the words **paapotï** ‘girl! daughter!’ and **muupiro** ‘boy! son!’ are frequently used; they look more like general terms of address than specific vocative forms of **j-eemi** ‘my daughter’ and **ji-nmuku** ‘my son’. Finally, men address other men of roughly the same age as **jako**, a term apparently related to **akono** ‘brother-in-law’, while women address other women of roughly the same age as **kori** or **korinpë**. A man cannot address a woman as **kori**, nor can a woman address a man as **jako**, without causing general hilarity. In such situations, the speaker must use the addressee's name, some other kinship term (e.g. **ji-wëri** 'my younger sister! (male ego)') , or a more neutral word (e.g. **kïrï** 'man!').

The full grade of the collective suffix **-to(mo)** (and presumably of **-ko(mo)** and **-kontoko(mo)** as well, though no examples occurred in the available corpus) can have a vocative value:

(89a) **ji-wëri-h-ton**
1-yngr.sis-Pos-Col
'My younger sisters.'

(b) **ji-wëri-h-tomo**
1-yngr.sis-Pos-Col
'Younger sisters!'

Finally, in mythical stories with animal characters, certain special vocative forms of animal names occurred; the observed cases are listed below. Notice that most cases are formed by the loss of the final syllable of the non-vocative form. A special generic vocative **jai**, apparently equivalent to **jako**, also occurred in these stories.

(90a) **aware** 'opossum' → **awa** 'opossum!'
(b) **iwana** 'iguana' → **iwa** 'iguana!'
(c) **kurija** 'turtle (sp.)' → **kuri** 'turtle!'

5. VERBS

Of all Tiriyó lexical classes, the verbal class is the easiest to characterize. A number of different grammatical markers indicating person, number, tense-aspect-modality (cf. 5.4), as well as a number of derivational affixes (cf. 5.3) are exclusive to verbs. The same can be said about the participial or **-se** forms (cf. 5.4.3.1.3), including the negative form (the negative marker **-sewa** only occurs on verbs; the particle **_ta(ike)** [cf. 9.1.4] is used with other lexical classes). These morphological properties are so salient that there can be no doubts about the status of a given stem. Although there are, as could be expected, less and more prototypical verbs, the difference between them lies in details (for instance, certain verbs are semantically incompatible with speech act participants and thus can only be conjugated in the third person: e.g. **ahta** 'to drip', **kaarapa(mï)** 'to ferment', etc.), or in how regular they are (cf. e.g. 5.4.4 on the forms of the copula **ei**).

The verbal class, as defined by these morphological properties, corresponds very accurately to the expected set of 'less time-stable' concepts (cf. Givón's 1984:51ff). Most of the expected notions are found in this class. One notable, but not surprising, exception is that of the 'experiencer' predicates: 'want', 'believe', 'hate', 'know', 'not know', 'be afraid' etc. are postpositions, not verbs (cf. 7.3.3). The following list is a sample of verb stems, including transitive (1a-f) and intrasitive (S_A: 1g-j, S_O: 1k-o) stems. To differentiate transitive from intransitive verbs, the glosses of the former will include an O, making reference to the existence of an O participant. (For the **[t]** in **[t]wë** 'to shoot', cf. 5.1.3).

(1a)	**pahka**	‘break O’	(f)	**ona(mï)**	‘hide O’	(k)	**këhtu(mu)**	‘shout’
(b)	**ewe(tï)**	‘feed O’	(g)	**epï**	‘bathe’	(l)	**potïna**	‘whistle’
(c)	**pono(pï)**	‘tell O’	(h)	**ëturu**	‘talk, advise’	(m)	**eerana**	‘laugh’
(d)	**[t]wë**	‘shoot O’	(i)	**ëënï(kï)**	‘sleep’	(n)	**anota**	‘fall’
(e)	**ene**	‘see O’	(j)	**ëësena**	‘cry, weep’	(o)	**tunta**	‘arrive’

Of all Tiriyó lexical classes, the verbal class is the richest in morphological possibilities. Before looking at all the details, it is worthwhile to have a general overview. This is the purpose of Fig. 5.1, which illustrates the structure of the verb word. The innermost layer is the *root* (not necessarily a verb root). The various layers of derivational morphology, enclosed by the double line, form verb *stems*, to which either inflectional morphology (illustrated by the outer layers) or class-changing derivational morphology can be applied. Since Fig. 5.1 schematizes the verb word, it only displays inflectional morphology. To a complete verbal word, external reduplication can be applied at the left edge; internal reduplication, however, presents structural problems (cf. 2.6.3).

Figure 5.1
Overall structure of the Tiriyó verb word.

- person - **t(ï)-** ‘Remote Past’	**w-** ‘S_A’ (class marker)	Detransitivizer (**ë-** / **ët-** / **e-** / ...)	Incorporated Noun	**ROOT**	Verbalizers (**-ta**, **-ma**, **-ntë**, **-htë**...)	Transitivizers (**-nï(pï)**, **-ka**, ...)	Cessative **-ke(pï)** Causative **-po**	Tense-aspect-number	Evid. (**-e**, **-(në)**)

5.1. Stem allomorphy. Verb stems undergo various kinds of allomorphic changes when they take part in certain morphological processes. Some of these changes are quite predictable and regular (e.g. ablaut), others are quite unpredictable and idiosyncratic (e.g. **t**-adding stems), and some are intermediate (e.g. syllable reduction). The following sections describe the cases which have been identified thus far.

5.1.1. Ablaut. Initial-vowel alternations in which **e**, **aCë** and **aCo** allomorphs (the *front grades*) correspond to **ë**, **ëCë** and **oCo** allomorphs (the *back grades*) are a pervasive and highly regular phenomenon in Tiriyó morphology (cf. 2.6.1). Most verbal morphological processes occur on the front grade of a stem. The processes which condition the back grade are:

(a) the person-marking prefix **k-** '1+2O', '12AO';

(b) the prefix **t-** of the **t- -se** past;

(c) the 'objectless' supine and negative forms.

Here are some illustrative examples:

(2a)	**eta** 'hear O'	→	**k-ëta**	's/he heard us', 'I heard you / you heard me'
			t-ëta-e	'heard'
			ëta-e	'in order to hear'
			ëta-ewa	'not (capable of) hearing'
(b)	**apë(i)** 'catch O'	→	**k-ëpëi**	's/he caught us', 'I caught you / you caught me'
			t-ëpëë-se	'caught'
			ëpëë-se	'in order to catch'
			ëpëë-sewa	'not (capable of) catching'
(c)	**apotoma** 'help O'	→	**k-okopotoma**	's/he helped us', 'I helped you / you helped me'
			t-opotoma-e	'helped'
			opotoma-e	'in order to help'
			opotoma-ewa	'not (capable of) helping'

In addition to that, certain deverbal forms (**-të** 'potential A adverbializer' [6.2.2.1], **-në** 'Generic Infinitive' [4.2.2.1.4]) also require the back grade form of the stem:[1]

(3a) **eeka** 'bite O' → **ëëka-të** 'capable of biting'
(b) **eerana** 'laugh' → **ëërana-në** 'laughing'

5.1.2. Syllable-reducing stems. The synchronic pattern of syllable reduction, according to which certain stems have several forms (*grades*) differing by one syllable has been described in 2.6.2. To recapitulate briefly, the syllable that differentiates the grades (the *reducing syllable*, either the first or the last of the stem) can occur as a full syllable, or then reduce to one of three possible forms: a single consonant (**h**, if the non-reduced syllable starts with a stop, **r** or s; **n**, if it starts with a nasal), lengthening of the preceding vowel, or nothing at all. The allomorph of the stem in which the full syllable occurs is the *full grade*; the others (the *reduced grades*) are the *coda grade* (in which the syllable occurs as **h** or **n**), the *length grade* (in which the reducing syllable occurs as vowel lengthening), and the *zero grade* (in which the reducing syllable is dropped). The occurrence of the different grades is conditioned by affixes of different syllabic structures (cf. 2.6.2 for details and examples). In cited forms, the reducing syllable is written in parentheses.

If the reducing syllable is stem-final, the process is very regular, and was described in 2.6.2.2.1; suffice it to mention here that stems ending in **r**-initial syllables are not predictable (some reduce and others do not), and that there are two verbs, **e(i)** 'be' and

---

[1] Of course, most possessible verbal nominalizations (e.g. **-to(po)**, **-∅**) have a corresponding back-grade non-possessed form (and also with the possessor-marking prefixes **k-** '1+2' and **t-** '3R'). This, however, is considered as a purely nominal phenomenon: these are the back grade forms of the nominalizations, not back-grade verbal stems undergoing nominalization (cf. 3.3.1.1, 4.3.1.2).

apë(i) 'catch', in which the final **i**, historically derived from a full syllable ***ci**, behaves as a reducing syllable (e.g. for **e(i)**, the full grade is **ei**, the coda grade **eh**, the length grade **ee**; there is no zero grade). When necessary, the terms CV-reducing, NV-reducing, RV-reducing and I-reducing are used to make reference to the nature of the reducing syllable.

If the reducing syllable is stem-initial, the full grade only occurs when no prefixes are added. Since most verb forms have at least one prefix, the cases in which a stem-initial full grade would occur are indeed very rare. Only adverbs derived with the suffix **-të** 'potential A adverbializer' (cf. 6.2.2.1), non-possessed nominalizations (i.e. non-possessed forms of possessible nominalizations, or else non-possessible nominalizations; cf. 4.2.2.1), and the objectless supine and negative forms (cf. 5.4.3.1.1, 5.4.3.1.3) have no prefixes on them, and all these forms are rather unfrequent.[2] (4) compares the **-të** form of some of these verbs to their third-person form in the (Ø-marked) immediate past.

(4a) **ni-htarënma** 's/he made O worry' / **pïtarënma-të** 'worrisome'
(b) **nii-rïïma** 's/he bad-mouthed O' / **wïrïïma-të** 'who spreads rumors'
(c) **nii-karauma** 's/he made O angry' / **wïkarauma-të** 'infuriating'

Judging by the reduced grades that co-occur with the third-person prefix **ni-**, it would seem that cases of stem-initial syllable reduction can be found even if prefixless forms are not available: if a given stem starts with a consonant cluster (**ht** in (4a)), or lengthens the final vowel of a prefix (as in (4b-c)), then it will have a full syllable in one of its prefixless forms. However, this was not always found to be the case:

---

[2] It is probable that the third-person form of the hypothetical (**-i**) form of the verb (cf. 5.4.1.3.5), mentioned in the following section as one of the environments in which **t**-adding verb stems occur with the **t-**, would also condition the full grade of stem-initial reducing syllables. Unfortunately, no relevant examples occurred in the available corpus.

(5a)	**ni-hkërënma**	's/he harassed O'	/	**kërënma-të**	'who harasses'
(b)	**nii-sika**	's/he removed O'	/	**sika-të**	'who removes (well)'
(c)	**nii-suka**	's/he washed O'	/	**suka-të**	'who washes (well)'

Considering the low frequency of the prefixless verb forms, it would seem that the initial reducing syllable of these verb stems is currently being lost. The fact that some fluctuations were observed (other speakers produced the forms **ihtarënma-të** and **karauma-të** and considered them equivalent to (4a) and (4c)) offers additional evidence in this direction. For this reason, these verb stems are listed in the glossary (cf. Appendix) in their full grade form only when it is known (e.g. **(pï)tarënma**), and notes are added to signal that the full grade is very rare and tends to disappear.

5.1.3. T-adding stems. Certain verb stems have an unexpected prefix **t-** (**tï-**, if they are consonant-initial) in the following forms, without any change in meaning:

(a) nominalized forms without a preceding possessor (cf. 4.2.2.1);

(b) second-person imperative forms without a preceding object (cf. 5.4.2.1);

(c) third-person (prefixless) hypothetical forms (with the suffix **-i**; cf. 5.4.1.3.5);[3]

(d) supine (cf. 5.4.3.1.1) and indefinite negative (cf. 5.4.3.1.3) forms.[4]

---

[3] Presumably, the same is true for the other non-factual forms (e.g. the incredulitive and admonitive forms), but the necessary examples did not occur in the available corpus.

[4] The verb stem **ëe(pï)** has an irregularity that looks related: it takes an unexpected **t-** prefix in its negative (**t-ëe-sewa**, **t-ee-sewa**; cf. 5.4.3.1.3) and 'Actual S' nominalized (**t-ëeh-ke(tï)**; cf. 4.2.2.1.3) forms. Note that these are not the same as (a-d) above.

The **t**-adding stem **[t]ënë** 'eat O (meat)' can be used as an illustrative example. (6a-c) show a paradigm with the hypothetical inflection (including forms with the first- and second-person prefixes **w-** and **m-**, and the irrealis particle **_mo**), (6d-f) have imperative forms, (6g-j) have nominalizations, (6k-l) have supine forms, and (6m) has an indefinite negative form. Notice that, in (6g, i), the **t-** cannot be the third-person reflexive prefix, since the A participant is a first person.

(6a)	**w-ënë-i_mo**	'I would eat / have eaten'	(d)	**t-ënë-kë!**	'eat it!'
(b)	**m-ënë-i_mo**	'you would eat / have eaten'	(e)	**t-ënë-ta!**	'go eat it!'
(c)	**t-ënë-i_mo**	's/he would eat / have eaten'	(f)	**ootï ënë-kë!**	'eat your meat!'

(g) **t-ënë_se_w-a-e**
t-eat.meat:N_Desid_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'I want to eat meat.'

(h) **j-otï ënë_se_w-a-e**
1-meat eat.meat:N_Desid_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'I want to eat my meat food.'

(i) **sen_po_w-a-e t-ënë-too_me**
3InPx_Loc_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty t-eat.meat-Circ.Nzr_Attr
'I am here in order to eat meat.'

(j) **sen_po_w-a-e j-otï ënë-too_me**
3InPx_Loc_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty 1-meat.food eat.meat-Circ.Nzr_Attr
'I am here in order to eat my meat food.'

(k) **mërë_pona wï-të-e t-ënë-e**
3InMd_Dir 1S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty t-eat.meat-Sup
'I am going over there to eat meat.'

(l) **mërë_pona wï-të-e j-otï ënë-e**
3InMd_Dir 1S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty 1-meat.food 3:eat.meat-Sup
'I am going over there to eat my meat food.'

(m) **t-ënë-ewa_w-a-e**
t-eat.meat-Neg_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'I do not eat meat.'

If the **t**-adding stem is consonant-initial, the extra element is a full syllable **tï-**. In addition, when a person-marking prefix occurs, its final vowel is **ï** instead of **i** (i.e. **wï-**, **mï-**, etc. instead of the usual **wi-**, **mi-**, etc.).[5] Aside from **t**-adding stems, only three other intransitive verbs, **të[mï]** 'go', and **ka** 'say', have this effect (cf. 5.4.1.1). The stem **[t]pï** 'bathe O' is used in the examples below, which parallel the ones given above with **[t]ënë** 'eat O (meat)'.

(7a) **wï-pï-i_mo** 'I would bathe / have bathed'
(b) **mï-pï-i_mo** 'you would bathe / have bathed'
(c) **tï-pï-i_mo** 's/he would bathe / have bathed'

(d) **tï-pï-kë!** 'bathe it!'
(e) **tï-pï-ta!** 'go bathe it!'
(f) **ëekï pï-kë!** 'bathe your pet!'

(g) **tï-pï_se_w-a-e**
t-bathe:N_Desid_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'I want to bathe (something).'

(h) **j-ekï pï_se_w-a-e**
1-pet bathe:N_Desid_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'I want to bathe my pet.'

(i) **sen_po_w-a-e** **tï-pï-too_me**
3InPx_Loc_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty **t**-bathe-Circ.Nzr_Attr
'I am here in order to bathe (something).'

(j) **sen_po_w-a-e** **j-ekï** **pï-too_me**
3InPx_Loc_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty 1-pet bathe-Circ.Nzr_Attr
'I am here in order to bathe my pet.'

(k) **mërë_pona** **wï-të-e** **tï-pë-e**
3InMd_Dir 1S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty **t**-bathe-Sup
'I am going over there to bathe (something).'

(l) **mërë_pona** **wï-të-e** **j-ekï** **pë-e**
3InMd_Dir 1S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf 1-pet bathe-Sup
'I am going over there to bathe my pet.'

(m) **tï-pë-ewa_w-a-e**
t-bathe-Neg_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'I do not (know how to) bathe (something).'

---

[5] Because of this, one might want to analyze these stems as **ï**-initial rather than as C-initial (i.e. **[t]ïpï** 'bathe O', **[t]ïrï** 'do, make O' instead of **[tï]pï**, **[tï]rï**). However, since there are forms in which the whole **tï** syllable is dropped, without the **ï** being retained (7f, h, j), the consonant-initial analysis is preferred.

For the Hypothetical forms, the nominalizations without a preceding possessor and the imperatives without a preceding object, there was general agreement among speakers. In the cases with a preceding object or possessor, however, not all speakers left the **t(ï)-** element off; to some of them, (7f, h, j) were as good as (8a-c) below.[6] Note also that the **t(ï)-** element cannot in general be characterized as occurring on 'objectless' forms, since forms that have no O-marking prefixes (as the **-të** adverbialization in (8e-f)) do not have any **t(ï)-**.

(8a) **ë-ekï tï-pï-kë!**
2-pet **t**-bathe-Imper
'Bathe your pet!!'

(b) **j-ekï tï-pï_se_w-a-e**
1-pet **t**-bathe:N_Desid_1S$_{\text{A}}$-Cop-Cty
'I want to bathe my pet.'

(c) **sen_po_w-a-e j-ekï tï-pï-too_me**
3InPx_Loc_1S$_{\text{A}}$-Cop-Cty 1-pet **t**-bathe-Circ.Nzr_Attr
'I am here in order to bathe my pet.'

(d) **mërë_pona wï-të-e j-ekï tï-pë-e**
3InMd_Dir 1S$_{\text{A}}$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty 1-pet **t**-bathe-Sup
'I am going over there to bathe my pet.'

(e) **pï-të** 'who bathes (well)' (***tï-pï-të**, ***t-ënë-të** were refused.)
(f) **ënë-të** 'who eats meat (well)'

The element **t(ï)** cannot be analyzed as a reducing syllable, since it occurs as a single consonant **t-** on vowel-initial stems, and it does not have the expected allomorphic pattern (for instance, there is no coda grade of a **t**-adding stem in which the **t(ï)** occurs as an **h**; forms such as ***wi-hpï-i_mo** and ***mi-hpï-i_mo** were immediately corrected to (7a-b)).

---

[6] Impressionistically, it seemed that the co-occurrence of **t(ï)-** with a preceding object was less good for the imperative forms than for the nominalizations. A speaker who accepted all the nominalization cases would find a **tï**-marked imperative with a preceding object less felicitous.

Synchronically, it is an irregular feature of a small group of verbs, all listed in Table 5.1. To distinguish these stems, a **[t]** in square brackets is added to their citation form. Two interesting details may be noted about these verbs: they are all transitive, and among them are almost all the monosyllabic transitive verb stems found to date (except **(mï)** 'tie O' and **wai** 'rub O').

Table 5.1
The 12 **t**-adding stems found in the available corpus.

[t]ë(ku)	'eat O (flour)'	**[t]ka(pï)**	'weave O'	**[t]pï**	'bathe O'
[t]ënë	'eat O (meat)'	**[t]kï**	'grate O'	**[t]rï**	'do, make O'
[t]ëu	'take O out'	**[t]papo**	'throw O out (waste)'	**[t]wë**	'shoot O, hit (target)'
[t]urë	'light O (fire)'	**[t]pë(tï)**	'gather O (fruit)'	**[t]je**	'cook O'

5.1.4. Irregular *mï* stems. Almost all stems ending in **mï** follow the usual syllable reduction pattern, with a full grade ending in **mï** and a coda grade ending in **n** used in the appropriate environments (cf. 2.6.2.2.1). However, two stems, **të[mï]** 'go' and **në[mï]** 'leave, abandon O', have an irregular extra element (**mï** or **n**) in the ∅ Perfective Present, the **-ne** Perfective Past, the Hortative, and the **-i** Hypothetical. This element does not occur in any other forms (Present, Future, nominalizations, etc.). To mark the difference between this intrusive **mï** / **n** and an ordinary reducing syllable, it is enclosed in square brackets in citation forms (i.e. **[mï]**, as in **të[mï]** 'go', while an ordinary reducing syllable is written **(mï)**, as in **wanpa(mï)** 'sing hymns').

As an illustration, compare the following forms of the verbs **të[mï]** 'go' and **akunpa(mï)** 'to become/feel lazy'; the stems are in italics. Person-marked forms all have the first-person prefixes **wï-** or **j-**. In (9a-d), both verb stems have **mï** or **n**; in (9e-j), only **akunpa(mï)** does.

(9a) Perfective Present	**wï-*tën*, wï-*tëmï***	**j-*akunpan*, j-*akunpamï***
	I have gone	I have become lazy
(b) Perfective Past	**wï-*tën*-ne**	**j-*akunpan*-ne**
	I went	I became lazy
(c) Hortative	**kï-*tën*-ne**	**k-*akunpan*-ne**
	let us go[8]	let us become lazy
(d) Hypothetical[7]	**wï-*tëmï*-i_mo**	**j-*akunpamï*-i_mo**
	I would go	I would become lazy
(e) Imperfective Present	**wï-*të*-e**	**j-*akunpan*-jae**
	I am going	I am becoming lazy
(f) Imperfective Future	**wï-*h*-tae**	**j-*akunpan*-tae**
	I will go	I will become lazy
(g) Perfective Future	**wï-*tëë*-kën, -këmï**	**j-*akunpan*-jakën, -jakëmï**
	I will go (for a second)	I will become lazy (for a second)
(h) Imperfective Past	**wï-*tëë*-kën, -këne**	**j-*akunpan*-jakën, -jakëne**
	I often went, I used to go	I used to become lazy
(i) Non-conjugated Forms (e.g. Negative)	***të*-ewa**	***akunpan*-jewa**
	not going	not becoming lazy
(j) Nominalizations	**jii-*të*-to, jii-*të*-topo**	**j-*akunpan*-to, j-*akunpan*-topo**
	my going	my becoming lazy
	***të*-ke**	***akunpan*-ke**
	goer, one who goes	one who becomes lazy
	jii-*tëë*_se	**j-*akunpamï*_se**
	wanting me to go	wanting me to become lazy

---

[7] For **të[mï]** 'go', **wïtëmïï_mo** was the only possibility. For the other **mï** stem, **në[mï]** 'leave, abandon O', both **winëmïï_mo** and **winëi_mo** were accepted. Presumably, the incredulitive hypothetical **-je(pe)** would pattern with **-i** in co-occurring with the syllable **[mï]**, but no relevant examples were recorded.

[8] Note that the collective hortative, which takes the collective suffix **-të** before the final suffix **-ne**, shows no sign of an extra **n** or **mï**: **kï-të-të-ne** 'let us all go'. Only when the suffix **-ne** immediately follows the verb stem does the **n** occur. The same is valid for Completive Past forms, which also have the collective marker **-të**; e.g. **mï-të-të-ne** 'you all went'.

5.1.5. The problem of i- vs. C-initial stems. Almost all possible candidates to the status of consonant- or **i**-initial stems show certain morphological ambiguities which make it difficult to decide which analysis is more adequate. To summarize the problem briefly, if these stems are analyzed as consonant-initial, then a certain number of verb forms that show no prefixes for vowel-initial stems will have an unexplained **i-** prefix; if, on the other hand, these stems are analyzed as **i**-initial, then there will be a certain number of verb forms in which the initial vowel **i** is dropped or undergoes unexpected changes, while other initial vowels do not.

In the following paragraphs, the various relevant morphological processes are briefly considered (more details can be found in the appropriate sections). For each hypothesis, the processes that its adoption would render irregular are listed, so that the consequences of both options can be compared. Since transitive and intransitive stems undergo different processes, two stems are used in the examples, the transitive **(i)tuuka** 'hit O' and the intransitive **(i)tunta** 'arrive'. Processes which are not affected by either hypothesis are excluded (e.g. the first-person forms **wituuka** 'I have hit O' and **jitunta** 'I have arrived' are neutral, since there is no *a priori* reason to chose between **wi-tuuka, ji-tunta** and **w-ituuka, j-itunta**, i.e. between the C-initial and the **i**-initial analysis for the stems).

The following processes would become less regular with the adoption of the **i**-initial hypothesis (i.e. **ituuka, itunta**), since the initial **i** would have to be unexpectedly dropped or changed into ï:

(1) **ë-** ‘2O’, ‘2$\mathrm{S_O}$’	**ë-tuuka**	‘s/he hit you’	**ë-tunta**	‘you arrived’
(2) **k-** ‘1+2O’, ‘1+2$\mathrm{S_O}$’	**kï-tuuka**	‘s/he hit us’	**kï-tunta**	‘we arrived’
(3) **t- -se** ‘Rem.Pst’	**tï-tuuka-e**	‘hit’	**tï-tunta-e**	‘arrived’
(4) **kïn-** ‘3Pst.Prf’	**kïn-tuuka**	‘s/he hit O’	**kïn-tunta**	‘s/he arrived’
(5) **-në** ‘Gen.Infinitive’	(**tuuka-në**	‘hitting’)[9]	**tunta-në**	‘arriving’
(6) **in-** ‘3O.Neg’	**in-tuuka-ewa**	‘not hitting O’		
(7) **n-** ‘O.act.Nzr’	**i-n-tuuka**	‘what s/he hits’		
(9) **e-** ‘Detr’	**e-tuuka**	‘to hit oneself’		
(9) **-të** ‘A.pot.Azr’	**tuuka-të**	‘who hits (well)’		
(10) ‘objectless’ Neg.	**tuuka-ewa**	‘not able to hit’		

The allomorph **ëës-** of the verbal detransitivizer prefix (cf. 5.3.1.1) would also become less regular with the adoption of the **i**-initial hypothesis. It occurs on **(i)j**-initial stems, and has the effect of making the **j** disappear (e.g. **ëës-** + **(i)jaima** ‘scatter O’ → **ëësaima** ‘get scattered’). It is easier to accept that the cluster **sj** simplifies to **s** (***ëësjaima** > **ëësaima**) than it would be to consider the same change for **sij** (***ëësijaima** > **ëësaima**).[10]

---

[9] The generic infinitive **-në** (cf. 4.2.2.1.4) was not attested on this stem in the available corpus; the form in parentheses is hypothetical, based on examples such as in **ponoonë** ‘telling (stories)’, from **(i)pono(pï)** ‘to tell O (stories)’, also a member of the group of ambiguous **i-**/C-initial stems.

[10] Diachronically, old intervocalic s's have been lost in Tiriyó (cf. Meira 1998a:31); this should have happened in a hypothetical sequence **Vsij**. The C-initial analysis for verb stems like **(i)jaima** at the time of intervocalic **s**-loss would have provided the **s** in this allomorph of the detransitivizer with the necessary environment for survival. Of course, a C-initial analysis in the past does not necessarily entail a C-initial analysis for the present.

The following processes would become less regular with the adoption of the C-initial hypothesis (i.e. **tuuka, tunta**), since an unexpected prefix **i-** would occur:

(a) **-se** 'Supine'	**i-tuuka-e**	'in order to hit'	**i-tunta-e**	'in order to arrive'
(b) **-se** 'Hab.Pst'	**i-tuuka-e**	'used to hit'	**i-tunta-e**	'used to arrive'
(c) Negative			**i-tunta-ewa**	'not arriving'
(d) **-i** 'Hyp'	**i-tuuka-i_mo**	's/he would hit'	**i-tunta-i_mo**	's/he would arrive'
(e) **-je(pe)** 'Incrd'	**i-tuuka-je**	's/he won't hit!'	**i-tunta-je**	's/he won't arrive!'
(f) **-ke(tï)** 'S.Nzr'			**i-tunta-ke**	'one who arrives'

There is one ambiguous process. In third-person A / third-person O situations, when an overt O participant is immediately preverbal, a conjugated (Set I) transitive verb stem occurs without the **n-** prefix (i.e. the O participant occupies the syntactic slot of the prefix; cf. 10.2.2). In this situation, the verb stem can occur as **i-** or C-initial, without any apparent change in meaning.

(10a) **j-ekï tuuka**
1-pet hit:Prs.Prf
'S/he has hit my pet.'

(b) **j-ekï ituuka**
1-pet hit:Prs.Prf
'S/he has hit my pet.'

Inspecting the lists, it becomes obvious that both hypotheses fail to eradicate irregularity. Of the two, the C-initial hypothesis has fewer problems: not only would (1-10) become all regular, but also the transitive cases in (a-b) could be explained by assuming that the **i-** is a third-person marker (any of the O-marking prefixes described in 5.4.1.1—**j(i)-** '1', **ë-** '2', **k(ï)-** '1+2' , and thus also **i-** '3'—could occur here, to indicate the O participant). Furthermore, the **-i** 'hypothetical' and **-je(pe)** 'incredulitive' forms could be analyzed as taking a prefix **i-** (with allomorph Ø- for vowel-initial stems) instead of nothing, which would parallel the other **i**-final prefixes (**wi-**, **mi-**, **ni-**, **kii-**, etc.). This analysis is adopted here. Of course, this has the consequence that the intransitive forms in (a-c) and (f) must be seen as having an unexpected **i-** prefix ((d-e) would have the same third-person **i-** prefix that the transitives take in the **-i** 'Hypothetical' form).[11]

The origin of this problem is not known. It may have been the case that there were two groups of stems, **i**-initial and C-initial ones, and that they merged, producing a mixed morphological pattern. Comparative research may shed some light on this issue.[12]

5.1.6. Further stem irregularities. Before this section is over, several idiosyncratic irregularities remain to be mentioned.

The verb stem **ena(pï)** 'eat O (fruit)' can lose its initial vowel without any apparent change in meaning when it occurs in the third-person A and O form and with an overt O immediately preceding the verb (11a-b). The stem **ema** 'throw O, catch O (fish)' does the same (11c-d). The stem **eramuhta** 'sweat' can also lose its initial **e**, but only when it has an incorporated S (cf. 5.3.2).

---

[11] One might wonder if it would not be possible to analyze the transitive stems as C-initial and the intransitive stems as **i**-initial. However, they are so parallel in behavior that a unified analysis seems truer.

[12] It is perhaps worthwhile to mention that there are, among other neighboring members of the Cariban family, languages which, like Tiriyó, have **i**-final A-marking prefixes (Wayana [Tavares, pers. comm.], Kali'na [Hoff 1968]), while others have only **ï**-final A-marking prefixes (Waiwai [Hawkins 1998], Hixkaryana [Derbyshire 1985], Katxuyana [Gildea, pers. comm.], Apalaí [Koehn & Koehn 1986]). A detailed comparative study of the allomorphic pattern of C- and **i**-initial stems may yield new useful criteria for subclassification.

(11a) **paaruru enaa-ja-n**
banana eat-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he is eating bananas.'

(b) **paaruru naa-ja-n**
banana eat-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he is eating bananas.'

(c) **kana ema-e nï-tën**
fish throw-Sup 3S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf
'S/he went fishing.'

(d) **kana ma-e nï-tën**
fish throw-Sup 3S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf
'S/he went fishing.'

An expression formed by the negative particle **wa(a)** 'not, nothing, nobody' and the verb **[t]rï** 'do, make O' to express the idea of 'killing' or 'destroying' (literally, 'make nothing'), is apparently in the process of giving rise to a new verb stem **aawïrï** 'kill O'. This can be seen by comparing the two immediate past (-∅) conjugations in (12a-b), and the two 'Actual O' nominalizations in (12c-d), which were considered equivalent by several speakers.

(12a)	**waa_wï-rï**	'I killed O'	(b)	**w-aawïrï**	'I killed O'
	waa_mï-rï	'you killed O'		**m-aawïrï**	'you killed O'
	waa_nï-rï	's/he killed O'		**n-aawïrï**	's/he killed O'
	waa_kïtï-rï	'we (dual) killed O'		**kït-aawïrï**	'we (dual) killed O'

(c) **wa ji-nï-rï-hpë**
Neg 1-O.act.Nzr-make-Pst
'Someone whom I killed.'

(d) **ji-n-aawïrï-hpë**
1-O.act.Nzr-kill-Pst
'Someone whom I killed.'

With respect to the dropping of the third-person A/O prefix **n-** with an overt nominal O immediately preceding the verb (cf. 10.2.2), it is interesting to note that the **n-** is dropped for **waa_[t]rï** in spite of the intervening **waa** (13a-b); the form **nïrïjan** in (13b) would imply that the snake was killing someone. With the lexicalized **aawïrï**, since the **waa** has become part of the stem, the non-occurrence of **n-** is regular (13c-d).

(13a) **waa_nï-rï-ja-n**
Neg _3AO-make-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he is killing it.'

(b) **ëkëi waa_rï-ja-n**
snake Neg_make-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he is killing a/the snake.'

(c) **n-aawïrï-ja-n**
3AO-kill-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he is killing it.'

(d) **ëkëi aawïrï-ja-n**
snake kill-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he is killing the snake.'

The verb for 'defecate' has two unpredictable allomorphs, **oeka** and **weka**, which occur with different person markers. All non-conjugated forms have **weka**.

(14a)	**k-oeka**	'I defecated'	(c)	**n-oeka**	's/he defecated'
(b)	**m-oeka**	'you defecated'	(d)	**kï-weka**	'we (dual incl.) defecated'

The verb stem **eku** 'have sex with O' irregularly changes to **eko** in its **-se** forms (Remote Past, Negative, Supine / Habitual Past; (15a-d)). The non-reducing **ru**-final stems also changer their last vowel from **u** to **ë** (e.g. **uru** (15e-h)). (Cf. 5.4.3.1)

(15a)	**w-eku**	'I have had sex with O'	(Present Perfective)
(b)	**t-ëko-e**	'had sex with O'	(Remote Past)
(c)	**in-eko-ewa**	'not having sex with O'	(Negative)
(d)	**eko-e**	'in order to have sex with O; used to have sex with O'	(Supine / Habitual Past)
(e)	**w-uru**	'I have advised, talked to O'	(Present Perfective)
(f)	**t-urë-e**	'advised, talked to O'	(Remote Past)
(g)	**in-urë-ewa**	'not advising, talking to O'	(Negative)
(h)	**urë-e**	'in order to advise, talk to O; used to advise, talk to O'	(Supine / Habitual Past)

The verb stem **të[mï]** 'go' reduces to a simple **h** with the suffix **-ta** 'Future' (16a-d); with the **-(ja)** 'Present', however, it is the suffix that reduces (represented by a ∅ in (16e-h)). In the collective form of the hortative (16i), both the stem and the suffixes **-të** 'Collective' and **-ne** 'Hortative' remain unreduced.

(16a)	**wï-h-ta-e**	'I will go'	(e)	**wï-të-∅-e**	'I am going'
(b)	**mï-h-ta-e**	'you will go'	(f)	**mï-të-∅-e**	'you are going'
(c)	**kï-h-ta-e**	'we (dual) will go'	(g)	**kï-të-∅-e**	'we (dual) are going'
(d)	**nï-h-ta-n**	's/he will go'	(h)	**nï-të-∅-n**	's/he/it is going'
			(i)	**kï-të-të-ne**	'let us all go'

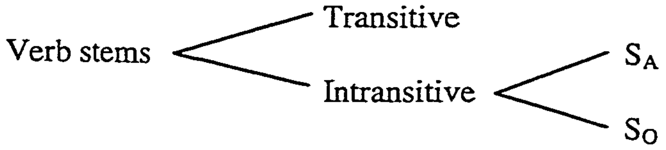
The verb stem **[t]rï** 'do/make O' tends to reduce to a simple vowel in the 1+2A form of the present imperfective: **kïtïrïjae ~ kïtijae** 'we are making O'. Both forms are acceptable, but the shorter one is considered better.

The initial **w** of verb stems **[t]wë** 'shoot O' and **wa** 'dance' can optionally assimilate to a preceding **n** (i.e. with the 3AO past prefix **kïn-** [cf. 5.4.1.1] and, for **[t]wë**, also with the negative third-person O-marking prefix **in-** [cf. 5.4.3.1.3]):

(17a)	**wa**	'dance'	→	**kïn-wa, kïn-na**	's/he danced'
(b)	**[t]wë**	'shoot O'	→	**kïn-wë, kïn-në**	's/he shot O'
				in-wë-ewa, in-në-ewa	'not shooting him/her/it'

5.2. Morphosyntactic subclasses. Based on morphosyntactic properties, a clear division between transitive and intransitive verb stems can be posited for Tiriyó. Morphosyntax also suffices to subdivide the intransitive verb class into two further subclasses, which, on account of certain morphological parallelisms, are termed S_A and S_O. Fig. 5.2 represents this subcategorization of verb stems; the details are discussed in the following sections.

Figure 5.2
A morphosyntactic classification of Tiriyó verb stems.



5.2.1. Transitive and intransitive verb stems. The following properties can be used to distinguish verb stems according to transitivity:

— *Person and number marking.* Transitive verb stems can take both A-oriented and O-oriented prefixes (the former when the O is a third person, the latter when the A is a third person; cf. 5.4.1.1); moreover, the collective suffixes on transitive verbs refer to a non-third-person whenever one is involved, and to the O if both the A and the O are third persons (cf. 5.4.1.2). Intransitive verb stems can only take one set of person markers (either the A-oriented or the O-oriented prefixes, but not both), and the collective suffixes always refer to the S, the only available participant. As a further difference, transitive verb stems take the prefix **k-** '12AO' (i.e. 'I → you' or 'you → me') on the imperative form (e.g. **k-ëne-kë** 'help me!'), whereas intransitive verb stems do not.

— *Class-changing morphology.* Transitive verb stems take the nominalizers **n-** 'Actual O' (cf. 4.2.2.1.2) and **-ne** 'Actual A' (cf. 4.2.2.1.1), as well as the adverbializer **-të** 'Potential A' (cf. 6.2.2.1), while intransitive verb stems take the nominalizer **i- -ketï** 'Actual S' (cf. 4.2.2.1.3). These affixes are rigorously specific to each subclass.[13]

— *Case marking.* In the Remote Past (the **t- -se** form; cf. 5.4.3.1.2), transitive verb stems mark one of their participants (the A) with the postposition **_:ja**, while the other participant (the O) remains unmarked. Intransitive verb stems cause no marking on their only participant (the S).

Semantically speaking, transitive verb stems make implicit reference to two participants, A and O, while intransitive verbs imply only one participant, S (cf. 10.1.3 for semantic roles and grammatical relations). This becomes especially noticeable when derived forms are considered in which one of the arguments is 'erased' or 'made generic', such as **-në** 'Generic Infinitive' (cf. 4.2.2.1.4), **t- -se(mï)** 'Potential O/S' (cf. 4.2.2.1.2-3), or **-të** 'Potential A' (cf. 6.2.2.1). Except for these forms, the O participant is always semantically present; to indicate this, the glosses of transitive verb stems include an O (e.g. **ona(mï)** 'hide/bury O').

The class of Tiriyó transitive verb stems has a large semantic span, from prototypical cases (e.g. **tuuka** 'hit, beat O') to less obvious ones such as sensory perception (**ene** 'see O', **eta** 'hear O', **amorehtë** 'dream of O'). One noteworthy case, already mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, is that of 'experiencer' predicates such as 'like', 'dislike', 'know', 'not know', 'be afraid of', etc., which are not verbs but postpositions (cf. 7.3.3).

---

[13] One apparent exception is the verb stem **ka** 'say', which has all the properties of an intransitive verb, but can apparently take the Actual A nominalizer **-ne**, at least in certain cases (many bird names are apparently a combination of an onomatopoeic word imitating the bird's voice and **kane**: e.g. **pipikane**, **kahkakane**, **sisikane**, **tonotonokane**, etc., literally '*pipi*-sayer', '*kahka*-sayer', '*sisi*-sayer', '*tonotono*-sayer', etc.).

5.2.2. S_A and S_O stems: the epiphenominal split-S system. Two classes of intransitive verb stems can be defined with the following properties:

— *Person marking*. One class of intransitive verbs (the S_O class) takes the O-oriented prefixes to indicate the person of the S, while the other class (the S_A class) takes the A-oriented prefixes (with some irregularities) for this purpose. Sec. 5.4.1.1 contains a detailed analysis of the person-marking prefixes. For the sake of convenience sake, they are listed in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2
A comparison of person-marking prefixes on intransitive and transitive verbs.

Person	A	S_A	O	S_O
1	**w-, wi-, wï-**	**w-, wï-, s-, t-**	**j-, ji-**	**j-, ji-**
2	**m-, mi-, mï-**	**m-, mï-**	**ë-, a-, o-**	**ë-, a-, o-**
1+2	**kït-, kii-, k(:)-**	**kï-, kït-, k(:)-**	**kï-, k(e)-**	**kï-, k(e>ë)-**
3	**n-, ni-, nï-**	**n-, nï-**	**n-, ni-, nï-**	**n-, ni-, nï-**

— *Imperatives*. The imperative forms are marked on all verbs by the suffixes **-(kë)** 'Static Imperative' and **-ta** 'Allative Imperative' (cf. 5.4.2.1). For S_A verb stems, nothing more is necessary; S_O stems, however, add an extra second-person prefix (**ë-**, **a-** or **o-**, depending on the first vowel of the stem).

(18a) S_A: **të** 'go' → **të-kë** 'go!'
(b) **epï** 'bathe' → **epï-kë** 'bathe!'
epï-ta 'go bathe!'
(c) S_O: **ereeta** 'rest' → **ë-ereeta-kë** 'rest!'
(d) **këhtu(mu)** 'shout' → **ë-këhtun-kë** 'shout!'
ë-këhtun-ta 'go shout!'

— *Nominalizations and the* ***w-*** *prefix.* S_A verb stems take an additional prefix **w-** (a 'class marker') when being nominalized by one of the following processes:

(a) **-Ø** 'Specific Infinitive' (cf. 4.2.2.1.4)

(b) **-në** 'Generic Infinitive' (cf. 4.2.2.1.4)

(c) **-to(po)** 'Circumstantial' (cf. 4.2.2.1.5)

(d) **t- -se(mï)** 'Potential O/S' (cf. 4.2.2.1.2-3; and also the **t- -se** 'remote past' form [cf. 5.4.3.1.2], from which **t- -se(mï)** is historically derived).

The following examples are based on the stems **ëturu** 'talk, converse' (S_A) and **emamina** 'play' (S_O); the possessed forms have the first-person prefix **j(i)-**. The various allomorphs of the class-marking prefix **w-** are illustrated in (19f-s): **w-** occurs on vowel-initial stems (19f-i, m-n), while lengthening of the preceding (prefix-final) vowel occurs on consonant-initial stems (19j-k, r-s); when preceded by the **t-** prefix, found in the **t- -se** 'remote past' and in the **t- -se(mï)** 'Potential O/S' forms, the **w-** prefix becomes vowel length not only on consonant-initial (19r-s), but also on e-initial stems (19o-q).

(19a) **ji-w-ëturu** 'my talking' **j-emamina** 'my playing'
(b) **w-ëturu-në** 'talking' **ëmamina-në** 'playing'
(c) **ji-w-ëturu-to** '(for) my talking' **j-emamina-to** '(for) my playing'

(d)	**tï-w-ëturë-en**	'who will talk'	**t-ëmamina-en**	'who will play'
(e)	**tï-w-ëturë-e**	'talked'	**t-ëmamina-e**	'played'

(f)	**ëe(pï)**	'come'	→	**ji-w-ëeh-to**	'my coming'
(g)	**ëënï(kï)**	'sleep'	→	**ji-w-ëënïh-to**	'my sleeping (place)'
(h)	**e(i)**	'be'	→	**ji-w-eh-to**	'my way of being'
(i)	**epï**	'bathe'	→	**ji-w-epï-to**	'my bathing (place)'
(j)	**erama**	'return'	→	**ji-w-erama-to**	'my returning'
(k)	**të[mï]**	'go'	→	**jii-të-to**	'my going'
(l)	**ka**	'say'	→	**jii-ka-to**	'my saying; my thing'
(m)	**ëe(pï)**	'come'	→	**tï-w-ëe-se**	'came'
(n)	**ëënï(kï)**	'sleep'	→	**tï-w-ëënïï-se**	'slept'
(o)	**e(i)**	'be'	→	**t-ee-se**	'been; was, were'
(p)	**epï**	'bathe'	→	**t-eepë-e**	'bathed'
(q)	**erama**	'return'	→	**t-eerama-e**	'returned'
(r)	**të[mï]**	'go'	→	**tïï-të-e**	'gone; went'
(s)	**ka**	'say'	→	**tïï-ka-e**	'said'

— *Transitivizers.* S_O verb stems can be made transitive with at least one (often two) of four different suffixes: **-ka, -në(pï)**, **-nï(pï)** and **-nïïka** (cf. 5.3.1.2), which parallel the transitive causativizer **-po** (cf. 5.3.1.4). S_A verb stems, however, do not take any transitivizers, and their occurrence with **-po** has unexpected semantic consequences.

(20a)	**ja(tu)**	'burn' (S_O)	→	**jah-ka**	'burn O'
(b)	**këhtu(mu)**	'shout' (S_O)	→	**këhtun-në(pï)**	'make O shout'
(c)	**munta**	'bleed' (S_O)	→	**munta-nï(pï)**	'make O bleed',
				munta-nïïka	'make O bleed'
(d)	**epï**	'bathe' (S_A)	→	**epï-po**	'make someone bathe S'

Based on the above properties, the two classes of intransitive verbs can be clearly defined, and all intransitive verb stems belong unambiguously to one of these classes.[14] At this point, the idea of analyzing the two intransitive classes as a 'split-S system' in Dixon's 1979, 1994 terminology becomes very tempting. Precisely this analysis has already been claimed for other Cariban languages (e.g. Hall 1988:285 for De'kwana, Tavares 1994 for Wayana, Gildea 1994b for Katxuyana, Hixkaryana, Kari'na, Apalaí, and maybe Tamanaku; cf. also Gildea 1998:88ff). The above properties suggest a striking parallelism between the S of an S_A verb and the A of a transitive verb, and between the S of an S_O verb and the O of a transitive verb:

---

[14] The only exception is the verb **wa** 'dance', which can be used as S_A or S_O (cf. 5.4.1.1.2 for conjugations). No semantic difference was discernible between the S_A and the S_O uses; the different conjugations seem to be in free variation. The fact that the speakers who used the S_A conjugation in my presence were older, and that

(a) O and S_O are marked with the same prefixes; A and S_A are marked with prefixes that are similar enough to suggest a common categorization.

(b) S_O verbs take a second-person prefix in addition to the imperative suffix. On transitive verbs, prefixes on the imperative can occur to mark the O (e.g. **k-ëta-kë** 'hear me!'; cf. 5.4.2.1). Thus, both O and S_O are apparently marked by prefixes on imperative forms, while A and S_A are not.

(c) Possessible nominalizations of transitive verbs take the O participant as a possessor; the only exception is the **n-** 'Actual O' nominalizer, which is possessed by the A participant. An S_O verb can be directly possessed by its S when nominalized, but an S_A verb takes a class-marking prefix **w-**. Thus, S_A parallels A in that both need an intermediate prefix (**w-** and **n-**, respectively) to possess a nominalized verb stem, while S_O and O do not.

---

one Katxuyana speaker was surprised to hear **wa** conjugated as an S_A verb, suggest that this verb may be shifting from the S_A to the S_O subclass. (The Katxuyana are relative newcomers; they have been living with the Tiriyó for only about 30-40 years. They all speak both Katxuyana, also a Cariban language, and Tiriyó.)

(d) The transitive causativizer **-po** is found on S_A stems (despite the surprising semantics, which will be considered again below), but not on S_O stems, which take different transitivizing suffixes. Syntactically speaking, S_O parallels O in that both become the O of the verb stem that results from transitivisation (of the S_O stem) or causativization (of the transitive stem). S_A likewise parallels A in that neither becomes the O of the verb stem derived with the suffix **-po** (compare (20a-d) with the transitive **eta** 'hear O', **eta-po** 'make (someone) hear O', 'explain O'; cf. 5.3.1.3-4 for more detailed examples).

Formally speaking, the two intransitive classes fit very well Dixon's 1979, 1994 definition of a split-S system. However, Dixon explains such systems as largerly semantically based: although there can be exceptions, and the specific features vary from language to language, an S_A should be more 'active', 'agentive', 'volitional' than an S_O, which is why they are treated as an A. Meira (to appear) argues at length against a correlation between meaning and class membership for several Cariban languages, including Tiriyó. Table 5.3 below summarizes the main points of Meira's argument. It contains various features that were considered important for the semantic characterization of split-S systems in the literature. For every feature, intransitive verb stems with and without that feature from both classes are listed, in order to show that it does not help in predicting class membership. The lists contain samples; they could be made longer without too much difficulty.

Table 5.3
Semantic inconsistency of the two intransitive classes.

Feature	S_A		S_O	
	+ Feature	- Feature	+ Feature	- Feature
Activities vs. Non-activities (Van Valin 1990)	**ëe(pï)** ‘come’ **ëënï(kï)** ‘sleep’ **etainka** ‘run’ **ëewe(tï)** ‘feed’ **të[mï]** ‘go’ **wa** ‘dance’ **ëtamorehtë** ‘dream’	**ëemuuma** ‘get sad’ **epahka** ‘break’ **esaraka** ‘slip’ **erowaka** ‘open’ **epataka** ‘go out’ **etohka** ‘burst’ **emo(kï)** ‘move away’	**eremina** ‘sing’ **emamina** ‘play’ **eerana** ‘laugh’ **arina** ‘grow’ **:suhta** ‘urinate’ **wa** ‘dance’[15] **urakana** ‘walk around’	**aamita** ‘blush’ **akinta** ‘get tired’ **ta(tï)** ‘get lost’ **au(mu)** ‘stand up’ **ke(pï)** ‘stop’ **tunta** ‘arrive’ **njota** ‘marry a man’
Agentive vs. Patientive (Mithun 1991)	**të[mï]** ‘go’ **ëturu** ‘talk’ **ëiwa** ‘hunt’ **erama** ‘return’ **entapo** ‘yawn’ **ëësena** ‘weep’ **epï** ‘bathe’	**e(i)** ‘be (copula)’ **ëënï(kï)** ‘sleep’ **epahka** ‘break’ **ëemuuma** ‘get sad’ **epïima** ‘get ashamed’ **ëtamërë(mï)** ‘be mistaken’	**potïna** ‘whistle’ **tunta** ‘arrive’ **emï(tï)** ‘dive’ **eremina** ‘sing’ **wenahta** ‘vomit’ **wejahta** ‘fart’ **urakana** ‘walk around’	**ja(tu)** ‘burn’ **arina** ‘grow up’ **anïhta** ‘grow up’ **akï(kï)** ‘harden’ **akinta** ‘get tired’ **mïrï(tï)** ‘choke’ **eri(kï)** ‘be in danger’
Agentive with Control vs. without Control (Mithun 1991)	**ka** ‘say’ **të[mï]** ‘go’ **epï** ‘bathe’ **ëturu** ‘talk’ **eeseka** ‘jump’ **ëmï(mï)** ‘enter’ **ëenïntë** ‘go on board’	**entapo** ‘yawn’ **ëësena** ‘weep’ **esaraka** ‘slip’ **etohka** ‘burst’ **emoihka** ‘feel envy’ **ëtamorehtë** ‘dream’	**emamina** ‘play’ **eremina** ‘sing’ **potïna** ‘whistle’ **tunta** ‘arrive’ **wa** ‘dance’ **:suhta** ‘urinate’ **urakana** ‘walk around’	**eerana** ‘laugh’ **ahpota** ‘burp’ **wenahta** ‘vomit’ **wejahta** ‘fart’ **aeruta** ‘be noisy’ **anota** ‘fall’ **tëtëpa(mï)** ‘tremble’
Animate vs. non-animate S (Merlan 1985)	**epï** ‘bathe’ **ëësena** ‘weep’ **ekaika** ‘scratch’ **epoka** ‘undress’ **eeseka** ‘jump’ **ëenpa** ‘learn’ **ëtamorehtë** ‘dream’	**epahka** ‘break’ **etohka** ‘burst’ **ejiika** ‘ooze’ **ekïrïtïhka** ‘shorten’ **ëentama** ‘spill (liquids)’ **eturuka** ‘spill (grains)’	**enta** ‘wake up’ **jomita** ‘speak’ **enuta** ‘remember’ **këhtu(mu)** ‘shout’ **eerana** ‘laugh’ **emamina** ‘play’ **eremina** ‘sing’	**kahta** ‘drip’ **mëmë(tï)** ‘boil’ **tïna** ‘pulsate’ **akuta** ‘dissolve’ **karapa(mï)** ‘ferment’ **amenta** ‘get moldy’

---

[15] Cf. preceding footnote.

Of course, it must be said that the argument of semantic inconsistency is only as good as the understanding of the semantics of the stems. It is not impossible that a more refined semantic analysis of intransitive stems would reveal a unifying thread for each subclass. However, Meira (to appear) points out that there is a more obvious analysis, based on morphology: almost all the members of the S_A subclass are derived from transitive verbs with the help of the detransitivizer prefix **ët- / ë- / e-**, as in (21).

(21a)	**amorehtë**	'dream of O'	→	**ët-amorehtë**	'dream'
(b)	**enpa**	'teach O'	→	**ë-enpa**	'learn'
(c)	**tohka**	'explode O'	→	**e-tohka**	'explode, burst'
(d)	**[t]pï**	'bathe O'	→	**e-pï**	'bathe'

It would seem that the overwhelming majority of the S_A verb stems are derived, and that their meanings are the result of the evolution of the uses of the detransitivizer from reflexive/reciprocal to middle (cf. 5.3.1.1 for a treatment of the form and meanings of the detransitivizer prefix). Incidentally, this provides an explanation for the surprising semantics of S_A stems with the causative **-po** (cf. (20d) above) if it is assumed that causativization has precedence over detransitivization (the causee is marked by the postposition **_:ja**; cf. 10.3.2.3 for the syntax of causatives):

$$\begin{tikzcd}
\text{V [A, O]} \arrow[r, "\text{Causativization}"] & \text{V [A, CAUSEE, O]} \arrow[r, "\text{Detransitivization}"] & \text{V [A = O, CAUSEE]} \\
\text{A bathe O} \arrow[r] & \text{A make CAUSEE bathe O} \arrow[r] & \text{A make CAUSEE bathe A}
\end{tikzcd}$$

There are a few underived S_A verbs. Table 5.4 lists the 12 non-detransitivized S_A stems found in the available corpus. For some of them (especially the ë-initial ones), a no longer extant transitive source is not implausible; the others, however, look very old and were probably never derived from transitive stems.

Table 5.4
Synchronically non-detransitivized S_A verb stems.

ka 'say'	**ïhtë** 'go down'	**ëmë(mï), ëmï(mï)** 'enter'
të[mï] 'go'	**ëe(pï)** 'come'	**ëësena** 'weep'
e(i) 'be (copula)'	**oeka / weka** 'defecate'	**ënanu(ku)** 'go up'
wa 'dance' (also S_O)	**ëënï(kï)** 'sleep'	**ëu(mu)** 'become warm'

In view of these facts, the S_A subclass can be seen as the class of detransitivized or 'middle verbs', similar to the group of verbs that bears this name in Classical Greek. All the properties used above to define the S_A subclass (person-marking, imperatives, causatives, nominalization) appear to be an automatic consequence of detransitivization; they are probably consequences of the (still unknown) diachronic process which gave birth to the detransitivizer prefix.[16] 'Middle verbs' are then derived from transitives via detransitivization, but would cover a wide range of meanings, going much beyond simple reflexivity, including cases of lexicalization (e.g. **ëiwa** 'hunt', from **wa** 'look for O'; cf. 5.3.1.1). The verbs in Table 5.4 form a group of irregular stems within the middle verb subclass, given their morphological specificities (irregular person markers, such as first-person **w-**, **tï-**, **k-**, or **p-**, second-person **mën-** and **man-**, first person dual **kï-** and **kïh-**; unexpected stem changes; irregular causative forms; cf. the appropriate sections).

---

[16] Notice that the S_A-marking prefixes are not exactly the same as the A-marking prefixes (first person **t-**, **s-** is only found on middle verbs and never on transitives). This weakens semantics as explanation for prefix choice: if speakers simply wanted to indicate semantic roles more clearly, why should they not use the same first-person A-marking prefix found on transitive verbs, i.e. **w-**? They even do it for the non-middle S_A verbs **të[mï]** 'go', **ka** 'say', and **ëe(pï)** 'come'. The unexpected first-person prefixes are probably better seen as yet another consequence of the (still unknown) origins of the detransitivizer.

The label 'S_A' for the middle subclass, and for the argument of a middle verb (as well as 'S_O' in the case of non-middle intransitives) will continue to be used as a reminder of the striking morphological parallelisms with transitive verb stems, but without any semantic implications. The similarities with split-S or Agent-Patient systems as described in the literature are, as far as is known, not an attempt at a more transparent marking of semantic roles, but simply an accident, epiphenomenal to the evolution of detransitivization.

5.3. Derivation. Table 5.5 offers a brief overview of the meaning- (in this case, valence-) and class-changing affixes; their uses and meanings are discussed in the following sections. Note that deverbalizing affixes (nominalizers, adverbializers) are treated under the target category; only verbalizing affixes are described here. A special case is that of the **-se**, **-tuuwë** and **-tëkërë** forms; although they have some adverbial properties, they are best seen as verb forms and are thus discussed in 5.4.3.

Table 5.5
A brief overview of Tiriyó verbal derivational morphology.

Meaning-changing (i.e. Valence-changing)	Class-changing	
	Verbalizing (from nouns)	Deverbalizing
ë(t)-, e- 'Detransitivizer' **-po** 'Causativizer' **-ka,** 'Transitivizers' **-nï(pï), -në(pï), -nïïka**	To transitive verbs: **-ka** 'Privative' **-htë** 'Beneficiative' **-ntë** 'Beneficiative' **-pa, -ma, (-në(pï), -nï(pï))** To intransitive verbs: **-ke(pï)** 'Cessative' **-ta** 'Inchoative' **-na, -wa,** **-pa(mï), -ma(mï)**	To nouns, from all verbs: **-Ø** 'Specific Infinitive' **-në** 'Generic Infinitive' **-to(po)** 'Circumstantial' **t- -se(mï)** 'Potential O/S' from transitive verbs: **-ne** 'Actual A' **n-** 'Actual O' from intransitive verbs: **i- -ke(tï)** 'Actual S' To adverbs: **-të** 'Potential A' (**-se** forms, **-tuuwë,** **-tëkërë**)

5.3.1. Valence-changing morphology. The meaning-changing morphology characteristic of verb stems in Tiriyó affects the number of participants that are involved in the event described by the original stem (i.e. it is *valence*-changing morphology). Three operations are attested: detransitivization, transitivization and causativization.

5.3.1.1. Detransitivization (*ë- / ët- / ëës- / ëi- / e- / et-*). The reflexive/reciprocal prefix described in 3.3.1.4 can be used on transitive verbs with a detransitivizing effect (i.e. to generate intransitive 'middle' verb stems). These stems form the overwhelming majority of the S_A subclass (cf. 5.2.2). The various allomorphs of the detransitivizing prefix and their distribution are listed below. (Vowel-initial **t**-adding stems, as well as **[t]pï** ‘bathe O’ and **[t]je** ‘cook O’ [cf. 5.1.3], behave as normal stems (22g, p); the other consonant-initial **t**-adding stems have exceptional forms (22e-h)).

ë-	with **e**-initial stems (22a-c)
ët-	with other V-initial stems (22d-g)
ëës- ~ e-	with **j**-initial stems (the **j** is dropped) (22h-l)
ëi- ~ e-	with other C-initial stems (22m-q)

(22a) **ene** ‘see O’ → **ë-ene** ‘see oneself’
(b) **enpa** ‘teach O’ → **ë-enpa** ‘teach oneself; learn’
(c) **ewe(tï)** ‘feed O’ → **ë-ewe(tï)** ‘feed oneself, eat’
(d) **apë(i)** ‘catch, seize O’ → **ët-apë(i)** ‘seize, grab oneself / each other’
(e) **ona(mï)** ‘hide, bury O’ → **ët-ona(mï)** ‘hide, bury oneself / each other’
(f) **uru** ‘talk to O’ → **ët-uru** ‘talk’
(g) **[t]ënë** ‘eat O (meat)’ → **ët-ënë** ‘eat oneself / each other’
(h) **jonpa** ‘address O’ → **ëës-onpa, e-jonpa** ‘talk to oneself’
(i) **jontë** ‘wrap O’ → **ëës-ontë, e-jontë, ëi-jontë** ‘wrap oneself’
(j) **jahka** ‘burn O’ → **ëës-ahka, e-jahka** ‘burn oneself’
(k) **jaima** ‘scatter O’ → **ëës-aima, e-jaima** ‘get scattered’
(l) **[t]je** ‘cook O’ → **ëës-e** ‘cook for oneself’
(m) **nonta** ‘abandon O’ → **ëi-nonta, e-nonta** ‘abandon each other’
(n) **rowaka** ‘open O’ → **ëi-rowaka, e-rowaka** ‘open’
(o) **kaika** ‘scratch O’ → **ëi-kaika, e-kaika** ‘scratch (oneself)’
(p) **poka** ‘undress O’ → **ëi-poka, e-poka** ‘undress (oneself)’
(q) **[t]pï** ‘bathe O’ → **e-pï** ‘bathe (oneself)’

Thus, one must notice a general pattern of free variation between **e-** and **ëi-**, **ëës-** on C-initial stems; sometimes, all of the three are considered possible (22i). Speakers all agree that the meaning of the resulting verb is not affected: the **e-** and **ëi-/ëës-**forms in (22h-o) were all considered synonymous. On the other hand, different speakers varied on their preferences. In some cases, both forms were accepted, but one was described as 'better'; in other cases, one speaker considered a form incorrect, while another considered it acceptable.[17] There were very few cases of universal agreement (one example was (23q); all speakers agreed that **epï** 'bathe' is possible, but not ***ëipï**). The factors, social or otherwise, which underlie this variation are unknown.[18]

A certain number of irregularities occurred, involving idiosyncratic allomorphs of the detransitivizer like **et-** (23a), **ëh-** (23b-g),[19] **ëtï-** (23h), and even apparent suppletion (23i). All known cases are listed below.

(23a)	**ainka**	'run off with O'	→	**ët-ainka, et-ainka**	'run (away)'
(b)	**ku(ku)**	'try, taste O'	→	**ëh-ku(ku)**	'try, taste (for oneself)'
(c)	**kuhtuntë**	'mark, measure O'	→	**ëh-kuhtuntë**	'measure (for oneself)'
(d)	**tïhka**	'scare O'	→	**ëh-tïhka**	'get scared'
(e)	**puunë(pï)**	'think about O'	→	**ëh-puunë(pï),** **ëi-puunë(pï)**	'think, meditate'

---

[17] Two speakers agreed that the **j**-initial stems **juuka** 'to curve, bend O' and **jiika** 'to move O along a line' could only take the allomorph **e-** (**ejuuka** 'to bend', **ejiika** 'to ooze, to trickle'), but not **ëës-** (***ëësuuka**, ***ëësiika**). Unfortunately, other speakers were not consulted about these stems. Another irregular case was **mo(mï)** 'gather O', which unexpectedly took **ë-** (**ëmo(mï)** 'get together, gather') instead of **ëi-** or **e-**.

[18] One may speculate whether this situation might be the result of the merging of two erstwhile independent prefixes, ***e-** and ***ë-**. It is difficult to resist the temptation of mentioning here the existence of two intransitivizing prefixes in Tupí-Guaranían languages, a reflexive and a reciprocal, which Jensen 1998:534ff reconstructs as ***je-** and ***jo-**, respectively. Rodrigues 1985, in which substantial evidence in favor of Tupí-Cariban relationships is given, also lists the prefix **e-** from Hixkaryana and Taulipang as cognate to Tupí-Guaraní (1985:380-381). Taking into account that the Tiriyó vowel ë seems to be a reflex of an earlier ***o**, the similarity between Tupí-Guaranían ***je-**, ***jo-** and the **e-** and **ë**-allomorphs of the Tiriyó detransitivizer is at least suggestive.

[19] Considering the phonological changes which have occurred in Tiriyó (cf. Meira 1998a), the form of the prefixes **ëh-** and **ëi-** suggests that they may have had the same historical source, something like ***ec(i)-**, with two different developments: ***ëci- > ëi-** by intervocalic ***c**-loss, and ***ëc(i)- > ëh-** by syllable reduction. Notice that there are some cases of variation between **ëh-** and **ëi-** (e.g. **ëi-puunë(pï)** ~ **ëh-puunë(pï)** 'think, meditate'). It would be interesting to analyze the available evidence from a diachronic perspective to try to determine what factors may have conditioned this divergent evolution (e.g. there may be a relation between them and the merger of **i-** and C-initial stems; maybe the ***c** in ***eci-** remained intervocalic with i-initial stems, but not with C-initial ones). It is not known whether the choice of **ëi-** vs. **ëh-** correlates with the dialect of the speaker. Which evolution was followed may have depended on the status of the following **i**; cf. 5.1.5 for the apparent merging of the (formerly independent) **i-** and C-initial stem classes.

(f)	**[t]kï**	'grate O'	→	**ëh-kï**	'grate manioc for oneself'
(g)	**[t]papo**	'throw O off'	→	**ëh-papo**	'throw things off'
(h)	**[t]rï**	'do, make O'	→	**ëtï-rï**	'make (things) for oneself'
(i)	**[t]wë**	'shoot O'	→	**ëhtë**	'shoot oneself'

As the above lists of examples have certainly already made clear, the meaning of the detransitivized stem is not completely predictable from the meaning of the transitive source stem. The most frequent result, with 'prototypically' transitive verbs, has reflexive or reciprocal semantics, but this is often not true. Table 5.6 illustrates the possibile ways in which participants of the original transitive stem 'survive' in the derived detransitivized stem. There are cases of stems with clear reflexive / reciprocal meanings (S_A=(A=O)), stems which refer to the original O (S_A=O, 'medio-passive'), and stems which refer to the original A (S_A=A, 'antipassive'; this includes 'benefactive' cases such as **ëh-kï** 'grate (cassave) for oneself', **ëës-e** 'cook (food) for oneself'; cf. 10.3.2.3 for their syntactic behavior).

Table 5.6
Some examples of detransitivization with different surviving arguments.
'Self' in the gloss = both 'oneself' (reflexive) and 'each other' (reciprocal).

S_A = (A = O) ('Reflexive')		**S_A = O ('Medio-passive')**		**S_A = A ('Antipassive')**	
e-pï	'bathe self'	**e-pahka**	'break'	**ët-amorehtë**	'dream'
ë-ene	'see self'	**e-rowaka**	'open'	**ëh-puunë(pï)**	'think'
ë-eta	'hear self'	**e-pïïma**	'get ashamed'	**ë-ehtë**	'plan'
ët-aarama	'adorn self'	**e-turuka**	'spill (grains)'	**et-ainka**	'run'
ët-ona(mï)	'hide self'	**ë-entama**	'spill (liquids)'	**ët-uru**	'talk'
e-tuuka	'hit/beat self'	**e-tohka**	'explode'	**ëh-kï**	'grate'
ë-eku	'have sex with self'	**ët-amï(tï)**	'snap'[20]	**ëës-e**	'cook'

---

[20] From **amï(tï)** 'cut O (rope, wire'); **ët-amï(tï)** can refer to e.g. a rope that spontaneously snaps.

Often more than one meaning is possible. For instance, **apë(i)** 'catch, seize O' corresponds to **ët-apë(i)**, which can mean 'catch, seize oneself / each other', 'to fight', 'to have sex' (i.e. 'reflexive'), but also 'to hold on to something' (i.e. 'antipassive').

(24a) **n-ët-apëë-ja-n_to**
$3S_A$-Detr-catch-Prs.Ipf-Dbt_3Col
'They are grabbing each other,
they are fighting / having sex'

(b) **ët-apëh-kë** **aapëi_pë**
Detr-catch-Imper 2:seat:Pos_Ad
'Hold on to your seat!'

In certain cases, the meaning can change more dramatically (without necessarily excluding a more 'regular' interpretation in the appropriate context). Aside from (24) above, the following cases were found:

(25a)	**wa**	'look for O'	→	**ëi-wa**	'hunt; get game'
(b)	**akaama**	'scold O'	→	**ët-akaama**	'refuse to cooperate'
(c)	**ame(mï)**	'roll O up'	→	**ët-ame(mï)**	'come very close'
(d)	**jahpëntë**	'help O'	→	**ëës-ahpëntë**	'get out of trouble'

The semantic latitude of detransitivized verb stems is comparable to that of 'middle verbs' (as e.g. in Classical Greek). In Kemmer's 1993:24ff terminology, Tiriyó has a *one-form middle system*, i.e. it has the same morpheme as a marker of prototypical reflexivity / reciprocity and middle semantics. Table 5.7 shows how detransitivized verbs can be found in all semantic fields which Kemmer found in languages with middle morphology. Only logophoric middle cases are missing (i.e. 's/he$_i$ said that s/he$_i$ was going'...).

Table 5.7
Semantic fields usually covered by middle-marked verbs (from Kemmer 1993)

Grooming / body care	
e-pï	‘bathe’
ee-suka	‘wash’
e-pontë	‘get dressed’
e-poka	‘undress’
ë-ehpoka	‘shave’
ët-aarama	‘adorn oneself’
ë-ekurima	‘comb’
ë-ewe(tï)	‘eat, feed oneself’
Change in body posture	
e-tahpaka	‘sit down’
e-ntapo	‘yawn’
e-pïnwïhka	‘nod, shake head’
e-tïnma	‘shrug shoulders’
Non-translational motion	
e-panama	‘turn around’
e-juuka	‘bend, bow’
ëës-ekïnë(pï)	‘grit teeth’
(Medio)-passive	
ëi-menuhtë	‘be/get written’
ë-enepo	‘show oneself; be seen’
Translational motion	
ët-arë	‘go, take oneself’
e-pataka	‘go out’
et-ainka	‘run (away)’
e-mo(kï)	‘move away’
ë-enïntë	‘go on board’
ee-seka	‘jump’
e-rama	‘return’
e-tïrïka	‘go, direct oneself’
ee-rë(të)	‘cross (river)’
Naturally reciprocal events	
ë-mo(mï)	‘gather together’
ë-epo(rï)	‘meet’
Emotion	
e-pïima	‘get ashamed’
ë-emuuma	‘get sad’
e-meneka	‘be surprised’
e-moihka	‘feel envy’
ët-akaama	‘refuse to help’
ëh-tïhka	‘get frightened’
ëës-orë	‘curse, be angry’
e-kutunma	‘get angry’
ë-ewakïma	‘get happy’
ëës-apëkëma	‘be poor, in need’
Indirect (self-benefactive)	
ë-epeka(tï)	‘buy for oneself’
ëës-e	‘cook for oneself’
ëtï-rï	‘work for oneself’
ëh-kï	‘grate cassava for oneself’
Cognition and Perception	
ëi-puunë(pï)	‘think, meditate’
ë-ehtë	‘think, plan’
e-htarënma	‘get ready’
ët-amorehtë	‘dream’
ët-amërë(mï)	‘be mistaken’
ë-enpa	‘learn’
ë-erekonma	‘harass oneself, think hard’
Spontaneous events	
e-pahka	‘break’
e-ntaka	‘break in half’
ët-amï(tï)	‘snap’
e-tohka	‘burst, explode’
ë-entama	‘spill (liquids)’
e-turuka	‘spill (grains)’
e-jiika	‘drip, ooze’
e-muririma	‘get wrinkled’
e-pëmuka	‘put out flowers’

In Kemmer’s view, the middle/reflexive marker in a one-form system has as one of its defining properties the ‘relatively low elaboration of events’, which is distinguished from the higher elaboration typical of two-participant, transitive events. As far as is known, this holds true for Tiriyó, with the following additional remarks:

(a) The middle/reflexive prefix is found outside of the verb system as a marker of reflexivity and/or reciprocity on postpositions and some nouns.

(b) On verbs, this morpheme is the only marker for the area defined by reflexive, reciprocal, and middle semantics, all the way from prototypical direct reflexive cases (**e-tuuka** 'hit oneself / each other') to all the middle cases listed in Table 5.7. No other markers of e.g. reflexivity were found, nor do there seem to be morphosyntactic tests that can distinguish 'more reflexive' from 'more middle' uses of the detransitivizer.

(c) The morpheme in question is a detransitivizer in that all verbs on which it was found seem to be fully intransive and to have transitive counterparts. There were no cases in which it occurred on verbs that remained transitive (i.e. capable of taking an overt O participant, such as e.g. Latin *hortor* 'exhort'), or on an originally intransitive stem (i.e. like Old Norse *grønask* 'become green', or Spanish *caerse* 'fall disastrously', *irse* 'go away').[21] Moreover, 'emphatic' situations, in which reflexive or middle markers often occur without affecting the valence of the verb (e.g. English 'she did it herself'), do not contain the detransitivizer in Tiriyó (adverbs such as **ëikarë** 'by oneself', 'without help', or particles like **_rë** 'exactly', are used instead).

5.3.1.2. S_O transitivization *(-ka, -në(pï), -nï(pï), -nïïka).* Transitive verb stems can be derived from all intransitive S_O verb stems with the help of four different transitivizing suffixes. They distribute as follows:

---

[21] Among the exceptional S_A verbs in Table 5.4 there were some ë-initial stems; it is not impossible that at least some of them were derived from no longer extant stems. One of them, **ëënï(kï)** 'sleep', has non-detransitivized (S_O) cognates in other Cariban languages (e.g. Wayana **ïnïk(ï)**); it may thus have been a case of extension of the detransitivizer prefix to an originally intransitive stem. More comparative research is necessary to clarify the history of this stem.

-nï(pï) ~ -nïïka	with non-reducing stems (26a-d)
-në(pï) ~ -nïïka	with NV-reducing stems (26e-g)
-ka	with CV-reducing stems (26h-m)

(26a)	**ereeta** 'rest'	→ **ereeta-nï(pï), ereeta-nïïka**	'make O rest'
(b)	**munta** 'bleed'	→ **munta-nï(pï), munta-nïïka**	'make O bleed'
(c)	**enuta** 'remember'	→ **enuta-nï(pï), enuta-nïïka**	'make O remember'
(d)	**emamina** 'play'	→ **emamina-nï(pï), emamina-nïïka**	'make O play'
(e)	**këhtu(mu)** 'shout'	→ **këhtun-në(pï), këhtun-nïïka**	'make O shout'
(f)	**wanpa(mï)** 'sing hymns'	→ **wanpan-në(pï), wanpan-nïïka**	'make O sing hymns'
(g)	**jemipa(mï)** 'be hungry'	→ **jemipan-në(pï), jemipan-nïïka**	'make O be hungry'
(h)	**ja(tu)** 'burn'	→ **jah-ka**	'burn O'
(i)	**mïrï(tï)** 'choke'	→ **mïrïh-ka**	'make O choke'
(j)	**ta(tï)** 'get lost'	→ **tah-ka**	'loose O'
(k)	**emï(tï)** 'dive'	→ **emïh-ka**	'make O dive'
(l)	**aru(ku)** 'run aground'	→ **aruh-ka**	'make O run aground'
(m)	**apëe(pï)** 'get tired'	→ **apëeh-ka**	'make O get tired'

Between **-nï(pï)**, **-në(pï)** and **-ka**, there is complementarity: a stem can never take more than one of them. On the other hand, **-nïïka** seems to be in free variation with **-nï(pï)** and **-në(pï)**: no discernible difference in meaning was found. Moreover, there was much variation. To some speakers, certain intransitive stems could take **-nïïka** but not -**nï(pï)** or **-në(pï)**; to others, exactly the opposite was true. The same speaker would sometimes prefer one possibility and sometimes the other; contradictions were not infrequent. An additional complicating factor is the fact that, in most cases, the causative suffix **-po** is added to the transitivizers: both in elicitation and in texts, the sequences **-nïhpo, -nëhpo, -nïïkapo** (and also, but less so, **-kapo**) are the most frequent ways of forming a causative, while the 'simpler' **-nï(pï)**, **-në(pï)** are very infrequent in texts, and usually not the first translation even in elicitation. Syntactically, however, they remain different (the forms with **-po** can have an intermediate oblique causee, marked with the postposition **_:ja** [cf. 10.3.2.3]; this is impossible for the forms without **-po**).

The sources of these suffixes, as well as the reason for their phonologically predictable distribution, are still unknown. It is interesting to observe, however, that there are four cases of **-nï(pï)** or **-në(pï)** being apparently added to a nominal stem. This suggests that they may have been verbalizers (or then independent transitive verbs taking incorporated objects). As for **-ka**, the similarity with the 'Remove' verbalizer **-ka** (cf. 5.3.3.1.1) and with the lexical verb **ka** 'remove O' is tantalizing, but it is not clear how the meanings of these forms could be connected.

(27a)	**epinë(pï)**	'medicate O'	(**epi(tï)** 'medicine')
(b)	**pananï(pï)**	'listen to O'	(**pana** 'ear')
(c)	**ekanï(pï)**	'think; suppose O'	(**eka** 'name; denomination')
(d)	**emaminë(pï)**	'make O play'	(**emamin** 'toy'; cf. **emamina** 'play (S_O)')

5.3.1.3. S_A transitivization. For the overwhelming majority of S_A verb stems, the transitive source (the original transitive stem without the detransitivizing prefix described in 5.3.1.1) is available for use in the contexts where 'transitivized' S_O verbs would be needed (cf. (22-23) and Table 5.6 above). The cases of the suffix **-po** occurring on these stems do not represent instances of transitivization, but simply the result of detransitivization applied to a causativized transitive stem (cf. 5.2.2). For some of the non-detransitivized S_A stems listed in Table 5.4, irregular causative forms have been found; these are listed in (28).

(28a)	**ëënï(kï)**	'sleep'	→	**ininnë(pï), ininnë(kï)**	'put O to sleep'
(b)	**ïhtë**	'go down'	→	**enïhtëpo, enïhtënïh(po)**	'make O go down'
(c)	**oeka / weka**	'defecate'	→	**inekanïhpo**	'make O defecate'
(d)	**wa**	'dance'	→	**ennapo, ennanïhpo**[22]	'make O dance'
(e)	**ënanu(ku)**	'go up'	→	**aanuhpo, ënanuhpo**	'make O go up'
				anu(ku)	'go up' (S_O)
(f)	**ëmï(mï), ëmë(mï)**	'enter'	→	**eemïnpo, eemïnnëhpo**	'make O enter'
(g)	**ëe(pï)**	'come'	→	**ene(pï)**	'bring O'

No transitivized form was asked for **ëu(mu)** 'warm up'. For **ka** 'say', some people accepted **kapo** 'make O say', but others did not. For the other non-detransitivized S_A cases, an apparently unrelated S_A verb was given:

(29a)	**të[mï]**	'go'	→	**enno(kï)**	'send O, make O go'
(b)	**e(i)**	'be'	→	**[t]rï**	'make O (be)'
(c)	**ëësena**	'cry'	→	**amo, amonïhpo**	'cry about O, lament O'

Here are some examples of how they are used:

(30a) **manko j-ennoo-ne makapa_pona**
1:mother 1O-send-Pst.Prf Macapá_Dir
'My mother sent me to Macapá.'

(b) **saasaame jï-rï-ne**
happy 1O-make-Pst.Prf
'(That) made me happy.'

(c) **j-amo**
1O-lament:Prs.Prf
'S/he has cried about me.'

(d) **w-amonïhpo**
1A-make.cry:Prs.Prf
'I made O cry.'

---

[22] Two speakers accepted also the form **wanïhpo**, which would be regular for an S_O verb; this seems related to the fluctuation between treating **wa** 'dance' as an S_A or as an S_O stem. A different speaker, however, considered only the irregular forms **ennapo, ennanïhpo** (or **eenapo, eenanïhpo**) possible.

These irregular forms are interesting from the historical perspective. In some of them, there is evidence for an 'old causativizer' **en-** or **in-** (cf. formatives in 12.2). Notice also that, quite surprisingly, some of them have the suffix **-po**, or even **-nï(pï)** or **-në(pï)**. Synchronically, they are simply irregular; however, one can hope that these irregular occurrences will find their place in the larger diachronic picture as comparative research probes deeper into the history of transitivizers in Cariban languages.

5.3.1.4. Causativization (*-po*). Causativized transitive verb stems can be derived from any transitive verb stem with the suffix **-po**. Formally speaking, there are no irregularities (reducing verb stems reduce as expected). Syntactically, the O of the original verb stem remains as such with the causativized stem; the original A becames a causee (represented as C in the glosses), and appears in an oblique phrase (marked with the postposition **:_ja**). The new A corresponds to the causer. In semantic terms, the resulting verb indicates 'general causation' (like 'make O do something' in English), without emphasizing e.g. resistance by the causee (as in English 'force O to do something'). The syntax and semantics of causative constructions are explored in 10.3.2.3.

(31a)	**eta**	'hear O'	→	**eta-po**	'make C hear O; explain O to C'
(b)	**ene**	'see O'	→	**ene-po**	'make C see O; show O to C'
(c)	**tuuka**	'hit O'	→	**tuuka-po**	'make C hit O'
(d)	**ene(pï)**	'bring O'	→	**eneh-po**	'make C bring O'
(e)	**pono(pï)**	'tell O'	→	**ponoh-po**	'make C tell O; ask C about O'
(f)	**ona(mï)**	'hide, bury O'	→	**onan-po**	'make C hide/bury O'

5.3.2. Noun incorporation. The phenomenon of noun incorporation in Tiriyó is limited to certain specific cases. The most productive of them involves a body part as the highly affected object of a transitive verb (not e.g. experiencer verbs like **ene** 'see O', or **eta** 'hear O', but more 'physical', 'contact' verbs like **piimo** 'hit O' or **kïïka** 'rub, wipe O'); in these cases, any body part can be incorporated, as long as the resulting verb makes sense. The process thus derives, from a transitive verb stem V and a body part N, a new transitive verb stem, meaning 'to V O on the N' (32a). The new transitive verb stem has all the properties of a normal transitive stem (cf. (32b), in which it is causativized and in the **t- -se** 'remote past' form).

(32a) **ji-pawana w-en-tëëka-e**
1-friend:Pos 1A-eye-hit.gently:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am going to hit my friend on the eye.'

(b) **iwana tï-hpu-taaka-po-e kaikui_ja**
iguana T-foot-hit/tread-Caus-Rem.Pst jaguar_Agt
'Jaguar hit/trod Iguana on the foot.'

(33) shows further examples, based on **enu** 'eye' (which shortens to **en** when incorporated), **pana** 'ear', **oona** 'nose', **apë** 'arm', **enja** 'hand', **(pu)pu** 'foot', **(mï)ta** 'mouth', **putupë** 'head, hair', **pïmï** 'neck' (which shortens to **pïn**), **ere** 'liver', **(mï)ka** 'back'.[23] Stems derived from initial-reducing nouns are shown in the reduced (coda) grade; there are, however, a few verb forms in which a full grade would occur (cf. 5.1.2).

---

[23] Incorporation can sometimes preserve what looks like an earlier form of the incorporated noun. The verb **nma-piimo** 'hit O on the buttocks, spank O' contains an element **nma** which is not synchronically meaningful. Considering, however, that the present-day word for 'buttocks' is **nmapu(nu)**, (e.g. **kï-nmapun-kon** 'our buttocks') and that **pu(nu)** by itself means 'flesh, meat, body', it is not hard to see that **nma** must have been the noun stem for 'buttocks' in the past.

(33a)	**piimo** 'hit (hard)'	→	**enja-piimo**	'hit O on the hand'
(b)			**en-piimo**	'hit O on the eyes'
(c)			**pana-piimo**	'hit O on the ears'
(d)			**apë-piimo**	'hit O on the arm'
(e)	**kïïka** 'wipe/rub O'	→	**en-kïïka**	'wipe O's eyes'
(f)			**oona-kïïka**	'wipe O's nose'
(g)			**enja-kïïka**	'wipe O's hands'
(h)			**pana-kïïka**	'wipe O's ears'
(i)			**hpu-kïïka**	'rub (something) on O's foot'
(j)			**nta-kïïka**	'wipe O's mouth'
(k)			**putupë-kïïka**	'rub O's head'
(l)			**apë-kïïka**	'rub O's arm'
(m)	**wïhka** 'throw O'	→	**pïn-wïhka**	'make O nod'
(n)	**tunka** 'break O (egg)'	→	**en-tunka**	'pop O's eyes'
(o)	**tïhka** 'frighten O'	→	**ere-tïhka**	'scare the hell out of O' (lit. 'liver-scare O')

Notice that the incorporated body parts are always simple roots; a derived stem (with e.g. the augmentative **-imë**, the diminutive **-pisi(kë)**, the predilective **-sepï**, etc.) cannot be incorporated.

A less frequent, yet apparently productive incorporation process involves a body part as the S of an intransitive (S_O) verb, as in (34) below (note that the verb stem **eramuhta** 'sweat' unexpectedly loses its initial **e**). (35) has further examples.

(34) **j-enja-ramuhta-e**
1S_O-hand-sweat:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'My hand is sweating.'

(35a)	**eramuhta** 'sweat'	→	**apë-ramuhta**	'arm-sweat'
(b)		→	**en-ramuhta**	'eye-sweat'
(c)		→	**nka-ramuhta**	'back-sweat'
(d)		→	**hpu-ramuhta**	'foot-sweat'
(e)	**pijuhta** 'excrete'	→	**oona-pijuhta**	'have a running nose'

There are sporadic cases of incorporation of noun roots other than body parts. They do not seem to be productive;[24] apparently, they are better seen as cases of lexicalization (note that (36b) is detransitivized).

(36a) **w-oota-puu-ja-e**
1A-hole-fill-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am filling O's holes.'

(b) **t-ee-kamisa-pina-e_ken**
Rm.Pst-S_A:Detr-loincloth-drag-Rem.Pst_Cont
'He was always dragging his loincloth.'

Certain verbalizing suffixes (e.g. **-ke(pï)** 'Cessative' [5.3.3.2.2], **-ka** 'Privative' [5.3.3.1.1]) have corresponding independent verb stems (the S_O **ke(pï)** 'stop, end', and the transitive **ka** 'remove O'). This suggests an alternative analysis of the occurrences of these suffixes as cases of nominal incorporation (of the S, for **ke(pï)**, and of the O, for **ka**). However, the distribution of **-ke(pï)** and **-ka** is not as should be expected if they were cases of incorporation: **-ka** is much more productive, occurring on practically any noun root, and **-ke(pï)**, while less productive, is also found on verb stems. On account of this, they are described as suffixes here. However, the relationship between the verb stems and the suffixes is obvious: the suffixes must have arisen from the verb stems, probably via nominal incorporation (either because there were fewer constraints in the past, or because the constraints were reduced for **ke(pï)** and **ka** as they grammaticalized).

5.3.3. Verbalization. Verb stems can only be derived from noun stems; adverbs and postpositions must be nominalized before they can be verbalized (cf. (44k-l); these are the only cases in which a derived noun stem, rather than a noun root, can be verbalized). Depending on the verbalizing process, the resulting verb stem can be transitive or intransitive (S_O), with all the morphosyntactic and semantic properties associated with the subclass.

---

[24] One speaker was much freer in his willingness to accept the incorporation of non-body-parts (e.g. **maja** 'knife', **ehke(tï)** '(someone's) hammock' → **maja-piimo** 'hit O's knife', **maja-pahka** 'break O's knife', **ehke-kïïka** 'rub (something) on O's hammock'. Other speakers clearly disagreed with him. One wonders if incorporation could be one of the possible venues for the expression of personal style and creativity in Tiriyó.

Formal and semantic similarities between the various verbalizers suggest the following (imperfect) parallelisms (for **-nï(pï)**, **-në(pï)** with nouns, cf. 5.3.1.2 above).

Table 5.8
Preliminary classification of Tiriyó verbalizers

	Transitive		Intransitive	
'Negative'	**-ka**	'Privative'	**-ke(pï)**	'Cessative'
'Positive'	**-htë**, **-ntë**	'Beneficiative'	**-ta**, **-na**, (**-wa**)	'Inchoative'
'Abstract Positive'	**-pa**, **-ma**	'Abstract Beneficiative'	**-pa(mï)**, **-ma(mï)**	'Abstract Inchoative'

From the formal viewpoint, it is noteworthy that most of the verbalizers (except **-ka**, **-ke(pï)**, and **-wa**) can be divided into pairs with a nasal and a non-nasal member: **-htë/-ntë**, **-pa/-ma**, **-ta/-na**, and **-pa(mï)/-ma(mï)**. Such pairings are reminiscent of the nominal past suffixes **-hpë** and **-npë**, which are distributed according to possessed noun classes: **-hpë** occurs on possessed **-rï** class nouns, **-npë** on possessed **-∅** class nouns or on non-possessed nouns (cf. 4.3.1.5.1). Unfortunately, a similar distribution does not seem to hold for the verbalizers: nouns of both classes can be found with any verbalizer, nasal or non-nasal (cf. the examples in the following subsections). Although one may speculate that some connection with the final syllable of the stem exists (cf. the explanation for **koo-mamï** 'spend the night' in 5.3.3.2.1 below), it appears that a better understanding of the situation will have to wait for further comparative research.

From the semantic viewpoint, there are certain tantalizing similarities between the transitive and intransitive verbalizers. All of them concern the relationship between one of the participants of the derived verb stem (O or S) and the source noun (N), in a 'negative' ('depriving', 'ceasing') or 'positive' ('giving', 'having/getting') manner. If the parallelisms were perfect, one might say that the transitive verbalizers are close to being causative versions of the intransitive verbalizers: the 'positive' beneficiative suffixes **-htë/-ntë** and **-pa/-ma** would describe the action of 'giving N to O', while the 'positive' inchoative suffixes **-ta/-na** (**-wa**) and **-pa(mï)/-ma(mï)** would correspond to the event of 'producing/getting N'; the 'negative' privative suffix **-ka** would indicate the action of 'taking N away from O', while the 'negative' cessative **-ke(pï)** would express the idea of 'losing N', 'not having N anymore'. There are, however, details which deviate from this parallelism: **-ke(pï)**, for instance, is much less productive on nouns than **-ka**, and its meaning does not really imply 'being deprived' as much as 'ceasing to function', 'stopping'; moreover, it is more frequently used with verb stems. In addition, though the distinction between **-ta/-na** and **-pa(mï)/-ma(mï)** roughly correlates with the distinction between **-htë/-ntë** and **-pa/-ma** (e.g. both **-pa/-ma** and **-pa(mï)/-ma(mï)** occur on 'more abstract' noun roots like **emu(ku)** 'sadness', **akunu** 'laziness', etc., while **-ta/-na** and **htë/-ntë** occur on 'more concrete' roots), the overlap is imperfect at best (e.g. **nmuu-ma** 'impregnate O', from **nmuku** 'son', corresponds not to ***nmuh-pa(mï)**, but to **nmuh-ta**, 'have, give birth to a son'). Although Table 5.8 still looks suggestive, and may have consequences for diachronic studies, it seems that, in present-day Tiriyó, the exact process used to verbalize a noun root is, to a large extent, an idiosyncratic lexical matter.

5.3.3.1. Transitive verbalizers. The meaning of transitive verbs derived from noun roots (N) is always related to transferring possession (in its most generic sense) of this N: verbs for 'depriving O of N' or for 'providing O with N'. For each meaning, there is a fully productive suffix (**-ka** 'Privative' and **-ntë** 'Beneficiative', respectively); for the 'provide' meaning, there are also several other less productive suffixes.

5.3.3.1.1. The privative verbalizer *-ka*. From any noun root N, a transitive verb meaning 'deprive O of N' can be derived with the privative suffix **-ka**. (37) shows a **ka**-verb used in a sentence; further examples are in (38).

(37) **ji-nmuku wi-po-ka-e**
1-son 1A-clothes-Pri.Vzr:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am undressing my son.'

(38a)	**maja**	'knife'	→	**maja-ka**	'deprive O of his/her knife'
(b)	**pï(tï)**	'wife'	→	**pïh-ka**	'steal O's wife'
(c)	**jo(mï)**	'wrapping'	→	**jon-ka**	'unwrap O'
(d)	**:mo**	'egg'	→	**:mo-ka**	'get O's eggs (O=hen)'
(e)	**eperu**	'fruit'	→	**eperu-ka**	'get O's fruit (O=tree)'

A relation with the transitivizer **-ka**, used with syllable-reducing S_O stems (cf. 5.3.1.2), is perhaps not impossible, but seems hard to justify. A more obvious connection can be made with the transitive stem **ka** 'remove O', which is the obvious diachronic source of the suffix **-ka**; cf. (39). It is not known whether or not there is a relationship with the intransitive (S_A) **ka** 'say' (notice that **wï-ka-e** 'I am removing' has **wï-**, with a final ï, as a first-person marker, which is also the case for **ka** 'say', **të[mï]** 'go', and for the **t**-adding verb stems of 5.1.3; it is not known whether **ka** 'remove O' is a **t**-adding verb, which would distinguish it from **ka** 'say').

(39) **i-mun** **wï-ka-e**
3-tuberous.root 1A-remove:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am plucking out the (=its) roots.'

5.3.3.1.2. The beneficiative verbalizers *-ntë*, *-htë*, *-pa*, and *-ma*. From any noun root N, a transitive verb meaning 'provide O with N' can be derived with the suffix **-ntë**. (40) has a sentence illustrating the use of a **ntë**-verb; (41) lists further examples.

(40) **ji-pawana** **wi-pakoro-ntë-e**
1-friend 1A-house-Ben.Vzr:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am (going to) give my friend a house.'

(41a)	**maja**	'knife'	→	**maja-ntë**	'provide O with a knife'
(b)	**panpira**	'paper; book'	→	**panpira-ntë**	'provide O with paper / a book'
(c)	**po**	'clothes'	→	**po-ntë**	'provide O with clothes; dress O'
(d)	**sopu**	'soap'	→	**sopu-ntë**	'provide O with soap; soap O up'
(e)	**pihpë**	'skin'	→	**pihpë-ntë**	'cover O with skin'
(f)	**kairi**	'stew'	→	**kairi-ntë**	'provide O with stew'
(g)	**repe(tï)**	'payment, reward'	→	**repe-ntë**	'pay, reward O'
(h)	**pata**	'village; place'	→	**pata-ntë**	'provide O with a place/village; help O settle down'

As (41h) suggests, in some cases, **ntë**-verbs have developed new meanings. Another example is **jahpë-ntë** 'to help O', derived from **jahpë**, a noun that refers to all things that a person needs in everyday life (clothes, utensils, firewood, rope, etc.), but which can be used for more abstract kinds of helping, as in the following example, in which an old man wants not to be given something, but to be taken somewhere (cf. also (25d), in which the detransitivized form **ëësahpëntë** is used to mean 'to get out of trouble'):

(42) **kure, ji-pa-rï, irëme kï-jahpëntë-kë, k-ërë-h_pa!**
OK 1-grandson-Pos so 12AO-help-Imper 12AO-take-Imper_Rept
'All right, my grandson, so please help me, take me there!'

(43) lists all the available examples of **-htë**, a suffix probably related to **-ntë** but much less productive.

(43a)	**menu**	'pattern; drawing'[25]	→	**menu-htë**	'paint O, write O'
(b)	**ewa**	'rope, thread'	→	**ewa-htë**	'put a rope on O (bow, hammock)'
(c)	**jara**	'temporary shelter'	→	**jara-htë**	'make shelter at O (e.g. tree)'
(d)	**wini**	'trick'	→	**wini-htë**	'trick, deceive, outsmart O'
(e)	**tïpï**	'continuation'	→	**tïpï-htë**	'continue O'
(f)	**amore**	'spirit; soul; shadow'	→	**amore-htë**	'dream of O'
(g)	**arï**	'content'	→	**arï-htë**	'fill O up'
(h)	**eka**	'name'	→	**eka-htë**	'name O; give O a name'
(i)	**amoi**	'nails, claws'	→	**amoi-htë**	'hang O'

As can be seen, **htë**-verbs tend to be less benefactive than **ntë**-verbs (compare (43b) and **ewa-ntë** 'give O a rope', or (43i) and **amoi-ntë** 'give O nails, provide O with nails').[26] The suffix **-htë** is certainly more restricted: most noun stems cannot take it. However, it is not 'dead' morphology, since it can be used on new stems (in (43d), **wini** 'trick' is a relatively recent borrowing from Sranantongo *wini* 'win', ultimately from English *win*). There are also in the corpus three verbs ending in **-htë** (**erahtë** 'find O', **amohtë** 'call O', **ehtë** 'think about O, plan O'); they may turn out to be derived from older, perhaps no longer extant noun roots.

---

[25] Also name of the plant from which a type of paint is made (*Genipa americana*, Rubiaceae).

[26] In one case, however, the reverse was observed: the verb stems **eka-htë** 'name O, give O a name', and **eka-ntë** 'indicate O, show where O is', from **eka** 'name'. It would be interesting to check the semantics of **ntë**-verbs corresponding to all the **htë**-verbs in (43).

(44) and (45) are exhaustive lists of the clear cases of the verbalizers **-ma** and **-pa** in the available corpus (**wapo-no** 'first one' and **epona-n** 'one who believes' are the nominalized form of the postposition **wapo** 'before, in front of' and **epona** 'fidelitive'); there may be others, among the verb stems ending in **ma** (e.g. **ekarama** 'give O', **aarama** 'adorn O', **erekonma** 'harass O', etc.), but further research is necessary to determine whether or not they have synchronic nominal sources.

Judging by these words, the semantics of **ma**-verbalizations are less clearly definable than was the case for **ntë**-verbalizations: not really 'provide O with N', but rather 'affect O with N', 'affect O by being N', 'affect O so that it gets/feels N', with N frequently being rather abstract. As for **pa**-verbalizations, they are much fewer, but, curiously enough, closer in meaning to **ntë**-verbalizations: 'provide O with N' (except for (45b)). The lists of examples do not clarify the issue of whether or not **-ma** and **-pa** are, or ever were, the same suffix.

(44a)	**emu(ku)**	'sadness'	→	**emuu-ma**	'sadden O'
(b)	**pïi**	'shame'	→	**pïi-ma**	'shame O'
(c)	**ratoe**	'enemy'	→	**ratoe-ma**	'attack O'
(d)	**apoto**	'friend'	→	**apoto-ma**	'help O'
(e)	**akoro(nï)**	'companion'	→	**akoron-ma**	'help O'
(f)	**nmuku**	'son'	→	**nmuu-ma**	'impregnate O'
(g)	**sokïi**	'boiling water'	→	**sokïi-ma**	'boil O'
(h)	**wa(no)**	'power, magic'	→	**wan-ma**	'advise O'

(i)	**(wï)karau**	'anger'	→	**(wï)karau-ma**	'infuriate O'
(j)	**(wï)rïpë**	'evil; sin'	→	**(wï)rïï-ma**	'bad-mouth O'
(k)	**wapo-no**	'first one'	→	**wapon-ma**	'overtake / go past O'
(l)	**epona-n**	'believer'	→	**eponan-ma**	'help O'
(m)	**amïï(nï)**	'weight'	→	**amïï-ma**	'make O heavy'
(n)	**kutu(nu)**	'pain, bitterness'	→	**kutun-ma**	'irritate O'
(o)	**ikuru(nu)**	'weapon; danger'	→	**kurun-ma**	'make O be a guard, watcher'

(45a)	**(j)omi**	'language, voice'	→	**jon-pa**	'address O'
(b)	**enu**	'eye'	→	**en-pa**	'teach O'
(c)	**jokï**	'drink (N)'	→	**joh-pa**	'give O a drink'
(d)	**otï**	'meat food'	→	**o-pa**	'give O meat food'

There are, in addition, **ma**-derived verbs for which the synchronic nominal source is missing, but has apparently been used to form other words. This was the case for two color words:[27]

(46a)	**sikime**	'black' (Adv.)	**sikin-ma**	'make/paint O black'
(b)	**tïkorooje**	'white' (Adv.)	**koroo-ma**	'make/paint O white'

5.3.3.2. Intransitive (S_O) verbalizers. The meaning of an S_O verb stem derived from a noun root N involves the definition of a relationship between the subject (S) and the N: either the S is getting or producing N (in a general sense), or then the S is losing the N (or its N is not working). For the first sense, which describes the beginning of a state (*inchoative*), there is one productive suffix, **-ta**, and several less productive ones; for the second sense, which describes the end of a state (*cessative*), there is one (not very productive) suffix **-ke(pï)**.

---

[27] The S_A verb stem **emënparëma** 'have an accident' looks as if it were derived from the noun root **mënparë** 'belongings, baggage' (with the verbalizer **-ma** and the detransitivizer **e-**); but the meaning should be 'provide oneself with things' (which is unattested), not 'have an accident'. This may be another case of lexicalization. Another similar example may be **panama** 'turn O', which looks as though it should be derived from **pana** 'ear'.

5.3.3.2.1. Inchoative verbalizers (*-ta*, *-na*, *-wa*, *-pa(mï)*, *-ma(mï)*). From any noun root N, an S_O verb stem meaning 'having N' or 'producing N' can be derived with one of the suffixes **-ta**, **-na**, **-wa**, **-pa(mï)** and **-ma(mï)**. These suffixes do not seem to contrast with each other; rather, they occur on different classes of nouns.

The most frequent of all is **-ta**, which is used to derive several hundred verb stems. (47) contains a sentence example (notice the possibility of a **_ke** complement; cf. 10.3.2.3); (48) lists further lexical examples.

(47) **kokoro** **ji-pïh-ta-e** **karaiwa_ke**
tomorrow 1S_O-wife-Have.Vzr-Cty Brazilian_Inst
'Tomorrow I am getting a Brazilian wife.' (=I am getting married with a Brazilian.)

(48a)	**njo**	'husband'	→	**njo-ta**	'get a husband'
(b)	**nmuku**	'son'	→	**nmuh-ta**	'give birth to a son'
(c)	**eemi**	'daughter'	→	**eemi-ta**	'give birth to a daughter'
(d)	**eperu**	'fruit'	→	**eperu-ta**	'produce fruit (e.g. a tree)'
(e)	**eramu(ku)**	'sweat'	→	**eramuh-ta**	'sweat'
(f)	**suku**	'juice; urine'	→	**suh-ta**	'urinate'
(g)	**eta(ku)**	'spittle'	→	**etah-ta**	'drool'
(h)	**jomi**	'language'	→	**jomi-ta**	'speak, produce speech (e.g. a child)'
(g)	**eta(ku)**	'spittle'	→	**etah-ta**	'drool'
(i)	**kaimo**	'game'	→	**kaimo-ta**	'have (killed) game'
(j)	**munu**	'blood'	→	**mun-ta**	'bleed'
(k)	**(wï)karau**	'anger'	→	**(wï)karau-ta**	'be angry'

The suffix **-wa** occurred only once, on the same stem as (48k), **(wï)karau** 'anger', yielding **(wï)karauwa** 'be angry'. No difference in meaning between the two S_O verb stems was detected.

The clearer instances of occurrence of the suffix **-na** were the following:

(49a)	**awain**	'clear, light'	→	**awai-na**	'dawn; rise (sun)'
(b)	**eremi**	'song'	→	**eremi-na**	'sing'
(c)	**potï**	'upper lip'	→	**potï-na**	'whistle'
(d)	**emamin**	'toy'	→	**emami-na**	'play'
(e)	**erei(nï)**	'smoke'	→	**erei-na**	'smoke (e.g. fire)'

Judging by (49a) and (49d), there seems to be some relation between a noun root ending in a nasal and its corresponding verbalization taking **-na**. However, this correlation is not entirely satisfactory: there are nasal-final roots that take the **-pa(mï)** verbalizer (cf. **akunu** in (49a)).

(50) and (51) list the clearer cases of **-pa(mï)** and **-ma(mï)**, respectively, found in the available corpus.

(50a)	**akunu**	'laziness'	→	**akun-pa(mï)**	'be/feel lazy'
(b)	**emu(ku)**	'sadness'	→	**emuh-pa(mï)**	'be/feel sad'
(c)	**(j)emi**	'hunger'	→	**emi-pa(mï)**	'be/feel hungry'
(d)	**kaara**	'bitter taste'	→	**kaara-pa(mï)**	'ferment'
(e)	**tïno(tï)**	'cold; dew'	→	**:noh-pa(mï)**	'be/feel cold'
(f)	**joro(ko)**	'spirit; maraca'	→	**joroh-pa(mï)**	'be/feel dizzy, crazy'
(g)	**këi**	'fever'	→	**këi-pa(mï)**	'have fever'
(51)	**koko**	'night' (Adv)	→	**koo-ma(mï)**	'spend the night'

Thus, the only clear instance of **-ma(mï)** occurred on an adverb, **koko** '(at) night'. One explanation for this would be to assume that **koko** was nominalized with the suffix **-(no)** (**koko-n** 'someone/something who works, lives etc. at night'), and that **-ma(mï)** is the result of the interaction between **-pa(mï)** and the nominalized form **koko-(no)**.

5.3.3.2.2. The cessative *-ke(pï)*. This suffix derives S_O verbs from nouns with the meaning 'to stop having N', 'to stop being able to use N'. In most (but not all) examples, the source noun was a body part.

(52a)	**enu**	'eye'	→	**en-ke(pï)**	'to be in the dark; to stop seeing'
(b)	**pana**	'ear'	→	**pana-ke(pï)**	'to become deaf; to stop listening'
(c)	**apë**	'arm'	→	**apë-ke(pï)**	'to lose one's arms'
(d)	**mu(nu)**	'tuberous root'[28]	→	**mun-ke(pï)**	'to stop putting out roots'
(e)	**maja**	'knife'	→	**maja-ke(pï)**	'to stop having knives, to lose one's knives'

Examples based on other noun stems, including body parts, were often considered unappropriate (one speaker said about (52c) that it was 'not very good, because people don't usually lose their arms'; another speaker said that it could refer to a maimed person). One case of an apparently lexicalized form has been found:[29]

(53)	**erepa**	'food'	→	**erepa-ke(pï)**	'to stifle; to be unable to breathe'

---

[28] Cf. the glossary (Appendix) for doubts concerning the final syllable of this stem.

[29] The case of **ewanë-keh-ka** 'to cheer O up', with both **-ke(pï)** and the transitivizer **-ka**, apparently from the noun stem **ewanë** 'heart', possibly reflects a culture-specific connection between the heart and certain emotional states: in case they happen to see the heart as the source of 'negative emotions' (fear, anguish, nervousness etc. tend to accelerate the heartbeat), then 'to stop O's heart' could become 'to cheer O up'.

One speaker accepted (53) as also meaning 'to have no food', but pointed out that the 'stifle' meaning is much more frequent. A different speaker, however, did not accept the reading 'to have no food'; he noted that this verb can even be used idiomatically to say that one feels tired of staying home and wants to go out for a walk. These facts make the productivity of **-ke(pï)** seem low; unfortunately, there were not enough examples in the available corpus to reach a definitive conclusion. More research is necessary here.

A more frequent use of **-ke(pï)** is with verb stems, to indicate that the action described by the original stem has ceased. This may imply the completion of a task (54a-c), but also an interruption (54d). Notice that the **kepï**-derived stem belongs to the same subclass (transitive, S_A or S_O) as the original stem.

(54a) **akë(të)** 'cut/clear O (e.g. field)' → **akëh-ke(pï)** 'finish clearing O'
(b) **apëëna** 'finish up (task)' (S_O) → **apëëna-ke(pï)** 'end finishing up' (S_O)
(c) **ëëmo(mï)** 'get together' (S_A) → **ëëmon-ke(pï)** 'finish getting together' (S_A)
(d) **jahpëntë** 'help O' → **jahpëntë-ke(pï)** 'stop helping O'

The verb stem **ke(pï)** 'stop' (55) is the obvious source for the cessative suffix **-ke(pï)**. It is an S_O verb, as is illustrated in (55) by its occurrence with the first-person prefix **ji-**.

(55) **ji-kee-ja-e**
1S_O-stop-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am stopping.'

One might wonder whether or not the cases of the suffix **-ke(pï)** on nominal stems could not be better analyzed as nominal S-incorporation by the verb stem **ke(pï)**. However, the distribution of **-ke(pï)** is different from what one would expect from cases of incorporation such as the ones described in 5.3.2 (e.g. **-ke(pï)** occurs on verb stems). For this reason, it seems better to consider **-ke(pï)** as a suffix, the verb stem **ke(pï)** simply being its historical source.

5.4. Inflection. The inflectional morphology of Tiriyó verbs is typical of the Cariban family; in level of complexity, it can be compared to Indo-European languages. The main semantic categories which are morphologically expressed in the verb are: Person (cf. 5.4.1.1), Number (5.4.1.2), and Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM; 5.4.1.3). The formal means of expressing these categories lead to a classification of verb forms in three groups:

— The *conjugated* or *Set I* forms (cf. Gildea 1998:16ff, 57ff), which are characterized by the overt marking of A, O and S with person-marking prefixes and number-marking suffixes. The TAM categories show a factual vs. non-factual distinction, with the factual category further distinguishing three tenses (present, past, future) with two aspects each (imperfective, perfective).

— The *non-conjugated* forms, which are characterized by the lack of person- and number-marking affixes for S or A (certain forms can take O-marking affixes indicating person and number). These forms include negation, supine ('purpose of motion'), a remote past (also distinguishing imperfective from perfective), and two circumstantial forms indicating Posteriority and motive. They are less finite than the conjugated forms.

— The *imperative* forms, which are intermediate between conjugated and non-conjugated forms in that they can take certain (but not all) A- and S-marking prefixes. The second-person imperative includes *static* and *allative* ('Go') forms, while the non-second-person imperative has a *hortative* ('let us') form. Special *venitive* ('Come') and *jussive* ('let me', 'let him') constructions are based on the supine with specific particles.

The allomorphic pattern and meanings of the various forms are discussed in detail in the following section. As a first map to orient the reader, Table 5.9 presents the forms of the verb stem **pono(pï)** 'tell O' for second-person A and third-person O (prefix **mi-** on conjugated forms, **i-** or **in-** on non-conjugated forms), except for the hortative ('let us') and jussive ('let me', 'let him') forms. The arrow represents an ongoing case of replacement; cf. the respective sections. Unnecessary details are not indicated.

Table 5.9
A first map of the Tiriyó verb system. (Cty = Certainty, Dbt = Doubt)
Less used tenses are shaded.

CONJUGATED (SET I) FACTUAL				
	Imperfective		Perfective	
	Non-Collective	Collective	Non-Collective	Collective
Future Cty	**mi-ponoh-tae** you will tell	**mi-ponoh-tahki(i)** (maybe) you all will tell	**mi-ponoo-jakë(mi)** you will tell (for a second)	**mi-ponoo-jatëkë(mi)** you all will tell (for a second)
Future Dbt	**mi-ponoh-ta(ne)** maybe you will tell			
Present Cty	**mi-ponoo-jae** you are telling	**mi-ponoo-jati(i)** (maybe) you all are telling	**mi-pono(pï)** you have told	**mi-ponoh-ti(i)** you all have told
Present Dbt	**mi-ponoo-ja(në)** maybe you're telling			
Past	**mi-ponoo-jakë(ne)** you used to tell	**mi-ponoo-jatëkë(ne)** you all used to tell,	**mi-ponoo-ne** you told	**mi-ponoh-tëne** you all told

CONJUGATED (SET I) NON-FACTUAL		
	Non-Collective	Collective
Hypothetical	**mi-ponopï-i** you would tell / have told	**mi-ponoh-ti(i)** you all would tell / have told
Incredulitive	**mi-ponopïï-je(pe)** you won't tell! I don't believe you would tell	**mi-ponoh-tëëje(pe)** you all won't tell! I don't believe you all would tell
Admonitive	**mi-ponoo-ne(nu)** (watch out), lest you tell	**mi-ponoh-tëne(nu)** (watch out), lest you all tell

NON-CONJUGATED	
Habitual Past	**i-ponoo-se** (ëmë) (you) used to tell
Supine	**i-ponoo-se** (ëëja) (for you) to tell
Negative	**in-ponoo-sewa** (ëmë) (you) not telling
Remote Past	**tï-ponoo-se** (ëëja) (you) told
Posteriority	**i-ponoh-tuuwë** (ëëja) after you tell/told
Cause	**i-ponoh-tëkërë** (ëëja) because you tell/told

IMPERATIVE					
	Second-Person			Non-Second-Person	
	Non-Collective	Collective		Non-Collective	Collective
Static	**i-ponoh-kë** you tell!	**i-ponoh-të(kë)** you all tell!	Hortative	**kï-ponoo-ne** let us tell!	**kï-ponoh-tëne** let us all tell!
Allative ('Go')	**i-ponoh-ta** you go tell!	**i-ponoh-tatë(kë)** you all go tell!	Jussive	**ëwë wi-ponoo-jae** let me tell! **ëwë(h_to) ni-ponoo-jan** let him (them) tell!	
Venitive ('Come')	**i-ponoo-se_mïi** you come tell!	**i-ponoo-se_mïiko(mo)** you all come tell!			

5.4.1. The conjugated (Set I) system. The characterizing feature of the conjugated (Set I) system is the occurrence of person- and number-marking affixes referring to A, O and S participants, along with certain morphosyntactic properties (overt nominal participants are not case-marked, the third-person A and O prefix **n-** is in complementary distribution with an overt preverbal O nominal; cf. 10.3.2.3).

5.4.1.1. Person marking. Different prefixes are used to distinguish four basic persons: first person singular ('1'), second person ('2'), first person dual inclusive ('1+2') and third person ('3'), as was introduced in 3.3.1.2 (recall that the first person exclusive ['1+3'] behaves morphosyntactically like a third person). The person-marking prefixes refer to the various participants (A, O and S) of the event described by the verb stem on which they occur. The form, number and usage of these prefixes clearly distinguish transitive from intransitive verb stems.

Transitive verb stems have a richer person-marking system: they can take a total of eight different prefixes to indicate the A and O participants. Gildea 1998 describes such systems as based on a two-level person hierarchy.

Intransitive verb stems fall into two groups, according to the subset of person-marking prefixes that they can take to mark their S participant. The first (or S_O) group uses the O-marking prefix set, also used for the O participant on transitive stems; the second (or S_A) group uses prefixes very similar to the transitive A-marking set. These parallelisms resemble quite closely what Dixon 1979, 1994 calls a 'split-S system'; however, this analysis is not felicitous for Tiriyó, on semantic and morphological grounds (cf. 5.2.2). The terms 'S_A' and 'S_O' are used here as convenient labels for the two subclasses of intransitive verb stems, without any implied semantic consequences.

5.4.1.1.1. Transitive stems: the two-level person hierarchy. On transitive verb stems, a total of eight person-marking prefixes can be used: the A-marking (Gildea's 1998 *direct*) prefixes, the O-marking (Gildea's *inverse*) prefixes (also used on nouns [cf. 4.3.1.2] and postpositions [cf. 7.1.1]), the SAP-only (Gildea's *local*) prefix, and the non-SAP or third-person (Gildea's *3A3O*) prefixes. Table 5.10 lists these prefixes (symbols in parentheses refer to morphophonological effects; cf. below). In addition, there is a *prefixless* form, which is used instead in the third-person-only situation with an immediately preverbal O nominal. A conjugation of the stem **eta** 'hear O' in the Present Perfective (suffix **-∅**), with a few additional Past Perfective and Hypothetical forms, is given in (56) as an illustrative example. Irregularities are discussed at the end of this section.

Table 5.10
Transitive person-marking prefixes.

A-marking		O-marking	
w-, wi-, wï-	1A	**j-, ji-**	1O
m-, mi-, mï-	2A	**ë-, a-, o-**	2O
k(:)-, kï-, kït-	1+2A	**k(e>ë)-, kï-**	1+2O

SAP-only	
k(e>ë)-, kï-	12AO

Non-SAP	
n-, ni-, nï- (**∅-, i-; kïn-, kïnï-**)	3AO

(56) **eta** 'hear O'

	A-marking:		O-marking:
w-eta	'I have heard O(3rd)'	**j-eta**	's/he/it has heard me'
m-eta	'you have heard O(3rd)'	**ë-eta**	's/he/it has heard you'
k-eeta	'we (1+2) have heard O(3rd)'	**k-ëta**	's/he/it has heard us (1+2)'

Non-SAP		SAP-only	
n-eta	's/he/it has heard O(3rd)'	**k-ëta**	'I heard you', 'you heard me'
kïn-eta	's/he/it heard O(3rd) long ago'		
eta-i	's/he/it would hear O(3rd)'		

tonoro eta	's/he/it has heard the bird' (=**tonoro**)
tonoro eta-ne	's/he/it heard the bird long ago'

As can be seen in the above examples, the A-marking prefixes occur when the O participant is a third person ('I → him/her/it', etc.), while the O-marking prefixes are used when the A participant is a third person ('s/he/it → me', etc.). When both participants are third persons, **n-** is used (or **kïn-** in the Past Perfective, or **Ø-/i-** in the Non-factual forms), except if an overt O nominal immediately precedes the verb, in which case the prefixless form occurs (cf. 10.2.2; notice that the Past Perfective suffix **-ne** reappears if **kïn-** is dropped, as in the **eta-ne** example above). When neither participant is a third person, the SAP-only prefix is used, resulting in either 'I → you' or 'you → me'.[30]

Similar systems are frequent in the Cariban family (cf. Gildea 1998:57ff on Set I languages). The two main accounts of these systems found in the literature are: the *portmanteau* analysis (cf. Hoff 1968, 1995, for Carib of Surinam), which considers all prefixes to refer to both the A and O participant (which implies that the A- and O-marking prefixes also include a reference to a third-person participant, so that e.g. the first-person A-marking prefix **w-** actually is '1A3O' rather than simply '1A'), and the *person hierarchy* or *inverse* analysis (cf. Derbyshire 1987, Gildea 1994, 1998), which treats the A- and O-marking prefixes as referring to only one participant. The main argument for the person hierarchy analysis is the existence of non-transitive uses for the prefixes (the A-marking set, with modifications, can mark the S participant on S_A verbs; the O-marking set is used to mark the S participant on S_O verbs, the possessor on possessed nouns [cf. 4.3.1.2] and the object on inflected postpositions [cf. 7.1.1]) without any third-person reference; one immediately feels compelled to admit the same lack of third-person reference for the transitive uses. For the portmanteau analysis, the existence of the non-transitive uses of the prefixes has no explanation; it is, *lato sensu*, a coincidence. However, the inverse analysis has its problems as well. First, there is at least one prefix (the **k-** '12AO') which has to be analyzed as making reference to both the A and the O participants. Furthermore, if the third-person participant is not part of the meaning of the A- and O-marking prefixes, then where in the verb word is it expressed? Explanations such as e.g. 'the O-marking prefixes are used when the A participant is a third person', or 'in the context of a third-person A participant' suggest the *de facto* assumption of the existence of a **∅-** third-person marker.

---

[30] Notice that this prefix has exactly the same allomorphic pattern and morphophonological effects as the 1+2O prefix (both are **k(ë,o)- / kï-**). One could unify both, claiming that this prefix is used to indicate 'first-and/or second-person affectedness': the O participant is either a first person, or a second person, or both. Given the existence of other A- and O-marking prefixes, considering there to be two **k-** prefixes has the advantage of keeping the two prefix sets parallel, which is why this analysis is adopted here. Of course, a historical connection between them is not excluded.

An intermediate interpretation is proposed here. The A- and O-marking prefixes are seen as referring to both participants, but with one of them being clearly dominant, in that it is preserved in non-transitive uses. This situation is reminiscent of cases of semantic markedness: just as, in gender languages, the masculine gender is unmarked and can thus be used in generic or genderless contexts (as e.g. the—currently under attack—English 'generic *he*'), person-marking prefixes in Cariban languages have one unmarked participant (the dominant A or O) that determines which person reference survives in neutralized (i.e.

non-transitive) contexts. In this sense, the A- and O-marking prefixes are really *A-* and *O-marked*, or *A-* and *O-dominant.*

Bearing this interpretation in mind, it becomes possible to accept the basic characterization of transitive person-marking according to the participant hierarchy analysis: *a SAP which is involved in a given event is always marked on the verb stem that describes this event* (with an A-dominant prefix, if it is the A participant, or with an O-dominat prefix, if it is the O participant). If both A and O are SAPs, the SAP-only prefix **k-** is used; if neither A nor O is a SAP, one of the non-SAP alternatives (**n-**, **kïn-**, **i-**, a prefixless form) is used. This situation can then be analyzed as what Gildea 1994 terms *inverse alignment* with a two-level person hierarchy in which SAPs outrank third persons:[31]

$$1=2 > 3$$

For the O-marking prefixes, the distribution of the various allomorphs is exactly the same as was the case with possessed nouns (4.3.1.2) and inflected postpositions (7.1.1). The A-marking, SAP-only and non-SAP prefixes are also sensitive to the same factors. For ease of understanding, these factors are listed here as well:

(i) C- vs. V-initial stems (the vowel-final allomorphs occur on consonant-initial stems, while the consonant-final allomorphs occur on vowel-initial stems; the 1+2A prefix is **k-** if the stem starts with an **eC** syllable, it is **k-** with lengthening (**k:-**) if the stem starts with a coda-less **e**, it is **kït-** if it starts with a vowel other than **e**, and **kii-** if it starts with a consonant);

---

[31] It is debated whether or not the word *inverse*, traditionally associated with the Algonquian person and voice system, should be extended to all situations that involve participant hierarchies, as was done in Givón 1994. No position is taken here; it shall only be observed that, whatever viewpoint one has in this debate, it is clear that the Tiriyó system is very different from the Algonquian one.

(ii) quality of the first vowel in V-initial stems: **ë-** '2O' assimilates to vowel length on **a-** and **o**-initial stems;

(iii) ablaut (cf. 2.6.1): the **k-** prefixes ('12AO' and '1+2O') cause **e-**, **aCë-** and **aCo-** initial stems to occur in their back grade form (i.e. with **e** > ë, **aCë** > **ëCë**, and **aCo** > **oCo**).

Table 5.11 and the (past perfective) examples following it in (57) illustrate the patterns. English translations are not provided for the examples, since they are all as would be expected (cf. the forms of **eta** in (56) above).

Table 5.11
Allomorphic pattern of transitive person-markers

	C-stems	**eC.**-stems	**e.**-stems	**o**-stems	**a**-stems	**aCë**-stems	**aCo**-stems	others
1A	**wi-**	**w-**	**w-**	**w-**	**w-**	**w-**	**w-**	**w-**
2A	**mi-**	**m-**	**m-**	**m-**	**m-**	**m-**	**m-**	**m-**
1+2A	**kii-**	**k-**	**k:-**	**kït-**	**kït-**	**kït-**	**kït-**	**kït-**
1O	**ji-**	**j-**	**j-**	**j-**	**j-**	**j-**	**j-**	**j-**
2O	**ë-**	**ë-**	**ë-**	**o-**	**a-**	**a-**	**a-**	**ë-**
3AO	**ni-**	**n-**	**n-**	**n-**	**n-**	**n-**	**n-**	**n-**
1+2O, 12AO	**kï-**	**k-e > k-ë**	**k-e > k-ë**	**k-**	**k-**	**k-a > k-ë**	**k-a > k-o**	**k-**

(57)	**konka**	**enpa**	**ene**	**ono(pï)**	**apuru**	**arë**	**amo**	**uru**
	pierce O	teach O	see O	paint O	lock O	take O	mourn O	warn O
1A	**wi-konka**	**w-enpa**	**w-ene**	**w-onopï**	**w-apuru**	**w-arë**	**w-amo**	**w-uru**
2A	**mi-konka**	**m-enpa**	**m-ene**	**m-onopï**	**m-apuru**	**m-arë**	**m-amo**	**m-uru**
1+2A	**kii-konka**	**k-enpa**	**k-eene**	**kït-onopï**	**kït-apuru**	**kït-arë**	**kït-amo**	**kït-uru**
1O	**ji-konka**	**j-enpa**	**j-ene**	**j-onopï**	**j-apuru**	**j-arë**	**j-amo**	**j-uru**
2O	**ë-konka**	**ë-enpa**	**ë-ene**	**o-onopï**	**a-apuru**	**a-arë**	**a-amo**	**ë-uru**
3AO	**ni-konka**	**n-enpa**	**n-ene**	**n-onopï**	**n-apuru**	**n-arë**	**n-amo**	**n-uru**
1+2O, 12AO	**kï-konka**	**k-ënpa**	**k-ëne**	**k-onopï**	**k-apuru**	**k-ërë**	**k-omo**	**k-uru**

The prefix **ë-** disappears with **a-** and **o-**stems with an initial diphthong or long vowel (i.e. it assimilates and is completely absorbed by the stem). With **ee-**initial stems, it does not assimilate, but the long vowel shortens to **e**, so that the result is a diphthong (**ëe**). With **ei-**initial stems, the initial **e** is dropped, so that the result is **ëi**.

(58)	**aitë**	**oima**	**aarama**	**eeka**	**eiraano(pï)**
	push O	mix O	adorn O	bite O	get angry at O
1A	**w-aitë**	**w-oima**	**w-aarama**	**w-eeka**	**w-eiraanopï**
2A	**m-aitë**	**m-oima**	**m-aarama**	**m-eeka**	**m-eiraanopï**
1+2A	**kït-aitë**	**kït-oima**	**kït-aarama**	**n-eeka**	**n-eiraanopï**
1O	**j-aitë**	**j-oima**	**j-aarama**	**j-eeka**	**j-eiraanopï**
2O	**aitë**	**oima**	**aarama**	**ë-eka**	**ëiraanopï**
3AO	**n-aitë**	**n-oima**	**n-aarama**	**n-eeka**	**n-eiraanopï**
1+2O, 12AO	**k-aitë**	**k-oima**	**k-aarama**	**k-ëëka**	**k-ëiraanopï**

With consonant-initial **t**-adding stems (cf. 5.1.3), the **ï**-final allomorphs of the person-marking prefixes are used.[32] Notice the lengthening of the 2O prefix **ë**. Vowel-initial **t**-adding stems are regular. Stems with an initial reducing syllable (cf. 5.1.2) will produce the appropriate grade, depending on the following consonant (cf. 2.6.2 for syllable reduction). Notice that the 1+2A prefix **kii-** occurs as **ki-** if the initial reducing syllable occurs in the coda grade (e.g. **hpa** 'water O').

---

[32] For some speakers, the 1O allomorph **ji-** could be used with **t**-adding stems instead of **jï-** (i.e. **ji-rï, ji-pï, ji-wë**, in variation with **jï-rï, jï-pï, jï-wë**). The 1+2A form **kïtïrïjae** 'we are making it' is in variation with **kïtiijae** (the latter being apparently more frequent).

(59)	**[t]rï**	**[t]pï**	**[t]wë**	**[t]ënë**	**-hpa**	**-:sika**
	make O	bathe O	shoot O	eat O	water O	remove O
1A	**wï-rï**	**wï-pï**	**wï-wë**	**w-ënë**	**wi-hpa**	**wii-sika**
2A	**mï-rï**	**mï-pï**	**mï-wë**	**m-ënë**	**mi-hpa**	**mii-sika**
1+2A	**kïtï-rï**	**kïï-pï**	**kïï-wë**	**kït-ënë**	**ki-hpa**	**kii-sika**
1O	**jï-rï**	**jï-pï**	**jï-wë**	**j-ënë**	**ji-hpa**	**jii-sika**
2O	**ëë-rï**	**ëë-pï**	**ëë-wë**	**ë-ënë**	**ë-hpa**	**ëë-sika**
3AO	**nï-rï**	**nï-pï**	**nï-wë**	**n-ënë**	**ni-hpa**	**nii-sika**
1+2O, 12AO	**kï-rï**	**kï-pï**	**kï-wë**	**k-ënë**	**kï-hpa**	**kïï-sika**

The various allomorphs of the 3AO prefix are used in different TAM forms. The form **kïn-** occurs in the past (perfective and imperfective), and **i-/Ø-** occurs in the non-factual forms. The prefixless form, which occurs when an O nominal immediately precedes the verb (cf. 10.2.2), can optionally have an **i-** on consonant-initial stems without any apparent change in the meaning (60c-e). This optionality differentiates it from the **i-/Ø-** forms in the Hypothetical and Incredulitive, for which the **i-** allomorph on consonant-initial stems is obligatory.

(60a) **n-apëi**
3AO-catch:Prs.Prf
'S/he has caught (it).'

(b) **pakira apëi**
peccary.sp 3AO:catch:Prs.Prf
'S/he has caught the peccary.'

(c) **ni-pahka**
3AO-break:Prs.Prf
'S/he has broken (it).'

(d) **tï-nasu-h-ton ipahka**
3R-toy-Pos-Col 3AO:break:Prs.Prf
'S/he has broken his/her$_i$ toys.'

(e) **tï-nasu-h-ton pahka**
3R-toy-Pos-Col 3AO:break:Prs.Prf
'S/he$_i$ has broken his/her$_i$ toys.'

No occurrences of this **i-** on **t**-adding stems were observed in the available corpus. Unfortunately, speakers were not asked whether this **i-** was at all possible; presumably, it is not. The examples below have the stems **[t]wë** 'shoot O', **[t]rï** 'make O', and **[t]pë(tï)** 'gather O (fruit)'.

(61a) **akï wë-n ?**
wh.An 3AO:shoot:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Who (=which animal) is s/he (trying to) shoot?'

(b) **pakoro rï-ja-n**
house 3AO:make-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he is making a house.'

(c) **eperu pëë-ja-n**
fruit 3AO:gather-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he is gathering fruit.'

The presence of this optional **i-** still lacks a clear explanation. One may suggest it as one of the consequences of the past merger of **i-** and consonant-initial stems that was hypothesized in 5.1.5: former **i**-initial stems optionally lost their **i** as the merger progressed, and this optionality was later extended to the former consonant-initial stems. Another possibility is that OV constituents are parallel to genitive phrases: with the coming of the innovative possessive construction N_{PSR} **i-**N_{PSD} (cf. 10.2.2), the OV phrase also became (optionally) O **i-**V. If this is true, then maybe there are certain parallel nuances (i.e. maybe an O V phrase is sometimes more 'semantically integrated' than an O **i-**V phrase; cf. 10.2.2 for the genitive cases). Further research, both synchronic and diachronic, is necessary.

5.4.1.1.2. Intransitive stems: the epiphenomenal split-S system. Person marking is one of the four independent parameters that define the two subclasses of intransitive verbs (S_A

and S_O; cf. 5.2.2). The parallelism between S-marking on these stems and A- and O-marking on transitive verb suggests a split-S ('Active-Stative' or 'Agent-Patient') analysis of the person-marking system. The reasons why this analysis was not adopted are discussed in 5.2.2; the present section aims only at describing the prefixes and their allomorphic patterns. Table 5.12 contains a summary of the prefixes, including all conditioned allomorphs; (62) illustrates with two stems conjugated in the Present Perfective.

Table 5.12
S-marking prefixes.

Person	S_A	S_O
1S	**w-, wï-, s-, t-**	**j-, ji-**
2S	**m-, mï-**	**ë-, a-, o-**
3S	**n-, nï-, (kïn-)**	**n, ni-, nï-, (kïn-)**
1+2S	**kï-, kït-, k(:)-**	**kï-, k(e>ë)-**

(62)	**të[mï]** 'go'		**emamina** 'play'	
1S	**wï-tën**	'I have gone'	**j-emamina**	'I have played'
2S	**mï-tën**	'you have gone'	**ë-emamina**	'you have played'
1+2S	**kï-tën**	'we (1+2) have gone'	**k-ëmamina**	'we (1+2) have played'
3S	**nï-tën**	's/he has gone'	**n-emamina**	's/he has played'

For the S_O-marking prefixes, the allomorphic pattern is exactly the same as for O-marking prefixes on transitive verb stems, and for the person-marking prefixes on possessed nouns (4.3.1.2) and inflected postpositions (7.1.1). The S_A-marking prefixes are very similar to the A-marking prefixes on transitive verb stems, but there are some differences, especially for first person. Table 5.13 below summarizes the distribution of the phonologically predictable allomorphs; present perfective examples are given in (63) and (64). As its A-marking counterpart, the $1S_A$ prefix **k(:)-** only causes lengthening on **e**-stems if the initial syllable is of the V type (VV and VC syllables do not lengthen; cf. examples in (63)). Empty cells imply that the relevant group is not attested (e.g. there are no ë-initial S_O stems).

Table 5.13
Allomorphic pattern of S-marking prefixes.

	C-stems	e-stems	ë-stems	a-stems	o-stem	aCë-stems	aCo-stems	others
$1S_A$	**wï-**	**s-**	**t-**					
$2S_A$	**mï-**	**m-**	**m-**					
$1+2S_A$	**kï-**	**k:-**	**kït-**					
$1S_O$	**ji-**	**j-**		**j-**	**j-**	**j-**	**j-**	**j-**
$2S_O$	**ë-**	**ë-**		**a-**	**o-**	**a-**	**a-**	**ë-**
$1+2S_O$	**kï-**	**k+e>k-ë**		**k-**	**k-**	**k+a>k-ë**	**k+a>k-o**	**k-**
$3S_{(A/O)}$	**nï-**	**n-**	**n-**	**n-**	**n-**	**n-**	**n-**	**n-**

(63)	**të[mï]**	**epï**	**entapo**	**ehtarënma**	**eeseka**	**ëturu**
	go	bathe	yawn	get ready	jump	talk
$1S_A$	**wï-tën**	**s-epï**	**s-entapo**	**s-ehtarënma**	**s-eeseka**	**t-ëturu**
$2S_A$	**mï-tën**	**m-epï**	**m-entapo**	**m-ehtarënma**	**m-eeseka**	**m-ëturu**
$1+2S_A$	**kï-tën**	**k-eepï**	**k-entapo**	**k-ehtarënma**	**k-eeseka**	**kït-ëturu**
$3S_A$	**nï-tën**	**n-epï**	**n-entapo**	**n-ehtarënma**	**n-eeseka**	**n-ëturu**

(64)	**ta(tï)**	**enta**	**akinta**	**osita**	**apëëna**	**anota**	**urakana**
	get lost	wake up	get tired	have rash	finish	fall	stroll
$1S_O$	**ji-tatï**	**j-enta**	**j-akinta**	**j-osita**	**j-apëëna**	**j-anota**	**j-urakana**
$2S_O$	**ë-tatï**	**ë-enta**	**a-akinta**	**o-osita**	**a-apëëna**	**a-anota**	**ë-urakana**
$1+2S_O$	**kï-tatï**	**k-ënta**	**k-akinta**	**k-osita**	**k-ëpëëna**	**k-onota**	**k-urakana**
$3S_O$	**ni-tatï**	**n-enta**	**n-akinta**	**n-osita**	**n-apëëna**	**n-anota**	**n-urakana**

Like its O-marking counterpart, the 2S_O prefix **ë-** also assimilates totally (i.e. disappears) with **a-** and **o**-stems that have an initial diphthong or long vowel; it also merges with an initial long **ee** to form a diphthong **ëe**.

(65)	**aamiita**	**aeruta**	**oonapijuhta**	**eerana**
	blush	make noise	have running nose	laugh
1S_O	**j-aamiita**	**j-aeruta**	**j-oonapijuhta**	**j-eerana**
2S_O	**aamiita**	**aeruta**	**oonapijuhta**	**ë-erana**
1+2S_O	**k-aamiita**	**k-aeruta**	**k-oonapijuhta**	**k-ëërana**
3S_O	**n-aamiita**	**n-aeruta**	**n-oonapijuhta**	**n-eerana**

The most striking exceptional cases were found among the non-detransitivized S_A verbs listed in Table 5.4 (Sec. 5.2.2); they are conjugated in (66) below. All the cases of first-person **w(ï)-** are in this table: **të[mï]** 'go' (conjugated above), **e(i)** 'Copula', **ka** 'say', and **ëe(pï)** 'come'. The copula **e(i)** has an irregular conjugation, with a suppletive stem **a**, and a regular conjugation, with the stem **ei** (cf. 5.4.4 for meaning differences). The stem **ka** 'say' has two irregularities: the 1+2 prefix **kïh-**, and the 3 prefix **n-** (without a final vowel). There are three irregular first-person markers: **tï-** on **wa** 'dance', **p-** on **ïhtë** 'go down', **k-** on **oeka / weka** 'defecate'.[33] The stem **wa** 'dance' can be conjugated as S_A or S_O, without any apparent change in meaning (cf. 5.2.2). The stem for 'defecate' is **weka** with the 1+2 prefix, and **oeka** with the others (cf. 5.1.6). The stems **ëënï(kï)** 'sleep', **ëmë(mï)** or **ëmï(mï)** 'enter', **ëësena** 'weep', **ënanu(ku)** 'go up', and **ëu(mu)** 'warm up', conjugate as regular S_A stems; **ëënï(kï)** is given as an example.

---

[33] The stems **ïhtë** 'go down' and **oeka / weka** 'defecate' also occur with, respectively, an initial **p-** or **k-** in other forms: the second-person imperative (5.4.2.1), the supine and habitual past (5.4.3.1.1), and the negative form (5.4.3.1.3). This suggests that these consonants were originally part of the stem.

(66)	e(i)		ka	ëe(pï)	ïhtë	weka	wa		ëënï(kï)
	Copula		say[34]	come	go down	defecate	dance		sleep
1S	w-a-e	w-ei	wï-ka	w-ëepï	p-ïhtë	k-oeka	tï-wa	ji-wa	t-ëënïkï
2S	man-a-e	m-ei	mï-ka	mën-epï	m-ïhtë	m-oeka	mï-wa	ë-wa	m-ëënïkï
1+2S	kït-a-e	k-ei	kïh-ka	k-eepï	kïtï-htë	kï-weka	kï-wa		kït-ëënïkï
3S	n-ai	n-ei	n-kan	n-epï	nï-htë	n-oeka	nï-wa		n-ëënïkï

5.4.1.2. Number. As is the case with other lexical classes, collective number (cf. 3.3.2 for the number category) is marked on the verb word by means of suffixes. The collective markers can occur before, after, or in the middle of a TAM suffix. The simplest way to present them is to list, side by side, the non-collective and the collective forms of all Set I TAM suffixes. This was done in the general map of the verb system in Table 5.9 above; for the sake of convenience, a shorter version, containing only the Set I forms, is given in Table 5.14 below. The TAM suffixes are treated in detail in the next section; the collective markers are segmented out and italicized. As can be seen, **-hki(i)** is used in the Future forms, **-ti(i)** in the Present and Hypothetical forms, and **-të** elsewhere. Both **-hki(i)** and **-ti(i)** have long vowels when followed by a CV clitic (cf. 2.6.2.4), as exemplified by the irregular stress cases in 67 (cf. 2.5.1 for the iambic stress system).

---

[34] Instead of **n-ka**, the Present Completive form is **n-kan** (probably an extension from the Durative Present).

Table 5.14
Non-collective and collective forms of the various Set I TAM suffixes

	Non-Collective		Collective
	Certainty	Doubt	
FACTUAL			
Future Imperfective	**-tae**	**-ta(ne)**	**-ta-*hki(i)***
Future Perfective	**-(ja)kë(mï)**		**-(ja)-*të*-kë(mï)**
Present Imperfective	**-(ja)e**	**-(ja)(në)**	**-(ja)-*ti(i)***
Present Perfective	**-∅**		**-∅-*ti(i)***
Past Imperfective	**-(ja)kë(ne)**		**-(ja)-*të*-kë(ne)**
Past Perfective	**-ne**		**-*të*-ne**
NON-FACTUAL			
Hypothetical	**-i**		***-ti(i)***
Incredulitive	**-:je(pe)**		**-*të*-:je(pe)**
Admonitive	**-ne(nu)**		**-*të*-ne(nu)**

(67a) **m-eta-∅-tii_pa** [mɛ.tá:.tí:.pa]
2A-hear-Prs.Prf-Col_Rpt
'You all have heard again?'

(b) **m-eta-tahkii_pa** [mɛ.tá:.táh.hí:.pa]
2A-hear-Fut.Ipf_Rpt
'You all will hear again.'

As usual, the collective marker cannot co-occur with first-person (1) prefixes; a collective form that includes the speaker must be based on a 1+2 prefix.

(68a) **k-eeta-ti**
1+2A-hear:Prs.Prf-Col
'We all (incl.) have heard O.'

(b) *** w-eta-ti**
1A-hear:Prs.Prf-Col

(c) **kït-ëturu-ti**
1+2S_A-talk:Prs.Prf-Col
'We all (incl.) have talked.'

(d) *** t-ëturu-ti**
1S_A-talk:Prs.Prf-Col

(e) **k-ëmamina-ti**
1+S_O-play-Col
'We all (incl.) have played.'

(f) *** j-emamina-ti**
1S_O-play-Col

When a SAP is involved (in this case, that means 2 or 1+2), the collective form always refers to it. On intransitive verbs, that means the S participant ((68c, e) above, (69a-b) below). On transitive verbs, that means either A or O, depending on the role filled by the SAP participant (69c-f). To collectivize the other participant, the particle **_to** is used (69g-i), which can co-occur with the verbal collective form (69i). When both participants are SAPs (i.e. when the SAP-only prefix **k-** '12AO' occurs), the collective form can refer to either participant, or both; the particle **_to** cannot occur (69j).

(69a) **m-ëturu-ja-ti**
2S$_{\text{A}}$-talk-Prs.Ipf-Col
'You all are talking.'

(b) **ë-emaminaa-ti**
2S$_{\text{O}}$-play:Prs.Ipf-Col
'You all are playing.'

(c) **m-eneh-ti**
2A-bring:Prs.Prf-Col
'You all have brought O.'

(d) **ë-eneh-ti**
2O-bring-Prs.Ipf-Col
'S/he has brought you all.'

(e) **k-eeneh-ti**
1+2A-bring:Prs.Prf-Col
'We all (incl.) have brought O.'

(f) **k-ëneh-ti**
1+2O-bring:Prs.Prf-Col
'S/he has brought us all (incl.).'

(g) **m-eneh_to**
1A-bring:Prs.Prf_3Col
'You have brought them all.'

(h) **ë-eneh_to**
1+2O-bring:Prs.Prf-3Col
'They all have brought you.'

(i) **m-eneh-tii_to**
2A-bring:Prs.Prf-Col-3Col
'You all have brought them all.'

(j) **k-ëneh-ti**
12AO-bring-Prs.Prf-Col
'We (all) are bringing you (all).'

When both participants are third persons, the collective form refers to the O participant, and the collective particle **_to** to the A participant (70a-b). This implies that the collective form cannot co-occur with the third person on intransitive verbs; only **_to** is possible (70c-d). On transitive verbs, both collective markers can co-occur (69i, 70e).

(70a) **n-eta-ti**
3AO-hear:Prs.Prf-Col
'S/he has heard them all.'

(b) **n-eta_to**
3AO-hear:Prs.Prf_3Col
'They all have heard O.'

(c) * **n-emamina-ti**
3S$_O$-play:Prs.Prf-Col

(d) **n-emamina_to**
3S$_O$-play:Prs.Prf_3Col
'They all have played.'

(e) **n-eta-tii_to**
3AO-hear:Prs.Prf-3Col
'They all have heard them all.'

The above facts be summarized as follows: *the verbal collective markers* (**-ti(i)**, **-të**, **-hki(i)**) *always refer to any (non-first-person) SAP present in the event being described; if only third persons are involved, then they must refer to the O participant: they can never refer to a third-person A or S participant.* The particle **_to** is used in the complementary cases: for the third person participant when a SAP is present, and for the third person A or S participant if no SAP is present.

5.4.1.3. Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM). The analysis of the Tiriyó Tense-Aspect-Mood system outlined in Tables 5.9 and 5.14 above recognizes a first subdivision between a *factual* mood, which treats the event as grounded in reality, and an *non-factual* mood, which sees the event as unconnected to reality. Notice that the factual mood treats the event as *real*, but not necessarily as *certain*: some factual forms can indicate that the subject is not sure about whether or not the event is, or will be, taking place, but there is always a *modicum* of reality in the event which is absent in the non-factual forms.

Within the factual mood, there is a temporal distinction between *past*, *present* and *future*, each of which distinguishes a *imperfective* (or *unbounded*) from a *perfective* (or *bounded*) form. The perfective forms describe well-delimited actions; its clearest expression is in the past ('walked', 'did'). In the present, the 'boundedness' of the perfective is seen as implying a recently finished action still relevant for the present ('has (just) walked', 'has (just) done'). In the future, the 'boundedness' results in the idea of a short time limit for the end of the action ('will walk for a minute', 'will do for a minute', and then turn to some other activity), i.e. it is a *momentaneous* future.[35] The imperfective forms, in turn, describe non-delimited events.

In the non-past tenses, there is a futher distinction based on the speaker's assessment of the event: the *doubt* forms describe events about which the speaker feels unsure, while the *certainty* forms are used for events that leave no doubts in the speaker's mind. Notice that the certainty-doubt distinction always concerns a SAP as the A or S participant: with third-person A or S participants, only the doubt form can be used. In fact, the only situation in which the certainty suffix can occur on a 3A3O or 3S verb form (i.e. with the prefix **n-**) is when the A participant is the first-person exclusive pronoun **anja** '1+3'.

---

[35] Different accounts are certainly possible. In other Cariban languages, cognates of what is being termed here the Present Perfective have been called past tenses (usually 'immediate' or 'recent'; Gildea 1998:98 uses 'Recent Past'). It can also be argued that this form has more of the semantics of Perfect (as defined in e.g. Comrie 1976:52ff). Exactly because the Perfect seems to have something of both past and present (it is a 'perfective past with present relevance'), it is imaginable that languages may differ as to whether they put it together with the past forms or with the present forms. Of course, every verbal form in Tiriyó, as in any other language, has many facets; however, it is hoped here that the present classification is still capturing the main dimension of the Tiriyó verbal system without obscuring any others too much.

One final remark about the Set I TAM forms in Tiriyó is that, like any dynamic system, they seem to be changing. Roughly speaking, the **-(ja)kë(ne)** past imperfective has been all but replaced by the (non-conjugated) **-se** Habitual Past, while the **-(ja)kë(mï)** Future Perfective is in competition with the second-position particle **_pitë** 'for a second' (cf. the respective sections for details).

5.4.1.3.1. Present: *-(ja)-e*, *-(ja)-(në)* 'Imperfective', *-∅* 'Perfective'. These forms are very frequent in the Cariban family; Gildea 1998:98 lists cognates (under the names 'Nonpast' and 'Recent Past') from all Set I languages. The present imperfective is the unmarked form for events that center around the moment of speech. It can be used for events that are ongoing (i.e. as a 'progressive'; (71a)), habitual or typical (71b-c), and also for 'general truths' (i.e. as a 'gnomic'; cf. (71d)). It can be also used in an 'immediate future' sense , though not frequently (71e).

(71a) **atï mï-rï-ja-n? tunuku wï-kaa-ja-e**
wh.Inan 2A-make-Prs.Ipf-Dbt basket 1A-weave-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'What are you doing? / I am making a basket.'

(71b) ***fevereiro*_po tarëno-ton eperu pëë-ja-n**
February_Loc Tiriyó-Col fruit gather-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'In February, the Tiriyó gather fruits.'

(71c) **wei wararë j-urakana-e**
day every 1A-stroll:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I go walking around every day.'

(71d) **wïtoto serë ipuunëë-ja-n, pëera_ta i-w-eh-too_me**
people 3InAna think-Prs.Ipf-Dbt stupid_Neg 3-S_A-become-Circ.Nzr_Attr
'People think/meditate about these things in order to become wise.'

(71e) **k-okoronma-e**
12AO-help:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am going to help you.'

The present perfective has the semantics of a perfect (as defined in Comrie 1976:52ff; Bybee et al. 1994 use the term 'Anterior'): it indicates that an event has just finished, leaving 'effects' that are still relevant (72a-d). One could say that, in Tiriyó, seeing a present event as 'bounded' means treating it as having just finished.[36]

(72a) **pahko nï-tën**
1:father $3S_A$-go:Prs.Prf
'Father is gone.'

(b) **ërepa n-ëtïhka**
food $3S_A$-finish:Prs.Prf
'The food is over / has just finished.'

(c) **t-ëpëi ipahka**
3R-seat break:Prs.Prf
'S/he$_i$ has just broken his/her$_i$ seat.'

(d) **anja_pa n-epï**
1+3_Rpt $3S_A$-come:Prs.Prf
'We have just come back.'

As concerns their form, Present Imperfective suffixes have an initial syllable (**ja**), also found, with the same allomorphic pattern described below, in the Past Imperfective and in the Future Perfective. Formally speaking, it can be seen as an irregular reducing syllable: its full grade **ja** co-occurs with the reduced (length) grade of the verb stems to which it is attached (73a-d). It also occurs with non-I-reducing **i**-final stems (73e).

(73a)	**puunë(pï)**	'think about O'	→	**wi-puunëë-ja-e**	'I am thinking about O'
				wi-puunëë-ja-n	'Am I thinking about O?'

---

[36] It would seem that languages find it difficult to deal with a 'bounded present event': if a language allows perfective and present morphology to co-occur at all, the result will tend to be either 'a past with present relevance', as in the English Present Perfect, or a 'future with clear present intention of finishing the action', as in Slavic languages (as in. e.g. Russian ***я прочитаю*** [I Perfective-read-Pres.1sg] 'I will (definitely) read it'), i.e. forms that connect a non-present event to the present.

(b)	**akunpa(mï)**	'get lazy' (S_O)	→	**j-akunpan-ja-e** **j-akunpan-ja-n**	'I am getting lazy' 'Am I getting lazy?'
(c)	**apë(i)**	'catch O'	→	**w-apëë-ja-e** **w-apëë-ja-n**	'I am catching O' 'Am I catching O?'
(d)	**eerë(të)**	'cross' (S_A)	→	**s-eerëë-ja-e** **s-eerëë-ja-n**	'I am crossing' 'Am I crossing?'
(e)	**moi**	'obey O'	→	**wi-moi-ja-e** **wi-moi-ja-n**	'I am obeying O' 'Am I obeying O?'

If the verb stem is non-reducing, thfen **(ja)** is automatically reduced to either the zero or length grade (but never to the coda grade, which it does not have), depending on what follows. With the certainty suffix **-e**, or with the reduced (coda) grade of the doubt suffix **-(në)**, the zero grade of **(ja)** occurs (74a-c). With the collective marker **-ti(i)**, the length grade occurs, which becomes perceptible when the lengthened syllable occurs in an unstressed position, i.e. any odd-numbered position from the beginning of the phonological word (cf. 2.5.1 for the iambic stress system). Notice that, in (74d-g), the length grade of **(ja)** is the only difference in pronunciation between the Present Perfective and the Present Imperfective of **enepo** 'show O' (actually, **ene** 'see O' with the causative suffix **-po**) and **amohtë** 'call O'. The length grade of **(ja)** also occurs with the full grade **-në** of the doubt suffix, which is, as usual, conditioned by the following **r**-initial clitic ((74h-i); cf. 2.6.2 on syllable reduction).

(74a)	**tuuka**	'hit O'	→	**wi-tuuka-e** **wi-tuuka-n**	'I am hitting O' 'Am I hitting O?'
(b)	**pïhta**	'get a wife' (S_O)	→	**ji-pïhta-e** **ji-pïhta-n**	'I am getting a wife' 'Am I getting a wife?'
(c)	**erama**	'return, go back' (S_A)	→	**s-erama-e** **s-erama-n**	'I am returning' 'Am I returning?'

(d) **m-enepoo-ti** [mɛ.nɛ́:.pɔ́:.ti]
2A-show:Prs.Ipf-Col
'You all are showing O.'

(e) **m-enepo-ti** [mɛ.nɛ́:.pɔ.ti]
2A-show:Prs.Prf-Col
'You all have shown O.'

(f) **m-amohtëë-tii_to ?** [ma.mɔ́h.tə́:.tí:.tɔ]
2A-call:Prs.Ipf-Col_3Col
'Are you all calling them all?'

(g) **m-amohtë-tii_to ?** [ma.mɔ́h.tə.tí:.tɔ]
2A-call:Prs.Prf-Col_3Col
'Have you all called them all?'

(h) **j-eekaa-në_rëken** [jɛ́:.ká:.nə.ɽə́:.kɛŋ] (not *[jɛ́:.ka.nə́:.ɽə.kɛŋ])
1O-bite:Prs.Ipf-Dbt_Only
'(S/he/it) was only biting me.'

(i) **n-erahtëë-në_repe** [nɛ.ɽáh.tə́:.nə.ɽɛ́:.pɛ] (not *[nɛ.ɽáh.tə.nə́:.ɽɛ.pɛ])
3AO-look.for:Prs.Ipf-Dbt_Frust
'S/he is looking for O (but will not find it).'

There are a few irregular cases: **(ja)** unexpectedly occurs in its full grade with the monosyllabic **t**-adding stems **[t]rï** 'make, do O', **[t]kï** 'grate O', and **[t]pï** 'bathe O' (but not the glide-initial ones, **[t]wë** 'shoot O' and **[t]je** 'cook O'; cf. 5.1.3), with the stems that end in a non-reducing **ru**, like **uru** 'talk to O, advise O', **apuru** 'close/lock O' (cf. 2.6.2.2.1), and with the transitive stems **eku** 'have sex with O' and **[t]ëu** 'remove O' , as well as with the detransitivized forms of all of the above.

(75a)	**[t]rï**	'do, make O'	→	**wï-rï-ja-e**	'I am making O'
				t-ëtï-rï-ja-e	'I am working (= making myself things)
(b)	**[t]pï**	'bathe O'	→	**wï-pï-ja-e**	'I am bathing O'
				s-epï-ja-e	'I am taking a bath'
(c)	**[t]kï**	'grate O'	→	**wï-kï-ja-e**	'I am grating O'
				t-ëhkïï-ja-e	'I am grating stuff for myself'
(d)	**[t]wë**	'shoot O'	→	**wï-wë-e**	'I am shooting O'
				t-ëhtë-e	'I am shooting myself'

(e)	**[t]je**	'cook O'	→	**wï-je**	'I am cooking O'
				t-ëëse	'I am cooking something for myself'
(f)	**uru**	'advise O'	→	**w-uru-ja-e**	'I am advising / talking to O'
				t-ëturu-ja-e	'I am talking'
(g)	**eku**	'have sex with O'	→	**w-eku-ja-e**	'I am having sex with O'
				n-ëeku-ja-n	'They are having sex (with each other)'
(h)	**[t]ëu**	'remove O'	→	**w-ëu-ja-e**	'I am removing O'
				t-ëtëu-ja-e	'I am coming out (e.g. of the river)'

As for the Present Perfective, it is formally expressed by the bare stem, without any extra affixes. If no clitics follow, reducing stems usually occur in one of their reduced grades. CV-reducing stems can occur the zero grade and NV-reducing stems in the reduced (coda) grade; I-reducing stems, on the other hand, must occur in the full grade. No difference in meaning has been observed between a full-grade and a reduced-grade Present Perfective form. As was the case with the possessive suffix **-(rï)**, the full grade is often found in 'emphatic' contexts: (76d) was repeated many times, in very sad tone of voice, by a mother who was lamenting a recently deceased son. If a suffix or clitic follows, the appropriate grade will occur, as in (76e), which shows the transitive stem **ene(pï)** 'bring O' with the collective marker **-ti(i)**.

(76a) **irë w-ekanï (~ w-ekanïpï)**
3InAna 1A-think:Prs.Prf
'I thought so.'

(b) **ji-htëinkapan ~ ji-htëinkapamï**
$1S_O$-forget:Prs.Prf
'I forgot / have forgotten.'

(c) **maja w-apëi (* w-apë)**
knife 1A-catch:Prs.Prf
'I have caught (=bought) the knife (, here it is).'

(d) **aja mï-tëmï ?...**
whither $1S_A$-go:Prs.Prf

(e) **m-eneh-ti ?**
2A-bring:Prs.Prf-Col

'Where, oh where have you gone?'[37]

'Have you all brought it?'

5.4.1.3.2. Future: *-ta-e, -ta-(ne)* 'Imperfective', *-(ja)kë(mï)* 'Perfective'. Set I Future forms are not common in the Cariban family; usually, Present ('Non-Past') forms are used to describe future events. Gildea 1998:102ff lists, in addition to Tiriyó, only six other languages out of a total of nineteen as having Future markers.[38] In Tiriyó, the Future Imperfective is the most frequently found. It can be used to express future events, either as predictions (77a-b), or as intentions (77c-d).

(77a) **konopo n-eh-ta-n kokoro**
rain 3S$_{A}$-come-Fut.Ipf-Dbt tomorrow
'It will rain tomorrow.'

(b) **in-puunëë-sewa ë-w-ei_mahtao, ëikarë ë-erih-ta-e**
3O-think-Neg 2-S$_{A}$-Cop:N_Temp by.yourself 2S$_{O}$-be.in.danger-Fut.Ipf-Cty
'If you don't think about that, you will run the risk of dying without help.'

(c) **ji-npo kï-rï-ta-e**
1-on.back 1+2A-do-Fut.Ipf-Cty
'I will put you on my back.'

(d) **enta-tuuwë ahtao, w-eneh-ta-e_pa**
3:wake.up-Post when 1A-bring-Fut.Ipf-Cty_Rpt
'After s/he wakes up, I will bring him/her back.'

---

[37] Note that, for the verb **të[mï]** 'go', the Present Perfective and the Present Imperfective Doubt forms are usually homophonous: **wïtën** 'I have gone' (**=wï-tën**), 'will I go?' (**=wï-të-n**). An utterance such as **aja mïtën?** could mean either 'where have you gone?' or 'where are you going?' The full grade of these forms, however, remains different, as can be seen when they followed by a CCV-initial clitic like **nkërë** 'still': **aja mïtëmï_nkërë_pa** 'where have you gone again?' [Present Perfective], **aja mïtënë_nkërë_pa** 'where are you going again?' [Present Imperfective, Doubt form]).

[38] The languages are: Carib of Surinam, Carijona, De'kwana, Tamanaco, Waimiri-Atroari and Wayana.

In the above situations, the future event was portrayed without any special emphasis on its limits. When Future Perfective forms are used, however, the semantic effect stresses the fact that there will be an end point, after which other events will take place. The result is generally translated as 'will... for a minute', 'will... and then will do something else'. The effect of seeing a future event as 'bounded' in Tiriyó is that it looks like a *temporary situation*, soon to be changed.

(78a) **ëturë-e_pa wï-tëë-kën**
talk-Prp_Rpt 1S$_A$-go-Fut.Prf
'I will go and talk (to him) for a minute (, and then I will come back).'

(b) **wï-tëë-këmï_nkërë_pa akëërë**
1S$_A$-go-Fut.Prf_Still_Rpt 3:with
'I will go again with him for a little while (, and then I will do something else).'

It is interesting to note that there is a particle, **_pitë** 'A.little', which can be used, generally with the present imperfective, to express the same meaning as the future perfective (cf. 5.4.1.3.2). Thus, (79a-b) below seem to be equivalent; no obvious differences in meaning were found. Apparently, **_pitë** is in competition with the Future Perfective; given its much higher frequency, it may be the case that **_pitë** is replacing the Future Imperfective (much as the habitual past seems to be replacing the past imperfective; cf. 5.4.1.3.3, 5.4.3.1.1).

(79a) **wï-tëë-kën akëërë** (b) **wï-të-e_pitë akëërë**
1S$_A$-go-Fut.Prf 3:with 1S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty_A.little 3:with
'I will go with him for a little while (, and then I will do something else).'

The Future Imperfective suffix has the form **-ta**, which never changes; reducing stems occur in the appropriate reduced grade. The Future Perfective suffix **-(ja)kë(mï)** has an initial syllable (**ja**), with the same allomorphic pattern that was described for the Present Imperfective: the full grade **ja** occurs with reducing stems, and the length grade with non-reducing stems. The final syllable (**mï**) usually occurs in its reduced grade **n**, which makes it homophonous to the Past Imperfective (both occurring as **-(ja)kën**); only when followed by a C(CV)-initial clitic do they become different (cf. next section). The collective marker **-hki(i)** follows the Future Imperfective marker **-ta**, while the collective marker **-të** occurs between the first two syllables of the Future Imperfective marker (**-(ja)kë(mï)** becomes **-(ja)tëkë(mï)**; (80c)).

(80a)	**eta**	'hear O'	→	**m-eta-ta-e**	'you will see O'
				m-eta-ta-hki	'you all will see O'
				m-etaa-kën	'you will see O (for a minute)'
				m-etaa-tëkën	'you all will see O (for a minute)'
(b)	**këhtu(mu)**	'shout'(S_O)	→	**ji-këhtun-ta-e**	'you will shout'
				ji-këhtun-ta-hki	'you all will shout'
				ji-këhtun-jakën	'you will shout (for a minute)'
				ji-këhtun-ja-të-kën	'you all will shout (for a minute)'
(c)	**pono(pï)**	'tell O'	→	**wi-ponoh-ta-e**	'you will tell O'
				wi-ponoh-ta-hki	'you all will tell O'
				wi-ponoo-jakën	'you will tell O (for a minute)'
				wi-ponoo-ja-të-kën	'you all will tell O (for a minute)'

5.4.1.3.3. Past: ***-(ja)kë(ne)*** **'Imperfective',** ***-ne*** **'Perfective'.** The Past Perfective **-ne**[39] is very well represented in the Cariban family; Gildea 1998:98 lists cognates (under the name 'Distant Past') from all Set I systems. As for the past imperfective **-(ja)kë(ne)**, although a fair number of potential cognates, some even glossed as 'Continuative', can be found in Gildea's lists, their relatedness is often far from obvious.

---

[39] With the stem **epo(rï)** 'find, meet O', **-ne** irregularly geminates its initial **n** in the non-collective (but not in the collective) form: **m-epo-nne** 'you found/met O', **m-epoh-të-ne** 'you all found/met O'.

The past perfective is used in Tiriyó to describe past events without implying any 'present relevance'. Its translations are often accompanied by adverbials implying a 'distant past': 'long ago', 'when I was a child', etc. It is the most frequent tense in first-person narratives (but not in third-person narratives, where the **t- -se** 'Remote Past' is the usual verb form; cf. 5.4.3.1.2, and the texts in the Appendix).

(81a) **suurinan_po w-ei-ne, wï-tën-ne serë_pëe**
Surinam_Loc 1S$_A$-Cop-Pst.Prf 1S$_A$-go-Pst.Prf 3InPx_Abl
'I was in Surinam (then, long ago), I went there from here.'

(b) **irë apo m-ei-ne wapo,**
3InAna like 2S$_A$-Cop-Pst.Prf before
'That is what you were like before.' (=but now you are different)

(c) **akï j-eemi arë-ne**
wh.An 1-daughter:Pos take-Pst.Prf
'Who took (=stole, kidnapped) my daughter?'

(d) **noosinpë_rëken j-arimika-ne**
1:grandmother_Only 1O-raise-Pst.Prf
'It was my grandmother, by herself, who brought me up.'

(e) **tëpëpuru-npë_po j-anïhta-ne**
Tëpëpuru-Pst_Loc 1S$_O$-grow-Pst.Prf
'I grew up in the (no longer extant) village of Tëpëpuru.'

As for the past imperfective, it describes an unbounded event, usually interpreted as a habitual ((82a-b); cf. Bybee et al. 1994:127).

(82a) **irë_mao** **wï-tëë-këne_nkërë_re** **i-pakoro_pona**
3InAna_Temp $1S_A$-go-Pst.Ipf_Again_Frust 3-house:Pos_Dir
'In those days I would often go in vain to his house.' (i.e. he was never there)

(b) **irë_mao** **j-ehkeh_po** **w-ah-kën,** **kure...**
3InAna_Temp 1-hammock:Pos_Loc $1S_A$-Cop-Pst.Ipf well
'I stayed / used to stay a long time in my hammock, feeling well...'

An interesting fact about the past imperfective is that it was extremely rare in the available corpus. Most speakers expressed the judgement that it was 'old people's language', and that 'younger people do not use it anymore'. In fact, the two above examples came from older speakers, who, whenever semantic explanations were asked, would immediately describe past imperfective examples with sentences containing the (non-conjugated) habitual past ((83); cf. 5.4.3.1.1). One cannot help but thinking that the past imperfective has all but disappeared, replaced by the Habitual Past.

(83) **mure_me_nkërë wï ahtao, kutuma emamina-e wï**
child_Attr_Still 1 when a.lot play-Pst.Hab 1
'When I was still a child, I used to play a lot.'

Formally speaking, both past forms have in common an idiosyncratic 3AO prefix **kïn-**, which replaces the final syllable **-ne** of both suffixes (84a-d); for the Past Perfective with reducing stems, the same kind of variation between zero and full grade that occurs in the Present Perfective is also found (84c). An immediately preverbal O nominal makes the prefix **kïn-** disappear (as happens to all 3AO prefixes; cf. 10.2.2) and brings back the final syllable **-ne** or **-(ne)** (84e-h). With the verb stem **[t]rï** 'do, make O', **kïn-** occurs as **kïnï-**

(84i). The initial **w** of the stems **[t]wë** 'shoot O' and **wa** 'dance' can optionally assimilate to the final **n** of **kïn-**, generating a geminate **nn** (84j-k).

(84a)	**w-eta-ne** **kïn-eta**	'I heard O' 's/he heard O'	(b)	**w-etaa-kën** **kïn-etaa-kë**	'I used to hear O' 's/he used to hear O'
(c)	**wi-ponoo-ne** **kïn-pono,** **kïn-ponopï**	'I told O' 's/he told O'	(d)	**wi-ponoo-jakën** **kïn-ponoo-jakë**	'I used to tell O' 's/he used to tell O'

(e) **tonoro eta-ne**
bird 3AO:hear-Pst.Prf
'S/he heard the bird.'

(f) **tonoro etaa-kën**
bird 3AO:hear-Pst.Ipf
'S/he used to hear the bird.'

(g) **ji-pawana iponoo-ne**
1-friend:Pos 3AO:tell-Pst.Prf
'S/he told about my friend.'

(h) **ji-pawana iponoo-jakën**
1-friend:Pos 3AO:tell-Pst.Ipf
'S/he used to tell about my friend.'

(i)	**[t]rï**	'do, make O'	→	**kïnï-rï**	's/he made O'
(j)	**[t]wë**	'shoot O'	→	**kïn-wë, kïn-në**	's/he shot O'
(k)	**wa**	'dance'	→	**kïn-wa, kïn-na**	's/he danced'

The first syllable **(ja)** of the past imperfective **-(ja)kë(ne)** has the same allomorphic pattern described for the present imperfective **-(ja)**: its full grade occurs with reducing stems, while its reduced (length or zero) grade occurs with non-reducing grades. The final syllable **(ne)** also usually occurs in its reduced grade form **-n**, making the Past Imperfective and the Future Perfective homophonous except when followed by a C(CV)-initial clitic (cf. 2.6.2). The collective marker **-të**, as was the case for the future perfective, occurs between the first and second syllables of the past imperfective marker (**-(ja)-të-kë(ne)**). With both Pasts, CV- and NV-reducing stems occur in the appropriate reduced grade; the I-reducing stems, however, do not reduce when followed directly by the past perfective suffix **-ne**. The copula **e(i)** has a supletive stem **ah** in the past imperfective (cf. 5.4.4).

(85a)	**eremina**	'sing' (S_O)	→	**ë-eremina-ne**	'you sang'
				ë-eremina-të-ne	'you all sang'
				ë-ereminaa-kën	'you used to sing'
				ë-ereminaa-të-kën	'you all used to sing'
(b)	**pono(pï)**	'tell O'	→	**mi-ponoo-ne**	'you told O'
				mi-ponoh-të-ne	'you all told O'
				mi-ponoo-jakën	'you used to tell O'
				mi-ponoo-ja-të-kën	'you all used to tell O'
(c)	**ona(mï)**	'hide O'	→	**m-onan-ne**	'you hid O'
				m-onan-të-ne	'you all hid O'
				m-onan-jakën	'you used to hide O'
				m-onan-ja-të-kën	'you all used to hide O'
(d)	**apë(i)**	'catch O'	→	**m-apëi-ne**	'you caught O'
				m-apëh-të-ne	'you all caught O'
				m-apëë-ja-kën	'you used to catch O'
				m-apëë-ja-të-kën	'you all used to catch O'

5.4.1.3.4. Certainty (*-e*) and Doubt (*-(në)*, *-(ne)*) forms. The two suffixes that reflect the speaker's level of certainty in the present imperfective are **-e** 'Certainty' and **-(në)/-(ne)** 'Doubt', which are used with non-collective present and future imperfective forms (in the collective forms, the distinction is neutralized). When followed by the second-position particle **_pa** 'Repetition', **-e** can optionally reduce to **h** [40] (cf. 9.1.3.1 for **_pa** and its uses, and also for the tendency of **-e** and **_pa** to switch places). This allows the detection of this suffix, even when the verb stem already ends in **e** (compare (86b) and (86c)).[41]

---

[40] This can be seen as the remnant of an earlier reducing syllable. The suffix **-e** is probably the reflex of an older ***-ce** or **-*cï** (cf. languages like Katxuyana [Gildea, pers. comm.] and Waiwai [Hawkins 1998], where the cognate form is **-sï**). The situation is similar to that of I-reducing verb stems (cf. 2.6.2.2.1), with the exception that -e only becomes **-h** with **_pa**, and not obligatorily.

[41] Presumably, the final e also becomes long. However, **e**-final stems in Tiriyó are rather rare, and no unambiguous examples occurred in the corpus.

(86a) **wï-të-e_pa ~ wï-të-h_pa** [ʋɨ.tə́ɛ.pa] ~ [ʋɨ.tə́ː.ɸa]
1S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty_Rpt
'I am going away.'

(b) **w-ene-h_pa** [ʋɛ.nɛ́ː(h).ɸa]
1A-see:Prs.Ipf-Cty_Rpt
'I see / am looking at it again (now).'

(c) **w-ene_pa** [ʋɛ.nɛ́ː.pa]
1A-see:Prs.Prf-Rpt
'I have seen it again.'

The Certainty suffix **-e** occurs in both the present and future imperfectives (87a-b). The Doubt suffix has the form **-(në)** in the present imperfective and **-(ne)** in the Future Imperfective; in most cases, they occur in their (homophonous) reduced grade **-n** (87c-d), but they can still be distinguished when a C(CV)-suffix follows (87e-f). Surprisingly, the 'gnomic' or **a**-stem forms of the copula (cf. 5.4.4) also take **-(ne)** rather than **-(në)** (87g).

(87a)	**ene(pï)** 'bring O'	→	**w-enee-ja-e**	'I am bringing O'
(b)			**w-eneh-ta-e**	'I will bring O'
(c)			**w-enee-ja-n**	'am I bringing O?'
(d)			**w-eneh-ta-n**	'will/should I bring O?'

(e) **n-apëë-ja-në_nkërë_pa**
3AO-catch-Prs.Ipf-Dbt_Still_Rpt
'S/he is catching O once more.'

(f) **n-apëh-ta-ne_nkërë_pa**
3AO-catch-Fut.Ipf-Dbt_Still_Rpt
'S/he will catch O once more.'

(g) **aja_rë** **kït-a-ne_npa ?** (***kït-a-në_npa** was refused)
where_Exct 1+2-Cop-Dbt_Ptc
'Where on Earth are we?'

The suffixes **-e** and **-(në)/-(ne)** are clearly cognate with some of the forms that Hoff 1986 has described as an evidential system for Carib of Surinam (cf. the suffixes **-Ø** 'Extraspective evidence', **-n** 'Introspective Evidence'). However, Hoff's system is semantically richer than its Tiriyó counterpart: there are more forms (including a prefix **kï-**, used to mark 'strong introspective evidence' with third persons), and there is an opposition between **-∅** and **-n** in the third person: **-∅** is used when the subject is actually witnessing the event in question. This opposition does not exist in Tiriyó. Compare (88a), a Carib of Surinam example (the segmentation and glosses were added), with (88b), its Tiriyó equivalent:

(88a) **ene:-ko ! nu:no n-o:ne-ya-∅ !** (Carib of Surinam, from Hoff 1986:53)
look-Imper moon 3S$_A$-become.visible-Prs-Extra
'Look! The moon is becoming visible!'

(b) **ene ! nunnë n-ë-ene-n !** **(*n-ë-ene)**
look:Imper moon 3S$_A$-Detr-see:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Look! The moon is becoming visible!'

Both utterances refer to a context in which the speaker and the hearer are in the dark, waiting for the moon to appear from behind a cloud. In Carib of Surinam, the 'Extraspective' form was found acceptable; in Tiriyó, however, the corresponding certainty form was categorically rejected. (89) contains another couple of equivalent sentences in Carib of Surinam (with added segmentation and glosses) and Tiriyó.

(89a) **n-oh-take konopo** (Carib of Surinam, from Hoff 1986:79)
3AO-come-Fut.Ipf:Cty rain
'The rain will come.'

(b) **n-eh-ta-n konopo** **(*n-eh-ta-e)**
3AO-come-Fut.Ipf-Dbt rain
'The rain will come.'

Both utterances are acceptable if the speaker and the hearer can both see black clouds announcing the coming of rain. In Carib of Surinam, the extraspective form **-take** occurs; in Tiriyó, several speakers have categorically denied the possibility of using the certainty form in this context. One speaker went so far as to claim that **n-ee-ja-e** and **n-eh-ta-e** should not be used in (88b) and (89b), but instead with the 1+3 pronoun **anja** to mean 'we are coming', 'we will come' (i.e. he immediately interpreted them as referring to **anja**, despite the absence of any contextual clues). Thus, Tiriyó apparently went further than Carib (in which, according to Hoff, third-person extraspective forms are difficult to obtain) in having simply eliminated the certainty-doubt opposition in the third person. This contrasts strikingly with how easy it is to obtain contrasting pairs such as (90a-b), with the 1+3 form.

(90a) **anja nï-të-e pata_pona**
1+3 3S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty village_Dir
'We (1+3) are going to the village.'

(b) **irëmaarë_tahken anja nï-të-n, ji-wame**
soon_maybe 1+3 3S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt 1-Ignor
'Maybe we (1+3) will leave soon, I don't know.'

For non-third persons, the Doubt form is used when the speaker is not sure whether or not the event is taking place. It is thus the right form for questions (91a-d) and with dubitative particles such as **tahke(ne)** 'maybe', or **_mo** 'irrealis' (91e-f). Certainty forms are used when the event leaves no doubts in the speaker's mind (91g-h). In these cases, it does not seem that the speaker is trying to specify the source of his information concerning the event, but rather to clarify doubts about it. For instance, in (91c), the speaker and the hearer are hunting together, so the speaker has obvious visual evidence that the hearer is trying to shoot at something; he simply misses one piece of information, viz. the intended target. The same is valid for (91d), where both speaker and hearer are going together to a neighboring village, but the speaker does not know the particular shortcut that the hearer is taking. Therefore, the Tiriyó suffixes **-e** and **-(në)/-(ne)** apparently do not carry evidential (i.e. information source) meaning; rather, they concern how the speaker feels about his/her level of knowledge of the situation.

(91a) **kure man-a-n ?**
well 2S$_{A}$-Cop-Dbt
'Are you OK?'

(b) **ë-waarë_w-a-n ?**
2-Cogn_1S$_{A}$-Cop-Dbt
'Do you know me?'

(c) **akï mï-wë-n ?**
wh.An 2A-shoot:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'What animal are you shooting?'

(d) **an-tae kï-të-n ?**
Intg-Perl 1+2S$_{A}$-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Where are we going by?'

(e) **wï-h-ta-n tahken**
1S$_{A}$-go-Fut.Ipf-Dbt maybe
'Maybe I will go.'

(f) **atï_hpe_mo w-epoh-ta-n**
wh.Inan_Indef_Irr 1A-find-Fut.Ipf-Dbt
'Unless I find something.'

(g) **mahto w-urë-e**
fire 1A-light:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am lighting the fire.'

(h) **irë_mao *AIDS* m-erahtë-ta-e**
3InAna_Temp AIDS 2A-find-Fut.Ipf-Cty
'Then you will find the AIDS virus.'

5.4.1.3.5. Non-factual: *-i* 'Hypothetical', *-:je(pe)* 'Incredulitive', *-ne(nu)* 'Admonitive'.

The non-factual forms share the semantic property of referring to events that the speaker does not consider to be *real* or *factual*: hypotheses ('If I had more time, I would...'), statements of disbelief ('What? Are you joking?'), or warnings ('It may happen! Watch out!'). Formally, they are distinguished by the fact of not taking the 3AO prefix **n-**; **∅-/i-**

occurs instead, except on **t**-adding verbs, which occur with the extra **t(i)** (cf. 5.1.3).[42] The collective markers precede the non-factual suffixes; **-ti(i)** occurs (and merges with) **-i**, while **-të** occurs with **-:je(pe)** and **-ne(nu)**. Consider the Hypothetical paradigms below:

(92)	**eremina** sing (S_O)		**këhtu(mu)** shout (S_O)	
1	**j-eremina-i_mo**	'I would sing'	**ji-këhtumu-i_mo**	'I would shout'
2	**ë-eremina-i_mo**	'you would sing'	**ë-këhtumu-i_mo**	'you would shout'
3	**eremina-i_mo**	's/he would sing'	**i-këhtumu-i_mo**	's/he would shout'
1+2	**k-ëreminai_mo**	'we would sing'	**kï-këhtumu-i_mo**	'we would shout'
2Col	**ë-eremina-tii_mo**	'you all would sing'	**ë-këhtun-tii_mo**	'you all would shout'

(93)	**epï** bathe (S_A)		**puunë(pï)** think (about) O	
1	**s-epï-i_mo**	'I would bathe'	**wi-puunëpï-i_mo**	'I would think'
2	**m-epï-i_mo**	'you would bathe'	**mi-puunëpï-i_mo**	'you would think'
3	**epï-i_mo**	's/he would bathe'	**i-puunëpï-i_mo**	's/he would think'
1+2	**k-eepïi_mo**	'we would bathe'	**kii-puunëpï-i_mo**	'we would think'
2Col	**m-epï-tii_mo**	'you all would bathe'	**mi-puunëh-tii_mo**	'you all would think'

(94)	**ënë** (**t**-adding) eat O (meat)		**wë** (**t**-adding) shoot O	
1	**w-ënë-i_mo**	'I would eat'	**wï-wë-i_mo**	'I would shoot'
2	**m-ënë-i_mo**	'you would eat'	**mï-wë-i_mo**	'you would shoot'
3	**t-ënë-i_mo**	's/he would eat'	**tï-wë-i_mo**	's/he would shoot'
1+2	**kït-ënë-i_mo**	'we would eat'	**kïï-wë-i_mo**	'we would shoot'
2Col	**m-ënë-tii_mo**	'you all would eat'	**mï-wë-tii_mo**	'you all would shoot'

---

[42] Presumably, stems with an initial reducing syllable (cf. 5.1.2) occur in their full grade in the non-factual third persons; there are, however, no exemples involving these stems in the available corpus.

If the verb stem already ends in **i**, the Hypothetical suffix **-i** will merge with it.

(95a) **e(i)** 'Copula' → **w-ei_mo** 'I would be'
(b) **apë(i)** 'catch O' → **w-apëi_mo** 'I would catch O'

The Hypothetical forms are used in irrealis and counterfactual conditional clauses, in which they always co-occur with the irrealis particle **_mo**. There seem to be no uses of Hypothetical forms without **_mo**; all attempts were refused by more than one speaker.

(96a) **wei wararë karaiwa sen_po ahtao,**
day every Brazilian 3InPx_Loc if

anja i-waarë_mo ei karaiwa i-jomi
1+3 3-Cogn_Irr 3S$_A$:Cop:Hyp Brazilian 3-language:Pos

'If there were / had been Brazilians here every day, we would learn / have learned the Brazilian language'

(b) **same_ken apëh-tuuwë wïja, ameraarë_mo anota-i**
fast_Cont 3:catch-Post 1:by all_Irr 3S$_O$:fall-Hyp
'If I had caught them fast, they would all have fallen.'

The Incredulitive form is a strong means of expressing the speaker's disbelief. In (97a), for instance, the speaker was surprised to hear that a certain kind of toad was supposed to have the magical capacity of changing into other animals. In (97b), he is stating that he could not possibly have heard a certain sound, because he was too far away. (97c) can be used to state incredulity at the hearer's capacity to bring something (maybe it is too heavy), but it can also be a criticism of a past event (equivalent to 'I can't believe you did that!'); the same is true for (97e) and, *mutatis mutandis*, (97d). The suffix **-:je(pe)** looks similar to the Frustrative particle **_re(pe)**, which leads one to wonder whether it could not be analyzed as a particle **_:je(pe)** following the Hypothetical form in **-i**. The reasons why this analysis was not followed were: (a) separability: **-:je(pe)** cannot be separated from the verb stem by any clitics or independent words; (b) its collective form has the suffix **-të**, instead of **-ti(i)**. It is plausible, however, that **-:je(pe)** might have been a clitic at some point. In (97d), a **t**-adding verb occurs in its **t(ï)** form. The final reducing syllable of **-:je(pe)** is apparently being lost; cf. (97f), where it fails to resurface in spite of the presense of the appropriate suffix.

(97a) **aano emetaa-je ? pija-n-pisi_n-ai**
which 3S_O:change-Incr small-Nzr-Dim_3S_A-Cop
'What!? This thing, change? It's so small, so weak!'

(b) **eeke w-etaa-je ?**
how 1A-hear-Incr
'How could I hear this?'

(c) **eeke m-enepïï-je ?**
how 2A-bring-Incr
'How could you bring this?'

(d) **eeke t-ënëë-je ?**
how t-eat.meat-Incr
'How could s/he eat this?'

(e) **eeke m-eneh-tëë-jepe_nkërë_pa ?**
how 2A-bring-Col-Incr_Still_Rpt
'How could you all bring this again?'

(f) **eeke mi-ponopïï-je_nkërë_pa ?**
how 2A-tell-Incr_Still_Rpt
'How could you tell this again?'

The Admonitive forms are used to warn about possible dangers. (98f), for instance, can be said by someone about to enter a dangerous spot, where he might die. The suffix **-ne(nu)**, like **-:je(pe)**, may have been an independent clitic particle co-occurring with the **-i**

'Hypothetical', but, again like **-je(pe)**, it seems to have become a suffix, since (a) it cannot be separated from the verb stem and (b) its collective form has **-të**, not **-ti(i)**.

(98a) **a-anota-nen !**
2S$_{O}$-fall-Admon
'Watch out! You may fall!'

(b) **a-anota-të-nen !**
2S$_{O}$-fall-Col-Admon
'Watch out! You all may fall!'

(c) **i-tuuka-të-nen !**
3AO-hit-Col-Admon
'Watch out! S/he might hit them all!'

(d) **wi-tuuka-nen !**
1A-hit-Admon
'Watch out! I might hit him/her!'

(e) **kii-tuuka-të-nen !**
1+2A-hit-Admon
'Watch out! We all might hit him!'

(f) **j-erii-nenu !**
1S$_{O}$-be.in.danger-Admon
'I may be in danger! I may die!'

5.4.2. Imperatives. The various imperative forms can be distinguished by their inability to co-occur with a full set of A- or S$_{A}$-marking prefixes. Typically, a certain imperative form will accept O-marking prefixes, and at most one A/S$_{A}$-marking prefix (the second-person **ë-** on S$_{O}$ verb stems), but no more than that.

The *second-person imperatives* are used to give orders. There is a distinction between forms that do not imply motion (Static Imperative) and forms that do imply motion (Dynamic Imperatives, one of which — the *Allative* or *'Go' Imperative* — is inflectional, while the other — the *Venitive* or *'Come' Imperative* — is actually a construction based on the venitive particle **_miï**).

The *non-second-person imperatives* refer to people other than the hearer and are usually not orders *stricto sensu.* A special *hortative* ('let us') form is attested; for other persons, a construction with the *jussive* ('let him') particle **ëwë(h)** is used.

5.4.2.1. Second-person imperatives. The *Static Imperative* and the *Allative Imperative* are respectively marked by the suffixes **-(kë)** and **-ta**. The Static Imperative expresses an order that does not imply any displacement ('do it [here]!' (99a-b)), whereas the Allative Imperative gives an order that must be carried out somewhere else ('go do it [over there]!': (99c-d)).

(99a) **tïwaarë eh-kë !**
careful Cop-Imper
'Be careful!'

(b) **mëe apëh-kë ë-njo_me**
3AnPx 3O:take-Imper 2-husband:Pos_Attr
'Take this guy as your husband!'

(c) **papa_pa i-wa-ta !**
2:father_Rpt 3O-fetch-Go.Imp
'Go get your father!'

(d) **Taru waa_tï-rï-ta !**
Taru Neg_3O:**t**-make-Go.Imp
'Go kill Taru!'

An imperative can also be used when agreeing with someone's wishes:

(100a) — **ë-jomii_pë ji-w-ë-enpa_se_w-a-e**
2-language:Pos_About 1-S_A-Detr-teach:N_Desid_1S_A-Cop-Cty
'I want to learn (about) your language.'

— **ë-enpa-kë !**
Detr-teach-Imper
'Well, learn!'

(b) — **ë-pata ene_se_w-a-e**
2-village:Pos 3O:see:N_Desid_1S_A-Cop-Cty
'I want to see your village.'

— **ene-ta !**
3O:see-Go.Imp
'Well, go see it!'

A non-actual (future, habitual) imperative construction can be formed with the irrealis particle **_mo**. For instance, (101a), can be said to a visitor who is leaving and whom one wishes to see again someday. (101a-b) are from medical recipes. In (101b), the speaker is explaining how to prepare a certain medicine; most of the steps are accompanied by 'when you are ill' ('When you are ill, go get this plant... boil it, when you are ill... then add this other plant, when you are ill...' etc.) .

(101a) **oh-kë_pa_mo !**
come-Imper_Rpt_Irr
'Come back, someday!'

(b)

irë_ke_mo	**ë-epinëh-kë,**	**këi_ke**	**ëmë**	**ahtao**
3InAna_Inst_Irr	Detr-medicate-Imper	fever_Inst	2	when

'Medicate yourself with this when/if you have fever.'

(c)

irë_mao_pa_mo	**ene-ta,**	**ëëseenë**	**ëmë**	**ahtao**
3InAna_Temp_Rpt_Irr	3O:see-Go.Imp	ill	2	when

'Then (=at that moment) go look at it again, when/if you are ill.'

A Venitive ('Come') Imperative construction exists, based on the Supine form of the verb stem (cf. 5.4.3.1.1) and the particle **_mïï** (collective form **mïïko(mo)**).[43]

(102a) **epë-e_mïï !**
bathe-Prp_Ven
'Come bathe!'

(b) **eta-e_mïï!**
3O:hear-Prp_Ven
'Come listen to O!'

(c)

ëh-puunëë-se_mïïkon	**serë_pona**
Detr-think-Prp_Ven:Col	3InPx_Dir

'Come here to think about this!'

---

[43] To some speakers, this particle had the form **_mi(i)** (collective **_miiko(mo)**). This was especially true in the K-Tiriyó-speaking)village of Tepoe (Surinam). It is not clear whether or not this is a dialectal feature typical of K-Tiriyó areas.

With reducing verb stems (103a-b), the Static Imperative suffix **-(kë)** is obligatorily present. With non-reducing stems, however, **-(kë)** often reduces to zero (103c-d), except in emphatic contexts or when a C(CV)-initial clitic follows (cf. next paragraph).

(103a)	**ku(ku)**	'try/taste O'	→	**i-kuh-kë !**	'try/taste O!'
(b)	**ona(mï)**	'hide/bury O'	→	**onan-kë !**	'hide/bury O!'
(c)	**të[mï]**	'go'	→	**të ! ~ të-kë !**	'go!'
(d)	**ene**	'see/look at O'	→	**ene ! ~ ene-kë !**	'look at O!'

In several European languages, the Infinitive form of the verb can be used in an imperative-like sense (e.g. German *hier aussteigen!* '(you must) get off here!', or the Italian negative imperative, as in e.g. *non dire queste cose!* 'don't say such things!'). Looking at the forms, one may wonder whether the Tiriyó imperatives without **-(kë)** could be analyzed as a possible 'modal' use of Ø nominalizations. There are three reasons, however, not to do that. First, as was said above, the suffix **-(kë)** is obligatory with reducing stems; for these stems, there simply are no 'bare stem' imperatives (104a-b). Second, if the imperatives without **-(kë)** were nominalized forms, it should be possible for a C(CV)-initial clitic to occur after them without causing any changes; however, this is not the case (in (104b), **ene** 'see, look at O' in the imperative sense cannot be directly followed by **_nkërë** 'still'). Third, (104c) is a clear case of the 12AO suffix **k-** with the meaning 'you → me'; this suffix does not occur on nominalized forms. Consider also (104d), in which the imperative suffix is reduced to its coda grade **h**.

(104a) **apëh-kë !** (* **apëi !**)
3O:catch-Imper
'Catch it!'

(b) **ene-kë_nkërë_pa !** (* **ene_nkërë_pa !**)
3O:see-Imper_Still_Rpt
'Look at it once more!'

(c) **k-ëne !**
12AO-see:Imper
'Look at me!'

(d) **k-ërë-h_pa !**
12AO-take-Imper_Rpt
'Take me back (there)!'

Negative imperatives are generally formed by using the imperative form of the copula **e(i)** with the negative form of the verb stem (105a; cf. 5.4.3.1.3). There is, however, one construction based on the an 1+2 conjugated form of the verb with the particle **_ke(ne)** 'Continuative' (cf. 9.1.5), which is translated as a negative imperative (105b).[44] Only a couple of examples occurred in the available corpus; more research is necessary for a better understanding of this construction.

(105a)	**sen**	**in-onan-jewa**	**eh-kë !**
	3InPx	3O-bury-Neg	Cop-Imper

'Don't bury this!'

(b)	**pipi-ton_ken**	**kii-rïïma,**	**ka-e**	**manko**	**wïja**
	older.brother-Col_Cont	1+2S_A-speak:ill	say-Hab	1:mother	1:Dat

'"Don't speak ill of your brothers", my mother used to tell me.'

Transitive verb stems in the imperative forms can take one out of two person-marking prefixes: the third-person **i-/∅-** (**i-** with C-initial stems and **∅-** with V-initial stems, as usual), or the 12AO prefix **k-/kï-**, already mentioned in the preceding paragraph (106a-c).[45] S_O stems must take the second-person prefix **ë-/a-/o-** (with its usual allomorphic pattern; cf. e.g. 4.3.1.2) in addition to the imperative marker (106d-f). S_A stems take only the imperative marker, without any extra affixes (106g-i).

---

[44] The verb form in this construction is reminiscent of the Carib of Surinam vetative form (cf. Hoff 1968:188ff).

[45] No cases of the 12AO prefix **k-** co-occurring with the Allative Imperative **-ta** were found in the available corpus, presumably on semantic grounds: it is difficult to give an order that implies going away and at the same time have the speaker as the O participant.

(106a)	**epinë(pï)**	'medicate O'	→	**epinëh-kë !**	'medicate him/her!'
				k-ëpinëh-kë !	'medicate me!'
(b)	**arë**	'take O'	→	**arë-kë !**	'take him/her/it!'
				k-ërë-kë !	'take me!'
(c)	**tuuka**	'hit O'	→	**i-tuuka-kë !**	'hit him/her/it!'
				kï-tuuka-kë !	'hit me!'
(d)	**këhtu(mu)**	'shout' (S_O)	→	**ë-këhtun-kë !**	'shout!'
(e)	**emamina**	'play' (S_O)	→	**ë-eremina-kë !**	'sing!'
(f)	**apëëna**	'finish' (S_O)	→	**a-apëëna-ta !**	'go finish!'
(g)	**epï**	'bathe' (S_A)	→	**epi-kë !**	'bathe!'
(h)	**ëturu**	'talk' (S_A)	→	**ëturu-kë !**	'talk!'
(i)	**ëënï(kï)**	'sleep' (S_A)	→	**ëënïh-ta !**	'go sleep!'

The collective form of the Stative and Allative Imperatives has an extra marker **-të**, which occurs after the Allative **-ta** but before the Stative **-(kë)**. Notice that, in the non-collective form, **-ta** cannot co-occur with **-(kë)**, but this co-occurrence becomes possible in the collective form; cf. (107d-e), where the CCV-initial clitic **_nkërë** 'still' can cause the full grade **-kë** to occur in the collective, but not in the non-collective form. The collective forms always refer to the addressee, never to the O participant. In the collective imperative form of **të[mï]** 'go', the **-(kë)** seems to be obligatory: **të-të-kë !** 'you all go!'.

(107a)	**pono(pï)**	'tell O' →	**i-ponoh-të !**	**i-ponoh-të-kë !**	'you all tell O!'
			i-ponoh-ta-të !	**i-ponoh-ta-të-kë !**	'you all go tell O!'
(b)	**anota**	'fall' (S_O) →	**a-anota-të !**	**a-anota-të-kë !**	'you all fall!'
			a-anota-ta-të !	**a-anota-ta-të-kë !**	'you all go fall!'
(c)	**ëturu**	'talk' (S_A) →	**ëturu-të !**	**ëturu-të-kë !**	'you all talk!'
			ëturu-ta-të !	**ëturu-ta-të-kë !**	'you all go talk!'
(d)	**eta-ta_nkërë_pa !**		(* **eta-ta-kë_nkërë_pa**)		

3O:hear-Go.Imp_Still_Rpt
'Go listen to him/her/it again!'

(e) **eta-ta-të-kë_nkërë_pa !**
3O:hear-Go.Imp-Col-Imper_Still_Rpt
'You all, go listen to him/her/it again!'

T-adding stems occur with the extra **t(ï)-** in the Imperative forms (108a-l)). As mentioned in 5.1.3, there is some variation as to whether or not a preceding overt O nominal can co-occur with the extra **t(ï)-** (108m-n). Notice that, the forms without the **t(ï)-** cannot take the (optional) third-person marker **i-**, unlike other consonant-initial stems (108n).

(108a)	**[t]ë(ku)**	'eat O (flour)'	→	**t-ëh-kë !**	'eat it (flour)!'
(b)	**[t]ënë**	'eat O (meat)'	→	**t-ënë-kë !**	'eat it (meat)!'
(c)	**[t]ëu**	'take O out'	→	**t-ëu-kë !**	'take it out!'
(d)	**[t]urë**	'light O (fire)'	→	**t-urë-kë !**	'light it (fire)!'
(e)	**[t]ka(pï)**	'weave O'	→	**tï-kah-kë !**	'weave it!'
(f)	**[t]kï**	'grate O'	→	**tï-kï-kë !**	'grate it!'
(g)	**[t]papo**	'throw O out'	→	**tï-papo-kë !**	'throw it out!'
(h)	**[t]pë(tï)**	'gather O (fruit)'	→	**tï-pëh-kë !**	'gather it!'
(i)	**[t]pï**	'bathe O'	→	**tï-pï-kë !**	'bathe it!'
(j)	**[t]rï**	'do, make O'	→	**tï-rï-kë !**	'do, make it!'
(k)	**[t]wë**	'shoot O'	→	**tï-wë-kë !**	'shoot it!'
(l)	**[t]je**	'cook O'	→	**tï-je-kë !**	'cook it!'

(m) **tarïpi tï-wë-kë !**
monkey.sp t-shoot-Imper
'Shoot the monkey!'

(n) **tarïpi wë-kë !**
monkey.sp shoot-Imper
'Shoot the monkey!'

Among the non-detransitivized S_A (cf. Table 5.4), the following have irregular imperative forms:

(109a)	**ëe(pï)**	‘come’	→	**oh-kë !**	‘come!’
(b)	**ïhtë**	‘go down’	→	**pïhtë-kë !**	‘go down!’
(c)	**oeka**	‘defecate’	→	**koeka-kë !**	‘defecate!’

5.4.2.2. Non-second-person imperatives. In this category, there is only one inflected form: the *Hortative*, which is formed with the suffix **-ne** (collective form **-të-ne**) and a 1+2 prefix, **kït- / k(:)- / kii- / kï-** ‘1+2A/S_A’ with transitive and S_A stems, but **k(ë)- / kï-** ‘1+2O/S_O’ with S_O stems; cf. 5.4.1.1, Table 5.11 for their allomorphic pattern) and the suffix **-ne** (collective form **-të-ne**). The result is homophonous with the 1+2 form of the Past Perfective (including the irregular gemination with **epo(rï)** ‘meet, find O’ in (110c)), so that (110a-l) also have Past Perfective readings (‘we hid’, ‘we abandoned’, etc.).

(110a)	**ona[mï]**	‘bury/hide O’	→	**kït-onan-ne**	‘let us hide O’
				kït-onan-të-ne	‘let us all hide O’
(b)	**nonta**	‘abandon O’	→	**kii-nonta-ne**	‘let us abandon O’
				kii-nonta-të-ne	‘let us all abandon O’
(c)	**epo(rï)**	‘meet, find O’	→	**k-eepo-nne**	‘let us find O’
				k-eepoh-të-ne	‘let us all find O’
(d)	**[t]wë**	‘shoot O’	→	**kïï-wë-ne**	‘let us shoot O’
				kïï-wë-të-ne	‘let us all shoot O’
(e)	**epataka**	‘go out’ (S_A)	→	**k-eepataka-ne**	‘let us go out’
				k-eepataka-të-ne	‘let us all go out’
(f)	**ëënï(kï)**	‘sleep’ (S_A)	→	**kït-ëënïï-ne**	‘let us sleep’
				kït-ëënïh-të-ne	‘let us all sleep’
(g)	**të[mï]**	‘go’ (S_A)	→	**kï-tën-ne**	‘let us go’
				kï-të-të-ne	‘let us all go’
(h)	**ka**	‘say’ (S_A)	→	**kïh-kaa-ne**	‘let us say’
				kïh-kaa-të-ne	‘let us all say’
(i)	**emamina**	‘play’ (S_O)	→	**k-ëmamina-ne**	‘let us play’
				k-ëmamina-të-ne	‘let us all play’
(j)	**apëëna**	‘finish’ (S_O)	→	**k-ëpëëna-ne**	‘let us finish’
				k-ëpëëna-të-ne	‘let us all finish’
(k)	**pïhta**	‘get wife’ (S_O)	→	**kï-pïhta-ne**	‘let us get a wife’
				kï-pïhta-të-ne	‘let us all get wives’
(l)	**jomita**	‘speak’ (S_O)	→	**kï-jomita-ne**	‘let us speak’
				kï-jomita-të-ne	‘let us all speak’

In addition to the Hortative, there is a Jussive construction, based on the conjugated (present perfective or imperfective) forms and the particle **ëwë(h)** (cf. 9.1.1). The stem-final **h** suggests the existence of a reducing syllable, but there are no examples in the corpus in which it occurred in its full grade (e.g. with a following C(CV)-initial clitic).

(111a) **ëwë wï-të-e**
Jus 1S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'Let me go!'

(b) **ëwë anja nï-të-e**
Jus 1+3 1S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'Let us (excl.) go!' (i.e. 'Allow us to go!')

(c) **ëwë nï-të-n**
Jus 3S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'Let him/her go!'

(d) **ëwëh_to nï-të-n**
Jus_3Col 3S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'Let them go!'

(e) **ëwëh_to n-apëi**
Jus_3Col 3AO-catch:Prs.Prf
'Let them catch it.'

5.4.3. Non-conjugated forms. This group includes forms that cannot take A/S$_A$-marking prefixes. They may be seen as 'less finite', though some have acquired eventive semantics and are used as full-fledged verb tenses, to the point of even replacing older conjugated forms. However, diachronically, they are all probably derived from old adverbials.

An interesting characteristic of these forms is that, if the original verb stem is transitive, they can all take postpositional morphology (O-marking prefixes and the collective suffix **-:ne**) referring to the O participant (cf. the specific sections for paradigms). The only exception is the Distant Past form, which is invariable. It would be rather odd to consider these verb forms as 'derived postpositions', resulting from a process of 'verbal postpositionalization'. In spite of the similarities (which, in the case of negative forms, extend even to the existence of corresponding nominalized forms), it seems wiser not to consider these forms as derived postpositions, which is the viewpoint taken here.

On formal grounds, the following subgroups of non-conjugated forms can be distinguished:

— the *-se forms*, which are all based on a special suffix **-se**; these forms include the Supine (or 'Purpose-of-motion'), the Habitual Past, the Remote Past, and the negative forms;

— the *adverbial* forms, of which there are two: the *Cause* and the *Posteriority* forms. They have probably come from earlier postpositional phrases.

5.4.3.1. The *-se* forms. This subgroup includes the Supine (or 'Purpose-of-motion'), the Habitual Past, the Remote Past, and the negative forms. All of them are formally characterized by the presence of a suffix **-se**, which has the following idiosyncratic allomorphic pattern (the illustrative examples are in the Supine form, except for the final example, in the negative form; notice that **t**-adding verbs occur in their **t**-form [113l, 113o]):

-se	with CV- and I-reducing stems (which occur in their length grade; 113a-g)
-je	with NV-reducing stems (which occur in their coda grade; 113h-j), with non-I-reducing **i**-final stems (112k), and with the stem **[t]ëu** (112l);
-e	with vowel-final stems, if the final vowel is not **e** (112m-p)
length	with **e**-final stems (unrealized word-finally; 113q)

(112a)	**ahkë(të)**	'cut O'	→	**ahkëë-se**	'in order to cut O'
(b)	**enno(kï)**	'command O'	→	**ennoo-se**	'in order to command O'
(c)	**annë(pï)**	'fill' (S_O)	→	**annëë-se**	'in order to fill'
(d)	**ja(tu)**	'burn' (S_O)	→	**jaa-se**	'in order to burn'
(e)	**enmï(tï)**	'dive' (S_O)	→	**enmïï-se**	'in order to dive'
(f)	**enu(ru)**	'be born'	→	**enuu-se**	'in order to be born'
(g)	**apë(i)**	'catch O'	→	**apëë-se**	'in order to catch O'
(h)	**aokï(mï)**	'hug O'	→	**aokïn-je**	'in order to hug O'
(i)	**këhtu(mu)**	'shout' (S_O)	→	**i-këhtun-je**	'in order to shout'
(j)	**ëmë(mï)**	'enter' (S_A)	→	**ëmën-je**	'in order to enter'
(k)	**moi**	'obey O'	→	**i-moi-je**	'in order to obey O'
(l)	**[t]ëu**	'take O out'	→	**t-ëu-je**	'in order to take O out'
(m)	**eerana**	'laugh' (S_O)	→	**eerana-e**	'in order to laugh'
(n)	**etahpaka**	'sit down' (S_A)	→	**etahpaka-e**	'in order to sit down'
(o)	**[t]ënë**	'eat O (meat)'	→	**t-ënë-e**	'in order to eat O (meat)'
(p)	**amo**	'mourn O'	→	**amo-e**	'in order to mourn O'
(q)	**ene**	'see O'	→	**ene**	'in order to see O'
			(cf.	**in-enee-wa**	'not seeing O')

There are some irregular forms. Some verb stems change their final vowels: non-reducing stems ending in **-ru** undergo **u** > **ë**; the stem **eku** 'have sex with O' undergoes **u** > **o**; the ï-final monosyllabic stems **[t]pï** 'bathe O', **[t]rï** 'do, make O', and **[t]kï** 'grate O' undergo **ï** > **ë**.

(113a)	**apuru**	'close, lock O'	→	**apurë-e**	'in order to close/lock O'
(b)	**ëturu**	'talk'	→	**ëturë-e**	'in order to talk'
(c)	**eku**	'have sex with O'	→	**eko-e**	'in order to have sex with O'
(d)	**[t]pï**	'bathe O'	→	**tï-pë-e**	'in order to bathe (O)'
(e)	**[t]rï**	'do, make O'	→	**tï-rë-e**	'in order to make (O)'
(f)	**[t]kï**	'grate O'	→	**tï-kë-e**	'in order to grate (O)'

Synchronically, the suffix **-se** is not a semantically consistent morpheme; it is best seen as part of complex morphemes (**-se** 'supine', 'habitual past', **-sewa** 'negative', **t- -se** 'remote past'). Diachronically, however, it is quite possible that **-se** was an adverbializer (or 'Participial'; cf. Gildea 1998:140ff).

5.4.3.1.1. Supine and Habitual Past. The Supine and Habitual Past have almost exactly the same form.[46] Both are made by simply adding the suffix **-se** to the verb stem (taking into account the allomorphic pattern of **-se**, as described above). With transitive stems, the O participant can be indicated with an O-marking prefix; a collective O is indicated with the marker **-:ne**. For the Supine form, it is further possible to mark the absence of any definite O participant by choosing the back grade form of the stem (cf. 2.6.1 on Tiriyó ablaut);[47] it is not known whether or not this possibility exists for the Habitual Past. With S_A stems, no further prefix is necessary; with S_O stems, a 'generic' prefix **i-** is added to consonant-initial stems. (114) exemplifies the forms with the transitive stem **pono(pï)** 'tell about O'; (115a-e) has S_A stems, and (115f-k) shows S_O stems.

(114) **pono(pï)** 'tell O'

	Non-collective		Collective	
1	**ji-ponoo-se**	in order to tell about me		
2	**ë-ponoo-se**	in order to tell about you	**ë-ponoo-see-ne**	in order to tell about you all
1+2	**kï-ponoo-se**	in order to tell about us	**kï-ponoo-see-ne**	in order to tell about us all
3	**i-ponoo-se**	in order to tell about O	**i-ponoo-see-ne**	in order to tell about them all
0	**ponoo-se**	in order to tell (stories)		

---

[46] This surprising similarity is a strong indication of a diachronic connection. Cf. Meira 1998a:130ff for the idea that the Habitual Past may have come from an earlier construction involving the Supine.

[47] Presumably, **t**-adding stems (cf. 5.1.3) should occur in their **t(ï)** form in the 'indefinite O' Supine (as well as in the 'indefinite O' negative; cf. 5.4.3.1.3), but the relevant data is unfortunately missing.

(115a)	**epï**	'bathe' (S_A)	→	**epë-e**	'in order to bathe'
(b)	**etahpaka**	'sit down' (S_A)	→	**etahpaka-e**	'in order to sit down'
(c)	**ëewe(tï)**	'eat' (S_A)	→	**ëewee-se**	'in order to eat'
(d)	**ëiwa**	'hunt' (S_A)	→	**ëiwa-e**	'in order to hunt'
(e)	**emo(kï)**	'move away' (S_A)	→	**emoo-se**	'in order to move away'
(f)	**potïna**	'whistle' (S_O)	→	**i-potïna-e**	'in order to whistle'
(g)	**wanpa(mï)**	'sing hymns' (S_O)	→	**i-wanpan-je**	'in order to sing hymns'
(i)	**au(mu)**	'stand up' (S_O)	→	**aun-je**	'in order to stand up'
(j)	**enmi(tï)**	'dive' (S_O)	→	**enmïï-se**	'in order to dive'
(k)	**ta(tï)**	'get lost' (S_O)	→	**i-taa-se**	'in order to get lost'

T-adding verbs have the extra **t(ï)-** in the Supine and Habitual Past form. As mentioned in 5.1.3, there is some variation as to whether a preceding overt O nominal can co-occur with the extra **t(ï)-** or not (116m). Notice that, in the forms without the **t(ï)-**, they cannot take the (optional) third-person marker **i-**, unlike other consonant-initial stems (116m).

(116a)	**[t]ë(ku)**	'eat O (flour)'	→	**t-ëë-se**	'in order to eat O (flour)'
(b)	**[t]ënë**	'eat O (meat)'	→	**t-ënë-e**	'in order to eat O (meat)'
(c)	**[t]ëu**	'take O out'	→	**t-ëu-je**	'in order to take O out'
(d)	**[t]urë**	'light O (fire)'	→	**t-urë-e**	'in order to light O (fire)'
(e)	**[t]ka(pï)**	'weave O'	→	**tï-kaa-se**	'in order to weave O'
(f)	**[t]kï**	'grate O'	→	**tï-kë-e**	'in order to grate O'
(g)	**[t]papo**	'throw O out'	→	**tï-papo-e**	'in order to throw O out'
(h)	**[t]pë(tï)**	'gather O (fruit)'	→	**tï-pëë-se**	'in order to gather O (fruit)'
(i)	**[t]pï**	'bathe O'	→	**tï-pë-e**	'in order to bathe O'
(j)	**[t]rï**	'do, make O'	→	**tï-rë-e**	'in order to do/make O'
(k)	**[t]wë**	'shoot O'	→	**tï-wë-e**	'in order to shoot O'
(l)	**[t]je**	'cook O'	→	**tï-je**	'in order to cook O'

(m) [t]wë 'shoot O' → **tarïpi tï-wë-e** 'in order to shoot a/the monkey'
tarïpi wë-e 'in order to shoot a/the monkey'

The stems **ïhtë** 'go down' and **oeka** 'defecate' occur with the stem-initial consonants **p-** and **k-**, respectively, in the Supine and Habitual Past form.

(117a) **ïhtë** 'go down' → **pïhtë-e** 'in order to go down'
(b) **oeka** 'defecate' → **koeka-e** 'in order to defecate'

The Supine is used as a subordinate form to indicate the purpose of a motion predicate. Most cases involve the verb stems **të[mï]** 'go' and **ëe[pï]** 'come'; the hortative motion particle **npa** is also not infrequent. A different construction is used to mark purpose in non-motion cases (cf. 10.4.1.3.3 on **-too_me**).

(118a) **epë-e wï-të-e**
bathe-Sup 1S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am going (to the river) to bathe.

(b) **pahko n-ee-ja-n ë-ene**
1:father 3S$_A$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 2-see:Sup
'My father is coming to see you.'

(c) **mërë_pona wï-të-e i-wanpan-je**
3InMd_Dir 1S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty i-sing.hymn-Sup
'I am going over there to sing hymns.'

(d) **sen_pona n-ee-ja-n karakuri apëë-se**
3InPx_Dir 3S$_A$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt money 3O:get-Sup
'S/he is coming here to get money.'

(e) **npa epë-e !**
Hort bathe-Sup
'Let's go bathe!'

The Habitual Past form is used to describe habitual or repetitive events that do not take place any longer (cf. the English 'used to'). Note that (119c) has the **t**-adding verb stem **[t]wë** 'shoot O'. Note also that the verb **të[mï]**, which never occurred in the Supine (probably for semantic reasons: 'I went there in order to go' sounds rather odd), has **të-e** as its Habitual Past (119d). For the nominative syntax of Habitual Past sentences, cf. 10.3.4.

(119a) **pena ahtao, ji-tuuka-e ëmë**
long.ago when 1O-hit-Hab 2
'Long ago, you used to hit me.'

(b) **'tïwaarë eh-kë', ka-e manko wïja**
careful Cop-Imper say-Hab 1:mother 1:Dat
'"Be careful", my mother used to tell me.'

(c) **irë apo pahko tï-wë-e, mure_me_nkërë_wï ahtao**
3InAna like 1:father **t**-shoot-Hab child_Attr_Still_1 when
'That's how my father used to shoot, when I was still a child.'

(d) **pena_marë koeri_me të-e anja pata wararë**
long.ago_too stroll_Attr go-Hab 1+3 village every
'Long ago, we used to go walking around, (to visit) every village.'

In today's Tiriyó, the Habitual Past has all but replaced the **-(ja)kë(ne)** Past Imperfective. In several occasions, a Past Imperfective form was explained by speakers with its Habitual Past equivalent, because it was 'easier' or 'simpler'. An older speaker claimed that 'young people don't speak like this anymore' (referring to a Past Imperfective form). Although further sociolinguistic research would certainly be necessary, a preliminary impression is that the Past Imperfective in Tiriyó has a status similar to that of the Subjunctive in English, or the *passé simple* in spoken French: it is recognized and understood, but not really used.

5.4.3.1.2. Remote Past. In addition to the suffix **-se**, the Remote Past form has a prefix which basically has the form **t-** with vowel-initial stems and **tï-** with consonant-initial stems, with the following additional details:

— *transitive and S_O stems* must occur in their back grade if there is one (which implies the changes **e** > **ë**, **aCë** > **ëCë**, and **aCo** > **oCo**; cf. 2.6.1 for Tiriyó ablaut);

— *S_A stems* take the class-marking prefix **w-** before the prefix **t-**. On **ë**-initial stems, the result is the sequence **tï-w-** (120m-n); on **e**-initial stems, the result is **t-** + lengthening of the initial **e** (120o-p; notice that this is idiosyncratic to combinations with the **t-** prefix, since the **w-** occurs as such on nominalizations without **t-** [cf. 4.2.2.1]). The two consonant-initial non-detransitivized stems **ka** 'say' and **të[mï]** 'go' take a 'lengthened' prefix **tïï-** (cf. 122q-r); the length can be seen as another realization of the class marker **w-**.[48] The irregular stems **ïhtë** 'go down' and **oeka / weka** 'defecate', which take irregular initial consonants in certain forms (cf. 5.4.1.1.2), do not have them in the Remote Past (120s-t)

(120a)	**aminë(pï)**	'steal O'	→	**t-aminëë-se**	'stole; stolen'
(b)	**aitë**	'push O'	→	**t-aitë-e**	'pushed'
(c)	**apë(i)**	'catch O'	→	**t-ëpëë-se**	'caught'
(d)	**akoroka**	'sweep O'	→	**t-okoroka-e**	'swept'
(e)	**ema**	'throw O'	→	**t-ëma-e**	'threw; thrown'
(f)	**ona(mï)**	'hide O'	→	**t-onan-je**	'hid; hidden'
(g)	**moi**	'obey O'	→	**tï-moi-je**	'obeyed'
(h)	**konka**	'pierce O'	→	**tï-konka-e**	'pierced'
(i)	**apëe(pï)**	'get tired' (S_O)	→	**t-ëpëë-se**	'got tired'
(j)	**enta**	'wake up' (S_O)	→	**t-ënta-e**	'woke up; awake'
(k)	**htëinkapa(mï)**	'forget' (S_O)	→	**tï-htëinkapan-je**	'forgot; forgotten'

---

[48] It was never clear whether or not the stem **wa** 'dance' had a long ï in the Remote Past (i.e. if it was **tïï-wa-e** or **tï-wa-e**). This may be a part of the oscillation in the treatment of this stem as S_A or S_O (cf. 5.2.2, 5.4.1.1.2).

(l)	**munta**	'bleed' (S_O)	→	**tï-munta-e**	'bled'
(m)	**ëturu**	'talk' (S_A)	→	**tï-w-ëturë-e**	'talked'
(n)	**ëënï(kï)**	'sleep' (S_A)	→	**tï-w-ëënïï-se**	'slept'
(o)	**etainka**	'run' (S_A)	→	**t-eetainka-e**	'ran; run'
(p)	**emokï**	'move away' (S_A)'	→	**t-eemoo-se**	'moved away'
(q)	**ka**	'say' (S_A)	→	**tïï-ka-e**	'said'
(r)	**të[mï]**	'go' (S_A)	→	**tïï-të-e**	'went; gone'
(s)	**ïhtë**	'go down' (S_A)	→	**tï-w-ïhtë-e**	'went, gone down'
(t)	**oeka / weka**	'defecate' (S_A)	→	**tï-weka-e**	'defecated'

The prefix **t-** has the same allomorphic pattern as the prefix found on **t**-adverbs (cf. 6.2.1.1); in fact, the original meaning of the remote past form probably was that of an 'adverbial participle' (cf. Gildea 1998:140ff). The **t- -se(mï)** nominalizer (cf. 4.2.2.1.2-3) is probably a nominalized form of this older **t- -se** participle. It is still possible to find rare occasional occurrences of the remote past form used as an adverbial (121); its meaning is then quite compatible with that of **t- -se(mï)** nominalizations. Note that the A participant is marked by the postposition **_:ja** (i.e. the **t- -se** form has ergative syntax; cf. 10.3.3).

(121a) **wëri** **nï-tën** **tï-pakoro-h_ta** **t-ëëka-e** **ëkëi_ja**
woman 3S_A-go:Prs.Prf 3R-house-Pos_Ill Prtcp-bite-Prtcp snake_by
'The woman$_i$ went into her$_i$ house bitten by a snake.'

(b) **apëi_n-ai** **t-ee-pahka-e**
3:seat_3S_A-Cop Prtcp-S_A:Detr-break-Prtcp
'His/her seat is broken.'

However, the overwhelming majority of instances of the Remote Past are narrative texts, especially those that deal with mythological events; (122a-d) are representative examples. The best characterization of this situation seems to be that the Remote Past marks a past event which is as removed as possible from the present, with which it has little or no connection. It is the 'mythological tense' *par excellence*, describing events that happened in a 'distant, far-away past', *in illo tempore*. Note, in (122c), that the verb in the quotation is in the Perfective Past (it was said by one of the main characters of a narrative text, for whom, obviously, the events of the story would not be remote), while the quotative verb **ka** 'say' is in the Remote Past. [49]

(122a) **kaikui t-ëntahka-e akuri_ja**
jaguar Rm.Pst-fool-Rm.Pst agouti_Agt
'The agouti fooled the jaguar.'

(b) **wëë-pïnï-npë t-ëpïnëë-se nïrïï_ja**
shoot:N-Priv.Nzr-Pst Rm.Pst-medicate-Rm.Pst cricket_Agt
'The cricket medicated the bad shooter.'

(c) **irë_mao_pa tï-w-ëe-se Jaraware**
3InAna_Temp_Rpt Rm.Pst-S_A-come-Rm.Pst Jaraware
'At that moment, Yarawaré came back.'

(d) **'ji-nmuku m-ene-ne ?' tïï-ka-e Taru**
1-son:Pos 2A-see-Pst.Prf Rm.Pst:S_A-say-Rm.Pst Taru
'Have you seen my son?' Taru said.

5.4.3.1.3. Negative forms. Negative constructions in Tiriyó are copular clauses with a 'negative adverbial' verb form (cf. 10.3.5). The negative form has a suffix which is historically derived from **-se** with the negative particle **wa** (cf. 8.1.4); the result is a verbal negative suffix **-sewa**, which follows, for the first syllable, the allomorphic pattern of the suffix **-se** described in 5.4.3.1 above.[50] With S_A stems, no further prefixes occur; with S_O stems, an additional prefix **i-** occurs on consonant-initial stems. On transitive stems, the O participant can be marked by means of the O-marking prefixes and the collective suffix **-:ne** (with an exceptional third-person prefix **in-** [**ini-** if the stem starts with a consonant cluster (123g)] instead of the expected **i-/Ø-**), or it can also be left unmarked (in which case the verb stem occurs in its back ablaut grade). (123) below shows the object-marking paradigm for the negative form of a transitive stem, with further examples of the third-person negative form of transitive stems (the *it* in the glosses stands for *him/her/it*); (124) lists examples of negative intransitive stems.

---

[49] There are certain occurrences of the **t-** -se form without a 'Remote Past' semantics. For instance, a man who had been asked if he had seen two other people whom the speaker wanted to meet replied:
(i) **t-ëne_ta wïja**
t-see-se_Neg 1:Agy
'I haven't seen (them).'
Some other cases of negative **t-** **-se** answers to questions have been collected. Their motivation remains unknown.

(123) **eta** 'hear O'

	Non-collective		Collective	
1	**j-eta-ewa**	not hearing me		
2	**ë-eta-ewa**	not hearing you	**ë-eta-ewaa-ne**	not hearing you all
1+2	**k-ëta-ewa**	not hearing us	**k-ëta-ewaa-ne**	not hearing us all
3	**in-eta-ewa**	not hearing him/her/it	**in-eta-ewaa-ne**	not hearing them all
0	**ëta-ewa**	not (capable of) hearing		

(a)	**pataka**	'take O out'	→ **in-pataka-ewa**	'not taking it out'
(b)	**akoroka**	'sweep O'	→ **in-akoroka-ewa**	'not sweeping it'
(c)	**aokï(mï)**	'hug O'	→ **in-aokïn-jewa**	'not hugging it'
(d)	**menuhtë**	'write, paint O'	→ **in-menuhtë-ewa**	'not writing, painting it'
(e)	**juuka**	'bend O'	→ **in-juuka-ewa**	'not bending it'
(f)	**kuku**	'try, imitate O'	→ **in-kuu-sewa**	'not trying, imitating it'
(g)	**ntaka**	'break O'	→ **ini-ntaka-ewa**	'not breaking it'

(124a)	**anota**	'fall' (S_O)	→ **anota-ewa**	'not falling'
(b)	**kooma(mï)**	'become night' (S_O)	→ **i-kooman-jewa**	'not becoming night'
(c)	**akunpa(mï)**	'get lazy' (S_O)	→ **akunpan-jewa**	'not getting lazy'

---

[50] Other negative forms can be built with a Ø-nominalized verb stem and negative adverbializers; cf. 6.2.1.2.

(d)	**jorohpa(mï)**	'get crazy' (S_O)	→	**i-jorohpan-jewa**	'not getting crazy'
(e)	**potïna**	'whistle' (S_O)	→	**i-potïna-ewa**	'not whistling'
(f)	**enmï(tï)**	'dive' (S_O)	→	**enmïï-sewa**	'not diving'
(g)	**erama**	'return' (S_A)	→	**erama-ewa**	'not returning'
(h)	**ëturu**	'talk' (S_A)	→	**ëturë-ewa**	'not talking'
(i)	**emokï**	'move away' (S_A)	→	**emoo-sewa**	'not moving away'
(j)	**ëmï(mï)**	'enter' (S_A)	→	**ëmïn-jewa**	'not entering'
(k)	**ka**	'say' (S_A)	→	**ka-ewa**	'not saying'

Among the non-detransitivized S_A stems, the following irregular forms were found:

(125a)	**ëe(pï)**	'come'	→	**t-ëe-sewa** ~ **t-ee-sewa**	'not coming'[51]
(b)	**ïhtë**	'go down'	→	**p-ïhtë-ewa**	'not going down'
(c)	**oeka / weka**	'defecate'	→	**k-oeka-ewa**	'not defecating'

Negative constructions in Tiriyó are copular clauses with the negative verb form as the predicate. (126) is only an illustrative example; further details can be found in the discussion of the syntax of negative constructions in 10.3.5.

(126) **ë-jomii-kon** **in-kuu-sewa_nkërë_w-a-e**
2-language:Pos-P.Col. 3O-imitate-Neg_still_1S_A-Cop-Cty
'I still don't speak your language.'

5.4.3.2. The adverbial forms: *-tuuwë* 'Posteriority', *-tëkërë* 'Cause'. The two suffixes that characterize these forms are probably old postpositions (compare the final **wë** in **-tuuwë** with the derived locative postpositions in **-wë** / **-o** in 7.3.1.2; notice also the class marker **w-**, typical of nominalizations, in (128), which suggests that the verb form was etymologically Ø-nominalized and used as the object of a postposition). Synchronically, however, it seems better to treat them as verbal suffixes, for the following reasons:

---

[51] The 'Actual S'-nominalized form of **ëe(pï)** also has an unexpected **t-**: **t-ëeh-ke** 'one who comes' (cf. 4.2.2.1.3). This **t-** is reminiscent of—but not identical with—the **t-** prefix of **t-**adding verb stems.

(a) the resulting verb word conjugates as a unit, taking (if the verb stem is transitive) O-marking prefixes and the collective suffix **-:ne** (127) illustrates this with a paradigm with **-tuuwë** on the transitive verb stem **eta** 'hear O'; (128) gives only one example with **-tëkërë**, since a full paradigm is unfortunately missing);

(127)	Non-Collective		Collective	
1	**j-eta-tuuwë**	'after hearing me'		
2	**ë-eta-tuuwë**	'after hearing you'	**ë-eta-tuuwëë-ne**	'after hearing you all'
1+2	**k-ëta-tuuwë**	'after hearing us'	**k-ëta-tuuwëë-ne**	'after hearing us all'
3	**eta-tuuwë**	'after hearing him/her/it'	**eta-tuuwëë-ne**	'after hearing them all'

(128) **irë apo_n-ai, oroko_me ë-w-eh-tëkërëë-ne**
3InAna like_3S_A-Cop work_Attr 2-S_A-Cop-Caus-Col
'It's like this because all of you are working.'

(b) the alternative of considering **-tuuwë** and **-tëkërë** as postpositions has problems: they cannot take nominal objects (e.g. ***irë-tuuwë** 'after that' and ***irë-tëkërë** 'because of that', with the third-person anaphoric pronoun **irë**), and the verb stems occurring with **-tuuwë** and **-tëkërë** do not seem to be nominalized, since they can reduce, and a possessed Ø-nominalized verb stem should not be able to reduce on account of the presence of the possessive suffix **-(rï)** (compare (129a-b) with (129c), in which a Ø-nominalized syllable-reducing verb stem remains in its full grade with the Instrumental postposition **_ke**).

(129a) **i-ponoh-tuuwë ii-ja**
3O-tell-Post 3-by
'after s/he told about O,...'

(b) **i-ponoh-tëkërë ii-ja**
3O-catch-Post 3-by
'because s/he told about O,...'

(c) **i-ponopïï_ke ii-ja**
3O-tell:Pos_Inst 3-by
'because s/he told about O...'

As can be seen in the above examples, the Posteriority and the Cause forms are used as subordinate adverbials, indicating an event that is anterior to, or the cause of, the event in the main clause. (Cf. also 10.4.1.1.2 for the syntax of such constructions).

5.4.4. Forms of the copula *e(i)*. The copula **e(i)** 'be, become' (cf. 10.3.2.1 for its uses) has all the forms and tenses of a regular verb Table 5.15, the full conjugation of e(i), serves as a guide.

Table 5.15
Conjugation of the copular verb e(**i**).

CONJUGATED (SET I) FACTUAL						
	PRESENT GNOMIC		PRESENT IMPERFECTIVE		PRESENT PERFECTIVE	
	Non-collective	Collective	Non-collective	Collective	Non-collective	Collective
1	**w-a-e, -(ne)**		**w-ee-ja-e, -(në)**		**w-ei**	
2	**man-a-e, -(ne)**	**man-a-ti(i)**	**m-ee-ja-e, -(në)**	**m-ee-ja-ti(i)**	**m-ei**	**m-eh-ti(i)**
1+2	**kït-a-e, -(ne)**	**kït-a-ti(i)**	**k-ee-ja-e, -(në)**	**k-ee-ja-ti(i)**	**k-ei**	**k-eh-ti(i)**
3	**n-ai**		**n-ee-ja-(në)**		**n-ei**	

	FUTURE IMPERFECTIVE		FUTURE PERFECTIVE	
	Non-collective	Collective	Non-collective	Collective
1	**w-eh-ta-e, -(ne)**		**w-ee-jakë(mï)**	
2	**m-eh-ta-e, -(ne)**	**m-eh-ta-hki(i)**	**m-ee-jakë(mï)**	**m-ee-ja-të-kë(mï)**
1+2	**k-eh-ta-e, -(ne)**	**k-eh-ta-hki(i)**	**k-ee-jakë(mï)**	**k-ee-ja-të-kë(mï)**
3	**n-eh-ta-(ne)**		**n-ee-jakë(mï)**	

	PAST IMPERFECTIVE		PAST PERFECTIVE	
	Non-collective	Collective	Non-collective	Collective
1	**w-ah-kë(ne)**		**w-ei-ne**	
2	**m-ah-kë(ne)**	**m-ah-të-kë(ne)**	**m-ei-ne**	**m-eh-të-ne**
1+2	**kït-ah-kë(ne)**	**kït-ah-të-kë(ne)**	**k-ei-ne**	**k-eh-të-ne**
3	**kïn-ahkë**		**kïn-ei**	

CONJUGATED (SET I) NON-FACTUAL						
	HYPOTHETICAL		INCREDULITIVE		ADMONITIVE	
	Non-coll.	Collective	Non-coll.	Collective	Non-coll.	Collective
1	**w-ei_mo**		**w-ei-je(pe)**		**w-ei-ne(nu)**	
2	**m-ei_mo**	**m-eh-tii_mo**	**m-ei-je(pe)**	**m-eh-tëë-je(pe)**	**m-ei-ne(nu)**	**m-eh-të-ne(nu)**
1+2	**k-ei_mo**	**k-eh-tii_mo**	**k-ei-je(pe)**	**k-eh-tëë-je(pe)**	**k-ei-ne(nu)**	**k-eh-të-ne(nu)**
3	**ei_mo**		**ei-je(pe)**		**ei-ne(nu)**	

IMPERATIVE		
Static: ‘be!’	**eh-kë**	**eh-të-kë**
Allative: ‘go be!’	**eh-ta**	**eh-ta-të(kë)**
Venitive: ‘come be!’	**ee-se_mïï**	**ee-se_mïïko(mo)**
Hortative: ‘let us be’	**k-ei-ne**	**k-eh-të-ne**
Jussive: ‘let him be’	**ëwë**	**ëwëh_to**
	n-ee-ja-(në)	**n-ee-ja-(në)**

NON-CONJUGATED	
Supine:	**ee-se**
Habitual Past:	**ee-se**
Negative:	**ee-sewa**
Remote Past:	**t-ee-se**
Posteriority	**w-eh-tuuwë**
Cause	**w-eh-tëkërë**

The copula has one additional form: the present gnomic, with a suppletive stem **a** (also found in the past imperfective). The present gnomic is used in a more stative sense (‘be’), while the present imperfective has inchoative uses (‘become’). Note that the present gnomic forms are clitics and behave syntactically like second-position particles (cf. 9.1.3, 2.3.2).

(130a) **kure_w-a-e**
well_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty
‘I am well.’

(b) **kure w-ee-ja-e**
well 1S$_A$-Cop-Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘I am getting better.’

The **a**-stem forms are different enough from the normal **e**-stem forms that one wonders if they could be analyzed as independent verbs (e.g. **a** ‘be’ and **e(i)** ‘become’). Hoff 1968:212ff analyzes cognate forms in Carib of Surinam as belonging to two different verbs; Gildea 1989 does the same for Panare. Notice, however, that the ‘stative’ vs. ‘inchoative’ distinction is not really consistent: **e**-stem forms can have non-inchoative uses, as in (131b) below, the past tense equivalent of (131a).

(131a) **Tëpu_po_w-a-e**
Tëpu_Loc_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty
‘I am at Tëpu.’

(b) **Tëpu_po kapohta w-ei-ne**
Tëpu_Loc long.time 1S$_A$-Cop-Pst.Prf
‘I was at Tëpu for quite a while.’

In addition to that, there is only one past imperfective form (cf. Table 5.15). Also, all nominalizations have only one form. For instance, **w-eh-to(po)** is an **e**-stem form, but it can have stative (**a**-stem) semantics, as in (132). For these reasons, it seems better to treat the **a-** and **e**-stem forms as belonging to the same verbal paradigm.

(132) **tarëno_me ë-w-eh-to wi-pono ii-ja**
Tiriyó_Attr 2-S_A-Cop-Circ.Nzr 1A-tell-Pst.Prf 3-Dat
'I have (just) told him/her that you are a Tiriyó.'

An interesting detail from the comparative Cariban perspective is the existence of only one third person form in the Present Gnomic. Many other Cariban languages have at least two forms: **mana** and **(h)nae** in Apalaí (Koehn & Koehn 1986:101), **maŋ** and **nai** in Akawayo (Fox, pers. comm.), **man** and **nai** in Wayana (Jackson 1972:54), **maŋ̂**, **na** and **naŋ̂** in Carib of Surinam (Hoff 1968:212), **nas(î)** and **nay** in Waiwai (Hawkins 1998:167ff), etc. These two forms usually mark the difference between visual and non-visual evidence. In Tiriyó, however, the form **nai** is used in all contexts. It can be used for both questions and answers (133a-b). Furthermore, (133b) is the only way to say about a box that it is empty, regardless of whether the speaker opened it to look inside, or just weighed it in his/her hands, or is telling someone else that s/he need not open the box. (But cf. 9.1.3.2, on the particle **nara**, for possible remnants of another third-person form).

(133a) **arï-ra_n-ai ?**
content-Priv_3S_A-Cop
'Is it empty?'

(b) **aha, arï-ra_n-ai**
yes content-Priv_3S_A-Cop
'Yes, it is empty.'

6. ADVERBS.

The morphological and syntactic properties which define the adverbial class (first mentioned and exemplified in 3.4.3) are listed below. As can be seen, they are mostly negative: they describe what adverbs cannot do.

(A) Morphology: adverbs

(a) do not inflect for person, number, or tense-aspect-modality;

(b) take the nominalizers **-(no)**, **-to** (also found on postpositions), and **-(mï)**;

(B) Syntax/Semantics: adverbs

(a) tend to modify the verb, or to add circumstantial (time, place) information;

(b) fail nominal tests:

— they cannot be the possessor nor the possessed in possessive constructions;

— they cannot be subjects or objects of verbs, nor objects of postpositions;

— they cannot occupy the O slot in the OV phrase (i.e. they can immediately precede a transitive verb with the third-person prefix **n-**).

Basically, adverbs (a) are not verbs, because they cannot be conjugated; (b) are not nouns, because they do not inflect for person and number, and do not behave like nouns syntactically; (c) are not particles or ideophones, because they can be nominalized.

A look at the stems which can be identified as adverbs with the above criteria reveals an open class with a large number of numbers. Most of them, however, are derived with one of the various (fully productive) morphological adverbializing processes (cf. 6.2). Derived adverbs are identified by the presence of adverbializing morphology, and also by their nominalizations: monomorphemic adverbs take **-(no)** or **-to** (**-a(ka)** adverbs are a special case; cf. 6.1.1.1), while derived adverbs take **-(mï)**, or undergo idiosyncratic changes (**-:ra** > **-pï(nï)**, **-nna** > **-mï(nï)**, etc.).

Semantically speaking, Tiriyó adverbs include most of the concepts which are adjectives and adverbs in European languages, i.e. 'property concepts' (in the sense of Dixon 1977) and 'circumstances' (time: today, later,...; location: here, there, far,...; manner: well, badly,...; etc.).[1]

Typological studies on adjectives have stressed that the link between 'property concepts' and a specific lexical class is subject to cross-linguistic variation. Some languages (e.g. English) have a clear adjectival class, while others tend to distribute 'property concepts' elsewhere: in the nominal class (e.g. Sanskrit, Quechua, most Australian languages), in the verbal class (e.g. Iroquoian and Siouan languages), or in both (e.g. Japanese, according to Wetzer 1996:50). Discourse-pragmatic explanations for this split (such as Hopper & Thompson 1984, Thompson 1988, or Bhat 1994) have stressed the functional basis of the category: adjectives are used for predication and modification. Interestingly enough, Tiriyó adverbs can be used for predication, but must be nominalized before they can be used for modification (cf. 10.2.1.3). This suggests that

---

[1] There are two 'property concepts' outside of this category: the nouns **mono** 'big (one)' and **kaina(no)** 'new/young (one).' However, they are rather exceptional, and may have been diachronically derived (their final syllable looks like the **-(no)** nominalizer [cf. 4.2.2.2]; for **mono**, a connection with the augmentative suffix **-imë** [cf. 4.2.1.2] may be suggested).

Tiriyó treats modification as 'nouny', though Tiriyó is still different from languages like Sanskrit or Quechua in that 'property concepts' are not originally nouns, but adverbs.

In what follows, the members of the adverbial class will be studied in detail. Section 6.1 lists all attested monomorphemic adverbs and describes their semantic and formal regularities. Section 6.2 treats derived adverbs by offering a description of all known morphological processes which can form adverbs out of nouns or verbs.

6.1. Monomorphemic adverbs. Approximately one hundred monomorphemic adverbial stems occurred in the available corpus. In many cases, the stem shows signs of having been derived from a non-adverbial source which no longer exists. Adverb stems which show no signs of productive adverbializing morphology will be termed *primitive*; those which show such signs will be called *non-primitive*. Of course, that does not mean that primitive adverbs are not diachronically derived; in fact, certain primitive stems appear to be the result of derivation, with affixes that are no longer productive.

6.1.1. Primitive adverbs. Table 6.1 lists the 44 attested primitive adverbs, classified, as much as possible, according to Diixon's 1977 semantic types (with additions when necessary).

Table 6.1

Semantic classification of primitive adverbs

Dimension	**kawë**	‘high, tall’	**pija**	‘small, little’
	ma(a)	‘far, long’		
Physical Property	**aoja**	‘crooked’	**ëmïje**	‘soft’
	aesa(ka)	‘sharp’	**ipipinje**	‘thin’
	akïpëe	‘hard’	**kutuma(ka)**	‘painful; bitter’
	amïïma(ka)	‘heavy, difficult’	**pïre**	‘upright; standing’
	atuma(ka)	‘warm, hot’	**pohpooje**	‘light, not heavy’
Human Propensity	**amïma(ka)**	‘stingy, selfish’	**ëënïhpo**	‘tired, sleepy’
	ëëseenë	‘sick, ill’	**suhtapo**	‘wanting to urinate’
	ënjeenë	‘hungry’	**koekapo**	‘wanting to defecate’
	mënna	‘calm; satisfied’	**onke(ne)**	‘calm; peaceful’
	mënne	‘healed’	**oorake(ne)**	‘calm; quiet’
	pëera	‘stupid; ignorant’		
Value	**aerë**	‘true’	**kure**	‘good, pretty, well’
	ikuruma(ka)	‘dangerous’		
Speed	**kooseke(ne)**	‘slow’	**same**	‘fast’
Quantity/Order	**tëinë**	‘one; alone’	**ameraarë**	‘all; everyone’
	ëëkënë	‘two; in pair(s)’		
Time	**ëwë**	‘later’	**koko**	‘(at) night’
	irëmaarë	‘soon’	**kokonjaarë**	‘yesterday’
	menjaarë	‘now’	**kokonje**	‘(in the) afternoon’
	pena	‘long ago’		
Place	**mïjarë**	‘thither’	**mënje**	‘beyond’
	sarë	‘hither’	**senje**	‘this side of’
	taanë	‘yonder’		

Conspicuously absent are two of the four types which Dixon considered near universal (the other two being Dimension and Value): Age (*young*, *new*, *old*,...) and Color (*red*, *green*, *black*,...). However, the fact that these types are not represented among primitive adverbs does not mean that they are absent from the adverbial class: color terms are non-primitive adverbs, and age terms are either nouns (**kaina(no)** ‘new, young’), affixes (**-npë** ‘past’, interpretable as ‘old, ex-’), or adverbial expressions (**tamutupë_me** 'old, aged', literally 'old-man-like', formed by **tamutupë** 'old man' and the attributivizing postposition **_me**). Also interesting is the presence of Quantity/Order, Time, and Place, which are more typically adverbial. Notice the somewhat surprising absence of 'simple' locative adverbials such as 'here' or 'there'. They correspond in Tiriyó to combinations of inanimate demonstrative pronouns with the postposition **_po** 'Locative' (e.g. **sen_po, serë_po** 'here', **mërë_po** 'there', **ooni_po** 'there (far away)'). Temporal expressions can similarly be built with the temporal postposition **_mao**: **serë_mao** 'nowadays', **irë_mao** 'then', etc.

Certain formal regularities among primitive adverbs stand out, suggesting the subgrouping depicted in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2
Formal subgrouping of primitive adverbs.

-a(ka) adverbs	
aesa(ka)	'sharp'
amïïma(ka)	'heavy, difficult'
amïma(ka)	'stingy, selfish'
atuma(ka)	'hot, warm'
ikuruma(ka)	'dangerous'
kutuma(ka)	'painful; bitter; a lot'

-aarë adverbs	
ameraarë	'all; everyone'
irëmaarë	'soon'
menjaarë	'now, today'
kokonjaarë	'yesterday'
mïjarë	'thither'
sarë	'hither'

-po adverbs	
ëënïhpo	'sleepy, tired'
suhtapo	'wanting to urinate'
koekapo	'wanting to defecate'

-ke(ne) adverbs	
kooseke(ne)	'slow'
oorake(ne)	'calm, quiet'
onke(ne)	'calm, peaceful'

-(n)je adverbs	
mënje	'beyond'
senje	'this side of'
kokonje	'afternoon'
ipipinje	'thin'
pohpooje	'light'
ëmïje	'soft'
tarënje	'later'

-në adverbs	
ëëseenë	'sick, ill'
ënjeenë	'hungry'
tëinë	'one; alone'
ëëkënë	'two; in pair(s)'

others	
aerë	'true'
akïpëe	'hard'
aoja	'crooked'
ëwë	'later'[2]
kawë	'high, tall'
koko	'(at) night'
kure	'good, pretty, well'
ma(a)	'far, long'
mënna	'calm, satiated, satisfied'
mënne	'healed'
pëera	'stupid, ignorant'
pena	'long ago'[3]
pija	'small, little'
pïre	'upright'
same	'fast'
taanë	'there (far away)'

6.1.1.1. *-a(ka)* adverbs. The members of this subgroupe share certain morphological parallelisms which clearly set them apart. They have a number of related forms without the final **-a(ka)**:[4] negative forms, generally in **-nna** (adverbial) and **-nmï(nï)** (nominal), and two nominalized forms, a more abstract one in **-ne(tï)** or **-e(tï)**, and a more concrete one in -(**nu**). These forms are listed in (1). **Aesa(ka)** 'sharp' seems to have slightly deviant forms; the **(nu)**/**(nï)** form is not attested for **aesa(ka)** and for **aima(ka)**).

---

[2] There is a near-homophonous particle **ëwë(h)**, which marks jussives (cf. 5.4.2.2, 9.1.1).

[3] There is a homophonous particle **pena** 'already'; cf. 9.1.5.

[4] The final syllable **(ka)** of these adverbs is apparently being lost. When a CCV-initial clitic follows, the full grade form should always occur, but many informants (especially younger people) accept both a full and a zero grade: **atumaka_nkërë** and **atuma_nkërë** 'still warm, hot', **kutumaka_nkërë** and **kutuma_nkërë** 'still painful', **amïmaka_nkërë** and **amïma_nkërë** 'still stingy, selfish', etc.

(1) Various words related to **-a(ka)** adverbs.

atuma(ka)	'hot, warm'	**atunna**	'not warm'	**atunmï(nï)**	'non-warm thing'
kutuma(ka)	'painful, bitter'	**kutunna**	'not painful'	**kutunmï(nï)**	'non-painful thing'
amïïma(ka)	'heavy, difficult'	**amïïnna**	'not heavy'	**amïïnmï(nï)**	'non-heavy thing'[5]
amïma(ka)	'stingy, selfish'	**amïnna**	'not stingy'	**amïnmï(nï)**	'non-stingy person'
aima(ka)	'hot (pepper)'	**ainna**	'not hot'	**ainmï(nï)**	'non-hot, mild thing'
ikuruma(ka)	'dangerous'	**ikurunna**	'not dangr.'	**ikurunmï(nï)**	'non-dangr. thing'
aesa(ka)	'sharp'	**aera**	'not sharp'	**aepï(nï)**	'non-sharp thing'

atune(tï)	'warm thing (e.g. coffee)'	**atu(nu)**	'warming thing (e.g. blanket)'
kutune(tï)	'painful thing (e.g. poison)'	**kutu(nu)**	'pain; bitterness'
amïïne(tï)	'heavy thing'	**amïï(nï)**	'weight'
amïne(tï)	'stingy person'	**amï(nï)**	'stinginess'
aine(tï)	'hot thing (e.g. pepper)'		
ikurune(tï)	'dangerous/authorized person'	**ikuru(nu)**	'authorization; weapon; danger'
aeke(tï)	'sharp thing'[6]		

Judging by (1), **-a(ka)** is an old adverbializer (probably a cognate of Wayana **-hak(a)**[7]), **-nna** is the privative adverbializer and **-mï(nï)** its nominalized form. Also, **-e(tï)** or **-ne(tï)** seems to be an old nominalizer; the **k** in **aeke(tï)** makes one wonder about possible connections with the verbal nominalizer **i- -ke(tï)** 'Actual S' (cf. 4.2.2.1.3). It is not clear whether the **-(nu)**/**-(nï)** forms were the original stems, or whether **-(nu)**/**-(nï)** was also a suffix (in favor of the latter hypothesis, compare **atu(nu)** with the verb stem **jatu** 'burn [intr.]'). For the meaning of **ikuruma(ka)**, cf. the glossary in Appendix B.

---

[5] One speaker found **amïïnna, amïïnmï(nï)** a bit artificial, and suggested **pohpooje, pohpooja(no)** instead. There may be variation in this respect.

[6] The more regular **aesaano** 'sharp thing', with the -(**no**) nominalizer, is also attested.

[7] Meira 1998:29 reconstructs ***atumcaka** 'warm', ***kutumcaka** 'painful' and ***am(ë/ï)cisaka** 'heavy' to Proto-Taranoan, a sub-branch of Cariban. Notice that this ***c** was apparently retained as **s** in **aesa(ka)** 'sharp'. There is a regular correspondence between Tiriyó **s** (Proto-Taranoan ***c**) and Wayana **h**. Compare e.g. **amïma(ka)** 'stingy, selfish' with Wayana **ëmëmhak(a)** 'stingy, selfish'.

6.1.1.2. ***-aarë*** **adverbs.** Certain comparisons between these adverbs and other words suggest that **-(nj)aarë** may have been an independent morphological element.

The word **kokonjaarë** 'yesterday' is certainly derived from **koko** 'night' (cf. also **kokonje** 'afternoon', **kokoro** 'tomorrow', **kokonkërë** 'morning'); considering the other words in this group, one may even suggest that it was derived from **kokonje** 'afternoon'. **Irëmaarë** 'soon' and **menjaarë** 'now, today' are also temporal expressions; possible sources would be **irëme** 'thus, therefore' and **mënje** 'this side of' (the **ë** > **e** vowel change in **menjaarë** is admittedly puzzling). **Mïjarë** 'thither' suggests a possible source ***mïj(a)**, which is not attested. However, Meira 1998:177, 50 reconstructs a word ***mï(c/j)a** 'far, long' to Proto-Taranoan (of which Tiriyó **ma(a)** 'far, long' is a reflex), which is a good candidate for a diachronic source. An underlyingly long **aa** in **mïjarë**, from **-aarë**, would be masked by the iambic stress system (cf. 2.5.1). Cognates of **ameraarë** without the **-aarë** can be found in other languages (cf. Apalaí **emero** 'all, everything'). **Sarë** is a bit doubtful, since the **a** is clearly short; but the existence of a proximal deictic formative **se** (as in **se(nï)**, **serë** 'this', **senje** 'this side of', etc.; cf. 4.1.2, 12.2) makes it less unthinkable to accept **sarë** as **se** + **arë.**

The meaning of this earlier suffix **-aarë** is not clear. It may contain more than one morpheme: notice that, in the nominalized forms of some of these words, the nominalizer is inserted between **rë** and the preceding syllable (e.g. **menjaarë** 'now, today' → **menjato(ro)** 'someone from today'; **kokonjaarë** 'yesterday' → **kokonjato(ro)** 'someone from yesterday'). This final **rë** may come from the identificational particle **_rë** 'exactly'.

6.1.1.3. *-po* adverbs. The only three adverbs in this category are listed below, together with the intransitive verb stems from which they seem to be related. The first of them, **ëënïhpo** 'sleepy, tired', can be nominalized with the suffix **-to** (**ëënïhpoto** 'someone who is tired, sleepy'; cf. 4.2.2.2); presumably, the same holds true for the other two **-po** adverbs.

(2a)	'sleep'	**ëënï(kï)**	→	**ëënïhpo**	'sleepy, tired'
(b)	'urinate'	**suhta**	→	**suhtapo**	'wanting to urinate'
(c)	'defecate'	**(k)oeka/weka**	→	**koekapo**	'wanting to defecate'

The relationship between the original verb stems and the corresponding **-po** adverb is so straightforward that it is even possible to analyze **-po** as a low-productivity desiderative suffix. Possible cognates are attested in other languages: Wayana (Tavares, pers. comm.) has a desiderative suffix **-po** which is used to derive a new verb stem (compare the Wayana words **j-ïnïk-jai** 'I am sleeping', a conjugated verb, and **j-ïnïk-po-jai** 'I feel like sleeping' [originally from Jackson 1972], also a conjugated verb). In Tiriyó, however, **-po** is not a verb-deriving suffix, but at best an adverbializer.

6.1.1.4. *-ke(ne)* adverbs. There are a few cases of non-primitive, 'segmentable' adverbs ending in **-ke(ne)** [-kɛŋ] (e.g. **kure-ke(ne)** 'slow(ly)', a synonym of **kooseke(ne)**, which seems to be derived from **kure** 'good, well, pretty'). Considering the similar ending found on the **-ke(ne)** adverbs (**kooseke(ne)** 'slow(ly)', **oorake(ne)** 'calm, quiet', **onke(ne)** 'calm, peaceful'), including the final reducing syllable (**ne**), which is rare (cf.

2.6.2 on syllable reduction), the idea of interpreting **-ke(ne)** adverbs as derived readily springs into mind, in spite of the absence of synchronic sources (presumably ***koose**, ***oora**, ***on**).

The probable source of the final **-ke(ne)** is the continuative particle **_ke(ne)** (cf. 9.1.5). In fact, although certain adverbs can occur without **_ke(ne)**, they are much more frequently found with it (e.g. **same** 'fast', more frequently **same_ke(ne)**; **tëinë** 'one, once, alone', more frequently **tëin_ken**; **tïwërë** 'other, different', more frequently **tïwërë_ke(ne)** in the sense of 'separate', 'isolated'). These would not be cases of derivation with a suffix, but of *lexicalization* of earlier expressions with **_ke(ne)**, comparable to, among others, English *to-* in *tomorrow*, *today*, *tonight*, or even *together* and *toward*. The semantics are irregular, but not implausible. For instance, **tïwërë_ke(ne)** 'separate, isolated', from 'continuously different', 'continuously other', is not very surprising. **Same_ke(ne)** 'fast' and **tëin_ken** 'one, once' probably contained, and maybe still contain, an emphatic element ('real fast', 'only one'), which could result from the bleaching of 'continuously fast', 'continuously one'; using the more emphatic term instead of the neutral one in cases like 'fast' or 'alone' is hardly surprising. Even **kure_ken** 'slow(ly)' from **kure** 'good, well, pretty' is reminiscent of cases in which words for 'slow(ly)' came from the semantic area of 'good', 'nice', 'smooth' by metaphorical extension (e.g. French *doucement* 'sweetly' > 'slowly', or Italian *piano* 'flat, smooth' > 'slowly'). In fact, an adverb such as English *smoothly* can be used to describe an elegant movement; since elegance and slowness are often associated, it would not be hard for it to develop the meaning 'slowly', like Italian *piano*. Of course, it remains necessary to find the diachronic sources of the **-ke(ne)** adverbs (***koose**, ***oora**, ***on**), e.g. by looking for similar stems in related languages, but it does not seem too far-fetched to suppose that they are also lexicalizations ('slow(ly)', 'quiet', and 'peaceful' seem quite compatible with the continuative meaning of the particle **_ke(ne)**). Synchronically, of course, they are no longer segmentable and must be treated as monomorphemic stems.

6.1.1.5. *-(n)je* and *-në* adverbs. This group of adverbs is less homogeneous than the previous one: although some of them are probably derived, others may have similar endings by coincidence.

Mënje 'beyond' and **senje** 'this side of' are probably related to the demonstrative pronouns **më(nï)** 'that (inanimate, invisible)' and **se(nï)** 'this (inanimate, visible)'. The final **je** can be compared to the final **e** of 'perlative' postpositions like **ae**, **_tae**, **etae** (cf. 7.3.1.1, 12.2). One might hypothesize that **mënje** and **senje** were, at some point, combinations of demonstratives and postpositions (much like present-day **sen_po** 'here', a combination of **se(nï)** with the locative postposition **_po**).

Kokonje '(in the) afternoon' is clearly related to **koko** 'night', apparently with a suffix **-nje**, possibly related to the **-je** of the preceding paragraph. One possibility that would put them closer is to hypothesize that **kokonje** was derived from the nominalized form **koko(no)** ([kɔkɔŋ], in isolation) 'someone/something from the night', 'nocturnal one', thus having the diachronic segmentation **koko-n-je**, not **koko-nje**. It is not clear, however, how one could link a word for '(in the) afternoon' to a suffix which presumably had a perlative meaning ('along the nocturnal one'?). One might include **tarënje** 'later' here, which may be related to **taanë** 'far away'.

Ipipinje 'thin, not thick', **pohpooje** 'light, not heavy' and **ëmïje** 'soft' are good candidates for coincidences. Although one cannot exclude the hypothesis that they were diachronically derived with the help of an element **(n)je**, it would be no surprise to find out that they are actually underived and belong with the 'pure' primitive adverbs of the next section. This seems especially likely for **ëmïje** 'soft'.

The **-në** adverbs form a heterogenous group. **Ëëseenë** 'sick, ill' seems to be related to the S_O verb stem **ëësena** (var. **ëësina**) 'cry, weep'; **ënjeenë** 'hungry' has a family resemblance with **ëëseenë,** but there seems to be no corresponding relatable verb stem.[8] The two numerals **tëinë** 'one, alone' and **ëëkënë** 'two, in pair(s)', are good candidates for coincidences (though the initial **t** and **ëë** bring to mind the third-person reflexive [cf. 3.3.1.3] and reflexive/reciprocal prefixes [cf. 3.3.1.4]). In any case, it is not clear that there even was a suffix **-në**, and that these words, if indeed derived, exemplify the same process.

6.1.1.6. 'Pure' primitive adverbs. The list of *others* in Table 6.2 contains the 15 best candidates for diachronically underived, 'pure' primitive adverbs. Not all of them are beyond suspicion: the **-ra** in **pëera** 'stupid, ignorant' is reminiscent of the negative adverbializer **-:ra** of 6.2.1.2.2; the final syllable of **akïpëe** 'hard' is suspicious (cf. the irregular nominalized form **akïpïrï** 'hard one', and the verb stem **akï(kï)** 'get hard'; the final **pëe**, or at least the final **e**, may have been independent elements in the past); **mënne** and **mënna** look related, though the available data on these two forms is hardly conclusive. On the other hand, words like **kure** 'good, well, pretty' or **kawë** 'high, tall' are probably underived, and also apparently very old, since they have clear monomorphemic cognates in many other Cariban languages (**kure** 'good' in Apalaí, **kurep** 'good' in Arara, **kore** 'big' in Wayana; **kao** 'high' in Apalaí, **kaawu** in Waiwai, **kawë** in Wayana, **kawo** in Hixkaryana). They seem to belong to a 'Cariban core' of underived adverbs that may turn out to be reconstructible for Proto-Carib.

---

[8] A connection with **[t]ënë** 'eat O (meat)' is not impossible, but not very convincing either.

6.1.2. Non-primitive adverbs. In this category are the adverbs which present signs of productive derivational morphology without having a synchronic source stem in the available corpus. Of course, future research on Tiriyó might uncover synchronic stems for some of these adverbs, in which case they would be listed as synchronically derived in 6.2. But it may also happen that only comparative evidence will be able to tell what the source stems were (by e.g. finding a cognate stem existing synchronically in a related language). Table 6.3 classifies the 35 non-primitive adverbs according to the derivational process that seems to have created them.

Table 6.3
Non-primitve adverbs

-me adverbs	**apipime**	'shallow'	**poopoome**	'soft; fluffy'	**tapïïme**	'many (An.)'
	junme	'adult;wise'	**sikime**	'black'	**tïpïïme**	'thick'
	kaarame	'bitter'	**siririme**	'blue'	**tïrïtïrïme**	'curd(ed)'
	kananame	'yellow'	**siweme**	'slippery'	**wapëme**	'bluish'
	mokame	'round'	**suume**	'sweet'		
	papome	'seldom'	**tahpame**	'sitting'		
t- adverbs	**taamiire**	'red'	**tïkapiire**	'w/red wounds'	**tïwërë**	'other'
	takune	'troubled'	**tïkuije**	'dirty'	**tïponje**	'tasty'
	takure	'muddy'	**tïpuse**	'many'	**tupae**	'lying down'
	tapire	'wet'	**tïpokïne**	'smelly'		
	tïkorooje	'white'	**tïntïïje**	'short'		
negative adverbs	**aarerenna**	'weak'	**iijeeta**	'many (Inan)'	**isunna**	'insipid'
	akëreera	'w/out time'	**ipoinna**	'insipid'	**kapohta**	'long time'

The process which gave rise to **-me** adverbs seems obvious: the lexicalization of **_me** postpositional phrases (cf. 7.3.4.3 on the postposition **_me** and its uses; note that two particles [conjunctions], **irëme** 'then' and **mërëme** 'but' [cf. 9.1.1], are certainly also lexicalized **_me** phrases). In two cases, although the stem does not occur by itself, there are other lexical items based on it: the **su** in **suume** 'sweet' also occurs in the negative **isunna** 'insipid', and the **tahpa** in **tahpame** 'sitting' is also found in the verb **e-tahpa-ka** 'to sit down'). In one case, a possible cognate stem has been found in a related language: compare **tapïïme** 'many (animate beings)' with Apalaí **tapïï** 'house' (spelled *tapyi*; cf. Koehn & Koehn 1986:45). A possible path of evolution is 'house' > 'a "houseful" of people' > 'many (animate beings)'.

The synchronically monomorphemic **t**-adverbs must have also come into existence via one of the processes that involve the **t-** prefix (cf. 6.2.1.1). Interestingly, none of them involves the most productive and regular processes such as **t- -ke**; they all involve more irregular alternatives (**t- -e, t- -je, t- -ne, t- -re**). In some cases, the original stem can still be found in other words. For instance, the color terms **taamiire** 'red' and **tïkorooje** 'white', which can be compared to the verb stems **aamiirë** 'redden O, paint O red', **aamiita** 'redden, ripen, blush', and **korooma** 'whiten O, paint O white'; **sikime** 'black' corresponds to two verb stems, **sikinma** and **:kuuma** 'blacken O, paint O black', of which only the first looks related; cf. 5.3.3 for verbalizers. **Tïkuije** 'dirty' can be compared to verb stems like **kuita** 'to be dirty' or **kuima** 'to make O dirty' (cf. 5.3.3.2.1, 5.3.3.1.2 for the verbalizers **-ta** and **-ma**), **tïpokïne** 'smelly' with the verb stem **pokïnta** 'to smell O', and **tïponje** 'tasty' with the negative **ipoinna** 'insipid, tasteless'.[9] For the remaining monomorphemic **t**-adverbs, no other traces of the stem were found.

The negative adverbs show clear signs of negative adverbializers (cf. 6.2.1.2 for **i- -nna** 'privative', **i- -:ra** 'inefficient', 'negative') or particles (cf. 9.1.4 for the negative **_ta(ike)**). As was pointed out above, **isunna** and **ipoinna** 'insipid, tasteless' share a stem with other adverbs (**suume** 'sweet', **tïponje** 'tasty'). The adverb **iijeeta** 'many, a lot (inanimate)' has a nominalized form **iijanta** (**iijanonpëta** with the past **-npë**) which clearly identifies **ta** as an independent element;[10] however, ***iije** or ***iijan** cannot be used as free words. No related words were found for **aarerenna** 'weak, exhausted', **akëreera** 'having no time, busy', and **kapohta** 'a long time'.

---

[9] The stem seems to be **po(n)** in **tïponje** and **poi** in **ipoinna**. This can be explained by assuming that the stem was ***poi**, and that **tïponje** (pronounced [tɨ.pɔⁱɲ.ɲɛ] is the result of palatalization (/Vin/ > [Vⁱɲ]), which, in accordance with the analysis of the sequence [ⁱɲ] (cf. 2.4.2.1), is reinterpreted as /nj/. In this case, the adverbializer would be **t- -ne**, not **t- -je**: ***tïpoine > tïponje**. Notice that the sequence /in/ does not automatically result in [ⁱɲ] (e.g. **weine** 'I was' [ʋɛi.nɛ], **apëine** 'catcher, one who catches (it)') [a.pəi.nɛ], etc.), but cases such as **tïponje** (and maybe also **ponjeke** 'collared peccary'; cf. Apalaí **poinoko**, Wayana **pëinëkë**) suggest that this may have been the case at an earlier stage. Another possibility is that ***poi** may have come from ***pojV**, so that it really was ***poj**, with a final consonant, and that the sequence ***jn**, but not the sequence ***in**, underwent palatization (the verb stems **ei** 'copula' and **apëi** 'catch', from which **weine** and **apëine** derive, are reflexes of ***eci** and ***apëci** [cf. Meira 1998:165, 183], i.e. their **i** was not a glide).

[10] The pronunciation of these forms, [ii.jan.ta] and [ii.ja.nɔm.pə.ta] (not *[i.jaa.nɔm.pə.ta]), constitute the justification for the spelling **iijeeta** (cf. 2.5.1 for rhythmic stress). This form is usually pronounced [i.jɛɛ.ta], an apparent homophone of **ije_ta** 'not wanting it' (the third-person form of the desiderative postposition

6.2. Derived adverbs.

Like all known Cariban languages, Tiriyó has a rich system of adverbializations, thus making the adverbial class potentially unlimited in spite of the relatively small number of monomorphemic members (cf. 6.1). Table 6.4 lists all adverbializing processes known in Tiriyó.

Table 6.4
An overview of Tiriyó adverbializing morphology.

From nouns		From verbs	
t-adverbs:			
t- -ke	'having' (proprietive) also **t- -ne, t- -je, t- -e**	**-të**	'potential A' (good at V-ing)
t- -pore	'having a good N' also **t- -re**	(**-tuuwë**	'after'
		-tëkërë	'because, on account of'
i-adverbs:		se-forms:	
i- -nna	'not having' (privative)		
i- -:ra	'having an inefficient N'	**-se**	'Supine' (purpose of motion)
i- -poora	'unable of N, without N'	**t- -se**	'Participial'
i- -kinje	'having an undersized N'	**-sewa**)	'Negative'
i- -tïïse	'having a lot of N'		

6.2.1. Nominal adverbialization.

The first striking feature of nominal adverbializers is their formal division into **t**-adverbs and **i**-adverbs. Their meaning is centered in the area of possession ('having' or 'not having' the objects, properties, etc. denoted by the original

---

_se, followed by the negative particle **_ta(ike)**). Some speakers considered them distinct in pronunciation, but no consistent differences were found.

noun stem), without any clear semantic differentiation between the two subgroups. Basically, any noun stem can be adverbialized with at least some of these affixes, including derived stems (cf. 6a-c), and those with nominal meaning-changing suffixes (7a-b). A few cases in which a structure higher than a stem was adverbialized were found; they show signs of lexicalization (cf. 3.2.1.1).

The similarity between the two prefixes **i-** and **t-** and the third-person markers **i-** '3' and **t-** '3R' is quite remarkable, going down to the allomorphic pattern (**i-** is **Ø-** on vowel-initial stems, **t-** takes the back grade form). It is impossible to analyze the adverbializing **i-** and **t-** as third-person markers, since they can be used in contexts (e.g. copular sentences) where there is no third person; however, a diachronic connection between them and the third-person markers does not seem implausible.

6.2.1.1. *T*-adverbs. These adverbs are characterized by the prefix **t-** and one of several possible suffixes. It has the allomorphs **tï-**, with consonant-initial stems, and **t-**, with vowel-initial stems. Changes in certain stems also occur:

— vowel-initial stems must be in their back grade form if they have one (this implies the stem-initial changes **e** > **ë**, **aCë** > **ëCë**, **aCo** > **oCo**; cf. 2.6.1 for the ablaut pattern);

— stems with any irregularities in their possessed forms (cf. 4.3.1.4) must occur in the form that they have when possessed (but without any remnant of the possession suffix **-(rï)**); thus:

(a) **j**-adding stems occur with the initial **j** (5k-l);

(b) initial syllable-reducing stems occur in the adequate reduced grade (5h-i);

(c) stems with idiosyncratic changes occur with these changes (5i);

— kinship stems with irregular possessed paradigms occur in the non-first-person form (i.e. for 'mother', the stem **mama** is used, not the first-person **manko**) (5m-o).

A further formal feature of **t**-adverbs is that they all take the nominalizer **-(mï)** instead of **-(no)** (cf. 4.2.2.2), as can be seen in (3), in which the CCV suffix **-npë** 'Past' forces the full grade **-mï** to occur:

(3) **tï-pakoro-ke-mï-npë**
T-house-Having-Nzr-Pst
'One who used to have a house.'

The similarities of some of the suffixes that occur on **t**-adverbs (**-pore**, **-re**; cf. also the **i**-adverb suffixes **-:ra**, **-poora**) suggests that they are related. The element **po** in **-pore** and **-poora** is reminiscent of the **-po** adverbs mentioned in 6.1.1.3, but it is hard to see how a synchronic connection between them could be established. Diachronically, however, it is likely that **-pore** and **-poora** result from the fusion of an earlier ***-po** with the suffixes **-re** and **-:ra**.

6.2.1.1.1. ***t- -ke, t- -ne, t- -je, t- -e*** **'Having'.** Of these four forms, only the first is truly productive, while the others are restricted to a small set of noun stems. In some occurrences of the less productive affixes, the resulting meaning was slightly different from that of the corresponding **t- -ke** form ('having more intimately' vs. 'having more superficially'; cf. below); it may be that similar differences exist for all cases.

The meaning of **t- -ke** is basically 'having'. When a **t- -ke** adverb is predicated to a noun, the relationship between this noun and the noun in the **t- -ke** adverb can be any of those usually associated with possession (ownership, part-whole, kinship relation, etc.), without a fixed time limit (i.e. not necessarily permanent possession). (4a-c) exemplify the use of **t- -ke** adverbs, and (5a-p) contain further lexical examples.

(4a) **tï-maja-ke_w-a-e**[11]
T-knife-Having_1S_A-Cop-Cty
'I have a knife.'

(b) **tï-maja-ke-mï-npë_wï**
T-knife-Having-Nzr-Pst_1Pro
'I used to have a knife.'
(Lit. 'I am one who used to have a knife.')

(c) **ëiwa-e tïï-të-e, t-ëkï-ke t-ee-se_marë**
hunt-Sup Rm.Pst:S_A-go-Rm.Pst T-pet-Having Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst_Also
'He went hunting, and he had his pet dog with him.'

(5a)	**panpira**	'paper; book'	→	**tï-panpira-ke**	'having paper, a book'	
(b)	**po**	'clothes'	→	**tï-po-ke**	'having clothes, clothed'	
(c)	**oota**	'hole'	→	**t-oota-ke**	'having a hole'	
(d)	**otï**	'meat food'	→	**t-otï-ke**	'having meat food'	
(e)	**ekï**	'pet'	→	**t-ëkï-ke**	'having a pet'	
(f)	**erepa**	'food'	→	**t-ërepa-ke**	'having food'	
(g)	**amoi**	'nail'	→	**t-omoi-ke**	'having nails'	
(h)	**(wï)raapa**	'bow'	→	**tïï-raapa-ke**	'having a bow'	
(i)	**(pï)rëu**	'arrow, weapon'	→	**tïï-re-ke**	'having a weapon'	(poss. **(pï)re**)
(j)	**tïpitë**	'field, garden'	→	**tï-tupi-ke**	'having a field'	(poss. **tupi**)
(k)	**oroko**	'work'	→	**tï-joroko-ke**	'having work'	(j-adding stem)
(l)	**ëmëinë**	'thorn'	→	**tï-jëmëinë-ke**	'having thorns'	(j-adding stem)

---

[11] Note that this sentence is pronounced [tɨ.ma:.ja.kɛ:.ʋaɛ], i.e. there is no length in the second syllable of **maja** 'knife'. This is a further difference between the adverbializing prefix **t-** and the third-person reflexive **t-**: the latter would require the possessive suffix **-(rï)** to occur, which, in this case, would surface as the lengthening of the second **a** of **maja**, whereas the former does not.

(m)	**mama**	'mother'	→	**tï-mama-ke**	'having a mother'
(n)	**papa**	'father'	→	**tï-papa-ke**	'having a father'
(o)	**no(tï)**	'grandmother'	→	**tï-noh-ke**	'having a grandmother'
(p)	**repe(tï)**	'payment'	→	**tï-repeh-ke**	'having payment; dear, expensive'

Nominalizations can also take **t- -ke**, as in the following cases, involving the postpositions **pë(kë)** 'about; busy with' and **akëërë** 'with' (comitative), and the verbs **rï** 'make' and **ka(pï)** 'weave, make by weaving' with the **n-** 'actual O' nominalizer ('made thing', 'woven thing'):

(6a) **tï-pëkë-n-ke_w-a-e**
T-about-Nzr-Having_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'I am persecuted; someone is harassing me.'

(b) **t-ëkëërë-n-ke_w-a-e**
T-with-Nzr-Having_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'I have company.'

(c) **tï-nï-rï-ke** **eh-kë,** **tï-n-kah-ke** **eh-kë**
T-O:Nzr-make-Having Cop-Imper T-O:Nzr-weave-Having Cop-Imper
'Provide yourself with all kinds of manufactured goods.'

(7a-b) exemplify the occurrence of **t- -ke** on nouns with class-preserving suffixes like **-pisi(kë)** 'Diminutive' or **-sepï** 'Predilective'.

(7a)	**maja-pisi(kë)**	'knife-Diminutive'	→	**tï-maja-pisih-ke**	'having a small knife'
(b)	**otï-sepï**	'favorite meat food'	→	**t-otï-sepï-ke**	'having the favorite meat food'

The other affixes, **t- -ne, t- -je, t- -e** are restricted to a small set of stems. In certain cases, a semantic contrast between **t- -ke** 'having N' and **t- -e** 'having a working N' was found. The attested examples involve three body parts, **enu** 'eye', **pana** 'ear', and **oona** 'nose', which are related to the senses of vision, hearing, and smell (unfortunately, no examples with **nore** 'tongue' are available). This difference corresponds exactly to the distinction between **i- -nna** and **i- -:ra**, for the same body parts (cf. 6.2.1.2.1-2). Two additional pairs, involving the related stems **hpo(tï)** 'hair' and **ehpo(tï)** 'beard' (8d-e), did not seem to be semantically distinguishable.

(8a)	**enu**	'eye'	→	**t-ënu-ke**	'having an eye'
				t-ëno-e	'not blind; having an eye that works'
(b)	**pana**	'ear'	→	**tï-pana-ke**	'having an ear'
				tï-pana-e	'not deaf; having an ear that works'
(c)	**oona**	'nose'	→	**t-oona-ke**	'having a nose'
				t-oona-e	'able to smell; having a nose that works'
(d)	**hpo(tï)**	'hair'	→	**tï-hpo-ke**	'having hair'
				tï-hpo-e	'having hair'
(e)	**ehpo(tï)**	'beard'	→	**t-ëhpo-ke**	'having a beard'
				t-ëhpo-e	'having a beard'

All other cases of **t- -ne**, **t- -je** and **t- -e** in the available corpus are listed below. Notice the irregular stem-final **tu** in **tïwakutuje** 'satiated' (10d). Their meaning tends to be more abstract (e.g. not 'having/carrying medicine', but 'medicated'; 'fat, fleshy', not 'having/carrying fat'); it would not be surprising if corresponding **t- -ke** adverbs existed, with more transparent meanings ('carrying medicine', 'carrying fat'), and their absence from the available corpus may be a coincidence.

(9a)	**etu(nu)**	'pain'	→	**t-ëtu-ne**	'painful'
(b)	**katï**	'fat'	→	**tï-katï-ne**	'fat; having fat'
(c)	**mu(nu)**	'tuberous root'	→	**tï-mu-ne**	'having tuberous roots'
(d)	**kupu(nu)**	'flesh'	→	**tï-kupu-ne**	'fat; fleshy'

(10a)	**pï(tï)**	'wife'	→	**tï-pï-je**	'having a wife'
(b)	**nmuku**	'son'	→	**tï-nmuu-je**	'having a son'
(c)	**epi(tï)**	'medicine'	→	**t-ëpi-je**	'medicated; having (taken) medicine'
(d)	**waku**	'belly, stomach'	→	**tï-wakutu-je**	'satiated; with a full belly'

(11a) **eenakë** 'lie' → **t-ëënakë-e** 'who tells lies; liar'
(b) **nmo(tï)** 'pubic hair' → **tï-nmo-e** 'having pubic hair'

6.2.1.1.2. ***t- -pore*, *t- -re* 'Having a good N'.** An adverb formed with **t- -pore** or **t- -re** asserts, in addition to possession of the original noun stem, also a qualitative judgment ('good', 'nice', 'beautiful', 'agreeable'). Of the two affixes, **t- -pore** is the productive one; **t- -re** occurs with fewer stems. (12a-c) illustrate the use of a **t- -pore** adverb in a sentence.

(12a) **tï-maja-pore_w-a-e**
T-knife-Having.good_$1S_A$-Cop-Cty
'I have a good/pretty knife.'

(b) **tï-panpira-pore_w-a-e**
T-book-Having.good_$1S_A$-Cop-Cty
'I have a good/pretty book.'

(c) **tï-pakoro-pore_w-a-e**
T-house-Having.good_$1S_A$-Cop-Cty
'I have a good/pretty house.'

Cases of **t- -pore** with nominalized verb stems are not infrequent. (13a-b) show verb stems with the **n-** 'actual O' nominalizer ('thing made', 'thing heard'; cf. 4.2.2.1.2); (13c-e) have Ø-nominalized verb stems, transitive (13c-d) and intransitive (S_O) (13e).

(13a) **tï-nï-rï-pore-n_mëe**
T-O:Nzr-make-Having.good-Nzr_3AnPx
'This person knows how to make good things.'

(b) **mëe tï-n-eta-pore**
3AnPx T-O:nzr-hear-Having.good
'S/he listens to good things, good music.'

(c) **t-ëta-pore wïja**
T-hear:N-Having.good 1:Dat
'I like to hear this.'

(d) **t-ëne-pore_mëe**
T-see:N-Having.good_3AnPx
'This person is good-looking.'

(e) **tï-tunta-pore_w-a-e**
T-arrive:N-Having.good_1S_A-Cop-Cty
'I arrive well.' (e.g. not tired)

The attested cases of **t- -re** are listed below. Notice the irregularities in **totore** 'covered with holes', and also the apparent lack of the 'good, pretty' element in its meaning; one wonders if it is not derived from some stem other than **oota**.

(14a)	**eka**	'name'	→	**t-ëka-re**	'famous; renowned'
(b)	**menu**	'plant (sp.); painting'	→	**tï-menu-re**	'painted (e.g. with a pattern)'
(c)	**oota**	'hole'	→	**t-oto-re**	'covered with holes'

6.2.1.2. *I*-adverbs. These adverbs are characterized by the prefix **i-** and one of several possible suffixes. The prefix has the allomorphs **i-**, for consonant-initial stems, and **Ø-**, for vowel-initial ones. As was the case for the **t-** adverbializer, changes occur on certain stems:

— stems with any irregularities in their possessed forms (cf. 4.3.1.4) must occur in the form that they have when possessed; thus:

(a) **j**-adding stems occur with the initial **j** (16j);

(b) initial syllable-reducing stems occur in the adequate reduced grade (16l-m);

(c) stems with idiosyncratic changes occur with these changes (16l);

— kinship stems with irregular possessed paradigms occur in the non-first-person form (i.e. for 'mother', the stem **mama** is used, not the first-person **manko**; cf. (16n)).

Nominalization of **i**-adverbs is irregular. **I- -nna, i- -:ra** and **i- -poora** adverbs correspond to **i- -mï(nï), i- pï(nï)** and **i- -popï(nï)** nouns respectively (cf. 4.2.2.2). Presumably, there are also nominalized forms of **i- -kinje** and **i- -tïïse**; unfortunately, no examples of either are attested in the available corpus.

6.2.1.2.1. *i- -nna* **'Not having' (Privative).** This affix is the exact opposite of the 'proprietive' **t- -ke**: it signifies negative possession ('not having', 'not provided with', 'without'). (15a-c) illustrate the use of **i- -nna**, and (15a-n) contain further lexical examples.

(15a) **i-pata-nna_w-a-e**
I-village-Priv_1S_A-Cop-Cty
'I have no village.'

(b) **irëme tïï-të-e, eema-nna**
then Prtcp:S_A-go-Prtcp, I:path-Priv
'Then they went, without any clear path.'

(c) **wëri-pisi ahtao, oota-nna_nkërë_n-ai**
woman-Dim when, I:hole-Priv_still_3S_A-Cop
'When (she) is a little girl, (she) is still virgin (lit. without a hole).'

(16a)	**apoto**	'helper'	→	**apoto-nna**	'without a helper'	
(b)	**epi(tï)**	'medicine'	→	**epitï-nna**	'without medicine; incurable'	
(c)	**erepa**	'food'	→	**erepa-nna**	'without food'	
(d)	**otï**	'meat food'	→	**otï-nna**	'without meat food'	
(e)	**otï-sepï**	'favorite food'	→	**otï-sepï-nna**	'without one's favorite meat food'	
(f)	**ëema**	'path, way'	→	**eema-nna**	'without a path'	(poss. **eema**)
(g)	**petï**	'thigh'	→	**i-petï-nna**	'without a thigh'	
(h)	**kupu(nu)**	'flesh, body'	→	**i-kupunu-nna**	'without flesh; thin; weak'	
(i)	**wïïse**	'anatto'	→	**i-wïïse-nna**	'without anatto'	
(j)	**nmuku**	'son'	→	**i-nmuku-nna**	'without a son / sons'	
(k)	**ëikëëkë**	'wound'	→	**i-jëikëëkë-nna**	'without wounds'	(j-adding stem)
(l)	**(pï)rëu**	'arrow, weapon'	→	**ii-re-nna**	'without arrows'	(poss. **(pï)re**)

(m) **(wï)raapa** 'bow' → **ii-raapa-nna** 'without a bow'
(n) **mama** 'mother' → **i-mama-nna** 'without a mother'

In general, the noun stem occurs in its possessed form (i.e. its front grade, if it has one), but without the possession suffix **-(rï)**, as can be seen in (16a-n) above, in which the CCV suffix **-nna** should cause any hidden **-(rï)**'s to surface in their full grade. The same absence of **-(rï)** had already been mentioned for **t- -ke** (cf. 6.2.1.1). However, in two examples (17a-b), **-(rï)** did occur ((17a) was also accepted without it, i.e. as **i-hpu-nna**, without any apparent change of meaning). When forms with **-(rï)** were asked for other stems, they were refused. It is not clear whether (17a-b) represent mistakes, incipient analogical extension of **-(rï)**, or remnants of an earlier stage.

(17a) **i-hpu-ru-nna**
I-foot-Pos-Priv
'Without a foot.'

(b) **i-tïpï-rï-nna**
I-continuation-Pos-Priv
'Without continuation/offspring; isolated.'

(18) illustrates the occure of **i- -nna** on a noun bearing the class-preserving suffix **-sepï** 'Predilective'.

(18) **i-maja-sepï-nna_w-a-e**
I-knife-Prdl-Priv_$1S_A$-Cop-Cty
'I am without my favorite knife.'

6.2.1.2.2. *i- -:ra* 'Inefficient'. This affix is much less productive than **i- -nna**. On sensory body parts (**enu** 'eye', **pana** 'ear', **oona** 'nose'), it is opposed to **i- -nna** in a way that parallels the opposition between **t- -ke** and **t- -e** (cf. 6.2.1.1.1): **i- -nna** marks the simple non-existence of the body part, whereas **i- -:ra** marks its existence in a way that fails to serve its purpose. In the case of the **j**-adding stem **(j)omi** 'language' (19d), following the general pattern, one would expect the **i- -nna** form to mean 'mute, incapable of speaking', while the **i- -:ra** might mean 'capable of speaking, but inefficiently; babbling person'; however, this difference was not confirmed by the consulted speakers, who considered both forms equivalent to 'mute'.

(19a)	**enu**	'eye'	→	**enu-nna**	'without eyes, eyeless'
			→	**enuu-ra**	'blind; having inefficient eyes'
(b)	**pana**	'ear'	→	**i-pana-nna**	'without ears, earless'
			→	**i-panaa-ra**	'deaf; having inefficient ears'
(c)	**oona**	'nose'	→	**oona-nna**	'without nose, noseless'
			→	**oonaa-ra**	'unable to smell; having an inefficient nose'
(d)	**(j)omi**	'language'	→	**i-jomi-nna**	'mute; without language'
			→	**i-jomii-ra**	'mute; without language'

Aside from these three cases (and from **aera** 'not sharp' [cf. 6.1.1.1], and possibly **pëera** 'ignorant, stupid' [6.1.1.6]), only two further cases of **i- -:ra** on underived nouns were observed: **akunuura** 'diligent', from **aku(nu)** 'laziness', and **arïra** 'empty', from **arï** 'contained thing(s)', 'content'.

Several occurrences of **i- -:ra** with Ø-nominalized verb stems were attested (e.g. (20a-b)). The meaning is that of an O-oriented negative potential adverb ('cannot be V-ed', 'in-V-able'), the opposite of the meaning that non-possessed Ø-nominalizations have when followed by the attributivizer postposition **_me** (cf. 7.3.4.3). This meaning is quite close to that of **i- -poora**. The difference seems to lie in the degree of specificity of the A participant: while **i- -:ra** has a generic A, **i- -poora** has a more readily identifiable one.

(20a) **koko_rëken n-etapan-ja-n_mëe, aanao enee-ra**
night_Only 3S$_O$-chirp-Pres-Dbt_3AnPx day I:see:N-Ineff
'It (=a species of cricket) only chirps at night; during the day, it cannot be seen.'

(b) **irë apo_n-ai oto_ton, pëera, uruu-ra i-w-ei_ke**
3AnPx Like_3S$_{A}$-Cop animal_Col stupid I:talk:N-Ineff 3-S$_{A}$-Cop:N_Inst
'Animals are like that, stupid, because they can't be talked to.'

6.2.1.2.3. *i- -poora* **'Defective; Negative Abilitative'.** This affix occurred on several body parts to indicate that an obvious physical defect was present. It is not clear whether or not it can occur on other underived nouns. (20) below compares **i- -poora** to **i- -nna** and **i- -:ra**; (21) has further examples.

(21)	**pana**	'ear'	→	**i-pana-nna**	'without ears; earless'
				i-panaa-ra	'deaf; having an inefficient ear'
				i-pana-poora	'having a defective, ugly-looking ear'

(22a)	**enu**	'eye'	→	**enu-poora**	'having a defective, ugly-looking eye'
(b)	**(mï)ta**	'mouth'	→	**i-nta-poora**	'having a defective, ugly-looking mouth'
(c)	**apë**	'arm'	→	**apë-poora**	'having a defective, ugly-looking arm'
(d)	**enja**	'hand'	→	**enja-poora**	'having a defective, ugly-looking hand'
(e)	**oona**	'nose'	→	**oona-poora**	'having a defective, ugly-looking nose'
(f)	**petï**	'thigh'	→	**i-petï-poora**	'having a defective, ugly-looking thigh'

This affix can also be applied to nominalized verb stems. (23a) and (23b) exemplify its occurrence with nouns derived from verb stems with the ∅ 'Specific Infinitive' and **n-** 'Actual O' nominalizers (cf. 4.2.2.1.4, 4.2.2.1.2). The most frequent cases, however, are those in which **i- -poora** occurs on a circumstantial **-to(po)** nominalization, with the resulting semantics of 'impossibility' ('cannot be V-ed').[12] This meaning is comparable to that of **i- -:ra**, from which it seems to differ only in that the A participant is more specific ('sharper'). (23a-e) contain illustrative sentences. (24a-e) offer some further examples (the verb stems are Ø-nominalized in (24a-b) and **to(po)**-nominalized in (24c-e)).

---

[12] Since the more concrete meaning of **-to(po)** is 'instrument' (cf. 4.2.2.1.5), its co-occurrence with **i- -poora** should result in something like 'a bad, deffective instrument for V-ing'. The more clearly modal semantics observed, e.g., in (23e) suggest that we may be dealing with a new affix **i- -tohpoora** 'negative abilitative'.

(23a) **mëe wïtoto ene-poora**
3InPx person I:see:N-Defc
'This person is not well regarded.'
(Lit. 'This person is badly seen.')

(b) **mëe wïtoto i-n-ene-poora**
3InPx person 3-O.act-see-Defc
'This person only sees bad things.'

(c) **ëremi_n-ai eta-poora**
song_3S_A-Cop I:hear:N-Defc
'This song is ugly, not good to hear.'

(d) **mëe wïtoto i-n-eta-poora**
3InPx person 3-O.act-hear-Defc
'This person only hears bad things.'

(e) **mërëme erï oota-nna t-ee-se, eku-toh-poora ii-ja**
but 3:vulva I:hole-Priv Prtcp:S_A-Cop-Prtcp 3:sex-Circ.Nzr-Defc 3-Dat
'But her vulva did not have a hole, he could not penetrate it.'

(24a)	**eta**	'hear (N)'	→	**eta-poora**	'not good to hear'
(b)	**entapuru**	'close (N)'	→	**entapuru-poora**	'not good to close'
(c)	**eta-to(po)**	'(something) for hearing'	→	**eta-toh-poora**	'cannot be heard'
(d)	**ene-to(po)**	'(something) for seeing'	→	**ene-toh-poora**	'cannot be seen'
(e)	**wë-topo**	'(something) for shooting'	→	**tïwë-toh-poora**	'cannot be shot'

6.2.1.2.4. ***i- -kinje*** **'Having an undersized N'.** This affix appears to have its range primarily restricted to the set of body parts, deriving an adverb with the basic meaning 'having a small N', 'small-N-ed'. (25) shows its use in a sentence; (26a-e) contain further lexical examples.

(25) **i-putupë-kinje ëmë**
I-head-Small:Azr 2Pro
'You have a small head; you are small-headed.'

(26a)	**(pu)pu**	'foot'	→	**i-hpu-kinje**	'having a small foot; small-footed'
(b)	**enja**	'hand'	→	**enja-kinje**	'having a small hand; small-handed'
(c)	**petï**	'thigh'	→	**i-petï-kinje**	'having a small thigh; small-thighed'
(d)	**(mï)ka**	'back'	→	**i-nka-kinje**	'having a small back; small-backed'
(e)	**waku**	'belly'	→	**i-waku-kinje**	'having s small belly; small-bellied'

6.2.1.2.5. *i- tiïse* 'Having a big N / a lot of N'. Only a few examples of this suffix occurred; at least with body parts, it seems to mean the opposite of what **i- -kinje** means.

(27a) **i-maja-tiïse_w-a-e**
I-knife-Mult_1S$_{\text{A}}$-Cop-Cty
'I have a lot of knives.'

(b) **i-petï-tiïse_w-a-e**
I-thigh-Mult_1S$_{\text{A}}$-Cop-Cty
'I have a big / a lot of thigh.'

(c) **enu-tiïse_w-a-e**
I:eye-Mult_1S$_{\text{A}}$-Cop-Cty
'I have big eyes.'

6.2.2. Verbal adverbialization. Of all candidates to verbal adverbializers, only the potential A suffix **-të** fully deserves the title. All the others have certain problems. For instance, **t- -pore** and **i- -poora**, the two affixes used to form modal adverbials indicating ability and inability ('can V' and 'cannot V') are best seen as nominal adverbializers which can also be applied to nominalized verb stems (Ø-nominalized stems for **t- -pore**, **to(po)**-nominalized stems for **i- -poora**; cf. 6.2.1.1.2 and 6.2.1.2.3, respectively). The **-se** forms, and the **-tuuwë** 'After' and **-tëkërë** 'Because' forms, have certain non-adverbial features such as person marking that make them better candidates for verb forms; they are discussed in 5.4.3.

6.2.2.1. *-të* 'Potential A'. This suffix only occurs on transitive verb stems. It derives a 'Potential Agent' ('A.pot') adverb, which can be used to predicate the general capacity of carrying out the action described by the verb, without a clearly specified O participant.

A **-të** adverbial can be nominalized with the suffix **-(no)**, becoming **-to-(no)** (cf. 4.2.2.1.1 for a comparison of the meaning of **-to-(no)** with that of the actual A nominalizer **-ne**).

Formally, the suffix **-të** is attached to a prefixless form of the verb stem; no initial **i-** or **t-** co-occur with it. If the original verb stem is vowel-initial, then it must occur in its back grade (implying the changes **e** > ë, **aCë** > **ëCë**, **aCo** > **oCo**, as in (28e-h); cf. 2.6.1 for details on ablaut).[13] T-adding verb stems occur without the **t-** (28i-k). Initial syllable-reducing stems occur in their full grade (28l-m)

(28a)	**ponop(pï)**	'tell O'	→	**ponoh-të**	'who tells; who is good at telling'
(b)	**tuuka**	'beat O'	→	**tuuka-të**	'who hits well/often'
(c)	**ainka**	'run off with O'	→	**ainka-të**	'who runs off with things; thief'
(d)	**uru**	'talk to O'	→	**uru-të**	'who talks, advises well'
(e)	**enpa**	'teach O'	→	**ënpa-të**	'who teaches well'
(f)	**eta**	'hear O'	→	**ëta-të**	'who hears well'[14]
(g)	**apëi**	'plant O'	→	**ëpëh-të**	'who catches well'
(h)	**amohtë**	'call O'	→	**omohtë-të**	'who calls well'
(i)	**wë**	'shoot O'	→	**wë-të**	'who shoots well'
(j)	**pï**	'bathe O'	→	**pï-të**	'who bathes well'
(k)	**ka(pï)**	'weave O'	→	**kah-të**	'who weaves well'
(l)	**(pï)tarënma**	'make O jealous'	→	**pïtarënma-të**	'who causes jealousy'
(m)	**(wï)rïïma**	'call O names'	→	**wïrïïma-të**	'who calls names'[15]

---

[13] There was some fluctuation in the **aCë** > **ëCë** and **aCo** > **oCo** cases with two younger speakers; e.g. **amohtë** 'call O' → **omohtëtë** ~ **ëmohtëtë** 'good at calling', **akoronma** 'help O' → **akoronmatë** ~ **okoronmatë**. The older speakers who were consulted changed the vowels more consistently.

[14] **Ëtatë** has an unexpected variant **tatë** 'who hears well', without the initial vowel.

[15] There is a tendency to forget what the full grade of the reducing syllable was, probably because forms in which it occurs are few and infrequent. One speaker accepted **ihtarënmatë** instead of **pïtarënmatë**, which suggests that he has reanalyzed this verb stem as **ihtarënma** instead of **(pï)tarënma**.

7. POSTPOSITIONS.

Postpositions form a relatively small class, with approximately ninety members in the available corpus. The properties relevant to distinguishing them from other classes are listed below.

(A) Morphology: postpositions can bear

- (a) person morphology (the nominal person markers, and the collective **-:ne**);
- (b) nominalizing suffixes: **-(no)**, sometimes **-to**;

(B) Syntax: postpositions

- (a) must form postpositional phrases (PPs), which behave like adverbs;
- (b) can take nouns, or noun phrases, but nothing else, as their objects to form PPs.

Despite the relatively small size of the postpositional category, its members do not form a coherent whole with respect to the above properties. In fact, the best description seems to be that of a *prototype category*: there are more, or less, prototypical postpositions, which can be ordered along a continuum. This situation is described in section 7.2. Before that, however, it is useful to examine the morphological possibilities of postpositions; this is the goal of section 7.1. Section 7.3. contains a presentation of all postpositions known thus far, classified according to semantic and formal criteria.

7.1. Postpositional morphology. Postposition stems, like verb stems, never occur in isolation. They must always have an object, either in the form of person/number affixes, or of an overt nominal (cf. 10.2.3 for postpositional phrases). These two possibilities are usually mutually exclusive: inflected postpositions do not have overt nominal objects (but cf. 7.3 below). Fig. 7.1 represents the morphological possibilities of the postpositional word.

Figure 7.1
The postpositional word.

Person-marking prefixes	POSTPOSITION STEM	(Number-marking suffix)

7.1.1. Person and number marking. The *person-marking prefixes* are the same as those used to mark the possessor on nouns, including the third-person prefixes **i-** '3' and **t(ï)-** '3R', with exactly the same allomorphic pattern, except when a stem with a certain specific shape happens to be missing (e.g. there are no **o-** or **aCo**-initial postpositions[1]). For a certain subgroup — the *experiencer* postpositions —, an argumentless '0' form exists, based on their back grade (cf. 3.3.1.1, 7.3.3 for details). The *number-marking suffix* is **-:ne** (with lengthening of the final vowel of the preceding stem if it is not part of a diphthong), also found in non-conjugated verb forms (cf. 5.4.3). For ease of understanding, the list of factors that condition the allomorphs of the person markers and of the stems are repeated below; illustrative examples follow.

---

[1] Presumably, the postposition **amohtë**'upstream' (and its directional counterpart **amohkïi**) should follow the **aCo** pattern, but the relevant forms (e.g., with **k-** '1+2', presumably **k-omohtë** 'upstream from both of us') are unfortunately absent from the corpus and thus cannot be confirmed.

The allomorphic pattern of the person markers and of the stems is sensitive to the following factors:

(1) C- vs. V-initial stems: the prefixes **j-** '1', **k-** '1+2' and **t-** '3R' become **ji-**, **kï-**, **tï-** on C-inital stems, and **i-** '3' becomes **∅-** on V-initial stems;

(2) quality of the first vowel of V-initial roots: **ë-** '2' assimilates to **a-** or **o-** on **a-** and **o-**initial stems;

(3) ablaut: the front grade occurs with the prefixes **j-** '1', **ë-** '2' and **i-/∅-** '3', while the back grade occurs with **k-** '1+2' and **t-** '3R', and in the non-possessed form. This implies the changes **e** > **ë**, **aCë** > **ëCë** and **aCo** > **oCo** for stems which begin with **e**, **aCë** or **aCo**; cf. 2.6.1 for the mechanics of Tiriyó ablaut).

Table 7.2
The allomorphic pattern of person markers

	_C	_e	_o	_a	_aCë	_aCo
1	**ji-**	**j-**	**j-**	**j-**	**j-**	**j-**
2	**ë-**	**ë-**	**o-**	**a-**	**a-**	**a-**
1+2	**kï-**	**k+e > kë**	**k-**	**k-**	**k+a > kë**	**k+a > ko**
3	**i-**	**∅-**	**∅-**	**∅-**	**∅-**	**∅-**
3R	**tï-**	**t+e > të**	**t-**	**t-**	**t+a > të**	**t+a > to**
0	**∅-**	**e > ë**	**∅-**	**∅-**	**a > ë**	**a > o**

(1)	*C*-stems **_pëe** 'from'		*e*-stems **epinë** 'under'	
1	**ji-pëe**		**j-epinë**	
2	**ë-pëe**	**ë-pëe-ne**	**ë-epinë**	**ë-epinëë-ne**
3	**i-pëe**	**i-pëe-ne**	**epinë**	**epinëë-ne**
1+2	**kï-pëe**	**kï-pëe-ne**	**k-ëpinë**	**k-ëpinëë-ne**
3R	**tï-pëe**	**tï-pëe-ne**	**t-ëpinë**	**t-ëpinëë-ne**

(2)	*aCë*-stems **akëërë** 'with'		other *V*-stems **aka** 'into'	
1	**j-akëërë**		**j-aka**	
2	**a-akëërë**	**a-akëërëë-ne**	**a-aka**	**a-akaa-ne**
3	**akëërë**	**akëërëë-ne**	**aka**	**akaa-ne**
1+2	**k-ëkëërë**	**k-ëkëërëë-ne**	**k-aka**	**k-akaa-ne**
3R	**t-ëkëërë**	**t-ëkëërëë-ne**	**t-aka**	**t-akaa-ne**

Aside from the regular stem changes illustrated above, there are some more irregular patterns. Some postpositions, for instance, are syllable-reducing (cf. 2.6.2 for the syllable reduction pattern):

(3)	**_pë(kë)** 'about; busy with'		**wame(ke)** 'Ignorative'	
1	**ji-pë**		**ji-wame**	
2	**ë-pë**	**ë-pëkëë-ne**	**ë-wame**	**ë-wamekee-ne**
3	**i-pë**	**i-pëkëë-ne**	**i-wame**	**i-wamekee-ne**
1+2	**kï-pë**	**kï-pëkëë-ne**	**kï-wame**	**kï-wamekee-ne**
3R	**tï-pë**	**tï-pëkëë-ne**	**tï-wame**	**tï-wamekee-ne**

Some irregular cases deserve mention. The postposition **_:ja** (used to mark datives, allatives, agents and causees; cf. 7.3.4.1) has an irregular first-person form **wïja** 'to/by me'[2]. The desiderative postposition **_se** has the allomorph **je** when inflected, and an irregular second-person form **ëije** 'wanting you'.[3] **(J)apo** 'like, similar to' belongs to the *j*-adding class (i.e. like the **j**-adding nouns [cf. 4.3.1.4.2], it has a **j**-initial allomorph **japo** when inflected: **ji-japo** 'like me', etc.). Finally, the directional postposition **_pona** 'toward' becomes **epona** when conjugated.

---

[2] At first sight, **wïja** seems to be the first-person pronoun **wï(ï)** followed by the postposition **_:ja**, i.e. **wï_ja**. Notice, however, that, if this were the case, one would expect a long vowel form ***wïï_ja** (cf. e.g. the negative **wïï_ta** 'not me', the emphatic **wïï_rë** 'really me', etc.). Gildea 1998:121ff reconstructs ***wïja** as a dative/goal postposition for Proto-Cariban; Meira 1998:93ff reconstructs ***(wï)ja** for Proto-Taranoan. Apparently, ***wïja** was conserved in Tiriyó as a first-person form (probably via an earlier first-person marker ***Ø-**; this old marker could also explain the unexpected first-person markers **p-**, with the verb stem **ïhtë** 'go down', and **k-**, with **oeka / weka** 'defecate', as old stem-initial consonants; cf. the end of 5.4.1.1.2). Reduction of the initial syllable **wï** is also the probable explanation of the lengthening which **_:ja** causes on the final vowel person-marking prefixes. One might even wonder if a synchronic analysis of this postposition as **(wï)ja** (with an irregular Ø-marked first person) could not be more adequate. Since, however, the prefixless form that occurs with free nominals is **ja**, and the first-person form would remain irregular anyway (a form such as ***jii-ja** is unacceptable), the analysis **_:ja** is preferred here.

(4)	**_:ja**		**_se**		**(j)apo**	
1	**wïja**		**ji-je**		**ji-japo**	
2	**ëë-ja**	**ëë-jaa-ne**	**ëi-je**	**ëi-jee-ne**	**ë-japo**	**ë-japoo-ne**
3	**ii-ja**	**ii-jaa-ne**	**i-je**	**i-jee-ne**	**i-japo**	**i-japoo-ne**
1+2	**kïï-ja**	**kïï-jaa-ne**	**kï-je**	**kï-jee-ne**	**kï-japo**	**kï-japoo-ne**
3R	**tïï-ja**	**tïï-jaa-ne**	**tï-je**	**tï-jee-ne**	**tï-japo**	**tï-japoo-ne**

(5)	**_pona**	
1	**j-epona**	
2	**ë-epona**	**ë-eponaa-ne**
3	**epona**	**eponaa-ne**
1+2	**k-ëpona**	**k-ëponaa-ne**
3R	**t-ëpona**	**t-ëponaa-ne**

A further irregularity of the postposition **_se** is its optional coalescence with the possessor collective suffix **-ko(mo)** to form **-koe**. (6a-c) were all found acceptable. It is not known whether or not these forms represent dialectal or stylistic variation.

(6a) **ë-pawanaa-komo_se_w-a-e**
2-friend:Pos-P.Col_Desid_1S_A-Cop-Cty
'I want/need you all's friend(s).'

(b) **ë-pawanaa-kon se w-a-e**
2-friend:Pos-P.Col Desid 1S_A-Cop-Cty
'I want/need you all's friend(s).'

---

[3] Cf. the minimal pair formed by **ëi-je** 'wanting you' and **ë-je** 'your tooth'. Other inflected forms of _se apparently are not distinguishable from inflected forms of **je(e)** 'tooth'; e.g. **kïje**, both 'wanting us' and 'our tooth'.

(c) **ë-pawanaa-koe_w-a-e**
2-friend-P.Col:Desid_1S_A-Cop-Cty
'I want/need you all's friends.'

7.1.2. Nominalization. Postpositions can be nominalized with the suffixes **-(no)** and **-to**, also found on adverbs. A few illustrations of their use are given in (7a-c); further details can be found in 4.2.2.2. Constructions with **wehto(po)** are also used to form 'syntactic nominalizations' of postpositional phrases (7d).

(7a) **karaiwa i-nonoo_po-n_ke ji-pïhta-ne**
Brazilian 3-land:Pos_Loc-Nzr_Inst 1-marry-Pst.Prf
'I married someone from the land of the Brazilians.'

(b) **tëpu n-anota, kariwa ekatao-no-npë**
stone 3S_O-fall:Prs.Prf gourd beside-Nzr-Pst
'The stone that was next to the gourd fell.'

(c) **mëe_n-ai tuna_sa-to**
3AnPx_3S_A-Cop water_Desid-Nzr
'S/he is one who likes water.'

(d) **makapa_po ji-w-eh-topo-npë kure**
Macapá_Loc 1-S_A-Cop-C:Nzr-Pst good
'My stay (lit. past being) in Macapá was good.'

7.1.3. The reciprocal prefix. Postpositions can take the reflexive/reciprocal prefix introduced in 3.3.1.4 to mark reciprocity.[4] The attested allomorphs, with their distributions, are listed below and illustrated in (8).

---

[4] Certain cases of the reflexive/reciprocal prefix on nouns are only possible if a postposition follows; they are described in 4.3.1.3, as part of the nominal morphology.

ë-	with *e*-stems	(a, b)
ët-	with other *V*-stems	(c, d)
ëis-	with *j*-adding stems	(e)
ëë-	with *se* 'wanting'	(f)
ëi-	with *C*-stems	(g, h, i, j)

(8a)	**epinë**	'under'	→	**ë-epinë**	'one under the other'
(b)	**epoe**	'over'	→	**ë-epoe**	'one over the other'
(c)	**akëërë**	'with'	→	**ët-akëërë**	'with each other; together'
(d)	**awë**	'in(side)'	→	**ët-awë**	'one inside the other; in the same room'
(e)	**(j)apo**	'like'	→	**ëis-apo**	'like each other'; 'the same'
(f)	**se**	'Desiderative'	→	**ëë-se**	'wanting each other'[5]
(g)	**pë(kë)**	'about'	→	**ëi-pë(kë)**	'about each other'
(h)	**:ja**	'to; by'	→	**ëi-ja**	'to each other'
(i)	**wenae**	'after'	→	**ëi-wenae**	'one after the other'
(j)	**waarë**	'known.to' (Cognoscitive)	→	**ëi-waarë**	'known to each other'; 'intelligent'

Notice that the reciprocal relation can be *symmetrical*, when the elements involved are in a 'mirror-image' relationship (9a), but it can also be *analogical*, when the elements involved are not symmetrically related (9b):

(9a) **ëi-ja _to nï-tën**
Recp-Dir _3Col 3S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf
'They went to(ward) each other.'

(b) **ëi-wenae_to nï-tën**
Recp-after _3Col 3S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf
'They went one after the other.'

Thus, while in (9a) the relationship is such that both A is going toward B and B toward A, in (9b), if B is going after A, then A is *not* going after B, but after another entity C. In fact, (9b) presupposes that there are several entities going in line, one after the other, so that A and B are, in a sense, in the same situation (both are following other entities), but they are not 'after each other' in a mirror-image sense. The same non-symmetrical relationship obtains for **ë-epinë** ((8a) above), which could be used to describe e.g. a stack of books.

---

[5] This is one of the words in which the *hs*-cluster pronunciation /ëhse/ was consistent for those speakers who had it (cf. 2.4.2.2).

In certain cases, the reciprocal prefix has given rise to more lexicalized meanings. In (8c), the reciprocal meaning 'with each other', and the more adverb-like meaning 'together' are still very close; however, in (8d), **ët-awë** can be used to mean 'one inside the other' (like e.g. Russian dolls), but also 'in the same room or house', as in the following exchange (in which (10b) was a reaction to (10a)):

(10a) **kure i-pakoro-nna_w-a-e**
well Priv-house-Priv_$1S_A$-Cop-Cty
'I am really homeless...'

(b) **irëme_npa ët-awë k-eh-të-ne !**
then_Ptc Recp-in(side) 1+2-Cop-Col-Hort
'Then let's live together, in the same house!'

Notice also that the reciprocal form of the cognoscitive postposition **waarë** 'known:to' can mean both 'known to each other', and 'intelligent, smart'. Both interpretations are possible if the subject is non-singular (11a), but only the 'intelligent' one if the subject is singular (11b).

(11a) **ëi-waarë_to_n-ai**
Recp-Cogn_3Col_$3S_A$-Cop
'They know each other.'
'They are intelligent.'

(b) **ëi-waarë mëe**
Recp-Cogn 3AnPx
'This guy is smart.'

The morphological status of the reciprocal prefix deserves some comments. This prefix may have been part of the person-marking system at some point; notice that it occupies the same slot as the person markers. In 3.3.1.4, it was argued that, as a whole, the reflexive/reciprocal prefix was best analyzed as synchronically independent from the person markers. For postpositions, notice that it cannot co-occur with the collective suffix **-:ne** (a speaker corrected (12a) to (12b)):

(12a) ***ët-akëërëë-ne**
Recp-with-Col

(b) **ët-akëërë_to_n-ai** **ameraarë**
Recp-with_3Col_3S$_A$-Cop everyone
'They are all together.'

Given cases of lexicalization such as the ones discussed above, one wonders if the reciprocal prefix should not be considered derivational. It could be analyzed, for instance, as deriving a 'reciprocal adverb' from a postposition. In fact, at least one adverb, **ëikarë** 'by him/herself, without help', looks like a lexicalized reciprocal form apparently without a synchronic source (presumably ***karë**, which is unattested). Since, however, prefix-bearing postpositions are postpositional phrases with adverbial distribution, it is not clear that there would be a difference between the labels 'derived reciprocal adverb' and 'reciprocal form of the postposition'. A little point in favor of the 'reciprocal form' analysis is the fact that derived adverbs are usually nominalized with **-(mï)** instead of **-(no)**, while the reciprocal form does take **-(no)**, sometimes **-to** (cf. (13a-b)), but this hardly looks decisive.

(13a) **ët-akëërë-no-npë**
Recp-with-Nzr-Pst
'Those who used to be together.'

(b) **ëi-waarë-to**
Recp-Cogn-Nzr
'Those who know each other.'
'Those who are intelligent, smart.'

7.2. The postpositional class as a prototype category. The preceding sections have described the morphological properties relevant to postpositions. Together with the syntactic properties (mentioned in 3.4.4, and again in the beginning of this chapter), they are enough to define a postpositional class. However, not all members of this class display all these properties; in fact, different subgroups will possess them to different degrees. Moreover, some of these properties are shared by other classes (nouns, adverbs), to the point that certain morphemes appear ambiguous as to their class membership. In fact, based on the properties of the category, the various postpositions can be disposed on a continuum that touches, at one extremity, the noun category, and at the other, adverbializing affixes.

In order to see this prototypicality continuum, let us consider all relevant properties.

(1) *Phonological properties*: independent words vs. clitics vs. affixes (cf. 2.3.2 for the phonological word and its criteria);

(2) *Morphological properties*: the capacity to participate in the morphological processes described in the previous sections (person/number marking; reciprocal marking; nominalization)

(3) *Syntactic properties:*the capacity to take noun phrases as their objects to form postpositional phrases (with or without a third-person marker *i-/∅-* on the postposition).

Table 7.3 describes the prototypicality behavior of the different postpositional subgroups with respect to the above properties.

Table 7.3
Postpositional prototypicality scale.

Property	**Longer Experiencer PPs (2+ syl)**	**Other Longer PPs (2+ syl.)**	**Shorter Pps (1, 2 syl.)**	**Special Cases**	
				me, po, pe(ke)	***ke***
Phon. properties	mostly INDEP. WORDS	mostly INDEP. WORDS	DEP. WORDS	DEP. WORDS	DEP. WORD
pers/num marking	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO
Nominal-ization	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO
O-less form	mostly YES	rarely YES	NO	NO	NO
Phrase formation	YES, mostly w/ **i-/∅-**	YES, mostly w/ **i-/∅-**	YES, mostly no pr	YES, no pr.	YES, no pr.

←——————————————————————→

NOUNS POSTPOSITIONS PARTICLES, SUFFIXES

On the left extreme of the scale, there are postpositions that have several nominal properties. As an example, let us consider **waarë** 'Cognoscitive'. It has a derived 'objectless' adverbial form **waarë**, without any prefix, meaning 'understandable'. This form is analogous to the non-possessed form of a noun. Compare the behavior of **waarë** with that of the noun **pakoro** 'house':

(14a) **ji-waarë**
1-Cogn
'I know.'

(b) **waarë_n-ai**
understandable_3S$_{A}$-Cop
'It is clear / understandable.'

(c) **ji-pakoro**
1-house
'My house.'

(d) **pakoro_n-ai**
house_3S$_{A}$-Cop
'It is a house.'; 'There is a house.'

In addition, **waarë** has a tendency not to take an overt nominal object directly; it usually has a third-person prefix **i-** on it when it takes an overt object. Although speakers accept and use the form without **i-**, it is far less frequent than the form with **i-** (cf. 10.2.3 on postpositional phrases). This state of affairs is indicated with a parenthetical question mark (?). To indicate this fact, an underscore character in parentheses will be written before the postposition in its citation form: **(_)waarë.** The same pattern obtains with possessed nouns (15c-d).

(15a) **ji-pawana i-waarë**
2-friend 3-Cogn
'My friend knows it.'

(b) (?) **ji-pawana waarë**
1-friend Cogn
'My friend knows it.'

(c) **ji-pawana i-pakoro**
1-friend 3-house
'My friend's house.'

(d) (?) **ji-pawana pakoro**
1-friend house
'My friend's house.'

It would not be a surprise if **waarë** (and others like it) had been originally a noun. However, it now has two postpositional properties that clearly distinguish it from other nouns. First, it takes **-:ne** as a collective marker (16a); second, it can be entity-nominalized with **-to** (16b). These properties—particularly the latter—make it difficult to classify **waarë** as a noun; they are the main reason why it (and others like it) is included in the postpositional class.[6]

(16a) **ë-waarëë-ne_n-ai**
2-Cogn-Col_3S$_{A}$-Col
'You all know it.'

(b) **ë-waarë-to**
2-Cogn-Nzr
'Someone whom you know.'

On the other extreme of the scale, there are postpositions which are almost like particles or suffixes. For instance, let us consider the general locative **_po**. It cannot take any inflectional morphology: neither person-marking prefixes, nor the collective marker **-:ne.**[7] It cannot take the reciprocal prefix **ët-**. One might feel tempted to consider it as a particle, or as a 'locative suffix' (comparable to e.g. the 'definite locative' **-pe** found in Tupi-Guaranian languages; cf. Rodrigues 1985), or as a nominal-scope particle. There are, however, two reasons that have motivated the decision of analyzing **_po** as a postposition.

First, **_po** can be nominalized with **-(no)**, which is not true for any nominal-scope particle like **_rë** 'Exactly' or **_rën(ne)** 'Truly':

---

[6] An interesting case is that of **eenakë** 'lie, lying, telling lies', which has nominal (i-ii) and postpositional (iii) properties. Speakers vary as to whether they prefer (ii) or (iii). It may be the case that **eenakë** is a noun currently in the process of becoming a postposition, probably by analogy with the experiencer postpositions (7.3.3).

(i) **ë-enakë_me_man-a-n**
2-lie_Attr_1S$_{A}$-Cop-Dbt
'You are lying, you are a liar.'

(ii) **ë-enakëë-kon**
2-lie-P.Col
'You all are lying.'

(iii) **ë-enakëë-ne**
2-lie-Col
'You all are lying.'

[7] This impossibility is also valid for the other non-derived spatial postpositions (cf. 7.3.1.1 below), except for **awë** and **aka**. In certain special cases, speakers did allow person markers to occur; for instance, one speaker accepted the first-person marker on the aquatic inessive postposition, forming **ji-hkao** 'in me, water', if I imagine myself to be a river—a rather odd circumstance. One might wonder whether or not such forms should be considered 'correct'; they are at best extremely context-dependent.

(17a) **Kuwamara_po_w-a-e**
Kuwamara_Loc_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'I am in Kuwamara.'

(b) **Kuwamara_po-n**
Kuwamara_Loc-Nz
'Someone who is in Kuwamara.'

Second, **_po** can take a whole phrase as its object, as in (18) below. If **_po** were analyzed as a locative (adverbializing) suffix, then (18) would have to be an instance of a phrase formed with a noun (**pahko**) and a following adverb (**i-pata-po**), an otherwise unattested construction.

(18) **pahko i-pata_po**
1:father 3-village_Loc
'In my father's village.'

7.3. Formal and semantic classes. The various postpositions found in the available corpus can be classified on semantic and morphosyntactic criteria into several different subgroups, which also correlate, to some extent, with the 'degree of prototypicality' discussed in the preceding section. Table 7.4 summarizes these subgroups, which are described in the following sections.

Table 7.4
Semantic/morphosyntactic subgroups of postpositions.

Subgroup	*Examples*
Spatial Postpositions	
Simple	**_po, _pëe, _tao, _hkao, _hka(ka),...**
Derived	**_pohtë, _juuwë, enjao, enpatae,...**
Relational Postpositions	**akëërë, (_)wenje, (_)wenae, (j)apo,...**
Experiencer Postpositions	**(_)waarë, (_)wame(ke), eire, ewaaje,...**
Special Cases	**_:ja, _me, _pe(ke), _ke**

7.3.1. Spatial postpositions.

7.3.1.1. Simple spatial postpositions. Postpositional systems which distinguish *position* ('inessive'), *movement to* ('illative') and *movement from* ('ablative'), and sometimes even *movement along* or *by* a certain path ('perlative') have been described for several Cariban languages. Typically, a postpositional root, containing information about the nature of its object (or Ground, to use Talmy's 1988 terminology) as e.g. a liquid, a container, a surface, etc., takes a number of different suffixes to indicate the varous positional or directional possibilities (cf. e.g. Derbyshire 1985:205-219 for Hixkaryana postpositions).

In comparison to languages such as Hixkaryana, Tiriyó simple locative and directional postpositions seem to form a rather impoverished system. There are fewer postpositional roots (i.e. less information is given about the Ground). Locative and illative postpositions are consistently distinguished, but there are only a few remnants of ablative and perlative.

Formally speaking (cf. Table 7.5), recurrent similarities can be found in the various spatial positions, suggesting further segmentation. Most of the locative postpositions end in **-o**, most of the directionals in **-ka** or **-(ka)**, and the 'perlatives' in **-e**. These elements have cognates in the richer systems of other Cariban languages, and probably were at some point independent elements (e.g. **-o** as a reduced form of **wë**, conserved in **awë** 'inessive'). They also occur in other postpositions, especially **-o** and **-(ka)** (in the form **-na(ka)** 'directional'), but also **-e** (cf. 7.3.1.1.3 below); however, these cases are limited and irregular enough to suggest lexicalization. For instance, potential postpositions such as e.g. ***_hkae** 'along (a river)' (cf. **_tae** 'by, along'), ***enjae** 'along (the hand of)' (cf. **enjao** 'in the hands of'), ***oonao** 'on the nose of' (cf. **enpatao** 'in front of') were judged unacceptable.

The initial elements of these postpositions are also quasi-segmentable; their occurrence depends on certain characteristics of the Ground: **a-**, **ta-** 'container', **hta-** 'extensive, surrounding Ground'; **hka-** 'water; river'; **ma-** 'time' (cf. 12.2 on formatives).

The **p**-initial postpositions form a special subgroup. They are formally more irregular: **_pona** does not have a missing syllable, which means that its final syllable **na** is not the element **na(ka/kïi)**, **_pëe** does end in **-e** but has an unexpected vowel change (looking at **_po**, one would have expected ***_poe**), and the final syllable of **_pë(kë)** looks unrelatable to other formative elements such as **-o/-wë**, **-(ka)** or **-e**.[8]

Table 7.5
Tiriyó simple spatial postpositions

Meaning	Locative	Directional	'Perlative'
general	**_po**	**_pona**	**_pëe** 'Ablative'
Adessive / Theme	**_pë(kë)**		
inside (3D container)	**awë**	**aka; awëna(ka/kïi)**	**awëe** 'across'
in(side) (container)	**_tao**	**_ta(ka)**	**ae** 'Perlative'
surrounded by	**_htao**	**_hta(ka)**	**_tae** 'Perlative'
in water / river	**_hkao**	**_hka(ka)**	
in time	**_mao**		

---

[8] The *p*-initial postpositions are probably older than the others; **_po** may even have cognates in other language familes (cf. Rodrigues 1985, who compares it to the Tupi-Guaranian 'diffuse locative' /(u)pe/).

7.3.1.1.1. Locatives. The general locative **_po** can indicate contact on the upper surface (19a), but also mere proximity (19b); it is also used for geographic locations (19c), and for time (19d). It apparently cannot be conjugated (except if the satisfactive postposition **epo** 'enough' is analyzed as its conjugatable allomorph; cf. 7.3.3).

(19a) **kankamuri_n-ai apëi _po**
gecko 3S$_{A}$-Cop 3:stool_Loc
'The gecko is on (his/her) stool.'

(b) **pakoro_po_n-ai**
house _Loc_3S$_{A}$-Cop
'S/he is at/by the house.'

(c) **Kuwamara_po_n-ai**
Kuwamara_Loc_3S$_{A}$-Cop
'S/he is in the village of Kuwamara.'

(d) **majo_po mono tuna oi_po**
May_Loc big:one water savanna_Loc
'In May there are floods in the savanna.'

The general adessive ('at, on, about') **_pë(kë)**, when used with locative meaning, marks contact with a non-horizontal surface (20a-d). Notice that contact with a horizontal surface would be indicated with **_po** or **_juuwë**. Compare **_pë(kë)** in (20b) with **_po** in (19a-b) (bearing in mind that a traditional Tiriyó house, or **pakoro**, has no walls, but only a roof and supporting posts).

(20a) **kankamuri_n-ai ëpu_pë**
gecko_3S$_{A}$-Cop post_Ad
'The gecko is on the post.'

(b) **kankamuri_nai pakoro_pë**
gecko_3:Cop house _Ad
'The gecko is on the ceiling.'

(c) **k-ëpëi a-apëë_pë**
12AO-catch:Prs.Prf 2-arm:Pos_Ad
'I caught you by the arm.'

(d) **nunnë_n-ai kapu_pë**
moon_3S$_{A}$-Cop sky_Ad
'The moon is in the sky.'

Its most frequent uses, however, are non-locative: **_pë(kë)** can mark the topic of a conversation or statement ((21a); cf. English 'about'), and it can mark the 'target of attention' ('busy with', 'working on'; (21b-d)).

(21a) **panpira_pë n-ëturu-ja-n**
paper _About $3S_A$-talk-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he is talking about the letter/book.'

(b) **atï_pëë_man-a-n?**
what_Busy:with_$2S_A$-Cop-Dbt
'What are you doing (=busy with)?'

(c) **pakoro_pëë_w-a-e**
house _Busy:with_$1S_A$-Cop-Cty
'I am busy with a house.'
(i.e. building it, repairing it, etc.)

(d) **wëri_pëh_ta eh-kë**
woman_Busy:with_Neg Cop-Imper
'Don't be chasing women!'

The remaining locative postpositions are characterized by the element **-o** (with the **wë** in **awë** being probably a longer form). The inessive postposition **awë** indicates position inside some sort of container. It may be closed (22a) or open (22b). Note that the reciprocal form **ëtawë** can have the idiosyncratic meaning 'in the same house / room' ((22c); cf. 7.1.3).

(22a) **tëpu_nai pakara awë**
stone_3:Cop bag In
'The stone is in the bag.'

(b) **tëpu_nai kariwa awë**
stone_3:Cop gourd In
'The stone is in the gourd.'

(c) **ët-awë kït-a-e**
Recp-In 1+2-Cop-Cty
'We live together in the same house/room.'

The inessive postposition **_tao** also implies a container. It seems to be more 'general' than **awë**, since metaphorical uses were possible only with **_tao**, but not with **awë** ((23b); cf. English *in*, richer in meaning, and *inside*, more specific). Also, only **awë** can take person markers (23c). However, in non-metaphorical uses, **awë** and **_tao** were considered equivalent (23d-l).

(23a) **pakoro_tao_n-ai**
house_In_$3S_A$-Cop
'S/he is in the house.'

(b) **otono_tao_w-a-e**
cold_In_$1S_A$-Cop-Cty
'I have a cold.' (***otono awë_wae**)

(c) **ji-nmuku_n-ai j-awë (*ji-tao)**
1-son_$3S_A$-Cop 1-In
'My son is inside of me.'

(d) **wëene_n-ai kariwa_tao**
mirror_$3S_A$-Cop gourd_In
'The mirror is in the gourd.'

(e) **wëene_n-ai kariwa awë**
mirror_$3S_A$-Cop gourd In
'The mirror is in the gourd.'

(g) **tëpu_tao_n-ai kootu**
stone_In _$3S_A$-Cop gold
'The gold is in(side) the stone.'
'There is gold in(side) the stone.'

(h) **tëpu awë_n-ai kootu**
stone In_$3S_A$-Cop gold
'The gold is in(side) the stone.'
'There is gold in(side) the stone.'

(i) **pakoro_tao_n-ai j-ekï**
house _In _$3S_A$-Cop 1-pet
'My pet is in the house.'

(j) **pakoro awë_n-ai j-ekï**
house In_$3S_A$-Cop 1-pet
'My pet is in the house.'

(k) **ji-mënparë_n-ai pakara_tao**
1-things_$3S_A$-Cop bag_In
'My belongings are in the bag.'

(l) **ji-mënparë_n-ai pakara awë**
1-things_$3S_A$-Cop bag_In
'My belongings are in the bag.'

Most cases of the sequence **htao** actually consist of the postposition **_tao** following a possessed noun, with the **h** being the coda grade of the possessive suffix **-(rï)** ((24a-b); cf. 4.3.1.5). However, there are certain cases for which this explanation does not work, since the nouns in questions are not possessed (24c-k). These instances provide evidence for an independent postposition **_htao**, conveying the idea of 'being surrounded' by the object: in (24j), I am *among* the Wayana; in (24d), the meat is in direct contact with the surrounding fire (which is not the case for the stew in (24f), hence the use of a different postposition); in (24k), being 'in the forest' can be seen as being 'surrounded by the forest' (notice that 'in the village', 'on the island' are **pata_po**, **pau_po**, not ***pata_htao**, ***pau_htao**, i.e. if the area is small enough to look more like a point than a 'surrounding', **_htao** is not used); even in (24c), the stone is 'surrounded by' the garden (cf. (24h), in which **_po** puts the stone 'by' or 'close to' the garden; notice that **_po** would be used if the speaker were talking about a human being rather than a stone). The speakers who were consulted could not distinguish (24e) from (24g); but this may be because the difference between being 'surrounded' by the ground and being 'placed on it' (as 'on a table', in (24a) above) is not very noticeable. It is interesting to note that it was not possible to use **_htao** with one of the words for 'table', **taafara** (a borrowing, ultimately from Dutch *tafel* 'table'): ***taafara_htao** was corrected to **taafara_po** (cf. (24a) above) or **taafara_juuwë**. Notice also the contrast between **nono_tao** 'inside the earth' (24i) and **nono_htao** 'on the ground' (24e). In its conjugated form, **_htao** can be used to predicate possession (24l); cf. also **wenje** in 7.3.2.

(24a) **pakoro_tao_n-ai**
house_Loc_3S$_A$-Cop
'S/he is in the house.'

(b) **tï-pakoro-h_tao_n-ai**
3R-house-Pos_Loc_3S$_A$-Cop
'S/he is in her/his own house.'

(c) **tëpu_n-ai tïpitë_htao**
stone_3S$_{A}$-Cop garden_Surr
'The stone is in the garden.'

(d) **k-otï mahto_htao kii-puru-ja-e**
1+2-meat fire_Surr 1+2A-roast-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'We roast our meat on the fire.'

(e) **tëpu_n-ai nono_htao**
stone_3:Cop earth_Surr
'The stone is on the ground.'

(f) **kï-kairi mahto_po wï-je**
1+2-stew fire_Loc 1A-cook:Prs.Ipf:Cty
'I cook our stew on the fire (with a pot).'

(g) **tëpu_n-ai nono_po**
stone_3S$_{A}$-Cop earth_Loc
'The stone is on the ground.'

(h) **tëpu_n-ai tïpitë_po**
stone_3S$_{A}$-Cop garden_Loc
'The stone is by / close to the garden.'

(i) **tëpu_n-ai nono_tao**
stone_3S$_{A}$-Cop earth_In
'The stone is in(side) the earth.'
(e.g. buried, in a hole)

(j) **waijana-tomo_htao w-ei-ne**
Wayana-Col _Surr 1S$_{A}$-Cop-Pst.Prf
'I was among the Wayana.'

(k) **itu_htao_n-ai**
forest_Surr_3S$_{A}$-Cop
'S/he is in the forest.'

(l) **ji-htao_n-ai panpira**
1-Surr_3S$_{A}$-Cop book
'I have a book (on me).'

The aquatic inessive postposition **_hkao** can only be used if the Ground is water (rivers, lakes, water in containers, etc.). With other liquids, there was some variation: according to some speakers, it was not possible to use **_hkao** with **munu** 'blood' (cf. **_htao** in (25d)); for others, **_hkao** was possible if the blood was in a container, like water ((25c); the question mark represents this variation). Apparently, **_hkao** (and also **_po**) can be used with river names to indicate place; the consulted speakers could not differentiate (25d) from (25e).

(25a) **tuna_hkao nï-të-n kana**
river_Aq.In 3S$_{A}$-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt fish
'The fish swims in the river.'

(b) **? tëpu _n-ai munu_hkao**
stone 3S$_A$-Cop blood_Aq.In
'The stone is in the blood.'

(c) **munu_htao_n-ai AIDS i-pata**
blood_Surr_3S$_A$-Cop AIDS 3-place
'AIDS lives in the blood.'

(d) **Paru_hkao_n-ai i-pata**
Paru_Aq.In_3S$_A$-Cop 3-village
'His village is on the Paru river.'
'He lives on the Paru river.'

(e) **Paru_po_n-ai i-pata**
Paru_Loc_3S$_A$-Cop 3-village
'His village is on the Paru river.'
'He lives on the Paru river.'

The temporal postposition **_mao** is used to indicate a certain period of time, defined by its object, which can describe: a feature typical of the period (26b), a person who characterizes it (26d), an action performed at that time (26d), or even how long the period of time lasts (26e). It is probably related to the temporal particle **mahtao** 'while'.

(26a) **serë_mao / irë_mao**
3InPx_Tmp 3InAna_Tmp
'Now(adays); at that time.'

(b) **kfonopo_mao kana saasaame_n-ai**
rain_Tmp fish happy_3S$_A$-Cop
'The fish are happy in the rainy season.'

(26d) **Jezu_mao**
Jesus_Tmp
'In Jesus' times...'

(d) **tïwë-to_mao_rë_pa**
shoot-C:Nzr_Tmp_Exct_Rpt
'when/while s/he was shooting it again...'

(26e) **aeneme_nkërë_w-a-e, toisi_me i-ranta-too_mao tahken**
alive_still_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty two_Attr Gen-year-C:Nzr_Tmp Dbt
'I will still be alive, maybe for another two years.'

7.3.1.1.2. Directionals. As a rule, the directional postpositions listed in Table 7.5 are equivalent to their locative counterparts (recognizable by their common initial element: **po**, **t(a)**, **hk(a)**, etc.), except for the fact that they indicate *motion toward* their object (the Ground) rather than static position with respect to it. Formally, they are marked by 'directional formatives' (cf. 12.2) such as **-na** (for **_pona**), **-(ka)** for the others (notice that **-(ka)** can reduce [cf. 2.6.2 for syllable reduction], except in **aka**, where it never reduces), and exceptionally one **-na(ka/kïï)** (cf. 7.3.1.2). The absence of a temporal directional, which might have been ***ma(ka)**, is noticeable. Its expected meaning, 'until', is actually expressed with **_pona**.

The directional **_pona** indicates motion toward a target without implying that the target will be entered (27a), just as **_po** does not imply 'inside'. It is also used with geographic locations (27b), and to mark an upper limit ('until, up to'; (27c)), usually co-occurring with the particle **_rën(ne)** 'true, genuine' (27d). Its conjugatable allomorph is **epona** (27e), which has developed an additional meaning of 'in favor of', 'believing in' (27e).[9]

(27a) **pakoro_pona wï-të-e**
house _Dir 1S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am going to(ward) the house.'

(b) **Kuwamara_pona kïn-tën**
Kuwamara_Dir 3:Pst.Prf-go
'S/he went to Kuwamara.'

(c) **seti_pona ni-ranta ahtao**
seven_Dir 3S$_O$-year:Prs.Prf when
'When up to seven years had passed...'

(d) **majo_pona_rën**
May_Dir _Exactly
'Until May.'

(e) **j-epona n-ee-ja-n**
1-Dir 3S$_A$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he is coming toward me.'

(f) **kan epona kït-a-ti**
god believe 1+2S$_A$-Cop-Col
'We (all) believe in God.'

---

[9] Given its formal properties (the existence of a 'generic' objectless form **ëpona**, and its contrast with **_pona** when there is a preceding object—compare (27e-f) and (27a-b) above), **epona** is analyzable as an independent experiencer postposition (the 'Fidelitive' in 7.3.3). However, because of examples such as (27e), in which the (original) directional meaning of **epona** remains, **_pona** and **epona** are analyzed as having homophonous conjugated forms.

The other directional postpositions, all characterized by the formative element **ka** (a reducing syllable, with full, coda and zero grades, for all directionals except **aka**), are the expected counterparts of the corresponding locatives.

The illative **aka** 'into (a container)' seems to be dropping out of usage: younger speakers tend to use **awë** instead even if motion is implied (28a-b).[10] One young man from the village of Tepoe (Tëpu) said about (28a) that it was 'older people's language', and did not seem to be sure about the meaning of **aka** in this context. Notice also the possibility of forming an illative **awëna(ka/kïi)** (28c), on the model of the derived spatial postpositions (cf. 7.3.1.2).

(28a) **j-aka nï-tën ëpi**
1-Ill $3S_A$-go:Prs.Prf medicine
'The medicine went into me.'

(b) **j-awë nï-tën ëpi**
1-In $3S_A$-go:Prs.Prf medicine
'The medicine went into me.'

(c) **tëpu n-anota kariwa awëna** (**awënakïi** also possible).
stone $3S_O$-fall:Prs.Prf gourd Ill
'The stone fell into the gourd.'

The illative **_ta(ka)** 'into' corresponds to **_tao** in meaning, indicating motion into some sort of container (compare (23a) above with (29a-b) below). The same closeness in meaning that was noticed between **awë** and **_tao** also exists for **aka** and **_ta(ka)**, with similar restrictions: like **_tao, _ta(ka)** cannot be conjugated. If person-marked forms are necessary, **aka** (or **awë**) is used, as in (28a-b) above (in which **_ta(ka)** and/or **_tao** would be impossible).

---

[10] The tendency to use a locative instead of a directional in spite of motion being implied, although markedly stronger for **awë/aka**, was noticed for all spatial postpositions. For instance, both the directional **_ta(ka)** and the locative **_tao** can occur instead of **awëna** in (28c); the same can be said about **_hta(ka)** and **_htao** in (30a), or **_hka(ka)** and **_hkao** in (31a) below, all of which have the verb **anota** 'fall'. This is less likely to happen with a verb like **të** 'go', probably because of possible ambiguities ('I am going in the park' vs. 'I am going into the park'). This point needs further research.

(29a) **pakoro_ta nï-tën**
house_Ill 3S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf
'S/he went into the house.'

(b) **pakoro_taka_nkërë_pa nï-tën**
house_Ill_Still_Rpt 3S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf
'S/he went into the house again.'

The illative **_hta(ka)**, 'into a surrounding area' is the expected counterpart of **_htao** (cf. (30a-b), in which the same contrast observed between **nono_tao** and **nono_htao** [cf. (24e, i)] is found between **nono_ta(ka)** and **nono_hta(ka)**):

(30a) **tëpu n-anota nono_hta**
stone 3S$_O$-fall:Prs.Prf ground_Surr
'The stone fell onto the ground.'

(b) **tëpu n-anota nono_ta**
stone 3S$_O$-fall:Prs.Prf ground_Ill
'The stone fell into the earth
(e.g. into a hole).'

The aquatic illative **_hka(ka)** 'into water/river' has the same semantic presuppositions as its locative counterpart **_hkao**. (31c) shows a full-grade example, conditioned by the CCV-initial particle **_nkërë** 'still':

(31a) **tëpu n-anota tuna_hka**
stone 3S$_A$-fell:Prs.Prf water_Aq.Ill
'The stone fell into the river/water.'

(31b) **tuna_hka wï-të-e**
water_Aq.Ill 1S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am going into the river/water.'

(31c) **tuna_hkaka_nkërë_pa wï-të-e**
water_Aq.Ill_still_Rpt 1S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am going into the river/water again.'

7.3.1.1.3. 'Perlatives'. The postpositions in the third column of Table 7.5 all end in the formative element **-e**. Semantically, they are less coherent than the locatives and directionals: the perlative ('by', 'along') meaning, present in some (**ae, _tae**), is vaguer or less frequent in others (**_pëe, awëe**).

The 'general ablative' postposition **_pëe** can, in fact, have a perlative meaning, in situations where the locative equivalent would be **_pë(kë)** (32a-b; cf. 7.3.1.1.1); this is probably its oldest meaning. As its gloss indicates, however, its most frequent use is by far that of an generic ablative without the distinctions found in the locative and directional cases. It can be used to mark motion from an interior (32c-d; cf. **_tao**), a geographic location (32e; cf. **_po**), and also liquids (32f-g; cf. **_hkao**). It can also mark the beginning of a period of time (32h), anteriority in time (32i), or the person from whom an object was obtained (32j).

(32a) **wewe_pëe n-ënanuu-ja-n**
tree_Perl 3S$_{A}$-go:up-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he/it is climbing up the tree.'

(b) **nunnë nï-tën kapu_pëe**
moon 3S$_{A}$-go:Prs.Prf sky_Perl
'The moon goes along the sky.'

(c) **pakoro_pëe w-ëepï**
house_Abl 1S$_{A}$-come:Prs.Prf
'I have come from the house',
or 'from inside the house' (=**_po** / **_tao**)

(d) **panpira wii-sika pakara_pëe**
paper 1A-take:Prs.Prf bag_Abl
'I took the paper out of the bag.'

(e) **Misaun_pëe wï-tën-ne**
Mission_Abl 1S$_{A}$-go-Pst.Prf
'I went from the Mission village.'

(f) **tëpu w-ëu-ja-e tuna_pëe**
stone 1A-take-Prs.Ipf-Cty water_Abl
'I take the stone from the water.'

(g) **i-munu-hpë_pëe ë-munu-h_tao n-ee-ja-n**
3-blood-Pst.Pos_Abl 2-blood-Pos_Dir 3S$_{A}$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'It (=AIDS) goes from someone else's blood into yours.'

(h) **majo_pëe agosto_pona_rën**
May _Abl August_Dir _Exactly
'From May to August.'

(i) **ji-w-epï-hpë_pëe, wï-tën_pa**
1-S$_{A}$-bathe-Pst_Abl 1S$_{A}$-go:Prs.Prf_Rpt
'After I finished my bath, I went away.'
(Lit. 'from my past bathing,...')

(j) **akï_pëe m-apëi-ne sen**
who_Abl 2A-get-Pst.Prf 3:InPx
'Who did you get this from?'

Ae and **_tae** are true perlatives. The more frequent is **_tae**, both in spatial (33a-b) and metaphorical (33c) uses; although both can be used with **ëema** 'path' (33a, d), **_tae** occurs in nine tenths of the relevant examples. In this case, they were considered synonymous; in (33e), however, **ae** implied motion *in* the river (i.e. the speaker was physically in the river, walking with his feet in the water), while **_tae** in (33b) can be used if the speaker is in his canoe, or if he is walking along the river bank.

(33a) **sen ëema_tae wï-të-e**
3InPx path_Perl 1S$_{A}$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am going by/along this path.'

(b) **tuna_tae wï-të-e**
river_Perl 1S$_{A}$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am going along the river (bank).'

(c) **tarëno_tae**
Tiriyó_Perl
'In the Tiriyó way / language'

(d) **ëema ae wï-të-e**
path Perl 1S$_{A}$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am going by/along the path.'

(e) **tuna ae wï-të-e**
river Perl 1S$_{A}$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am going along the river (inside of it).'

Awëe is, strictly speaking, a locative postposition. It indicates a 'hanging' position (34a-d). A vague connection with perlative semantics may come from the fact that the hanging object (the 'Figure') can often be seen as 'going along' or 'following' the surface of its support (the 'Ground').[11] For instance, (34c) was used to describe a situation in which the two extremities of a piece of rope were hanging off opposite sides of a table, i.e. the rope was 'going across', or 'following', the surface of the table. Cf. also (34e), in which the demonstrative **serë** 'this' refers to a big headphone in its normal position on the speaker's head. This rationale becomes less acceptable if the support is point-like, as in (34d); but, even in this case, the rope is hanging from its midpoint, with two loose extremities.

(34a) **j-aaji_n-ai j-awëe**
1-necklace_3S$_A$-Cop 1-hanging
'My necklace is around my neck.'

(b) **ji-mënparë_n-ai ëwa awëe**
1-things_3S$_A$-Cop rope hanging
'My things are hanging from the rope.'

(c) **ewa_n-ai ëpëi awëe**
3:rope_3S$_A$-Cop table hanging
'His/her rope is hanging from the table.'

(d) **ewa_n-ai putuputuri awëe**
3:rope_3S$_A$-Cop nail hanging
'His/her rope is hanging from a nail.'

(e) **serë_n-ai ji-putupë awëe**
3InPx_3S$_A$-Cop 1-head:Pos hanging
'It (=headphone) is on my head.'

7.3.1.2. Derived spatial postpositions. Structurally, derived spatial postpositions are similar to the simple pospositions discussed in the previous section. There are two main series (locative and directional) and remnants of a third (perlative). The directionals are characterized by the final suffixes **-hkïi** and **-na(ka)/-na(kïi)**, apparently equivalent in meaning. Most of the locatives also have a characteristic ending: **-o**, **-wë**, **-të**; **epinë**

---

[11] In view of its semantics, it is not obvious that, despite the obvious formal similarity, **awëe** should be seen as related to **awë** 'Inessive' rather than as one of the 'derived' spatial postpositions described in 7.3.1.2. The decision to leave **awëe** here was based on the absence of a directional form ***awëena(ka/kïi)**, which distinguishes it from the other 'derived' spatial postpositions.

'under' has no specific ending. The few perlatives end in **-e**; some of them do not have an **-o** counterpart (e.g. **_nkae** 'behind', **epoe** 'above'; their locative rather than perlative meaning is reminiscent of **awëe** 'hanging', from the previous section). Notice that **-o**, **-wë**, **-e**, and the final syllable **(ka)** of **-na(ka)**,[12] also occur on simple spatial postpositions.

The reason for calling these postpositions (listed in Table 7.6 below) 'derived' is that their initial element is, in most cases, a synchronically attested morpheme (e.g. **enpatao** 'in front of, opposite', from **enpata** 'face'; **nkae** 'behind' from **(mï)ka** 'back'; etc.). The formation of other postpositions of the same kind, however, is severly restricted; the list in Table 7.6 is probably not far from being exhaustive. In fact, some of them are not even accepted by all speakers: e.g. **apëo** 'beside', which an older speaker used but a younger one from the same village (Kuwamalasamutu) failed to recognize (notice that it is also the only example in the available corpus of the diphthong /ëo/ [cf. 2.4.3.1]).

Semantically, it is interesting to note that these postpositions either denote position or movement toward (or, in a few cases, along) the Ground, but not motion from it (i.e. none of them is ablative). Ablatives corresponding to these postpositions can be built periphrastically, e.g. by using a nominalized form of the postposition with the nominal past suffix **-npë**:

(35a) **ji-nkae-no-npë n-anota**
1-behind-Nzr-Pst 3S$_{O}$-fall:Prs.Prf
'(It) fell from behind me.' (Lit. '(That which) was behind me fell.')

---

[12] Comparative evidence suggests that **-na(ka/kïï)** may have been an independent postposition at some point, with a corresponding locative **-nao** (as in e.g. **hpïtïnao** 'at the back of', from **pïtïkï** 'anus; posterior part' and **nao**). Apparently, only the few lexicalized cases listed in Table 7.6 have survived in Tiriyó. Evidence in favor of an earlier freer status comes from the fact that the collective marker **-:ne** (cf. 7.1.1) can optionally occur before **-na(kïï)**: e.g. **kïï-roowënakïï-ne** or **kïï-roowëë-ne_nakïï** 'into the middle of all of us'.

(b) **tëpu n-anota kariwa ekatao-no-npë**
stone $3S_O$-fall:Prs.Prf gourd beside-Nzr-Pst
'The stone fell from beside the gourd.'
(Lit. 'The stone that was beside the gourd fell.')

Table 7.6
Tiriyó derived spatial postpositions
Forms in square brackets were not attested in the corpus but are presumed to exist.

Meaning	Locative	Directional	'Perlative'
-wë			
on top of	**_juuwë**	**_juhkïï; _juuwëna(ka/kïï)**	
in the middle of	**_:roowë**	**_:rohkïï; _:roowëna(ka/kïï)**	
in the half of, halfway through	**_rawë**	**_rawëna(ka/kïï)**	
-o/-na(ka/kïï)			
on the margin/bank of	**etao**	**etaona(ka/kïï)**	**etae** 'by/along the margin'
in the hand(s) of	**enjao**	**enjaona(ka/kïï)**	
in front of	**enpatao**	**enpataona(ka/kïï)**	**enpatae** 'on the slope of'
beside	**apëo**	**apëona(ka/kïï)**	
at the back/rear of	**hpïtïnao**	**(_)hpïtïna(ka/kïï)**	
lying with; holding	**enao**	[**enaona(ka/kïï)**]	
beside; next to, near	**ekatao**	**ekataona(ka/kïï)**	
by; near	**renao**	**rena(ka/kïï)**	
deep in	**antïïnao**	**antïïna(ka/kïï)**	
under (completely)	**anmao**	[**anmaona(ka/kïï)**]	
behind	**notonnao**	**notonna(ka/kïï)**	
on the back of	**(_)npo**	**(_)npona(ka/kïï)**	
-të			
at the beak/tip of	**_pohtë**	**_pohtëna(ka/kïï), _pohkïï**	
on the horn/top of	**_rehtë**	**_rehtëna(ka/kïï), _rehkïï**	
upstream	**amohtë**	[**amohtëna(ka/kïï)**], **amohkïï**	
-e/-na(ka/kïï)			
behind		**(_)nkaena(ka/kïï)**	**(_)nkae** 'behind'
above, over		**epoena(ka/kïï)**	**epoe** 'above, over'
-në/-na(ka/kïï)			
under, below	**epinë**	**epinëna(ka/kïï)**	

7.3.1.2.1. The -wë/-hkïi group. These postpositions are characterized by the locative ending **-wë** (probably the same as **-o**; notice that, although the occurrence of **-wë** in **_juuwë** and **_:roowë** may be explainable in terms of the preceding vowel, this is not so for **_rawë**, where, following /a/, **-o** would be expected, yielding an unattested ***_rao**), and by the directional ending **-hkïi** (except for **rawëna(ka/kïi)**; **rahkïi** is not attested). **-Na(ka)** and **-na(kïi)** are also possible, without apparent change in meaning.[13] Postpositions of this group do not occur in the third-person form (with the prefix **i-**) when there is a preceding object (cf. 7.2), unlike the ones in the next section.

_Juuwë 'on top of' can be used, like **_po**, for position on a horizontal surface (36a-b; cf. 19b, 20b above for **_po** and **_pë(kë)**), including sand (36c) or water (36d). The source of its initial element **juu** is still unknown. Note that **_juuwë** is more precise than the general **_po** (cf. 19c-d, where the **_po**-phrases are less precise than the **_juuwë**-phrases). **_Juhkïi** and **juuwëna(ka/kïi)** (36e) are the corresponding directionals.

(36a) **kankamuri_n-ai taafara_juuwë**
gecko_3S$_{A}$-Cop table_on.top
'The gecko is on (top of) the table.'

(b) **kankamuri_n-ai pakoro_juuwë**
gecko_3S$_{A}$-Cop house/roof_on.top
'The gecko is on (top of) the roof.'

(c) **irë_po_ken t-ee-se kïto, samu_juuwë_ken**
3InAna_Loc_Cont N.Pst-Cop-N.Pst toad.sp sand_on.top_Cont
'There the toad was, (all the time) on the sand.'

(d) **irë_mao_rëken ariwe_ja t-ërë-e, tuna_po, tuna_juuwë**
3InAna_Temp_Only cayman_Agt N.Pst-take-N.Pst water_Loc, water_on.top
'At that moment, the Cayman took him, on the water, on top of the water.'
(=i.e. so that he would not drown)

---

[13] The final syllables of **-na(kïi)** and in **hkïi** are probably the same element **kïi** etymologically.

(e) **tëpu-pisi n-anota wewe_juhkïï / wewe_juuwëna**
stone-Dim 3S$_{O}$-fall:Prs.Prf stick_on.top / stick_on.top
'The little stone fell on top of the stick.'

The meaning of **_:roowë** is 'in the middle/center of', 'surrounded by'. The initial element **:roo** looks like a reduced form of **(pï)ropï** 'chest', with the two lengthenings (the /oo/, and that of the final vowel of the person-marking prefixes, marked by the colon) resulting from the missing /pï/ syllables. It is more specific than **_htao**: for instance, (37c) suggested that people were forming a circle in the center of which the subject stood (cf. 24j above, in which the subject lives 'among the Wayana', **waijanatomo_htao**). The directional equivalents are **_:rohkïï** and **_:roowëna(ka/kïï)**, apparently without semantic distinction (37d-e).

(37a) **ma kutuma, itu_roowë**
far a.lot, forest_mid
'It is very far, in the middle of the forest.'

(b) **tuna_roowë**
river_mid
'in the middle of the river'

(c) **itu_rohkïï wï-të-e**
forest_to.mid 1S$_{A}$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am going to the middle of the forest.'

(d) **itu_roowëna wï-të-e**
forest_to.mid 1S$_{A}$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am going to the middle
of the forest.'

(e) **kïï-roowëë-ne_n-ai**
1+2-mid-Col_3S$_{A}$-Co
'(S/he) is in the middle of us.'

As for **(_)rawë** 'in the middle part of', 'in the half of', 'halfway through', it is apparently derived from **ra** 'middle part; front of the body'. For instance, (38a) was said of a stone that was lying close to a stick and approximately equidistant from its two extremities; (38b), of someone who was sitting close to the center of the canoe. For (38b), **(_):roowë** would have been possible; but not for (38a). The difference seems to be that **(_)rawë** is essentially unidimensional (i.e. it applies to the middle part or center of things that are comparable to straight lines), while **(_):roowë** is bi- or tridimensional. Notice the difference between (37e) above, in which **(_):roowë** suggests a spatial distribution of people, with (38d) below, in which **(_)rawë** suggests a line of people; cf. also the metaphorical use of the directional **(_)rawëna(ka/kïï)** in (38e) (since a story can be compared to a straight line). A **hkïï**-directional did not occur in the corpus, but it would not be surprising if it existed.

(38a) **tëpu_n-ai wewe_rawë**
stone $3S_A$-Cop stick_Hlf
'The stone is in the middle of the stick.'

(b) **kanawa_rawë_n-ai**
canoe_hlf_$3S_A$-Cop
'(S/he) is in the middle of the canoe.'

(c) **kanawa i-rawënakïï wï-të-e**
canoe 3-to.hlf $1S_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am going to the middle of the canoe.'

(d) **kï-rawëë-ne_n-ai**
1+2-hlf-Col_$3S_A$-Cop
'S/he is in the middle of our line.'

(d) **tahken i-rawëna_rëken w-arë-n**
maybe 3-to.hlf_Only 1A-take:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Maybe I'll tell only half of it (=this story).'
(Lit. 'Maybe I'll take it only to the middle.')

7.3.1.2.2. The -o/-na(ka/kïï) group. These postpositions are characterized by the locative **-o** and the directional **-na(ka/kïï)** (but not **-hkïï**) endings. The reducing syllables **ka** and **kïï** are very irregular, and sometimes occur even in the absence of a conditioning environment (a following C(CV)-initial suffix or clitic; cf. 2.5.1 on rhythmic stress).

Many of these postpositions are clearly derived from nouns, like **etao** 'at the margin of' (from **eta** 'margin, bank'), **enjao** 'in the hands of' (from **enja** 'hand'), **enpatao** 'in front of' (from **enpata** 'face'), **(_)hpïtïnao** 'in the back of' (from **(h)pïtïkï** 'anus'), **apëo** 'beside' (from **apë** 'arm'), and **enao** 'holding (close to chest); lying together with' (apparently from **eena** 'neck; throat', but without the long vowel); their meaning is clearly related to their source.[14] All such postpositions found in the available corpus are in Table 7.6 above; this list, however, is probably not exhaustive. Note that **apëo**, which contains the only example of the /ëo/ diphthong in the available corpus, was controversial: an older speaker used it, but a younger speaker from the same village did not accept it.

(39a) **ji-pakoro_n-ai tuna etao**
1-house_$3S_A$-Cop river at.bank
'My house is by the river.'

(b) **j-enjao_n-ai tëpu-pisi**
1-in.hand_$3S_A$-Cop stone-Dim
'I have the little stone in my hands.'

(c) **j-enpatao_n-ai_mëe**
1-in.front_$3S_A$-Cop_3AnPx
'S/he is in front of me.'

(d) **i-hpïtïna wï-të-e**
1-in.back $1S_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am going to the back (of the canoe).'

(c) **kanawa (i-)hpïtïnao_n-ai**
canoe (3-)in.back_$3S_A$-Cop
'S/he is in the back of the canoe.'

(f) **j-apëo_n-ai_mëe**
1-beside_$3S_A$-Cop_3AnPx
'S/he is beside me.'

(g) **j-enao_n-ai ji-joto**
1-lying.with_$3S_A$-Cop 1-bride/lover
'My bride/lover is lying together with me (in the same hammock).'

(i) **j-enao_n-ai ji-nmuku**
1-holding_$3S_A$-Cop 1-son
'I am holding my son (e.g. nursing).'

---

[14] In the case of the 'lying together (in the hammock)' meaning of enao, the semantic connection with **eena** 'neck; throat' seems to be that the usual position for couples to lie together in a hammock has the woman in the man's arms, with her face close to his chin-neck-chest area.

No synchronic sources were found for **ekatao** 'beside, next to, near', **renao** 'by; near', **antïïnao** 'deep in', **anmao** 'under (completely)', **notonnao** 'behind', and **(_)npo** 'on the back of'. The semantic difference between **apëo** (39f above, 40b below), **ekatao** 'beside, next to, near' (40a, c), **renao** 'by; near' (40b), and further **wenje, ranme** (cf. next section) is not clear and needs further investigation. The same is true for **notonnao** 'behind' (40e) and **(_)nkae** 'behind' (cf. next section, (45a)). **Anmao** (40f-g) is glossed as 'under', like **epinë** (cf. next section, (46b)); the difference between them, as the examples show, is that **anmao** implies a situation in which the object being placed (the Figure) is no longer visible: it is completely covered by the Ground (cf. (40g); if the stone were still visible, the speaker would say **tuna_hkao**). **Antïïnao** 'deep in' implies depth (40h); it can be used metaphorically to mean 'difficult to understand' (40i). Prototypically, **_npo** 'on the back of' describes the carrying of game on one's shoulder, or of a traditional basket (called **kataari**) which is carried on one's back and supported by a woven band that goes around the carrier's head (40j).

(40a) **j-ekatao_n-ai_mëe**
1-beside_3S$_{A}$-Cop_3AnPx
'S/he is beside me.'

(b) **mahto apëo s-etahpaka-e**
fire beside 1S$_{A}$-sit:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I sit down close to / by the fire.'

(c) **mahto ekatao s-etahpaka-e**
fire beside 1S$_{A}$-sit:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I sit down close to / by the fire.'

(d) **mahto_renao s-etahpaka-e**
fire_beside 1S$_{A}$-sit:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I sat close to / by the fire.'

(e) **wewe notonnao_n-ai**
tree behind_3S$_{A}$-Cop
'S/he/it is behind the tree.'

(f) **panpira anmao_n-ai tëpu-pisi**
paper under_3S$_{A}$-Cop stone-Dim
'The little stone is under the paper.'

(g) **tëpu_n-ai tuna anmao**
stone_3S$_A$-Cop water under
'The stone is under water.'
(I cannot see it anymore).

(h) **tuna antïïnao_n-ai tëpu**
water deep.in_3S$_A$-Cop stone
'The stone is deep in the water.'

(i) **antïïnao wïja**
3:deep.in 1:Dat
'(It/This) is difficult to me.'

(j) **ji-npo kï-rï-ta-e**
1-on.back 12AO-put-Fut-Cty
'I will put you on my back.'

Two postpositions ending in the perlative element **-e** occurred in this group: **etae** 'by / along the bank / margin of', and **enpatae** 'along (the face of)'. They are obviously derived from **eta** 'bank, margin' and **enpata** 'face'. **Etae** is a true perlative, and describes motion along e.g. a river bank (41a), and presumably also along other objects that have edges or rims; unlike **_tae**, it cannot be used if the speaker is in a canoe. **Enpatae**, on the other hand, is a locative; its few attestations were descriptions of the position of a certain house (41b), which was located on a hill slope. This may be interpreted as a metaphor based on seeing the slope as the 'face' of the hill, which agrees with the use of **(_)rehtë**, from **retï** 'horns, antlers, top of the head' (cf. next section), for a house located on the top of the hill.

(41a) **tuna etae wï-të-e**
river by.bank 1S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am going by/along the river bank.'

(b) **pï enpatae_n-ai**
hill on.slope_3S$_A$-Cop
'(It) is on the slope of the hill.'

7.3.1.2.3. Minor groups. The postpositions **_pohtë** 'at the beak/tip of; ahead of; almost' and **_rehtë** 'on the top of; on the head of' appear to be derived from **potï** 'beak; lips' and **retï** 'horns; antlers; top of the head' with the help of a suffixal formative element **-të** of unknown origin. **_Rehtë** means, as its source might have indicated, 'on top of' something round, head-like. (42a) describes a stone that is on top of an upside-down hemispheric gourd; (42b) refers to a house which is on the top of a hill (cf. the previous section, 41b, for a comparison with **enpatae** 'on the slope of'). When used with a person-marking prefix, **_rehtë** refers to the head of the person in question (42c). The expression in (42d), literally 'it's on top of it', means 'it's noon'; presumably, it refers to the sun being 'on top of the sky' (which can be seen as a head, or an upside-down gourd). (42e) has a directional example.

(42a) **tëpu-pisi_n-ai** **kariwa_rehtë**
stone-Dim_$3S_A$-Cop gourd_on.top
'The stone is on top of the gourd.'

(b) **pïï_rehtë_n-ai**
hill_on.top_$3S_A$-Cop
'(It) is on the top of the hill.'

(c) **ji-rehtë_n-ai** **tonoro**
1-on.top_$3S_A$-Cop bird
'The bird is on top of my head.'

(d) **i-rehtë_n-ai**
3-on.top_$3S_A$-Cop
'It's noon. (Lit. it's on top of it)'.

(e) **ji-rehtënakïï** **n-anota**
1-on.top $3S_O$-fall:Prs.Prf
'S/he/it fell on top of my head.'

The basic meaning of **_pohtë** is 'ahead of', or 'in the front part of'. For instance, (43a) places an object (the Figure) either in the front part of a canoe (e.g. a passenger sitting in the prow), or ahead of it (e.g. a fish in the river, right in front of the canoe). Notice that, since a canoe has an obvious front-back asymmetry, **_pohtë** cannot refer to a Figure placed in its back (in which case, **(_)hpïtïnao** would be used); but, in the case of an object without such an asymmetry, **_pohtë** can refer to a Figure placed at either extremity (e.g. (43b) may refer to a stone placed close to either extremity of the stick). Metaphorically, **_pohtë** can be used with nominalizations to indicate an event that is about to happen (43c). (43d) contains an example of the directional **_pohtëna(ka/kïï)**, and (43e) of its apparent synonym **pohkïï.**

(43a) **kanawa i-pohtë_n-ai**
canoe 3-ahead.of_3S$_A$-Cop
'It is ahead of / in the prow of the canoe.'

(b) **tëpu_n-ai wewe_pohtë**
stone_3S$_A$-Cop stick_ahead.of
'The stone is in front of the stick.'

(c) **tï-tunta-toh_pohtë_n-ai**
3R-arrive-C:Nzr_ahead.of_3S$_A$-Cop
'S/he is about to arrive, close to arriving.'

(d) **i-pohtëna wï-tën**
3-to.the.front.of 1S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf
'I went to the front of the canoe.'

(e) **ji-pawana_pohkïï wï-të-e**
1-friend_to.the.front.of 1S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am going to stalk / follow my friend.'

The postposition **amohtë** means 'upstream from'. The directional equivalent that occurred in the corpus was **amohkïï**, though the occurrence of **amohtëna** would not be surprising.[15]

(44a) **i-pata_n-ai ë-pata amohtë**
3-village_3S$_A$-Cop 2-village upstream
'His village is upstream from yours.'

(b) **amohkïï kï-të-e**
3:upstream 1+2-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'We are going upstream (of it).'

The postposition **(_)nkae** is a locative postposition, meaning 'behind', apparently derived from **(mï)ka** 'back'. The final vowel **-e** would suggest a perlative meaning; but, if there is or ever was such a meaning, its connection with the current meaning seems even vaguer than was the case for **awëe** and **enpatae**. The consulted speakers could not see any meaning difference between **(_)nkae** and **notonnao** (cf. (40e) above), both of which were acceptable in (45a-b); this question needs further research. (45c) illustrates the corresponding directional **(_)nkaena(ka/kïi)**.

---

[15] A word for 'downstream', **aarena**, occurred once; it is probably a postposition (a directional, judging by its form, ending in **-na**), but this has not been checked yet.

(45a) **ë-pakoro i-nkae**
2-house 3-behind
'Behind your house.'

(b) **wewe i-nkae**
tree 3-behind
'Behind the tree.'

(c) **mëe n-ee-ja-n ji-nkaenakïi**
3AnPx $3S_A$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 1-to.behind
'S/he is coming behind me.' (Lit. to[ward] behind me)

The postpositions **epoe** 'above, over' and **epinë** 'under, below' are semantic opposites. **Epoe** implies lack of contact between the Figure and the Ground (46a). Its final vowel **-e** suggests the perlative element; however, like **(_)nkae**, the connection between 'above' and 'perlative' is hard to see. It is not clear that **epoe** is a derived postposition — in any case, no obvious source seems to exist. The same is true of **epinë**, which does not even end in any of the known formative elements. Both postpositions are included in this list, however, because of their directional form in **-na(ka/kïi)**. **Epinë** can be semantically distinguished from **anmao** in that it does not imply that the Figure is necessarily totally covered by the Ground ((46b); cf. **anmao** in the previous section, (46f)). (46c-d) illustrate the directional forms.

(46a) **wewe-pisi_n-ai tëpu epoe**
stick-Dim_$3S_A$-Cop stone over
'The stick is over/above the stone.'

(b) **tëpu_n-ai wewe-pisi epinë**
stone_$3S_A$-Cop stick-Dim under
'The stone is under/below the stick.'

(c) **wewe-pisi wï-rï-ja-e tëpu epoenakïi**
stick-Dim 1A-put-Prs.Ipf-Cty stone over
'I am putting the stick over/above the stone.'

(d) **wewe-pisi wï-rï-ja-e tëpu epinënakïi**
stick-Dim 1A-put-Prs.Ipf-Cty stone under
'I am putting the stick under/below the stone.'

7.3.2. Relational postpositions. The main characteristic of these postpositions is the absence of a directional form in **-na(ka/kïi)** or **-hkïi**. Semantically, they usually mark relations that are not clearly spatial (though **(_)ranme** and **(_)wenje** seem to be quite close in meaning to **ekatao** 'beside'), and do not involve experiencers such as the ones in 7.3.3. They are listed in Table 7.7.

Table 7.7
Relational postpositions

Meaning	Postposition	Meaning	Postposition
comitative ('with')	**akëërë**	next	**pëkëërë**
comparative ('like')	**(j)apo**	close, beside; having	**(_)wenje**
totalitative ('all'; 'each')	**wararë**	close, beside	**(_)ranme**
characterizative ('having')	**_hpije**	in parallel	**(_)rato**
before, first	**(_)wapo**	in alignment	**(_)pato**
after, last	**(_)wenae**		

The comitative postposition is **akëërë** '(together) with'. The nominal scope particle **_marë** 'together; too' is often synonymous (cf. **_marë** in 9.1.4 for a comparison).

(47a) **ë-pawana akëërë ë-urakanun-ja-e**
2-friend Comt 2S$_{O}$-stroll-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'You are going for a walk with your friend.'

(b) **wï-h-ta-e a-akëërë**
1S$_{A}$-go-Fut-Cty 2-Comt
'I will go with you.'

(c) **pahko akëërë wï menjaarë**
1:father Comt 1Pr now
'I am with my father now.'

The comparative postposition **(j)apo** 'like' (which, as was mentioned in 7.1.1 above, is **j**-adding) means 'like', 'similar to', 'in the manner of'. Combination of **(j)apo** and inanimate demonstratives to indicate manner (**irë apo** 'like that', **serë apo** 'like this'; cf. 9.1.4) are very frequent in narrative texts. An interesting comparison can be made between the meanings of **(j)apo**, the postposition **_me** 'Attributive' (which implies a true identification between two terms), and the particle **ahke(ne)** 'as if' (which indicates such an identification would be a mistake); cf. 7.3.4.3. on **_me**, 9.1.4 on **ahke(ne)**.

(48a) **kïja_n-ai taparara apo**
cricket_3S$_A$-Cop grasshopper Like
'The **kïja** cricket is like a grasshopper.'

(b) **kaikui apo n-ee-ja-n**
jaguar Like 3S$_A$-Cop-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he becomes like a jaguar.'

(c) **wapo w-ei-ne pëera, ponjeke apo**
before 1S$_A$-Cop-Pst.Prf stupid peccary.sp like
'I used to be stupid, like a white-lipped peccary.'

(d) **serë apo kïn-ka Taru, "ji-nmuku m-ene-ne?"**
3InAna Like 3:Pst.Prf-say Taru, 1-son 2A-see-Pst.Prf
Taru spoke like this, 'Have you seen my son?'

The postposition **wararë** 'totalitative/distributive' indicates that the *totality* of the referent of its object is involved. If, in a certain context, the object can have multiple referents, **wararë** indicates that all of them are involved, each individually (49a, c-d); if only one referent is possible, then it is wholly involved, in all of its parts (49b). **Wararë** is probably related to the adverb **ameraarë** 'all, everyone, everything', which is often used as a synonym. Notice that, while in (49a-b) **wararë** has only its 'totalitative' meaning, in (49c) it also indicates direction (‘*to* every village’), without an additional postposition (like e.g. **_pona**); in (49e), it has the dative meaning usually expressed with the postposition **:ja** (cf. 7.3.4.1).

(49a) **kï-wararëë-ne kït-a-ti ëëseenë**
1+2-Distr-Col 1+2-Cop-Col ill
‘We are ill, every one of us.’

(b) **ji-pun wararë**
1-body Total
‘My whole body.’

(c) **pata wararë wï-tën**
village Distr 1S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf
‘I have gone to every village.’

(d) **wei wararë s-epï-ja-e**
day Total 1S$_A$-bathe-Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘I bathe every day.’

(e) **ë-wararëë-ne w-ekarama-e ankai**
2-Total-Col 1A-give:Prs.Ipf-Cty comb
‘I am giving combs to all/each of you.’

The postposition **_hpije** ‘characterizative’ indicates that its object characterizes the present state of the subject (usually of a copular sentence). Its meaning range includes ‘being covered with’ (50a-b), ‘being infested with’ (50c), ‘having (a lot)’ (50d), ‘characterized by’ (50e). These uses, especially the latter, are not far from that of adverbializers like **t- -ke** ‘having’ (the difference apparently being that **t- -ke** has a more specific, individuated object: ‘having a house’ rather than ‘having houses’; cf. examples in 6.2.1.1.1). However, since a third-person form occurred in the corpus (50f), **_hpije** is analyzed here as a postposition rather than as an adverbializing suffix.

(50a) **watë_hpije_n-ai apëi**
excrements_Char_3S$_A$-Cop seat
‘The seat is all dirty with excrement.’

(b) **munu_hpije_n-ai**
blood_Char_3S$_A$-Cop
‘(It) is all smeared with blood.’

(c) **sikë_hpije_n-ai**
chigger_Char_3S$_{A}$-Cop
'(S/he) is infested with chiggers.'

(d) **kana_hpije_n-ai tuna**
fish_Char_3S$_{A}$-Cop river
'This river has fish.'

(e) **aeru_hpije_n-ai**
noise_Char_3S$_{A}$-Cop
'(It) is noisy.'

(f) **i-hpije**
3-Char
'(It) has (it).'

The postpositions **(_)wapo** 'before, first' and **(_)wenae** 'after, last' mark, respectively, anteriority and posteriority, both in space and in time (51a-b). They have non-conjugated adverbial forms **wapo** 'before', 'first', nominalizable as **wapo-no** 'the first one', and **wenae** 'afterward', 'last', nominalizable as **wenae-no** 'the last one'; these forms are similar to the objectless form of the experiencer postpositions (51e-f; cf. next section). **Wenae** is probably related to **wena**, a nominal stem found only in its past-possessed form, e.g. **i-wena-hpë** 'his/her footprints', 'his/her trail'.

(51a) **ji-wapo n-ee-ja-n**
1-before 3S$_{A}$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'He came before / ahead of me.'

(b) **irë i-wenae, nï-tën_pa**
3InAna 3-after, 3S$_{A}$-go:Prs.Prf_Rpt
'After this, s/he went away.'

(c) **wapo_pitë n-ë-ehpoka**
before_a.little 3S$_{A}$-Detr-shave:Prs.Prf
'First he shaved.'

(d) **aano wi-ponoo-ja-e wapo ?**
which 1A-tell-Prs.Ipf-Cty before
'Which (story) do I tell first?'

(e) **mëe_n-ai wapo-no, mëe_n-ai wenae-no**
3AnPx_3S$_{A}$-Cop before-Nzr 3AnPx_3S$_{A}$-Cop after-Nzr
'This one is the first; this one is the last (of my brothers and sisters).'
(i.e. the oldest and the youngest, respectively)

The postposirion **pëkëërë** 'next, following' indicates the following element in a sequence. For instance, the oldest of a group of brothers and sisters could be described as

wapo-no 'the first one'; the following ones could be called **i-pëkëërë-no**, up to the one before the last; the last one would be called **wenae-no** (cf. (52e) above). If a sequence has only two elements, (_)**wapo** and (_)**wenae** are used; **pëkëërë** apparently presupposes longer sequences.

(52a) **ji-pëkëërë_n-ai**
$1S_A$-next_$3S_A$-Cop
'S/he comes after me (in the sequence)'

(b) **ë-pëkëërëë-ne_w-a-e**
2-next-Col_$1S_A$-Cop-Cty
'I come after all of you.'

The postpositions (_)**wenje** and (_)**ranme** are semantically close (and also close to **ekatao**, (_)**renao**, and **apëo**); further research is necessary to clarify their differences (53a, c).[16] Like **_htao**, (_)**wenje** can be used to predicate possession (53b, d); in fact, this is one of its most frequent uses. The final syllable **-nje** is reminiscent of the adverbs **senje** 'this side of', **mënje** 'that side of, beyond' (cf. 6.1.1.5), to which (_)**wenje** is probably related. (_)**Ranme** may also be related to (_)**rato** (cf. below).

(53a) **ji-htai_n-ai** **piiwa wenje / ekatao / apëo**
1-shoes_$3S_A$-Cop broom close
'My shoes are close to the broom.'

(b) **mahto ë-wenje ?**
fire 2-close
'Do you have matches?'

(b) **ë-ranmee-ne_w-a-e,** **ë-ekatao-ne_w-a-e**
1-close-Col_$1S_A$-Cop-Cty 1-close-Col_$2S_A$-Cop-Cty
'I am beside / close to all of you.'

(d) **panpira_n-ai** **ji-wenje**
book_$3S_A$-Cop 1-close
'I have a book.'

The postposition (_)**rato** means 'in parallel'; it can be used to describe e.g. hammocks (54a-b), but also other 'line-like' objects (54c).

---

[16] For one speaker, (_)**wenje** represented a more 'diffuse' closeness, similar to English 'in the area that surrounds X', 'more or less at X', etc.

(54a) **ë-ehkee_n-ai ji-rato**
2-hammock_3S$_{A}$-Cop 1-parallel
'Your hammock is beside (parallel to) me.'

(b) **kï-ratoo-ne_n-ai_mëe**
1+2-parallel-Col_3S$_{A}$-Cop_3AnPx
'His hammock is parallel to ours.'

(c) **wewe-pisi_n-ai saran i-rato**
stick-Dim_3S$_{A}$-Cop hose 3-parallel
'The little stick is/lies parallel to the hose.'

The postposition **(_)pato** means 'in alignment with', 'in the direction of'. For instance, (55a) was said to someone who was in the speaker's way as he tried to shoot a white-lipped peccary. With the third-person reflexive prefix **tï-**, it can mean 'straight', 'correct' (i.e. 'in alignment with itself'; (55b)).

(55a) **ji-pato_ta eh-kë !**
1-align_Neg Cop-Imper
'Get out of my way!'
(Lit. 'Don't be in alignment with me!')

(b) **tï-pato_ro i-jomi**
3R-align_Exct 3-language
'S/he speaks well.'
(Lit. 'His/her language is in alignment with itself.')

7.3.3. Experiencer postpositions. A somewhat surprising feature of Tiriyó is the existence of a set of postpositions that have an 'experiencer'-like argument. Notions such as 'knowing', 'not knowing', 'liking', 'wanting', 'hating', 'being superior to', etc. are expressed by postpositions, usually in conjunction with the copula. Table 7.8 lists all the experiencer postpositions found thus far.

Table 7.8
Experiencer postpositions.

Meaning	Postposition	Meaning	Postposition
Desiderative ('want')	**_se**	Irascitive ('angry, wild')	**eire**
Cognoscitive ('know')	**(_)waarë**	Odiative ('hate')	**aame(ke)**
Ignorative ('not know')	**(_)wame(ke)**	Appreciative ('like')	**ewaaje**
Protective ('pity, jealousy')	**(_)pïïnë**	Difficultative ('difficult')	**enkume**
Apprehensive ('afraid')	**(_)no**	Fidelitive ('being loyal')	**epona**
Superioritive ('more')	**(_)wae**	Satisfactive ('enough')	**epo**

An interesting characteristic of most of these postpositions (except for **_se**, **(_)no**, **(_)wae** and, possibly, **epo**) is the existence of an 'objectless' form—the back grade, if the postposition is vowel-initial (e.g. **ëwaaje**, **ëire**, **aame(ke)**) or a prefixless form, if it is consonant-initial (e.g. **pïïnë**, **waarë**)—with the properties of an adverb. It is used to predicate a generic quality (e.g. **ëwaaje** 'who likes everybody, easy to please', **ëire** 'wild, who easily becomes angry', etc.). Two of the relational postpositions described in the previous section—**(_)wapo** 'before; first' and **(_)wenae** 'after; last'—also have objectless adverbial forms. Another characteristic of experiencer postpositions is that almost all of them take the **-to** nominalizer (except **epo**, **epona** which take **-(no)**; no data are available on **enkume** and **(_)wae**). For **(_)waarë** and **(_)wame(ke)**, some speakers accepted both **waarë-to**, **wameka-to** and **waarë-n**, **wameka-n**; however, even for them, the **to**-forms were better.

The desiderative postposition **_se** is used to express the ideas of 'wanting, desiring, needing'. For instance, (56d) can be used to express sexual impulses ('I desire you'), or a general need to see the person ('I want (to talk) to you', 'I need you (e.g. to help me)'). The postposition **_se** has several formal irregularities (cf. 7.1.1).

(56a) **pakoro_se_w-a-e**[17]
house_Desid_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'I want/need a house.'

(b) **ë-ene_se_n-ai**
2-see:Nzr_Desid_3S$_A$-Cop
'S/he wants to see you.'

---

[17] An interesting phonological fact about **_se** is that the last syllable of the preceding word invariably becomes stressed, but without length: (56a) is pronounced [pa.kɔ́ɔ́.ɽɔ́.sɛ.ʋaɛ], not *[pa.kɔ́ɔ́.ɽo.sɛ́ɛ́.ʋaɛ] (cf. 2.5.1 for the iambic stress system). One possible explanation would be to assume that **_se** is actually **_hse** (cf. 2.4.2.2 for the instability of /hs/ clusters); this would agree with the fact that the reciprocal form of **_se**, **ëëse** 'wanting each other', is consistently given as having an /ëhse/ by those speakers who had /hs/ clusters. There is no apparent reason for this /h/; comparative evidence has thus far failed to show any evidence of there having ever been an extra syllable which might have reduced to /h/ in this position. One possibility is that this behavior may have been an indirect consequence of intervocalic /s/ loss (cf. Meira 1998:31ff): since word-internal /s/ was preserved only if the preceding syllable had reduced (presumably by becoming /h/), /s/ and a preceding /h/ would have 'blended'; and this blend would then have been extended analogically to cases such as the postposition **_se**. This hypothesis needs further research.

(c) **j-entu ji-je Kuwamara_po**
1-boss 1-Desid Kuwamara_Loc
'My boss wants me in Kuwamara.'

(d) **ëi-je_w-a-e**
2-Desid_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'I want/desire/need you.'

The cognoscitive and ignorative postpositions **(_)waarë** and **(_)wame(ke)** express the ideas of 'knowing' and 'not knowing'. The object of these postpositions represents the 'knower' (or 'not-knower', 'ignorer'). The objectless adverbs **waarë** 'understandable, clear' (57e) and **wame(ke)** (57f) 'difficult to understand' (synonymous with **antïïnao** [cf. 7.3.1.2.2.] and **ënkume** [cf. below]). The reciprocal forms **ëiwaarë** and **ëiwame(ke)** can also mean 'intelligent, smart' and 'stupid', respectively (57g-h; cf. 7.1.3 for the reciprocal usage). The adverb **tïwaarë** 'careful; worried; jealous', which looks like the reflexive ('3R') form of **waarë** (cf. 7.1.1 above), is quite different in meaning (57i-j); it is probably best analyzed as an independent **t**-adverb (cf. 6.2.1.1).

(57a) **irë kï-waarëë-ne menjaarë**
3InAna 1+2-Cogn-Col now
'Now we all know that.'

(b) **irë_n-ai kï-wamekee-ne**
3InAna_3S$_A$-Cop 1+2-Ignor-Col
'That we do not know.'

(c) **ji-waarë man-a-e**
1-Cogn 2S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'I know you.'

(d) **ji-wame karaiwa i-jomi**
1-Ignor Brazilian 3-language
'I do not know Portuguese.'

(e) **waarë_n-ai serë**
Cogn_3S$_A$-Cop 3InPx
'This is clear / understandable.'

(f) **wamee_n-ai serë**
Ignor_3S$_A$-Cop 3InPx
'This is hard to understand.'

(g) **ëiwaarë_mëe**
smart_3AnPx
'S/he is smart.'

(h) **ëiwame_w-a-e**
stupid 1S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'I am stupid!"

(i) **tïwaarë t-ee-se Taru**
worried N.Pst-Cop-N.Pst Taru
'Taru became worried.'

(j) **tïwaarë eh-kë!**
careful Cop-Imper
'Be careful!'

The protective postposition **(_)pïïnë** expresses the idea of 'pitying', 'trying to protect', 'caring about' or 'feeling jealous about' its object. The objectless adverb **pïïnë** means 'protective', 'who defends'.

(58a) **ji-pawana (i-)pïïnë_w-a-e**
1-friend (3-)Prot_3S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'I pity / try to protect my friend.'

(b) **kï-pïïnëë-ne_n-ai kan**
1+2-Prot-Col_3S$_A$-Cop god
'God pities / protects us.'

(c) **pahko_n-ai pïïnë**
1:father_3S$_A$-Cop protective
'My father is protective.' (=He does not let people attack/mock others)

The apprehensive postposition **(_)no** expresses the idea of fear with respect to its object. A synonym is the expression **nari_ke**, which occurs in a different construction, with the source of fear marked by the postposition **_pë(kë)** (cf. 59a, c)

(59a) **ëkëi i-no_w-a-e**
snake 3-Apprh_3S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'I am afraid of snakes.'

(b) **kï-noo-ne_mëe**
1+2-Apprh-Col_3AnPx
'S/he is afraid of us all.'

(c) **ëkëi_pë nari_ke_w-a-e**
snake_Ad fear_Instr_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'I am afraid of snakes.'

The superioritive postposition **(_)wae** expresses the idea of 'more than', 'bigger than', 'stronger than' (60a-c). It can be used to form comparatives if it co-occurs with a 'property word' (adverb or noun in apposition; cf. (60d)). The third-person form **iwae** can be used as an adverb meaning 'a lot' (60e).[18]

---

[18] There seemed to be variation among speakers as to whether or not **(_)wae** should lengthen the prefix-final vowel: **jii-wae ~ ji-wae**, etc.

(60a) **ji-wae_man-a-e**
1-Super_2S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'You are bigger/stronger than I.'

(b) **ë-wae_w-a-e**
2-Super_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'I am bigger/stronger than you.'

(c) **pai i-wae t-ee-se wïraapa**
tapir 3-Super N.Pst-Cop-N.Pst bow
'The bow was stronger than the tapir.'

(d) **kawë-no mëe, ji-wae**
tall-Nzr 3AnPx 1-Super
'S/he is taller than I.'

(e) **i-wae pahko tï-w-ë-eresaarama-e**
3-Super 1:father N.Pst-S$_A$-Detr-gladden-N.Pst
'My father became happier than s/he.' / 'My father became really happy.'

The irascitive postposition **eire** expresses the idea of 'angry at', 'wild at' its object. The objectless adverb **ëire** means 'wild', 'non-civilized'. Note that the second-person form **ëire** 'angry at you' (homophonous with the objectless form) results from the simplification of VVV sequences (**ë-** '2' + **eire** > **ëire**, not ***ëeire**; cf. 2.6.4)

(61a) **j-eire_n-ai**
1-Irasc_3S$_A$-Cop
'S/he is angry at me.'

(b) **eiree-ne_w-a-e**
3:Irasc-Col_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'I am angry at them all.'

(c) **mëesan_n-ai ëire**
3AnPxCol_3S$_A$-Cop wild
'They are wild, non-civilized.'

The odiative postposition **aame(ke)** apparently expresses a strong dislike toward its object. The objectless adverb **aame(ke)** can also be used to mean 'angry, wild' (though less often than **ëire**; a speaker from Missão Tiriós considered (62c) to be 'old people's language').

(62a) **j-aame_n-ai**
1-Odi_3S$_A$-Cop
'S/he hates me / is very angry at me.'

(b) **k-aamekee-ne_n-ai**
1+2-Odi-Col_3S$_A$-Cop
'S/he hates / is very angry at us all.'

(c) **aamee_wï**
wild_1Pr
'I am wild / angry / ferocious.'

The appreciative postposition **ewaaje** indicates positive feelings toward its object: the subject is 'glad', 'happy with/about' it. The objectless adverb **ëwaaje** means 'who is a good person', 'who treats others well', 'who has a nice attitude'; **waaje** also occurs.

(63a) **ë-ewaaje_w-a-e kutuma**
2-Apprec_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty a.lot
'I am very happy with you.'

(b) **j-entu_n-ai j-ewaaje**
1-boss_3S$_A$-Cop 1-Apprec
'My boss likes / is happy with me.'

(c) **ji-nmuku ëwaaje**
1-son nice
'My son is a nice person,
he likes everybody.'

(d) **ji-nmuku waaje**
1-son nice
'My son is a nice person,
he likes everybody.'

The difficultative postposition **enkume** indicates that its object finds something difficult to understand (notice that it is not used to say that something is difficult to do; this meaning is expressed with the adverb **amïïma(ka)** 'heavy; difficult'). The objectless form **ënkume** means 'difficult to understand (to anyone)'; speakers considered it synonymous with **antïïnao**, and with the objectless form **wame(ke)**. The form **kuume** 'difficult to understand' also occurs.

(64a) **j-enkume_n-ai**
1-Diff_3S$_A$-Cop
'This is difficult for me to understand.'

(b) **ënkume_n-ai ë-jomi**
difficult_3S$_A$-Cop 2-language
'Your language is difficult.'

(c) **kuume_n-ai ë-jomi**
difficult_3S$_A$-Cop 2-language
'Your language is difficult.'

The fidelitive postposition **epona** 'being loyal to, believing in' expresses belief or trust in its object. If the object is an event, **epona** expresses the belief that it will happen (65c). The objectless adverb **ëpona** means 'who believes in everything; credulous; who helps everybody' (65d).

(65a) **kan epona kït-a-ti**
god Fidel 1+2-Cop-Col
'We all trust/believe in God.'

(65b) **j-epona_man-a-e**
1-Fidel 2S_A-Cop-Cty
'You trust/believe in me.'

(65c) **ii-tëë-to epona_ta kokonje i-w-ei_ke**
3-go-C:Nzr Fidel_Neg evening 3-S_A-Cop_Inst
'His going was not possible because it was getting dark.'
(I.e. it was not a favorable moment for his going'

(65d) **ëpona_w-a-e**
credulous_1S_A-Cop-Cty
'I am credulous; I believe in anything; I help everybody.'

Epona apparently comes from the conjugated form of the directional postposition **_pona** (cf. 7.3.1.1.2); in fact, a form like **j-epona** is still ambiguous between 'toward me' and 'trusting/believing in me'. Given the existence of the objectless form **ëpona** (65d), and the contrast between **epona** and **_pona** in the context of an overt nominal object (e.g. compare (65a) to **pakoro_pona** 'to(ward) the house'), **epona** and **_pona** will be analyzed as independent postpositions which become homophonous when conjugated.

The satisfactive postposition **epo** is used to express the idea of 'enough', 'sufficient'. Thus, (66a-c) can be used to say that a certain shoe fits the subject well, or that a certain pair of glasses is of the right kind to correct his/her visual handicap, or that a certain amount of food is enough to satisfy him/her, or that a certain amount of money is sufficient payment. Attempts at finding an objectless form failed; **ëpo** was interpreted as the homophonous form **ë-po** 'your clothes'. Apparently **epo** itself can be used as if it were an objectless form (meaning 'OK, all right'), even taking a **:ja**-complement (66d).

(66a) **j-epo_n-ai**
1-Satis_$3S_A$-Cop
'It is enough for me.'

(66b) **ë-epoo-ne_n-ai**
2-Satis-Col_$3S_A$-Cop
'It is enough for all of you.'

(66c) **sen_n-ai ji-pawana epo**
3InPx_$3S_A$-Cop 1-friend Satis
'This is enough for my friend.'

(66d) **kï-h-ta-hki koeri_me, epo ëë-ja?**
1+2-go-Fut-Col stroll_Attr OK 2-Dat
'We (incl.) will all go for a walk, is that OK with you?'

The apparent relationship between the fidelitative **epona** and the directional **_pona** brings to mind the possibility of a similar relationship between the satisfactive **epo** and the locative **_po** (cf. 7.3.1.1.1). In fact, the usage of (66a) to refer to a shoe or a T-shirt that fit the subject well is tantalizingly close to a locative ('this shirt is on me' = 'this shirt fits me'). However, as no clear locative cases of **epo** have been found so far, corresponding to clear directional uses of **epona** such as (65b) above, this possibility remains speculative.

7.3.4. Special cases. Four special postpositions have not been covered in the preceding sections: **:ja** 'Dative/Agent/Causee/Allative', **_ke** 'Instrumental', **_me** 'Attributive', and **_pe(ke)** 'Negative Attributivizer'. Their postpositional status has been discussed in 7.2; here, their semantic values are examined.

7.3.4.1. The postposition ***_:ja*** **'Directional/Dative/Causee/Agent'.** This postposition (with conjugation irregularities that were described in 7.1.1) has four main uses.

(i) Directional (allative, without implying that the target will be entered). In this sense, it is quite close to **_pona**; however, it is used only with animate targets (e.g. 'to the village' can only be **pata_pona**, not ***pata_ja**).

(67a) **irë-npë_pëe Paumira kïn-tën Mirïkë_ja**
3InAna-Pst_Abl Paumira 3Pst.Prf-go Mirïkë_Dir
'After that Paumira went to Mirïkë.'

(b) **menjaarë ni-tunta kainan ëkëreu kïï-jaa-ne, serë nono_pona**
now 3S_O-arrive:Prs.Prf new disease 1+2-Dir-Col 3InPx land_Dir
'Now a new disease has come to us, to this land.'

(ii) Dative (indirect objects (68a-b), experiencers (68c-d), beneficiaries (68e)):

(68a) **namo_ro kïn-ekarama wïja wëri**
3PrCol_Exct 3Pst.Prf-give 1:Dat woman
'They gave me a woman.'

(b) **ma, wï-ka manko_ja**
Ptc 1S_A-say:Prs.Prf 1:mother_Dat
'"Well," I said to my mother.'

(c) **tarëno_ton, pananakiri_ton, karaiwa_ton, meekoro_ton, kure wïja**
Tiriyo_Col, European_Col, Brazilian_Col, Bushnegro_Col, good 1:Dat
'I like all peoples: Tiriyós, Europeans, Brazilians, Bushnegroes...'

(d) **tëinken_n-ai kï-munuu-kon ikuruma kïï-jaa-ne**
Only_3S_A-Cop 1+2-blood:Pos-P.Col dangerous 1+2-Dat-Col
'Only our blood is dangerous to us.'

(e) **sen wï-rï ëë-ja**
3InPx 1A-make:Prs.Prf 2-Dat
'I made this for you.'

(iii) Causee (cf. 10.3.2.3 for the syntax of causative constructions):

(69a) **ji-nmuku m-erahtë-po wïja**
1-son 1A-find-Caus 1:Causee
'You made me find my son.'

(b) **wi-ponoh-po ii-ja**
1A-tell-Caus:Prs.Prf 3-Causee
'I have asked him (=made him tell).'

(iv) Agent, with nominalizations (70a-b; cf. 10.4.1.3), adverbial verb forms (70c; cf. 10.4.1.2), and the Narrative Past (**t- -se**) form of the verb (70d; cf. 5.4.3, 10.3.3):

(70a) **ëkëi_ja ëëka-to apo-n**
snake_Agt bite-C:Nzr like-Nzr
'(It is) like a snake's bite / biting.'

(b) **j-eemi ënë-hpë_ke Taru_ja**
1-daughter eat:N-Pst_Inst Taru_Agt
'Because Taru had eaten my daughter.'

(c) **irë eta-tuuwë nïrïï_ja**
3InAna hear-After cricket_Agt
'After the cricket heard this,...'

(d) **ëmëinë t-ëpoo-se ii-ja**
thorn N.Pst-find-N.Pst 3-Agt
'S/he found thorns.'

It is noticeable that all these uses have **:ja** occurring with a 'sentient' participant, capable of feeling and acting. In (a) -(c), **:ja** marks an 'affected' participant; in (d), it marks an 'affecting' participant (cf. 10.1.3 on semantic roles). Similar connections between ergative/agent markers and markers of affected sentient participants (datives, causees, etc.) exist in other languages (e.g. Circassian languages, in which the 'oblique' case has ergative and dative functions; cf. Comrie 1981:209).

7.3.4.2. The postposition *_ke* 'Instrumental'. The main use of this postposition is to relate a more peripheral participant, typically an instrument, to an event (cf. 10.1.3 on semantic roles). Some cases are more prototypically instrumental (71a-b) than others

(71c-d). It can occur on nominalized verbs to mark the cause of an event (71e). It is used in certain expressions involving an experiencer (71e-f; cf. **enari** 'fear', **pïï** 'shame'), which belong semantically together with the experiencer postpositions discussed in 7.3.3. These expressions can be nominalized with **-to** (i.e. **pïï_kato** 'one who is ashamed'; **nari_kato** 'one who is afraid'). Since other **_ke** phrases are not nominalizable (e.g. **maja-_ke** 'with the knife' cannot become ***maja_kato**, ***maja_ka-(no)**), this is probably a symptom of lexicalization.

(71a) **mï-wë-e pïrëu_ke kaikui**
2A-shoot:Prs.Ipf-Cty arrow_Inst jaguar
'You shoot the jaguar with an arrow.'

(b) **wïïse_ke m-e-muhka-ne**
anatto_Inst 2S_A-Detr-paint-Pst.Prf
'You painted yourself with anatto.'

(c) **kariwa w-arïhtë-e tuna_ke**
gourd 1A-fill:Prs.Ipf-Cty water_Inst
'I am filling the gourd with water.'

(d) **mëe_ke ji-pïhta-ne**
3AnPx_Inst 1S_o-get:wife-Pst.Prf
'I married this person.'

(e) **j-urakana-e, mure_me ji-w-ei_ke**
1-stroll:Prs.Ipf-Cty child_Attr 1-S_A-Cop:N_Inst
'I am just walking around (instead of e.g. working), because I am a child.'

(f) **nari_ke_w-a-e**
fear_Inst_1S_A-Cop-Cty
'I am afraid.'

(g) **pïï_ke_w-a-e**
shame_Inst_1S_A-Cop-Cty
'I am ashamed.'

7.3.4.3. The postposition *_me* 'Attributivizer'. The basic function of this postposition can be characterized as that of allowing a noun to be used as an adverb (a function shared by **_pe(ke)**; cf. next section). Semantically, the features that characterize the noun become 'attributable' to one of the participants via predication. The noun does not denote a participant anymore. Thus, if the postposition **_me** were deleted from (72a) and (72b), the nouns **jipï (tï)** 'my wife' and **karaiwa** 'Brazilian' would be identified as participants, as in (72c-d).

(72a) **wëri w-apëi ji-pï_me**
woman 1A-get:Prs.Prf 1-wife_Attr
'I married this woman.'
(Lit. 'I got this woman as my wife.')

(b) **karaiwa_me w-ekanïï-ja-e**
Brazilian_Attr 1A-think-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I think that s/he is Brazilian.'
(Lit. 'I think him Brazilian-like').

(c) **wëri w-apëi ji-pï**
woman 1A-get:Prs.Prf 1-wife
'I caught this woman, my wife.'

(d) **karaiwa w-ekanïï-ja-e**
Brazilian 1A-think-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I think the Brazilian (is.../did...)';
also 'I think it is a Brazilian.'

It is interesting to compare the meaning of **_me** with that of the comparative postposition **(j)apo** 'like' (cf. 7.3.2) and that of the particle **ahke(ne)** 'as if' (cf. 9.1.4); they differ in the degree to which the properties of their object coincide with the properties of one of the participants.

(73a) **sen_po_w-a-e enpa-ne_me**
3InPx_Loc_$1S_A$-Cop-Cty teach-A:Nzr_Attr
'I am here as a teacher.'

(b) **sen_po_w-a-e enpa-ne apo**
3InPx_Loc_$1S_A$-Cop-Cty teach-A:Nzr Like
'I am here, like a teacher.'

(c) **sen_po_w-a-e enpa-ne ahken**
3InPx_Loc_$1S_A$-Cop-Cty teach-A:Nzr as.if
'I am here, as if I were a teacher.'

In (73a), **_me** indicates that I really am a teacher; this is my job, and that is the reason why I am here. In (73b), **(j)apo** indicates that I am behaving like a teacher, without necessarily implying that I am one. In (73c), **ahke(ne)** indicates that, although I may look like a teacher, I am not one (e.g. I may be standing in front of a classroom full of students, *as if* I were a teacher). In other words, **_me** implies that *all* the essential properties of its objects are 'attributable' to me, **(j)apo** implies that *some* of the properties are lacking, but not necessarily any of the essential ones, while **ahke(ne)** implies that the essential properties are lacking, although the superficial ones may be present.

With nominalized verbs, **_me** can indicate 'feasibility' (non-possessed ∅-nominalizations ('specific infinitive'): (74a-b); cf. 4.2.2.1.4), or purpose (**-to(po)** 'Circumstantial' nominalizations, (74c-d); cf. 4.2.2.1.5, or **n-** 'actual O' nominalizations, 73e; cf.4.2.2.1.2).

(74a) **serë_n-ai ëne_me**
3InPx_3S$_{A}$-Cop see:N_Attr
'This is visible.'

(b) **pakira_n-ai ënë_me**
peccary_3S$_{A}$-Cop eat:N_Attr
'Peccary is edible.'

(c) **kaikui n-ee-ja-n a-apëh-too_me**
jaguar 3S$_{A}$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 2-catch-C:Nzr_Attr
'A jaguar comes to catch you.' (Lit. 'as something/someone for catching you')

(d) **serë_pona w-ëe, ë-ene-toh-kon_me**
3InPx_Dir 1S$_{A}$-come:Prs.Prf 2-see-C:Nzr-P.Col_Attr
'I have come here to see you all.' (Lit. 'as something/someone for seeing you')

(e) **serë w-enepï, ë-n-ene-n_me**
3InPx 1A-bring:Prs.Prf 2-O:Nzr-see-Pos_Attr
'I have brought this for you to see.' (Lit. 'as your seen thing')

There is a significant number of adverbs ending in **-me** for which a noun + **_me** source is very likely but not synchronically plausible, given the non-existence of a source noun (e.g. **sikime** 'black', **siririme** 'blue', but no ***siki,** no ***siriri**; cf. 6.1.2). In some cases, there was doubt as to whether or not a source noun existed (e.g. **saasaame** 'happy', with some speakers accepting **saasa** as 'happiness; happy one', and others denying the possibility).

7.3.4.4. The postposition *_pe(ke)* 'Negative Attributivizer'. Like **_me**, **_pe(ke)** also allows a noun to be used as an adverb (i.e. both are 'denominalizers'), and both are concerned with attributing properties of their object to some other participant. The difference lies in the fact that, while **_me** attributes all the properties of its object, **_pe(ke)** does not; in fact, it implies that important properties of its object are *not* to be attributed (75c-d). The end result is that of attributing the status of a 'bad', 'imperfect', 'wrong' or 'unsatisfactory' member of the category in question.

(75a) **ë-pawanaa_pee_w-a-e**
2-friend:Pos_N.Attr_1S$_{A}$-Cop-Cty
'I am a bad friend to you.'

(b) **maja_pee_n-ai**
knife_N.Attr_3S$_{A}$-Cop
'(It) is a bad, worthless knife.'

(c) **pakoro_pe serë, këpëewa mërë, pakoro_me**
house_N.Attr 3InPx, but 3InMd, house_Attr
'This one is a bad house, (you can't live here); but that one is a (good) house.'

(d) **pena kau i-pun otï_pe, menjaarë otï_me**
long.ago cow 3-meat meat.food_N.Attr nowadays meat.food_Attr
'At first, cow meat was not food (to us); nowadays, it is.'

Semantically, **_pe(ke)** comes very close to two meaning-changing nominal suffixes, **-npë** 'Past' and **-rïpï** 'Pejorative'. These two suffixes were already compared in 4.2.1.1, 4.2.1.5; the examples are repeated here for clarity.

(76a) **maja_pe** **serë**
knife_N.Att 3InPx
'This is a bad, worthless knife.'

(b) **maja-npë** **serë**
knife-Pst 3InPx
'This is an old, bad, worthless knife.'

(c) **maja-rïpï** **serë**
knife-Pej 3InPx
'This is a bad, worthless, evil knife.'

(d) **wïtoto_pe** **mëe**
person_N.Att 3AnPx
'This one is a bad, worthless person.'

(e) **wïtoto-npë** **mëe**
person-Pst 3AnPx
'This one is a dead person.'

(f) **wïtoto-rïpï** **mëe**
person-Pej 3AnPx
'This one is a bad, evil person.'

The first noteworthy difference is that **maja-npë** and **maja-rïpï** are nouns, while **maja_pe** is not a noun; **maja-npë** and **maja-rïpï** can be subjects or objects of verbs, objects of postpositions, etc., while **maja_pe** cannot. **Maja_pe** is not an entity, but rather a set of properties based on the category **maja** 'knife'.

Furthermore, the 'Past' suffix **-npë** indicates an entity that used to be a good member of the category but has lost its quality; therefore, a change is implied. Thus, a **maja-npë** is not a good knife anymore, but it used to be one; it is now degraded. Something which is **maja_pe** is not necessarily degraded; it may at some point have been a good knife, but this is not a necessary implication. This difference comes out clearly in (76d-e).

The meaning of **_pe(ke)** thus comes very close to that of **-rïpï**. They only differ in that **-rïpï** may have moral connotations ('evil', 'sinful') which **_pe(ke)** does not. Thus, in (76f), **wïtoto-rïpï** may denote a sinner, a bandit, i.e. a person who does not follow the accepted moral code; this would not be the case for someone who is **wïtoto_pe**.

8. INTERROGATIVES

Interrogative words in Tiriyó do not really form a lexical class in the same sense that nouns, verbs or postpositions do; rather, they are a group of elements from the nominal and adverbial class that share the following properties (first introduced in 3.4.5):

(A) sentence-initial occurrence in *wh-* (rather, *a-*) questions;

(B) co-occurrence with the indefinite particle **_hpe** (cf. 9.1.4).

Table 8.1 lists the known interrogatives. (1) and (2) contain examples illustrating properties (A) and (B); (3) gives two sentence examples of indefinite forms (cf. 9.1.4 for further examples).

Table 8.1
Tiriyó interrogatives.

Nominal		Adverbial	
		Non-spatial	
akï	Animate: ‘who?’ (Collective **akï-ja(mo)**)	**eeke**	‘how?’
atï	Inanimate: ‘what?’	**eekanmao**	‘when?’
aano	Definite: ‘which?’	**atïtoome**	‘why?’
		ahtaarë	‘how many / how much?’
		Spatial	
		aja	‘where? whither?’
		anje	‘whence?’
		an+Simple Spatial Postposition:	
		an-po	‘where at?’
		an-pona	‘where to?’
		an-pëe	‘where from?’
		an-tae	‘where by?’
		an-mao	‘when?”
		(...)	

(1a) **akï ëmë ?**
wh.An 2
'Who are you?'

(b) **atï sen ?**
wh.In 3InPx
'What is this?'

(c) **aja mï-të-n ?**
whither 2S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Where are you going to?'

(d) **eekanmao_pa mën-e-ja-n ?**
when_Rpt 2S$_A$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'When are you coming back?'

(e) **aano_se_man-a-n ?**
which_Desid_2S$_A$-Cop-Dbt
'Which one do you want?'

(f) **an-tae kï-të-ti ?**
wh-Perl 1+2S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Col
'Where are we going by?'

(g) **atïtoome_man-a-n nari_ke ?**
why_2S$_A$-Cop-Dbt fear_Inst
'Why are you afraid?'

(h) **eeke_man-a-n, ënjeenë_rë_man-a-n ?**
how_2S$_A$-Cop-Dbt hungry_Exact_2S$_A$-Cop-Dbt
'How are you? Are you very hungry?;'

(2a)	**atï_hpe**	'whatever', 'I don't know what'
(b)	**akï_hpe**	'whoever', 'I don't know who'
(c)	**aano_hpe**	'whichever', 'I don't know which'
(d)	**eeke_hpe**	'however', 'I don't know how'
(e)	**eekanmao_hpe**	'whenever', 'I don't know when'
(f)	**atïtoome_hpe**	'for whichever reason', 'I don't know why'
(g)	**ahtaarë_hpe**	'some amount', 'I don't know how much / how many'
(h)	**aja_hpe**	'to some place', 'I don't know whither'
(i)	**an-po_hpe**	'at some place', 'I don't know where'

(3a) **mëe_n-ai notïpë, akï_hpe, ji-wame**
3AnPx_3S$_A$-Cop old.woman wh.An_Indef 1-Ignor
'This one is an old woman, someone, I don't know.'

(b) **eekanmao_hpe_to j-enee-ne, ji-wame**
when_Indef_3Col 1O-bring-Pst.Prf 1-Ignor
'They brought me here at some date, I don't know when.'

Formally speaking, interrogatives have the interesting characteristic of beginning with the vowel **a**. Much like English interrogatives are often mentioned as '*wh*-words', one could speak of Tiriyó interrogatives as **a**-words. The one exception, **eeke** 'how?' (as well as the historically related **eekanmao** 'when?'), apparently comes from an earlier

aeke** (cf. Meira 1998a:71ff). Tiriyó seems to be the only known Cariban language in which (almost) all interrogatives start with **a**. Meira 1998a reconstructs **ë**-initial forms for the nominal interrogatives (ëtï**, ***ënïkï**), and explains the initial **a** as the result of analogy, with **aano** 'which?' as the probable source. Older adverbial interrogatives were replaced by combinations of **aano** with simple spatial postpositions (e.g. ***aano_po** 'in which one?' > **an-po** 'where?')

In spite of their common characteristics, interrogatives do show different (nominal or adverbial) morphological properties. For instance, the (nominal) animate interrogative **akï** has a collective form **akï-ja(mo)**, exemplified in (4a) (cf. Spansih *¿quién?* and *¿quiénes?*), which is not true for any of the adverbial interrogatives. Conversely, the (adverbial) non-spatial interrogative **eeke** 'how' has a nominalized form **eeka-no** (4b), with the adverbial/postpositional nominalizer **-no** (cf. 4.2.2.2), while none of the nominal interrogatives can even be nominalized. (4c) has the nominalized form of **anpëe** 'where from'.[1]

(4a) **akï-jan n-ee-ja-n ?**
wh.An-Col 3S_A-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Who all is coming?'
'Who are those who are coming?'

(4b) **eeka-no serë ?**
how-Nzr 3InPx
'What (kind of thing) is this?'

(4c) **an-pëe-n ëmë, kïrï ?**
wh-Abl-Nzr 2 man
'Where are you from, man?'
(Lit. you are someone from where?)

---

[1] Unfortunately, such differences are only known to exist for **akï**, **eeke** and **anpëe**. Presumably, the other nominal and adverbial interrogatives pattern with either **akï** or **eeke**, but no collective forms for **atï** 'what?' and **aano** 'which?' or nominalized forms of **atïtoome** 'why?', **ahtaarë** 'how many/much?', **anpo** 'where?', etc. occur in the available corpus.

8.1. Nominal interrogatives. There are only three interrogatives in this category, **akï** 'who? (animate)', **atï** 'what (inanimate)', and **aano** 'which?'. The first two, **akï** and **atï**, instantiate the same animacy distinction that was observed for demonstrative pronouns (cf. 4.1.2).

Akï is used to ask about any animate being, human or animal. For instance, (5a) is a possible (and quite frequent) question to ask someone who is coming back home from a hunting expedition; a Westerner who is tempted to translate the interrogative with 'who?' is, at first, quite bewildered. (5b) can be used to ask who someone is, but it can also be a question about an animal (e.g. if the speaker does not know what a certain animal is called). Interestingly, it is possible to use **akï** to ask about the animate possessor of the word **eka** 'name' (5d); this is not true for other inanimate-referent words (5e).

(5a) **akï mï-wë ?**
wh.An 2A-shoot:Prs.Prf
'What kind of game have you shot?'
(Lit. 'Whom have you shot?')

(b) **akï mëe ?**
wh.An 3AnPx
'Who is this one?'
Also: 'What kind of animal is this?'

(c) **akï mëe eka ?**
wh.An 3AnPx 3:name:Pos
'What's this one's name?'

(d) **akï ë-eka ?**
wh.An 2-name:Pos
'What (lit. Who) is your name?'

(e) ***akï serë ?**
wh.An 3InPx
(who is this thing?)

Atï is used to ask about inanimate entities, in a complementary way to **akï**. It is incompatible with an animate referent (as in (6e)).

(6a) **atï m-erahtë ?**
wh.In 2A-find:Prs.Prf
'What did you find?'

(b) **atï serë ?**
wh.In 3InPx
'What is this?'

(c) **atï_se_man-a-n ?**
wh.In_Desid_2S$_{A}$-Cop-Dbt
'What do you want?'

(d) **atï_pëë_man-a-n ?**
wh.In_Busy.with_2S$_{A}$-Cop-Dbt
'What are you doing?'

(e) *** atï mëe ?**
wh.In 3AnPx
(what is this [animate] one?)

An interesting fact is the existence of two 'hesitation' terms, **atïna** and **naana**, used when the speaker cannot recall a word, or a name (i.e. they correspond to the English 'what-do-you-call-it?' and 'what's-his-name'). The final **na** in these forms looks suspiciously like the third-person present gnomic copula **nai**; it may be a remnant of an older form (cf. 8.1.3.2 for a similar observation concerning the particle **nara**).

(7a) **mëe_n-ai naana...**
3AnPx_3S$_{A}$-Cop who.Indef
'This is, what's-his-name,...'

(7b) — **an-po mëe ?**
wh-Loc 3AnPx
'Where is this one now ?'

— **atïna... ooni_po... Mataware_po.**
what.Indef 3InRm_Loc Matawaré_Loc
'What-do-you-call-it... in that place... in Matawaré.'

Aano 'which' is used to ask about both animate (8c) and inanimate (8a) entities when there is an implicit group of referents which limits the possible choices, much like its English gloss *which*.

(8a) **sen_se_man-a-n ?** **serë_se_man-a-n ?**
3InPx_Desid_2S$_A$-Cop-Dbt 3InPx_Desid_2S$_A$-Cop-Dbt

aano_se_man-a-n ?
which_Desid_2S$_A$-Cop-Dbt

'Do you want this one? Do you want this other one? Which one do you want?'

(b) **ma, aano wi-ponoo-ja-e wapo ?**
Attn which 1A-tell-Prs.Ipf-Cty first

sen_po ji-w-eh-to ? **ji-w-eh-topo-npë ?**
3InPx_Loc 1-S$_A$-Cop-Circ.Nzr 1-S$_A$-Cop-Circ.Nzr-Pst

'Which one do I tell first? (The story) of my being here? (The story) of my past?'

(c) **aano mï-wë ?** **pakira ?** **ponjeke ?**
which 1A-shoot:Prs.Prf peccary.sp peccary.sp
'Which one have you shot? A collared peccary? A white-lipped peccary?'

8.2. Adverbial interrogatives. Formally, it is easy to divide adverbial interrogatives in two groups, one formed by words characterized by a special 'interrogative' prefix **an-** and all related to simple spatial postpositions, which may be termed 'spatial' or '**an**-interrogatives', and the remaining four, which may be termed 'non-spatial interrogatives'.

8.2.1. Non-spatial interrogatives. The first one in this class, **eeke** 'how?', is used to ask about the manner in which a certain action is performed (9b) or about the characteristics of a certain state (9a). Notice its use with **ka** 'say' in (9c), in which the English gloss has a nominal interrogative ('what?'); this question was said to someone who had come from a local clinic, where she had been examined by a nurse. The use of **eeke** in (9d-e) also diverges from that of the English *how*.

(9a) **eeke t-ee-se pena ?**
how Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst long.ago
'How was it, long ago?'

(b) **eeke m-epanïï-ja-n ?**
how 2A-avenge-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'How are you going to avenge (her)?'

(c) **eeke n-kan, otono-ïmë ?**
how 3S$_A$-say:Prs.Prf cold-Aug
'What did s/he say, is it tuberculosis?'

(d) **eeke kïnï-rï mëe ?**
how 3Pst.Prf-do 3AnPx
'What did he do to this one?'
(Lit. how did he do this one?)

(d) **eeke awë ë-w-eh-to m-erahtë-n ?**
how 3:In 2-S$_A$-Cop-Circ.Nzr 2A-find:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'How can you find out that you are inside of it?'
(i.e. how can you find out that you have this disease?)

Eekanmao 'when?' (10a-b) is clearly related to **eeke**. There are two possible etymologies for it: a nominalized form of **eeke**, **eekano**, with the temporal postposition **_mao** (cf. 7.3.1.1.1), i.e. ***eekano_mao** > **eekanmao**, or then **eeke** with the interrogative **anmao** (cf. next section), i.e. ***eeke anmao** > **eekanmao**. The existence of 'blends' between **eeke** and **apo** 'like' (10c-d) seems to favor the latter hypothesis. Notice that **eekaapon** is also used to mean 'how', but in a sense closer to 'like what', i.e. appearance or state rather than manner; it usually occurs with **apo**, forming a rather redundant **eekaapon apo** 'like someone/something which is like what?' = 'how?' (cf. 10c-e).

(10a) **eekanmao ni-tunta ?**
when 3S$_O$-arrive:Prs.Prf
'When has s/he arrived?'

(b) **eekanmao_pa nï-të-n ?**
when_Rpt 3S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'When is s/he going (=leaving)?'

(c) **eekaapon apo_n-ai ji-nmuku ?**
like.what like_3S$_A$-Cop 1-son:Pos
'How is my son?' (i.e. is he well, etc.?)

(d) **eekapon apo_n-ai meri ?**
like.what like_3S$_A$-Cop squirrel.sp
'What is Meri, the squirrel, like?'

(e) **eekaapon apo_n-ai, serë, tamo i-pata ?**
like.what like_3S$_A$-Cop 3InPx 1:grandpa 3-village:Pos
'What is it like, Grandpa's village?'

Atïtoome, like its English gloss 'why?', is used to ask about causes and motives. It is clearly related to the nominal inanimate interrogative **atï** 'what?', and the ending **toome** immediately brings to mind the combination of the circumstantial nominalizer **-to(po)** with the postposition **_me**, forming the purpose construction **-too_me** (cf. 10.4.1.3.3).[2]

(11a) **atïtoome irë apo mï-ka-n ?**
why 3InPx like 3S$_A$-say:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Why are you talking like that?'

(b) **atïtoome anja m-arë-në?**
why 1+3 2A-take:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Why are you taking us?'

(c) **atïtoome m-ëh-tïhka-n ?**
why 2S$_A$-Detr-frighten:Prs.IPf-Dbt
'Why are you afraid?'

(d) **atïtoome k-akaama-në?**
why 12AO-scold:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Why are you scolding me?'

Ahtaarë is used to ask about amounts, be they countable ('how many?') or uncountable ('how much'). Its ending **-aarë** is reminiscent of **-aarë** adverbs like **menjaarë** 'now, today' (cf. 6.1.1.2).

(12a) **ahtaarë_n-ai ë-erepa ?**
how.many_3S$_A$-Cop 2-food:Pos
'How many are your (kinds of) food?'
(i.e. how many different things do you eat?)

(b) **ahtaarë a-amïin ?**
how.much 2-weight
'How much is your weight?'

---

[2] A simple combination of **atï** and **-too_me** would seem quite shocking, since **atï** is clearly not a verb stem. One may suggest an intermediate stage in which there was a verb stem (cf. e.g. Wayana **atï ka-tohme** 'why?', in which the verb **ka** 'say, do' occurs [i.e. it is literally 'to say/do what?', 'what for?']). A development like ***atï ka-too_me > atï-toome** does not look too far-fetched, although no evidence in its favor has been found so far.

(c) **ahtaarë_n-ai a-akëmi-h-ton ?**
how.many_3S$_A$-Cop 2-yngr.brother-Pos-Col
'How many are your younger brothers?'

8.2.2. Spatial (*an-*) interrogatives. Formally, the members of this group of interrogatives are characterized by the presence of an 'interrogative prefix' **an-** (probably historically related to **aano** 'which') on a postpositional stem. Two of them, **aja** and **anje**, stand out as slightly irregular. **Aja** still seems related to the postposition **_:ja**, which can be an allative; however, it does not start with **an-**, the word **anja** being, not an interrogative, but the 1+3 pronoun ('we [excl.]'). The meaning of **aja** is usually directional ('where to', 'whither'; cf. (13a-b)), but it can also be used as a 'less precise' equivalent of **an-po** 'where' (as in e.g. (13c), in which it means 'where on earth', 'where could s/he have ended up'). **Anje** also seems to have this 'imprecise "where"' meaning (13d). Formally, it seems to have a final element **-(n)je**, reminiscent of perlative postpositions (cf. 7.3.1.1, 7.3.1.1.3) and of **-(n)je** adverbs (cf. 6.1.1.5). In fact, looking at **mënje** 'beyond' and **senje** 'this side of', one suspects that **anje** is the corresponding interrogative ('what side of?', 'in which region?').

(13a) **aja ji-nmuku kïn-tën ?**
whither 1-son:Pos 3Pst.Prf-go
'Where did my son go?'

(b) **aja nï-rï mëe ?**
whither 3A-do/put:Prs.Prf 3AnPx
'Where did s/he put it?'

(c) **aja ji-nmuku, aja j-eemi, akï kïn-arë ?**
whither 1-son:Pos whither 1-daughter:Pos wh.An 3Pst.Prf-take
'Where is my son? Where is my daughter? Who took them?'

(d) **anje_pa nï-tën mërë wei ?**
where_Rpt 3S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf 3InMd sun
'Where did that one go, the sun?'

The other spatial interrogatives are more automatically relatable to known postpositions. Presumably, all simple spatial postpositions (cf. 7.3.1.1) have a corresponding **an**-interrogative, but not all of them are attested in the available corpus. The attested cases are exemplified below: **anpo** 'where' (14a), **anpëe** 'where from' (14b), **anpona** 'where to' (14c), **antae** 'where by' (14d), **anmao** 'when' (possible, but less frequent than **eekanmao**; cf. (14e)).

(14a) **an-po j-enuh-topo-npë ?**
wh-Loc 1-be.born-Circ.Nzr-Pst
'Where is my birth place?'

(b) **an-pëe-n ëmë, kïrï ?**
wh-Abl-Nzr 2 man
'Where are you from, man?'

(c) **an-pona nï-të-n ?**
wh-Dir 3S$_{\text{A}}$-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Where is s/he going?'

(d) **an-tae ji-nmuku kïn-tën ?**
wh-Perl 1-son:Pos 3Pst.Prf-go
'Where did my son go by?'

(e) **an-mao nï-të-n ?**
wh-Tmp 3S$_{\text{A}}$-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'When is s/he going?'

9. PARTICLES

Particle is used here as a cover term for the class of all *uninflectables*, i.e. words that do not take any morphology. Members of all other lexical classes can at least bear class-changing morphology; for particles, however, the only possibility (not always available) is to be 'syntactically nominalized' by occurring in construction with **wehto(po)** or **kato(po)**, the **to**(**po**)-nominalized forms of the copula **e(i)** and of the S_A verb **ka** 'say'.

On syntactic and semantic grounds, they can be divided in various subclasses, which are listed below.

1. *Grammatical particles*:

(a) *Conjunctions* usually occur clause-initially to relate a given sentence to others in discourse ('then', 'but', 'likewise', etc.; cf. 9.1.1).

(b) *Subordinators* occur at the end of finite adverbial clauses, marking them as subordinate ('when', 'if', 'because', etc.; cf. 9.1.2).

(c) *Second-position particles*, defined by their position after the first syntactic constituent, fall into three subgroups:

(c-1) *Predicational particles*, which modify the meaning of the predicate by expressing notions such as 'again', 'for a second', 'irrealis' (cf. 9.1.3.1);

(c-2) ***tahka-***, ***hka-*** and ***-ka** particles*, usually expressing evidential values (cf. 9.1.3.2);

(c-3) on a group by itself, the third-person collective particle **_to(o)**; one might also include here the present gnomic forms of the copula **e(i)** (cf. 9.1.3.3).

(d) *Scope particles*, which follow the constituent to which they refer (their 'scope'), forming a higher-level constituent (cf. 9.1.4; cf. 10.2.1 on noun phrases).

2. *Lexical particles*:

(a) *Independent particles*, which usually consitute, by themselves, an utterance.

(a-1) *Sentence equivalents* are more clearly lexicalized; they are a quick means to convey the speaker's reaction to a given situation ('yes', 'no', 'all right', etc.; cf. 9.2.1).

(a-2) *Interjections* tend to have emotional or dramatic content; they are frequently onomatopoeic, sometimes including sounds or sound sequences not otherwise found in the language, and some of them seem to be nonce creations ('oh!', 'hm-hm', etc.'; cf. 9.2.2).

(b) *Ideophones*, though sometimes showing signs of an onomatopoeic origin, are more conventionalized than interjections; they occur in constructions with the S_A verb stem **ka** 'say' with lexical meaning ('sneeze', 'drizzle', 'joke', etc.; cf. 9.2.2).

In spite of all these subclasses, particles form a smallish class, with probably not much more than 100-151 members. There do not seem to be any particle-creating processes (with the possible exception of onomatopoeia for ideophones). Tables 9.1 and 9.2. list all the known members of the various subclasses.

Table 9.1
Tiriyó grammatical particles.

CONJUNCTIONS	**ëwë(h)**	'jussive'	**këpëewa**	'but'	**sehke(ne)**	'likewise'
	irëme	'then'	**ma**	'new theme'	**sekenkërë**	'likewise'
	irënehka	'finally, at last'	**mërëme**	'but'		
SUBORDINATORS	**ahtao**	'when, if'	**iweike**	'because'		
SECOND-POSITION PARTICLES	*Predicational*		*Formal Groups*		*Others*	
	_pa	'Repetition'	**tahka**-group	'maybe'	**_to(o)**	'3rd-person collective'
	_pitë	'Temporary'	**hka**-group	'really'		
	_mo	'Irrealis'	**ka**-group	'?'	**_wae,**	Copula forms
			nara		**_nai, ...**	(Pres. Gnomic)
SCOPE PARTICLES	**_hpe**	'indefinite'	**_rë (_ro)**	'exactly'	**_san,**	'?'
	_ihta	'?'	**_rëke(ne)**	'only'	**_sanne**	
	_marë	'too'	**_rën(ne)**	'genuine'	**_ta(ike)**	'Negative'
	_nkërë	'still, yet'	**_kahta**	'for sure'	**_wa(a)**	'Negative Existential'
	_npa	'?'	**_sa(a)**	'a little'		
	ahke(ne)	'as if'				
OTHERS (Unclassified)	**inëërë**	'Identifier'	**_mïi**	'Venitive'	**tëërë**	'Existential'
	pena	'already'	**_ke(ne)**	'Continuative'	**_re(pe)**	'Frustrative'

Table 9.2
Tiriyó lexical particles.

INDEPENDENT PART.	Sentence Equivalents	**ae ?**	'what is it?'	**ma**	'bye'	**naka**	'final', 'over',
		aha	'yes'	**naapohpa**	'thank you',		'the end'
		kena	'I don't know'		'that's it'	**npa**	'let's go'
		kone	'okay'	**owa**	'no'		
	Interjections	**aohao**	'barking'	**koron**	'toad noise'	**taran**	'assembling,
		dëë, daa	'hitting'	**kurun**	'entering'		piling'
		ee	'attention call'	**ku, kuuh**	'liquid (?)'	**tee**	'surprise'
		ëë	'lament'	**oon**	'leaving (?)'	**tëk**	'?'
		ëëp!	'?'	**pëë**	'concern'	**tïkan**	'end, be over'
		jum	'bending'	**pijon**	'going away'	**tït**	'stopping ?'
		kap	'shooting'	**meen**	'rolling'	**tïu**	'finish ?'
		ken	'over'	**raah**	'loud noise'	**toh, top**	'grabbing'
		kïï	'rubbing'	**sep**	'jumping'	**toppon**	'splashing'
		kïn	'painting'	**sii**	'coming (?)'	**tora, toran**	'coming out'
		kïkïkïkïkï	'unrolling'	**suksekï**	'jumping'	**toron**	'putting ?'
		koa	'toad noise'	**sup**	'grabbing'	**tʃapan**	'sticking'
		koeh	'sprint'	**suru**	'iguana noise'	**tum**	'falling'
		kom	'coming close'	**tahturu**	'killing ?'	**turu**	'dying, falling ?'
		koo	'?'	**tapitapi**	'fish call'		
IDEOPHONES		**asino**	'sneeze'	**mëmëi**	'joke'	**siri, sirin**	'cricket chirp'
		kësë	'hiccough'	**mïnïmïnï**	'pullulate'	**tirintirin**	'ring (bell)'
		kapi	'blink'	**pito**	'spit'	**tïrïrï, tïrïm**	'thunder'
		kïkï	'tickle'	**poke**	'breathe'	**tonton**	'cough'
		koke, kohe	'growling'	**përërë**	'drizzle'	**wiriri**	'blow
		kororo	'snore'	**roke,**	'swell'		a whistle'
		kupenkupen	'water noise'	**rokeroke**			
		manan	'lightning'	**soo**	'noise'		

As was the case with the other lexical classes, membership in the particle class is a question of degree. Thus, there are some adverbs and postpositions which can have particle functions (e.g. **kure** 'good' and **kutuma(ka)** 'painful, bitter', both usable as intensifying ['very'] scope particles, or the postposition **(j)apo** 'like' [cf. 7.3.2]; cf. 9.1.5); even the third-person inanimate anaphoric pronoun **irë** seems to do double duty as an evidential particle (cf. 9.1.4). The same is true also for membership in the above subgroups: the distinction between an ideophone and an interjection is sometimes unclear, based almost entirely on how frequently they co-occur with **ka** 'say'; certain particles (cf. **_pa** 'Repetition' below) cannot be clearly assigned to a given subclass (for **_pa**, the second-position or the scope subclass). As so often in grammar, gradients are the rule. The above classification should thus be seen as a reference grid superimposed on a more nuanced form-meaning continuum.

As the several question marks and the 'unclassified' row in the above tables indicate, there is still work to be done on the meanings and functions of particles. The following sections present what can be said about them and indicate the doubtful points. At the end of this chapter, a number of 'possible particles'—words of doubtful status, attested once or twice in the corpus in particle-like contexts—is listed, also as a target for future research.

9.1. Grammatical particles. These are particles with more abstract meanings, ranging from discourse and pragmatics over aspect and modality to specificity and definiteness. The following sections discuss the major subclasses (listed in the introduction to this chapter and in Table 9.1).

9.1.1. Conjunctions. These particles indicate the relationship between their clause and the ongoing discourse. They are the main markers of parataxis. Their most obvious formal characteristic is occurrence in clause-initial position.

The Jussive conjunction **ëwë(h)** marks first- and third-person imperatives ('let me...', 'let him/her/them...'). It is usually followed by a verb stem in the Present Perfective, but the Present Imperfective is also attested. The form **ëwëh** occurs when the collective clitic particle **_to(o)** follows; it is not known whether or not the **h** corresponds to a reducing syllable, and what its full grade might be. Note that there is also an adverb **ëwë** 'later', used with Present and Future forms, which contrasts with **ëwë(h)** by not having the final **h** when followed by **_to(o)** (1d-e)[1] When no clitics follow, the two words become homophonous; thus, (1a-b) could also mean 'I am going later' and 'we are going later', respectively. Hortatives ('let us...'; cf. 5.4.2.2) and second-person imperatives (cf. 5.4.2.1) are morphologically marked. There is also a venitive ('Come'-Imperative) particle, discussed in 9.1.5 below, since it never occurs sentence-initially.

(1a) **ëwë wï-të-e**
Jus 1S$_{A}$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'Let me go!'

(b) **ëwë anja nï-të-e**
Jus 1+3 3S$_{A}$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'Let us go!' (=i.e. 'Allow us to go!')

(c) **ëwë n-apëi**
Jus 3AO-catch:Prs.Prf
'Let him/her get it!'

(d) **ëwëh_to n-apëi**
Jus_3:Col 3AO-catch:Prs.Prf
'Let them get it!'

(e) **ëwë_to n-apëë-ja-n**
later_3:Col 3AO-catch-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'They are getting it later.'

---

[1] Two H-Tiriyó speakers maintained this distinction consistently; a third one, however, failed to distinguish **ëwë(h)** from **ëwë**. This suggests the possibility of variation within H-Tiriyó. For K-Tiriyó, in which the sound **h** does not exist, these two words are always homophonous (cf. 2.4.2.2 for details on the differences between these two main dialects).

The conjunction **irëme**, like English ‘then’, is used to indicate the sequencing of events (2a), often with a causal flavor, like English ‘so’ (2b). Its obvious source is the third-person inanimate anaphoric pronoun **irë** ‘this (which was mentioned)’ with the attributivizing postposition **_me** (i.e. ‘as this thing, ...’, ‘this being so, ...’). Since its discourse uses seem far enough from the normal uses of **_me** phrases, **irëme** is here analyzed as one single conjunction. There are other sentence connectors which still seem close enough to simple postpositional phrases to warrant such an analysis, but they have clearly acquired textual cohesion functions (2c-e; cf. also 10.4.2).

(2a) **ma, irëme, tëin_ken_pa wï-ka ii-ja,**
NT then once_Cont_Rpt 1S_A-say:Prs.Prf 3-Dat

“manko, wëri_se_w-a-e”
1:mother woman_Desid_1S_A-Cop-Cty

‘Well, then I said to her once more, “Mother, I want a woman.”’

(b) **ma, abriw_po tarëno n-urakanun-ja-n, mërëme tuna mono_me_nkërë,**
NT April_Loc Tiriyó 3S_O-stroll-Prs.Ipf-Dbt but river big:one_Attr_still,

irëme tarëno nï-të-n tuna_tae
so Tiriyó 3S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt river_Perl

‘Well, in April the Tiriyó go walking around, but the river waters are still high, so the Tiriyó walk by the river (i.e. they don’t go into it).’

(c) **irë-npë_pëe**
3InAna-Pst_Abl
‘From this past thing...’
(i.e. ‘After that...’)

(d) **irë_ja-n_me**
3InAna_Dat-Nzr_Attr
‘It being for this,...’
(i.e. ‘Because of this...’)

(e) **irë_mao**
3InAna_Temp
‘Then, at that time’

The conjunction **irënehka** 'finally, at last' also seems to have come from a combination of the third-person anaphoric inanimate pronoun **irë**, probably with an earlier particle **nehka**; however, since no instances of **nehka** by itself have been observed, **irënehka** is treated here as a single entity.

(3a) **ma menjaarë, irënehka, wëri w-apëi-ne**
Attn now at.last woman 1A-catch-Pst.Prf
'Now, at last, I had caught (=married) a woman.'

(b) **ma, irënehka_pa tï-tunta-e, Mataware i-pataa_pona_pa**
Attn at.last_Rpt Rm.Pst-arrive-Rm.Pst Matawaré 3-village:Pos_Dir_Rpt
'Well, finally, he arrived at Matawaré's village.'

(c) **irë_mao_pa tï-w-ëe-se_nkërë,**
3InAna_Tmp_Rpt Rm.Pst-S_A-come-Rm.Pst_still

irënehka wïi t-ënee-se ii-ja
at.last cassava Rm.Pst-bring-Rm.Pst 3-Agt

'Then he came back; at last, he had brought the cassava.'

The conjunctions **mërëme** and **këpëewa** both indicate that the expectations generated by previous discourse are not fulfilled (like English 'but'). No obvious meaning difference was detected between them. **Mërëme** occurs more frequently with **_re(pe)** in the preceding clause (4a-b), but not obligatorily (cf. (2b) above). **Mërëme** apparently comes from the inanimate medial demonstrative **mërë** 'that one' with the attributivizing postposition **_me**. The meaning change for **mërëme** ('as that being', 'that being so' > 'but') is more visible than was the case for **irëme**, which makes **mërëme** an even better case of lexicalization. Because of the ending **-ewa**, **këpëewa** looks like a negative verb form, but there does not seem to be a synchronic verb stem ***këpë*** from which it could be derived.[2]

(4a) **pananakiri-ton serë, epi, iwa-ne_re,**
foreigner-Col 3InPx 3:medicine 3O:look.for-Pst.Prf_Frust

mërëme in-erahtë-ewa_nkërë namo_ro, serë_mao-n_pona_rën
but 3O-find-Neg_still 3:Col_Exact 3InPx_Temp-Nzr_Dir_Truly

'The foreigners have been looking for a medicine (against it), but they haven't found it yet (=until now).'

(b) **sen_po_ro_n-ai k-ëëma, wï-ka_wï-ka_re,**
3InPx_Loc_Exact_3S$_A$-Cop 1+2-path, E.RD-1S$_A$-say:Prs.Prf_Frust

mërëme_ma-n-ae ji-jomi in-eta-ewa
but_2S$_A$-Cop-Cty 1-words 3O-hear-Neg

'"This is our path," I said again and again in vain, but you didn't listen to my words.'

(c) **pija_man-a-e, tïï-ka-e,**
small_2S$_A$-Cop-Cty Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst

këpëewa_w-a-e mono_me, tïï-ka-e
but_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty big:one_Attr Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst

'"You are small," he said, "but (=whereas) I am big," he said.'

(d) **ma, kure, kïn-ka, kure, këpëewa pija_sa kure, manko_ja,**
NT good 3Pst.Prf-say good but small_a.little good 1:mother_Dat
'Well, "all right," she said, "all right," but it wasn't really all right (lit. it was little good) to mother.'

---

[2] One possibility would be to see it as a negative form of **apë(i)** 'catch', the **k-** being the 1+2O person marker (cf. 5.4.1.1.1); the etymological meaning would be 'not catching us' > 'but'. However, the transitive stem **apë(i)** is I-reducing, which means that it should take the **-sewa** allomorph of the negative suffix. In fact, 'not catching us' is synchronically **k-ëpëë-sewa**, not ***k-ëpë-ewa**. If **këpëewa** is seen as an old negative form of **apë(i)**, the occurrence of **-ewa** instead of **-sewa** remains unexplained.

The conjunction **ma** is used to call the hearer's attention, usually to a new local theme, a change in topic.[3] It is very frequent as the first word in a narrative story, occurring subsequently apparently to attract the listener's attention to a change in topic when the speaker deems it necessary. It is always followed by a pause (marked by a comma). The English translation 'well' is very approximative. (5a) was the beginning of the speaker's account of his own youth; (5b) contains two consecutive sentences later in the same narrative.

(5a) **ma, menjaarë, ji-w-eh-topo-npë w-eta-po-e ëë-ja,**
NT, now 1-S$_A$-Cop-Circ:Nzr-Pst 1A-hear-Caus:Prs.Ipf-Cty 2-Dat
'Well, now, I am going to explain (lit. make you hear) my story (lit. the way I used to be).'

(b) **ma, irë_ke t-ëmamina-e_wï, pahko i-nï-rï-hpë_ke.**
NT, 3InAna_Inst Rm.Pst-play-Rm.Pst_1 1:father 3-O.act-make-Pst_Inst
'Well, I played with it, with the thing father had made.'

ma, irë-npë_pëe, pahko i-nï-rï-hpë_ke t-urakana-e_wï,
NT, 3InAna-Pst_Abl 1:father 3-O.act-make-Pst_Inst Rm.Pst-stroll-Rm.Pst_1
'Well, after that, I went walking around with the thing father had made.'

The conjunctions **sehke(ne)** and **sekenkërë** both mean 'also', 'likewise', 'in like manner', sometimes with a flavor of 'as would be expected' (6c); there was no obvious distinction between them (except that **sehke(ne)** is much more frequent). They are different from **_marë** 'also' in that **_marë** refers to some specific constituent within the clause ('and my father, too'), while **sehke(ne)** and **sekenkërë** refer to the entire clause.

---

[3] It is interesting to mention that, in the Tiriyó version of the Bible, almost all narrative paragraphs start with **ma**; the translators seem to have felt that a new paragraph needs a **ma** to mark its beginning.

Both seem to be lexicalized sequences, involving an element **se(ke)** and the particles **_ke(ne)** 'Continuative' or **_nkërë** 'still, yet' (cf. 9.1.4).

(6a) **irë-npë_pëe naa-ja-n,**
3InAna-Pst_Abl eat.fruit-Prs.Ipf-Dbt

ma sehken marasija enaa-ja-n
NT likewise watermelon 3O:eat.fruit-Prs.Ipf-Dbt

'After this they eat fruits, and likewise they eat watermelons.'

(b) **menjaarë t-ëënïï-ja-e kure_rën,**
now 1S$_A$-sleep-Prs.Ipf-Cty well_Truly

ma sehken t-ë-ewee-ja-e_marë
NT likewise 1S$_A$-Detr-feed-Prs.Ipf-Cty_too

'Now I sleep really well, and I eat well too.'

(c) **irëme tï-karauwa-e, sehken wewe-ton t-ëëkaaka-e**
then Rm.Pst-get.angry-Rm.Pst so tree-Col Rm.Pst-I.RD-bite-Rm.Pst
'Then he (=the big alligator) got angry, so he bit the trees several times.'

(d) **ë-nmuku n-enuh-ta-n, tahken wëri_me tahken kïrï_me,**
2-son:Pos 3S$_O$-be.born-Fut.Ipf-Dbt maybe woman_Attr maybe man_Attr

ma sehken_pa_mo mëe tï-rï-kë, epinëh-kë_pa_mo
NT likewise_Rpt_Irr 3AnPx t-make-Imper 3O:medicate-Imper_Rpt_Irr

'Your son (child) will be born, maybe a woman, maybe a man, well, then do the same to him/her (as I did to you), medicate him/her.'

(e) **kure menu_tao_ken t-ee-se nërë, Waraku,**
pretty paint_Loc_Cont Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst 3AnAna Waraku

i-nmuku-pisi sekenkërë t-ee-se
3-son:Pos-Dim likewise Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst

'Waraku was beautifully painted, and so was her little son.'

9.1.2. Subordinators. These are particles which occur at the end of finite clauses to indicate subordinate status. The existence of finite subordination is not a frequent phenomenon in Cariban languages, and the existence of non-finite alternatives, together with plausible sources for the subordinators, suggests that finite subordination is a recent innovation in Tiriyó. For more details on the syntax, cf. 10.4.1.1; in the present section, only the subordinators themselves and their meanings are discussed.

There are only two subordinators, the temporal/conditional **ahtao** 'when, if' and the causal **iweike** 'because'. **Ahtao** looks like a nominalized **a**-stem form of the copula (cf. 5.4.4) with a following postposition (**_tao** or **_htao**); in favor of this argument, there is the fact that it cannot co-occur with an overt copula form (7a). **Iweike** is more obviously a nominalized **e**-stem form of the copula **e(i)**, with the third-person prefix **i-** and the Instrumental postposition **_ke**.

(7a) **oroko_me_w-a-e koko ahtao** (*** koko_n-ai ahtao**)
work_Attr_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty at.night when
'I work by night.'

(b) **irë_mao, otono k-ëpëë-ja-n ahtao,**
3InAna_Temp cold 1+2O-catch-Prs.Ipf-Cty if

mënne_pa ee-sewa kït-a-ti
healthy_Rpt Cop-Neg 1+2S$_A$-Cop-Col

'Then, if we catch a cold (lit. if a cold catches us), we won't heal anymore.'

(c) **irë-ton ameraarë munu_hpije ahtao, irë_mao nari_ke kït-a-e,**
3InAna-Col all blood_Having if 3InAna_Temp fear_Inst 1+2S$_A$-Cop-Cty

AIDS **kït-apëë-ja-e iweike irë_pëe.**
AIDS 1+2A-catch-Prs.Ipf-Cty because 3InAna_Abl

'When all these things (=body parts) are bloody, then we are afraid,
because we can catch AIDS from them.'

9.1.3. Second-position particles. Under the conditions described in 3.1 and 10.1.2, there is a group of particles that occurs after the first constituent of an utterance. (8) illustrates this behavior with the Irrealis particle **_mo**.

(8a) **wï-tëmï-i_mo**
1S$_{A}$-go-Hyp_Irr
'I would go / have gone.'

(b) **kokonjaarë_mo wï-tëmï-i**
yesterday_Irr 1S$_{A}$-go-Hyp
'I would go / have gone yesterday.'

Two groupings can be discerned: *predicational* (9.1.3.1) and *evidential* (**tahka-**, **hka-** and **ka-**; 9.1.3.2) particles.[4] The collective particle **_to(o)** is different enough to deserve its own subgroup (9.1.3.3). In addition, the first- and third-person present gnomic forms of the copula (and optionally also the second-person and first-person-dual forms) have the behavior of second-position particles, in spite of their verbal status: they cannot occur clause-initially (9d), and they migrate towards the end of the first constituent (9a-c).

(9a) **tuna_se_w-a-e**
water_Desid_1S$_{A}$-Cop-Cty
'I want water.'

(b) **menjaarë_w-a-e tuna_se**
now_1S$_{A}$-Cop-Cty water_Desid
'Now I want water.'

(c) **wïï_w-a-e tuna_se**
1_1S$_{A}$-Cop-Cty water_Desid
'I want water.'

(d) ***wae tuna_se**

9.1.3.1. Predicational particles: *_mo* 'Irrealis', *_pitë* 'Temporary', *_pa* 'Repetition'.

The meanings of the three particles in this subgroup are close enough that one feels inclined to provide a common characterization, but it is rather difficult to find a word with which to describe it ('mood' and 'aspect' seem to be involved, but are not sufficient). The label 'predicational' was chosen to indicate that they alter the meaning of the predicate, by displacing it from actual reality ('Irrealis'), by limiting it to a small time span ('Temporary'), or by suggesting, in more than one way, that it is being repeated.

---

[4] The particle **tahke(ne)** 'maybe' cannot be considered a simple second-position particle anymore. Its behavior tends toward that of a conjunction, although its similarity in form and meaning with the **tahka-** particles remains quite visible (cf. 9.1.3.2).

The particle **_mo** has three apparently very different uses. It occurs in hypothetical and contrary-to-fact statements, co-occurring with the suffix **-i** (10a-b; cf. 5.4.1.3.5). In fact, **-i** cannot be used without it. **_Mo** is also used with the morphological imperatives, the static **-(kë)** and the allative **-ta**, to mark a 'future' imperative, i.e. an order and/or suggestion which must be carried out at a later moment (10c-d; cf. 5.4.2). Finally, it was also found once with the Doubt form of the Future Imperfective (**-ta-(ne)**), resulting in a counter-conditional ('unless') clause (10e). These apparently divergent uses share the feature of *non-actuality*. Notice, however, that 'more extremely' non-actual statements such as those implying disbelief (the incredulitive verb form, in **-je(pe)**) or warnings (the admonitive verb form, in **-ne(nu)**) are not compatible with **_mo**; only the hypothetical form in **-i** was 'weak enough' for it. For lack of a better term, the label 'Irrealis' will be employed here to refer to **_mo**.

(10a) **takaemï_ke** **tï-wë-tuuwë** **irë,** **irë_mao_pa_mo** **ii-sika-i**
kind.of.arrow_Inst t-shoot-Post 3InAna 3InAna_Temp_Rpt_Irr 3AO-remove-Hyp
'If he had shot it with a **takaemï** arrow (a kind of harpoon), he would (have been able to) remove it then.'

(b) **wei wararë karaiwa sen_po ahtao,**
day every Brazilian 3InPx_Loc if

anja i-waarë_mo ei karaiwa i-jomi
1+3 3-Cogn_Irr 3S$_A$:Cop:Hyp Brazilian 3-language:Pos

'If there were Brazilians here every day, we would learn the Brazilian language'

(c) **ëwë_pa_mo apëh-kë**
later_Rpt_Irr 3O:get-Imper
'Get it later (not now).'

(d) **ji-npo kï-rï-ta-e, këpëewa e-pataka-ewa_mo eh-kë**
1-on.back 12AO-put-Fut.Ipf-Cty but Detr-take.out-Neg_Irr Cop-Imper
'I'll put you on my back, but don't get out (of your disguise, while we are going).'

(e) **ma, tï-wë-e wï-të-e, mama otï, këpëewa,**
NT t-shoot-Sup 1S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty 2:mother 3:meat.food but

atï_hpe_mo w-epoh-ta-n, irë_po, tïï-ka-e
wh.In_Indef_Irr 1A-find-Fut.Ipf-Dbt 3InAna_Loc Rm.Pst:S$_A$-say-Rm.Pst

'"I'm going out to hunt your mother's food... unless I find something else there," (he) said.'

The particle **_pitë** is used to indicate that the predicate describes a 'temporary' event; it is usually translated as 'for a second', 'for a little while', implying that the situation is not permanent, in fact it will soon come to an end. The idiom **ëwë_pitë**, literally 'later, for a second', deserves mention here: it is used to mean 'wait a second!'. A present tense form with **_pitë** (as in e.g. (11c)) is a close and more frequent equivalent of a Future Perfective verb. However, unlike the case of the past imperfective being replaced by the habitual past (cf. 5.4.1.3.3, 5.4.3.1.1), speakers did not consider future imperfective forms as 'old-fashioned'; rather, they seemed to be quite alive, though not very frequent.

It appears that some yet unknown difference in meaning exists between the future imperfective and the Present Imperfective with **_pitë**.

(11a) **wi-puunëë-ja-e_pitë**
1A-think-Prs.Prf-Cty_a.sec
'I'll think a little bit first (before taking a decision).'

(b) **mëe_pitë anja n-enpa-e, ka kï-papa-rï_ja**
3AnPx_a.sec 1+3 3AO-teach:Prs.Ipf-Cty say:Imper 1+2-father-Pos_Dat
'Tell our (incl.) father that we (excl.) will be teaching this guy for some time still.'

(c) **taanë_pitë wï-të-e, irëmaarë ë-pakoro-h_tao w-eh-ta-e**
over.there_a.sec 1S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty soon 2-house-Pos_In 1S_A-Cop-Fut.Ipf-Cty
'I'm going over there first for a second; soon I'll be at your house.'

(d) **i-kuh-kë_pitë**
3O-imitate-Imper_a.sec
'Imitate it (=the language of the Wayanas) a little bit.'

(e) **wapo_pitë n-ë-ehpo-ka nëërë**
first_a.sec 3S_A-Detr-beard-remove:Prs.Prf 3AnAna:Exact
'First he shaved for a second (=just enough to get some blood on the blade)'

The particle **_pa** is frequently found in contexts where the idea of 'again' or 'back' is present (12a-d). However, when it occurs with the S_A verb stem **të[mï]** 'go', the resulting meaning is 'go away', 'leave', 'depart' ((12e-f); (12e) is one of the most frequent leave-taking expressions when more than one person is leaving). This can be understood if one thinks that a person who is leaving is 'going back' to where s/he was before, i.e. away from us. It is also used to ask about someone's turn (12g-h); in this case, it suggests the existence of a previous sequence. There is again some shared semantics (there is a certain similarity between the 'sequence' implied by (12g-h), and the 'repetition of a previous state' implied by the 'again/back/away' uses in (12a-f)), but it is somewhat hard to find a convenient label for the similarity. 'Repetition' will be used here.[5]

(12a) **tëin_ken_pa !**
once_Cont_Rpt
'Once more!'

(b) **w-ëeh_pa**
1S$_A$-come:Prs.Prf_Rpt
'I have come back.'

(c) **menjaarë_pa t-ëturu-ja-e**
now_Rpt 1S$_A$-Detr-talk.to-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'Now I'm talking again.'

(d) **Asehpë_pa w-eta-e**
Asehpë_Rpt 1A-hear:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I'm listening to Asehpë again.'

(e) **anja_pa nï-të-e**
1+3_Rpt 3S$_A$-go:Prs:Ipf-Cty
'We're leaving.'

(f) **tïï-të-e_pa**
Rm.Pst-go-Rm.Pst_Rpt
'(S/he) is gone.'

(g) **ëmë_pa ?**
2_Rpt
'How about you?'

(h) **ë-karakurii_pa ?**
2-money:Pos_Rpt
'How about your money?'

An interesting fact about **_pa** is that it seems to be losing its second-position properties. On several occasions, it occurred more than once in the same sentence (13a-b). Especially with the verb stem **të[mï]** 'go', it sometimes failed to occur in its normal place after the first consitituent (13c-e). It is as though **_pa** were changing from second-position particle to scope particle. Another interesting characteristic of **_pa** is that it can optionally change places with the Certainty suffix **-e** (13f-i), as if it were in the beginning phases of becoming a suffix. Such behavior was never possible for **_mo** or **_pitë**.

(13a) **ma, wï-tën_pa Suurinan_pona_pa**
NT 1S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf_Rpt Surinam_Dir_Rpt
'Then I went again to Surinam.'

---

[5] Eithne Carlin (pers. comm.) uses the term 'Cyclic' for _pa; this looks actually like a more accurate label. However, it seems harder to read the 'again/back/away' meaning off a gloss such as 'Cyc', which is why we have preferred 'Repetition' ('Rpt') here.

(b) **k-ërë-h_pa ji-pataa_pona_pa ji-pakoro-h_tah_pa**
12AO-take-Imper_ 1-village:Pos_Dir_Rpt 1-house-Pos_Ill_Rpt
'Take me back to my village, to my house!'

(c) **këpëewa Enkiman nï-tën_pa tïwërë-no_ro tuna_hkah_pa**
but Enkiman 3S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf_Rpt other-Nzr_Exact river_Aq.Dir_Rpt
'But Enkiman is gone to some other river.'

(d) **këpëewa anja enpa-ne-npë nï-tën_pa**
but 1+3 3:teach-A.act-Pst 3S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf_Rpt
'But our (ex-)teacher is gone.'

(e) **irë_mao meri_ja_pa tï-wë-e_nkërë**
3InAna_Temp squirrel.sp_Agt_Rpt Rm.Pst-shoot-Rm.Pst_still
'Then Squirrel continued shooting.'

(f) **wï-të-e_pa**
1S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf-Cty_Rpt
'I am leaving.'

(g) **wï-tëh-pa-e**
1S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf-Rpt-Cty
'I am leaving.'

(h) **w-eta-e_pa**
1A-hear:Prs.Ipf-Cty_Rpt
'I am listening to him/her/it.'

(i) **w-etah-pa-e**
1A-hear:Prs.Ipf-Rpt-Cty
'I am listening to him/her/it.'

9.1.3.2. Formal groups: *tahka*, *hka* and *ka*. The particles in these subgroups share enough formal similarities to stand out as a group; they are listed in (14). It may even be the case that they are actually composed of smaller particles, though the data is not conclusive (compare them with e.g. **_rë**, **_san** from the next section). Semantically, they all express various nuances in the areas of evidentiality and identification; they are in this similar to many of the Carib of Surinam particles described in Hoff 1986, 1990 (although it is not clear yet whether they form a system in Tiriyó comparable to the one found by Hoff in Carib of Surinam). Not all of them are fully understood. In this section, what is known is presented, and the unclear points are mentioned and left as targets for future research.

(14)

	tahke(ne)			
	tahkarë	**hkaarë**	**karë**	
	tahkara	**hkaara**	**kara**	**nara**
		hkaasan		
		hkatë		
		hkatëti		

The particles in the first column, the **tahka** group, all imply doubt about the statement in which they occur. Notice that they cannot co-occur with the certainty forms (in **-e**) of a present or future imperfective verb:

(15a) **wï-h-ta-n** **tahken**
1S$_A$-go-Fut.Ipf-Dbt maybe
'Maybe I'll go.'

(b) * **wï-h-ta-e tahken**

(c) **w-eta-n_tahkara**
1A-hear:Prs.Ipf-Dbt_Seem
'It seems I was listening to him/her/it.'

(d) * **w-eta-e_tahkara**

In the **tahka** group, the particle **tahke(ne)** 'maybe' stands out as the only one which is not restricted to second position (compare (16a-b) with (16c-d)).

(16a) **nï-të-n** **tahken**
1S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt maybe
'Maybe s/he is going.'

(b) **tahken nï-të-n**
maybe 1S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Maybe s/he is going.'

(c) **nï-të-n_tahkara**
1S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt_Seem
'Could it be that s/he is going?'

(d) * **tahkara nï-të-n**

The meaning of **tahke(ne)** does not seem to imply any deeper knowledge about the source of information (e.g. visual, hearsay, etc.), but simply to indicate a stronger doubt about it than does the simple Doubt form. Compare e.g. (16a) above, which means 'maybe I'll go', with a simple **wï-h-ta-n** 'will I go?', which sounds like a question that the speaker is asking himself. (17) has some text examples of **tahke(ne)**.[6]

(17a) **Joi, akï_hpe munupë, ma tahken tonoro, tï-wë-e wïja**
lizard.sp wh.An_Indef rat NT maybe bird Rm.Pst-shoot-Rm.Pst 1:Agt
'I shot lizards, and some other animals too... rats, maybe birds.' (The speaker is talking about his early childhood attempts at using bows and arrows.)

(b) **Eojare tahken pena-to-npë, kï-wame**
Eojare maybe long.ago-Nzr-Pst 1+2-know
'Maybe Eojare is someone from long ago, we (incl.) don't know him.' (Said by a woman to her daughter, while looking at the photograph of a Tiriyó named Eojare.)

(c) **Amohpë paapa-hpë apo mëe ? nërë tahken**
Amohpë 3:father-Pst like 3AnPx 3InAna maybe
'This one looks like Amohpë's father... Maybe it's him.'

(d) **tahken tïpitë_htao ëë-tëë-rï_htao kaikui n-ee-ja-n**
maybe field_Loc 2:S$_A$-go:N-Pos_Loc jaguar 3S$_A$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt

a-apëh-too_me
2-catch-Circ:Nzr_Attr

'Maybe, when you are going to the field/garden, a jaguar will come to catch you.'

(e) **tahken ë-nnapï ekeima-n, tahken n-enaa-ja-n_to,**
maybe 2-fruit.food 3O:spoil:Prs.Ipf-Dbt maybe 3AO-eat.fruit-Prs.Ipf-Dbt_3Col

tahken ni-turuka-n_to
maybe 3AO-scatter:Prs.Ipf-Dbt_3Col

'Maybe they are spoiling your fruit, maybe they are eating it, maybe they are scattering it.' (A warning, so that the speaker would do something to protect his fruit trees.)

---

[6] An equivalent expression is **tïwërën_mao**, which literally should (and sometimes does) mean 'some other time' (**tïwërën** 'other' with the temporal postposition **_mao** [cf. 7.3.1.11]), but is often found by itself with the meaning of 'maybe'. This expression is reminiscent of Portuguese *talvez* and Spanish *tal vez* 'maybe', which also originally meant 'at some time', 'in some occasion'.

_Tahkarë and **_tahkara** are connected: **_tahkarë** follows non-verb phrases and **_tahkara** verb phrases,[7] but they seem to mean the same, *viz.* that the speaker is not sure, but that something in the situation is leading him/her to the conclusion stated in the sentence ('it seems that...', 'I guess it is...'), sometimes with some surprise (could it be that...?).

(18a) **pahko_tahkarë nï-të-n**
1:father_Seem 3S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'It may be father going!'
'Could it be that father is going?'

(b) **nï-të-n_tahkara, pahko**[8]
3SA-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt_Seem, 1:father
'It may be father coming!'
'Could it be that father is coming?'

(c) **irë apo ahtao, tun ka-to, t-ëta-e Moomoori_ja,**
3InAna like when falling say-Circ:Nzr Rm.Pst-hear-Rm.Pst Moomoori_Agt

tun... ëë... wïja-no_ro_tahkarë, tïï-ka-e Moomoori
falling lament 1:Dat-Nzr_Exact_Seem Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst Moomoori

'Then (=when it was like that), Moomoori heard the sound of something falling. "Could this be for me?" (=i.e. game for me), said Moomoori.'

It is harder to see a common semantics to the **hka** group. Formally speaking, it is interesting to notice that they all start with the consonant cluster **hk** (pronounced [hh] in H-Tiriyó, and [:k] in K-Tiriyó; cf. 2.4.2.2), yet do not always condition the full grade of a preceding reducing morpheme (cf. 2.6.2 for syllable reduction).[9]

The particles **_hkaarë** and **_hkaara** are related in the same way as **_tahkarë** and **_tahkara**: **_hkaarë** following non-verb phrases, and **_hkaara** verb phrases. They express that the speaker is now fully certain of his/her statement, but that it is surprising (i.e. it is contrary to what s/he had expected).

---

[7] Of the three speakers who were consulted, two did not allow **_tahkarë** to follow verbs, while one did, saying that it 'meant the same as **_tahkara**'. The same variation, with the same speakers, was found for **_hkaarë** and **_hkaara.** The reasons for this variation are not yet known.

[8] Notice that **pahko** could not be sentence-initial, as expected from the second-position pattern of **_tahkara**; the sequence * **pahko nïtën_tahkara** was refused.

[9] This initial **hk** cluster may be somehow related to the—quite unexpected, from a comparative viewpoint —**hk** in the Aquatic postpositions **_hkao**, **_hka(ka)** (cf. 7.3.1.1).

(19a) **pahko_hkaarë n-e**
1:father_Surpr 3S$_A$-come:Prs.Prf
'Ah! It's *my father* who has come!'

(b) **Taru_hkaarë !**
Taru_Surpr
'Ah! It's *Taru*!'

(c) **tï-papa eta_hkaara**
3R-father:Pos 3O:hear:Prs.Prf_Surpr
'Ah! It's *his father* he has heard!'

(d) **irë_po_hkaarë i-pata**
3InAna_Loc_Surpr 3-village
'Ah! His/her village is *there*!'

(e) **ëë... mëërë_hkaarë ji-nmuku-ru...**
Emotion 3InMd_Surpr 1-son-Pos
'Oooh!... *That one* is my son!'

The particle **_hkaasan** is used to indicate that the clause in which it occurs contains the alternative that the speaker would have preferred, as opposed to what really happened ('not this, *but that, instead*'; cf. e.g. Spanish *sino*, German *sondern*).

(20a) **pihko, j-enmïn-jewa eh-kë, k-ërë-kë_hkaasan, ooni_pona**
1:old.brth 1O-submerge-Neg Cop-Imper 12AO-take-Imper_Instead 3InDi_Dir
'Brother, don't drown me, take me over there instead!'

(b) **owa, ëmë_hkaasan_man-a-e pija, tïï-ka-e**
no 2_Instead_2S$_A$-Cop-Cty small Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst
'"No, *you* are small,' he said.' (i.e. not me).

(c) **sen_se_taike_re_w-ei,**
3InPx_Desid_Neg_Frust_1S$_A$-Cop:Prs.Prf

sen_se_hkaasan_w-ei_re, këpëewa kure_rëken,
3InPx_Desid_Instead_1S$_A$-Cop:Prs.Prf-Frust but good_Only

w-apëë-ja-e
1A-get-Prs:Ipf-Cty

'I didn't want this one, I wanted *this* one instead, but... all right, I'll take it.'

(d) **këpëewa irë_pëh_ta** **wë-pïnï-npë** **t-ëiranoo-se**
but 3InAna_About_Neg shoot-Ineff:Nzr-Pst Rm.Pst-get.angry-Rm.Pst

i-moitï-h-tomo_ja, **i-pïh_pëkë_hkaasan**
3-relatives-Pos-Col_Agt 3-wife_About_Instead

'But it wasn't because of this that the bad shooter's people were angry at him; instead, it was because of his wife.'

The meaning of the particle **_hkatë** is harder to summarize under a single gloss. In equative clauses, it usually attributes responsibility (21a-b) or importance (21c) to a given participant. In other kinds of sentences, however, this is not the case, although an element of emphasis still seems to be present (20e-f).

(21a) **ma, irëme, kena, mëe_hkatë, manko_hkatë, ji-wame**
NT then Ignor 3AnPx_up.to 1:mother_up.to 1-Ignor
'Well, then, "I don't know, it's up to her, to my mother, I don't know," (s/he said).'

(b) **ëmë_hkatë**
2_up.to
'It's up to you.' Also: 'It's your fault.'

(c) **mërë_hkatë**
3InMd_up.to
'It's a necessary thing.'

(d) **aja_hkatë** **kïn-arë,** **j-eemi,** **tïï-ka-e** **Mataware**
whither_Emph 3AO:Pst.Prf-take 1-daughter:Pos Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst Mataware
'"Where on earth did he take my daughter to?", said Matawaré.'

(e) **akï_hkatë_n-ai** **mëe** **otï_me ?**
wh.An_Emph_3S$_A$-Cop 3AnPx meat.food_Attr
'Which (animals) on earth are this one's food?'
(i.e. what animals could s/he possibly like to eat?)

(f) **irëme_hkatë "pena** **t-ëpëë-se** **ii-jaa-ne"** **mï-ka ?** **t-ëënakëe...**
then_? already Rm.Pst-get-Rm.Pst 3-Agt-Col 2S$_A$-say:Prs.Prf T-lie-Having
'So 'they've already taken it', you said? Liar!...'

The particle **_hkatëti** apparently implies that a presupposition is being countered. In (22a-b), the speaker doubts that a certain state of affairs actually is as it was described to him/her. In (22c), the speaker is trying to convince an uncooperative hearer (cf. English 'come on').

(22a) **w-ene_hkatëti**
1A-see:Prs.Ipf:Cty-?
'I'll go see if it's true.'

(b) **wi-ponoh-po-e_hkatëti**
1A-tell-Caus:Prs.Ipf-Cty_?
'I'll go ask if it's really like that.'

(c) **k-ëne-kë_hkatëti**
12AO-see-Imper_?
'Just look at me, watch what I'm doing.'

The **ka** group (**karë**, **kara**) was attested in only a few examples, in which it apparently expresses strong doubt, verging on incredulity. Like the other **rë/ra** pairs, **kara** follows a verb phrase and **karë** a non-verb phrase.

(23a) **kura-no_karë ?**
pretty-Nzr_Str.Dbt
'Is that pretty ?!' (I don't think so!)

(b) **mën-ee-ja-n_kara_ito ?**
2S$_A$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt_Str.Dbt_?
'Are you coming? Really?'

(c) **oroko_me_karë man-a-ti ?**
work_Attr_Str.Dbt 2S$_A$-Cop-Col
'Are you all really working?'

The particle **_nara**, like **_hkatë**, adds emphasis to questions. Interestingly, it cannot co-occur with a conjugated verb form (24e).[10]

---

[10] This may result from **_nara** being a reflex of an older copular form ***na** with an element **ra** (possibly an old particle). In 5.4.4, it was mentioned that Tiriyó has retained only one third-person form of the copula, **_nai**, while other Cariban languages have two or three. It may be the case that ***na** is a remnant of another one of these forms (cf. 8.1 for other possible remnants).

(24a) **aja_nara ji-nmuku ?**
whither_Emph 2-son
'Where could my son be?'

(b) **atïtoome_nara mëe ëire ?**
why_Emph 3AnPx angry
'Why on earth is s/he so angry?'

(c) **eeke_nara serë ?**
how_Emph 3InPx
'How exactly is that?'

(d) **akï_nara enpa-ne_me ?**
wh.An_Emph 3:teach-A.act_Attr
'Who on earth is the teacher?'

(e) * **akï_nara n-ee-ja-n**
wh.An_Emph 3S_A-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
(who is coming?)

9.1.3.3. _to(o) 'Collective'. The particle **_to(o)** is used to indicate that a third-person participant is collective. With transitive verbs, if one of the participants is a non-third-person (i.e. if an A- or an O-marking prefix is used), then **_to(o)** collectivizes the other (i.e. the third-person) participant. If both participants are third persons, then **_to(o)** collectivizes the O participant. With intransitive verbs, **_to(o)** occurs only in the third person form, indicating that the S is collective. This pattern is exemplified in 5.4.1.2 above; here, only its form and syntactic status are discussed. The fact that **_to** behaves as a second-position clitic can be seen in (25a-d) (note in addition that **_to(o)** cannot occur clause-initially). (25c) also illustrates its length grade **_too.**[11]

(25a) **nï-të-n_to**
1S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt_3Col
'They are all going.'

(b) **menjaarë_to nï-të-n**
now_3Col 1S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'They are all going now.'

---

[11] An older speaker occasionally had the form **_toto** instead of **_to**. There was variation among other speakers as to whether or not this form was acceptable or even recognizable. Diachronically, it seems that the original form actually was bisyllabic (cf. Gildea's 1998:99 reconstruction of ***toto** to Proto-Carib), and this may be the source of the observed long vowel in **_to(o)**. Synchronically, the form **toto** seems to be, at best, an archaism.

(c) **makapa_po_too_n-ai**
Macapá_Loc_3Col_3S$_A$-Cop
'They are in Macapá.'

(d) **manko i-pakoro-h_tao_to n-emamina-n**
1:mother 3-house-Pos_In_3Col 3S$_A$-play:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'They are playing in mother's house.'

9.1.4. Scope particles. These particles are not limited to one specific position within the clause; rather, they follow a given element (their 'scope') with which they form a higher-level constituent.

As is mentioned in 3.4.5 and in the beginning of Chap. 8, the particle **_hpe** 'indefinite' always co-occurs with interrogatives to form the equivalent of an indefinite pronoun ('someone/anyone', 'somewhere/anywhere', etc.), with the implication that the speaker does not know—or does not care about—the specific circumstances. So, (26a) was a reply to 'At what time is he coming?'; (26c) is a reply to 'What is he doing?'.[12] In (26b), a specific person is coming, but the speaker does not know who s/he is. (26d) also refers to a period in time which was specific—the amount of time that a certain character spent in the forest—but not known to the speaker.

(26a) **atï juuru_hpe, ji-wame**
wh.In time_Indef, 1-Ignor
'At some time, I don't know (when).'

(b) **akï_hpe n-ee-ja-n**
wh.An_Indef 3S$_A$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Someone (God knows who) is coming.'

(c) **kena, atï rï-ja-n_hpe; pakoro rï-ja-n tahken**
Ignor, wh.In make-Prs.Ipf-Dbt_Indef house make-Prs.Ipf-Dbt maybe
'I don't know, he's doing something; maybe he's making a house.'

---

[12] Notice that **_hpe**, in spite of beginning with a consonant cluster, fails to condition the full grade form of the preceding suffix in (26c); cf. 2.6.2.

(d) **ahtaarë_hpe tï-kooman-je, irë_n-ai ji-wame,**
how.many_Indef Rm.Pst-spend.night-Rm.Pst 3InAna_3S_A-Cop 1-Ignor

i-kuhtuntë-ewa kïn-ei i-ponoo-ne-npë wïja.
3O-count-Neg 3Pst.Prf-Cop 3-tell-A.act.Nzr-Pst 1:Dat

'He spent an indefinite number of nights (in the forest), I don't know how many, the one who told this story didn't count them to me.'

The particle **ihta** occurs in contexts involving surprise, i.e. the sudden realization that a given expectation was not met (27a), like the second-position particle **_hkaarë** (cf. previous section; cf. 2.6.4 for the reduction of trivocalic sequences, as in (27a, c), **mëe + ihta > më_ihta, kïtëe + ihta > kïtë_ihta**). The difference in meaning between them seems to be attitudinal: **_ihta** generally imply some anger, while **_hkaarë** does not. (27b-c) were uttered in an angry tone to someone who had asked the same question several times, thus infuriating the speaker; (27d), from a folk tale, has the same meaning; it was said by Jaguar to a young man.

(27a) **serë apo tïï-ka-e_to, "më_ihta, ekï n-eh_pa !"**
3InPx like Rm.Pst:S_A-say-Rm.Pst_3Col 3AnPx_Surp 3:pet:Pos 3S_A-come:Prs.Prf_Rpt
'They spoke like this, "Look, it's him, his pet is coming back!'

(b) **wï-ka_ihta !**
1S_A-say:Prs.Prf_Anger
'I've already told you that!'

(c) **kï-të_ihta !**
1+2S_A-go:Prs.Ipf_Anger
'We're going—I've already told you that!'

(d) **j-otï_ta ëmë, wï-ka_ihta ëë-ja,**
1-meat.food_Neg 2 2S_A-say:Prs.Prf_Anger 2-Dat

atïtoome m-ëh-tïhka-n ?
why 2A-Detr-frighten:Prs.Ipf-Dbt

'I've already told you that you're not my food (=that I'm not going to eat you), why are you (still) afraid?'

The particle **_marë** is used to indicate inclusion, corresponding quite well to the English 'too, also'. It can have a comitative ('with') meaning, in which it comes quite close to **akëërë** 'with' ((28e-g); in (28g), **akëërë** also occurs, as a rhetorical repetition).

(28a) **ëiwa-e tïï-të-e, t-ëkï-ke t-ee-se_marë**
hunt-Sup Rm.Pst:S_A-go-Rm.Pst T-pet-Having Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst_too
'He went hunting, and he had his dog, too.'

(b) **wïraapa t-ëpoo-se, ma pai_marë t-ëpoo-se ii-ja**
bow Rm.Pst-meet-Rm.Pst Attn tapir_too Rm.Pst-meet-Rm.Pst 3-Agt
'He met the bow (i.e. the plant from which bows are made), and he met tapir, too.'

(c) **ene-hpë_ke ii-ja i-japo_ta, tïpokïne_marë t-ee-se**
3:see-Pst_Inst 3-Agt 3-like_Neg smelly_too Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst
'From what he could see (lit. because he saw her), she wasn't the same; she was also smelly.'

(d) **ji-kooman w-ene_marë, karaman irë_po, Pesaihpë**
1S_O-spend.night:Prs.Prf 1A-see:Prs.Prf_too chief 3InAna_Loc Pesaihpë
'I spent the night there, and I saw him too, the local chief, Pesaihpë.'

(e) **kïrï, wëri_marë, n-ë-eku-ja-n**
man, woman_with, 2-Detr-sex-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'A man, with a woman, they have sex.'

(f) **kaikui_marë_to tï-w-ë-epoo-se**
jaguar_with_3Col Rm.Pst-S_A-Detr-meet-Rm.Pst
'They met with Jaguar.'

(g) **Sesu_marë anja menjaarë, kure Sesu akëërë wï menjaarë**
Sérgio_with 1+3 now well Sérgio with 1 now
'We're with Sérgio now, I am with Sérgio now.'

The particle **_nkërë** is used to indicate continuation, coming quite close to the English 'still', in affirmative sentences, or 'yet', in negative sentences. It often co-occurs with **_pa** 'Repetition': **_nkërë_pa** is the most frequent translation of English 'again', implying that the event is not being repeated for the first time (i.e. some sort of routine is implied).

(29a) **Araraparu-npë_nkërë sen ?**
Araraparu-Pst_still 3InPx
'Is this still the old Araraparu ?'
(The speaker means a second photo of the same village.)

(b) **pijukuku_me_nkërë wï ahtao**
baby_Attr_still 1 when
'When I was still a baby,...'

(c) **wïtoto w-eta-e_nkërë**
person 1A-hear:Prs.Ipf-Cty_still
'I am still listening to someone.'

(d) **tëin_ken_pa kaikui t-ëpoo-se wïtoto_ja_nkërë**
once_Cont_Rpt jaguar Rm.Pst-meet-Rm.Pst person_Agt_still
'The person met Jaguar still once more.' (i.e. after several previous meetings)

(e) **mërëme in-erahtë-ewa_nkërë namo_ro, serë_mao-n_pona_rën**
but 3O-find-Neg_yet 3:Col_Exact 3InPx_Tmp-Nzr_Dir_Truly
'But they haven't found it yet, until today.' (The speaker means a cure for AIDS.)

(f) **pahko_nkërë_pa nï-tën ëiwa-e**
1:father_still_Rpt 3S$_{A}$-go:Prs.Prf hunt-Sup
'Father went hunting again.'

The particle _rë 'Exactly' (which harmonizes to **_ro** if the preceding word ends in **o** (30b)—but not in a V-**o** sequence (30c)) indicates that the words within its scope refer to something which is exactly what the hearer thinks it is. It constitutes a means for the speaker to confirm the hearer's assumptions about the identity of some specific entity (cf. (30a), or (30f), in which the hearer was asking himself who his enemy could be; cf. also **irë_rë** 'exactly this', 'right', a very frequent affirmative answer to a question which asks for confirmation, such as 'Is this how you do it?'). A number of words with a syllable **rë** may be cases of lexicalization involving _rë (e.g. **sekenkërë** 'likewise', **_rëke(ne)** 'only',

kokoro 'tomorrow', the **-aarë** adverbs of 6.1.1.2, etc.); with some postpositions, it seems to be on the verge of lexicalizing (e.g. the combination **apo_ro** 'just like, exactly like', in which the postpositional collective suffix **-:ne** [cf. 7.1.1] can occur after the **_ro** (30e), or **tïwërëno_ro** 'other, different', which is much more frequent with the **_ro** than without it). Notice also that the combination of the anaphoric animate pronoun **nërë** with **_rë** is, idiosyncratically, **nëërë**, instead of the expected ***nërë_rë** (30g; cf. 4.1.2). The particle **_rë** occurs after nouns (30a, f, g) and postpositions (30b-e); some cases of occurrence after verbs were attested, but they may also be cases of **irë** (cf. below).

(30a) — **akï mëe ? sipaki ?**
wh.An 3AnPx Spike
'Who is this one? Spike?'

— **aha, sipaki_rë**
yes Spike_Exact
'Yes, it's Spike.'

(b) **sen_po_ro j-enuh-topo-npë**
3InPx_Loc_Exact 1-be.born-Circ.Nzr-Pst
'This is (precisely) my birth place.'

(c) **irë_mao_rë iijeeta k-akuikaa-ti**
3InPx_Tmp_Exact a.lot 1+2O-hurt-Prs.Ipf-Col
'Precisely then it (=disease) hurts us a lot.'

(d) **serë apo_ro ëmë, ji-jomi in-eta-ewa ëmë**
3InPx like_Exact 2 1-words:Pos 3O-hear-Neg 2
'You're just like this, you never listen to what I say.'

(e) **kï-japo_roo-ne**
1+2-like_Exact-Col
'just like all of us'

(f) **wïï_rë, tïï-ka-e, wïï_rë aameka-to**
1_Exact Rm.Pst:S_A-say-Rm.Pst 1_Exact 2:Odi-Nzr
'"It's me", he said, "it's me who is angry at you."'

(g) **Amohpë paapa-hpë apo mëe? Nërë tahken... Nëërë.**
Amohpë 3:father-Pst like 3AnPx 3AnAna maybe 3AnAna:Exact
'This one looks like Amohpë's father? Maybe it's him... Yes, it is, it's him.'

The particle **_rëke(ne)** 'only' indicates that the words within its scope refer to something which is 'the only one' of the possible or imaginable referents (31a-f). It can also have the effect of 'diminishing the importance' of an action (31g), just like the English 'only' or 'just'. This particle may have been originally a sequence of particles: **_rë** 'exact, the same' (cf. the—now optional—vowel harmony with words ending in **o**, as in (31b) and **_ke(ne)** 'continuously' (cf. the reducing syllable **(ne)**, which is rather rare [cf. 2.6.2.2.2]): the sense of 'continuously exact', 'continuously the same' is not that far from 'only'.

(31a) **ma, serë_rëken wi-ponoo-ja-e**
Attn 3InPx_only 1A-tell-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'Well, I'm telling just this (and nothing else).'

(b) **irë apo_roken (~_rëken)**
3InPx like_only
'only like this, only this way'

(c) *outubro*_**po ahtao, oroko_me_rëken tïpitë_pë**
October_Loc when work_Attr_only field_About
'In October, (everybody) is busy, doing nothing else but working on their fields.'

(d) **noosinpë_rëken j-arimika-ne**
1:grandma_only 1O-raise-Pst.Prf
'My grandmother raised me alone.' (i.e. she had no help; my mother was not there).

(e) **koko_rëken n-etapan-ja-n mëe, aanao ene-ra**
night_only 3S_O-chirp-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 3AnPx day I:see-Ineff
'This one (a kind of cricket) only chirps at night; during the day, it cannot be seen.'

(f) **nëërë_ken t-ee-se tï-w-ë-ewee-se_ken**
3AnAna_only Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst Rm.Pst-S_A-Detr-feed-Rm.Pst_Cont
'Only he was eating.'; 'He was alone eating.'

(g) **— atï mï-rï-ja-n ?**
wh.In 2A-do-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'What are you doing?'

— owa, j-urakana-e_rëken
nothing 1S_O-stroll:Prs.Ipf-Cty_only
'Nothing, I'm just walking around.'

The particle **_rën(ne)** 'truly, genuine' is used with nouns to indicate that the referent is a near-prototypical member of the category: 'a real N', 'a true, genuine N'

(32a-c). It is, however, more frequently found after verbs (32e), adverbs (32d), and even postpositions (32f), indicating that the event is real, or is really going to happen (*contra* any remaining doubts in the hearer's mind). With the directional postposition **_pona** 'to(ward)', **_rën** forms the combination **_pona_rën**, meaning 'until', 'as far as', 'even' ((32g-h), also (4a); cf. 7.3.1.1.2). Notice the collocation with the particle **_pa** 'repetition' (cf. 9.1.3.1), in (32i-j), where **_rën_pa** conveys the idea of 'forever' (or 'never', on a negative verb).

(32a) **tarëno_rën ëmë**
Tiriyó_truly 2
'You are a true Tiriyó, a real Indian.'

(b) **j-eemii_rën mëe**
1-daughter:Pos_truly 3AnPx
'This one is my real daughter.'

(c) **"ë-nmuku_n-ai mëe", mï-ka, këpëewa ji-nmuku_rën wa_ken**
2-son:Pos_3S$_{A}$-Cop 3AnPx 2S$_{A}$-say:Prs.Prf but 1-son:Pos_truly Neg_Cont
'"This is your son," you said, but my real son was not there.'

(d) **kure_rën_man-a-e, Taru, ji-pa-rï, tïï-ka-e**
good_truly_2S$_{A}$-Cop-Cty Taru 1-grandson-Pos Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst
'"You are really good, Taru, my grandson," he said.'

(e) **n-ë-tïhka_rën pïre, tïï-ka-e**
3S$_{A}$-Detr-finish.up:Prs.Prf_truly 1:arrow:Pos Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst
'"My arrows are all really gone," he said.'

(f) **irëme nëërë, waa_rï_se_rën_w-a-e, kutuma**
then 3AnAna:Exact Neg_make_Desid_truly_1S$_{A}$-Cop-Cty Intens
'So, this one, I really want to kill him (=make him nothing), I want it a lot.'

(g) **irë_mao rupeimë_ja same_ken tï-kuika-e_re,**
3InAna_Tmp lizard.sp_Agt fast_Cont Rm.Pst-swallow-Rm.Pst_Frust

sen_pona_rën
3InPx_Dir_truly

'Then, very fast, the lizard tried to swallow him (in vain), up to here.'
(the speaker makes a gesture to a body part, indicating up to what point
the character's body was swallowed by the lizard.)

(h) **ameraarë wïtoto, tïï-ka-e, mure_pona_rën, tïï-ka-e**
all person Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst child_Dir_truly Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst
'"All people," he said, "even the children," he said.'

(i) **kï-nonta-e_rën_pa, tïï-ka-e**
12AO-abandon:Prs.Ipf-Cty_truly_Rpt Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst
'"I am leaving you forever," she said.'

(j) **j-ene-ewa_rën_pa_man-a-e, tïï-ka-e**
1O-see-Neg_truly_Rpt_2S$_A$-Cop-Cty Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst
'"You are never going to see me again," she said.'

The negative particles **_wa(a)** and **_ta(ike)** are used as a 'negative existential' ('there isn't') and a 'negative identificational' ('it isn't'), respectively (33a-b). This semantic difference implies that only **_ta(ike)** can occur after adverbs and postpositional phrases (33c-d, f-h). Almost certainly, **_wa(a)** is the source of the negative (**-sewa**; cf. 5.4.3.1.3) form of the verb (cf. Meira 1998a:136ff), and is certainly related to the sentence-equivalent particle **owa** 'no, nothing nobody' (cf. 9.2.1); some of its frequent collocations seem also to be lexicalizing, such as **wa_ken** 'there isn't any' (33e; notice the short **a**), and **waa_rï** 'kill O', which is giving rise to a new verb stem **aawïrï** (probably because of a misinterpretation of a first person form, e.g. **waa_wï-rï** 'I killed O' as **w-aawïrï**; cf. (33i-j), and also 5.1.6). The particle **_ta(ike)** (which occurs in its full grade **_taike** in (33h)) is also probably related to the **tahka**-particles (cf. 9.1.3.2). Some cases of adverbs negated with **_ta(ike)** are lexicalizing (cf. (33f), in which **kawë_ta** 'not tall' = 'short' can be nominalized with **-no** [cf. 4.2.2.2]), but this is not generally true (cf. (33g), in which **pija_ta** 'not small' cannot be nominalized). **_Taike** is also used to negate the **-se** forms of the verb,. the supine (33k) and the remote past (33l) (but not, of course, the negative form; cf. 5.4.3.1).

(33a) **wïtoto_taa_n-ai**
person_Neg_3S$_{A}$-Cop
'It isn't a person (but something else).'

(b) **wïtoto_waa_n-ai**
person_Neg.Exist_3S$_{A}$-Cop
'There isn't any person.'

(c) **nari_ke_ta eh-kë**
fear_Inst_Neg Cop-Imper
'Don't be afraid.'

(d) **owa, irë apo_ta**
no 3InAna like_Neg
'No, not like that!'

(e) — **tïïka ë-wenje ?**
tobacco 2-beside
'Have you got any tobacco?'

— **owa, wa_ken**
no Neg_Cont
'No, there isn't (=I don't have) any.'

(f) **kawë_ta, kawë_taa-no**
tall_Neg, tall_Neg-Nzr
'not tall', 'a short one'

(g) **pija_ta, *pija_taa-no**
small_Neg (small_Neg-Nzr)
'not small', (a not-small one)

(h) **ee, kure kure_taike_rën mama**
Attn Intens good_Neg_truly 2:mother:Pos
'Hey, your mother is really bad.'

(i) **waa_mï-rï-ja-n ?**
Neg_2A-make-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Are you going to kill O?'

(j) **m-aawïrï-ja-n ?**
2A-kill-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Are you going to kill O?'

(k) **mërë_pona wï-tën e-pë-e_ta**
3InMd_Dir 1S$_{A}$-go:Prs.Prf Detr-bathe-Sup_Neg
'I went over there in order not to bathe.'

(l) **t-ëpëë-se_ta**
Rm.Pst-catch-Rm.Pst_Neg
'(S/he) didn't catch O.'

The particle **_sa(a)** 'a little', 'a bit' is used to 'reduce the intensity' of the predicate (34a-b). It frequently collocates with **pija** 'small', forming **pija_sa** 'a little bit' (33c-d), but it can also co-occur with other adverbs (33e-f) and postpositional phrases (33g).

(34a) **ë-jomi wi-kuu-ja-e_sa**
2-language 1A-imitate-Prs.Ipf-Cty_a.bit
'I can speak your language a little.'

(b) **kït-ët-ahkëë-ja-e_sa**
1+2S$_{A}$-Detr-cut-Prs.Ipf-Cty_a.bit
'We are cutting each other a little.'

(c) **pija_sa_rëken t-ët-uru-ja-e**
small_a.bit_only 1S$_{A}$-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am talking just a little bit...'

(d) **pija_sa ji-waarë**
small_a.bit 1-Cogn
'I know little.'

(e) **wïtoto_n-ai tapïime_sa**
person_3S$_A$-Cop many_a.bit
'There are reasonably many people there.'
(less than **tapïime** 'many').

(f) **tïntïije_saa_n-ai serë**
short_a.bit_3S$_A$-Cop 3InPx
'This is a little short.'

(f) **aipï_me_saa_pa tuna t-ee-se**
speed_Attr_a.bit_Rpt river Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst
'The river became a little fast again.'

(g) **ma, irë i-wenae_sa**
Attn, 3InAna 3-after_a.bit
'Well, a little after that,...'

The particle **ahke(ne)** has the meaning 'as if', 'pretending to be'; it is used to mean that the words within its scope refer to something which is similar to the members of the category that they normally designate, but is not really a member. A few examples are given in (35). This particle was compared to **_me** 'Attributivizer' and **apo** 'like' in 7.3.4.3.

(35a) **mëe_n-ai tarëno ahken**
3AnPx_3S$_A$-Cop Tiriyó as.if
'He looks like (but is not) a Tiriyó.'

(b) **ëëseenë-to_ta ahken kït-a-ti**
ill-Nom_Neg as.if 1+2S$_A$-Cop-Col
'You will be as if you were not ill.'

(c) **t-omoi-ke_n-ai kïto, kaikui amoi ahken awë_n-ai**
T-claw-Having_3S$_A$-Cop toad.sp jaguar 3:claw:Pos as.if 3:In_3S$_A$-Cop
'This toad has claws, it has something like a jaguar's claws inside.'

The particle **kahta** 'definitely, without fail' is used to signify that the event must take place, at any cost (cf. e.g. French *sans faute*, Italian *senz'altro*, Esperanto *nepre*); it is often used in 'desperate' requests (36a-b). Sometimes it occurs with an initial **h**, for which no explanation has been found (36c).

(36a) **kokoro_mo oh-kë_kahta**
tomorrow_Irr come-Imper_definitely
'Do come tomorrow, without fail!'.

(b) **apëh-kë_kahta**
3O:hold-Imper_definitely
'Please, hold it! Don't let go!'

(c) **tï-rï-kë_hkahta**
t-make-Imper_definitely
'Please, make it! Do make it!'

(d) **ma, kure_hkahta**
Attn well_definitely
'OK, do it really well!'

The remaining particles are not well understood yet. The particle **_san** ~ **_sanne** (or **_saane**) follows nouns, apparently with some identificational or presentational flavor ('here, it's this one'; cf. (37a-c)); it may be related to the particle **_hkaasan** 'instead' (cf. 9.1.3.2). The particle **_npa** seems to express concern about the current situation (37d-g); there is no obvious connection to the hortative sentence sentence equivalent **npa** 'let's go' (cf. 9.2.1).

(37a) **sen_saane eka**
3InPx_Ident? 3:name:Pos
'It's this one's name.'

(b) **mërë_sanne**
3InMd_Ident?
'It's that one, there it is.'

(c) **pïrëu_san_mërë ! arë !**
arrow_Ident?_3InMd 3O:take:Imper
'There is the arrow! Go take it!'

(d) **irëme 'eeke m-ee-ja-në_npa' tïï-ka-e_to**
then how $2S_A$-Cop-Prs.Ipf-Dbt_concern? Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst_3Col
'Then, "what will happen to you?" they said.' (to a man who was abandoning them)

(e) **an-po_kene_nai_npa i-mun, tïï-ka-e**
wh-Loc_Cont_$3S_A$-Cop_concern? Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst
'"Where do you think its roots are?" she said.' (about a new plant).

(f) **pëë kure j-apëë-ja-në_npa, j-erïkï pena**
concern Intens 1O-catch-Prs.Ipf-Dbt_concern? $1S_O$-be.in.danger:Prs.Prf already
'Oohh, it's going to catch me, I may die!...'

(g) **k-ëpinëh-kë_npa, kunawaru, wë-ewa_w-a-e**
12AO-medicate-Imper_concern? toad.sp shoot-Neg_$1S_A$-Cop-Cty
'Oh, medicate me, cure me (of my inability), Kunawaru, I can't shoot well.'

9.1.5. Others. The particles in this section have not been clearly classified as belonging to any of the above classes for lack of conclusive examples. Future research should shed some light on their uses.

The particle **_inëërë** occurred in a couple of examples with 'identificational' semantics ('That is the one!', 'I am the one!'). It probably contrasts with **_san** and **_rë** (cf. previous section), but the specifics are unknown. This particle looks related to the animate anaphoric pronoun **nërë** (cf. 4.1.2), but is certainly not identical with it, since they can co-occur (38d).

(38a) **wï_inëërë !**
1_Ident?
'I am him! That's me!'

(b) **kïmë_inëërë !**
1+2_Ident?
'That's us! That's really us!'

(c) **ji-pawana_inëërë !**
1-friend_Ident?
'That's him, my friend!'

(d) **nërë_inëërë !**
3AnAna_Ident?
'That's him!'

The particle **_mïï** (collective form: **_mïïko(mo)**)[13] co-occurs with the supine (or 'purpose-of-motion') form of the verb (cf. 5.4.3.1.1) in a 'venitive' ('come'-imperative) construction (cf. 5.4.2.1). It may be a second-position or a scope particle.

(39a) — **ene_se_w-a-e**
3O:see:N_Desid_1S$_{A}$-Cop-Cty
'I want to see it!'

— **ene_mïï !**
3O:see:Sup_Ven
'Come see it, then!'

(b) **ëh-puunëë-se_rëken mïïkon**
Detr-think-Sup_only Ven
'Come all think about this!'

---

[13] **_mi(i)**, **_miiko(mo)** in some areas (maybe the entire K-Tiriyó area).

The particle **tëërë** occurred a couple of times as an existential ('there is'). It may have been an old word for 'here' (cf. **sarë** 'to here'; cf. also the possible etymology of the Tiriyó autodenomination **tarëno** in 1.2).

(40a) **tëërë tuna ?**
Exist water
'Is there water?'

(b) **tëërë ipun ?**
Exist meat
'Is there (any) meat?'

(c) **ma, tïwërë_ken i-ponoh-to tëërë irë**
Attn other_Cont 3-tell-Circ.Nzr Exist 3InAna
'Well, there is another different story, too.'

The most discernible function of the continuative particle **_ke(ne)** 'continuative' is that of marking an event as ongoing, uninterrupted (40a-c). This particle is probably related to others ending in **ke(ne)** (e.g. **ahke(ne)** 'as if', **tahke(ne)** 'maybe', **_rëke(ne)** 'only', **sehke(ne)** 'likewise', **wa_ke(ne)** 'there isn't any'; cf. previous sections) and to the **ke(ne)** adverbs (which appear to be lexicalized occurrences of **_ke(ne)**) in 6.1.1.4. Often enough, it occurs in contexts where the idea of 'continuation' is very faint; in these circumstances, it comes close to being an intensifier (41e, h)

(41a) **sen_po_ken_w-a-e**
3InPx_Loc_Cont_1S$_{A}$-Cop-Cty
'I am here (and have been, for a while).'

(b) **t-etapan-je_ken kunawaru, koa koa koa...**
Rm.Pst-chirp-Rm.Pst_Cont toad.sp toad.noise
'The *kunawaru* toad just kept chirping: *koa, koa, koa...*'

(c) **ma, këpëewa rupeimë ni-kuika-n_ken**
Attn but lizard.sp 3A-swallow:Prs.Ipf-Dbt_Cont
'In spite of that, the lizard just went on swallowing him.'

(d) **tï-korohta-e_ken papa**
Rm.Pst-stay.white-Rm.Pst_Cont 2:father:Pos
'(Your father wouldn't be painted with anatto), he (always) remained white.'

(e) **irëme i-wekena-toh-poora_ken t-ee-se**
then I-follow-Circ.Nzr-Defc_Cont Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst
'Then it was really impossible to follow him.'

(f) **ma, irë_mao t-ëne_ken ii-ja enu**
Attn 3InAna_Tmp Rm.Pst-see:Rm.Pst_Cont 3-Agt 3:eye:Pos
'Then, he kept looking straight at his (=the alligator's) eyes.'

(g) **irë_po_ken t-ee-se kïto, samu_juuwë_ken, koron koron**
3InAna_Loc_Cont Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst toad.sp sand_on.top_Cont, koron koron
'The toad just kept being there, on top of the sand, "koron-koron".'

(h) **irë_mao t-ërë-e ii-ja maa_tah_ken**
3InAna_Tmp Rm.Pst-take-Rm.Pst 3-Agt far_Neg_Cont
'Then he took O not very far.'

The particle **_re(pe)** has a 'frustrative' value; it indicates that the event described in the sentence either did not fully occur (like English 'almost', as in (42a)), or that it did not have the desired consequences (like English 'in vain', as in (42b)).

(42a) **j-anota_re**
$1S_O$-fall:Prs.Prf_Frust
'I almost fell.'

(b) **tuna_se_re w-ei**
water_Desid_Frust $1S_A$-Cop:Prs.Prf
'I wanted water (but I didn't get any).'

Finally, a certain number of adverbs have 'particle-like' uses. **Pena**, which usually means 'long ago', can also be used as a particle meaning 'already', 'yet' (43a); notice that, in this sense, it cannot be nominalized (**pena-to** can only mean 'ancestor', 'one from long ago').[14] The adverbs **kure** 'good, well, pretty' and **kutuma(ka)** 'painful, bitter' (cf. Table 6.2) can, and frequently are, used as intensifying particles (43b-c); **kure** can even occur both as an adverb and as an intensifier (cf. (33h) above). Also, the comparative postposition **apo** ‘like’ occasionally occurs by itself, without an object, apparently signaling an approximation (not unlike colloquial uses of English *sort of* or *kind of*, or even *like*); cf. (43d-e).

---

[14] One speaker compared these two uses of **pena** to the homophony between the adverb **ëwë** 'later' and the jussive particle **ëwë(h)** (cf. 9.1.1), which he described as 'two different words'.

(43a) — **pena mï-rï ?**
already 1A-make:Prs.Prf
‘Have you made (=finished) it yet?’

— **aha, pena wï-rï**
yes, already 1A-make:Prs.Prf
‘Yes, I’ve already made (=finished) it.’

(b) **kutuma i-waarë**
Intens 3-Cogn
‘S/he knows a lot.’

(c) **irëme kure tïwaarë eh-kë**
so Intens careful Cop-Imper
‘Therefore, be really careful.’

(d) **irëme Suurinan_me apo w-ei-ne**
then Surinam_Attr like 1S$_A$-Cop-Pst.Prf
‘Then I was sort-of like a Surinamese.’

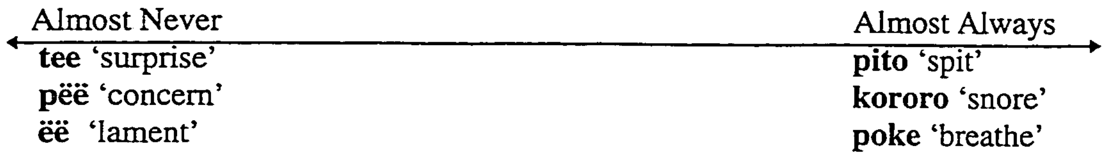
(e) **wapo w-ei-ne saasaame_ta, ma, ji-moitï_se_ta apo**
before 1S$_A$-Cop-Pst.Prf happy_Neg Attn 1-people_Desid_Neg like
‘At first I was unhappy, I sort of didn’t want/like my people.’

9.2. Lexical particles. These are particles with more concrete or lexical meanings, ranging from marking the attitude of the speaker to sound symbolism.

In the introduction, a major subdivision was made between particles that can stand alone (*independent particles*, including *sentence equivalents* and *interjections*) and those that usually do not (*ideophones*). Functionally speaking, sentence equivalents stand out as having no traceable relationship to onomatopoeia or sound symbolism (with the exception of **aha** ‘yes’; cf. below). As for interjections and ideophones, they are sometimes very similar in meaning, and the border between them is far from being hermetic. Ideophones are, more often than not, accompanied by one of the forms of the

S$_A$ verb stem **ka** 'say'. However, almost any word can, albeit infrequently, co-occur with **ka**; this includes interjections. Often enough, these are instances of indirect speech ('*Ouch!*', he said), but there are borderline cases, especially among sound symbolic particles and animal sounds: the fact that e.g. **tʃapan** 'sticking' and **koron** 'toad noise' were only found by themselves in the available corpus while **manan** 'lightning' and **siri**, **sirin** 'cricket noise' co-occurred with **ka** may have been a spurious conincidence. In certain cases, however, there is a clear preference: bodily functions (**pito** 'spit', **tonton** 'cough' etc.) almost always co-occur with **ka**, while certain interjections (**tee** 'surprise', **pëë** 'concern') almost never do, and even these occurrences are usually indirect speech. Such extremes give a certain usefulness to the distinction, which is why it is maintained here. They should be considered, however, extremes along a continuum, as in Fig. 9.1. Inevitably, the choice of the cutoff point is a subjective matter.

Figure 9.1
Particle co-occurrence with **ka** 'say'



9.2.1. Sentence equivalents. These words represent the speaker's reaction to something that the hearer has just said. More often than not, they occur as single-word sentences; even when an explicative sentence follows, they still remain extra-sentential (compare the possible positions of **_pa** 'Repetition' with the sentence equivalent **ma** 'new theme' and the conjunction **irëme** 'then, so' in (44a-d)). The clearest exception is **npa**, which can sometimes be followed by a dependent complement verb in the supine (see below).

(44a) **irëme, tïï-të-e_pa**
then Rm.Pst:S_A-go-Rm.Pst_Rpt
'Then, (s/he) went away.'

(b) **ma, tïï-të-e_pa**
NT, Rm.Pst:S_A-go-Rm.Pst_Rpt
'Well, (s/he) went away.'

(c) **irëme_pa tïï-të-e**
then_Rpt Rm.Pst:S_A-go-Rm.Pst
'Then (s/he) went away.'

(d) *** ma_pa tïïtëe** [15]

Aha signals agreement (45a-b), and its opposite, **owa**, disagreeement (45c). They are close to the English word 'yes' and 'no', but they are not entirely equivalent, since the use of **aha** and **owa** with negative questions is exactly the opposite of that of 'yes' and 'no' in English (i.e. **aha** agrees, and **owa** disagrees, regardless of the polarity of the question; cf. (45d-e)). **Owa** is clearly a word, obviously related to the negative particle **wa(a)**; it can also, given the circumstances, mean 'nothing' or 'nobody' (45d). **Aha**, on the other hand, looks less stable. Its pronunciation can vary from [aha] to [əhə], coming sometimes quite close to the agreeing sound usually spelled as 'm-m' or 'hm-hm' in English. Notice also that it is possible to find intensifying particles after **owa**, but not after **aha** (e.g. **owa_rën, owa_rën_ken** 'Not at all! Never!', with **_rën(ne)** 'truly, genuine' and **_ke(ne)** 'Continuative', but not ***aha_rën** or ***aha_rën_ken**).

(45a) — **sen_se man-a-n ?**
3InPx_Desid $2S_A$-Cop-Dbt
'Do you want this (one)?'

— **aha, i-je_w-a-e**
Agr 3-Desid_$1S_A$-Cop-Cty
'Yes, I want it.'

(b) — **ë-waarë_w-a-n ?**
2-Cogn_$1S_A$-Cop-Dbt
'Do you know me?' (am I known to you?)

— **aha, ji-waarë man-a-e**
Agr 1-Cogn $2S_A$-Cop-Cty
'Yes, I know you.' (you are known to me)

---

[15] When pronounced aloud, this sentence is interpreted as **maa_pa tïïtëe**, with the adverb **ma(a)** 'far', i.e. 'S/he went far away', which clearly is a different sentence (the speakers themselves pointed that out).

(c) — **sen_se man-a-n ?**
3InPx_Desid 2S_A-Cop-Dbt
'Do you want this (one)?'

— **owa, mërë_hkaasan**
Disagr 3InMd_Instead
'No, that one!'

(d) — **atï mï-rï-ja-n ?**
wh.In 2A-do-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'What are you doing?'

— **owa, j-urakana-e_rëken**
nothing 1S_O-stroll-Prs.Ipf-Cty_Only
'Nothing, I'm just going for a walk.'

(e) — **in-enee-wa man-a-n ?**
3O-see-Neg_2S_A-Cop-Dbt
'Don't you see it?'

— **aha, in-enee-wa_w-a-e**
Agr 3O-see-Neg_1S_A-Cop-Cty
'No (lit. Yes), I don't see it.'

(f) — **in-enee-wa_man-a-n ?**
3O-see-Neg_2S_A-Cop-Dbt
'Don't you see it?'

— **owa, w-ene**
Disagr 1A-see:Prs.Ipf:Cty
'Yes (lit. No), I see it.'

Kena 'I don't know' seems to be equivalent in meaning with the first-person form of the ignorative postposition (**ji-waame** 'I don't know'). No obvious difference was found. **Jiwaame** can also be used in the answer in (46).

(46) — **eeka-n_mao_pa n-ee-ja-n a-akoron ?**
how-Nzr_Temp_Rpt 3S_A-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 2-companion
'When is your friend coming back?'

— **kena, nërë_hkatë**
Ignor 3AnAna_up.to
'I don't know, it's up to him/her.'

Kone is used to accept a suggestion or invitation; it is reminiscent of the English 'okay' or 'all right'. It is usually preceded by **ma**, but can also occur by itself.

(47a) — **ene_se_w-a-e, ene_mïi, tïï-ka-e**
3O:see:N_Desid_1S_A-Cop-Cty 3O:see:Sup_Ven Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst
'"I want to see it, come see it," (she) said.'

— **ma kone**
NT okay
'All right.'

(b) — **ëwë_pa, k-ërepa wa-e_pitë wï-të-e, tïï-ka-e**
later_Rpt, 1+2-food:Pos fetch-Sup_a.sec 1S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst
"'Wait a little, I'll go get our food and then I'll come back," (she) said."

— **kone**
okay
'All right.'

Ma 'bye' is clearly connected to the conjunction **ma**; it may eventually be a better idea to analyze it as the same word. It is used as an answer to a leave-taking expression.

(48) — **anja_pa nï-të-e**
1+3_Rpt 3S_A-go:Prs.Prf-Cty
'We're leaving.'

(usually pronounced without the **ï**, i.e. as [a^{i}.ɲáá.pán.təɛ])

— **ma**
bye
'Bye!'

Naapohpa is the current expression for 'thank you'. Several speakers claimed that it truly meant 'that's it', but usually **irë_rë** is found in this sense. It seems to be composed of the particle **pohpa** (still unresearched; cf. 9.3) and an element **naa-**, possibly an old deictic (cf. 12.2).

(49) **irëme saasaame pahko t-ee-se tï-w-ë-ewetï_ke,**
then happy 1:father Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst 3R-S_A-Detr-feed:N_Inst

irëme naapohpa kïn-ka wïja pahko, naapohpa ji-nmuku
then thank.you 3Pst.Prf-say 1:Dat 1:father, thank.you 1-son:Pos

'Then my father was happy with his meal (which I had brought him),
so "thank you", he said to me, "thank you, my son".'

Naka is used to signal an end, a conclusion: 'it's over', 'enough', 'that's it'. A common way of ending a story is by saying **naka** 'that's it', or **naka menjaarë** 'that's it for now' (50a). **Naka wïja** 'enough to me' can be used to express the idea of satisfaction with one's portion ('no more for me'). It can also be used to talk about the end of an activity (50b), or about running out of something (50c). In the latter cases, it looks less like a sentence equivalent and more like an adverb; however, its lack of class-changing morphology vouches for its particle status.

(50a) **serë_rëken i-ponopï_se_w-a-e, naka menjaarë**
3InPx_Only 3-tell:N_Desid_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty over now
'That's all I want to tell, it's over now.'

(b) **irëme, naka i-w-eh-tuuwë irë, mëe i-w-ë-epanïh-keh-tuuwë,**
then over 3-S$_A$-Cop-Post 3InAna 3AnPx 3-S$_A$-Detr-revenge-Cess-Post

tëin_ken_pa kaikui t-ëpoo-se wïtoto_ja
once_Cont_Rpt jaguar Rm.Pst-meet-Rm.Pst person_Agt

'Then, after it was over, after he had taken his revenge, this guy met Jaguar again.'

(c) **erepa naka t-ee-se**
3:food:Pos over Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst
'S/he ran out of food.'

Npa is a hortative particle, meaning 'let's go' (equivalent, in this respect, to the hortative form of **të[mï]** 'go', which is **kïtënne** 'let's go'). It is most frequently used by itself, but it can, if need be, take a supine ('purpose-of-motion') complement (51). **Npa** sentences are the only attested cases of utterance-initial consonant clusters (cf. 2.4.1-2).

(51) **npa ! npa e-pë-e !**
Hort Hort Detr-bathe-Sup
'Let's go! Let's go bathe!'

9.2.2. Interjections and Ideophones. The most 'interjection-like' (i.e. less likely to occur with **ka**) words in this subclass are **tee** 'surprise', **pëë** 'concern' and **ëë** 'lament';[16] cf. (52a-d). They are usually pronounced with a final long vowel and a non-level intonation (**tee** quick rising, **pëë** slow rising, **ëë** slow lowering). (52a) is said by a speaker who unexpectedly meets a woman who had already been mentioned to him by his guide. (52b) is said by a speaker who realizes a distressing truth ('What am I going to do now?'); used by itself, **pëë** can express pity (e.g. when listening to someone's complaints: 'Oh, how sad/awful/bad!'). (52c) is said by Cayman, a character in a folk tale, who tried to catch a squirrel but was fooled by it instead. Notice that **ëë** can be prolonged quite dramatically, sounding like a wail. The call **ee** 'Hey!' probably belongs here, although it occurred much less frequently that the other three. In (52d), it signals that the speaker saw something that he liked (in this case, cassava beer).

(52a) **tee ! mëe ponoo-ja-n, tïï-ka-e wïtoto**
Surprise 3AnPx tell-Prs.Ipf-Dbt Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst person
'"Oh! That's the one he was talking about," the guy said.'

(b) **pëë, menjaarë mataware ii-karau w-apëi**
Concern now Mataware 3-anger 1A-catch:Prs.Prf
'Oh, now I have caused Mataware's anger.'

(c) **ëë... tïï-ka-e, ëë... m-ëës-ahpëntë-ti, tïï-ka-e**
Lament Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst Lament 1A-Detr-help:Prs.Prf-Col Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst
'"Ooohh," he said, "ooohh... you've saved yourself," he said.'

(d) **irë_mao t-ëne ii-ja, ee, t-ënïï-semï_rë**
3InPx_Temp Rm.Pst-see:Rm.Pst 3-Agt hey T-drink-O.pot_Exact
'Then he saw it, (and said,) "Hey, it's really drink (=cassava beer)!"'

---

[16] Ëë can also be pronounced with a rising intonation, in which case it is compatible with 'happier' feelings; cf. (19e) above, in which a mother finally finds her lost son.

The sound-symbolic words listed in Table 9.2 as *ideophones* were only attested with **ka** 'say'. (53) has a representative sample. In some cases, the onomatopoeic character is evident (compare e.g. **asino** 'sneeze' and English *achoo!*, Portuguese *atchim!*; **pito** 'spit' also quite resembles a spitting noise).

(53a) **tonton wï-ka-e**
cough $1S_A$-say:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am sneezing ('saying *achoo*').'

(b) **pito wï-ka-e**
spit $1S_A$-say:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am spitting.'

(c) **wiriri wï-ka-e**
whistle $1S_A$-say:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am blowing a whistle.'

(d) **përërë_n-ka-n**
drizzle_$3S_A$-say:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'It is drizzling.'

(e) **mïnïmïnï_n-ka-n**
pullulate_$3S_A$-say:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'It is pullulating (e.g. with insects).'

(f) **tïrïrï_n-ka-n**
thunder_$3S_A$-say:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'It is thundering.'

(g) **mëmëi wï-ka-e**
joke $1S_A$-say:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am making a joke.'

The sound-symbolic words listed in Table 9.2 as *interjections* occurred generally without **ka**-support, but not always (54c). Some of them refer to noises related to, or produced by, the action: in (54a), Iguana is making his typical noise as he climbs up a tree; in (54b), Tapir is hitting a tree, to cause an old enemy to fall down; in (54c), a man is led back home by the barking of the dogs. In certain cases, the sound-symbolic word is similar to the lexical verb stem used to describe the action (compare **kïï** in (54d) with **kïïka** 'rub O', and perhaps also with **[t]kï** 'grate O'; **jum** in (54e) with **juuka** 'bend O'; **meen** in (54f) with **ame[mï]** 'roll O up'), but this is not always the case (cf. (54g-h)). It is interesting to notice that some of these sound-symbolic words correspond to less 'noisy' notions (**tora**, **toran** ‘coming out, arriving’ in (54i), **taran** ‘piling up, assembling’ in (54j), **kom** ‘coming close’ in (54k), **kurun** ‘entering’ in (54l)).

(54a) **suru suru, tï-w-ënanuu-se kawë, iwana**
noise noise R.Pst-S_A-climb.R.Pst high, iguana
‘Suru-suru, he climbed high, Iguana.’

(b) **dëë, dëë, kuuh... tum, t-onota-e i-ponoo-ne-npë**
hit hit fall hit.ground Rm.Pst-fall-Rm.Pst 3-tell-A.act-Pst
‘[də:], [də:], [kuxx], [tum], he fell, the one who had told

(c) **kaikui i-jomi t-ëta-e ii-ja, aohao ka-to**
dog 3-voice Rm.Pst-hear-Rm.Pst 3-Agt wow-wow say-Circ:Nzr
‘S/he heard the barking of the dogs, saying “wow-wow.”’

(d) **irëme wïïse tï-kïïka-e ii-ja, kïï...**
then anatto Rm.Pst-rub-Rm.Pst 3-Agt rub
‘Then he rubbed anatto (on someone else), [kɨ:]...’

(e) **epï tï-juuka-e ii-ja, jum, tï-w-ët-amen-too_me_pa**
tree Rm.Pst-bend-Rm.Pst 3-Agt bend 3R-S_A-Detr-roll.up-Circ:Nzr_Attr_Rpt
‘It (=snake) bent the tree down, [jum], in order to roll itself up around it again.’

(f) **t-amen-po-e ii-ja, meen, mono wiri_htao,**
Rm.Pst-roll.up-Caus-Rm.Pst 3-Agt roll.up big:one tree.sp_Loc

sehken akoron, meen.
likewise 3:companion roll.up

‘He made it (=snake) roll itself up against the big **wiri** tree, [mɛɛŋ], and the other (snake) too, [mɛɛŋ].’

(g) **irë_tae_rë kïkïkïkïkï... tïu, akoron, tïu,**
3InAna_Perl_Exact unrolling... end 3:other end

tï-w-ët-amoihtë-e_to
Rm.Pst-S_A-Detr-hang-Rm.Pst_Col

‘In this manner, [kɨkɨkɨkɨkɨ]...[tɨʷ], it unrolled itself, and the other one too, [tɨʷ], they both were hanging loose (from the tree).’

(h) **këpëewa, ëi-pëh_ken_ta, kap... tïïnapan-në, kap... tïïnapan-në,**
but Recp-about_Cont_Neg [kap]... take.time-Inf.Nzr [kap]... take.time-Inf.Nzr
'But he didn't (shoot all the arrows) one after the other; rather, (he shot one) [kap]..., waited a little, (then shot another) [kap]..., and waited a little,...'

(i) **ma irëme tïï-të-e_pa, tï-pataa_pona_pa,**
NT then Rm.Psdt:S_A-go-Rm.Pst_Rpt 3R-village:Pos_Dir_Rpt,

toran, tï-moitï-h-tomo_ja_pa
arrive, 3R-relatives-Pos-Col_All_Rpt

'Then he went away, back to his village, [tɔɽaŋ], back to his people.'

(j) **t-ëpëi tï-rë-e ii-ja kawë, jarakapu,**
3R-seat:Pos Rm.Pst-make-Rm.Pst 3-Agt high kind.of.seat

taran taran taran taran, irë_juuwë t-ee-se
assemble assemble assemble assemble 3InAna_on.top Rm.Pst-S_A:Cop-Rm.Pst

'(He) made a seat, a **jarakapu**, up there, [taɽaŋ] [taɽaŋ] [taɽaŋ] [taɽaŋ], there it was, on top of it (=the tree).'

(k) **kom, tï-w-ëe-se_pa kaikui**
back Rm.Pst-S_A-come-Rm.Pst_Rpt jaguar
'[kɔm], Jaguar came back.'

(l) **irë_mao_rëken t-eetainka-e kaikui...**
3InAna_Temp_Only Rm.Pst-S_A:run-Rm.Pst jaguar

kurun, tï-w-ëmën-je wakapu oota-h_tao
enter Rm.Pst-S_A-enter-Rm.Pst tree.sp 3:hole-Pos_In

'Only then did Jaguar run... [kuɽuŋ], he entered into hole of the **wakapu** tree.'

9.3. Other possible particles. The following words were attested in the corpus; although their status is not known, they are good candidates for additional particles (although some may turn out to be adverbs). Further research should help decide the issue.

(55a)	**aenenpa**	'show me!'
(b)	**aine**	'okay (?)'
(c)	**aito**	'dear'
(d)	**ekepï**	'dead'
(e)	**hkaanara**	'?'[17]
(f)	**ito**	'?'
(g)	**konkomo**	'only (?)'
(h)	**mïra, sera**	'like that', 'like this'[18]
(i)	**neewan**	'this one (?)'
(j)	**nehken**	'?'
(k)	**nete**	'?'
(l)	**nka**	'?'
(m)	**nna**	'like this', 'in this manner'
(n)	**pohpa**	'?'
(o)	**tahkanara**	'?'[19]
(p)	**të(ë)**	'old, ancient (?)'
(q)	**weinën**	'beginning (?)'

---

[17] This word must be related to the **hka** subgroup of second-position particles.

[18] These particles seem to contain the proximal and distal formatives (**se** and **më**; cf. 12.2).

[19] This word must be related to the **tahka** subgroup of second-position particles.

10. SYNTAX

10.1. Introduction. Of all aspects of grammar, it is in the realm of syntax that Cariban languages are least understood, in spite of having attained world celebrity with cases of OVS as the basic word order (cf. e.g. Derbyshire & Pullum 1981). There are more detailed studies for two languages, Carib (also known as Kari'na: Hoff 1968, 1978, 1986, 1990, 1995, and also Gildea 1994a) and Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1979, 1985, 1986a). The syntax of four other languages has received some attention: Apalai (Koehn & Koehn 1986), De'kwana (Hall 1988), Macushi (Abbott 1991, Carson 1981), and Waiwai (Hawkins 1998). Given this situation, any generalizations in the area of Cariban syntax are at best tentative.

As far as extant knowledge goes, however, Tiriyó is a fairly typical Cariban language. It has several recognizable phrase types (cf. 10.2): noun, verb and postpositional phrases. The possessive noun phrase in Tiriyó is different from the general Cariban pattern (cf. Gildea 1998:112-113); the others, however, seem to be almost pan-Cariban (cf. Gildea 1998:61ff for the OV verb phrase, described in terms of the morphosyntactic behavior of the 3AO prefix **n-**; cf. Gildea [to appear] for a diachronic perspective). The basic main clause types (cf. 10.3) include equative and conjugated or Set I (copular, intransitive and transitive), which are widely attested in the family, but also remote past (**t- -se**) and habitual past (**-se**) clauses, which are not. The most frequent subordinate clauses are verbal nominalizations, which is also the usual case in the family; there are, however, finite (conjugated) subordinate adverbial clauses (cf. 10.4.1.1). Interestingly, the preferred word order is not the same in all clause types; Tiriyó could be described as a 'split-word-order' language (cf. Gildea [to appear]). Identifiable semantic roles include A, O and S, as well as peripheral participants (with datives having a special status) marked with postpositions.

In the following sections, various aspects of Tiriyó syntax are examined in detail. The main formal units (phrases, clauses, sentences, etc.) are dealt with in 10.2-3, while the main semantic units (roles and grammatical relations) are treated in 10.4. A description of phrase types is given in 10.2, followed by a presentation of the main clause and sentence types in 10.3 and of complex sentences and subordination in 10.4. A first approach at higher-level problems (coordination, topic, rheme, and word order) are addressed in 10.4.2 and 10.5.

10.1.1. Formal units. Not all combinations of words are well-formed, understandable, reasonable utterances in Tiriyó. One of the main goals of a syntactic description is the characterization of the various restrictions involved in the combination of words to form acceptable Tiriyó utterances. For this purpose, the following *formal units* or were found useful (their relationships are shown in the schema of Fig. 10.1).

— *(grammatical) word*: a syntactic element, either a clitic or a root with or without affixes, used to form phrases;

— *phrase*: a combination of one or more words which occupies a position within a clause;

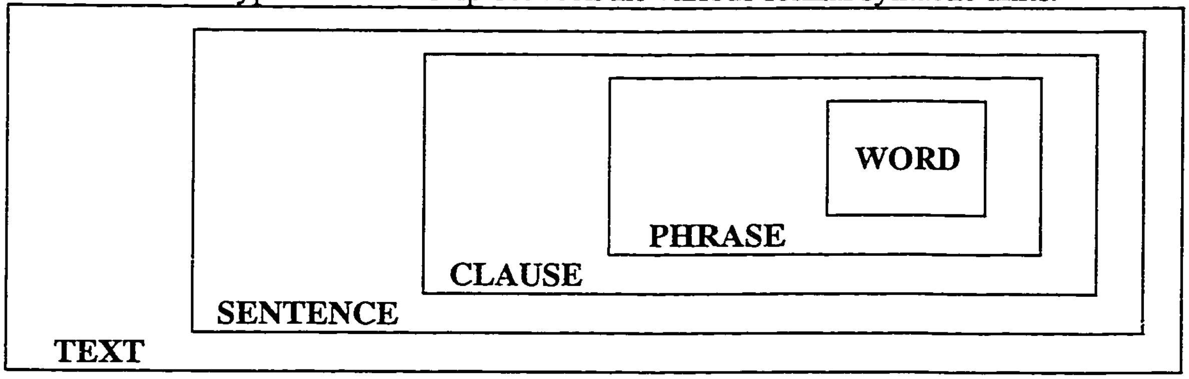
— *clause:* a combination of one or more phrases which occupies a syntactic slot within a sentence;

— *sentence*: a combination of one or more clauses which occupies a position within a text;

— *text*: a coherent group of one or more sentences.

Figure 10.1

Prototypical relationship between the various formal syntactic units.



As was the case for the other structural levels of Tiriyó (cf. 1.4.1. for the phonology and 3.2 for the morphology), the hierarchical organization of Fig. 10.1 is only an approximation, a reference grid which is superimposed on actual Tiriyó data. As always, reality is more fluid. It is not always clear whether or not a certain sequence of words is a phrase, or a clause, or something intermediate. The *form-meaning continuum*, which was mentioned in 3.2 in connection with morphological units, can be extended to the syntactic domain, with specific sequences of words having varying degrees of syntactic cohesion. The partitioning of this continuum suggested by Fig. 10.1 is meant as a descriptive tool, justifiable only inasmuch as it proves useful in dealing with actual Tiriyó texts.

10.1.2. Constituency criteria. In arguing for constituency structure, the following factors (inspired in Givón 1995:177ff) have been found useful:

— linear ordering;

— intonation and pauses;

— separability

— clitics and second-position particles.

Linear ordering refers to restrictions in the ordering of words. It is here assumed that a situation in which a certain sequence A B is possible, but *B A is not, as in (1e-f), is an argument in favor of A and B forming a phrase [A B]. Dramatic semantic changes, as in (1c-d), are also symptoms of constituent status (although further information on the syntactic patterns of the language is necessary to ascertain whether it is in (1c), or in (1d), or in both, that one finds a constituent).

(1a) **ji-pawana w-eporï**
1-friend:Pos 1A-meet:Prs.Prf
'I have met my friend.'

(b) **w-eporï ji-pawana**
1A-meet:Prs.Prf 1-friend:Pos
'I have met my friend.'

(c) **pahko i-pawana**
1:father 3-friend:Pos
'My father's friend.'

(d) **i-pawana pahko**
3-friend:Pos 1:father
'My father is his/her friend.'

(e) **pahko akoronma-n**
1:father help:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he is helping my father.'

(f) *** akoronma-n pahko**

Intonations and pauses refers to the rhythmic properties of speech as revealed by the tendencies to associate elements in *intonational units* or to separate them with *pauses*. Roughly speaking, pauses (which usually delimit intonational units) should not break a syntactic constituent, but rather occur at its edges. In fact, if pauses are inserted between words that form a constituent, dramatic changes in meaning can result, as in (2a-b).[1]

(2a) **pahko akëërë nï-tën**
1:father with $3S_A$-go:Prs.Prf
'S/he has gone with my father.'

(b) **pahko, akëërë nïtën**
1:father 3:with $3S_A$-go:Prs.Prf
'My father has gone with hím/hér.'

---

[1] Sometimes (for instance, when they are unsure about what to say next, or when they cannot remember a word), speakers will make pauses between constituent elements of a phrase. When they speak fast, they may also not produce any recognizable pause between two constituents. It is a sad truth that the analyst's subjective judgment is often necessary to decide whether or not one is dealing with a 'significant pause'—or lack thereof.

(c) **pahko i-pawana nï-tën**
1:father 3-friend:Pos $3S_A$-go:Prs.Prf
'My father's friend has gone.'

(d) **pahko, i-pawana nï-tën**
1:father 3-friend:Pos $3S_A$-go:Prs.Prf
'Father! His/her friend has gone.'

The fact that the occurrence of a pause between **pahko** 'my father' and **akëërë** 'with (him/her)' in (2b), and between **pahko** and **i-pawana** 'his/her friend' in (2d), completely changes the meaning of the clause argues in favor of the hypothesis that these words form constituents (a postpositional phrase [**pahko akëërë**] 'with my father' and a possessive phrase [**pahko i-pawana**] 'my father's friend').

Separability refers to the possibility of inserting elements between words. If a given sequence of words is not separable (or if it is separable only with a dramatic change in meaning), then it is assumed to form a constituent. For instance, (3a-b) show that the sequence **pahko i-pawana** 'my father's friend' cannot be broken by the main verb, which is an argument in favor of considering it a single consituent [**pahko i-pawana**] (a possessive phrase). This can be contrasted with (3c-d), which shows that the sequence **pahko kanawaimë_tao** 'my father in the airplane' can be broken by **neejan** 'is coming'.

(3a) **pahko i-pawana n-ee-ja-n**
1:father 3-friend:Pos $3S_A$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Father's friend is coming.'

(b) * **pahko n-ee-ja-n i-pawana**

(c) **pahko kanawaimë_tao n-ee-ja-n**
1:father airplane_In $3S_A$-come-Prs:Ipf-Dbt
'My father is coming by airplaine.'

(d) **pahko n-ee-ja-n kanawaimë_tao**
1:father $3S_A$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt airplane_In
'My father is coming by airplane.'

Clitics can be used to define boundaries, since they must occur at phrase boundaries (cf. 3.2.1); (4a-b) exemplifies this with the clitic postposition **_pëe** 'Ablative (from)'.

Second-position particles are especially useful clitics, since they have a predetermined position within the clause: they must follow the first constituent (but see below). The examples given in 3.2, with the particles **_pa** 'repetition' and **_mo** 'irrealis', are repeated here as (4c-f) for the sake of convenience (cf. also 9.1.3).

(4a) **pahko i-pataa_pëe**
1:father 3-village:Pos_Abl
'From my father's village.'

(b) * **pahko_pëe i-pata**

(c) **m-eta_pa?**
2A-hear:Prs.Prf_Rpt
'Did you hear it again?'

(d) **m-ënë-i_mo**
2A-eat-Hyp_Irr
'You would eat it.'

(e) **pahko_pa m-eta?**
1:father_Rpt 2A-hear:Prs.Prf
'Did you hear my father again?'

(f) **i-pun_mo m-ënë-i**
3-meat_Irr 2A-eat-Hyp
'You would eat its meat.'

The examples in (4c-f) show that **_pa** and **_mo** are not suffixes: they do not have to follow a specific word. It might seem at first that they have to be placed after the first word in the clause; however, as (5) shows, it is possible for some, but not all, groups of words to occur in the position before the irrealis particle **_mo**. A sequence of words which has the capacity of occupying this position is assumed to form a consituent (in (5f), the possessive phrase [**pahko i-pawana**] 'my father's friend'). The examples in (6) illustrate the same kind of behavior for **_nai**, the third-person present gnomic form of the copula **e(i)** (cf. 5.4.4).

(5a) **pahko_mo w-eta-i**
1:father_Irr 1A-hear-Hyp
'I would hear father.'

(b) * **pahko w-eta-i_mo**[2]

---

[2] This sentence can be rendered acceptable by inserting a suitable pause: **pahko, w-eta-i_mo** 'father, I would hear him.' This was also true for (5d) (**pahko, Tëpu_po_mo w-eta-i** 'my father, I would hear him in Tepoe'), but not for (5e). The same was true for (6b, d), although the necessary pause in (6b) was much less noticeable, so that it sometimes seemed that (6b) was acceptable. However, the same speaker still preferred (6a) to (6b) when both were pronounced as one intonational unit.

(c) **pahko_mo Tëpu_po w-eta-i**
1:father_Irr Tepoe_Loc 1A-hear-Hyp
'I would hear father in Tepoe.'

(d) *** pahko Tëpu_po_mo w-eta-i**

(e) *** pahko_mo i-pawana w-eta-i**

(f) **pahko i-pawana_mo w-eta-i**
1:father 3-friend:Pos_Irr 1A-hear-Hyp
'I would hear father's friend.'

(6a) **pahko_n-ai ë-waarë**
1:father_3S$_{A}$-Cop 2-Cogn
'You know my father.'

(b) **? pahko ë-waarë_n-ai**

(c) **pahko_n-ai kure ë-waarë**
1:father_3S$_{A}$-Cop well 2-Cogn
'You know my father well.'

(d) *** pahko kure_n-ai ë-waarë**

(e) *** pahko_n-ai i-pawana ë-wa7arë**

(f) **pahko i-pawana_n-ai ë-waarë**
1:father 3-friend:Pos_3S$_{A}$-Cop 2-Cogn
'You know my father's friend.'

In (7), it can be seen that the position before **_mo** is the first one not within the sentence, but within the clause (i.e. the preceding subordinate adverbial clause **mure këi_ke ahtao** 'if a child has fever' does not count).

(7) **mure këi_ke ahtao, katamïïmë eeku_ke_mo tï-pï**
child fever_Inst if liana.sp 3:sap_Inst_Irr t-bathe:Imper
'If a child has fever, bathe him/her with *katamïïmë* sap.'

The behavior of second-position particles needs some further qualifications. Sentences such as (5b, d) were consistently refused by all consulted speakers, even outside of elicitation (e.g. in a conversation with a speaker from Tepoe, the author once said **anja neh_pa** 'we (excl.) came back', which was immediately corrected to **anja_pa ne**, i.e. the speaker did not like a sentence in which the particle **_pa** 'repetition' occured at the end of the clause rather than after its first constituent). However, in texts, sentences in which these particles occur in positions other than the second, albeit a minority (less than 10% of the occurrences in the available corpus), are by no means unattested, especially with the particle **_pa** 'repetition' (cf. also 9.1.3.1). (8a) has **_pitë** 'temporary', (8b) has **_pa** 'repetition', and (8c) has **_nai** 'copula' in unexpected positions.

(8a) **irë apo m-ei-ne wapo_pitë, ë-pun saasaame kïn-ei**
3InAna like 2S$_A$-Cop-Pst.Prf first_a.sec 2-body happy 3Pst.Prf-Cop
'You were like this at first, your body was happy.'

(b) **irë_mao n-ee-ja-n_pa tï-pïtï_ja_pa**
3InAna_Tmp 3S$_A$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt_Rpt 3R-wife_All_Rpt
'Then he comes back to his wife.'

(c) **irë-npë_pëe mëe i-nmuku anïhta-ewa_n-ai**
3InAna-Pst_Abl 3AnPx 3-son:Pos grow-Neg_3S$_A$-Cop
'After that, his/her son is not going to grow.'

About examples such as these, the following suggestions come to mind:

(a) It is conceivable that small pauses in (8a-b) actually mark the initial elements (**irë_mao, irë apo, meine**) as extra-sentential although they were not clearly perceptible.

(b) Some combinations involving particles seem to show a certain degree of lexicalization. Thus, as was said in 9.1.3.1, the verb **të[mï]** 'go' and the particle **_pa** often seem to form a unit (meaning 'go away', 'leave'). **Wapo_pitë** 'at first' (implying a later change), in (8a), may be one such case.

Thus, a certain degree of care is necessary when evaluating constituency arguments involving second-position particles. The three predicational particles **_pa, _pitë** and **_mo** (cf. 9.1.3.1), and the present gnomic copula forms **_nai** 's/he is' and **_wae** 'I am' (cf. 5.4.4), are by far the most frequent ones in the corpus; of the three, only **_mo** did not deviate from strict second-position behavior in over 200 occurrences (i.e. a hierarchy of 'degree of second-position-ness' would have **_mo** > **_pitë**, **_nai**, **_wae** > **_pa**). Therefore, an argument using **_mo** is considered stronger than one involving any of the other second-position clitics.

10.1.3. Semantic-syntactic units: roles and grammatical relations. All languages are sensitive to the relationship between *events* and *participants*, a relationship which includes both *semantic* and *pragmatic-discourse* dimensions. Individual languages can differ in the relative importance they give to these dimensions (cf. e.g. Mithun & Chafe 1999). Some of them give precedence to semantic considerations, so that the actual perceived characteristics of a given participant (e.g. 'volitionality', 'control', 'affectedness', 'motility', 'salience', etc.; cf. e.g. Mithun 1991, Hardy 1988) explain its grammatical behavior, while others let pragmatic, discourse-oriented categories (e.g. 'topic', 'rheme', 'focus', 'new vs. given information', 'determinacy', etc.; cf. Davis 1987a-b) direct the choice of grammatical possibilities. Classes of participants that are grammatically 'treated alike' can be termed *roles* if they are semantically based, and *grammatical relations* if their source is elsewhere (usually, discourse pragmatics). However, if it is true that a clear-cut, all-or-nothing distinction between semantics and pragmatics is not possible (and sometimes not even useful), it follows that no deep conceptual rift separates roles from grammatical relations. Many theories have taken strong positions about distinguishing them, and also about the number of categories ('Agent', 'Patient', 'Subject', 'Object', 'Topic', etc.) that they should include; there might even be a 'universal set' of categories from which every language would pick a subset to actualize. This, however, is not the viewpoint taken here (cf. Davis 1987a-b, 1993, 1995, 1997, for criticisms of such positions).

In the present work, roles and grammatical relations are used as *descriptive tools*. A certain categorial label ('Subject', 'Agent', etc.) is used only if enough grammatical similarities can be found to characterize a certain group of participants (i.e. when it becomes useful to think about them as a class), just as labels such as 'noun', 'verb' or 'adjective' are used for classes of stems that share important grammatical similarities. Thus, the important question here is not what Tiriyó subjects or agents are like, but if there are any reasons to describe certain participants as 'subjects' or 'agents' (or any other label) in Tiriyó.

The following grammatical parameters, which are discussed in detail in the sections below, have been found relevant for the classification of participants in Tiriyó:

— person marking on verbs;

— verbal nominalizations;

— case-marking patterns;

— control of coreference;

— 'equi' deletion

10.1.3.1. Nuclear participants. *Person marking on verbs* occurs in the conjugated (Set I) verb forms. As was said in 5.2.1, transitive and intransitive stems can be easily recognized: transitive stems can take all person-marking prefixes, implying two participants, while intransitive stems only take one of two subsets of prefixes, implying only one participant.

Any additional participants have no effect on person marking. The implicit participants that affect person marking are here called *nuclear participants*; for the others, the term *peripheral participants* is used. (9a-f) exemplify transitive verbs, i.e. those which describe events with two nuclear participants, and (9g-j) exemplify intransitive verbs, i.e. those which describe events with one nuclear participant.

(9a) **j-eemi w-epinëë-ja-e**
1-daughter:Pos 1A-medicate-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am medicating my daughter.'

(b) **w-aitë-ne**
1A-push-Pst.Prf
'I pushed him/her/it.'

(c) **Kurapina tï-njo inonta-ne**
Kurapina 3R-husband abandon-Pst.Prf
'Kurapina abandoned her husband.'

(d) **nï-pï**
3AO-bathe:Prs.Prf
'S/he has bathed him/her/it.'

(e) **karaman tï-tamu eta-n**
chief 3R-grandfather:Pos hear:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'The chief is hearing/listening to his grandfather.'

(f) **n-ene-n**
3AO-see:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he is seeing/looking at him/her/it.'

(g) **mure n-ëënïï-ja-n**
child 3S_A-sleep-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'The child is sleeping.'

(h) **ji-këhtun-ta-e**
1S_O-scream-Fut.Ipf-Cty
'I will scream.'

(i) **anja n-e-pï-ja-e**
1+3 1S_A-Detr-bathe-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'We (excl.) are bathing.'

(j) **k-onota**
1+2S_O-fall:Prs.Prf
'We (incl.) have fallen.'

In (9a, c, e), the two nuclear participants of a transitive verb stem are present as overt noun phrases; in (9b, d, f), they are not present, but their existence is implicitly assumed. Thus, in (9d), there are two participants, a more 'motile' or 'active' one ('the one that does the bathing'), and a more 'inert' or 'passive' one ('the one that is bathed'). The former is here termed the *A participant*, and the latter, the *O participant*. In (9g-j), there is only one participant, either explicitly (9g, i) or implicitly (9h, j) present. Tiriyó also conflates more clearly 'agent-like' participants (9a, c) with less obviously agentive ones

(9e). Note that the number of nuclear participants is a crucial feature of the event described by a given stem: if participants are added or deleted, the result is treated as a different event, for which a different verb stem, usually derived from the original one with valence-changing morphology, is necessary. Compare the stem **[t]pï** 'bathe O' in (9d) with the detransitivized stem **e-pï** 'bathe self' (10a) and with the causativized stem **[t]pï-po** 'make O be bathed' (10c), or the stem **këhtu(mu)** 'scream' in (9h) with the stem **këhtun-në(pï)** 'make O scream' in (10b).

(10b) **s-e-pï-ja-e**
1S$_A$-Detr-bathe-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am bathing (myself).'

(b) **mure wi-këhtun-neë-ja-e**
child 1A-scream-Trvzr-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am making the child scream.'

(c) **j-ekï wï-pï-po-e manko_ja**
1-pet:Pos 1A-bathe-Caus:Prs.Ipf-Cty 1:mother_Causee
'I am making my mother bathe my pet.'

In 5.2.2, several morphological parameters were mentioned as criteria for dividing the class of intransitive verb stems into two subclasses, for which the labels S$_A$ and S$_O$ were proposed. These labels are based on the similarities between the marking of the A and O participants on transitive stems and the marking of the intransitive participant on stems of the two intransitive classes. As an illustration, Table 5.2, in which the various person-marking prefixes are compared, is repeated below as Table 10.1.

Table 10.1
A comparison of person-marking prefixes on intransitive and transitive verbs.

Person	A	S$_A$	O	S$_O$
1	**w-, wi-, wï-**	**w-, wï-, s-, t-**	**j-, ji-**	**j-, ji-**
2	**m-, mi-, mï-**	**m-, mï-**	**ë-, a-, o-**	**ë-, a-, o-**
1+2	**kït-, kii-, k(:)-**	**kï-, kït-, k(:)-**	**kï-, k(e)-**	**kï-, k(e>ë)-**
3	**n-, ni-, nï-**	**n-, nï-**	**n-, ni-, nï-**	**n-, ni-, nï-**

The parallelism between these forms immediately suggests the conflation of the A/S_A and the O/S_O categories, so as to form a (semantically based) system of the kind that Dixon 1979, 1994 calls *split-S* and Mithun 1991 *Agent-Patient*. However, as 5.2.2 and 5.3.1.1 have attempted to show, the expected semantic basis is missing; rather, S_A verbs can be more easily characterized as the class of all detransitivized stems, with a few additional exceptions. On account of that, the morphological parallelism illustrated in Table 10.1 cannot be used to define A/S_A and O/S_O as *semantic roles*; it remains as a purely 'formal' alignment, with a historical rather than a semantic explanation.

Verbal nominalizations add further arguments to the discussion of participant types. As was seen in 4.2.2.1, all verbal nominalization processes result in nouns that either refer to the event as a whole, or to one of the participants involved in the event. Table 4.5, which contains a summary overview of the nominalizing suffixes, is repeated as Table 10.2 below. The examples are based on the transitive stems **eeka** 'bite O' and on the intransitive stems **etainka** 'run' (S_A) and **potïna** 'whistle' (S_O).

Table 10.2
Nominalizers classified according to their event- or participant-orientedness.

	A	O	S	Event / Circumstance
Front Grade ('+Poss', 'Specific', 'Actual')	**-ne** 'A.act'	**n-** 'O.act'	**i- -ke(tï)** 'S.act'	**-Ø** 'Specific Infinitive' **-to(po)** 'Circumstance'
Back Grade ('-Poss', 'Generic', 'Potential')	**-to-(no)** 'A.pot'	**t- -se(mï)** 'O.pot'	**t- -se(mï)** 'S.pot'	**-në** 'Generic Infinitive'

(11a) **eeka-ne**
3:bite-A.act.Nzr
'biter, who has bitten (something)'

(b) **ëëka-ton**
bite-A.pot.Nzr
'who bites, capable of biting'

(c) **i-n-eeka**
3-O.act.Nzr-bite
'bitten thing (by something)'

(d) **t-ëëka-en**
T-bite-O.pot.Nzr
'thing that can/will be bitten'

(e) **etainka-ke**
run(S_A)-S.act.Nzr
'runner, who runs'

(f) **t-eetainka-en**
T-run-S.pot.Nzr
'runner, who can/will run'

(g) **i-potïna-ke**
I-whistle-S.act.Nzr
'whistler, who whistles'

(h) **tï-potina-en**
T-whistle-S.pot.Nzr
'whistler, who can/will whistle'

(i) **ëëka-në**
bite-G.Inf
'biting'

(j) **w-etainka-në**
S_A-run-G.Inf
'running'

(k) **potïna-në**
whistle-G.Inf
'whistling'

(l) **eeka_se**
3:bite:N_Desid
'wanting to bite O'

(m) **i-w-etainka_se**
3-S_A-run:N_Desid
'wanting S_A to run'

(n) **i-potïna_se**
3-whistle:N_Desid
'wanting to whistle'

The participant-oriented nominalizations clearly identify the A and O participants of transitive verbs, and in two different ways: (a) the semantic result refers to one of them (i.e. **-ne**, **-to-(no)** (11a-b) refer to the A participant, while **n-** and **t-** **-se(mï)** (11c-d) refer to the O participant), and (b) by virtue of its 'potential' vs. 'actual' semantics, it has an effect on the 'sharpness' (specificity, definiteness) of the other participant (e.g. **-ne** is A-oriented, but, by virtue of being actual, presupposes a more specific O participant, while **-to-(no)**, being more potential, presupposes only a very generic, non-specific O participant). Furthermore, the event nominalizations also play with the 'sharpness' of the nuclear participants: **-në** appears to 'erase' them (11i-k), so as to refer to a situation in which they are very unimportant or unknown, while -∅ (11l-m) keeps them still specific and usually identifiable.

For the participant of intransitive verbs, however, the picture is less clear. On the one hand, the nominalizer **i- -ke(tï)**, which refers to an actual intransitive participant, clearly separates it from the two transitive participants (i.e. it is an S-nominalizer, not e.g. an A-nominalizer; in fact, it cannot even occur on transitive verb stems). Furthermore, **t- -se(mï)**, which refers to a potential intransitive participant, is actually the same as the potential O nominalizer that occurs on transitive stems, i.e. it is actually an O/S or *absolutive* nominalizer.

The picture is further complicated if one takes into account the existence of O-V verb phrases (cf. 10.2.2). The syntactic patterns which identify a transitive verb stem with a preceding O noun phrase as a constituent also single out the O participant as different from the A and S_A/S_O participants—i.e. a *nominative* pattern.

The *case-marking patterns* of verb forms other than the conjugated (Set I) ones also show interesting participant alignments. In the **t- -se** 'remote past' form (cf. 10.3.1.4), an *ergative* pattern can be observed: A participants are overtly marked with the postposition **_:ja** (12a), while O and S_A/S_O participants remain unmarked (12b-c). The same is also true for the Cause and Posteriority forms (cf. 10.4.1.2.2).

(12a) **kaikui i-jomi t-ëta-e meri_ja**
jaguar 3-voice:Pos Rm.Pst-hear-Rm.Pst squirrel.sp_Agt
'The squirrel heard the jaguar's voice.'

(b) **t-eetainka-e pai**
Rm.Pst:S_A-run-Rm.Pst tapir
'The tapir ran (away).'

(c) **irë_po tï-këhtun-je wïtoto**
3InAna_Loc Rm.Pst-scream-Rm.Pst person
'There the person screamed.'

The negative, supine ('purpose-of-motion') and habitual past forms (cf. 10.3.1.4-5, 10.3.2) show another case of a *nominative* pattern. In all of them, the O participant can be marked as a prefix on the verb, while the A/S participant occurs as an independent element, not marked on the verb. In the negative form, the A/S participant can occur as an independent noun phrase, or as a person-marking prefix on an accompanying copula (13a-c); on the supine, it is marked on the verb of motion on which the supine depends (13d-f); and with habitual past forms, since no copula or auxiliary is possible, only the 'overt noun phrase' option is available (13g-i). In all these cases, the A and the S_A/S_O participants pattern together, while the O participant behaves differently.

(13a) **kaikui in-eta-ewa_w-ei (wï)**
jaguar 3Neg-hear-Neg_1S_A-Cop:Prs.Prf 1
'I haven't heard the jaguar's voice.'

(b) **etainka-ewa_w-ei**
run(S_A)-Neg_1S_A-Cop:Prs.Prf
'I haven't run.'

(c) **i-potïna-ewa_w-ei**
I-whistle(S_O)-Neg_1S_A-Cop:Prs.Prf
'I haven't whistled.'

(d) **ë-eta-e wï-të-e**
2-hear-Sup 1S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I'll go there to listen to you.'

(e) **etainka-e wï-të-e**
run(S_A)-Sup 1S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I'll go there to run.'

(f) **i-potïna-e wï-të-e**
I-whistle(S_O)-Sup 1S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I'll go there to whistle.'

(g) **pahko eta-e wï**
1:father hear-Hab 1
'I used to listen to my father.'

(h) **etainka-e wï**
run(S_A)-Hab 1
'I used to run.'

(i) **i-potïna-e wï**
I-whistle(S_O)-Hab 1
'I used to whistle.'

The pattern shown by the participants that have the capacity of *controlling coreference*, i.e. being the possessors of nouns which have the 'third-person reflexive' or '3R' prefix **t(ï)-** (cf. 3.3.1.3), is again *nominative*: the A and S_A/S_O participants always control it, while the O participant never does (14a-c). Notice that this is independent of the verb form: the remote past, in which O and S_A/S_O pattern together with respect to case marking, also groups A with S_A/S_O with respect to coreference control (14d).

(14a) **ji-pawana pahko eta-n tï-pakoro-h_tao** (A controls)
1-friend:Pos 1:father hear:Prs.Ipf-Dbt 3R-house-Pos_In
'My friend$_i$ is listening to my father in his$_i$ house.'

(b) **ji-pawana n-e-pï-ja-n tï-pakoro-h_tao** (S_A controls)
1-friend:Pos 3S_A-Detr-bathe-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 3R-house-Pos_In
'My friend$_i$ is bathing in his$_i$ house.'

(c) **ji-pawana ni-potïna-n tï-pakoro-h_tao** (S_O controls)
1-friend:Pos 3S_O-whistle:Prs.Ipf-Dbt 3R-house-Pos_In
'My friend$_i$ is whistling in his$_i$ house.'

(d) **pahko t-ëta-e ji-pawana-rï_ja tï-pakoro-h_tao** (A_ja controls)
1:father Rm.Pst-hear-Rm.Pst 1-friend:Pos_Agt 3R-house-Pos_In
'My friend$_i$ heard my father in his$_i$ house.'

Finally, the cases of what is traditionally called 'equi-deletion', i.e. the 'persistence' of a previous participant in a coordinated clause in which one explicit participant is missing (as in e.g. 'John went home and ate lunch') apparently follow the same pattern as that of the overt case marking: *ergative* in the Remote Past (15a), and *nominative* in the conjugated forms (15b). Thus, in (15a), the S_A participant of the first clause is identified with the O participant of the second clause, while in (15b) the same S_A participant (dependent on the S_A verb stem **ëe(pï)** 'come') is identified with the A participant of the following clause.

(15a) **ma, irë_mao_rëken tï-w-ëe-se ariweimë, t-ëne ii-ja.**
Attn 3InAna_Tmp_only Rm.Pst-S_A-come-Rm.Pst cayman Rm.Pst-see-Rm.Pst 3-Agt
'Well, only then did the cayman$_i$ come, and he$_j$ saw him$_i$.'

(b) **wei waraarë n-ee-ja-n, ni-tuuka-n**
day every 3S_A-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 3AO-hit:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Every day he$_i$ comes and then (he$_i$) hits him$_j$.'

After looking at all the above evidence, one cannot help a certain sense of disorder. It would seem that almost every possible combination of participants is instantiated in some construction. To facilitate the comparison, the various cases are summarized in Table 10.3.

Table 10.3
Participant alignment in Tiriyó

Pattern	**Constructions**
Split-S $(A = S_A \neq S_O = O)$	Conjugated (Set I) person-marking prefixes Other patterns involved in the S_A/S_O distinction (cf. 5.2.2)
Tripartite $(A \neq S_A = S_O \neq O)$	'Actual Participant' Nominalizations (**-ne**, **n-**, **i- -ke(tï)**)
Nominative $(A = S_A = S_O \neq O)$	Verb (O-V) Phrase (when A, O are third-person) Case Marking in Negative, Supine, and Habitual Past Coreference Control Equi-deletion with Conjugated (Set I) clauses
Ergative $(A \neq S_A = S_O = O)$	'Potential Participant' Nominalizations (**-to-(no)**, **t- -se(mï)**) Case Marking in Remote Past (**t- -se**) clauses Equi-deletion in Remote Past (**t- -se**) clauses[3]

Thus, Tiriyó ends up having a rather complicated 'split-participant' system. Although not unthinkable, it would seem rather oversimplifying to claim that Tiriyó is 'merely' a tense-based split ergative system, since certain tenses/constructions have more than one pattern at the same time (Conjugated forms are 'split-S', but they have 'nominativity' in the O-V phrase and in coreference control; the Remote Past is 'ergative', but it has 'nominativity' in the coreference control). In such a situation, it does not seem useful to posit categories such as 'agent' or 'subject'; rather, the four categories in terms of which the patterns are described—A, O, S_A and S_O (the latter two often conflated as S)—look like more interesting tools.

---

[3] It must be said that equi-deletion cases have not been studied at length yet; this particular aspect is tentative.

Of course, as research progresses and more details about the intricacies of Tiriyó grammar and semantics become known, hypotheses and generalizations are bound to change. At the current stage of our knowledge, however, the following remark seems valid:

— In order to understand the behavior of Tiriyó participants, semantic features ('volitionality', 'affectedness', 'control', etc.) do not seem crucial. Participants that show all kinds of combinations of these features (e.g. the A participants of stems like **tuuka** 'hit O' and **ene** 'see O', or the S participants of the S_A and S_O verb stems listed in 5.2.2 and 5.3.1.1) seem to have the same the same morphosyntactic possibilities. The various possible subgroupings of participants, and the morphosyntactic treatment that these groupings receive, seem to be more insightfully understandable as consequences of their *history*. Thus, once one realizes that the **t- -se(mï)** nominalizer and the **t- -se** 'Remote Past' are historically connected (cf. 4.2.2.1.2), the fact that both are involved in ergative patterns ceases to look like a coincidence; the same is true for the Negative, Supine and Habitual Past constructions (cf. 5.4.3.1). In the spirit of Gildea (to appear), who suggests that word order for certain constructions may be a consequence of their diachronic evolution rather than the result of general discourse tendencies in the language, it may be proposed that case marking and syntactic alignment patterns may sometimes be 'fossil remnants of older constructions' rather than indicators of synchronic meaning. The best candidate for this interpretation is the 'epiphenomenal split-S system' as described in 5.2.2.

10.1.3.2. Peripheral participants. The existence of a verbal nominalization process that refers to a 'circumstance' (the suffix **-to(po)**; cf. 4.2.2.1.5) suggests itself as a way of identifying peripheral participants, since, in its most concrete (i.e. participant-like) sense (cf. 4.2.2.15 for its 'less concrete' uses as an event nominalization), the suffix **-to(po)** can derive nominalizations referring to 'circumstances': places (16a-b) or instruments (16c-f), but not to any *nuclear participant* (i.e. one that affects person marking on the conjugated verb).

(16a) **mërë_tao t-ëënïï-ja-e**
3InMd_In 1S_A-sleep-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I sleep in(side) that place.'

(b) **mërë_n-ai ji-w-ëënïh-to**
3InMd_3S_A-Cop 1-S_A-sleep-Circ.Nzr
'That is my place for sleeping.'

(c) **sen_ke t-ët-uru-ja-e**
3InPx_Inst 1S_A-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I can talk with this.'
(e.g. a radio, a megaphone).

(d) **sen_n-ai ji-w-ët-uru-to**
3InPx_3S_A-Cop 1-S_A-Detr-talk-Circ.Nzr
'This is my instrument for talking.'

(e) **sen_ke ji-je wii-suka-e**
3InPx_Inst 1-tooth 1A-wash:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I wash my teeth with that.'

(e) **sen_n-ai ji-je ii-suka-to**
3InPx_3S_A-Cop 1-tooth 3-wash-Circ.Nzr
'This is an instrument for washing
my teeth.'

A look at the above sentences makes one wonder if all postpositional phrases can be seen as marking peripheral participants. For most postpositions, this seems to be the case: locatives, directionals, etc. can all be seen as marking peripheral participants so as to express circumstances.[4] Two postpositions, however, deserve special comments, since they mark participants that stand out as potentially nuclear-like: the instrumental **_ke** and the allative-dative-agent-causee postposition **_:ja.**

The postposition **_ke** is usually the means for marking instruments (17a-c), a meaning from which it is easily extended to that of causation (17d-e); cf. 5.3.4.2 for further examples. An interesting construction involving **_ke** is exemplified in (17f-h): it seems to be a regular feature of 'inchoative' S_O verbs derived from nouns with the verbalizer **-ta** (cf. 5.3.3.2.1) that they can take a **_ke**-complement to indicate exactly which specific entity is mediating the beginning of the new state. However, there do not seem to be any noticeable differences between **_ke** participants and other obliques; as far as can be told, instrumentals are not distinguishable from other peripheral participants.

---

[4] One wonders, though, whether or not the 'experiencer' postpositions in 7.3.3. should be seen as marking a special class of 'experiencer' participants.

(17a) **maja_ke w-ahkëë-ja-e**
knife_Inst 1A-cut-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am cutting O with a/the knife.'

(b) **ma irë iisuka-kë wapo, soopu_ke**
Attn 3InAna wash-Imper first soap_Inst
'Well, wash it first, with soap.'

(c) **irëme tï-pihpë-ntë-e ii-ja mure i-pihpë_ke**
thus Rm.Pst-skin-Ben.Vzr-Rm.Pst 3-Agt child 3-skin_Inst
'Then he (skin-)covered it with the child's skin.'

(d) ***AIDS*_ke ëëseenë_taike_rën ëmë ahtao**
AIDS_Inst ill_Neg_Truly 2 if
'If you are not sick with AIDS,...'

(e) **ji-pata apo_n-ei irë, wëri apëi-hpë_ke wïja,**
1-place:Pos like_$3S_A$-Cop:Prs.Prf 3InAna woman 3:get:N-Pst_Inst 1:Agt

irë_po-n, Suurinan_po-n
3InAna_Loc-Nzr Surinam_Loc-Nzr

'It was like my own place, because I had gotten (=married) a woman from there, a woman from Surinam.'

(f) **ji-njo-ta-e tarëno_ke**
$1S_O$-husband-Inch.Vzr:Prs.Ipf-Cty Tiriyó_Inst
'I am marrying a Tiriyó' (=getting a Tiriyó husband)

(g) **j-ekï-ta-e kaikui_ke**
$1S_O$-pet-Inch.Vzr:Prs.Ipf-Cty dog_Inst
'I am getting a dog for a pet.'

(h) **ji-jokï-ta-e tuna_ke**
$1S_O$-drink-Inch.Vzr-Prs.Ipf-Cty water_Inst
'I am going to have water for a drink.'

The postposition **_:ja**, as was shown in 7.3.4.1, marks several kinds of participants: directionals ('allatives', especially with human participants, as (18a-b)), datives (18c-e), 'causees' (18f, maybe 18d), and simple A participants with certain verb forms (remote past, posteriority and cause, certain nominalized subordinate clauses, etc.; (18g-h)).

(18a) **pahko_ja wï-të-e**
1:father_Dir 1S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am going to my father's (house, village).'

(b) **Asehpë_ja tï-w-ëe-se**
Asehpë_Dir Rm.Pst-S_A-come-Rm.Pst
'S/he came to Asehpë.'

(c) **karakuri w-ekarama manko_ja**
money 1A-give:Prs.Prf 1:mother_Dat
'I gave money to my mother.'

(d) **serë w-ene-po ëë-ja**
3InPx 1A-see-Caus:Prs.Prf 2-Dat
'I showed you that.' (=I made you see)

(e) **epo wïja**
3:Satis 1:Dat
'That is enough for me.'

(f) **maja wï-rï-po ii-ja**
knife 1A-make-Caus:Prs.Prf 3-Causee
'I had him make a knife.'

(g) **karakuri t-ëpëë-se ii-jaa-ne**
money Rm.Pst-get-Rm.Pst 3-Agt-Col
'They all got the money.'

(h) **tï-njo-npë i-nonta-hpë_pëe ii-ja**
3R-husband-Pst 3-leave:N-Pst_Abl 3-Agt
'After she had left her husband,...'

Whether or not **_:ja** should be treated as a 'single marker', corresponding to a relatively abstract semantics, probably depends on the theoretical orientation of the beholder. The various kinds of participants that **_:ja** marks do seem to show some 'common semantic threads' (they are all e.g. human or sentient), and, in fact, similarly wide collections of meanings and uses are often found in 'dative', 'allative' or 'ergative' markers in other languages (the French preposition *à* is an immediate example). In this point, the personal preference of the author is to see uses like 'marking the A participant' (as in (18g-h)) and 'marking a target of motion' (as in (18a-b)) as sufficiently different to be better thought of as diachronically rather than synchronically related. To give just one example of a differentiating property, a **_:ja**-marked A participant remains capable of controlling coreference (as in (14d) above), which is not true for any other **_:ja**-marked participant (as in (19)). Thus, no overarching abstract semantic schema is proposed here for **_:ja** and the participants that it marks.

(19) **pahko karakuri ekarama ji-pawana-rï_ja tï-pakoro-h_tao**
1:father money give:Prs.Prf 1-friend:Pos_Dat 3R-house-Pos_In
'My father$_i$ gave money to my friend in his$_i$ house.'

A related question is whether, among the uses of **_:ja**, there are instances that are different enough to be given a separate status as an independent role ('dative') or grammatical relation ('indirect object'). Uses like (18c) and (19), and maybe even (18d), might be good candidates for this status. But are there any morphosyntactic properties that distinguish these uses from others? The absence of features such as dative shift, or special dative pronouns, and the ambiguity of sentences like (20a-b), which was interpreted differently by different speakers, seems to argue against that.

(20a) **pïrëu w-ekarama-po Asehpë_ja Simetu_ja**
arrow 1A-give-Caus:Prs.Prf Asehpë_Causee?/Dat? Simetu_Causee?/Dat?
'I made Asehpë give the arrow to Simetu.' ~ 'I made Simetu give the arrow to Asehpë.'

(b) **tï-maja t-ëkarama-e i-papa-rï_ja**
3R-knife:Pos Rm.Pst-give-Rm.Pst 3-father-Pos_Agt?/Dat?
'His/her father$_i$ gave his$_i$ knife (to someone).'
'(S/he)$_i$ gave his/her$_i$ knife to his/her$_j$ (=someone else's) father.'

However, two reasons in favor of treating the 'dative' cases of **_:ja** as independent can be mentioned:

(a) the nominalized form of **_:ja** apparently has only the dative meaning (21a);

(b) although no nominalizations exist that correspond to a 'dative' participant, there are verbalizing processes (the 'beneficiative' suffixes mentioned in 5.3.3.1.2) that generate transitive stems with 'dative' objects; compare (21b) and (21c). O-oriented nominalized forms of these verbs (21d-e) can be used to refer to these 'datives' (they are, in fact, the only way to build relative clauses referring to them; cf. 10.4.1.3.2).

(21a) **Tëmeta_ja-no_ro**
Tëmeta_Dat-Nzr_Exact
'Something (e.g. a gift) for Tëmeta' (not: * 'Something done by Tëmeta'
* 'Something Tëmeta was made to do',
* 'A path that leads to Tëmeta')

(b) **ji-pawana-rï_ja pakoro w-ekarama-e**
1-friend-Pos_Dat house 1A-give:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am giving a house to my friend.'

(c) **ji-pawana wi-pakoro-ntë-e**
1-friend:Pos 1A-house-Prov.Vzr:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am giving my friend a house.', 'I am providing my friend with a house.'

(d) **ji-n-pakoro-ntë-hpë**
1-O.act.Nzr-house-Ben.Vzr-Pst
'The one I gave a house to.'

(e) **i-pakoro-ntë-hpë**
I-house-Ben.Vzr:N-Pst
'The one who was given a house.'

(f) **tï-pakoro-ntë-en**
O.pot.Nzr-house-Ben.Vzr-O.pot.Nzr
'The one who can/will be given a house.'

The interesting point about 'beneficiative' verbs such as (21c) is that no other peripheral participant has a corresponding 'specialized' verbalizing suffix; in fact, even the other uses of **_:ja** ('causee', 'A participant', 'directional') do not correlate with anything similar. Based on these facts, a category of 'Dative participant' can be distinguished, albeit less 'sharply defined' in Tiriyó than the nuclear participants (A, O, S).[5]

10.2. Phrases. With the criteria ('symptoms' is probably a better label) described in 10.3, three kinds of phrases can be proposed: *noun phrases*, *verb phrases* and *postpositional phrases*. Certain groups of words have an ambiguous behavior: they tend to obey certain constraints and show some symptoms of phrasal status, but not always, and not consistently. In the following sections, the three kinds of phrases are described, with the ambiguous cases being compared to the phrase that they most resemble.

10.2.1. Noun phrases. Single nouns or pronouns can be seen as one-element noun phrases. The clearest cases of phrases involving more than one word are *possessive phrases*, of which the two identifiable types are the N-N and the N **i**-N possessive phrases. Noun phrases based on nominalizations can be seen as a subtype of possessive phrases. Less clear cases are the 'appositional' nominal sequences which appear to include instances of emerging noun phrases.

10.2.1.1. Possessive Noun Phrases. These phrases occur in the order *possessor-possessed* with the possessed word in its third-person form (i.e. with a prefix **i-** on consonant-initial words and Ø- on vowel-initial ones; cf. 4.3.1.2), thus generating a 'John-his-house' sequence. One example, [**pahko i-pawana**] 'my father's friend', has already been shown to have all the characteristics of a phrase: its elements have an obligatory order (1c-d), they cannot be separated by pauses (2c-d) or by any other word (3a-b), and they can be followed by a second-position particle (5e-f, 6e-f). (22) below has equivalent examples for [**pahko ekï**] 'my father's pet', with a vowel-initial possessed noun.

---

[5] A similar argument can be used in favor of a 'Causee' participant: just as the Dative participant correlates with object nominalizations of **-ntë/-htë** (beneficiative) verbs, causees correlate with transitive verbs causativized with the suffix **-po** (cf. 10.6.2.3), in the sense that the immediate interpretation of a _**:ja**-phrase co-occurring with a causativized verb is that of a causee. Notice, however, that there are no 'Causee-oriented nominalizations', either from the postposition _**:ja** or from causativized verb stems, which weakens the claim for a Causee participant. It seems simpler to say that the 'causee reading' of _**:ja**-phrases in transitive sentences with causativized verb stems is a question of context, not unlike a 'preferred directional (allative) reading' of _**:ja**-phrases co-occurring with verbs of motion (18a-b).

(22a) **pahko ekï**
1:father 3:pet:Pos
'My father's pet'

(b) ? **ekï pahko**
3:pet:Pos 1:father
'My father is his/her pet.' (!)

(c) **pahko ekï nï-tën**
1:father 3:pet:Pos 3S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf
'My father's pet has gone.'

(d) **pahko, ekï nï-tën**
1:father 3:pet:Pos 3S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf
'Father! His/her pet has gone.'

(e) * **pahko nïtën ekï**

(f) **pahko ekï_mo w-ene-i**
father 1:pet:Pos_Irr 1A-see-Hyp
'I would see / have seen my father's pet.'

(g) * **pahko_mo ekï w-ene-i**

Possessive noun phrases with one and two levels (23a-b) were freely produced and accepted without problems; phrases with three levels (23c) were accepted and repeated without problems, but never spontaneously produced. Further nesting resulted in awkward phrases that elicited ambiguous reactions from the speakers.

(23a) **ji-pawana i-nmuku**
1-friend:Pos 3-son:Pos
'My friend's son.'

(b) **ji-pawana i-nmuku i-pï**
1-friend:Pos 3-son:Pos 3-wife
'My friend's son's wife.'

(c) **ji-pawana i-nmuku i-pï ekï**
1-friend:Pos 3-son:Pos 3-wife 3:pet:Pos
'My friend's son's wife's pet.'

A pronoun can occur as the possessor in a possessive noun phrase with an emphatic value; in this case, the possessed word does not occur in its third-person form, but rather agrees with the possessor in person.

(24a) **ëmë ë-nmuku, rupeimë kïn-arë**
2 2-son:Pos lizard.sp 3Pst.Prf-take
'As for *your* son, the *rupeimë* lizard took him away.'

(b) **menjaarë wï j-eemi, wa_ken**
now 1 1-daughter:Pos Neg_Cont
'Now, *my* daughter, she's gone.'

There are cases of possessive noun phrases in which the possessed word is not in its third-person form. The label 'N-N possessive phrase' is used here to distinguish them from the regular (or 'N i-N') possessive phrases. (25) has an example. Notice that [**wïkapau pata**] 'the deer's village' is not a simple sequence of nouns (cf. 10.2.1.3) since, as (25b-c) show, its constituent order is inflexible, and it has the semantics of possession ('the deer's village', with 'deer' being one of the characters in a folk tale, not 'a village which is (called) deer'); speakers agree in considering [**wïkapau pata**] and [**wïkapau i-pata**] synonyms. Furthermore, the possessive suffix **-(rï)** (cf. 4.3.1.5) can occur in the N-N possessive phrase (25d).

(25a) **ma, tï-tunta-e, mëe, wïkapau pata_pona**
Attn Rm.Pst-arrive-Rm.Pst 3AnPx deer.sp village_Dir
'Well, he arrived, this one, at the deer's village.'

(b) **wïkapau pata_pona**
deer village_Dir
'to(ward) deer's village'

(c) *** pata wïkapau_pona**

(d) **ma, irë-npë_pëe-no-npë tï-ponoo-se Ariki papa-rï_ja**
Attn 3InAna-Pst_Abl-Nzr-Pst Rm.Pst-tell-Rm.Pst Ariki 3:father-Pos_Agt
'Well, after all that, Ariki's father told it (=the story in question).'

Certain cases show an even higher degree of formal integration between the possessor and the possessed words than N-N possessive phrases, to the point that the result approaches single word status:

(26a) **ji-jaramata i-pun**
1-chin:Pos 1-flesh
'The flesh of my chin.'

(b) **ji-jaramata pun**
1-chin:Pos flesh
'The flesh of my chin.'

(c) **kï-jaramataa-kon pun**
1+2-chin:Pos-P.Col flesh
'The flesh of our chins.'

(d) **kï-jaramata-pun-kon**
1+2-chin-flesh-P.Col
'The flesh of our chins.'

(e) **kï-nka**
1+2-back
'Our back(s)'

(f) **kï-nka-pun-kon**
1+2-back-flesh-P.Col
'The flesh of our backs.'

(g) *** kï-nka-kon pun**

(h) ***kï-nma**

(i) **kï-nmapun-kon**
1+2-buttocks-P.Col
'Our buttocks.'

(j) *** kï-nma-kon pun**

(26a) contains a regular N **i**-N possessive phrase, while (26b-c) have N-N phrases. (26d), however, suggests compounding: **jaramata-pun** looks like a single word for 'chin flesh'. For this particular combination, the compound and the phrase options are both available; in (26e-g), however, **nka-pu(nu)** 'back flesh' has only the compound option.[6] (26h-j) show a case of full lexicalization: not only is the N-N phrase option for **nmapu(nu)** impossible, but the original stem ***nma**, presumably 'behind', does not exist synchronically. That it must have existed can be deduced not only from a comparison with the other examples in (26), but also from cases of incorporation such as **nma-piimo** 'spank O', from **piimo** 'hit O' (cf. 5.3.2).

---

[6] Unfortunatley, it is not known whether the 'regular' phrase option—**kï-nka-kon i-pun**—exists.

The above examples (25-26) suggest the existence of a *formal integration continuum*, from regular possessive phrases to lexicalized compounds, as in Fig. 10.2.

Figure 10.2
Formal integration continuum

Single Word			Phrase
nmapu(nu)	**nka-pu(nu),** **jaramata-pu(nu)**	**jaramata pu(nu)** **wïkapau pata**	**jaramata i-pun** **wïkapau i-pata**

Fig. 10.2 leads to the expectation that meaning should follow form. For instance, regular possessive phrases should tend to deal with 'less integrated' relations, in which the referents of the constituent nouns are more clearly independent in spite of their relationship (e.g. ownership), while N-N possessive phrases, compounds and lexicalized words should preferably refer to 'more integrated' relations (e.g. part-whole, classification, etc.; cf. Carlin 1997 for a similar suggestion). For the compound and lexicalized cases, the above examples clearly support this idea. For N-N and N **i**-N possessive phrases, there is some evidence that this is may also be true.

(27a)	**wïï**	**pata**	(b)	**wïï**	**i-pata**	(c)	**Taru pakoro**	(d) **Taru i-pakoro**
	manioc	place		manioc	3-place:Pos		Taru place	Taru 3-house:Pos
	'Manioc house.'			'Manioc house.'			'Taru's house.'	'Taru's house.'

In elicitation, speakers usually agree that (27a) and (27b) are equally good ways of referring to the place where manioc is stored, and that (27c) and (27d) are synonymous ways of referring to Taru's house. When these expressions are counted in texts certain tendencies stand out. All the 5 occurrences of 'manioc house' were like (27a); (27b) was only attested in elicitation. Of 6 occurrences of 'Taru's house', there is only one case of (27c), and five of (27d). Thus, for a less 'integrated' relation (ownership), the regular N **i**-N possessive phrase was preferred; for a more 'integrated' one ('purpose' modification), the N-N possessive phrase was the only one found. Fig. 10.3 illustrates the current hypothesis on the correlation between semantic and formal integration.

Figure 10.3
Correlations between meaning and form

One Entity Single Word	Complex Entity Compound	(e.g. 'purpose') Integrated Entities N-N Phrase	(e.g. 'ownership') Two Entities N **i**-N Phrase
nmapu(nu)	**nka-pu(nu),**	**jaramata pu(nu)**	**jaramata i-pun**
	jaramata-pu(nu)	**wïkapau pata**	**wïkapau i-pata**
		Taru pakoro	**Taru i-pakoro**
		wïï pata	**wïï i-pata**

Given the textual evidence, Fig. 10.3 looks acceptable; however, it is at least curious that speakers so often affirm that (27a) and (27b), (27c) and (27d), (26a) and (26b) etc. 'mean the same'. At this point, diachrony may have an important contribution to this question.

Judging by Figs. 10.2-3, one might assume that the third-person prefix **i-** is the 'less integration' marker and hypothesize that it was historically lost in the other environments. However, a comparison with other Cariban languages shows that this was not the case (cf. Gildea 1998:104ff, especially 112). The possessive suffix -**(rï)** (cf. 4.3.1.5), which is currently being lost, was originally obligatory on the possessed word; moreover, the third-person marker was not present (i.e. the original possessive construction was N N-**rï**). Gildea convincingly shows that the N **i**-N construction is an innovation. It can be hypothesized that one of the motivations for this innovation was precisely the fact that the loss of the possessive suffix **-(rï)** was giving rise to interpretational problems. For instance, possessive phrases and 'appositional' sequences (cf. 10.2.1.3) would become homophonous: **karaiwa pawana**, from **karaiwa** 'Brazilian' and **pawana** 'friend', could be interpreted as 'the Brazilian friend' or as 'the Brazilian's friend'. With the innovative N **i**-N phrase, these two senses become distinct (**karaiwa pawana** and **karaiwa i-pawana**, respectively).[7]

With this diachronic scenario in mind, it becomes possible to understand the differences between the N-N and the N **i**-N phrases as resulting from their ongoing competition. Presumably, the original N N-**rï** possessive phrase covered the area in Figs. 10.2-3 occupied by the N-N and N **i**-N phrases, contrasting with 'compounds' and 'single words'. With the progressive loss of the suffix **-(rï)**, the N N-**rï** phrase 'became' the N-N phrase (in which **-(rï)** can still sometimes be realized, as in (25d) above; cf. 2.6.2.5, 4.3.1.5), and the N **i**-N phrase was introduced. Having now two constructions at their disposal, speakers did not simply drop the older N-N phrase, but rather seem to be in the process of reassigning it to an intermediate possition along the (pre-existing) continuum of Figs. 10.2-3. Since the loss of the suffix **-(rï)** is rather recent (it has even not been completely lost yet), this semantic differentiation between N-N and N **i**-N phrases must still be ongoing, and it should not be surprising if speakers can consider them equivalent: not so long ago, N **i**-N phrases probably were mere 'emphatic' versions of N-N phrases, and may even still remain so for certain speakers. Even the speakers who, presumably, distinguish more clearly between N-N and N **i**-N phrases may remember that their grandparents used them interchangeably.

---

[7] Of course, such 'therapeutical' explanations for innovative constructions should always be accepted *cum grano salis*. The fact that the third-person marker on vowel-initial words is ∅-, not **i-**, means that this 'dreaded homophony' is still preserved in this context (e.g., from **eemi** 'daughter', **karaiwa eemi**, both 'the Brazilian daughter' and 'the Brazilian's daughter'), without apparent discomfort. In fact, this homophony must have always existed for possessed ∅ class stems (cf. 4.3.1.5).

10.2.1.2. Noun phrases based on nominalizations. As was seen in 4.2.2, all inflectable non-nominal lexical classes can be nominalized in various ways. The resulting derived nouns can also form constructions with other nouns. Often the resulting construction is a possessive noun phrase (cf. previous section), but not always.

De-adverbial nominalizations cannot be possessed; their only possible role in a possessive phrase is that of possessor (28). Their behavior in noun-noun sequences is discussed in 10.2.1.3.

(28) **tï-pakoro-ke-n i-papa**
T-house-Having-Nzr 3-father:Pos
'The father of the one who owns the house.'

Deverbal nominalizations vary in possessibility: some (**-ne** 'Actual A', **n-** 'Actual O', **-∅** 'Specific Infinitive', **-to(po)** 'Circumstantial') can be possessed, while the others (**-to(-no)** 'Potential A', **i- -ke(tï)** 'Actual S', **t- -se(mï)** 'Potential O/S', **-në** 'Generic Infinitive') cannot. The non-possessible deverbal nominalizations behave like the de-adverbial nominalizations mentioned in the preceding paragraph: they can be the possessor, but not the possessed word, in a possessive phrase.

(29) **të-ke i-kanawa**
go-S.act 3-canoe:Pos
'The traveller's canoe.'

The possessible deverbal nominalizations can occur both as possessors (30b) and as possessed words (30a, d-e), and even as both (30c). As far as could be ascertained, there is no syntactic difference between possessive phrases based on verbal nominalizations and those based on monomorphemic nouns (with a special semantic detail: the possessor of the nominalization must correspond to one of the participants of the event described by the original verb stem: the A participant in the case of the **n-** 'Actual O' nominalizer, and the O or S participant for the others; cf. 4.2.2.1). The parenthetical (**i-**) in the examples below is meant to indicate that both the N-N and the N **i**-N possessive phrases were accepted (and are presumably possible for the others as well).[8] For the structural problems posed by the use of nominalizations as the 'nucleus' of subordinate clauses, cf. 10.4.

(30a) **kaikui (i-)pijokï_se_w-a-e**
dog 3-hit:N:Pos_Desid_1S_A-Cop-Cty
'I want to hit the dog.'

(b) **enpa-ne (i-)panpira**
3:teach-A.act.Nzr 3-book:Pos
'The teacher's book.'

(c) **i-tatï-hpë i-w-eh-topo-npë**
I-get.lost:N-Pst 3-S_A-Cop-Circ.Nzr-Pst
'The way (=the story) of the one who got lost.'

(d) **pahko (i-)n-ekarama-hpë**
father 3-O.act.Nzr-give-Pst
'That which my father gave.'
(lit. 'My father's given thing.')

(e) **ponjeke wë-ne-npë**
peccary.sp shoot-A.act-Pst
'The one who shot the peccary.'

Nominalized postpositional phrases can be compared to possessive noun phrases. (31a-d) show how they have all the symptoms of a phrase, with examples based on the protective postposition (_)**pïïnë** 'pity, jealousy, concern for'. Changing the order implies semantic changes (31a-b), the phrase cannot be split (31c-d), must be followed by second-position particles (31f-g), and an inserted pause also has semantic effects (31e).

---

[8] Interestingly, the verb stem **wë** 'shoot O' (and presumably the other monosyllabic **t**-adding verb stems of 5.1.3, though the necessary examples are not attested) tends to occur in the N-N possessive construction (30e). Attempts at eliciting N **i**-N examples generally yielded negative results.

(31a) **pahko (i-)pïïnë-to**
1:father 3-Prot-Nzr
'Someone who feels pity for my father.'

(b) **i-pïïnë-to pahko**
3-Prot-Nzr 1:father
'My father feels pity for him/her.'

(c) **pahko (i-)pïïnë-to n-ee-ja-n**
1:father 3-Prot-Nzr $3S_A$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'The one who pities father is coming.'

(d) * **pahko n-ee-ja-n i-pïïnë-to**

(e) **pahko, i-pïïnë-to n-ee-ja-n**
1:father 3-Prot-Nzr $3S_A$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Father, the one who pities him/her is coming.'

(f) **pahko (i-)pïïnë-to_mo w-ene-i**
1:father 3-Prot:Nzr_Irr 1A-see-Hyp
'I would see the one who pities my father.'

(g) * **pahko_mo i-pïïnë-to w-ene-i**

Just as postpositions can vary along a continuum from more noun-like to more particle/suffix-like cases (cf. 7.2), nominalized postpositional phrases vary from the ones that look more like normal N **i**-N possessive phrases (31) to the ones that can only be compared to N-N possessive phrases (32). More 'particle-like' postpositions, like the locative **_po**, cannot be conjugated and thus do not even have a third-person form, which makes them unsuitable for the N **i**-N construction. Impressionistically, the latter kind looks more like the nominalization of a 'complex adverbial' than a possessive noun phrase. However, since no syntactic differences between it and the N-N possessive phrases involving more noun-like postpositions have been found so far, it seems simpler to treat them all alike.

(32a) **Tëpu_po-n**
Tepoe_Loc-Nzr
'Someone/something that is at Tepoe.'

(b) * **Tëpu i-po-n**

(c) **Tëpu_pëe-n**
Tepoe_Abl-Nzr
'Someone/something from Tepoe.'

(d) *** Tëpu i-pëe-n**

10.2.1.3. Emergent noun phrases: the problem of noun-noun sequences. Aside from the tighter possessive and nominalized postpositional phrases of the preceding section, there are sequences of nouns which have a weaker bond.[9] Loosely speaking, they can be seen as having the common semantic feature of 'referring to the same particular entity in the real world'. As is exemplified in (33), they fail to show most of the symptoms of phrasal status: linear order changes and inserted pauses do not imply dramatic semantic changes (33a-b, c-d), and intervening material is possible (33d-e), including second-position particles (33f-g).

(33a) **wëri kawë-no n-ee-ja-n**
woman tall-Nzr 3S$_{A}$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'The tall woman is coming.'

(b) **kawë-no wëri n-ee-ja-n**
tall-Nzr woman 3S$_{A}$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'The tall woman is coming.'

(c) **wëri, kawë-no n-ee-ja-n**
woman tall-Nzr 3S$_{A}$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'The tall woman is coming.'

(d) **kawë-no, wëri n-ee-ja-n**
tall-Nzr woman 3S$_{A}$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'The tall woman is coming.'

(d) **wëri n-ee-ja-n, kawë-no**
woman 3S$_{A}$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt tall-Nzr
'The woman is coming, the tall one.'

(e) **kawë-no n-ee-ja-n, wëri**
tall-Nzr 3S$_{A}$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt woman
'The tall one is coming, the woman.'

(f) **wëri_pa kawë-no n-ee-ja-n**
woman_Rpt tall-Nzr 3S$_{A}$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'The tall woman is coming back.'

(g) **wëri kawë-no_pa n-ee-ja-n**
woman tall-Nzr_Rpt 3S$_{A}$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'The tall woman is coming back.'

---

[9] More often than not, these sequences involve a nominalized adverb, like **kawëno** 'tall one' in (33). One might say that adverbs have a certain 'natural semantic vocation' for this function. However, there are no grammatical constraints on their occurrence without other nouns (**kawëno neejan** 'the tall one is coming'), nor is there any restriction against the occurrence of two monomorphemic nouns with a similar 'coreferential' relationship (e.g. **karaiwa wëri neejan** 'the Brazilian woman is coming').

At first sight, the lack of most phrasal properties suggests that these sequences of nouns should be analyzed as being in *apposition*. According to this analysis, (33a) would really mean 'the woman, the tall one, she is coming'; examples such as (33d-e) would then simply be cases in which one of the two terms in apposition was displaced for pragmatic reasons (e.g. as an afterthought). However, certain details already suggest that the situation may be a little more complex than that: the absence of obvious pauses between the two nouns in (33a-b), and the possible placement of a second-position particle after the second noun in (33g). In addition, consider the following examples, involving the postposition **_pë(kë)** 'about':

(34a) **wëri kawë-no_pë n-ët-uru-ja-n**
woman tall-Nzr_About $3S_A$-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he is talking about the tall woman.'

(b) **kawë-no wëri_pë n-ët-uru-ja-n**
tall-Nzr woman_About $3S_A$-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he is talking about the tall woman.'

(c) **wëri, kawë-no_pë, n-ët-uru-ja-n**
woman tall-Nzr_About $3S_A$-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'The woman, she is talking about the tall one.'

(d) **wëri_pë n-ët-uru-ja-n, kawë-no**
woman_About $3S_A$-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Dbt tall-Nzr
'The tall one is talking about the woman.'
? 'S/he is talking about the tall woman.'

(e) **kawë-no_pë n-ët-uru-ja-n, wëri**
tall-Nzr_About $3S_A$-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Dbt woman_About
'The woman is talking about the tall one.'
? 'S/he is talking about the tall woman.'

(f) **wëri_pë n-ët-uru-ja-n, kawë-no_pë**
woman_About $3S_A$-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Dbt tall-Nzr_About
'S/he is talking about the woman, the tall one.'

(g) **kawë-no_pë n-ët-uru-ja-n, wëri_pë**
tall-Nzr_About 3S$_A$-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Dbt woman_About
'S/he is talking about the tall one, the woman.'

When **wëri** 'woman' and **kawëno** 'tall one' occur together and are followed by the postposition **_pë(kë)**, they refer to the same entity, 'the tall woman'; the insertion of a pause (34c) modifies this, shifting the interpretation in the direction of two separate entities. If **wëri** and **kawëno** are separated by the verb, their propensity for coreferentiality is greatly reduced, which is indicated by the question mark preceding the coreferential interpretation in (34d-e). It is much easier to interpret the 'afterthought' as referring to the person who is talking (the S participant) than to the woman. This can be 'corrected' by repeating the postposition **_pë(kë)**, as in (34f-g). This behavior suggests a closer bond between **wëri** and **kawëno** in (34a-b), where there is no need to repeat the postposition in order to prevent **kawëno** from referring to the person who is talking.

Consider also the examples below, which involve verb phrases (35a-d) and nominalized postpositional phrases (35e-f).

(35a) **wëri kawë-no aokïn-ja-n**
woman tall-Nzr hug-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he is hugging the tall woman.'

(b) **kawë-no wëri aokïn-ja-n**
tall-Nzr woman hug-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he is hugging the tall woman.'

(c) **wëri, kawë-no aokïn-ja-n**
woman tall-Nzr hug-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'The woman, she is hugging the tall one.'

(d) **kawë-no, wëri aokïn-ja-n**
tall-Nzr woman hug-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'The tall one, s/he is hugging the woman.'

(e) **kainan pata_pëe-n**
new.one village_Abl-Nzr
'Someone from the new village.'

(f) **pata kainan_pëe-n**
village new.one_Abl-Nzr
'Someone from the new village.'

(g) *** pata_pëe-n kainan**

(h) *** kainan_pëe-n pata**

The semantic difference between (35a-b) and (35c-d) again suggests a closer connection between **wëri** and **kawëno** in (35a-b). Notice that the O-V sequences in (35a-b) are verb phrases (cf. 10.2.2). It would be odd to consider that only the noun that immediately precedes the verb is part of the verb phrase in (35a-b); this analysis looks better for (35c-d), in which the inserted pause has an important semantic effect. Consider also the nominalized postpositional phrases in (35e-h). *A priori*, there are three possible analyses for e.g. (35f):

(i) [**pata**] [**kainan_pëe-n**] ('apposition');

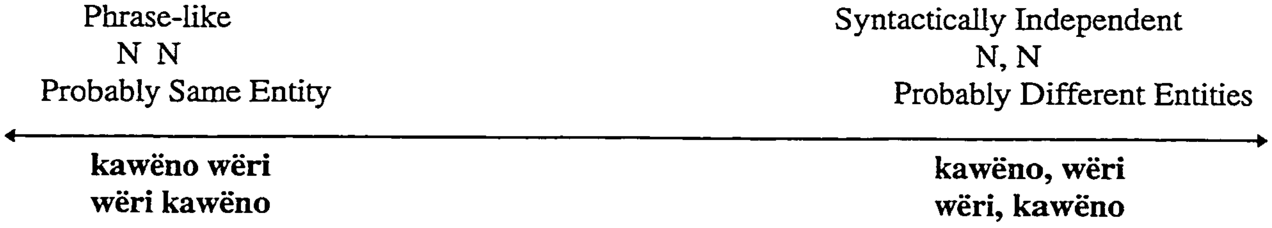
(ii) [[**pata**] [**kainan_pëe-n**]] (an N-N possessive phrase);

(iii) [[**pata kainan**]**_pëe-n**] (a nominalized PP with a complex object).

Analysis (i) is not compelling: it would imply that the two nouns, **pata** and **kainan_pëen**, are coreferential, which does not sound possible (? 'the village, the one from the new one'); besides, (35g-h) show that the word order in nominalized postpositional phrases does not have the flexibility of 'appositional' constructions such as (35a-b). Analysis (ii) is semantically less plausible, since it suggests the kind of *lato sensu* possessive semantic relation between two entities that is found with the N-N possessive phrases of the preceding section ('the new one of the village'; 'the new one for the village'), which is not the attested meaning. Analysis (iii) looks more compatible with the attested meaning ('someone from the new village').

The above examples all point to the possibility that there may be *emergent noun phrases* in Tiriyó. Nouns in apposition can apparently be distributed along a formal integration continuum that goes from *less* to *more syntactically bound* sequences. The less tightly bound cases tend to be separated (or at least separable) by pauses, while the more tightly bound cases tend toward being part of the same intonational unit; the latter can be referred to as 'appositional phrases' (with quotation marks to emphasize their 'emergent' status). On the semantic plane, the likelihood of coreferentiality increases with the degree of formal integration: in one extreme, there are two independent, non-coreferential entities (35c-d), while in the other the semantic relationship comes close to that of a noun with a modifying adjective in English (35a-b). This suggests a possible continuation of the form-meaning continuum (from Fig. 10.3 above) as Fig. 10.4 below.

Figure 10.4
Correlations between meaning and form: 'appositional' phrases


Phrase-like
N N
Probably Same Entity
Syntactically Independent
N, N
Probably Different Entities
kawëno wëri
wëri kawëno
kawëno, wëri
wëri, kawëno

An interesting question which can be related to the present discussion is the existence of the so-called *genitive classifiers*. For Cariban languages, it has been claimed (cf. e.g. Carlson & Payne 1989) that certain non-possessible nouns can be possessed via a *genitive classifier*, an intermediate morpheme which defines the nature of the functional relationship between the possessed word and its possessor. A list of the candidates for this function in Tiriyó is given in Table 10.4; (36) has some illustrative examples.

Table 10.4
Possible candidates for the status of genitive classifier in Tiriyó.

ekï	'pet'	**nnapï**	'fruit/sweet food'
jokï	'drink'	**otï**	'meat food'
kaimo	'game'	**uru**	'bread/grain food'
me	'nut-like food'		

(36a) **j-ekï kaikui**
1-pet:Pos dog
'My pet dog.'

(b) **ji-kaimo pakira**
1-game peccary.sp
'My (game) peccary.'

(c) **ji-otï pai**
1-meat.food tapir
'My tapir meat.'

(d) **ji-nnapï oroi**
1-fruit.food cashew
'My cashew (for eating).'

(e) **ji-jokï tuna**
1-drink water
'My water (for drinking).'

The 'genitive classifier' analysis of these constructions is not adopted here, for the following reasons:

(a) Some of the nouns possessed via classifiers are not really non-possessible. For instance, **oroi** 'cashew' and **tuna** 'water' *are* possessible: **ji-j-oroi** means 'my cashew tree', and **jii-na** 'my water (for bathing, etc.)' (cf. 4.3.1.1).

(b) The possibility of an appositional analysis for (36a-d) looks more appealing, especially in view of the existence of examples such as (37a-c) below:

(37a) **ji-pawana tarëno**
1-friend:Pos Tiriyó
'My Tiriyó friend.'

(b) **j-eemi kawë-no**
1-daughter:Pos tall-Nzr
'My tall daughter.'

(c) **ji-nmuku Asehpë**
1-son:Pos Asehpë
'My son Asehpë.'

No syntactic difference was found between (36a-e) and (37a-c) that could justify the use of a different label for (36a-e); for instance, pauses can be inserted in all these examples without dramatic semantic consequences.[10] Although changes in order imply changes in meaning, even here there is no difference between 'genitive classifiers' and other 'possessed appositional phrases' (38a-d).

---

[10] It is not impossible that (36a-e) may typically be more tightly integrated than (37a-c). It would not be surprising if e.g. pauses were more frequently inserted in cases like (37a-c) than in cases like (36a-e). This

(38a) **j-ekï kaikui**
1-pet:Pos dog
'My pet dog.'

(b) **kaikui j-ekï**
dog 1-pet:Pos
'My dog is a pet.'

(c) **ji-pawana tarëno**
1-friend:Pos Tiriyó
'My Tiriyó friend.'

(d) **tarëno ji-pawana**
Tiriyó 1-friend:Pos
'My friend is a Tiriyó.'

The semantic changes illustrated in (38a-d) suggest that 'appositional phrases' involving one possessed element are 'tighter' than those that only involve non-possessed words. However, the clearly phrasal status of the possessive phrase [**pahko ekï**] 'my father's pet' with respect to a second-position particle can be contrasted with the more dubious behavior of **jekï kaikui** 'my pet dog' in the same situation. All speakers are unanimous in accepting (39a) and rejecting (39b), while (39c) is accepted only marginally, and (39d-e) are suggested as 'much better' than (39c).

(39a) **pahko ekï_pa nï-tën**
1:father 3:pet:Pos_Rpt 3S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf
'My father's pet is gone.'

(b) * **pahko_pa ekï nï-tën**

(c) ? **j-ekï kaikui_pa nï-tën**
1-pet:Pos dog_Rpt 3S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf
'My pet dog is gone.'

(d) **j-ekï_pa nï-tën, kaikui**
1-pet:Pos_Rpt 3S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf dog
'My pet is gone, the dog.'

(e) **kaikui_pa nï-tën, j-ekï**
dog_Rpt 3S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf 1-pet:Pos
'The dog is gone, my pet.'

---

respects the spirit of Carlson & Payne 1989: (36a-e) are certainly good candidates for becoming genitive classifiers at some point. However, there does not seem to be any *grammatical* (as opposed to e.g. statistical) reason yet to treat (36a-e) as different from (37a-c).

Thus, given the available evidence, it seems best to consider (39c) as an 'emergent phrase', with the special characteristic that, in order to be possessed, it has to be ordered so that the first (leftmost) word is possessible.

10.2.2. Verb phrases. The most clearly phrasal sequence of words involving a verbal element occurs when a third-person A and O (3AO) transitive verb form is immediately preceded by a noun phrase referring to its O participant. This OV phrase has an inflexible word order (40a-b), its elements cannot be separated (40c-d), and second-position particles must follow it (40e-f). According to some (but not all) speakers, pauses also affect the acceptability of the utterance (40g).

(40a) **ji-pï amohtë-n**
1-wife call:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he is calling my wife.'

(b) *** amohtë-n ji-pï**

(c) **menjaarë_rë ji-pï amohtë-n**
now_Exact 1-wife call:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he is calling my wife right now.'

(d) *** ji-pï menjaarë_rë amohtë-n**

(e) **ji-pï amohtë-i_mo**
1-wife call-Hyp_Irr
'S/he would call my wife.'

(f) *** ji-pï_mo amohtë-i**

(g) **? ji-pï, amohtë-n**

With a non-3AO verb form, this is not the case. Compare (40a-h) above with (41a-h) below.

(41a) **ji-pï w-amohtë-e**
1-wife 1A-call:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am calling my wife.'

(b) **w-amohtë-e ji-pï**
1A-call:Prs.Ipf-Cty 1-wife
'I am calling my wife.'

(c) **menjaarë_rë ji-pï w-amohtë-e**
now_Exact 1-wife 1A-call:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am calling my wife right now.'

(d) **ji-pï menjaarë_rë w-amohtë-e**
1-wife now_Exact 1A-call:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am calling my wife right now.'

(e) **ji-pï_mo w-amohtë-i**
1-wife_Irr 1A-call-Hyp
'I would call my wife.'

(f) ***ji-pï w-amohtë-i_mo**

(g) **ji-pï, w-amohtë-e**
1-wife 1A-call:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'My wife, I am calling her.'

The same situation obtains for all other participants overtly expressed by noun phrases. As an example, (42) illustrates the behavior of the S participant of the S$_{O}$ verb stem **eremina** 'sing', and (43) that of the oblique **Maani_ja** 'to Maani'.

(42a) **mure n-eremina-n**
child 3S$_{O}$-sing:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'The child is singing.'

(b) **n-eremina-n mure**
3S$_{O}$-sing:Prs.Ipf-Dbt child
'The child is singing.'

(c) **menjaarë_rë mure n-eremina-n**
now_Exact child 3S$_{O}$-sing:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'The child is singing right now.'

(d) **mure menjaarë_rë n-eremina-n**
child now_Exact 3S$_{O}$-sing:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'The child is singing right now.'

(e) **mure_mo eremina-i**
child_Irr 3S$_{O}$:sing-Hyp
'The child would sing.'

(f) ***mure eremina-i_mo**[11]

(f) **mure, n-eremina-n**
child 3S$_{O}$-sing:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'The child, he is singing.'

(43a) **Maani_ja n-ekarama**
Maani_Dat 3AO-give:Prs.Prf
'S/he gave it to Maani.'

(b) **n-ekarama Maani_ja**
3AO-give:Prs.Prf Maani_Dat
'S/he gave it to Maani.'

(c) **menjaarë_rë Maani_ja n-ekarama**
now_Exact Maani_Dat 3AO-give:Prs.Prf
'S/he gave it to Maani right now.'

(d) **Maani_ja menjaarë_rë n-ekarama**
Maani_Dat now_Exact 3AO-give:Prs.Prf
'S/he gave it to Maani right now.'

---

[11] This sentence can be made more acceptable with a pause: **mure, ereminai_mo.**

(e) **Maani_ja_mo ekarama-i**
Maani_Dat_Irr 3AO:give-Hyp
'S/he would give it to Maani.'

(f) * **Maani_ja ekarama-i_mo**[12]

(f) **Maani_ja, n-ekarama**
Maani_Dat 3AO-give:Prs.Prf
'To Maani, s/he gave it.'

Thus, the combination of a prefixless 3AO transitive verb form (cf. 5.4.1.1.1) with a preceding overt noun phrase referring to the O participant is the only sequence that forms a verb phrase.[13] Considering the absence of a person-marking prefix on the verb, one may further propose that the overt O noun phrase in the verb phrase is occupying the same syntactic slot as the prefix (which is probably also true for postpositional phrases). A verb phrase is thus composed of a verb word provided with either a person-marking prefix or an overt O nominal (which is only possible in 3AO cases, since all other forms would have one of the prefix). Thus, (44a-c) are examples of verb phrases, while (44d-e) are not.

(44a) **[pahko amohtë-n]**
1:father call:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
's/he is calling my father.'

(b) **[n-amohtë-n]**
3AO-call:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
's/he is calling him/her.'

(c) **[w-amohtë-e]**
1A-call:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am calling him/her.'

(d) **[pahko] [w-amohtë-e]**
1:father 1A-call:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am calling my father.'

(e) **[pahko] [n-amohtë-n]**
1:father 3AO-call:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'My father is calling him/her.'

Non-factual verb forms do not take the 3AO prefix **n-**; in fact, they look very similar to the prefixless forms (except for the fact that the **i-** on consonant-initial stems is optional in the prefixless form, but obligatory in the non-factual forms). However, even non-factual forms apparently only form a verb phrase with a preceding O nominal, as is illustrated by the sudden semantic change caused by the insertion of the particle **_mo**. In

---

[12] Again, this sentence became more acceptable with a pause: **Maani_ja, ekarama-i_mo.**

[13] With consonant-initial stems, the prefixless verb form has an optional **i-**; cf. 5.4.1.1.1.

(45a), **[Kïrïnti ituukai]** is a verb phrase, and **_mo** cliticizes to it; if **_mo** is placed after **Kïrïnti**, the only possible interpretation is that **Kïrïnti** is the A participant, while **Sipaki** becomes a postposed O participant (i.e. **[Kïrïnti]_mo [ituukai] [Sipaki]**).[14]

(45a) **Kïrïnti ituuka-i_mo Sipaki**
Clint hit-Hyp_Irr Spike
'Spike would hit Clint.'
* 'Clint would hit Spike.'

(b) **Kïrïnti_mo ituuka-i Sipaki**
Clint_Irr hit-Hyp Spike
'Clint would hit Spike.'
* 'Spike would hit Clint.'

Nominalized verb forms enter into nominal constructions with their arguments (N **i**-N possessive phrase; cf. 10.2.1.2). Although the available data is scant, there seem to be verb phrases based on the prefixed non-conjugated verb forms (i.e. all except for the **t- -se** 'remote past'; cf. Table 5.9 and section 5.4.3). Second-position particles can occur after phrases based on the negative form (46a), the supine ('purpose-of-motion') form (46b), the habitual past form (46c), and the posteriority form (46d).

(46a) **j-erii-nenu, manko in-enee-wa_pa, pahko in-enee-wa_pa**
$1S_O$-be.in.danger-Adm 1:mother 3O-see-Neg_Rpt 1:father 3O-see-Neg_Rpt
'I'm in danger, I'm going to die, without seeing my mother and my father again.'

(b) **ji-karakuri apëë-se_pitë wï-të-e**
1-money:Pos get-Sup_a.sec $1S_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I'll go get my money (and then do something else).'

(c) **j-otï ënë-e_pitë_wï**
1-meat.food eat.meat-Hab_a.sec_1
'I used to eat my meat (and then do something else).'

(d) **irantato i-puunëh-tuuwë_pa kïï-ja, tarëno-tomo_ja**
year 3-think-Post_Rpt 1+2-Agt Tiriyó-Col_Agt
'After we, the Tiriyó, have thought about the year (i.e. what we have to do, etc.),...'

---

[14] Considering the general pattern on verb phrases, one would expect the **i-** on the verb in the phrase **[Kïrïnti ituukai]_mo** to be the 'optional **i-**' of the prefixless form rather than the 'obligatory **i-**' of the non-factual forms. However, the few available examples all have **i-**; it is not known whether or not it can be dropped.

The **t- -se** 'remote past' does not form a verb phrase with an overt O noun phrase. Though usually preverbal, the O noun phrase can occur postverbally (47a-c), it can be separated from the verb by a pause or by an adverb (47c), and second-position particles can occur between it and the verb (47d-e).

(47a) **pïrëu t-ee-pahka-e**
arrow Rm.Pst-S_A:Detr-break-Rm.Pst
'The arrow is/was broken.'

(b) **t-ee-pahka-e pïrëu**
Rm.Pst-S_A:Detr-break-Rm.Pst arrow
'The arrow is/was broken.'

(c) **Tï-ntantaka-e ii-jaa-ne ii-raapa, wë-pïn ii-raapa-hpë**
Rm.Pst-I.RD:break-Rm.Pst 3-Agt-Col 3-bow:Pos shoot-Ineff 3-bow-Pst.Pos
'They broke many bits off his bow (to make it useless), the bad shooter's ex-bow.'

(d) **paaruru, napi, napëkë, ameraarë t-ënee-se ii-ja**
banana, potato yucca all(adverb) Rm.Pst-bring-Rm.Pst 3-Agt
'Banana, potato, yucca, he brought all of that.'

(d) **tïwërë-no_ro_pa tï-rë-e ii-ja, pata**
other-Nzr_Exact_Rpt Rm.Pst-make-Rm.Pst 3-Agt, village
's/he made another one, (another) village.'

(e) **tï-njo-npë_pa tï-nonta-e ii-ja n-ka-n**
3R-husband-Pst_Rpt Rm.pst-leave-Rm.Pst 3-Agt $3S_A$-say:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'She left her husband again, they say.'

An imperative verb does not seem to form a verb phrase with a preceding O noun phrase either, as is shown by the obligatory positioning of the second-position particle **_mo** after the O noun phrase in (48) rather than after the verb (cf. 5.4.2.1 for the use of **_mo** in the future imperative). It is, however, true that the objects are always preverbal.Atempts to position them postverbally usually cause negative reactions (unless a pause is inserted, suggesting an afterthought; (48c-e)).

(48a) **kapi_mo ahkëh-kë**
liana.sp_Irr 3O:cut-Imper
'Cut (a piece of) the *kapi* liana.'

(b) * **kapi ahkëh-kë_mo**

(c) **maja apëh-kë !**
knife 3O:get-Imper
'Get the knife!'

(d) **apëh-kë, maja**
3O:get-Imper knife
'Get it, the knife!'

(e) ? **apëh-kë maja**

Examples such as (48d-e) show that the link between an imperative or remote past verb and its O noun phrase, though not as strong as in a verb phrase, is still perceptible. It is not clear at present whether this fact should be treated as a consequence of more general word order properties of Tiriyó, or as evidence for an 'emergent verb phrase' (or, at least, for some sort of higher-level constituent at an intermediate level between verb phrase and clause).

10.2.3. Postpositional phrases. The syntactic link between a postposition and its noun phrase object is as strong as that between the elements of the noun and verb phrases. The examples below illustrate this for the more suffix-like postposition **_po** 'Locative' (49a-f) and for the more noun-like postposition **akëërë** 'with' (49g-l): word order is rigid ((49a-b, g-h); the suggested interpretation of (49h), which treats **akëërë** as an independent phrase by itself, was considered awkward), they cannot be separated by intervening words without at least dramatic semantic changes (49c-d, i-j), and they are treated as a unit by the second-position particle **_mo** (49e-f, k-l).

(49a) **manko i-pataa_po**
1:mother 3-village:Pos_Loc
'In my mother's village.'

(b) * **po manko i-pata**

(c) **manko i-pataa_po t-ët-uru-ja-e**
1:mother 3-village:Pos_Loc 1S$_{\text{A}}$-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am talking in my mother's village.'

(d) *** manko t-ët-uru-ja-e i-pata_po** [15]

(e) **manko i-pataa_po_mo t-ët-uru-i**
mother 3-village_Loc_Irr 1S_A-Detr-talk-Hyp
'I would talk in my mother's village.'

(f) *** manko i-pataa_mo_po t-ët-uru-i**

(g) **manko akëërë**
1:mother with
'With my mother.'

(h) **? akëërë manko**
3:with 1:mother
'My mother, with him'

(i) **manko akëërë t-ët-uru-ja-e**
1:mother with 3S_A-Detr-talk-Prs:Ipf-Cty
'I am talking with my mother.'

(j) *** manko t-ët-uru-ja-e akëërë**

(k) **manko akëërë_mo t-ët-uru-i**
1:mother with_Irr 3S_A-Detr-talk-Hyp
'I would talk with my mother.'

(l) *** manko_mo akëërë t-ët-uru-i**

Postpositional phrases based on more noun-like postpositions have certain similarities with noun phrases. With consonant-initial postpositions, the occurrence of an optional **i-** (cf. 7.2) is formally comparable to the distinction between N-N and N **i**-N possessive phrases (cf. 10.2.2.1). In (50a-b), this is illustrated for the protective postposition **(_)pïïnë** 'feel pity for, feel jealous/protective about'. For certain postpositions, like the cognoscitive **(_)waarë** 'know', the presence of the **i-** is almost obligatory; many speakers react to (50d) as a 'clumsy' version of (50c). No difference in 'semantic integration' (cf. the N-N and N **i**-N phrases in 10.2.2.1) was found for between (50a, c) and (50b, d). The more suffix-like postpositions, like the locative **_po**, never occur with an initial **i-** (50e-f).

---

[15] (49d, j) became more acceptable with a pause: **manko, t-ët-uru-ja-e i-pataa_po** 'Mother, I'm talking in his/her village' and **manko, t-ët-uru-ja-e akëërë** 'Mother, I am talking with him/her'. Here, however, we are clearly dealing with different constructions.

(50a) **nëërë_n-ai rupeimë i-pïinë**
3AnAna:Exact_$3S_A$-Cop lizard.sp 3-Prot
'S/he felt pity for the *rupeimë* lizard.'

(b) **rupeimë pïinë**
lizard Prots
'feeling pity for *rupeimë*'

(c) **anja i-waarë_mo ei**
1+3 3-Cogn_Irr $3S_A$:Cop:Hyp
'We (excl.) would know.'

(d) ? **anja waarë_mo ei**
1+3 Cogn_Irr $3S_A$:Cop:Hyp
'We (excl.) would know.'

(e) * **manko i-pata i-po**

(f) **manko i-pataa_po**
1:mother 3-village:Pos_Loc
'In my mother's village.'

10.2.4. Phrases with Scope Particles. The subclass of *scope particles* was introduced in 9.1.4. as being formed by elements which do not have a specific position in the clause (initial, final or second position); rather, they follow another syntactic element (a word, phrase or clause), here called their *scope*. In 3.2.1.1, their syntax was briefly introduced. Their treatment as independent particles rather than affixes was motivated by their low categorial specificity: they can occur after any of the lexical classes (including particles, which take place in no morphological processes). The examples from 3.2.1.1, based on the particle **_rën(ne)** 'truly', are repeated here for convenience. The particle occurs after: a noun (51a), a verb (51d), an adverb (51e), a postposition (51b-c), an interrogative (51f), and another particle (51g-h).

(51a) **ji-nmuku_rën**
1-son:Pos_Truly
'My real son.'

(b) **kan_muku_me_rën**
god_son_Attr_Truly
'(As) a true son of God.'

(c) **ë-moitï apo_rën**
2-people:Pos like_Truly
'Really like your people.'

(d) **n-ëtïhka_rën**
$3S_A$-be.over:Prs.Prf_Truly
'It's really over.'
(='There isn't any left.')

(e) **kure_rën_man-a-e**
good_Truly_$3S_A$-Cop-Cty
'You are really good!'
(i.e. really a good person)

(f) **eeke_rën**
how_Truly
'How on Earth?'

(g) **owa_rën_ken**
Neg_Truly_Cont
'No way!'

(h) **kura-no ahkene_rën**
good-Nzr as.if_Truly
'Just as if it were good.'

Scope particles are the only members of the particle category that can occur inside phrases, separating otherwise inseparable elements (postpositional phrases in (52a-f), verb phrases in (52g-i), possessive noun phrases in (52j-k)).[16] Cases of this phenomenon are a minority (for the particle **_rë** 'Exactly', the most frequent 'phrase invader', such cases represents slightly less than 4% of its occurrences in texts), and apparently not all scope particles can participate (**_rë** 'Exactly' and **_rëken** 'Only' are more likely to break into phrases than **_marë** 'too', **_ke(ne)** 'continuative' or **_nkërë** 'still, yet'; **_sa(a)** 'a little' and **_ihta** '?' apparently never do). Moreover, speakers are not always in agreement as to which cases are impossible or, at least, 'awkward' (a certain speaker preferred (52f) to (52e) even when confronted with a recording of (52e) from another speaker, while a third speaker considered both 'equally good'). However, there are sufficiently many instances for the phenomenon to deserve attention.

(52a) **irëme Taru i-nmuku t-ee-se, [[rupeimë eemi]_rën enao]**
then Taru 3-son:Pos Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst lizard.sp 3:daughter:Pos_Truly holding
'Then Taru's son was lying (in his hammock) with *rupeimë*'s daughter.'

(b) **irëme [nëërë_rë_ja]_rëken t-ënaa-se, wëri_ja_rëken**
so 3AnAna:Exact_Exact_Agt_only Rm.Pst-eat.fruit-Rm.Pst woman_Agt_only
'so it was only she who ate the fruit, only the woman.'

(c) **[pahko_rë_pë] t-ët-uru-ja-e**
1:father_Exact_About 1S$_{A}$-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'Yes, it's my father that I am talking about.'

---

[16] A similar phenomenon had already been reported for Carib of Surinam in Hoff 1990.

(d) **[pahko_pëkë]_rë t-ët-uru-ja-e**
1:father_About_Exact 1S$_A$-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'Yes, it's about my father that I am talking.'

(e) **[manko_rëken_pë] t-ët-uru-ja-e**
1:mother_only_About 1S$_A$-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'It's only my mother that I am talking about.'

(f) **[manko_pëkë]_rëken t-ët-uru-ja-e**
1:mother_About_only 1S$_A$-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'It's only about my mother that I'm talking.'

(g) **pahko [wëri eta-n], ma [kïrï-ton_marë eta-n],**
1:father woman hear:Prs.Ipf-Dbt Attn man-Col_too hear:Prs.Ipf-Dbt

ma [murehti_marë etan]
Attn child:Col_too

'My father is listening to the woman, and also to the men, and also to the children.'

(h) **[paaruru_rë enaa-ja-n]**
banana_Exactly eat.fruit-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Yes, it's bananas that s/he is eating.'

(i) **[tï-papaa_rëken eta-n]**
3R-father:Pos_only hear:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he$_i$ is hearing only his/her$_i$ father.'

(j) **[ji-nmuku_rën i-pata]**
1-son:Pos_Truly 3-village:Pos
'My true son's village.'

(k) **[tarëno_rën eemi]_mo w-apëi**
Tiriyó_Truly 3:daughter:Pos_Irr 1A-get-Hyp
'I would get (=marry) the daughter of
a true Tiriyó.'

After looking at the above examples, one wonders what kind of construction a scope particle forms with the preceding word(s). In most of the above examples, the scope particle follows a noun, and could be seen as forming a noun phrase with it; however, it can also follow a postposition, or even a verb (as in (51c, d) above). (52b) has an example of nesting: [[[**nëërë_rë**]_**ja**]_**rëken**] 'only by this precise person'.[17] On this basis, particles are analyzed here as elements that can be 'adjoined' to any of the extant constituent types

---

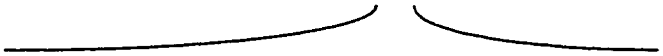
[17] Notice that **nëërë** already corresponds to a combination of the third-person animate anaphoric pronoun **nërë** with the particle **_rë** (cf. 9.1.4), i.e. **_rë** 'occurs' twice in this example. In fact, some combinations involving scope particles have lexicalized to varying degrees (cf. again 9.1.4, and also 6.1.1.4 on **ke(ne)** adverbs).

(phrases, or, as in (52d, h) above, clauses or sentences) without altering the status of its host.

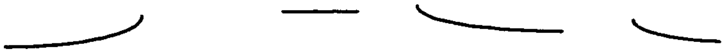
10.3. Clauses and sentences. A *clause* in Tiriyó is a self-sufficient sequence of *phrases* (composed by one or more words) which show some sign of syntactic interdependence. A *sentence* is a group of one or more clauses that hang together; it is usually separated from the rest of the text by pauses and by having its own intonational contour. Single-clause sentences are the most frequent case, as in (53a-b), but two-clause sentences are not rare, with the first one marked by a pause and non-final intonation (53c-e; cf. 2.5.2).

(53a) **ji-pakoro wï-rï-ja-e**
1-house:Pos 1A-make-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am making my house.'

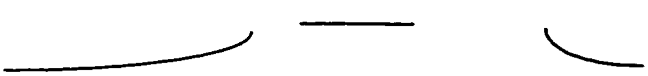
(b) **kaikui n-eurë-n**
dog 3AO-bark:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'The dog is barking at him/her/it.'



(c) **mure_me_nkërë wï ahtao, pahko eta-e wï**
child_Attr_still 1 when 1:father hear-Hab 1
'When I was still a child, I used to listen to my father.'



(d) **n-apëepï mëe, n-etainka iweike**
3S$_{O}$-get.tired:Prs.Prf 3AnPx 3S$_{A}$-run:Prs.Prf because
'He got tired because he ran.'



(e) **ji-w-ëeh-tuuwë_pa, j-akëmi w-ene**
1-S$_{A}$-come-Post_Rpt 1-yngr.brother:Pos 1A-see:Prs.Prf
'After I came, I saw my younger brother.'

The present section offers a description of simple (one-clause) sentences, which are composed of one of the following types of clauses:

(1) *equative* ('verbless') clauses (10.3.1);

(2) *conjugated* ('Set I') clauses (10.3.2);

(3) *remote past* clauses (10.3.3);

(4) *habitual past* clauses (10.3.4).

The non-equative clause types (which one might call 'verbed' clauses) can all be further subdivided into *copular*, *intransitive* and *transitive* clauses, depending on the argument frame of its verb. Most negative clauses are, structurally, copular or equative; however, given their functional homogeneity, and also the existence of some deviant types, they are discussed separately (10.3.5). The same is done for questions, which can arguably be placed in any of the four basic types (10.3.6).

10.3.1. Equative ('verbless') clauses. The combination of a two noun phrases (54a-b), or a noun phrase and a postpositional phrase (54c-h), or a noun phrase and an adverb (54i) or a particle (54j-l), can occur as a well-formed utterance in Tiriyó. The second element forms the predicate, with the first noun phrase as its 'subject'.[18] If this 'subject' is understood, the predicate can occur by itself: (54g) is actually much more frequent as a single-word utterance.

(54a) **serë, *AIDS*, epitï-mïn**
3InPx AIDS I:medicine-Priv.Nzr
'This, AIDS, has no cure.' (lit. 'is cureless').

(b) **j-eka Ranpi**
1-name:Pos Ranpi
'My name is Ranpi.'

---

[18] As there is no verb in an equative sentence, it is difficult to assign its 'subject' to one of the participant types discussed in 10.4.1. Its similarities with copular sentences suggest that it could be considered an S participant.

(c) **pahko pïjai**
1:father shaman
'My father is a shaman.'

(d) **pahko pïjai_me**
1:father shaman_Attr
'My father is a shaman.'

(e) **ji-nmuku mono_me**
1-son:Pos big.one_Attr
'My son is big.'

(f) **i-pata Suurinan_po**
3-village:Pos Surinam_Loc
'His/her village is in Surinam.'

(g) **(irë) ji-waarë**
3InAna 1-Cogn
'I know (that).'

(h) **mahto ji-wenje**
fire 1-close
'I have fire.' (=matches).

(i) **eemi kure**
3:daughter:Pos well
'His/her daughter is well.'

(j) **kana wa_ken**
fish 3Neg_Cont
'There are no fish.'

(k) **tïwërë_ken i-ponoh-to tëërë**
other_Cont 3-tell-Circ.Nzr Exist
'There is something else to tell.'

(l) **tüka tëërë**
tobacco Exist
'There is tobacco.'

The meaning of an equative clause is often undistinguishable from that of a copular clause (cf. 10.3.2.1): (54a-f) all have copular equivalents. It would seem that an equative clause *is* a copular clause from which the copula is missing. This seems even more clearly so for negative sentences, in which the semantics is apparently the same with or without the copula (55a-b).

(55a) **in-enee-wa wï**
3Neg-see-Neg 1
'I don't see him/her/it.'

(b) **in-enee-wa_w-a-e**
3Neg-see-Neg_1S$_{A}$-Cop-Cty
'I don't see him/her/it.'

The most frequent use of equative clauses is with pronouns (54a, 55a, 56a-c), but full noun phrase 'subjects' are far from rare. Although certain uses are clear ('identification' sentences such as (56a-c) are much preferred as equatives), the exact nature of the semantic contrast between equative and copular sentences is not known.

(56a) **pihko mëe**
1:older.brother 3AnPx
'This is my older brother.'

(b) **ëkërëpukë mëërë**
tayra 3AnMd
'That is a tayra.'

(c) **karaiwa ëmë**
Brazilian 2
'You are a Brazilian.'

(d) **tïika tëërë**
tobacco Exist
'There is tobacco (here).'

10.3.2. Conjugated (Set I) clauses. These clauses are characterized by the presence of a verb stem in one of the conjugated (or Set I) forms. The person-marking prefix identifies the nuclear participants involved (A/O for *transitive*, or S for *instransitive* or *copular Set I clauses*), which may be further identified by full noun phrases. Further peripheral participants or circumstances can occur as postpositional phrases, adverbs, or particles.

10.3.2.1. Conjugated copular clauses. These clauses have a form of the copula **e(i)** (cf. 5.4.4) with at least one other element; the copula cannot occur by itself or sentence-initially (57a-f).

(57a) **kure_pa w-eh-ta-e**
well 1S$_{A}$-Cop-Fut.Ipf-Cty
'I will be well again.' (='I will recover').

(b) * **w-eh-ta-e(_pa) kure**
(c) * **w-eh-ta-e**

(d) **kure man-a-ti ?**
well 2S$_{A}$-Cop-Col
'Are you all well?'

(e) * **man-a-ti kure**
(f) * **man-a-ti**

Copular sentences can be used to indicate existence (58a), location (58b), possession (permanent possession being indicated with **kato** (58c), apparently a nominalized form of **ka** 'say, do' used idiosyncratically to mean 'possession, belonging'; the postposition **wenje** 'close to, near' (cf. 7.1.3) is used idiomatically in [temporary] predicative possession, (58d-e); a **t- -ke** adverb (6.2.1.1.1) is also found in this context (58j)), identification/equation (58g-h) and proper inclusion or class membership (58h). Direct identification ('that one is the chief') seems to be more felicitously expressed with equative clauses (cf. preceding section). There are some special expressions or 'idioms' (e.g. (60j) does not mean 'I am work', but 'I am working').

(58a) **i-tïpï_n-ai tëërë_nkërë**
3-continuation_3S$_{A}$-Cop Exist_still
'There is still a continuation (to the story).'

(b) **tëpu_n-ai tuna_hkao**
stone_3S$_{A}$-Cop river_Aq.In
'The stone is in(side) the river.'

(c) **tëpu_n-ai pakara_juuwë**
stone_3S$_{A}$-Cop bag_on.top
'The stone is on top of the bag.'

(d) **serë_n-ai jii-kato**
3InPx_3S$_{A}$-Cop 1-possession
'This is mine, my thing.'

(e) **manko wenje_n-ai j-ehke**
1:mother close_3S$_{A}$-Cop 1-hammock
'My mother has my hammock.'

(f) **Taru i-nmuku_n-ai i-wenjee-ne**
Taru 3-son:Pos_3S$_{A}$-Cop 3-close-Col
'They have Taru's son (in their power).'

(g) **oto-ton_n-ai wïkapau, akuri, pai, kurimau, ...**
game-Col_3S$_{A}$-Cop deer.sp agouti tapir paca
'The game animals are: deer, agouti, tapir, paca, etc.'

(h) **Moomoori_n-ai mëe eka**
Moomoori_3S$_{A}$-Cop 3AnPx 3:name:Pos
'Moomoori is this one's name.'

(i) **pahko_n-ai pïjai_me**
1:father_3S$_{A}$-Cop shaman_Attr
'My father is a shaman.'

(j) **oroko_me_w-a-e**
work_Attr_1S$_{A}$-Cop-Cty
'I am working.'

(j) **tï-maja-ke_w-a-e**
T-knife-Having_1S$_{A}$-Cop-Cty
'I have a knife.'

In some Cariban languages (e.g. Panare [Gildea, pers.comm.], Akawayo [Desrey Fox, pers. comm.]), copular sentences with two noun phrases are impossible: one of them has to be adverbialized, usually with a cognate of the postposition **_me** (described in 7.3.4.3). In Tiriyó, however, two-NP copular clauses are perfectly acceptable (58d, 59b). Combining this with the possibility of leaving off the copula (i.e. of forming equative clauses), it becomes possible to translate 'my father is a shaman' in four ways (59). Some speakers have said that (59d) sounds 'more definite' (i.e. like an identification or equation: 'my father is the shaman'); aside from that, the semantic distinctions between the various possibilities in (59) are not well understood.[19]

(59a) **pahko_n-ai pïjai_me**
1:father_$3S_A$-Cop shaman_Attr
'My father is a shaman.'

(b) **pahko_n-ai pïjai**
1:father_$3S_A$-Cop shaman
'My father is a shaman.'

(c) **pahko pïjai_me**
1:father shaman_Attr
'My father is a shaman.'

(d) **pahko pïjai**
1:father shaman
'My father is a shaman.'

10.3.2.2. Conjugated intransitive clauses. These clauses are characterized by the presence of a conjugated intransitive (S_A or S_O) verb stem, with (60b) or without (60a) a particle. Optionally, other elements can be present: one noun phrase which, together with the person-marking prefix on the verb, refers to the S participant ((60c); only one noun phrase can occur in an intransitive clause, except for cases of apposition), adverbs (60c-d) and/or postpositional phrases (60e-f).

---

[19] Copular sentences with deverbal nouns or adverbs are also the main strategy for expressing certain modal semantics such as capacity, impossibility, etc. (cf. 4.2.2.2 and 6.2.1.2). Considering that negative clauses are also copular/equative, one wonders if Tiriyó should be seen as a language in which the expression of 'verbal states' implies copular/equative predications. Unlike English, in which the suppression of one of the arguments suffices ('he hunts', 'this book sells well'), Tiriyó seems to reserve verbal predication for less 'stative' situations and copular predication for more 'stative' or 'modal' situations, including in negative sentences (cf. Givón 1984:321ff for negation as 'propositional modality').

(60a) **ni-tunta**
$3S_O$-arrive:Prs.Prf
'S/he has arrived.'

(b) **s-e-pï-ja-e_pitë**
$1S_A$-Detr-bathe-Prs.Ipf-Cty_a.sec
'I am bathing for a second (i.e. before doing something else).'

(c) **manko kure n-eremina-n**
1:mother well $3S_O$-sing:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'My mother sings / is singing well.'

(d) **menjaarë_rë s-e-pï**
now_Exact $1S_A$-detr-bathe:Prs.Prf
'I have bathed right now.'

(e) **wïkapau_ja wï-tën**
deer_All $1S_A$-go:Prs.Prf
'I went to Deer's (village).'

(f) **tï-pipi akëërë n-emamina-n**
3R-oldr.brthr:Pos with $3S_O$-play:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'He is playing with his older brother.'

Intransitive clauses based on the S_A verb stem **ka** 'say' deserve special mention. They have two main uses: reported speech, with a direct quotation preceding **ka** (61a-b), and 'ideophone' clauses, in which an ideophone (cf. Table 9.2) precedes **ka**, often with onomatopoeic (61c), but sometimes also with a quite arbitrary, unexpectedly 'lexical' meaning (61d); cf. 9.2.2 for further examples.[20]

(61a) **"aja papa?" wï-ka**
whither 2:father:Pos 1A-say:Prs.Prf
'Where is your father?' I said.

(b) **"oh-kë_pa_mo !" n-ka-n**
come-Imper_Rpt_Irr $3S_A$-say:Prs:Ipf-Dbt
'Come back again some time!', he is saying.

(c) **pito wï-ka**
spit.Ideo $1S_A$-say:Prs.Prf
'I have spat.'

(d) **mëmëi wï-ka**
joke.Ideo $1S_A$-say:Prs.Prf
'I was joking.'

---

[20] Ideophones, and especially interjections, are also often found without **ka**. Whether occurring by themselves, or inside of a larger sentence, they do not seem to be 'a part of' anything else, but rather independent elements, close to being predications by themselves. They often 'summarize' a complex event (e.g. **meen** 'to wrap itself around something', in (54), chap. 9.

10.3.2.3. Conjugated transitive clauses. These clauses are characterized by the presence of a conjugated transitive verb stem (62a). Unlike intransitive clauses, up to two independent, non-appositional noun phrases can occur (62b-c), referring to the A and O participants, which are also identifiable from the prefix on the verb stem. If both participants are third persons, an explicit O noun phrase forms a verb phrase with the verb stem, as in (62c) (cf. 10.2.2). Adverbs (62d) and postpositional phrases (62e) can also occur. (62f) shows a particle occurring after the verb stem.

(62a) **w-enee-ja-e**
1A-bring-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am bringing it.'

(b) **mama w-ene-ne**
2:mother:Pos 1A-see-Pst.Prf
'I saw your mother (then).'

(c) **ë-nmuku tïï-raapa itahka**
2-son:Pos 3R-bow:Pos lose:Prs.Prf
'Your son has lost his bow.'

(d) **same_ken k-eenee-ja-e**
fast_Cont 1+2A-bring-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'We (I+you) are bringing it fast.'

(e) **sen wï-rï j-eemi-rï_ja**
3InPx 1A-make:Prs.Prf 1-daughter-Pos_Dat
'I made this for my daughter.'

(f) **tarëno i-jomi wi-kuu-ja-e_sa**
Tiriyó 3-language:Pos 1A-imitate-Prs.Ipf-Cty_a.bit
'I speak the Tiriyó language a bit.'

Causative and *transitivized verb stems* form the nucleus of an interesting subclass of transitive sentences. Transitivized stems are derived from S_O stems with one of the transitivizing suffixes **-në(pï)**, **-nï(pï)**, **-nïïka** and **-ka** (cf. 5.3.1.2); syntactically, they are normal transitive verbs, occurring with up to two independent noun phrases (63f) and taking all transitive person-marking prefixes (e.g. (63d); cf. 5.4.1.1.1).

(63a) **j-ereeta-e**
1S_O-rest:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am resting.'

(b) **Niira w-ereeta-nïpï**
Nila 1A-rest-Trvzr:Prs.Prf
'I have made Nila rest, told Nila to rest.'

(c) **ji-kooman-ja-e**
1S$_O$-spend.night-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am spending the night (here).'

(d) **kï-kooman-nëpï**
12AO-spend.night-Trvzr:Prs.Prf
'I have made you stay all night here.'

(e) **ji-tatï**
1S$_O$-get.lost:Prs.Prf
'I got lost.'

(f) **pahko t-ëkï itah-ka**
1:father 3R-pet:Pos get.lost-Trvzr:Prs.Prf
'My father$_i$ lost his$_i$ pet.'

Transitivized stems, like all other transitive stems, can take the causative suffix **-po**, which enables them to take a 'causee' in a postpositional phrase (with **_:ja**); this was not possible without **-po** (64a-d). Except for stems transitivized with **-ka**, the causativized forms (in **-nëh-po**, **-nïh-po**, **-nïika-po**) are much more frequent and, according to several speakers, 'easier to use' than the simple transitivized forms. One has the impression that the Tiriyó speakers are replacing the transitivizing suffixes with new 'transitivizer-causativizers', **-nëhpo**, **-nïhpo**, **-nïikapo**, which have the same meaning as the original transitivizers if the (**_:ja**-marked) causee is omitted.

(64a) **Niira w-ereeta-nïpï**
Nila 1A-rest-Trvzr:Prs.Prf
'I have made Nila rest.'

(b) * **Niira w-ereeta-nïpï Sipaki_ja**

(c) **Niira w-ereeta-nïh-po**
Nila 1A-rest-Trvzr-Caus:Prs.Prf
'I have made Nila rest.'
'I have told someone to let Nila rest.'

(d) **Niira w-ereeta-nïh-po Sipaki_ja**
Nila 1A-rest-Trvzr-Caus:Prs:Prf Spike_Causee
'I told Spike to let Nila rest.'

The possible presence of a **_:ja** phrase with a causee reading is the main characteristic of all transitive sentences with causativized verbs, regardless of whether or not they have an ultimate S$_O$ source. A causative verb stem is derived from a transitive (or transitivized) verb stem with the suffix **-po** (cf. 5.3.1.4; cf. 10.4.1.3.3 for syntactic causatives). The O participant of the event described by the original stem remains as such with the causativized stem, while the original A participant corresponds to the causee occurring in the **_:ja** phrase. The new A participant corresponds to a 'causer': the participant that instigates the causee to fulfill its role in the event described by the original stem. Notice that, for (65a-b), the semantics is close to that of 'adding an intermediary': the A participant affects the original O participant 'by means of' the causee. However, the other examples are not always of the same kind, especially the less prototypically transitive verbs **ene** 'see O' or **eta** 'hear O', in which the original A participant is closer to an 'experiencer', the corresponding causativized forms have a causee that is not an 'intermediary', but rather the participant that is now 'experiencing' (65f-g), i.e. the causee can have features of a 'dative' or 'experiencer'.

(65a) **ji-jankai wï-rï-po-ne tarëno_ja**
1-comb:Pos 1A-make-Caus-Pst.Prf Tiriyó_Causee
'I had a Tiriyó make my comb.'

(b) **mëe wi-tuuka-po waijana_ja**
3AnPx 1A-beat-Caus:Prs.Prf Wayna_Causee
'I had a Wayana beat this guy.'

(c) **tï-pï ënë-po-ne wïrïpë_ja**
3R-wife eat.meat-Caus-Pst.Prf evil.spirit_Causee
'He made an evil spirit eat his wife.'

(d) **t-ëëmi epoh-po pananakiri_ja**
3R-daughter:Pos meet-Caus:Prs.Prf foreigner_Causee
'S/he$_i$ made a/the foreigner meet his/her$_i$ daughter.'

(e) **kure ji-nmuku m-erahtë-po wïja**
well 1-son:Pos 2A-find-Caus:Prs.Prf 1:Causee
'You really made me find my son.' (i.e. you told me where he was)

(f) **ji-nmuku w-ene-po-e ëë-ja**
1-son:Pos 1A-see-Caus:Prs.Ipf-Cty 2-Causee?/Dat?
'I showed my son to you.' (lit. 'I made/let you see my son.')

(g) **ji-w-eh-topo-npë w-eta-po-e ji-pawana-h-tomo_ja**
1-S_A-Cop-Circ.Nzr-Pst 1A-hear-Caus:Prs.Ipf-Cty 1-friend-Pos-Col_Causee?/Dat?
'I am explaining my story to all my friends.'
(lit. 'I am making/letting all my friends hear my story.')

10.3.3. Remote past clauses. As was seen in 10.4.1, for sentences with a remote past verb form (**t- -se**; cf. 5.4.3.1.2), there is a mismatch between the case-marking pattern (ergative) and the control of coreference (nominative). The A participant occurs in a postpositional (_**:ja**) phrase, while the O and S participants occur as independent, non-case-marked noun phrases (an ergative-absolutive pattern, also present in 'Equi-deletion' (cf. 10.4.1) and word order (cf. 10.5)); at the same time, the possessor of a noun marked with the 'reflexive' possessive prefix **t(ï)-** is coreferential with either the A or S participant—whichever is present—but never with the O participant (a nominative-accusative pattern). There are no person-marking prefixes on the verb in the remote past. As with the conjugated sentences of the previous sections, adverbs and postpositional phrases are free to occur as adjuncts.

These characteristics of remote past clauses are exemplified in (66). Copular clauses (66a-b) and intransitive clauses (66c-d) have non-case-marked S noun phrases, including **ka** 'say' clauses (ideophones (66e-f) and quotations (66g); notice that the **:ja**-marked participant in (66g) is not an A) while transitive clauses have **:ja**-marked A noun phrases and non-case-marked O noun phrases (66h-i). (66j-k) has further examples (in addition to (14d)) of coreference control, by the A (66j) and S (66k) participants. Notice that this pattern of coreference control implies that it is impossible for the A or S participants to be tï-marked nouns. Sentences such as (66l) were always immediately refused; most speakers could not even guess what they might mean (i.e. they were nonsensical to them). The contrast with (66m), in which the :_ja-marked participant is not an A, is quite striking.

(66a) **serë apo t-ee-se mëe**
3InPx like Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst 3AnPx
'S/he was like that.'

(b) **ëmuu_me t-ee-se apëren**
sadness_Attr Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst 3:owner
'His (=the dog's) owner became sad.'

(c) **t-ee-seka-e kïto**
Rm.Pst:S_A-Detr-jump-Rm.Pst toad.sp
'The *kïto* toad jumped.'

(d) **irë_mao_pa t-onota-e kaikui**
3InAna_Tmp_Rpt Rm.Pst-fall-Rm.Pst dog
'Then the dog fell again.'

(e) **pito tïï-ka-e pananakiri**
spit Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst foreigner
'The foreigner spat.'

(f) **mananmanan tïï-ka-e kapu**
lightning Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst sky
'There was lightning.'

(g) **"ma jako, mëe tï-wë-kë !" tïï-ka-e_to ii-ja**
Attn Voc 3AnPx t-shoot-Imper Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst_3Col 3-Dat
'Well, friend, shoot that one!' they said to him.

(h) **t-ënee-se_wï manko_ja sen_pona, j-enuru-hpë_pëe**
Rm.Pst-bring-Rm.Pst_1 1:mother_Agt 3InPx_Dir 1-be.born:N-Pst_Abl
'My mother brought me here, after I was born.'

(i) **irë-npë_pëe joi tï-wë-e wïja**
3InAna-Pst_Abl lizard.sp Rm.Pst-shoot-Rm.Pst 1:Agt
'After that I shot a lizard.'

(j) **t-ëpëi tï-rë-e ii-ja kawë**
3R-seat:Pos Rm.Pst-make-Rm.Pst 3-Agt high
'He made himself a seat very high (on top of a tree).'

(k) **wëri tïï-të-e tï-pataa_pona**
woman Rm.Pst:S_A-go-Rm.Pst 3R-village:Pos_Dir
'The woman$_i$ went to her$_i$ village.'

(l) * **ji-pawana t-ëta-e tï-mama-rï_ja**
1-friend:Pos Rm.Pst-hear-Rm.Pst 3R-mother-Pos_Agt
(His$_i$ mother heard him$_i$.)

(m) **ji-pawana tïï-të-e tï-mama-rï_ja**
1-friend:Pos Rm.Pst:S_A-go-Rm.Pst 3R-mother-Pos_Agt
'He$_i$ went to his$_i$ mother's (house/village).'

When a **_:ja**-marked participant occurs in a transitive remote past clause based on a causative verb stem, there is an inescapable ambiguity as to whether it refers to the A participant, or to the causee (67), yielding two possible translations. The most frequent spontaneous interpretation was (i), but (ii) also occurred spontaneously, and was accepted as a possible reading of (67) by all speakers.

(67) **Sipaki tï-tuuka-po-e pahko_ja karaiwa_ja**
Spike Rm.Pst-hit-Caus-Rm.Pst 1:father_Agt?/Causee? Brazilian_Agt?/Causee?
(i) 'My father made the Brazilian hit Spike.'
(ii) 'The Brazilian made my father hit Spike.'

10.3.4. Habitual past clauses. As was mentioned in 10.4.1, clauses based on a verb in the habitual past (**-se**; cf. 5.4.3.1.1) form show a *nominative-accusative* pattern of person marking (the O participant is marked as a prefix on transitive verbs (68a-d), while the A (68a-d) and S (68e-h) participants are not marked); as usual, adverbs or postpositional phrases can optionally occur (68a, c, d, f-h). No data on coreference control (cf. 10.4.1) is available for the habitual past; presumably, it is controlled by the A/S participants, as in negative clauses (cf. next section). An overt O noun phrase, if present, was obligatorily placed before the verb, apparently forming a verb phrase (cf. the placement of the second-position particle **_pitë** 'a second, temporarily' after the verb in (68b)). An explicit A or S noun phrase is not distinguished morphologically from an O noun phrase; here, word order is very important. Most of the examples have a postverbal A/S participant; the few cases in with a preverbal A (68d) usually had either an O-marking prefix on the verb, or an intervening O noun phrase (cf. 10.5).

Below is a representative sample of habitual past clauses, including transitive clauses (68a-d), intransitive clauses with S_A verbs (68e-f), including a quotation with **ka** 'say' (68f), and S_O verbs (68g), and a copular clause (68h).

(68a) **ipoinna j-ewee-se ëmë**
tasteless 1O-feed-Hab 2
'You used to feed me tastelessly.' (i.e. with tasteless food)

(b) **j-otï ënë-e_pitë wï**
1-meat.food eat.meat-Hab_a.sec 1
'I used to eat my meat (and then do something else).'

(c) **owa, j-eko-e jii-kïïrï, serë apo_ro_pa**
no, 1-sex-Hab 1-yng.man 3InPx like_Exact_Rpt
'No, my younger partner used to have sex with me like this:...' (said by a woman)

(d) **serë apo_roken anja serë ijooka-e**
3InPx like_only 1+3 3InPx harvest-Hab
'Only when it was like this would we harvest this (plant)."

(e) **"emeta-ke mëe !" ka-e_to**
change-S.pot.Nzr 3AnPx say-Hab_3Col
'"This one can change!" they used to say' (i.e. it is a magic animal that can assume other forms)

(f) **pena_marë koeri_me të-e anja pata wararë**
long.ago_too stroll_Attr go-Hab 1+3 village each
'Long ago, we used to go walking around, (to visit) every village.'

(g) **mure_me_nkërë wï ahtao, wei wararë emamina-e wï**
child_Attr_still 1 when day each play-Hab 1
'When I was a child, I used to play every day.'

(h) **kura-no_ken pahko ee-se**
clean:looking-Nzr_Cont 1:father Cop-Hab
'My father used to be/stay always clean-looking.' (i.e. he never painted himself)

10.3.5. Negative clauses. Structurally, most negative clauses could be described as belonging to one of the types used to classify affirmative clauses (cf. 10.3); however, their functional homogeneity, together with certain peculiarities (e.g. the distinction between nominal and verbal negation), argue in favor of a separate treatment.

Negation can be of the following kinds:

— *lexical*: that is the case of negative adverbializing and nominalizing affixes such as **i- -nna, i- -mï(nï)** 'not having', **i- -:ra, i- -pï(nï)** 'having an inefficient N', etc. (cf. 4.2.2.2, 6.2.1.2). These words are adverbs or nouns, used just like any other members of these classes.

— *non-verbal:* this is the case of negation by means of the particles **_ta(ike)** 'negative' and **_wa(a)** 'negative existential' (cf. 9.1.4), which take the preceding phrase as their 'scope';

— *verbal:* this is the case of negative clauses built around the negative verbal form (cf. 5.4.3.1.3);

— *polar*: this is the case of the negative sentence-equivalent particle **owa** 'no, nothing, nobody' (cf. 9.2.1).

Polar and lexical negation are described elsewhere (9.2.1 and 6.2.1.2, respectively). In the present section, only verbal and non-verbal negation are examined.

10.3.5.1. Non-verbal negation. In Sec. 9.1.4, a general characterization of the meanings and uses of the negative particles **_ta(ike)** 'negation' and **_wa(a)** 'negative existential' (='there isn't') was sketched. Briefly, **_wa(a)** negates existence, and thus can only take noun phrases within its scope (69b), whereas **_ta(ike)** is a more general negation that can take, besides noun phrases (69a; 69c has a nominalized verb form), also adverbs (69d-f) and postpositional phrases (69f-h, m) within its scope. Notice that **_ta(ike)** can be used for constituent negation (69i-m).

(69a) **pahko_ta ~ pahko_taa_n-ai**
1:father_Neg 1:father_Neg_$3S_A$-Cop
'It isn't my father.'

(b) **pahko_wa ~ pahko_waa_n-ai**
1:father_Neg.Exist _$3S_A$-Cop
'I don't have a father / my father is dead.'

(c) **ë-nï-rï-h_ta serë**
2-O.act.Nzr-make-Pos_Neg 3InPx
'This is not your work.'
(lit. 'This is not something you made.')

(d) **pëera_taa_w-a-e**
stupid_Neg_$1S_A$-Cop-Cty
'I am not stupid.'

(e) **tapïime wïtoto, tëinë_taa_n-ai**
many.An people, one_Neg_$3S_A$-Cop
'Many people, it isn't only one.'

(f) **owa, serë apo_ta**
no 3InPx like_Neg
'No, it isn't like that.'

(g) **ë-pëh_taa_n-ai**
2-About_Neg_$3S_A$-Cop
'He is not about (=busy with; after) you.'

(h) **këpëewa manko ji-pïtï_se_ta**
but 1:mother 1-wife_Desid_Neg
'But my mother didn't want/like my wife.'

(i) **pahko_ta kaikui wë**
1:father_Neg jaguar shoot:Prs.Prf
'Not my father has shot the jaguar.'

(j) **pahko_ta ene karaman**
1:father_Neg see:Prs.Prf chief
'The chief saw not my father.'

(k) **pahko_ja_ta tï-wë-e kaikui**
1:father_Agt_Neg Rm.Pst-shoot-Rm.Pst dog
'Not my father shot the jaguar.'

(l) **pahko_taa_n-ai pïjai_me**
1:father_Neg_$3S_A$-Cop shaman_Attr
'Not my father is a shaman.'

(m) **pahko_n-ai pïjai_me_ta**
1:father_$3S_A$-Cop shaman_Attr_Neg
'My father is not a shaman.'

The supine ('purpose-of-motion') form of the verb is negated with **_ta(ike)** (70a), which puts it closer to adverbs (cf. 5.4.3.1.1, 10.4.1.2.2, 10.4.1.3.3). Curiously enough, the habitual past, very similar in form (and historically related) to the supine, does not take **_ta(ike)**; rather, the normal negative form in **-sewa** occurs with a habitual meaning (70b-c) (cf. Meira 1998a:120ff, 136ff for a hypothesis on the historical development of the negative and habitual past forms from the supine). The remote past is also negated with **_ta(ike)** (70d-e).

(70a) **mërë_pona wï-tën emamina-e_ta**
3InMd_Dir 1S$_A$-go:Prs.Prf play-Sup_Neg
'I went over there in order not to play.'

(b) **mure_me_nkërë wï ahtao, pahko imoi-je wï**
child_Attn_still 1 when 1:father obey-Hab 1
'When I was a child, I used to obey my father.'

(c) **mure_me_nkërë wï ahtao, pahko imoi-jewa wï**
child_Attn_still 1 when 1:father obey-Hab 1
'When I was a child, I used not to obey my father.'

(d) **ë-nmuku t-ëne_ta anja_ja**
2-son:Pos Rm.Pst-see:Rm.Pst_Neg 1+3_Agt
'We didn't see your son.'

(e) **mërëme ii-rano_rën t-amii-se_ta ii-ja**
but 3-good:one_Truly Rm.Pst-take-Rm.Pst_Neg 3-Agt
'But the really good ones he didn't take.'

10.3.5.2. Verbal negation. The negative equivalent of a conjugated (Set I) clause is a copular or equative clause built around the negative form of the corresponding verb stem (cf. 5.4.3.1.3): in order to say 'I don't kill birds', Tiriyó speakers use 'I am birds not-killing' (71a-f). Like the habitual past, the negative form follows a nominative pattern of person marking, in that the O participant can occur as a person prefix on the negated verb stem while the A and S participants must be either noun phrases or person prefixes on the copula

e(i). There is some evidence that a preverbal O noun phrase forms a verb phrase with the verb, but the data are scant (cf. 10.2.2). The optional occurrence of the copula makes the negative clause look structurally different from the habitual past; a further difference is the idiosyncratic third-person O prefix **in-**, which does not occur on habitual past forms (71b). The copula can be inflected in all tenses and forms (except, presumably for semantic reasons, the negative): the past perfective (71g) and the imperative (71h) forms are given as examples. (71i) illustrates the use of the 'objectless' negative form, and (71j) has a case with the quoted speech verb **ka** 'say':

(71a) **w-akoronma-e**
1A-help:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am helping him/her.'

(b) **in-akoronma-ewa_w-a-e**
3O-help-Neg_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'I am not helping him/her.'

(c) **ë-këhtun-ja-e**
2S$_O$-scream-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'You are screaming.'

(d) **i-këhtun-jewa ëmë**
I-scream-Neg 2
'You are not screaming.'

(e) **s-e-pï-ja-e**
1S$_A$-Detr-bathe-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am bathing.'

(f) **e-pë-ewa_w-a-e**
Detr-bathe-Neg_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'I am not bathing.'

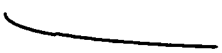
(g) **tonoro in-eta-ewa w-ei-ne**
bird 3O-hear-Neg 1S$_A$-Cop-Pst.Prf
'I had not heard the birds (then).'

(h) **i-jëikëëkë in-apëë-sewa eh-kë**
3-wound 3O-catch-Neg Cop-Imper
'Don't touch (lit. catch) his/her wound.'

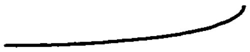
(i) **ëpëë-sewa_w-a-e**
catch-Neg_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'I can't catch, I am not good at catching.'

(j) **"kure_taa_man-a-e" ka-ewa eh-kë**
good_Neg_2S$_A$-Cop-Cty say-Neg Cop-Imper
'Don't say, "you are bad"'

10.3.6. Questions. Yes/no-questions are clearly different from wh-questions (or **a**-questions, since most Tiriyó interrogatives start with **a**): the former are characterized mostly by rising intonation (cf. 2.5.2), while the latter are distinguished by the presence of an interrogative word (cf. chap. 8). To illustrate the intonational difference between normal declarative clauses and a yes/no question, examples (40a-b) from 2.5.2 are repeated as (72a-b) below.



(72a) **ëkërëpukë_mëe**
tayra_3AnPx
'This one is a tayra.'



(b) **ëkërëpukë_mëe ?**
tayra_3AnPx
'Is this one a tayra?'

A-questions must always start with an interrogative. For a description of the uses and meanings of the various interrogatives, cf. chap. 8. (73) below illustrates the fact that there are questions corresponding to every sentence type: equative (72b), copular (73a-b),[21] conjugated intransitive (73c-d) and transitive (73e-f), remote past (73g-h), habitual past (73i).

(73a) **an-po_n-ai ë-pata ?**
wh-Loc_3S$_A$-Cop 2-village:Pos
'Where are you from?'

(b) **ëwë-n_mao, eeke n-eh-ta-n** ***AIDS*** **?**
later-Nzr_Tmp how 3S$_A$-Cop-Fut.Ipf-Dbt AIDS
'Later on, what will AIDS be like?'

(c) **akï n-ee-ja-n ?**
wh.An 3S$_A$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Who is coming?'

(d) **atï n-anota ?**
wh.In 3S$_O$-fall:Prs.Prf
'What fell?'

(e) **akï kïn-arë ?**
wh.An 3Pst.Prf-take
'Who took him/her/it away?'

(f) **atï rï-ja-n pahko ?**
wh.In make-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 1:father
'What is my father doing?'

---

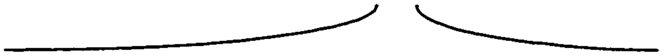
[21] No examples of **akï** 'who (animate)' and **atï** 'what (inanimate)' followed by a copula occurred in the available corpus; all cases were verbless equatives (e.g. **akï ëmë** 'who are you?'). Unfortunately, speakers were not asked about whether **akï** or **atï** plus a copula was possible.

(g) **akï_ja sen tï-rë-e ?**
wh.An_Agt 3InPx Rm.Pst-make-Rm.Pst
'Who made this?'

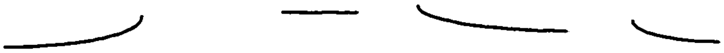
(h) **aja tïï-të-e ?**
whither Rm.Pst-go Rm.Pst
'Where did he go?'

(i) **eeke ë-eko-e ?**
how 2O-have.sex-Hab
'How did he use to have sex with you?'

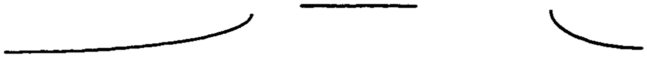
10.4. Complex sentences. As was said in 10.3, a *sentence* is, prototypically, a group of one or more clauses that hang together and are usually separated from the rest of the text by pauses and by its own intonational contour. Examples (53c-e) are repeated below as (74a-c) for convenience's sake.



(74a) **mure_me_nkërë wï ahtao, pahko eta-e wï**
child_Attr_still 1 when 1:father hear-Hab 1
'When I was still a child, I used to listen to my father.'



(b) **n-apëepï mëe, n-etainka iweike**
$3S_O$-get.tired:Prs.Prf 3AnPx $3S_A$-run:Prs.Prf because
'He got tired because he ran.'



(c) **ji-w-ëeh-tuuwë_pa, j-akëmi w-ene**
1-S_A-come-Post_Rpt 1-yngr.brother:Pos 1A-see:Prs.Prf
'After I came, I saw my younger brother.'

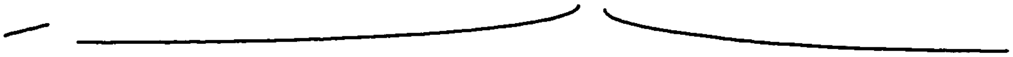
In the above examples, the intonational contour indicates a certain level of dependence between the clauses. It would not be possible to separate the clauses by making them two 'intonational units': the level of interdependence in (74a-b) is such that the two combined clauses cannot be separated intonationally. In a case like (75), however, this is clearly optionally possible. The two intonations roughly depicted in (75) are acceptable: the two clauses can be pronounced as one sentence, with non-final intonation (cf. 2.5.2) on the first clause (75b), or as two separate sentences, both with final intonation (75c). Notice that the same is true for the English gloss in (75a).

(75a)

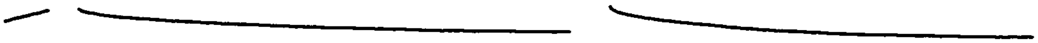
ma,	**tï-kairi**	**iwa-toh_pëh_ken**	**t-ee-se**	**kaikui,**
Attn	3R-broth:Pos	3:look.for-Circ.Nzr_About_Cont	Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst	jaguar

irëme	**wïkapau**	**t-ëpoo-se_re**	**ii-ja**
then	deer	Rm.Pst-find-Rm.Pst_Frust	3-Agt

'The jaguar was looking for (game for) his broth; then he found a deer (but in vain).'

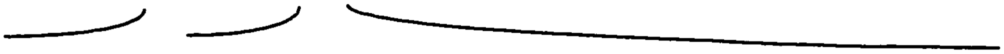


(b) **Ma, tïkairi iwatoh_pëh_ken teese kaikui, irëme wïkapau tëpoose_re iija.**



(c) **Ma, tïkairi iwatoh_pëh_ken teese kaikui. Irëme wïkapau tëpoose_re iija.**

Sentences such as (75b) are better candidates for *coordination* (cf. 10.5); they represent an 'upper limit' on the 'more indepedent' extreme of a continuum of formal integration for clauses. In fact, complex sentence such as (74a-c) are not different in nature from coordinate sentences like (75b), but only in degree. Sporadic cases of 'less integrated' intonations occurred (76); they were simply much less frequent.



(76)

irëme_n-ai,	**ëkëi-pisi,**	**wa_inï-rë-ewa**	**pananakiri-ton**	**i-sunpu.**
so_3S$_A$-Cop	snake-Dim	Neg.Exist_3O-make-Neg	foreigner-Col	3-lead

'So, the lead of the foreigners doesn't kill this little snake.'

kure enee-ra iweike
Intens see-Ineff because
'Because it (=the snake) is really invisible.'

At the other extreme of this continuum are *phrases*, i.e. *intraclausal constituents*. They can also be delimited by non-final intonation, if the speaker pauses between them (cf. 2.5.2); in fact, looking at (73), it is easy to see that some of the clauses contain non-conjugated (i.e. 'less finite'), or even nominalized verb forms. In (77), there are some examples of verbal nominalizations in postpositional phrases used to mark simultaneity, cause, or posteriority, resulting in meanings quite similar to those in (73).

(77a) **irëme Suurinan_me apo w-ei-ne, Suurinan_po ji-w-ei-rï_htao**
so Surinam_Attr like 1S$_{A}$-Cop-Pst.Prf Surinam_Loc 1-S$_{A}$-Cop-Pos_Loc
'So I became like a Surinamese, while I was in Surinam.'
(lit. 'inside of my being in Surinam.')

(b) **joi tï-wë-e wïja, wë-të ji-w-ei-hpë_ke**
lizard.sp Rm.Pst-shoot-Rm.Pst 1:Agt shoot-A.pot.Azr 1-S$_{A}$-Cop:N-Pst_Inst
'I shot a *joi* lizard, because I had become good at shooting.'
(lit. 'with my having become good at shooting.')

(c) **j-enuru-hpë_pëe t-ënee-se wï sen_pona**
1-be.born:N-Pst_Abl Rm.Pst-bring-Rm.Pst 1 3InPx_Dir
'After I was born, (my mother) brought me here.'
(lit. 'From my having been born,...')

Since the postpositions in (77) can have normal (i.e. based on non-derived nouns) noun phrases as their arguments (cf. 7.3.1.1.1 for the locative **_htao**, 7.3.1.1.3 for the ablative **_pëe**, and 7.3.4.2 for the instrumental **_ke**), there does not seem to be a simple way to distinguish between 'subordinate clauses' and 'postpositional phrases involving verbal nominalizations'. It is true that, in most cases, the elements that compose the 'subordinate clause' tend to remain together, often forming an 'intonational unit' separated from the rest of the sentence by a pause (cf. **Suurinan_po** 'in Surinam' in (77a) and **wë-të** 'good at shooting' in (77b)). However, there are also counterexamples, especially with desiderative constructions. In (77), the nominalized verb **eku** 'have sex with O' has a **:ja**-marked A participant **wïtoto** 'human being, person' separated from it by the copula **teese** and by its S participant **pai** 'tapir'. Once more, it seems best to see the observed cases as distributed along a form-meaning continuum, as in Fig. 10.5.

(78)	**t-ëëmi**	**eku_se**	**t-ee-se**	**pai**	**wïtoto_ja**
	3R-daughter:Pos	have.sex:N_Desid	Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst	tapir	person_Agt

'Tapir$_i$ wanted the guy to have sex with his$_i$ daughter.'

Figure 10.5
Form-meaning (integration) continuum for clauses and phrases.

Phrase (Postpositions)	Subordinate Clause (Suffixes; Subordinators)	Coordinate Clauses (Conjunctions)	Independent Clauses (Intonation)
Ø-nominalizations	**-tuuwë**	**irëme** 'so'	
(+ **_se** 'Desiderative'	**-tëkërë**	**këpëewa** 'but'	
_ke 'Instrumental'	**ahtao**	**irë_npë_pëe** 'after that'	
...)	**iweike**		
	(relative clauses)		

10.4.1. Subordinate clauses. Again, it is necessary to segment the continuum of Fig. 10.5 at convenient points for descriptive convenience. Given their functional similarities, the following sections describe the range of constructions going from postpostional phrases involving 'event nominalizations' (the infinitives **-Ø** and **-në**, and the circumstance nominalizer **-to(po)** in its event-like uses) to finite subordinate clauses with the subordinators **ahtao** and **iweike**. The expression 'subordinate clause' is used to refer to this range of constructions, while the term 'main clause' is used for the remainder of the sentence.

10.4.1.1. Finite subordinate clauses. In most Cariban languages, subordination is handled exclusively by means of nominalized verb forms (cf. Derbyshire [in print], or Gildea 1998:119ff). Also in Tiriyó, this is the preferred strategy; however, there are two cases of finite subordinate clauses, involving the particles **ahtao** and **iweike** (labeled 'subordinators' because of this capacity; cf. 9.1.2). Although always accepted in elicitation, they are still rather rare in texts; the preference for non-finite subordinate clauses suggests that subordinators are a relatively recent innovation.

10.4.1.1.1. *ahtao* clauses. Subordinate clauses marked by **ahtao** are used to express time or possibility ('when' (79a) or 'if' (79c); cf. e.g. German *wenn*). **Ahtao**, which occurs at the end of the subordinate clause, seems to be an old copula nominalization (possibly the **a**-stem copula [cf. 5.4.4] with a locative postposition like **_tao** or **_htao** [cf. 7.3.1.1.1]); in fact, it is still impossible to have **ahtao** co-occur with a conjugated copula form (cf. (66b), in which the first-person form **_wae** is incompatible with **ahtao**). (79a-d) has examples of non-verbal (equative) subordinate **ahtao** clauses; (79e) has a remote past subordinate clause, and (79f-g) have conjugated clauses.

(79a) **kïrïmuku_me_nkërë wï ahtao, urakana-e wï pata wararë**
young.man_Attr_still 1 when stroll-Hab 1 village each
'When I was young, I used to walk around, visiting all villages.'

(b) * **kïrïmuku_me_nkërë_w-a-e ahtao**

(c) **tïï-re-ke ëmë ahtao, erii-sewa_man-a-e**
T-arrow-Having 2 if die-Neg_2S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'If you are armed (lit. if you have arrows), you don't die.'

(d) **Jaraware, Taru_me ahtao, Moomoori_se t-ee-se**
Yarawaré Taru_Attr when Moomoori_Desid Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst
'Yarawaré, when he was Taru,[22] wanted (=desired) Moomoori.'

(e) **j-eemi t-ënë-e ahtao, w-epanïï-ja-e;**
1-daughter:Pos Rm.Pst-eat.meat-Rm.Pst if 1A-take.revenge-Prs.Ipf-Cty

j-eemi t-arimika-e ahtao, in-epanïï-sewa_w-a-e
1-daughter:Pos Rm.Pst-eat.meat-Rm.Pst if 3O-take.revenge-Neg_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty

'If he ate my daughter, then I'm going to take revenge; (but) if he raised (=took care of) her, then I'm not going to take revenge.'

(f) **ji-pawana n-ëënïï-ja-n, s-e-pï-ja-e ahtao**
1-friend:Pos 3S$_A$-sleep-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 1S$_A$-Detr-bathe-Prs.Ipf-Cty while
'My friend sleeps while/when/if I am bathing.'

(g) **ni-ranta, ni-ranta... seti_pona ni-ranta ahtao,**
3S$_O$-year:Prs.Prf 3S$_O$-year:Prs.Prf seven_Dir 3S$_O$-year:Prs.Prf when

irë_mao tïmuje anja n-ei
3InAna_Tmp having.child 1+3 3S$_A$-Cop:Prs.Prf

'A year passed, another year passed... When seven years had passed, then we had a child.' (lit. we became 'bechilded').

Looking at these examples, it is not difficult to suggest that the use of **ahtao** for finite subordination probably arose out of extension from 'copular/equative' situations such as (79a-d). The scenario would be similar to the one which led to the English complementizer *that* (e.g. ‘I know that. He came.’ > ‘I know that he came.’): **ahtao** in, for instance, (79f), would have been a clause by itself (‘meanwhile’, ‘while this happens’) before becoming a subordinator. In fact, a nominalized alternative to **ahtao** is still possible (the ‘specific infinitive’ form of the verb with the postposition **_htao**; cf. 10.4.1.2.4), as in (80) below, which is equivalent to (79f). Another point in favor of finite **ahtao** clauses as a recent phenomenon is their relatively low frequency: in the available text corpus, a search revealed a proportion of 14 finite **ahtao** clauses to 158 ‘specific infinitive’ + **_htao** clauses.

---

[22] This character started out as Taru, and later transformed himself into Yarawaré.

(80) **ji-pawana n-ëënïï-ja-n ji-w-e-pï-rï_htao**
1-friend:Pos 3S$_A$-sleep-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 1-S$_A$-Detr-bathe-Pos_Loc
‘My friend sleeps while/when/if I am bathing.’

10.4.1.1.2. ***iweike*** **clauses.** Subordinate clauses marked by **iweike** are used to mark cause (‘because’, ‘on account of’). The source of **iweike** is even clearer than that of **ahtao**: it is the third-person form of the ‘specific infinitive’ of the copula **e(i)** (**i-w-ei_ke** > **iweike**). In (81), it is possible to compare a normal **_ke**-phrase with **e(i)** (81a), a clear case of **iweike** with a conjugated verb (81c; also 74b), and an intermediate case, which could be analyzed either way (81b). In (81a), the collective marker **-ko(mo)** clearly shows the nominal status of **e(i)** (cf. 10.4.1.2.5); in (81c), the co-occurrence of **iweike** with a conjugated verb form indicates that it cannot be a nominalized copula (cf. also the fact that the conjugated verb is in the first person, which would go against a putative ‘third-person’ **i-** on **iweike**). (81d) shows that **iweike**, like **ahtao**, cannot co-occur with a finite form of the copula.

(81a) **menjaarë_to n-ë-ewee-ja-n, saasaa_me i-w-ei-kon_ke**
now_3Col 3S$_A$-Detr-feed-Prs.Ipf-Dbt happy.one_Attr 3-S$_A$-Cop:N-P.Col_Inst
‘Now they are eating, because they are happy (satisfied).’

(b) **oto-ton n-e-ratonka-n pau_htao,**
game-Col $3S_A$-Detr-isolate:Prs.Ipf-Dbt island_Loc

tuna mono_me i-w-ei_ke (**iweike** ?)
river big.one_Attr 3-S_A-Cop:N_Inst (because)

'The game animals get isolated on islands, because the river becomes big.'

(c) **j-apëepï, s-et-ainka iweike**
$1S_O$-get.tired:Prs.Prf $1S_A$-Detr-run.off:Prs.Prf because
'I got tired because I ran.'

(d) * **saasaa_me_nai iweike,** * **mono_me_nai iweike**

It seems clear that the subordinator **iweike**, much like **ahtao**, was extended from situations such as (81a-b) to situations such as (81c), again probably through an 'absolute **iweike**' phase ('I got tired. I ran. Because-of-it.' > 'I got tired because I ran'). Since **iweike** is still synchronically the same ('homophonous') with the nominalization **i-w-ei_ke**, cases such as (81b) are syntactically ambiguous. Here, the arbitrary decision is taken to adopt the 'etymological' (nominalized copula) analysis whenever possible, i.e. also for (81b). Clear cases of **iweike** clauses such as (81c) are even rarer than the cases of finite **ahtao** clauses: in the available text corpus, a total of 9 finite **iweike** clauses occurred, while subordinate clauses with the Ø-nominalized copula numbered 151.

10.4.1.2. 'Adverbial' subordinate clauses. These are clauses based on one of the three following verb inflections: the *supine* ('purpose-of-motion') the *posteriority* and the *cause* forms. These forms are not *stricto sensu* adverbial, since they can take person-marking prefixes to indicate the O participant; however, since they indicate adverbial notions ('purpose', 'posteriority', 'cause'), the label 'adverbial' is used for them here. In fact, there is a striking similarity between, e.g., the posteriority (**-tuuwë**) and cause (**-tëkërë**) forms and postpositional subordinate clauses (cf. 10.4.1.3), a good indication that **-tuuwë** and **-tëkërë** probably come from postpositions; only a few morphological properties separate them synchronically (cf. 5.4.3.2). Within the main clause, these forms could be viewed as equivalent to 'complex adverbs', or to postpositional phrases (cf. 5.4.3).

10.4.1.2.1. Supine ('purpose-of-motion') clauses. Clauses based on the *supine* form of the verb (cf. 5.4.3.1.1) are used to indicate purpose if the main clause is based on a montion verb (usually **të[mï]** 'go' or **ëe[pï]** 'come'). Supine clauses can also occur after the sentence-equivalent hortative particle **npa** 'let's go' (82i) (cf. 9.2.1) and the venitive particle **mïï** 'come!' (82j) (cf. 5.4.2.1, 9.1.5). Participant-wise, they can indicate the O participant as a verb prefix or as an immediately preverbal O noun phrase (apparently forming a verb phrase; cf. 10.2.2). The A or S participant is not overtly present, but it is clearly determined: it must be the same as the S participant of the main clause. Any attempts at adding an explicit A or S noun phrase to a supine clause are consistently refused, even if it is coreferential with the S of the main clause (unlike **-too_me** clauses, which are used in more general purpose contexts; cf. 10.4.1.3.3). In that supine clauses treat the O participant differently from either the A or S participants, they can be said to follow a nominative pattern.

(82a) **menjaarë wï-të-e pata ene**
now 1S$_{A}$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty village 3O:see:Sup
'Now I am going (around) to see the village.'

(b) **maja apëë-se nï-tën**
knife 3O:get-Sup 3S$_{A}$-go:Prs.Prf
'S/he went to get the knife.'

(c) **jii-wi mohka-e wï-të-e**
1-cassava 3O:dig-Sup 1S$_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am going (there) to dig cassava for me.'

(d) **irëme ë-ene w-ëe**
so 2-see:Sup 1S$_A$-come:Prs.Prf
'So I came to see you.'

(e) **anja ene oh-të serë_pona**
1+3 3O:see:Sup come-Col:Imper 3InPx_Dir
'Come here to see us!'

(f) **irëme kï-tën-ne ëiwa-e**
so 1+2-go-Hort hunt-Sup
'So, let's go hunting!'

(g) **mëe n-ee-ja-n ë-tuuka-e**
3AnPx 3S$_A$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 2-hit-Sup
'S/he is coming to hit you.'

(h) **ëiwa-e tïï-të-e**
hunt-Sup Rm.Pst:S$_A$-go-Rm.Pst
'He went hunting.'

(i) **npa emamina-e !**
Hort play-Sup
'Let's go play!'

(j) **e-pë-e_mïï !**
Detr-bathe-Sup_Ven
'Come bathe!'

10.4.1.2.2. Posteriority (*-tuuwë*) and cause (*-tëkërë*) clauses. These clauses are less dependent on the main verb than supine clauses (cf. previous section). For all intents and purposes, **-tuuwë** and **-tëkërë** forms behave like big postpositions, taking an O or S participant as their argument (either as a prefix (83b-f), or as a preceding overt noun phrase (83a)); the A participant can occur in a separate postpositional (**:ja-**)phrase (83a-b) (i.e., unlike supine clauses, **-tuuwë** and **-tëkërë** clauses follow an ergative pattern). The examples below concern mostly **-tuuwë** clauses; **-tëkërë** clauses (83f) are presumed to pattern like their **-tuuwë** counterparts[23] (cf. 10.4.1.3.3 for other ways of marking cause and posteriority). Notice that a **-tuuwë** form can be followed by **ahtao** (83e).

(83a) **ma, tarëno_ja pau erahtë-tuuwë, irë_po tï-pakoro rï-ja-n**
Attn Tiriyó_Agt island find-Post 3InAna_Loc 3R-house:Pos make-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Well, after the Tiriyó find a (savanna) island, they build a house there.'

---

[23] Only a few examples of **-tëkërë** clauses occurred in the available corpus. This form needs further research.

(b) **moi_ja ë-eka-tuuwë, moi emu arï_ke epinëh-kë**
spider_Agt 2-bite-Post, spider 3:testicle:Pos 3:leaf_Inst medicate-Imper
'After/If a spider bites you, medicate (the wound) with 'spider's testicles'[24] leaves.'

(c) **irë_mao kutuma wi-puunëë-ne, kïrïmuku_me ji-w-eh-tuuwë**
3InAna_Tmp Intens 1A-think-Pst.Prf young.man_Attr 1-S_A-Cop-Post
'Then I meditated a lot, after I became a young man.'

(d) **ma, i-tunta-tuuwë, i-nmuku t-ëpëë-se ii-ja**
Attn 3-arrive-Post, 3-son:Pos Rm.Pst-catch-Rm.Pst 3-Agt
'Well, after he$_i$ arrived, he$_i$ caught his$_j$ son.'

(e) **koeri_me anja ii-të-tuuwë ahtao, irë-npë_pëe wïtoto anja ene-ne**
stroll_Attr 1+3 3:S_A-go-Post when, 3InAna-Pst_Abl person 1+3 see-Pst.Prf
'After we went walking around, then a person saw us.'

(f) **wïja-n_me irë, ëiwame ji-w-eh-tëkërë irë**
1:Dat-Nzr_Attr 3InAna stupid 1-S_A-Cop-Cause 3InAna
'It's my fault, it's because I am stupid.'

10.4.1.3. Nominalized subordinate clauses. These clauses are formed with verbal nominalizations. Theoretically, *any* verbal nominalization (cf. 4.2.2.1) is a potential 'subordinate clause', given their regularity and productivity. For instance, the actual A nominalization (with a first-person possessive prefix) **j-enpa-ne** 'my teacher' can be interpreted as 'the one who teaches me'; in fact, the past form **j-enpa-ne-npë** is usually translated as 'the one who taught me'. Tiriyó grammar apparently does not distinguish a more 'lexicalized' verbal nominalization from a potential subordinate clause (whereas English, for instance, does distinguish *teacher* from *one who teaches*).

The following kinds of nominalized subordinate clauses can be distinguished:

---

[24] **Moi emu** 'spider's testicles' is a medicinal tree (*Diospyros martinii*, Ebenaceae).

(1) *Absolute clauses*, in which a nominalization occurs by itself as a participant of the main clause. According to their role within the main clause, absolute clauses can be classified as *A-clauses*, *O-clauses* and *S-clauses.*

(2) *Relative clauses*, in which a nominalization occurs in apposition (cf. 10.2.1.3) to some other noun in the main clause in order to further characterize it.

(3) *Postpositional clauses*, in which a nominalization occurs in a postpositional phrase, usually marking adverbial notions. Depending on the postposition, these clauses can be classified as: *desiderative*, *causal*, *purposive*, and *temporal.*

10.4.1.3.1. Absolute clauses. These are clauses in which a nominalization occupies the position of a participant in the main clause. If it has participants of its own, they are treated according to an ergative pattern: S and O participants occur as possessors of the nominalization (i.e. either as prefixes or as overt noun phrases), while A participants occur in a postpositional (**_:ja-**) phrase. If the nominalized verb is the copula **e(i)**, its predicate must precede it.

The examples below have A-clauses (84a), O-clauses (84b-d) and S-clauses (84e-f).

(84a) **karaiwa_ja ë-tuuka-to ëmuu_me jï-rï**
Brazilian_Agt 2-hit-Circ.Nzr sadness_Attr 1O-make:Prs.Prf
'The Brazilian hitting you made me sad.'

(b) **tarëno_me ë-w-eh-to wi-pono ii-jaa-ne**
Tiriyó_Attr 2-S_A-Cop-Circ.Nzr 1A-tell:Prs.Prf 3-Dat-Col
'I told them that you are a Tiriyó.'

(c) **kaikui_ja a-apëi w-ekanïpï**
jaguar_Agt 2-catch:N 1A-think:Prs.Prf
'I thought the jaguar had caught you.'

(d) **soo_ka-to t-ëta-e ii-ja**
noise_say-Circ.Nzr Rm.Pst-hear-Rm.Pst 3-Agt
'He heard human noise.'

(e) **sen_po ji-w-eh-to kure wïja**
3InPx_Loc 1-S_A-Cop-Circ.Nzr good 1:Dat
'I like my being here.'
(Lit. 'My being here is good to me.')

(f) **mëmëi ka-to_n-ai ikurunna**
joke say-Circ.Nzr_3S_A-Cop not.dangerous
'Telling jokes is not dangerous.'

10.4.1.3.2. Relative clauses. The functional equivalent of relative clauses in Tiriyó is the use of verbal nominalizations in apposition to other nouns within the main clause (cf. 10.2.1.3 for 'appositional phrases'). By selecting the appropriate nominalization, it is possible to relativize the nuclear participants: A-nominalizations relativize A-participants (85a-b), O-nominalizations relativize O-participants (85c-d), and S-nominalizations relativize S participants (85e-f). Furthermore, using O-nominalizations of 'beneficiative' verbs (suffixes **-htë** and **-ntë**; cf. 5.3.3.1.2), it is possible to relativize a Dative participant (85g).

(85a) **an-po_n-ai wïtoto, kaikui i-tuuka-ne-npë ?**
wh-Loc_3S_A-Cop person dog 3-hit-A.act.Nzr-Pst
'Where is the person who hit the dog?'

(85b) **saasaa_me_marë t-ee-se noosinpë, j-arimika-ne-npë**
happy.one_Attr_too Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst 1:grandmother 1-raise-A.act.Nzr-Pst
'And my grandmother, who had raised me, also became happy.'

(85c) **kaikui ë-waarë, pahko i-n-tuuka-hpë ?**
dog 2-Cogn 1:father 3-O.act.Nzr-hit:N-Pst
'Do you know the dog that my father hit?'

(85d) **menjaarë w-ene kïrï aokïmï-hpë**
now 1A-see:Prs.Ipf:Cty man 3:hug:N-Pst
'Now I see the man who was hugged.'

(85e) **n-ee-ja-n wïtoto e-pï-ketï-npë**
3S$_A$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt person Detr-bathe-S.act.Nzr-Pst
'There comes the person who bathed.'

(85f) **mëërë ëturu-ketï-npë ji-tuuka**
3AnMd talk-S.act.Nzr-Pst 1O-hit:Prs.Prf
'That one, who had been talking, has hit me.'

(85g) **an-po_n-ai kïrï, pihko i-n-kanawa-ntë-hpë ?**
wh-Loc_3S$_A$-Cop man 1:older.brother 3-O.act.Nzr-canoe-Ben.Vzr-Pst
'Where is the man to whom my older brother gave a canoe?'

10.4.1.3.3. Postpositional clauses. These clauses are postpositional phrases based on a nominalized verb form. Case marking follows an ergative pattern: the nominalized verb form is possessed by either the S or the O participant, as the case may be, and the A participant, if at all present, occurs in an independent postpositional (**_:ja-**) phrase. Postpositional clauses are used to express circumstances. The attested cases include *desire* ('want'), *cause*, *purpose*, and *time*.

Desiderative postpositional clauses have the nominalized verb as the object of the desiderative postposition _se. In all attested cases, the main clause is equative or copular. If the **_:ja**-marked A participant is missing, it is usually understood as coreferential with the A or S participant of the main clause (86a-b).

(86a) **ë-ene_se_w-a-e**
2-see:N_Desid_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty
'I want to see you.'

(b) **ë-ene_se_w-a-e ii-ja**
2-see:N_Desid_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty 3-Agt
'I want him/her to see you.'

(c) **ë-w-e-pï_se_n-ai**
2R-S$_A$-Detr-bathe:N_Desid_3S$_A$-Cop
'S/he wants you to bathe.'

(d) **tï-potïna_se_n-ai**
3R-whistle:N_Desid_3S$_A$-Cop
'S/he wanted to whistle.'

(e) **mëe apëi_se_w-a-e ëë-ja ë-njo_me**
3AnPx catch:N_Desid_1S_A-Cop-Cty 2-Agt 2-husband_Attr
'I want you to have him as your husband.'

(f) **a-apë i-menuhtë_se ëmë ahtao, kainan akusa_ke e-menuhtë**
2-arm:Pos 3-paint:N_Desid 2 if new:one needle_Inst Detr-paint:Imper
'If you want to tattoo your arm, tattoo yourself with a new needle.'

Causal postpositional phrases are usually based on the postposition **_ke** 'Instrumental' (cf. 10.4.1.1.2 for the causal subordinator **iweike**) with the 'specific infinitive' (or ∅-nominalized) form of the verb. Postpositional **_ke** clauses are the most frequent way of expressing cause in Tiriyó (**-tëkërë** clauses [cf. 10.4.1.2.2] were only sporadically attested). When cases of **_ke** with, e.g., the circumstance nominalizer **-to(po)** are found, they look like more straightforward instances of instrumental semantics.

(87a) **irëme saasaa_me pahko t-ee-se tï-w-ë-ewetï_ke**
then happy.one_Attr 1:father Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst 3R-S_A-Detr-feed:N_Inst
'Then father got happy, because he was eating.'

(b) **waa_n-ee-ja-n, tï-mama i-munu enïrï-hpë_ke ii-ja**
Neg_3S_A-Cop-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 3R-mother:Pos 3-blood 3:drink:N-Pst_Inst 3-Agt
'S/he is going to die, because s/he$_i$ has drunk his/her$_i$ mother's blood.'

(c) **saasaa_me pahko t-ee-se,**
happy.one_Attr 1:father Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst

wë-të ji-w-eh-to ene-hpë_ke
shoot-A.pot.Azr 1-S_A-Cop-Circ.Nzr 3:see:N-Pst_Inst

'My father became happy, because (he) saw that I was good at shooting.'

(d) **ë-epi ino_ta ë-w-ei-hpë_ke, m-ë-ewee-ja-e_rë**
2-medicine Apprh_Neg 2-S_A-Cop-Pst_Inst 2S_A-Detr-feed-Prs.Ipf-Cty_Exact
'Because you were not afraid of your medicine, now you eat a lot.'
(i.e. now you have become a good hunter).

(e) **irëme menjaarë, "ji-nmuku i-po wï-rï-ja-e",**
so now 1-son:Pos 3-clothes 1A-make-Prs.Ipf-Cty

tïï-ka-e Taru, t-ënuta-hpë_ke
Rm.Pst:S_A-say-Rm.Pst 3R-remember(S_O)-Pst_Inst

'Then, now, "I am making my son's clothes", said Taru, because he remembered.'

(f) **irëme wë-të ji-w-eh-toh_ke k-ëpinëh-kë !**
so shoot-A.pot.Azr 1-S_A-Cop-Circ.Num_Inst 12AO=medicate-Imper
'So, medicate me so that I become good at shooting!' (=with my being good...)

The main general *purpose* construction in Tiriyó is formed with a circumstance (**-to(po)**) nominalization occurring in a postpositional phrase with the attributivizer postposition **_me**. Like the supine (cf. 10.4.1.2.1), **-too_me** clauses can be used with verbs of motion (88a-b), but it is not limited to them. This construction is so frequent in this sense, that some authors (e.g. Gildea 1998:138ff) analyze it as having become a new verb form in at least some Cariban languages; however, in the absense of clear evidence for reanalysis, it seems simpler to consider this as one more case of the general pattern: a nominalization in a postpositional phrase used to express an adverbial notion. Note also (88f), which deviates from the general causal semantics of **-too_me**, and (88g), where it occurs as the complement in a syntactic causative construction.

(88a) **koeka-e ëë-të-tuuwë, ëkëi n-ee-ja-n ë-eka-too_me**
defecate-Sup 2:S_A-go-After snake 3S_A-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 2-bite-Circ.Nzr_Attr
'After you go defecate, a snake comes to bite you.'

(b) **serë_pona w-ëe, aerë, ë-ene-toh-kon_me wïja**
3InPx_Dir 1S_A-come:Prs.Prf true 2-see-Circ.Nzr-P.Col_Attr 1:Agt
'I came here, really, to see you all.'

(c) **oroko_me_n-ai namo_ro, anja i-jomii_pë,**
work_Attr_3S_A-Cop 3AnCol_Exact 1+3 3-language:Pos_About

i-waarë i-w-eh-too_me
3-Cogn 3-S_A-Cop-Circ.Nzr_Attr

'They are working on our language, in order to know it.'

(d) **irënehka t-eet-ainka-e taanë, tï-pataa_pona_pa,**
finally Rm.Pst-S_A:Detr-run.off-Rm.Pst far.away 3R-village:Pos_Dir_Rpt

t-ee-sewa_rën_pa tï-w-eh-too_me
t-come-Neg_Truly_Rpt 3R-S_A-come-Circ.Nzr_Attr

'Finally s/he$_i$ ran away, back to his/her$_i$ village, never to come back again.'
(Lit. 'in order to be not-coming-back-ever-again').

(e) **irëme same_ken tï-mënparë apëi-ne Taru,**
then fast_Cont 3R-belonging:Pos get-Pst.Prf Taru

tïï-të-too_me, t-eet-ainka-too_me
3R:S_A-go-Circ.Nzr_Attr 3R-S_A:Detr-run.off-Circ.Nzr_Attr

'Then Taru got his things fast, in order to go, to run away.'

(f) **wïtoto_me_ken ëmë_rë, ji-mahto eneh-too_me ëë-ja**
person_Attr_Cont 2_Exact 1-fire:Pos 3:bring-Circ.Nzr_Attr 2-Agt
'You are like a person, (you are) to bring me fire.'

(g) **pahko j-enoo-ne a-akoronma-toh-kon_me**
1:father 1O-order-Pst.Prf 2-help-Circ.Nzr-P.Col_Attr
'My father told/made me (then) to help you all.'

The second most frequent purpose construction in Tiriyó (excepting the supine, described in 10.4.1.2.1) is based on a **_me** postpositional phrase with an O-nominalized form of the verb (with the 'Actual O' prefix **n-**). This form is possessed by the A or S participant, while the O participant must be coreferential ('in apposition') with some noun in the previous clause. Notice that an unexpected suffix **-n** occurs between the nominalized verb form and the postposition **_me** (phonetically realized as a long [mm]); this suffix does not occur if the nominalization occurs in a collective form (90b), nor, for that matter, in any other use of the actual O nominalization.[25]

(90a) **pahko sen enepï ë-n-ene-n_me**
1:father 3InPx bring:Prs.Prf 2-O.act.Nzr-see-n_Attr
'My father brought this for you to see.'

(b) **pahko sen enepï ë-n-ene-kon_me**
1:father 3InPx bring:Prs.Prf 2-O.act.Nzr-see-P.Col_Attr
'My father brought this for you all to see.'

(c) **ji-w-eh-topo-npë wi-pono i-n-etan_me**
1-S$_A$-Cop-Circ.Nzr-Pst 1A-tell:Prs.Prf 3-O.act.Nzr-hear-**n**_Attr
'I told my story (lit. my past way of being) for him to hear.'

Time can also be indicated by means of nominalized subordinate clauses (cf. also **-tuuwë** 'Posteriority' in 10.4.1.2.2 and **ahtao** 'while, when, if' in 10.4.1.1.1, and also the temporal postpositions **_mao** and **_mahtao** in 7.3.1.1.1, as expressions of time). *Simultaneity* is indicated with the 'specific infinitive' (Ø-nominalized) form of the verb as the object of the postposition **_htao** (91a-d); there were also a couple of cases of **_:ja** instead of **_htao** (91e). *Posteriority* is indicated with the postposition **_pëe** taking the past form (**-hpë**) of a Ø-nominalization (91f-h).

(91a) **ji-w-ëënïkï-rï_htao, ji-pawana n-ë-ewee-ja-n**
1-S$_A$-sleep-Pos_Loc 1-friend:Pos 3S$_A$-Detr-feed-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'While I sleep, my friend eats.'

(b) **ë-w-ëiwa-rï_htao, irë_mao n-ee-ja-n kaikui**
2-S$_A$-hunt-Pos_Loc 3InAna_Tmp 3S$_A$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt jaguar
'The jaguar comes when you are hunting.'

---

[25] This unexpected **-n** may be a cognate of the suffix **-nï** which, in Hixkaryana, co-occurs with the O nominalizer **nï-** (cf. Derbyshire 1985:232).

(c) **ë-putupë-rï_ja a-akuika-rï_htao, katamïimë_mo ahkëh-kë**
2-head-Pos_Agt 2-hurt-Pos_Loc, liana.sp_Irr cut-Imper
'If your head hurts (you), cut some of the *katamïimë* liana.'

(d) **tonoro eremi eta-rï_htao pahko_ja, ji-pawana n-ee-ja-n**
bird 3:song 3:hear-Pos_Loc 1:father_Agt 1-friend:Pos 3S$_A$-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'My friend came when/while my father was listening to bird songs.'

(e) **ma, awaina-rï_ja, irë_mao irënehka kunawaru tï-jonpa-e iija.**
Attn dawn:N-Pos_All? 3InAna_Tmp finally toad.sp Rm.Pst-speak-Rm.Pst
'Well, when it was dawning, then finally he addressed the *kunawaru* toad.'

(f) **irë-ton enapï-hpë_pëe "naapohpa" n-kan tarëno deusu_ja**
3InAna-Col 3:eat.fruit:N-Pst_Abl thank.you 3S$_A$-say:Prs.IPf Tiriyó god_Dat
'After eating all these fruits, the Tiriyó say "thank you" to God.'

(g) **ma, tï-pëtï-hpë_pëe ni-puru-ja-n mahto_htao**
Attn t-fetch:N-Pos_Abl 3AO-roast-Prs.Ipf fire_Loc
'After gathering (the fruit), s/he roasted it on the fire.'

(h) **i-w-ë-ehpoka-hpë_pëe, kït-apëë-ja-e mëe i-jisireti**
3-S$_A$-Detr-shave:N-Pos_Abl 1+2-get-Prs.Ipf-Cty 3AnPx 3-razor.blade
'After he has shaved, we get his razor blades.'

10.4.2. Coordination. As we move towards the right along the continuum of Fig. 10.5, the degree of formal freedom between the clauses increases, to the point that there is no necessary cue indicating a higher level of dependence between them. There are no particles specialized in interclausal coordination (like English 'and', 'but', etc.); rather, the conjunctions listed in 9.1.1 can be used both to link clauses within an intonationally defined sentence and to relate sentences to each other within the text. Compare the interclausal **këpëewa** in (92a), with the 'intersentential' **këpëewa** in (92b), the formal difference between them being basically intonational.

(92a) **kura-no pata, kunawaru i-pata, këpëewa wewe_tao.**
beautiful-Nzr village toad.sp 3-village:Pos but tree_Loc
'It's a beautiful place, the *kunawaru* toad's place, but it's inside a tree.'

(b) **ë-w-ëiwa-rï_htao, irë_mao n-ee-ja-n kaikui a-apëh-too_me.**
2-S_A-hunt-Pos_Loc 3InAna_Tmp 3S_A-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt jaguar 2-get-Circ.Nzr_Attr

këpëewa, tïwaarë ë-w-ei_ke, erii-sewa_man-a-e
however careful 2-S_A-Cop:N_Inst die-Neg_2S_A-Cop-Cty

'When you are hunting, a jaguar comes to get you. However, because you are careful, you don't die.'

Conjunctions such as these are frequently used in Tiriyó; there is, in this language, a marked tendency not to allow simple juxtaposition of sentences without something to relate it to the rest of the text. In addition to the conjuctions of 9.1.1, the following expressions also deserve mention as means of maintaining textual cohesion: **irë_mao** 'then, at that time' (93a-b) and **irë-npë_pëe** 'after that' (93c-d), which also occurs as **irë-npë_pëe-no-npë** 'after all that' (93e).

(93a) **irëme ii-rohkïï tïï-të-e. ma, irë_mao**
then 3-to.the.middle Rm.Pst:S_A-go-Rm.Pst Attn 3InAna_Tmp

tï-kooman-je itu_roowë.
Rm.Pst-spend.night-Rm.Pst forest_in.the.middle

'Then he went to the middle of it (=forest). Well, then he spent the night in the middle of the forest.'

(b) **e-tahpaka-kë, tïï-ka-e wïraapa.**
Detr-sit-Imper Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst bow

kone, irë_mao t-ee-tahpaka-e pai
OK 3InAna_Tmp Rm.Pst-S_A:Detr-sit-Rm.Pst tapir

'"Sit down," said the bow. "OK," then tapir sat down.'

(c) **ma, irë-npë_pëe wï-tën-ne irë_pona**
Attn 3InAna-Pst_Abl 1A-go-Pst.Prf 3InAna_Dir
'Well, then (=after that) I went there.'

(d) **ma, irë-npë_pëe w-ëe-ne_pa serë_pona_pa**
Attn 3InAna-Pst_Abl $1S_A$-come-Pst.Prf 3InPx_Dir_Rpt
'Well, after that, I came back here.'

(e) **irë-npë_pëe-no-npë tï-ponoo-se Piunpë_ja**
3InAna-Pst_Abl-Nzr-Pst Rm.Pst-tell-Rm.Pst Piunpë_Agt
'After all that (had happened), Piunpë told (this story).'

10.5. Preliminary observations on rheme and word order. Unfortunately, a thorough study on the issues of topic, rheme and word order in Tiriyó remains still to be done. However, some general observations, based on the most evident patterns, can already be made about rheme and word order.

About *rheme*, it is possible to say, judging by the pattern presented by questions and answers, that it is associated with sentence-initial position. Notice that interrogatives, if present, always begin the sentence, and that the optimal answers have the unknown element also at the beginning (94a-b); the question marks indicate answers that were considered 'possible, but less natural'. Sentence-initial position also seems to be important for *focus*, considering that it is occupied by elements that correct wrong presuppositions (94c-d).

(94a) — **akï n-eremina-n ?**
wh.An $3S_O$-sing:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Who is singing?'

— **j-eemi (n-eremina-n).**
1-daughter:Pos $3S_O$-sing:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'My daughter (is singing).'

? **n-eremina-n j-eemi**

(b) — **eekanmao_pa mï-të-n ?**
when_Rpt $2S_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'When are you leaving?'

— **kokoro(_pa wï-të-e)**
tomorrow_Rpt $1S_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am leaving tomorrow.'

? **wï-të-e_pa kokoro**

(c) **pahko_ta kaikui wë**
1:father_Neg jaguar shoot:Prs.Prf
'It wasn't my father who shot the jaguar.'

(d) **pahko_ja_ta tï-rë-e jii-raapaa-pisi**
1:father_Agt_Neg Rm.Pst-make-Rm.Pst 1-bow:Pos-Dim
'It wasn't my father who made me a little bow.'

Word order appears to be pragmatically oriented. However, the 'unmarked' position is apparently different for different clause types (cf. 10.3). Habitual past clauses (cf. 10.3.4) and remote past clauses (cf. 10.3.3) have a clear tendency toward OVA, while conjugated sentences do not, as shown in Table 10.5.

Table 10.5
Main tendencies in word order.

Clause Type	Total of 2-participant clauses	Attested orders		
Habitual past	14	OVA: 10 (71.4%)	AOV: 3	AVO: 1
Remote past	49	OVA: 33 (67.3%)	AOV: 8	AVO: 4
			OAV: 2	VOA: 2
Conjugated (Set I)	45	AOV: 14 (31.1%)	OVA: 11	AVO: 6
			OAV: 5	VAO: 5
			VOA: 4	

11. LEXICON AND LEXICAL SEMANTICS.

11.1 Introduction. Of all areas of a language, the first one to receive some documentation is the lexicon. For many languages, word lists remain the only kind of available information. However, most of the lexicon of a language, usually comprising thousands of words, remains almost always unexplored beyond the first few dozen words collected by early explorers. In the field of Cariban linguistics, very little lexicographic work has been done: with the exception of Ahlbrinck 1931 for Carib of Surinam (Kari'na), Armellada 1943 and Armellada & Salazar 1981 for Pemon, Williams 1932 for Makushi, and Mattei-Muller 1998 for Panare, there are no published dictionaries of Cariban languages. Specific semantic fields are also almost never considered in detail, except for anthropological studies on the studies on kinship terms.

The study of Tiriyó words and their meanings is still in its infancy; not much of real significance can be said at this stage. However, certain ideas and interpretations, unearthed during the ongoing research on this language, have already been reached, at least preliminarily, and they may be interesting for the purpose of illustrating some of the richness of this language, as well as furnishing some material for comparisons with other languages. Some of them involve certain regularities in word shapes that were not strong enough to deserve morphological segmentation; these were the *formatives* mentioned in 3.2, discussed in 11.2. Others involve selected semantic fields, containing words which seemed close enough in meaning to deserve further comparison. They seemed interesting to the author, which is why they are mentioned here (in 11.3); the reader will hopefully agree.

11.2. Formatives. Certain recurrent form-meaning regularities in the Tiriyó vocabulary seem too weak to deserve the status of 'morphemes' without, at the same time, looking like coincidences either; these are termed here *formatives*. Their importance is mostly diachronic: at least some of them may prove to be old morphemes, comparable to extant morphemes in other Cariban languages; they may eventually be important in assessing possible distant genetic relationships between Cariban languages and other South American families.

Some formatives are very broadly defined: for instance, a simple search in the available database reveals that 90 out of 240 verb stems end in **-ka**, without any closer semantic connection than the fact that they are all transitive; (1) below has some examples. Considering also the existence of a **-ka** transitive verbalizer (the 'Privative' described in 5.3.3.1) and of a **-ka** transitivizer (cf. 5.3.1.2), the possibility of something other than chance increases, though it is hard to hypothesize a connection at present.

(1a)	**ainka**	'run off with O'
(b)	**akoroka**	'sweep O'
(c)	**akuika**	'hurt O'
(d)	**anoka**	'get O (from above)'
(e)	**arimika**	'raise O (child)'
(f)	**eeka**	'bite O'
(g)	**ekïrika**	'slice/cut O'
(h)	**entahka**	'deceive O'
(i)	**joika**	'scrape O'
(j)	**juuka**	'bend O'
(k)	**kïïka**	'rub, smear O'
(l)	**konka**	'pierce O'
(m)	**kuika**	'swallow O'
(n)	**meneka**	'select O'
(o)	**ntaka**	'translate O'
(p)	**ruhka**	'stick O'
(q)	**saika**	'miss O'
(r)	**suka**	'wash O'
(s)	**taaka**	'hit O'
(t)	**tëëka**	'hit O'
(u)	**tënka**	'press O'
(v)	**turuka**	'spill O'
(w)	**tuuka**	'hit O'

Certain other similarities verge the 'morphemic' barrier, and it may be a question of taste to decide whether a borderline case is a non-productive morpheme or a formative (e.g. the 'directional', 'locative' and 'perlative' final syllables, **-wë/-o**, **-(ka)** and **-e**, in the spatial postpositions [cf. 7.3.1]). A certain amount of arbitrary subjectivity is unavoidable here.

Table 11.1 below contains an alphabetical list of the formatives known to date. Of course, as further research proceeds, some of them may turn out to be coincidences, while other formatives may be discovered.

Table 11.1
Tiriyó formative elements

FORMATIVE	EXEMPLES OF POSSIBLE OCCURRENCES
-aamii-	red: **taamiire** 'red, pink', **aamiita** 'ripen, blush', **aamirë**, 'paint O red'
-aarë	adverbs: **kokonjaarë** 'yesterday', **irëmaarë** 'soon', **menjaarë** 'now', **ameraarë** 'all, everyone', **sarë** 'hither'
-aka	adverbs: **kutuma(ka)** 'painful, bitter', **amïïma(ka)** 'heavy' **ikuruma(ka)** 'dangerous', **amïma(ka)** 'stingy', **aesa(ka)** 'sharp', **atuma(ka)** 'hot, warm'
-api-	water; wet: **apipime** 'shallow', **tapire** 'wet', **sapisapime** 'drenched'
-e, -je, -nje	perlative: **_pëe** 'ablative', **_tae** 'by', **enpatae** 'on the side of', **_nkae** 'behind', **awëe** 'astraddle', **epoe** 'above, over'; **senje** 'this side of', **mënje** 'beyond', **anje** 'whence? (from what side?)', **kokonje** 'afternoon', **tarënje** 'later'
e(h)-	head, face: **ehpotï** 'face hair' (cf. **hpo(tï)** 'hair'), **ehpi** 'lip', **etaku** 'saliva', **ehpi** 'lip' (cf. **pi-** below); maybe **enu** 'eye'
juu-	on: **_juuwë** 'on top of', **_juhkïï** 'onto'
-(ka)	directional postpositions: **aka** 'into', **_ta(ka)** 'into', **hta(ka)** 'into', **_hka(ka)** 'into (water)'
-kë	insect-like things: **maakë** 'mosquito', **iikë** 'worm sp.', **sikë** 'flea', **mapijakë** 'mosquito sp.', **mïkakë** 'ant sp.' **irakë** 'ant sp.', **moikë** 'ant sp.', **nukë** 'termite', **kanamitëkë** 'tick', **ërukë** 'caterpillar'; also **sirikë** 'star'

-kï	animate element: **më(kï)** '3AnInv', **ohkï** '3AnRm', **akï** 'wh.An'; (in pronouns) maybe also the past perfective third-person prefix **kïn-**[1]
-kïï	directional postpositions: **_rohkïï** 'into the middle', **_pohkïï** 'to the tip of', **_juhkïï** 'onto', **amohkïï** 'upstream'; cf. also **_na(kïï)** directionals
-koro(CV)-	white: **tïkorooje** 'white', **korohta** 'be white', **korooma** 'paint O white'
-ku	liquid: **etaku** 'saliva', **suku** 'urine', **eeku** 'sap', **pijaku** 'gray matter', **eramuku** 'sweat', **enpijuku** 'tears'; also **i-ku-tupë** 'lake'[2]; maybe also the interjection **ku, kuh** 'water noises'.
-kui-	dirt: **tïkuije** 'dirty', **kuita** 'be dirty'
më-	distal: pronouns (**mëkï** '3AnInv', **më(nï)** '3InInv', **mëërë** '3AMd' (but **mëe** '3AnPx'), **mërë** '3InMd'; cf. also **mënje** 'beyond'
(mï)-	body parts: **(mï)ka** 'back', **(mï)ko** 'back of mouth', **(mï)ta** 'mouth', **(mï)pa** 'shoulder blade'; maybe also the nasal in the postposition **_npo** 'on the back of'
-na	postpositional element: **_hpïtï-na-o** 'at the back of' (cf. **pïtïkï** 'anus'), **notonnao** 'behind', **antïïnao** 'deep in', **renao** 'by, near', directional **-na(ka/kïï)**
-o/-wë	locative postpositions: **awë** 'inside', **_tao** 'in', **_htao** 'in', **hkao** 'in (water)'; **enjao** 'in the hand(s) of', **etao** 'on the margin of', **_juuwë** 'on top of', **:roowë** 'in the middle of', **_rawë** 'halfway through'; cf. also the verbal 'Posteriority' form in **-tuuwë**.
pi-	skin: **pihpë** 'skin, bark', **pika** 'peel, skin O' (privative **-ka**; cf. 5.3.3.1.1), **ehpi** 'lip' (cf. **e(h)-** above)
-rë	verbalizer? **aamiirë** 'paint O red', **eurë** 'bark at O'
se-	proximal: pronouns (**se(nï)**, **serë** '3InPx'), **senje** 'this side of', **sehke(ne)** 'likewise' (=like this), **sekenkërë** 'likewise'
-ta	opening? **(mï)ta** 'mouth', **etaku** 'saliva'; maybe the **_ta** postpositions (**_tao** 'in', **_ta(ka)** 'into', **_tae** 'by')
-(h)të	locative? **_pohtë** 'at the tip of' (cf. **potï** 'beak'), **_rehtë** 'on the top of' (cf. **retï** 'horns'), **amohtë** 'upstream' (cf. **amotï** 'headwaters')
-tupë, -tïpë	older forms **jetïpë** 'bone' (cf. **je(e)** 'tooth'); **putupë** 'head'; of the noun **ikutupë** 'lake' (cf. **-ku** 'liquid' above), past *-hpë* **tamutupë** 'old man', **notïpë** 'old woman'

---

[1] Tiriyó **mëërë** '3AnMd' also seems to be historically derived from a pronoun that had a syllable **kï** (which Meira 1998:66-71 reconstructs to Proto-Taranoan as ***mëkïrë**).

[2] Meira 1998a reconstructs the 'aquatic' postpositions (cf. 7.3.1) as having a possible initial **ku**. Other Cariban languages also have cognate postpositions with an initial **ku** or **kw** (e.g. Wayana **kwaw**).

11.3. Selected semantic fields. In the following sections, a few selected sets of vocabulary items are examined. Considering that semantic information, especially concerning finer distinctions, is the most difficult to obtain, these sections should, more than any others in the present work, be regarded as approximative.

11.3.1. Kinship terms. Rivière 1969 offers a good description of the meaning of Tiriyó kinship terms, which is by and large correct. However, there are certain grammatical characteristics of kinship terms which Rivière did not mention: they are the most irregular nouns in the language, in that they have idiosyncratic possessed forms, take sometimes **-npë** and sometimes **-hpë** to indicate past possession, and have vocatives. (2) below contains all known forms of kinship terms (the correct form of the past suffix, either **-npë** or **-hpë** [cf. 4.3.1.5.1], is shown for each form whenever it is known). The translations are approximate; cf. Rivière 1969 for a clearer picture of their semantics. (Notice that all mother's sisters are also **manko**, and all father's brothers are also **pahko**).

(2)	father	mother	older brother	older sister	younger sibling (same sex)
1	**pahko-npë**	**manko-npë**	**pihko-npë**	**wëiko-npë**	**j-akëmi**
2	**papa-npë**	**mama-npë**	**pipi-npë**	**wëi-npë**	**a-akëmi**
3	**i-papa-hpë**	**i-mama-hpë**	**i-pipi-hpë**	**i-wëi-hpë**	**akëmi**
1+2	**kï-papa-hpë**	**kï-mama-hpë**	**kï-pipi-hpë**	**kï-wëi-hpë**	**k-ëkëmi**
Voc	**pa(a) !**	**ma(a) !**	**pi(i) !**	**wëiko !**	**kami !**

---

[3] Past forms for younger sister (male ego) and younger brother (female ego) are not attested.

	grandfather	grandmother	maternal uncle	younger sister (male ego)[3]	younger brother (female ego)
1	**tamusinpë**	**noosinpë**	**j-e , j-eetï-npë**	**ji-wëri**	**ji-ikïïrï**
2	**tamo-npë**	**kuku-npë**	**ë-e, ë-etï-npë**	**ë-wëri**	**ë-ikïïrï**
3	**i-tamu-hpë**	**ii-no(tï)-npë**	**e, eetï-npë**	**i-wëri**	**i-ikïïrï**
1+2	**kï-tamu-hpë**	**kïï-no(tï)-npë**	(not attested)	**kï-wëri**	**kï-ikïïrï**
Voc	**tamo !**	**noosi !**	**je ! jeetï !**	**ji-wëri !**	**ji-ikïïrï !**

	husband	wife	son	daughter	brother-in-law
1	**ji-njo-npë**	**ji-pï(tï)-npë**	**ji-nmuku-hpë**	**j-eemi-hpë**	**konoka**
2	**ë-njo-npë**	**ë-pï(tï)-npë**	**ë-nmuku-hpë**	**ë-emi-hpë**	**okono**
3	**i-njo-npë**	**i-pï(tï)-npë**	**i-nmuku-hpë**	**eemi-hpë**	**akono**
1+2	**kï-njo-npë**	**kï-pï(tï)-npë**	**kï-nmuku-hpë**	**k-ëëmi-hpë**	**kokono**
Voc	**mi ! mi nko !** **ae ! aenpë !**	**mi ! minko !** **ae ! aenpë !**	**ji-nmuku !**	**j-eemi !**	**kono !**

	son-in-law	daughter-in-law	grandchild	father-/mother-in-law	'partner'
1	**ji-pamï**	**ji-paije**	**pa-rï ~ ji-pa**	**j-aohpï**	**piito**
2	**ë-pamï**	**ë-paije**	**ë-pa**	**aohpï**	**piito**
3	**i-pamï**	**i-paije**	**i-pa**	**aohpï**	**i-piito**
1+2	**kï-pamï**	**kï-paije**	**kï-pa**	**k-aohpï**	**kï-piito**
Voc	**kono** (?)		**ji-pa !**	**j-aohpï !**	**piito! jako!**

A few observations on the above data can be made:

The words for *father* and *mother* look very much like European words (cf. e.g. Spanish *papá*, *mamá*, Portuguese *papai*, *mamãe*), which suggests that they may be borrowings, especially in view of the existence of what looks like an 'older layer' of terms for parents (**ju(mu)** 'adult', with cognates meaning 'father' in other languages;[4] **je** not synchronically extant but still visible in the word for 'daughter-in-law'—cf. below—

---

[4] One old speaker affirmed once that the form **i-jun** could still be used to mean 'his father', though the corresponding first- and second-person forms (***ji-jun**, ***e-jun**) did not exist.

and also with cognates meaning 'mother' in other languages). However, these words share a number of formal similarities with the words for *older brother* and *older sister*: a suffix **-ko** in the first-person form, prefixless first- and second-person forms (with the non-first-person forms presenting, for the first three words, a 'reduplicated' stem), and the past tense suffix **-npë** for the first- and second-person forms, but **-hpë** for the third-person and first person dual forms. These patterns are idiosyncratic enough to argue against borrowings; the problem of the origin of these words is left unanswered.

The words for *son-in-law*, *daughter-in-law* and *grandson* start with the same syllable **pa**, which suggests a possible diachronic source: taking into account the 'older' Cariban terms for 'father' and 'mother' (usually occuring as **jumï** or **jumu**, and **ise** or **ije**, in other languages), it would seem that these words came from older phrases: **pa (ju)mï** 'grandchild's father' > **pamï** 'son-in-law', and **pa i-je** 'grandchild's mother' > **paije** 'daughter-in-law'. This hypothesis seems especially good for 'daughter-in-law', in which apparently the third-person **i-** of the possessed word (in the N **i**-N possessive construction; cf. 11.5.1.1) was conserved. The prefixless form **pa-rï**, equivalent to **ji-pa(-rï)** 'my grandson', seems to be an archaism (cf. 4.3.1.2).

Rivière 1969:284 translates **jau** and **jaup** (i.e. **j-ao** and **j-aohpï**) as 'my father-in-law' and 'my mother-in-law', respectively; since the word for 'wife' is **pï(tï)**, this would be perfectly acceptable ('mother-in-law' < 'father-in-law's wife'). However, the consulted speakers were inconsistent in their judgment of the acceptability of **j-ao**; they preferred **j-aohpï**, saying that it could be used both for the mother-in-law and for the father-in-law. This matter needs further research.

Finally, there is the word **piito**. Rivière 1969:81, 1977 discusses its meaning at length. He attempts to connect it to a well-attested Cariban stem meaning 'slave, servant' (e.g. Kari'na [Carib of Surinam] **pïïto**, Tamanaku **poito**), deriving its current meaning from the possible breakdown of an earlier, more hierarchical state of Tiriyó society. However, there is in Tiriyó a more likely cognate for the Kari'na and Tamanaku words: **pëeto** 'servant, subject' (as e.g. the inhabitants of a village, with respect to the chief).[5]

11.3.2. Color terms. In order to identify Tiriyó color terms, five different speakers (four males and one female; one from Missão Tiriós, in Brazil, two from Kwamalasamutu and two from Tepoe, in Surinam) were consulted. With the help of the computer program *Paintbrush* (a simple drawing software that comes as part of the *accessories* folder in most versions of Windows for PCs), 24 different colored squares, each of which occupies the whole screen, were prepared; these were shown to the speakers, who named them with Tiriyó color words. Afterwards, the list of all terms was read to the same speakers; for each word, the speakers were asked to give names of animals, artifacts or natural objects that had the corresponding color. Table 11.2 lists the terms which had the most consistent uses, which are assumed to be more 'basic'; the remaining words are in Table 11.3. These results are admittedly preliminary and subject to revision.

---

[5] Curiously enough, although the word **pëeto** means 'servant, helper', **pëeto_me**, formed with the attributivizer postposition **_me** (cf. 7.3.4.3), idiosyncratically means 'beautiful, handsome'.

Table 11.2
Tiriyó 'basic' color terms

tïkorooje	white (clouds)
sikime	black; very dark blue (night; black people)
taamiire	red; pink (fire; sunset; blood)
kananame	yellow; beige; orange (sun; certain birds)
wapëme	blue, usually light (sky; certain birds)
siririme	blue, usually dark

These words are all synchronically monomorphemic adverbs (like the others in sec. 6.1). In most cases, it is still visible that they must have been derived from nominal sources: **sikime, kananame, wapëme** and **siririme** end in **-me,** which is suspiciously similar to the attributive postposition **_me** (cf. 7.3.4.3), **tïkorooje** and **taamiire** look very much like **t**-adverbs (cf. 6.2.1.1). Synchronic nominal sources are missing: ***siki(n), *kanana, *wapë, *siriri(n), *koro(CV)** or ***aamii** were not recognized as words by any of the consulted speakers. There are, however, other words that seem to be based on some of these roots: the verb stems **sikinma** 'paint O black', **korooma** 'paint O white' and **korohta** 'be(come) white', **aamiita** 'become red, ripen, blush' and **aamiirë** 'paint O red' look like derived verbs (with the verbalizers **-ma** and **-ta** [cf. 5.3.3.1.2, 5.3.3.2.1]; **aamiirë** suggests a **-rë** for which there are no other examples).

From the semantic viewpoint, it is noteworthy that all speakers agreed on their uses (though there was some variation as to whether orange was **kananame**), except in the case of the words for 'blue', **wapëme** and **siririme.** The speaker from Missão Tiriós (Brazil) admitted that he knew the word **wapëme,** but used only **siririme**; the speakers from Tepoe and Kwamalasamutu agreed that there was a difference between **wapëme** and **siririme,** but not on what the difference was (light blue—like the sky—was considered

siririme by the two Kwamalasamutu speakers and **wapëme** by the two Tepoe speakers, and conversely for dark blue). Although suggestive, these agreements are based on too few speakers for any claim to be realistically made.

Table 11.3
Tiriyó 'non-basic' color terms

pakokome	light green/blue; greenish brown
tïjorowaene	grey (ashes)
suwi iimo_me	purple; dark brown
maawi iimo_me	purple; dark brown
pëtunë iimo_me	light blue; greenish blue
kurikuri wetï	light/dark green
ikuitahpë apo	grey; light brown
sawataru iirepa_me	orange

Except for the first two terms, **pakokome** and **tïjorowaene**, which, like those in the preceding paragraph, have no synchronic nominal source, these words are actually phrases. **Iimo** is the word for 'egg', **suwi, maawi** and **pëtunë** are birds (indentified as species of tinamou); **suwi iimo_me, pëtunë iimo_me** and **maawi iimo_me** obviously refer to the color of the eggs laid by these birds.[6] The term **sawataru iirepa_me** means literally 'like the leg of the *sawataru* bird' (a kind of small hawk). **Kurikuri wetï** (also **kïrikïri wetï**) literally means 'excrement of the *kurikuri* or *kïrikïri* bird' (a kind of small parrot or parakeet). As for **ikuitahpë apo**, it clearly means 'like a dirty thing' (from **kuita**

---

[6] They are a little bit more than simple descriptive phrases, though; notice that a **_me**-phrase should mean 'which is an N', 'which has the properties of an N' (cf. 7.3.4.3), while these phrases refer specifically to the color, and not to the shape or taste, of these eggs. To say of something that it is e.g. **maawi iimo_me** does not imply that it is an egg, but simply that it has a certain color. This specificity implies a certain level of lexicalization.

'be(come) dirty', an S_O verb stem, with the nominal past marker **-hpë** (cf. 4.2.1.1, 4.3.1.5.1).

From the semantic viewpoint, it is striking that these words were not mentioned by all speakers. Moreover, even when more than one speaker mentioned a term, they often disagreed on the meaning (mixing in sometimes **wapëme** and **siririme** as well). It appears that it is possible to use relatively 'nonce' expressions in Tiriyó to name colors; several speakers mentioned that there were 'more color names' (of the second, phrasal, kind) that they could not remember, and that people could sometimes 'make them up'. Comparing the meanings with those of Table 11.2, it also seems that the area involving 'blue, green, grey' has more variation and hesitation than the area involving 'red, pink, white, black'; it may be the case that the former area is less 'basic' than the latter in the Tiriyó color vocabulary.

As a final note, there does not seem to be a Tiriyó word for 'color'. The term **menu**, literally a certain species of plant (Portuguese 'jenipapo', probably *Genipa americana*, Rubiaceae), is sometimes used to refer to something's color, but not exclusively: **aano i-menu ?** 'which is its **menu**?' may be used to ask about the color of an object, but also about patterns or drawings on its surface. One of the speakers considered **eekano serë ?** 'what is it like?' a better way of asking about the color of an object.

11.3.3. Generic animal words. There are hundreds of words for animals in Tiriyó, as could be expected, given the enormous variety of fauna in the Amazon. Many of these words—in fact, possibly most of them—are not known yet. However, only a few more generic terms exist; these are presented here, with as complete a discussion of their meanings as the data permit.[7] These are listed in Table 11.4.

Table 11.4
Generic terms for animals

ekï	domestic animals	**mëhparë**	birds and monkeys
ëënë	domestic animals	**tonoro, tëpërike(mï)**	birds
kaimo	game animals (dead)	**kana**	fish
oto	ground game animals	**akïï**	insects, worms

The terms **ekï** and **ëënë** are apparently synonyms, with the difference that **ekï** is always possessed, while **ëënë** never is;[8] **ëënë** can thus be used in expressions like **ëënë erepa** 'pet food', in which no possessor is implied for the pet. Together, **ekï** and **ëënë** are used for all domestic animals, from pets kept for pleasure (especially birds) to dogs, kept as hunting helpers, and, nowadays, to chicken and pigs.

The term **kaimo** refers, *stricto sensu*, to an animal's dead body after it has been killed by a hunter (i.e. dead game). It is not the same thing as the animal's meat, which is **otï**, a type of food (cf. 11.3.5). Notice that the dead body of a human being or a domestic animal is not **kaimo**, since neither were a hunter's game.

---

[7] It is not being argued that these terms form a 'coherent subclassification' of the animal realm, or that Tiriyó speakers are even aware of them as a 'classification' of types of animals. Rather, they are presented simply as they are: terms for groups of animals that the Tiriyó thought useful to put together. Thus, words such as **pereru** 'butterfly' or **nere** 'bat' are not included, since, although they include hundreds of species of actual animals (and although the Tiriyó are aware that not all butterflies and not all bats are 'the same'), since these words are not used as generic terms (with specific names for different subgroups), but as simple terms for groups of animals that the Tiriyó consider one 'species'.

[8] One speaker allowed **ëënë** to be possessed, making a **j**-adding stem of it (**ji-jëënë** 'my pet'); he considered the result equivalent to **j-ekï**. This fact is reminiscent of the 'dubious possessibility' of animal names (cf. 4.3.1.4.2, 4.3.1.1).

Oto and **mëhparë** are used for living animals. **Oto** refers to game animals that live on the ground, i.e. mostly mammals: **pakira** 'collared peccary', **ponjeke** 'white-lipped peccary', **pai** 'tapir', **akuri** 'agouti', **kurimau** 'paca', **wïkapau, kajakë, aruma** 'deer spp.', etc. **Mëhparë** refers to either birds or monkeys, a category which is, at first, rather surprising, but can be understood if one realizes that a hunter, in order to kill these animals, has to point upwards; besides, as one speaker put it, these are the animals that can 'attack you from above'.[9]

Tonoro and **tëpërike(mï)** include all the birds, game and non-game alike. The latter is clearly a descriptive term: it is derived from the noun **apëri** 'wing' with the adverbializing circumfix **t- -ke** 'Having' (cf. 6.2.1.1.1) and the nominalizing suffix **-(mï)** (cf. 4.2.2.2). **Tonoro,** although slightly suspicious, is certainly synchronically non-derived.[10] Although at some point it may have referred to a specific kind of bird, it seems now to be as broad a term as **tëpërike(mï)**: it can refer e.g. to macaws (**kïnoro, kujari, ararawa,** etc.), toucans (**kïjapoko, kïrïu, amatakana,** etc.), parrots (**parawa, kurikanai, jarijari,** etc.), chicken (**kurairu**), hawks (**pijana, maura, sawataru,** etc.), vultures (**akaraman, watëikë, soni**), etc. The term **kana** is a generic name for all kinds of fish (some specific species: **arimina** 'electric eel', **surui** [Port. *surubim*], **patakai** [Port.

---

[9] Interestingly, in one of her Wayana stories, Karin Boven has translated the Wayana term **mëkparë**, which looks cognate, as 'spirit', 'ghost' (Dutch *geest*; cf. Boven 1996). It is not difficult to see a relationship between 'spirits' and 'animals that attack you from above'.

[10] Its diachronic status is less clearly non-derived, especially if one takes into account that it probably is the result of metathesis on an original stem ***torono** (cf. Meira 1998a), the final ***-no** of which brings to mind the nominalizer **-no** (cf. 4.2.2.2).

traíra], **aimara** [Port. *trairão*, *traíra-açu*], etc.). As for **akïi**, it refers to small insects and worms: ants (**irakë**, **mïkakë**, **situ**, etc.), bees and wasps (**wanë**, **awekï**, **okomo**, etc.), flies and mosquitos (**mapiri**, **punini**, **maakë**, etc.), small worms (**moto**, **iikë**, etc.). **Akïi** cannot refer to e.g. big beetles or spiders. Note also the existence of the adverbial **akïi_me**, formed with the attributivizer postposition **_me** (cf. 7.3.4.3), which means 'little, small, thin (of granular things, like sand, powder, salt, sugar, etc.).'

11.3.4. Body parts. Table 11.5 contains all Tiriyó monomorphemic body part terms that were found to date. Other parts of the body can be referred to with phrases (**enja i-jun** 'the old one ('father') of the hand' = 'thumb') or compounds (**enja-pun** 'hand-flesh' = 'flesh of the hand', **enja-ropï** 'hand-chest' = 'palm of the hand').

Table 11.5
Body parts (including fluids)

ahkarapa	lower back	**(mï)pa**	shoulder blade
amoi	finger nails	**(mï)ta**	mouth
aotï	rib	**mone**	groins; womb
apë	arm	**mota**	shoulder
apëritïkï	elbow	**mo(tï)**	pubic hair
arokï	tail; penis	**munu**	blood
eena	throat	**nmapu(nu)**	buttocks
ehpi	(upper) lip	**nore**	tongue
ehpo(tï)	beard; moustache	**oona**	nose
eku(nu)	buttocks	**oonapijuku**	nose mucus
emeku(nu)	wrist	**pana**	ear
emu	testicles; scrotum	**pihpë**	skin
enja	hand	**pijaku**	brain; grey matter
enpata	face	**pïmï**	neck
enpijuku	tears	**pïtïkï**	anus
enu	eye	**(pï)repa**	shin
epa	vulva	**(pï)ro**	inner throat
ere	liver	**(pï)roi**	toe nail
erï	vagina	**(pï)ropï**	chest
etaku	saliva	**(pï)ta**	sole of foot
ewanë	heart	**pe**	forehead
ewapu(nu)	calf	**ponï**	navel
ihpo(tï)	body hair	**potï**	lips, 'beak'
jahta	armpit	**pu(nu)**	meat; flesh; muscle; body
jaramata	chin	**(pu)pu**	foot
je	tooth	**putupë**	head; hair
jetïpë	bone	**suku**	urine
kuru	semen	**susu**	breast; milk
manatï	nipple	**taja**	nape (of the neck)
manini	ankle	**waku**	abdomen; belly
mi(tï)	vein; nerve (=root)	**watë (wetï)**	excrement
(mï)ka	back	**wereena**	knee
(mï)ko	palate; back of mouth		

11.3.5. Eating and drinking terms. The semantic field of food consumption is rather elaborate in Tiriyó, as in most Cariban languages. There is a more general verb, **ëewe(tï)** 'eat, consume/ingest food', which is the detransitivized form of **ewe(tï)** 'feed O'. In addition, there are five different transitive verbs which are used according to the kind of food being consumed. A possible way of referring to these kinds of food is to use the potential O nominalizer (**t- -se(mï)**; cf. 4.2.2.1.2) to derive nouns from the respective verbs; however, Tiriyó already has 'generic terms' for kinds of food, most of which apparently unrelated to the respective verb; they are among the candidates for potential 'gentive classifiers' discussed at the end of Sec. 11.5.1.3.

Table 11.6 summarizes the vocabulary items in question.

Table 11.6
Terms for eating and drinking

Verb stem	O-Nominalization	Generic Noun	Kind of food
ënë	**t-ënë-en**	**otï**	meat (raw or cooked)
ë(ku)	**t-ëë-sen**	**uru**	bread, cassava, wheat
a(ku)	**t-aa-sen**	**(n)me**	nuts
ena(pï)	**t-ënaa-sen**	**nnapï**	fruit; sweet things; eggs
enï(rï)	**t-enïï-sen**	**(j)okï**	liquids

11.3.6. 'Seizing' and 'getting' verbs. There are several verbs in Tiriyó which are used for the action of 'getting' or 'seizing' something, with interesting semantic differences.

Apë(i) 'catch, get, hold O' is used: (a) if an object is thrown at the speaker; (b) if he is at a convenient level for being seized (e.g. on top of a table or shelf). **Apë(i)** is also used to mean 'buy', 'trade' (**arakapusa w-apëi** 'I got [=bought] a shotgun'), and also 'get (a wife, a husband)': **ji-pï_me w-apëi** 'I caught (her) as my wife'. The position of the object(s) to be seized is important: if the object is on the ground rather than on a table, then **apë(i)** cannot be used; **tomeka** occurs instead. If the object is above the normal level, e.g. hanging from a rope or from a nail on a post, the correct verb is **anoka**.

'Gathering' fruits, also a kind of 'taking', is expressed by two verbs: **ami(ku)**, which is used for 'getting fruits from the ground' (e.g. fruits that are being transported inside a canoe), and **[t]pë(tï)**, which is used for 'getting fruits from a tree' (i.e. actually gathering them).

11.3.7. 'Helping' verbs. There are at least three Tiriyó verbs corresponding to the notion of 'helping': **akoronma, apotoma** and **jahpëntë**. They are all derived from nouns, and, although to a large extent interchangeable, still keep certain differences that can be correlated with their nominal sources.

Akoronma is derived from **akoron** 'companion, mate'; judging by the usual sense of the **-ma** verbalizer (cf. 5.3.3.1.2), it must have meant 'provide O with a companion; accompany'. In fact, its present-day use to mean 'help O' still seems to have some remnants of this original meaning: it is normally used in situations in which the 'helper' is at the same level as the 'helpee', i.e. the 'helper' is doing the 'helpee' a favor, going, to a certain extent, out of his way. **K-okoronma-n?** 'Will you help me?', said an old man in his wheelchair, hoping that the hearer would help him overcome some difficulty in moving around (in this case, an especially rough stretch of ground). **W-akoronma-e_pitë** 'I'll help you for a second', said a woman to a friend who was having trouble carrying a sick child around.

Apotoma comes from **apoto** 'helper; servant', again with the **-ma** verbalizer. As its source suggests, it is used in situations in which the 'helper' is, in some sense, at an inferior level with respect to the 'helpee'. A newly married man, living in his father-in-law's house, is supposed to help him hunt and clear the field for planting. **Ma, k-opotoma-kë_pitë** 'help me a little', said a father-in-law to his son-in-law, referring to a new shack that he wanted to build. **Akï apotoma-n ?** 'Who are they helping?', said a woman, pointing to several young men who were clearing an area in the outskirts of a village, where a new house for visitors was to be built.

Jahpëntë has the **-ntë** 'beneficiative' verbalizer (cf. 5.3.3.1.2) on the noun **jahpë**, which can be used to refer to any of the things necessary for everyday life: food, clothes, utensils, firewood, artifacts, hammocks, etc. Its original meaning—and still its most frequent one—is then 'provide O with things', 'make O's life possible by giving him/her all the necessary things'. A question that foreigners often hear after they come to a Tiriyó village is: **eeke anja mi-jahpëntë-n?** 'How are you going to help us?', i.e. 'What are you going to provide us with (in return for your stay here and our collaboration)?'. Old men hope that their children will **jahpëntë** them in their old age. In a story, a young man promised to an older one: **ë-jahpëntë-keh-pïn_me w-eh-ta-e** 'I will never stop helping you (=providing you with goods)' (**-ke(pï)** 'cessative' [cf. 5.3.3.2.2], **-pï(nï)** 'inefficient, incapable of' nominalizer [cf. 4.2.2.2], **wehtae** 'I will be', future imperfective form of the copula **e(i)** [cf. 5.4.4]). However, **jahpëntë** seems to have acquired a more general 'helping' sense. In another story, an old man who could not move asked a young man to carry him on his back by saying **kï-jahpëntë-kë !** 'Help me!' (cf. ex. (42), chap. 5). The reflexive form **ëës-ahpëntë** 'help oneself (by providing oneself with goods)' also has the meaning 'get out of trouble, save oneself': in a folk tale, Cayman is angry at Squirrel, who has escaped him and is now safe, far from the river bank, and says, **ëë... m-ëës-ahpëntë, meri !** 'You managed to escape, Squirrel!'.

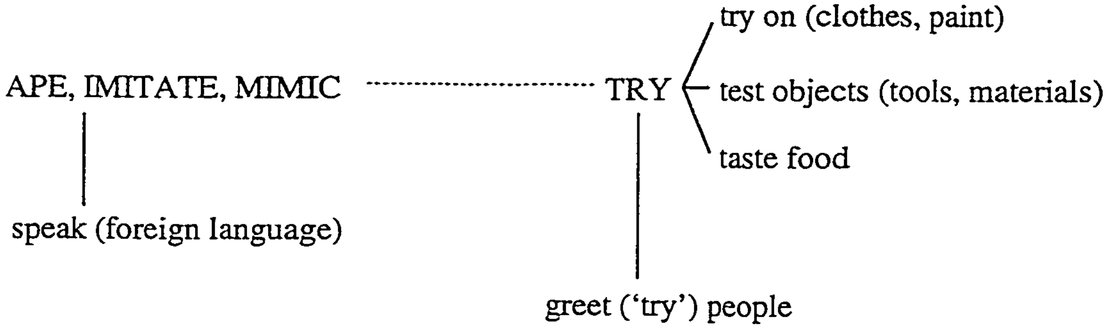
11.3.8. The verb *ku(ku)* 'evaluate; try; greet; imitate; speak'. The basic meaning of this verb is 'evaluate', 'check if something is good, if it is as it should be'. Thus, **wi-kuu-ja-e_pitë** 'I'm going to evaluate it, have a look at it' can be used to describe e.g. the action of testing (a canoe, a bow, a shotgun, a radio, a hammock, etc.) to see if they are usable. This verb can also be used when one is trying clothes on, to see if they fit, or trying a new food, to see how it tastes. An apparently related development is the meaning of 'greeting': **wi-kuu-ja-e_pitë** can also mean 'I'm going to greet him/her', i.e. the act of going up to someone to say 'welcome', 'hello', 'how are you', etc. is viewed as similar to the act of trying or testing something.

A still (but not so clearly) related meaning of this verb is that of 'imitating': **tarïpi wi-kuu-ja-e** 'I am going to imitate a **tarïpi**, a capuchin monkey', said someone who was about to entertain his friends by mimicking a *Cebus apella*. This can be said about people as well: **waijana wi-kuu-ja-e** 'I am going to imitate a Wayana', and also, **waijana i-jomi wi-kuu-ja-e** 'I am going to imitate the Wayana language'. Interestingly, the Tiriyó always use the verb **ku(ku)** to refer to the capacity of speaking a foreign language; it is as though the only language that one really speaks is one's own mother tongue, while all the other languages that one might know are 'imitated', no matter how well or fluently. **Waijana i-**

jomi mi-kuu-ja-n ? 'do you speak the Wayana language?', a Tiriyó may ask one of his friends. **I-kuh-kë_pitë !** 'imitate it a little bit!', i.e. 'speak some of it (so that we can hear what it sounds like)', he say after an affirmative answer: the Tiriyó, like most Amerindian groups, are often curious about the languages of other people.

Fig. 11.1 represents a possible analysis of the connections between the various meanings of **ku(ku)**.

Figure 11.1
The meanings of the transitive verb stem **ku(ku)**.


APE, IMITATE, MIMIC
TRY
try on (clothes, paint)
test objects (tools, materials)
taste food
speak (foreign language)
greet ('try') people

11.4. Borrowing. Like all languages, Tiriyó certainly borrowed many words from other languages during its history; however, given the lack of detailed lexicographic and comparative studies for Amazonia, it is currently impossible to separate, in most cases, borrowings from native Cariban words (but cf. Rodrigues 1985 for cases of apparent borrowings between Cariban and Tupian languages). At present, like many other Amazonian languages, Tiriyó is borrowing many words from the surrounding languages, Dutch, Portuguese, and Sranantongo.[11] These borrowings are concentrated in 'new' areas (mostly Western cultural items, objects, and practices); they are listed in Table 11.7. Some are apparently fully integrated in the language, while others are still fringe cases (e.g. **majadera** 'cast net', with its non-Tiriyó **d**, looks like a 'nonce' case, since it was used by a speaker who knew Portuguese relatively well).

---

[11] Borrowings attributed to Sranantongo, especially the early ones, must have actually gone through Ndyuka, a related creole language (cf. 1.1; cf. Huttar & Velantie 1997 for further details).

Table 11.7
Words borrowed into Tiriyó from the surrounding national languages.

Word(s)	Source language	Meaning
akusa	Port. (*agulha*) or Sp. (*aguja*)	needle
aperisina	Dutch (regional, old *apelsien*)	orange
arakapusa	Spanish (old; *arcabuz*)	firearm
(j)isireti	Portuguese (*gilete*)	razor blade
(j)oroisi	Dutch, French (*horloge*)	clock, watch
(j)oroko	Sranan (*wroko*)	work
juuru	Sranan (*yuru*), Dutch (*uur*)	hour; time
paasi	Sranan (*basi*)	chief helper
kapitein	Port. (*capitão*), more likely Dutch (*kapitein*)	chief
kamisa	Portuguese, Spanish (*camisa*)	loincloth
karama(no)	Sranan (*granman*)	chief
kau	Sranan?	cow
koeri	Sranan (*koeri*)	stroll
kutei	French (*bouteille*), via Creole ?	glass receptacle
kuusi	French *cochon* ?	domestic pig
majadera	Portuguese (*malhadeira*)	kind of net
marasija	Portuguese (*melancia*)	watermellon
mato	French *marteau* ?	hammer
oora	Portuguese (*hora*)	hour
oransi	Dutch (*Hollands*)	Dutch
oto	French (*auto*), via Creole ?	car
paateri, paatërëi	Dutch (*baterij*)	flashlight
panpira	Dutch (*papier*; *pampier ?*)	paper, book
parahtaimë	Portuguese (*balata* 'latex')	plastic
pinta	Sranan (*pinda*)	peanut
poto	Sranan (*foto*)	city; Paramaribo
pukuita	Língua Geral, Tupi (*apukuita*)	oar, paddle
raarijon	Dutch, Portuguese (*rádio*)	radio
ranti	Sranan (*lanti*)	government
remiki	Sranan (*lemiki*)	lime, lemon
sanpereru	Spanish (*sombrero*)	hat
sikora	Portuguese (*escola*), Dutch (*school*)	school
sorope	Dutch (*schop*)	shovel
soroto	Dutch (*sleutel*)	key
sunpu	Portuguese (*chumbo*)	lead (for shooting)

Aside from the above words, there three cases of systematic borrowings, involving many related terms: numbers, months and days of the week. In Surinam, Dutch-based terms are used: **ein_me**, **tuwei_me**, **tëri_me**, etc. (from *een*, *twee*, *drie*,...), **mandi**, **fredi**, etc. (from *maandag*, *vrijdag*,...), **januari**, **feburari**, etc. (from *januari*, *februari*,...). In Brazil, the Portuguese equivalents were adopted: **un_me**, **toisi_me**, **tïreisi_me**, etc. (from *um*, *dois*, *três*,...), **segunda**, **teesa**, etc. (from *segunda-feira*, *terça-feira*,...), **sanero**, **fewereru**, etc. (from *janeiro*, *fevereiro*,...). Interestingly, some of the Tiriyó switch from Portuguese-based to Dutch-based terms when they travel from Brazil to Surinam, apparently linking the terms to the area where they are rather than to the area where they were born; this indicates that these words are still felt as foreign. Concerning the numbers, the first two (**ein_me/un_me**, **tuwei_me/toisi_me**) have Tiriyó equivalents, **tëinë** 'one, alone' and **ëëkënë** 'two, in pairs', which are still widely used (especially **tëinë**); other numbers reportedly used to exist, and some people remember them (**ëerao** 'three', **ëepema** 'four', **ënjame** 'five', from **enja** 'hand'), but speakers disagree on their meaning. Notice also that all borrowed numbers take the attributivizing (adverbializing) postposition **_me**, i.e. they were all borrowed as nouns.

Appendix A. Texts.

A1. Asehpë iwehtoponpë *Asehpë's story.* This story, told by Pedro Asehpë, is the narrative of his childhood, with special attention to the ceremony which made him a good hunter (his **epinëhto** or medication). It was recorded on June 15, 1996, and transcribed in the following two days.

001.

Ma,	**menjaarë**	**jiwehtoponpë**	**wetapoe,**	**ëëja,**
ma	menjaarë	ji-w-eh-topo-npë	w-eta-po-Ø -e	ëë-ja
ma	menjaarë	ji-w-ei-topo-npë	w-eta-po-ja-e	ë- :ja
Attn	now	1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr-Pst	1A-hear-Caus-Prs.Ipf-Cty	2-Dat

Well, now I am explaining my story to you, ('story'; lit. 'how/what I was')

002.

jipawana	**ëmë,**	**Sesu**	**Mera.**
ji-pawana-Ø	ëmë	Sesu	Mera
ji-pawana-rï	ëmë	Sesu	Mera
1-friend-Pos	2	Sérgio	Meira

you are my friend, Sérgio Meira.

003.

Ma,	**serë**	**apo,**	**tahken**	**teese_wï,**
ma	serë	apo	tahken	t-Ø-ee-se_wï,
ma	serë	apo	tahkene	t-w-ei-se_wïï
Attn	3InPx	Like	maybe	Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst_1

Well, I was probably like this,[1]

004.

pena	**pijukuku_me_nkërë**	**ahtao,**	**susu_pë,**	**manko**	**akëërë.**
pena	pijukuku_me_nkërë	ahtao	susu_pë	manko	akëërë
pena	pijukuku_me_nkërë	ahtao	susu_pëkë	manko	akëërë
long.ago	baby_Attr_Still	while	breast_Ad	1:mother	with

long ago, when I was still a baby, at the breast, with my mother.

005.

Këpëewa,	**irë_n-ai**	**ji-wame,**
këpëewa	irë_n-ai	ji-wame
këpëewa	irë_n-ai	ji-wameke
but	3InAna_3Sa-Cop	1-Ignor

But that I do not know,

006.

pijukuku_me_nkërë	**jiwehtoponpë_nai**	**jiwame.**
pijukuku_me_nkërë	ji-w-eh-topo-npë_n-ai	ji-wame
pijukuku_me_nkërë	ji-w-ei-topo-npë_n-ai	ji-wameke
baby_Attr_still	1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr-Pst_3Sa-Cop	1-Ignor

I do not know what I was like when I was a baby.

---

[1] Accompanied by a gesture.

007.

Këpëewa	**mono_me_sa**	**jiwehtuuwë**	**irë**	**jiwaarë.**
këpëewa	mono_me_sa	ji-w-eh-tuuwë	irë	ji-waarë
këpëewa	mono_me_saa	ji-w-ei-tuuwë	irë	ji-waarë
but	big.one_Attr_a.bit	1-Sa-Cop-Post	3InAna	1-Cogn

But what I was like when I got a little bigger, that I know.

008.

Sehken,	**turakanae_wï,**
sehken	t-urakana-e _wï
sehkene	t-urakana-se_wïï
so	Rm.Pst-walk.around-Rm.Pst_1

I just wandered around,

009.

pëera	**jiwei_ke,**	**mure_me**	**jiwei_ke,**
pëera	ji-w-ei-Ø _ke	mure_me	ji-w-ei-Ø_ke
pëera	ji-w-ei-rï_ke	mure_me	ji-w-ei-rï_ke
careless	1-Sa-Cop:N-Pos_Inst	child_Attr	1-Sa-Cop:N-Pos_Inst

because I was careless, because I was a child,

010.

irë_ja-n_me,	**ooninpëken**	**tëpëëse**	**wïja,**
irë_ja-n _me	ooninpëken	t-ëpëë-se	wïja
irë_ja-no_me	ooninpëkene	t-apëi-se	wïja
3InAna_Dat-Nzr_Attr	all.kinds.of.things	Rm.Pst-catch-Rm.Pst	1:Agt

because of this, I caught (= played with) all kinds of things,

011.

majaton,	**pahko**	**i-maja,**	**pïrëuton,**	**wïraapaton.**
maja-ton	pahko	i-maja-Ø	pïrëu-ton	wïraapa-ton
maja-tomo	pahko	i-maja-rï	pïrëu-tomo	wïraapa-tomo
knife-Col	1:father	3-knife-Pos	arrow-Col	bow-Col

knives, fathers knives, arrows, bows.

012.

Irë_mao	**pahko_ja**	**tïrëe**	**jiiraapaapisi,**
irë_mao	pahko_ja	tï-rë-e	ji-:raapa-: -pisi
irë_mao	pahko_ja	tï-rï-se	ji-wïrapa-rï-pisi
3InAna_Tmp	1:father_Agt	Rm.Pst-make-Rm.Pst	1-bow-Pos-Dim

Then my father made me a little bow,

013.

mure_me	**jiwei_ke,**
mure_me	ji-w-ei-Ø _ke
mure_me	ji-w-ei-rï_ke
child_Attr	1-Sa-Cop:N-Pos_Inst

because I am (= was) a child,

014.	**irëme**	**pija_sa**	**wïraapa**	**tïrëe**	**iija.**
	irëme	pija_sa	wïraapa	tï-rë-e	ii-ja
	irëme	pija_sa	wïraapa	tï-rï-se	i- :ja
	so	small_a.bit	bow	Rm.Pst-make-Rm.Pst	3-Agt

so he made a little bow.

015.	**Ma,**	**irë_ke**	**tëmaminae_wï,**
	ma	irë_ke	t-ëmamina-e _wï
	ma	irë_ke	t-emamina-se_wïï
	Attn	3InAna_Inst	Rm.Pst-play-Rm.Pst_1

So, I played with it,

016.	**pahko**	**inïrïhpë_ke.**
	pahko	i-nï-rï-hpë_ke
	pahko	i-nï-rï-hpë_ke
	1:father	3-O.act.Nzr-make-Pst:Pos_Inst

with the thing that my father had made.

017.	**Ma,**	**irëme,**	**irënpë_pëe,**
	ma	irëme	irë-npë_pëe,
	ma	irëme	irë-npë_pëe,
	Attn	then	3InAna-Pst_Abl

So, then, after that,

018.	**pahko**	**inïrïhpë_ke**	**turakanae_wï,**
	pahko	i-nï-rï-hpë_ke	t-urakana-e _wï
	pahko	i-nï-rï-hpë_ke	t-urakana-se_wï
	1:father	3-O.act.Nzr-make-Pst.Pos_Inst	Rm.Pst-walk.around-Rm.Pst_1

I went around with the thing that my father had made,

019.	**irënpë_pëe**	**joi**	**tïwëe**	**wïja,**
	irë-npë_pëe	joi	tï-wë-e	wïja
	irë-npë_pëe	joi	tï-wë-se	wïja
	3InAna-Pst_Abl	lizard.sp	Rm.Pst-shoot-Rm.Pst	1:Agt

after that I shot a lizard,

020.	**wëtë**	**jiweihpë_ke.**
	wë-të	ji-w-ei-hpë_ke
	wë-të	ji-w-ei-hpë_ke
	shoot-A.pot.Azr	1-Sa-Cop:N-Pst.Pos_Inst

because I was (= had become) good at shooting.

021.	**Joi,**	**akï_hpe**	**munupë,**	**ma**	**tahken**	**tonoro,**
	joi	akï_hpe	munupë	ma	tahken	tonoro
	joi	akï_hpe	munupë	ma	tahkene	tonoro
	lizard.sp	wh.An_Indef	rat.sp	Attn	maybe	bird

Lizards, whats-his-name, rats, and maybe birds,

022.	**tïwëenton,**	**tïwëe**	**wïja,**
	tï-wë-e-n-ton	tï-wë-e	wïja,
	tï-wë-se-mï-tomo	tï-wë-se	wïja
	O.pot.Nzr-shoot-O.pot.Nzr-Col	Rm.Pst-shoot-Pst	1:Agt

shootable animals, I shot them,

023.	**ohkïnpëken**	**tahken**	**kana,**	**tukusipisih_ke.**
	ohkïnpëken	tahken	kana	tukusi-pisih _ke
	ohkïnpëkene	tahkene	kana	tukusi-pisikë_ke
	all.sorts.of.animals	maybe	fish	kind.of.arrow-Dim_Inst

all sorts of animals, maybe even fish, with my little *tukusi* arrow.

024.	**Ma,**	**irë_mao**	**iwehtoo_mao,**
	ma	irë_mao	i-w-eh-too _mao
	ma	irë_mao	i-w-ei-topo_mao
	Attn	3InAna_Tmp	3-Sa-Cop-C.Nzr_Temp

Well, at that time,

025.	**saasaame**	**teese**	**pahko.**
	saasaame	t-Ø-ee-se	pahko
	saasaame	t-w-ei-se	pahko
	happy	Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst	1:father

my father was (= had become) happy.

026.	**Saasaame_marë**	**teese**	**noosinpë,**	**jarimikanenpë.**
	saasaame_marë	t-Ø-ee-se	noosinpë	j-arimika-ne-npë
	saasaame_marë	t-w-ei-se	noosinpë	j-arimika-ne-npë
	happy_also	Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst	1:grandmother	1-raise-A.act.Nzr-Pst

Also my grandmother, the one who had raised me, was happy.

027.	**Sehken**	**manko_pëh_ta**	**jarinane,**
	sehken	manko_pëh _ta	j-arina-ne
	sehkene	manko_pëkë_taike	j-arina-ne
	so	1:mother_Ad_Neg	1So-grow-Pst.Prf

So I grew up not beside my mother,

028.	**noosinpë_rëken**	**jarimikane.**
	noosinpë_rëken	j-arimika-ne
	noosinpë_rëkene	j-arimika-ne
	1:grandmother_only	1O-raise-Pst.Prf[2]
	it was only my grandmother who raised me.	

029.	**Këpëewa**	**maa_rë**	**manko**	**tïïtëe,**
	këpëewa	maa_rë	manko	tï-:-të-e
	këpëewa	maa_rë	manko	tï-w-të-se
	but	far_Exact	1:mother	Rm.Pst-Sa-go-Rm.Pst
	But my mother went really far away,			

030.	**an-po_hpe**	**tïïtëe.**
	an-po_hpe	tï-:-të-e
	an-po_hpe	tï-w-të-se
	wh-Loc_Indef	Rm.Pst-Sa-go-Rm.Pst
	I do not know where she went.	

031.	**Tïnontae**	**wïja.**
	tï-nonta-e	wïja
	tï-nonta-se	wïja
	Rm.Pst-leave-Rm.Pst	1:Agt
	I left her.[3]	

032.	**Irëme**	**manko_ja**	**jarimikatoponpë_nai**	**jiwame.**
	irëme	manko_ja	j-arimika-topo-npë_n-ai	ji-wame
	irëme	manko_ja	j-arimika-topo-npë_n-ai	ji-wameke
	thus	1:mother_Agt	1-raise-Circ.Nzr-Pst_3Sa-Cop	1-Ignor
	Thus, I do not know how my mother raised me.[4]			

033.	**Këpëewa**	**noosinpë_rëken,**	**pahko_marë,**	**jarimikane.**
	këpëewa	noosinpë_rëken	pahko_marë	j-arimika-ne
	këpëewa	noosinpë_rëkene	pahko_marë	j-arimika-ne
	but	1:grandmother_only	1:father_also	1-raise-Pst.Prf[5]
	It was only my grandmother, with my father, who raised me.			

---

[2] This could be the 'A.act.Nzr' **-ne**, and this sentence could be an equative one ('my grandmother was my raiser'). Since in 026, the narrator used **-npë** 'Past' after the 'A.act.Nzr' **-ne**, he probably would have done the same here; the fact that he did not makes the 'A.act.Nzr' analysis less likely.

[3] One would have expected 'she left me' (**tïnontae iija**) — the speaker may have misspoken.

[4] I.e. 'I do not know my having been raised by my mother'. He was too young to remember the time when she was still around.

[5] Cf. footnote to 028.

034.

Ma,	**irë**	**rïkehtuuwë**	**wïja,**	**kïrïmuku_me**	**jiwei_mahtao,**
ma	irë	rï-keh -tuuwë	wïja	kïrïmuku_me	ji-w-ei-0 _mahtao
ma	irë	rï-kepï-tuuwë	wïja	kïrïmuku_me	ji-w-ei-rï_mahtao
Attn	3InAna	do-Cess-Post	1:Agt	young.man_Attr	1-Sa-Cop:N-Pos_Tmp

So, when I finished doing that, when I became a young man,

035.

irë_mao	**kutuma**	**wipuunëëne,**	**kïrïmuku_me**	**jiwehtuuwë.**
irë_mao	kutuma	wi-puunëë -ne	kïrïmuku_me	ji-w-eh-tuuwë
irë_mao	kutumaka	wi-puunëpï-ne	kïrïmuku_me	ji-w-ei-tuuwë
3InAna_Tmp	Intens	1A-think-Pst.Prf	young.man_Attr	1-Sa-Cop-Post

then I thought a lot, after I became a young man.

036.

Ma,	**irënpë_pëe**	**pahko**	**jepinëëne**	**kutuneh_ke,**
ma	irë-npë_pëe	pahko	j-epinëë -ne	kutuneh_ke
ma	irë-npë_pëe	pahko	j-epinëpï-ne	kutunetï_ke
Attn	3InAna-Pst_Abl	1:father	1-medicate-Pst.Prf	painful.one_Inst

Then, after than, my father treated me with a painful medicine,

037.

tahken	**kunawaru**	**eekuhpë,**	**kunawaru**	**eerewetïnpë_marë.**
tahken	kunawaru	eeku-hpë,	kunawaru	eerewetï-npë_marë
tahkene	kunawaru	eeku-hpë,	kunawaru	eerewetï-npë_marë
maybe	toad.sp	3:juice-Pst.Pos	toad.sp	3:foam-Pst_also

with *kunawaru* juice, it seems, and also *kunawaru* foam.

038.

Irë_ke	**pahko**	**jepinëëne,**
irë_ke	pahko	j-epinëë -ne
irë_ke	pahko	j-epinëpï-ne
3InAna_Inst	1:father	1-medicate-Pst.Prf

With this my father treated me,

039

wëtë	**jiwehtoo_me.**
wë-të	ji-w-eh-too_me
wë-të	ji-w-ei-topo_me
shoot-A.pot.Azr	1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr_Attr

so that I would become a good shot.

040.

Ma,	**irë**	**rïkehtuuwë**	**wïja,**
ma	irë	rï-keh -tuuwë	wïja
ma	irë	rï-kepï-tuuwë	wïja
Attn	3InAna	do-Cess-Post	1:Agt

So, after I finished doing that,

041.	**ein**	**nunnë,**	**toisi_me**	**nunnë**	**iwehtuuwë,**
	ein	nunnë	toisi_me	nunnë	i-w-eh-tuuwë
	ein	nunnë	toisi_me	nunnë	i-w-ei-tuuwë
	one	moon	two_Attr	moon	3-Sa-Cop-Post

after one or two months,

042.	**irë_mao**	**wëtë**	**teese_wï.**
	irë_mao	wë-të	t-0-ee-se_wï
	irë_mao	wë-të	t-w-ei-se_wïï
	3InAna_Tmp	shoot-A.pot.Azr	Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst_1P

then I became a good shot.

043.	**Ma,**	**irë**	**enetuuwë**	**pahko_ja,**
	ma	irë	ene-tuuwë	pahko_ja
	ma	irë	ene-tuuwë	pahko_ja
	Attn	3InAna	3:see-After	1:father_Agt

Then, after my father saw this,[6]

044.	**jepinëpïhpë_ke**	**iija,**
	j-epinëpï-hpë_ke	ii-ja
	j-epinëpï-hpë_ke	i- :ja
	1-medicate:N-Pst.Pos_Inst	3-Agt

because he had medicated me,

045.	**oroko_me**	**jiweihpë_ke**	**pahko**	**jipë,**
	oroko_me	ji-w-ei-hpë_ke	pahko	ji-pë
	oroko_me	ji-w-ei-hpë_ke	pahko	ji-pëkë
	work_Attr	1-Sa-Cop:N-Pst.Pos_Inst	1:father	1-About

because my father had worked on me,

046.	**irë_jan_me,**	**wëtë**	**teese_wï.**
	irë_ja-n _me	wë-të	t-0-ee-se_wï
	irë_ja-no_me	wë-të	t-w-ei-se_wïï
	3InAna_Dat-Nzr_Attr	shoot-A.pot.Azr	Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst_1

because of this, I became a good shot.

047.	**Ma,**	**ameraarë**	**tïwëe**	**wïja,**
	ma	ameraarë	tï-wë-e	wïja,
	ma	ameraarë	tï-wë-se	wïja
	Attn	all	Rm.Pst-shoot-Rm.Pst	1:Agt

So, I shot everything,

---

[6] **Irë** 'this' should be referring to 'my becoming good at shooting'; however, given that this is mentioned again in 044 below, maybe **irë** is referring to 'my father's medicating me'. This sequence is somewhat awkward; the speaker may have lost track of what he had been saying here.

048. **tarïpi, iisoimë, ponjeke, pai, kaikui_marë.**
tarïpi iisoimë ponjeke pai kaikui_marë
tarïpi iisoimë ponjeke pai kaikui_marë
monkey.sp monkey.sp peccary.sp tapir jaguar_also
monkeys, peccaries, tapirs, and jaguars, too.

049. **Atïtoome? Nari_ke_ta jiweihpë_ke.**
atïtoome nari_ke_ta ji-w-ei-hpë_ke
atïtoome nari_ke_taike ji-w-ei-hpë_ke
why fear_Inst_Neg 1-Sa-Cop:N-Pst.Pos_Inst
Why? Because I had become fearless.

050. **Itu_htao turakanae_wï,**
itu_htao t-urakana-e _wï
itu_htao t-urakana-se_wïi
jungle_Loc Rm.Pst-walk.around-Rm.Pst_1
I walked around in the jungle,

051. **nari_ke_ta jiweihpë_ke,**
nari_ke_ta ji-w-ei-hpë_ke
nari_ke_taike ji-w-ei-hpë_ke
fear_Inst_Neg 1-Sa-Cop:Nzr-Pst.Pos_Inst
because I had become fearless,

052. **tëpije_marë**[7] **jiweihpë_ke.**
t-ëpi -je_marë ji-w-ei-hpë_ke
t-epitï-je_marë ji-w-ei-hpë_ke
T-medicine-Having_also 1-Sa-Cop:Nzr-Pst.Pos_Inst
also because I had had medicine. (= I had become medicined).

053. **Kaari, ëpih_ke,**[8] **tëpinëëse_wï pahko_ja.**
kaari ëpih _ke t-ëpinëë -se_wï pahko_ja
kaari ëpitï_ke t-epinëpï-se_wï pahko_ja
strength medicine_Inst Pst-medicate-Pst_1 1:father_Agt
My father had medicated me with strong medicine.

054. **Irë_jan_me kaikui ino_ta teese_wï.**
irë_ja-n _me kaikui i-no_ta t-Ø-ee-se_wï
irë_ja-no_me kaikui i-no_taike t-w-ei-se_wïi
3InAna_Dat-Nzr_Attr jaguar 3-afraid_Neg Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst_1
Because of this, I was (=became) not afraid of jaguars.

---

[7] Cf. 6.2.1.1.1 on irregular **t-** adverbs.

[8] In spite of the pause between **kaari** and **ëpih_ke**, they seem connected (in apposition): [**kaari ëpih**]**_ke**.

055. **Ma, akï_hpe irë_po, ëkëiton,**
ma akï_hpe irë_po, ëkëi-ton
ma akï_hpe irë_po ëkëi-ton
Attn wh.An_Indef 3InAna_Loc snake-Col
So, whatever there was, say, snakes,

056. **jeekaewa teese, aipï_me jiwei_ke.**
j-eeka-ewa t-0-ee-se aipï_me ji-w-ei-0_ke
j-eeka-ewa t-w-ei-se aipï_me ji-w-ei-0_ke
1-bite-Neg Pst-Sa-Cop-Pst speed_Attr 1-Sa-Cop:Nzr-Pos_Inst
it could not bite me, because I was fast.

057. **irëme iwae[9] pahko tïwëeresaaramae,**
irëme i-wae pahko tï-w-ëeresaarama -e
irëme i-wae pahko tï-w-ët-eresaarama-se
then 3-Super 1:father Rm.Pst-Sa-Detr-gladden-Rm.Pst
Then, my father became really happy,

058. **wëtë jiwehto enehpë_ke.**
wë-të ji-w-eh-to ene-hpë_ke
wë-të ji-w-ei-topo ene-hpë_ke
shoot-A.pot.Azr 1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr 3:see:N-Pst.Pos_Inst
because he saw that I had become a good shot.

059. **Pëë, jinmuku kure wëtë, wïï_rë wïjan_me,**
pëë, ji-nmuku-0 kure wë-të wïï_rë wïja-n _me
pëë, ji-nmuku-rï kure wë-të wïï_rë wïja-no_me
Concern 1-son-Pos Intens shoot-A.pot.Azr 1_Exact 1:Dat-Nzr_Attr
Oh, my son is a good shot, thanks to me,

060. **wepinëëne jinmuku.**
w-epinëë-ne ji-nmuku-0
w-epinëpï-ne ji-nmuku-rï
1A-medicate-Pst.Prf 1-son-Pos
I medicated my son.

061. **wëtë jiwehtoo_me,**
wë-të ji-w-eh-too _me
wë-të ji-w-ei-topo_me
shoot-A.pot.Azr 1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr_Attr 1-son:Pos
So that he would become a good shot,

---

[9] Here, **iwae** is closer to being an intensifying particle ('my father became vey happy').

062. **jinmuku epi wïrïne,**
ji-nmuku-0 epi-0 wï-rï-ne
ji-nmuku-rï epi-rï wï-rï-ne
1-son-Pos 3:medicine-Pos 1A-make-Pst.Prf
I prepared my sons medicine (=medicine for my son).

063. **kunawaru eekuhpë, eerewetïnpë,**
kunawaru eeku-hpë, eereweti-npë
kunawaru eeku-hpë, eereweti-npë
toad.sp 3:juice-Pst.Pos 3:foam-Pst
with *kunawaru* toad juice, and its foam,

064. **ma, kumakaimë, ëmëinë irë,**
ma, kumakaimë ëmëinë irë
ma, kumakaimë ëmëinë irë
Attm toad.sp thorn 3InAna
(and also) *kumakaimë*, it is a thorny plant,

065. **ma, kïja, taparara apon,**
ma kïja taparara apo-n
ma kïja taparara apo-no
Attn cricket.sp grasshopper.sp like-Nzr
(and) *kïja*, a cricket, like a grasshopper,

066. **këpëewa koko_rëken netapanjan mëe, aanao eneera.**
këpëewa koko_rëken n-etapan -ja-n mëe aanao ene-:ra
këpëewa koko_rëkene n-etapamï-ja-në mëe aanao ene-:ra
but night_only 3So-chirp-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 3AnPx day I:see:N-Ineff
but this one only chirps at night, it is invisible during the day.

067. **Këpëewa koko_rëken eneto kïja.**
këpëewa koko_rëken ene-to kïja
këpëewa koko_rëkene ene-topo kïja
but night_only 3:see-Circ.Nzr cricket.sp
But only during the night can the *kïja* cricket be seen (=is there its seeing).

068. **Nërë_nai**[10] **kunawaru eerewetïnpë oi**
nërë_n-ai kunawaru eereweti-npë oi
nërë_n-ai kunawaru eereweti-npë oi
3AnAna_3Sa-Cop toad.sp 3:foam-Pst 3:mix:Pos
It (= the *kïja* cricket) is (made) a mixture with (= of) the foam of *kunawaru* toad,

---

[10] Notice that the speaker uses here the animate anaphoric pronoun **nërë**, since he seems to be referring back to **kïja** 'cricket.sp'.

069.	**ma,**	**pëmu,**	**enepïn**	**pëmu,**
	ma	pëmu	ene-pïn	pëmu
	ma	pëmu	ene-pïnï	pëmu
	Attn	bug.sp	I:see-Ineff:Nzr	bug.sp

and the *pëmu* bug, it is invisible,

070.	**simenuri**	**ihpïtïnaononpë,**
	simenuri	i-hpïtïnao-no-npë
	simenuri	i-hpïtïnao-no-npë
	termite	3-in.back-Nzr-Pst

(and) the termite from (=which was in) the back of it (=the termite house),

071.	**simenuri**	**wïkae,**	**tïwërën**	**simenuri,**
	simenuri	wï-ka-e	tïwërë-n	simenuri
	simenuri	wï-ka-e	tïwërë-no	simenuri
	termite	1Sa-say:Prs.Ipf-Cty	other-Nzr	termite

the termite, I say, but the other termite (=i.e. not the usual species),

072.	**ëëkaton,**	**kutune.**
	ëëka-to-n	kutune
	eeka-të-no	kutunetï
	bite-A.pot.Azr-Nzr	painful.one

the one that bites, the painful one.

073.	**nërë**	**tïrëe**	**pahko_ja,**	**kunawaru**	**eerewetïnpë**	**oi_me.**
	nërë	tï-rë-e	pahko_ja	kunawaru	eerewetï-npë	oi_me
	nërë	tï-rï-se	pahko_ja	kunawaru	eerewetï-npë	oi_me
	3AnAna	Rm.Pst-make-Rm.Pst	1:father_Agt	toad.sp	3:foam-Pst	mix_Attr

Him (= termite) my father made into a mix with (= of) the *kunawaru* foam,

074.	**Ma,**	**irë**	**apo**	**ahtao,**
	ma,	irë	apo	ahtao
	ma,	irë	apo	ahtao
	Attn	3InAna	like	when

Then, when it was like that (= i.e. after preparing the medicine),

075.	**tïwihkae_wï**	**ameraarë**	**pahko_ja,**	**majapisih_ke.**
	tï-wihka-e _wï	ameraarë	pahko_ja	maja-pisih _ke
	tï-wihka-se_wïï	ameraarë	pahko_ja	maja-pisikë_ke
	Rm.Pst-scratch-Rm.Pst_1	all	1:father_Agt	knife-Dim_Inst

my father scratched (= scarified) my entire body with a little knife.[11]

---

[11] The process also involves applying the medicine to the wounds after scarification.

076.

Irënpë_pëe	**ameraarë**	**tïrëe**	**wïja**
irë-npë_pëe	ameraarë	tï-rë-e	wïja
irë-npë_pëe	ameraarë	tï-rï-se	wïja
3InAna-Pst_Abl	all	Rm.Pst-make-Rm.Pst	1:Agt

After that, I did (= became capable of doing) everything,

077.

pahko	**tïjahpëntëe**	**wïja,**
pahko	tï-jahpëntë-e	wïja
pahko	tï-jahpëntë-se	wïja
1:father	Rm.Pst-help-Rm.Pst	1:Agt

I helped my father,

078.

tïkairintëe	**wïja.**
tï-kairintë-e	wïja
tï-kairintë-se	wïja
Rm.Pst-give.stew-Rm.Pst	1:Agt

I provided him with stew (=food).

079.

Wëtë	**teese**	**jiweihpë_ke,**
wë-të	t-∅-ee-se	ji-w-ei-hpë_ke
wë-të	t-w-ei-se	ji-w-ei-hpë_ke
shoot-A.pot.Azr	Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst	1-Sa-Cop-Pst_Inst

Because I had become a good shot, (lit. with my having become...)

080.

ohkïnpëken_ken,	**tarïpi,**	**kïjapoko,**	**iisoimë,**	**tamokonpë,**
ohkïnpëken _ken	tarïpi	kïjapoko	iisoimë	tamokonpë
ohkïnpëkene_kene	tarïpi	kïjapoko	iisoimë	tamokonpë
all.kinds.of.animals_Cont	monkey.sp	toucan.sp	monkey.sp	monkey.sp

all kinds of animals, monkeys, toucans,

081.

jahkïi,	**tahken**	**marasi,**	**ooko,**	**ameraarë,**	**amatakana,**
jahkïi	tahken	marasi	ooko	ameraarë	amatakana
jahkïi	tahkene	marasi	ooko	ameraarë	amatakana
monkey.sp	maybe	bird.sp	bird.sp	all	toucan.sp

monkeys, maybe birds, all of them, toucans,

082.

mëhparëton	**tïtïkae**	**wïja.**
mëhparë-ton	tï-tïka-e	wïja
mëhparë-tomo	tï-tïka-se	wïja
tree.game-Col	Rm.Pst-finish-Rm.Pst	1:Agt

tree game (birds and monkeys),[12] I kept finishing them all up (= killing lots of them)

---

[12] Cf. 12.3.3. on **mëhparë**.

083.	**Pai,**	**kaikui,**	**pënjeke,**	**pakira,**	**wïkapau,**	**masiwë,**	**ameraarë.**
	pai	kaikui	pënjeke	pakira	wïkapau	masiwë	ameraarë
	pai	kaikui	pënjeke	pakira	wïkapau	masiwë	ameraarë
	tapir	jaguar	peccary.sp	peccary.sp	deer.sp	anteater.sp	all

Tapirs, jaguars, peccaries, deer, anteaters, all of them.

084.	**Irëme**	**saasaame**	**pahko**	**teese**	**tïwëewetï_ke**
	irëme	saasaame	pahko	t-Ø-ee-se	tï-w-ëewetï _ke
	irëme	saasaame	pahko	t-w-ei-se	tï-w-ët-ewetï_ke
	then	happy	1:father	Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst	3R-Sa-Detr-feed:N_Inst

Then my father became happy with (=because of) his food (=feeding).

085.	**Irëme**	**"naapohpa"**	**kïnka**	**wïja**	**pahko,**
	irëme	naapohpa	kïn-ka	wïja	pahko
	irëme	naapohpa	kïn-ka	wïja	pahko
	then	thank.you	3Pst.Prf-say	1:Agt	1:father

Then my father said 'thank you' to me,

086.	**"naapohpa**	**ji-nmuku,**	**kure_manae,**
	naapohpa	ji-nmuku-Ø	kure_man-a-e
	naapohpa	ji-nmuku-rï	kure_man-a-e
	thank.you	1-son-Pos	good_2Sa-Cop-Cty

'Thank you, my son, you are good,

087.	**ëepi**	**ino_ta**	**ëweihpë_ke**	**mëeweejae_rë.**
	ë-epi	i-no_ta	ë-w-ei-hpë_ke	m-ëewee -ja-e _rë
	ë-epi	i-no_taike	ë-w-ei-hpë_ke	m-ët-ewetï-ja-e_rë
	2-medicine	3-Apprh_Neg	2-Sa-Cop-Pst_Inst	2A-Detr-feed-Prs.Ipf-Cty_Exact

because you were not afraid of your medicine, now you can eat really well.

088.	**Ëwë,**	**wï**	**wa_ken**	**ahtao,**	**waa_teese**	**jiwei_mahtao,**
	ëwë	wï	wa_ken	ahtao,	waa_t-Ø-ee-se	ji-w-ei_mahtao
	ëwë	wïï	wa_kene	ahtao	waa_t-w-ei-se	ji-w-ei_mahtao
	later	1	Neg_Cont	when	Neg_Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst	1-Sa-Cop_when

Later on, when I am gone, when I am dead,

089.	**irënpë_pëe**	**ëmë**	**jipatahpë_po**	**mehtae,**
	irë-npë_pëe	ëmë	ji-pata-hpë_po	m-eh-ta-e
	irë-npë_pëe	ëmë	ji-pata-hpë_po	m-ei-ta-e
	3InAna-Pst_Abl	2	1-place-Pst.Pos_Loc	2Sa-Cop-Fut.Ipf-Cty

then you will occupy my place,

090. **tïpïje_marë mehtae.**
tï-pï -je_marë m-eh-ta-e
tï-pïtï-je_marë m-ei-ta-e
T-wife-Having_Too 2Sa-Cop-Fut.Ipf-Cty
and you will have a wife, too.

091. **Tïnmuuje_marë mehtae,**
tï-nmuu -je_marë m-eh-ta-e
tï-nmuku-je_marë m-ei-ta-e
T-son-Having_Too 2Sa-Cop-Fut.Ipf-Cty
You will have children, too,

092. **ënmuku nenuhtan tahken wëri_me tahken kïrï_me.**
ë-nmuku-0 n-enuh -ta-n tahken wëri_me tahken kïrï_me
ë-nmuku-0 n-enuru-ta-ne tahkene wëri_me tahkene kïrï_me
2-child-Pos 3So-be.born-Fut.Ipf-Dbt maybe woman_Attr maybe man_Attr
your son will be born, maybe a woman, maybe a man,[13]

093. **Ma, sehken_pa_mo mëe tïrïkë, epinëhkë_mo,**
ma sehken_pa_mo mëe tï-rï-kë epinëh -kë_mo
ma sehken_pa_mo mëe tï-rï-kë epinëpï-kë_mo
Attn likewise_Rpt_Irr 3AnPx t-do-Imper 3:medicate-Imper_Irr
Well, do likewise with him/her, medicate him/her,

094. **ëepinëhtoponpë wïja apo_ro_pa" kïnka pahko.**
ë-epinëh -topo-npë wïja apo_ro_pa kïn-ka pahko
ë-epinëpï-topo-npë wïja apo_rë_pa kïn-ka pahko
2-medicate-Circ.Nzr-Pst 1:Agt like_Exact_Rpt 3Pst.Prf-say 1:father
just as I medicated you,' said my father.

095. **Ma, kure.**
ma kure
ma kure
Attn OK
Well, all right.

096. **Irëme menjaarë irë jiwaarë,**
irëme menjaarë irë ji-waarë
irëme menjaarë irë ji-waarë
then now 3InAna 1-Cogn
Now I know this,

---

[13] **Nmuku**, usually 'male son', is here employed in the sense of 'child (of either sex)'.

097. **irë_nai wapo jiwehtoponpë.**
irë_n-ai wapo ji-w-eh-topo-npë
irë-n-ai wapo ji-w-ei-topo-npë
3InAna_3Sa-Cop before 1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr-Pst
this is my past story (= this is what I was before).

098. **Ma sehken, akoron,**
ma sehken akoron
ma sehkene akoronï
Attn likewise 3:other
Also, there is another (story),

099. **irë_nai wë-të ji-w-eh-toh_pë,**
irë_n-ai wë-të ji-w-eh-toh _pë
irë_n-ai wë-të ji-w-ei-topo_pë
3InAna_3Sa-Cop shoot-A.pot.Azr 1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr_About
this one is (=was) about my being a good shot,

100. **jiwëiponohto.**
ji-w-ëiponoh -to
ji-w-ët-ponopï-topo
1-Sa-Detr-tell-Circ.Nzr
what I told about myself.

101. **Ma, sehken serë, jinkapïhton_pë,**
ma sehken serë ji-n-kapï-h -ton _pë
ma sehkene serë ji-n-kapï-rï-tomo_pë
Attn likewise 3InPx 1-O.act.Nzr-weave:N-Pos-Col_About
Well, likewise is this (other one) about the things that I make (=weave),[14]

102. **tïïkae noosinpë, pahko_marë, manko_marë,**
tïï-ka-e noosinpë pahko_marë manko_marë
tï-w-ka-se noosinpë pahko_marë manko_marë
Rm.Pst-Sa-say-Rm.Pst 1:grandmother 1:father_Too 1:mother_Too
said my grandmother, and also my father, and also my mother.

103. **manko tïwërëno_ro, pahko i-pï.**
manko tïwërë-no_ro, pahko i-pï
manko tïwërë-no_rë, pahko i-pïtï
1:mother other-Nzr_Exact 1:father 3-wife
my other mother, my father's wife.

---

[14] I.e. about how skilled I am at making (weaving) useful objects.

104. **Irëme nërë tïïkae, "ma, muku, muupiro,**
irëme nërë tïï-ka -e ma muku muupiro
irëme nërë tï-w-ka-se ma muku muupiro
then 3AnAna Rm.Pst-Sa-say-Rm.Pst Attn son:Voc boy:Voc
Then he said, 'Well, son, my boy,

105. **ëiwaarë eh-kë, kïrï_me ëmë.**
ëiwaarë eh-kë kïrï_me ëmë
ëiwaarë ei-kë kïrï_me ëmë
smart Cop-Imper man_Attr 2
be smart, you are a man.

106. **Matapi tïkahkë, kataari tïkahkë,**
matapi tï-kah -kë kataari tï-kah -kë
matapi tï-kapï-kë kataari tï-kapï-kë
manioc.press t-weave-Imper carrying.basket t-weave-Imper
Make (i.e. know how to make) a manioc press, make a carrying basket,

107. **sipari tïkahkë, manare tïkahkë,**
sipari tï-kah -kë manare tï-kah -kë
sipari tï-kapï-kë manare tï-kapï-kë
fan t-weave-Imper sieve t-weave-Imper
make a fan, make a sieve,

108. **ankai tïkahkë, wëitapi tïkahkë.**
ankai tï-kah -kë wëitapi tï-kah -kë
ankai tï-kapï-kë wëitapi tï-kapï-kë
comb t-weave-Imper hammock t-weave-Imper
make a comb, make a hammock.

109. **Tïnïrïke ehkë, tïtupike ehkë,**
tï-nï-rï-ke eh-kë tï-tupi-ke eh-kë
tï-nï-rï-ke eh-kë, tï-tupi-ke eh-kë
T-O.act.Nzr-make-Having Cop-Imper T-field-Having Cop-Imper
Provide yourself with artifacts (= made things), provide yourself with a field,

110. **tïpakoroke ehkë.**
tï-pakoro-ke eh-kë
tï-pakoro-ke eh-kë
T-house-Having Cop-Imper
provide yourself with a house.

111. **Irë apo ëenetuuwë, tahken wëri_ja,**
irë apo ë-ene-tuuwë tahken wëri_ja
irë apo ë-ene-tuuwë tahkene wëri_ja
3InAna like 2-see-Post maybe woman_Agt
Like this, after (= if) someone, maybe a woman, sees you,

112. **wë-të ëwehto ene-n,**
wë-të ë-w-eh-to ene-n
wë-të ë-w-ei-topo ene-në
shoot-A.pot.Azr 2-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr see:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
she sees that you are a good shot,

113. **tïnkahke ëwehto ene-n,**
tï-n-kah -ke ë-w-eh-to ene-n
tï-n-kapï-ke ë-w-ei-topo ene-në
T-O.act.Nzr-weave-Having 2-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr see:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
she sees that you have many woven artifacts,

114. **tïnkaehke wïkae,**
tï-n-kah -ke wï-ka-e
tï-n-kapï-ke wï-ka-e
T-O.act.Nzr-weave-Having 1Sa-say:Prs.Ipf-Cty
I say *tïnkahke* (with many woven artifacts),

115. **tïnïrïke kato.**
tï-nï-rï-ke ka-to
tï-nï-rï-ke ka-to
T-O.act.Nzr-make-Having say-Circ.Nzr
which means *tïnïrïke* (with many artifacts).

116. **Tïnkahke ëmë ahtao, irë enetuuwë wëri_ja,**
tï-n-kah -ke ëmë ahtao, irë ene-tuuwë wëri_ja,
tï-n-kapï-kë ëmë ahtao, irë ene-tuuwë wëri_ja
T-O.act.Nzr-weave-Having 2 if 3InAna see-Post woman_Agt
If you have many woven artifcats, after a woman sees this,

117. **tïwërën, wëri i-papa-rï_ja_marë, wëri i-mama-rï_ja_marë.**
tïwërë-n wëri i-papa-rï_ja_marë wëri i-mama-rï_ja_marë
tïwërë-no wëri i-papa-rï_ja_marë wëri i-mama-rï_ja_marë
other-Nzr woman 3-father-Pos_Agt_Too woman 3-mother-Pos_Agt_Too
and others, the woman's father, too, the woman's mother, too,

118. **irë_mao teëmirï_ja nkan,**
irë_mao t-ëëmi-rï_ja n-ka-n
irë_mao t-eemi-rï_ja n-ka-në
3InAna_Tmp 3R-daughter-Pos_Agt 3Sa-say:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
then they will say to their daughter,.

119. **ma jeemi, mëe apëhkë ënjo_me.**
ma j-eemi-Ø mëe apëh-kë ë-njo_me
ma j-eemi-rï mëe apëi-kë ë-njo_me
Attn 1-daughter-Pos 3InPx take-Imper 2-husband_Attn
'well, daughter, take him as your husband.'

120. **Mëe_nai kure, wëtë, ëiwaarë, kahtë,**
mëe_n-ai kure wë-të ëiwaarë kah-të
mëe_n-ai kure wë-të ëiwaarë kah-të
3InPx_3Sa-Cop good shoot-A.pot.Azr smart weave-A.pot.Azr
He is good, he hunts well, he is smart, he weaves well,

121. **matapi i-waarë, ma, akunuura,**
matapi i-waarë ma akunu-:ra
matapi i-waarë ma akunu-:ra
manioc.press 3-Cogn Attn laziness-Neg
he knows (how to make a) manioc press, he is dilligent,

122. **tïtupii_se, tïpakoroo_se.**
tï-tupi-: _se tï-pakoro-: _se
tï-tupi-rï_se tï-pakoro-rï_se
3R-field-Pos_Desid 3R-house-Pos_Desid
he wants his field, he wants his house. (= i.e. he wants to have a field and a house.)

123. **Irëme mëe apëi_se_wae ëëja ënjo_me,**
irëme mëe apëi_se_w-a-e ë-:ja ë-njo_me
irëme mëe apëi_se_w-a-e ë-:ja ë-njo_me
so 3InPx 3:take:N_Desid_1Sa-Cop-Cty 2-Agt 2-husband_Attr
So I want you to take him as your husband,'

124. **ka-ta-n wëri i-papa ë-pë,**
ka-ta-n wëri i-papa-Ø ë-pë
ka-ta-ne wëri i-papa-rï ë-pëkë
say-Fut.Ipf-Dbt woman 3-father-Pos 2-about
the woman's father will say about you,'

125. **kïn-ka manko, pahko, noosinpë_marë.**
kïn-ka manko pahko noosinpë_marë
kïn-ka manko pahko noosinpë_marë
3Pst.Prf-say 1:mother 1:father 1:grandmother_Too
said my mother, my father, and also my grandmother.

126. **Ma irë_rë wimoine,**
ma irë_rë wi-moi-ne
ma irë_rë wi-moi-ne
Attn 3InAna_Exact 1A-obey-Pst.Prf
Well, this (advice) I obeyed,

127. **irëme tëenpane_pa tëin_ken_pa.**
irëme t-ëenpa -ne_pa tëin_ken_pa
irëme t-ët-enpa-ne_pa tëinë_kene_pa
so 1Sa-Detr-teach-Pst.Prf_Rpt once_Cont_Rpt
Then I taught myself again, once more.

128. **Kataari_pë, matapi_pë, ankai_pë, wëitapi_pë,**
kataari_pë, matapi_pë, ankai_pë, wëitapi_pë,
kataari_pëkë, matapi_pëkë, ankai_pëkë, wëitapi_pëkë,
carrying.basket_About manioc.press_About comb_About hammock_About
About carrying baskets, about manioc presses, about combs, about hammocks,

129. **sipari_pë, pararaita_pë, tunuku_pë, marakaton_pë,**
sipari_pë, pararaita_pë, tunuku_pë, maraka-ton_pë
sipari_pëkë, pararaita_pëkë, tunuku_pëkë, maraka-tomo_pëkë
fan_About, cassava.holder_About basket_About rattle-Col_About
about fans, about cassava holders, about baskets, about rattles,

130. **jitupii_pë, jipakoro.**
ji-tupi-: _pë ji-pakoro-Ø
ji-tupi-rï_pë ji-pakoro-rï
1-field-Pos_About 1-house-Pos
about my field, my house.

131. **Irëme menjaarë ameraarë rïto wïja, ji-wameh_ta,**
irëme menjaarë ameraarë rï-to wïja, ji-wameh_ta
irëme menjaarë ameraarë rï-topo wïja, ji-wameke_taike
so now all make-Circ.Bzr 1:Agt 1-Ignor_Neg
So, now, the making of everything by me, it is not unknown to me,

132. **serë_maon_pona_rën menjaarë, tamutupë_me_sa jiwei_mahtao.**
serë_mao-n _pona_rën   menjaarë   tamutupë_me_sa   ji-w-ei_mahtao
serë_mao-no_pona_rënne   menjaarë   tamutupë_me_saa   ji-w-ei_mahtao
3InPx_Tmp-Nzr_Dir_Truly   now   old.man_Attr_a.bit   1-Sa-Cop:N_when
(and it remains so) to this very day, now, that I have become a little old.

133. **Irë apo_nai wankërë iwehtopo-npë_mao-no-npë irë,**
irë apo_n-ai   wankërë   i-w-eh-topo-npë_mao-no-npë   irë
irë apo_n-ai   wankërë   i-w-ei-topo-npë_mao-no-npë   irë
3InAna like_3Sa-Cop   baby?[15]   3-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr-Pst_Tmp-Nzr-Pst   3InAna
This is what it was like, after having been a baby,

134. **tëkëmike weine,**
t-ëkëmi-ke   w-ei-ne,
t-akëmi-ke   w-ei-ne,
T-younger.brother-Having   1Sa-Cop-Pst
I (also) had a younger brother,

135. **jakëmi wemaminëëne,**
j-akëmi-Ø   w-emaminëë -ne
j-akëmi-rï   w-emaminëpï-ne
1-younger.brother-Pos   1A-make.play-Pst.Prf
I made him play.

136. **tahken tï-mama-ke kïn-ei_marë j-akëmii-pisi,**
tahken   tï-mama-ke   kïn-ei_marë   j-akëmi-: -pisi
tahkene   tï-mama-ke   kïn-ei_marë   j-akëmi-rï-pisi
maybe   T-mother-Having   3Pst.Prf-Cop_Too   1-younger.brother-Pos-Dim
maybe my younger brother had a mother too,[16]

137. **nëërë ituuka-ne i-mama**
nëërë   ituuka-ne   i-mama-Ø
nërë_rë   ituuka-ne   i-mama-rï
3AnAna_Exact   3O:hit-Pst.Prf   3-mother
his mother beat him.

---

[15] The speaker had this word translated as 'baby, small child'. It looks like a combination of the particles **wa(a)** 'Negative' and **nkërë** 'still, yet' (cf. 9.1.4): it could be a case of lexicalization ('still-not-existing' > 'child').

[16] **Akëmi** refers not only to the younger son of a male ego's mother, but to any son of his classificatory mothers (basically, his mother's sisters).

138. **Irënpë_pëe wapëine mono_me_sa jiwei_ke,**
irë-npë_pëe w-apëi-ne mono_me_sa ji-w-ei_ke
irë-npë_pëe w-apëi-ne mono_me_saa ji-w-ei_ke
3InAna-Pst_Abl 1A-get-Pst.Prf big.one_Attr_a.bit 1-Sa-Cop:N_Inst
After that I got him, because I was a little bigger,

139. **irënpë_pëe w-arë-ne, i-pohkïi**
irë-npë_pëe w-arë-ne i-pohkïi
irë-npë_pëe w-arë-ne, i-pohkïi
3InAna-Pst_Abl 1A-take-Pst.Prf 3-Dir
and after that I took him to the woods, without her knowing.[17]

140. **Irënpë_pëe wemaminëëne,**
irë-npë_pëe w-emaminëë -ne
irë-npë_pëe w-emaminëpï-ne
3InAna-Pst_Abl 1A-make.play-Pst.Prf
Then I made him play,

141. **ii-re wonoone wekïi,**
i-:re w-onoo -ne wekïi
i-pïrëu w-onopï-ne wekïi
3-arrow 1A-carve-Pst.Prf small.arrow
I carved/smoothed an arrow for him.

142. **ii-raapaa_marë w-ewahtë-ne pijanpisi,**
i-:raapa -: _marë w-ewahtë-ne pija-n-pisi
i-wïraapa-rï_marë w-ewahtë-ne pija-n-pisi
3-bow-Pos_Too 1A-rope-Pst.Prf small-Nzr-Dim
I also roped his little bow,

143. **irë_ke w-ewanëkeh-ka-ne j-akëmi.**
irë_ke w-ewanëkeh -ka-ne j-akëmi-0
irë_ke w-ewanëkepï-ka-ne j-akëmi-rï
3InAna_Inst 1A-get.happy-Trvzr-Pst.Prf 1-younger.brother-Pos
with this I made my younger brother happy.

144. **Irë apo wïtoto_se jiwehto ipitëtoponpë wïja,**
irë apo wïtoto_se ji-w-eh-to i-pitë-topo-npë wïja
irë apo wïtoto_se ji-w-ei-topo i-pitë-topo-npë wïja
3InAna like person_Desid 1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr 3-begin-Circ.Nzr-Pst 1:Agt
Like that was the beginning of my liking people, (= that's how I started to like people)

---

[17] **I-pohkïi** means 'to the middle of it'; 'woods' is not expressed, but 'contextually' understood. It is not clear that 'without her knowing' is expressed or implied by something in the sentence; it may have been a comment-like insertion made by the translator.

145. **mure_me_nkërë wï ahtao.**
mure_me_nkërë wï ahtao
mure_me_nkërë wïï ahtao
child_Attr_Still 1 when
when I was still a child.

A2. Naaki iwehtoponpë *Naaki's story*. This story, told by Naaki, is the narrative of his childhood in Surinam and how he came to Missão Tiriós, in Brazil. Naaki was originally a K-Tiriyó speaker, but he has adopted several H-Tiriyó features from Missão Tiriós K-Tiriyó speakers; he often drops /h/'s (e.g. 013, 023, etc.).

001.

Serë_pona	**wëene,**	**serë**	**karaiwa**	**nono_pona.**
serë_pona	w-ëe -ne	serë	karaiwa	nono_pona
serë_pona	w-ëepï-ne	serë	karaiwa	nono_pona
3InPx_Dir	1Sa-come-Pst.Prf	3InPx	Brazilian	land_Dir

I came here, to this Brazilian land.

002.

Atï_pë,	**owa,**
atï_pë	owa
atï_pëkë	owa
wh.In_About	nothing

To do what? Nothing;

003.

sen_po	**jaupï**	**teese,**	**Enkiman.**
sen _po	j-aohpï	t-Ø-ee-se	Enkiman
senï_po	j-aohpï	t-w-ei-se	Enkimano
3InPx_Loc	1-father.in.law	Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst	Enkiman

my father-in-law was here, Enkiman.

004.

Suurinan_po	**jiwei_mahtao,**
Suurinan_po	ji-w-ei_mahtao
Suurinan_po	ji-w-ei_mahtao
Surinam_Loc	1-Sa-Cop:N_while

While I was in Surinam,

005.

ohkë	**ohkë**	**ohkë**	**ohkë**	**ohkë**
oh-kë	oh-kë	oh-kë	oh-kë	oh-kë
ëepï-kë	ëepï-kë	ëepï-kë	ëepï-kë	ëepï-kë
come-Imper	come-Imper	come-Imper	come-Imper	come-Imper

'come, come, come, come, come,'

006.

nkan,	**Enkiman**	**wïja.**
n-kan	Enkiman	wïja
n-ka	Enkimano	wïja
3Sa-say:Prs.Prf	Enkiman	1:Agt

said Enkiman to me.

007.

Irëme	**wëe**	**sen_pona**
irëme	w-ëe	sen _pona
irëme	w-ëepï	senï_pona
then	1Sa-come:Prs.Prf	3InPx_DIr

Then I came here

008.

Enkiman	**ijomi**	**imoitoo_me,**	**serë_pona.**
Enkiman	i-jomi-Ø	i-moi-too _me	serë_pona
Enkimano	i-omi -rï	i-moi-topo_me	serë_pona
Enkimano	3-words-Pos	3O-obey-Circ.Nzr_Attr	3InPx_Dir

to obey Enkiman's instructions.

009.

Këpëewa	**Enkiman,**	**nïtën_pa**	**tïwërëno_ro**	**tuna_hka_pa,**
këpëewa	Enkiman	nï-tën_pa	tïwërë-no_ro	tuna_hka _pa
këpëewa	Enkiman	nï-tën_pa	tïwërë-no_ro	tuna_hkaka_pa
but	Enkiman	3Sa-go:Prs.Prf_Rpt	other-Nzr_Exact	river_Aq.Il_Rpt

But Enkiman, he went away to some other river,

010.

taanë	**Okomokï_tae,**	**irëme**	**sen_po**	**jiwehtoo_me,**	**wïï_rëken.**
taanë	Okomokï_tae	irëme	sen _po	ji-w-eh-too _me	wïï_rëken
taanë	Okomokï_tae	irëme	senï_po	ji-w-ei-topo_me	wïï_rëkene
yonder	Okomokï_Perl	so	3InPx_Loc	1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr-Attr	1_Only

far away, along the Okomokï (river), then I stayed here, only me, alone.[1]

011.

Ma,	**jipata**	**wïrïpë_me**	**teese,**	**meekoro...**
ma	ji-pata-Ø	wïrïpë_me	t-ee-se,	meekoro
ma	ji-pata-rï	wïrïpë_me	t-ei-se,	meekoro
Attn	1-village-Pos	bad.one_Attr	Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst	Bushnegro

Well, my village had become bad (for living), the Bushnegroes...

012.

pata	**tïhkërënmae**	**meekoro_ja.**
pata	tï-hkërënma-e	meekoro_ja
pata	tï-hkërënma-se	meekoro_:ja
village	Rm.Pst-attack-Rm.Pst	Bushnegro_Agt

the Bushnegroes attacked (= afflicted) the village.

013.

Irëme	**irënpë_po_ro**	**jiweetoo_me**	**sen_po,**
irëme	irë-npë_po_ro	ji-w-ee-too _me	sen _po
irëme	irë-npë_po_rë	ji-w-ei-topo_me	senï_po
then	3InAna-Pst_Loc_Exact	1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr_Attr	3InPx_Loc

Then for me to stay in that place, here,

---

[1] One would have expected **irë_po** 'there' instead of **sen_po** 'here'. The same is true for (012).

014.

inë...	**të-ewa_pa**	**ji-w-eh-too_me**	**Suurinan_pona_pa**
inë	të-ewa _pa	ji-w-eh-too _me	Suurinan_pona_pa
inë	të-sewa_pa	ji-w-ei-topo_me	Suurinan_pona_pa
false.start	go-Neg_Rpt	1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr_Attr	Surinam_Dir_Rpt

for me not to go back to Surinam

015.

Meekoro...	**Meekoro**	**tïwëese,**
meekoro	meekoro	tï-w-ëe -se
meekoro	meekoro	tï-w-ëepï_se
Bushnegro	Bushnegro	A Rm.Pst-Sa-come-Rm.Pst Rm.Pst-arrive-Rm.Pst

the Bushnegroes... the Bushnegroes came,

016.

tï-tunta-e	**meekoro**	**irë_mao,**
tï-tunta-e	meekoro	irë_mao
tï-tunta-se	meekoro	irë_mao
Rm.Pst-arrive-Rm.Pst	Bushnegro	3AnAna_Tmp

the Bushnegroes arrived at that time,

017.

Suratiton	**teese**	**irë_po**	**tarëno,**	**jimoitï.**
Surati-ton	t-0-ee-se	irë_po	tarëno	ji-moitï-0
Surati-tomo	t-w-ei-se	irë_po	tarëno	ji-moitï-rï
Surati-Col	Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst	3InAna_Loc	Tiriyó	1-relative-Pos

Surati's people were there, Tiriyós, my relatives.[2]

018.

Irëme	**nëërë**	**tëpëëse**	**Suratitomo_ja,**
irëme	nëërë	t-ëpëë-se	Surati-tomo_ja
irëme	nërë_rë	t-apëi-se	Surati-tomo_:ja
then	3AnAna_Exact	Rm.Pst-catch-Rm.Pst	Surati-Col_Agt

Then Surati's people caught them,

019.

tïpi_tïpijoose	**nëërë,**
E.RD-tï-pijoo-se	nëërë
E.RD-tï-pijokï-se	nërë_rë
Iter-Rm.Pst-hit-Rm.Pst	3AnAna_Exact

and hit them several times,

020.

në...	**irëme**	**tïwëësapëkëmae_marë**	**irë_po**
në	irëme	tï-w-ëësapëkëma -e _marë	irë_po
në	irëme	tï-w-ët-japëkënma-se_marë	irë_po
false.start	so	Rm.Pst-Sa-Detr-cause.need-Rm.Pst_too	3InAna_Loc

and... so they were also very poor there,

---

[2] It is not clear whether Surati is an individual's name, or an ethnic group.

021.

tëewa_pa	**jiwehtoo_me**	**irë_pona_pa.**
të-ewa_pa	ji-w-eh-too _me	irë_pona_pa
të-sewa_pa	ji-w-ei-topo_me	irë_pona_pa
go-Neg_Rpt	1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr_Attr	3InAna_Dir_Rpt

so that I didn't go back there.[3]

022.

Irë	**apo**	**wëene**	**sen_pona.**
irë	apo	w-ëe -ne	sen _pona
irë	apo	w-ëepï-ne	senï_pona
3InAna	like	1Sa-come-Pst.Prf	3InPx_Dir

So I came here.

023.

Ma,	**jenuutoponpë_nai,**
ma	j-enuu -topo-npë_n-ai
ma	j-enuru-topo-npë_n-ai
Attn	1-be.born-Circ.Nzr-Pst_3Sa-Cop

Well, my birth place is, [4]

024.

jenuhtoponpë	**eeku_rën_nai,**	**Kakaimë**	**eeku.**
j-enuh-topo-npë	eeku-Ø _rën _n-ai	Kakaimë	eeku
j-enuh-topo-npë	eeku-rï_rënne_n-ai	Kakaimë	eeku
1-be.born-Circ.Nzr-Pst	stream-Pos_Truly_3Sa-Cop	Kakaimë	stream

the river of my real birth place is the Kakaimë river.

025.

Këpëewa,	**tuna_rëken**	**irë_rëken**	**tuna,**	**Paruma_rë.**
këpëewa	tuna_rëken	irë_rëken	tuna,	Paruma_rë
këpëewa	tuna_rëkene	irë_rëkene	tuna,	Paruma_rë
but	river_Only	3InAna_Only	river	Paruma_rë

But it is just a river, just that, it is the Paruma (= Paloemeu, in Surinam).[5]

026.

Suurinan_rëken,	**tuna_rëken.**
Suurinan_rëken	tuna_rëken
Suurinan_rëkene	tuna_rëkene.
Surinam_Only	river_only.

It is just a river (in) Surinam.

027.

Irë_po	**jenuune,**
irë_po	j-enuu -ne
irë_po	j-enuru-ne
3InAna_Loc	1Sa-be.born-Pst.Prf

There I was born,

---

[3] Here, **-too_me** does not seem to express purpose; cf. also (013-014).

[4] The speaker is now starting a new episode; he is going further back in time, to his childhood.

[5] The speaker seems to be saying that the Kakaimë either is the same as, or a tributary of, the Paloemeu.

028. **Kakaimë eeku_nai jenuhtoponpë,**
Kakaimë eeku_n-ai j-enuh -topo-npë
Kakaimë eeku_n-ai j-enuru-topo-npë
Kakaimë stream_3Sa-Cop 1-be.born-Circ.Nzr-Pst
the Kakaimë river is my birth place.

029. **Kakaimë eeku_nai, jenuutoponpë_rën.**
Kakaimë eeku_n-ai j-enuu -topo-npë_rën
Kakaimë eeku_n-ai j-enuru-topo-npë_rënne
Kakaimë stream_3Sa-Cop 1-be.born-Circ.Nzr-Pst_Truly
the Kakaimë river is my real birth place.

030. **Mure_me jiwehtoponpë_rën.**
mure_me ji-w-eh-topo-npë_rën
mure_me ji-w-ei-topo-npë_rënne
child_Attr 1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr-Pst_Truly
It is the place where I was a child.

031. **Ma, pahko_ja t-ërë-e_wï,**
ma pahko_ja t-ërë-e_wï
ma pahko_:ja t-arë-se_wïï
Attn 1:father_Agt Rm.Pst-take-Rm.Pst_1
My father took me (somewhere else),

032. **tïwërën_po_pa pahko teepatantëe, Kutarentu_po.**
tïwërë-n_po_pa pahko t-:-epatantë -e Kutarentu_po
tïwërë-no_po_pa pahko t-w-ët-pata-ntë-se Kutarentu_po
other-Nzr_Loc_Rpt 1:father Rm.Pst-Sa-Detr-place-Ben-Rm.Pst Kutuarentu_Loc
my father settled down (lit. gave himself a place again) somewhere else, at Kutarentu.

033. **Irë_po teese_wï mure_me,**
irë_po t-Ø-ee-se_wï mure_me
irë_po t-w-ei-se_wïï mure_me
3InAna_Loc Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst_1 child_Attr
There I was as (=when I was) a child,

034. **irë_mao pahko waa_n-ei.**
irë_mao pahko waa_n-ei-Ø
irë_mao pahko waa_n-ei-Ø
3InAna_Tmp 1:father Neg_3Sa-Cop-Prs.Prf
There my father died.

035.	**Pahko**	**eka_nai,**	**pahko**	**eka_nai,**	**Juru.**
	pahko	eka-0_ n-ai	pahko	eka-0_ n-ai	Juru
	pahko	eka-rï_n-ai	pahko	eka-rï_n-ai	Juru
	1:father	name-Pos_3Sa-Cop	1:father	name-Pos_3sa-Cop	Juru

My father's name is, my father's name is, Yuru.

036.	**Ma,**	**irë_mao**	**mure_me**	**teese_wï,**
	ma	irë_mao	mure_me	t-0-ee-se_wï
	ma	irë_mao	mure_me	t-w-ei-se_wïï
	Attn	3InAna_Tmp	child_Attr	Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst_1

I was a child then,

037.	**irë_mao**	**tïwërëno_ro_ja**	**tarimikae_wï,**	**pihko_ja.**
	irë_mao	tïwërë-no_ro_ja	t-arimika-e_wï	pihko_ja
	irë_mao	tïwërë-no_rë_:ja	t-arimika-se_wïï	pihko_:ja
	3InAna_Tmp	other-Nzr_Exact_Agt	Rm.Pst-raise-Rm.Pst_1	1:oldr.brthr_Agt

someone else raised me, my older brother.

038.	**Pihko**	**eka_nai,**	**Kawate,**	**jarimikanenpë.**
	pihko	eka-0 _n-ai	Kawate	j-arimika-ne-npë
	pihko	eka-rï_n-ai	Kawate	j-arimika-ne-npë
	1:oldr.brthr	name-Pos_3Sa-Cop	Kawate	1-raise-A.act.Nzr-Pst

My older brother's name is Kawate, (he was) the one who raised me.

039.	**Jarimika**	**irë_po,**	**ma**	**naka.**
	j-arimika-0	irë_po	ma	naka
	j-arimika-0	irë_po	ma	naka
	1O-raise-Prs.Prf	3InPx_Loc	Attn	over

He raised me there, (then) it was over.[6]

040.	**Irënpë_pëe**	**j-arë,**	**Paruma**	**aarena.**
	irë-npë_pëe	j-arë-0	Paruma	aarena
	irë-npë_pëe	j-arë-0	Paruma	aarena
	3InAna-Pst_Abl	1O-take-Prs.Prf	Paloemeu	downstream

Then he took me down the Paruma (= Paloemeu) river.

041.	**Irë_po**	**jipatantë,**	**mure_me_nkërë_wï,**
	irë_po	ji-patantë -0	mure_me_nkërë_wï
	irë_po	ji-pata-ntë-0	mure_me_nkërë_wïï
	3InAna_Loc	1-place-Ben-Prs.Prf	child_Attr_still_1

There he settled me (= gave me a place, a village), I was still a child,

---

[6] I.e. he raised me there for a while, and then it was over.

042.

ma	**irë_po**	**j-arë,**
ma	irë_po	j-arë-Ø
ma	irë_po	j-arë-Ø
Attn	3InAna_Loc	1O-take-Prs.Prf

he took me (there),

043.

tïwërë-no_ro_pa	**tï-rë-e**	**ii-ja**	**pata.**
tïwërë-no_ro_pa	tï-rë-e	ii-ja	pata
tïwërë-no_rë_pa	tï-rï-se	i-:ja	pata
other-Nzr_Exact_Rpt	Rm.Pst-make-Rm.Pst	3-Agt	village

then he made another village (= inhabitable place).

044.

Irë_po	**mure_me_wï,**
irë_po	mure_me_wï
irë_po	mure_me_wïï
3InAna_Loc	child_Attr_1

There I was as a child,

045.

ma	**tïwërë-no_ro_pona**	**j-arë,**
ma	tïwërë-no_ro_pona	j-arë-Ø
ma	tïwërë-no_rë_pona	j-arë-Ø
Attn	other-Nzr_Exact_Dir	1O-take-Prs.Prf

then he took me somewhere else,

046.

irë_mao	**kïrïmuku_me**	**w-ei,**	**mono_me,**	**naka,**	**kïrïmuku_me.**
irë_mao	kïrïmuku_me	w-ei-Ø	mono_me	naka	kïrïmuku_me
irë_mao	kïrïmuku_me	w-ei-Ø	mono_me	naka	kïrïmuku_me
3InAna_Tmp	youth_Attr	1Sa-Cop-Prs.Prf	big.one_Attr	over	youth_Attr

then I was (became) a young man, big, that was it, a young man.

047.

Irë_mao	**jarë**	**tïwërëno_ro_pona_pa.**
irë_mao	j-arë-Ø	tïwërë-no_ro_pona_pa
irë_mao	j-arë-Ø	tïwërë-no_rë_pona_pa
3InAna_Tmp	1O-take-Prs.Prf	other-Nzr_Exact_Dir_Rpt

Then he took me somewhere else again.

048.

Iijeeta	**pata**	**akëtë**	**piiko,**
iijeeta	pata	akëtë-Ø	pihko
iijeeta	pata	akëtë-Ø	pihko
many	village	clear-Prs.Prf	1:oldr.brthr

My older brother cleared (virgin area for) many villages,

049. **nakëtë, nakëtë, nakëtë, nakëtë,**
n-akëtë-0 n-akëtë-0 n-akëtë-0 n-akëtë-0
n-akëtë-0 n-akëtë-0 n-akëtë-0 n-akëtë-0
3AO-clear-Prs.Prf 3AO-clear-Prs.Prf 3AO-clear-Prs.Prf 3AO-clear-Prs.Prf
he cleared and cleared and cleared and cleared,

050. **iiijeeta, pata.**
iijeeta pata
iijeeta pata
many village
'many (areas for) villages.'

051. **Irë_po kïrïmuku_me w-ei,**
irë_po kïrïmuku_me w-ei-0
irë_po kïrïmuku_me w-ei-0
3InAna_Loc youth_Attr 1Sa-Cop-Prs.Prf
There I became a young man,

052. **irë_po ji-pïhta-ne.**
irë_po ji-pïhta -ne
irë_po ji-pïtï-ta-ne
3InAna_Loc 1So-wife-Inch-Pst.Prf
there I got a wife.

053. **Karaiwa noonoo_pon_ke ji-pïhta-ne.**
karaiwa 0-nono-: _po-n _ke ji-pïhta-ne
karaiwa i-nono-rï_po-no_ke ji-pïtï-ta-ne
Brazilian 3-land-Pos_Loc-Nzr_Inst 1-wife-Inch-Pst.Prf
I got a wife from (=who lives in) the land of the Brazilians.

054. **Karaiwa nono_pëe tïïtëe wëri,**
karaiwa nono-0 _pëe tï-:-të-e wëri
karaiwa nono-rï_pëe tï-w-të-se wëri
Brazilian land-Pos_Abl Rm.Pst-Sa-go-Rm.Pst woman
A woman went from the land of the Brazilians,

055 **wëri, wërimuku_me tïï-të-e.**
wëri wërimuku_me tï-:-të-e
wëri wërimuku_me tï-w-të-se
woman young.woman_Attr Rm.Pst-Sa-go-Rm.Pst
a woman went, as (= when she was) a young woman.

056	**Ma**	**sehken_marë_wï**	**kïrïmuku_me.**
	ma	sehken_marë_wï	kïrïmuku_me
	ma	sehkene_marë_wïï	kïrïmuku_me
	Attn	likewise_too_1	young.man_Attr

I was also a young man.

057	**Irë_po,**	**tëewaamane,**
	irë_po	t-ëewaama -ne
	irë_po	t-ët-ewaama-ne
	3InAna_Loc	1Sa-Detr-make.desire-Pst.Prf

There I felt attracted (to her),

058	**irë_mao**	**wepekaane**	**eetï_ja,**	**Enkiman_ja**
	irë_mao	w-epekaa -ne	Ø-eetï-Ø_ja	Enkiman_ja
	irë_mao	w-epekatï-ne	Ø-eetï-Ø_:ja	Enkiamn_:ja
	3InAna_Tmp	1A-ask-Prs.Prf	3-uncle-Pos_Dat	Enkiman_Dat

Then I asked (= proposed trade to) her maternal uncle, Enkiman.

059	**"Mëe_se_wae**	**ji-pï_me,"**	**wïkane.**
	mëe_se_w-a-e	ji-pï_me	wï-ka-ne
	mëe_se_w-a-e	ji-pïtï_me	wï-ka-ne
	3AnPx_Desid_1Sa-Cop-Cty	1-wife_Attr	1Sa-say-Pst.Prf

'I want this one as my wife,' I said.

060.	**Irë_mao**	**n-ekarama**	**wïja.**
	irë_mao	n-ekarama-Ø	wïja
	irë_mao	n-ekarama-Ø	wïja
	3InPx_Tmp	3AO-give-Prs.Prf	1:Dat

Then he gave her to me.

061.	**Ma**	**irënpë_pëe-no-npë,**	**irë_po**	**w-ei**	**akëre_sa**
	ma	irë-npë_pëe-no-npë	irë_po	w-ei-Ø	akëre_sa
	ma	irë-npë_pëe-no-npë	irë_po	w-ei-Ø	akëre_saa
	Attn	3InAna-Pst_Abl-Nzr-Pst	3InAna_Loc	1Sa-Cop-Prs.Prf	a.while_Dim

Well, after all that, I stayed there for some time,

062.	**ma**	**naka,**	**turu,**	**waa_n-ei**	**pihko,**
	ma	naka	turu	waa_n-ei-Ø	pihko
	ma	naka	turu	waa_n-ei-Ø	pihko
	Attn	over	death.Ideo	Neg_3Sa-Cop-Prs.Prf	1:oldr.brthr

then, that was it, *turu*, my older brother died,

063. **jarimikanenpë, turu, naka.**
j-arimika-ne-npë turu naka
j-arimika-ne-npë turu naka
1-raise-A.act.Nzr-Pst Death.Ideo over
the one who had raised me, *turu*, he was gone.

064. **Ma irënpë_pëe, wëe, irënehka, karaiwa noonoo_pona.**
ma irë-npë_pëe w-ëe -Ø irënehka karaiwa Ø-nono-: _pona
ma irë-npë_pëe w-ëepï-Ø irënehka karaiwa i-nono-rï_pona
Attn 3InAna-Pst_Abl 1Sa-come-Prs.Prf finally Brazilian 3-land-Pos_Dir
After that, I came, finally, to the land of the Brazilians.

065. **Pihko waa_teese,**
pihko waa_t-Ø-ee-se
pihko waa_t-w-ei-se
1:oldr.brthr Neg_Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst
My older brother had died,

066. **ameraarë wa_ken teese.**
ameraarë wa_kene t-Ø-ee-se
ameraarë wa_kene t-w-ei-se
everybody Neg_Cont Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop_
everybody (= all my folks) were gone.

067. **Pahko waa_teese, manko waa_teese,**
pahko waa_t-Ø-ee-se manko waa_t-Ø-ee-se
pahko waa_t-w-ei-se manko waa_t-w-ei-se
1:father Neg_Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst 1:mother Neg_Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst
My father had died, my mother had died,

068. **ameraarë tï-w-ëtïhka-e.**
ameraarë tï-w-ëtïhka-e
ameraarë tï-w-ëtïhka-se
everybody Rm.Pst-Sa-be.over-Rm.Pst
they were all gone, there was nobody left.

069. **Irëme w-ëe-ne karaiwa noonoo_pona.**
irëme w-ëe-ne karaiwa Ø-nono-: _pona
irëme w-ëepï-ne karaiwa i-nono-rï_pona
So 1Sa-come-Pst.Prf Brazilian 3-land-Pos_Dir
So I came to the land of the Brazilians.

070. **Irë_po wei karaiwa noonoo_po.**
irë_po w-ei-0 karaiwa 0-nono-: _po
irë_po w-ei-0 karaiwa i-nono-rï_po
3InAna_Loc 1Sa-Cop-Prs.Prf Brazilian 3-land-Pos_Loc
I was there, in the land of the Brazilians.

071. **Tïwërëno_ro_tae Okomokï_tae.**
tïwërë-no_ro_tae Okomokï_tae
tïwërë-no_rë_tae Okomokï_tae
other-Nzr_Exact_Perl Okomokï_Perl
Along another (river), along the Okomokï.

072. **Irë_po wei, naka, ma wï-tën_pa Suurinan_pona_pa.**
irë_po w-ei-0 naka ma wï-tën-0_pa Suurinan_pona_pa
irë_po w-ei-0 naka ma wï-tëmï-0_pa Suurinan_pona_pa
There I was; then that was it; then I went back to Surinam.

073 **Irë_po wei, irë_mao manko waa_nei,**
irë_po w-ei-0 irë_mao manko waa_n-ei-0
irë_po w-ei-0 irë_mao manko waa_n-ei-0
3InAna_Loc 1Sa-Cop-Prs.Prf 3InAna_Tmp 1:mother Neg_3Sa-Cop-Prs.Prf
I was there, then my mother died,

074 **i-wei-hpë, waa_n-ei_nkërë_pa.**
i-wei-hpë waa_n-ei-0_nkërë_pa
i-wei-hpë waa_n-ei-0_nkërë_pa
3-oldr.sist Neg_3Sa-Cop-Prs.Prf_Still_rpt
her older sister, she died, too.

075 **Naka, ma naka,**
naka ma naka
naka ma naka
over Attn over
It's over, now it's over.

076 **wïï_rëken w-ei mure-npë_me w-ei**
wïï_rëken w-ei-0 mure-npë_me w-ei-0
wïï_rëkene w-ei-0 mure-npë_me w-ei-0
1_Only 1Sa-Cop-Prs.Prf child-Pst_Attr 1Sa-Cop-Prs.Prf
I was only a child, I was a child. (= That was the story of my childhood).

A3. Katamïïmë siminatë *the Katamïïmë liana.* The original version of this text was written by Kamanja Panashekung (a native speaker of both Tiriyó and Waiwai), in order to document traditional medicinal knowledge (in this case, concerning the uses of the *katamïïmë* liana [*Groton pullei*, Euphorbiaceae]). The author was asked to explain the text (after having reread it); his explanations were recorded on Nov. 20, 1998, at Kwamarasamutu, and later transcribed with his own help.

001. **Serë_nai putupë epi.**
serë_n-ai putupë epi -0
serë_n-ai putupë epitï-0
3InPx_3Sa-Cop head medicine-Pos
This is head(ache) medicine

002. **Ëputupërï_ja aakuikarï_htao, katamïïmë ahkëhkë,**
ë-putupë-rï_ja a-akuika-rï_htao katamïimë ahkëh -kë
ë-putupë-rï_:ja ë-akuika-rï_htao katamïimë ahkëtë-kë
2-head-Pos_Agt 2-hurt-Pos_Loc katamïimë cut-Imper
If your head hurts you, cut the *katamïïmë*,

003. **irënpë_pëe_mo eeku_ke epï,**
irë-npë_pëe_mo eeku-0 _ke epï -0
irë-npë_pëe_mo eeku-rï_ke e-pï-kë
3InAna-Pst_Abl_Irr sap-Pos_Inst Detr-bathe-Imper
then bathe with its sap, (= i.e. prepare a bath with its sap and bathe in it)

004. **sokïï_me_marë_mo tïrï ë-w-epï-too_me.**
sokïi_me_marë_mo tï-rï-0 ë-w-epï -too _me
sokïi_me_marë_mo tï-rï-kë ë-w-e-pï-topo_me
hot.water_Attr_too_Irr t-make-Imper 2-Sa-Detr-bathe-Circ.Nzr_Attr
make (the sap) into a hot mixture (i.e. mix it with hot water) for you to bathe.

005. **Sehken_nai, mure këi_ke ahtao,**
sehken_n-ai mure këi_ke ahtao
sehkene_n-ai mure këi_ke ahtao
likewise_3Sa-Cop child fever_Inst when
Likewise, when a child has fever,

006. **katamïïmë eeku_ke_mo tï-pï, këi_ke ë-nmuku ahtao.**
katamïimë eeku-0 _ke_mo tï-pï-0 këi_ke ë-nmuku-0 ahtao
katamïimë eeku-rï_ke_mo tï-pï-kë këi_ke ë-nmuku-rï ahtao
katamïimë sap-Pos_Inst_Irr t-bathe-Imper fever_Inst 2-son-Pos if
if your son has fever, bathe him in *katamïïmë* sap.

007.	**Sehken_nai**	**ëikëëkë**	**epi_me,**
	sehken_n-ai	ëikëëkë	epi -Ø_me
	sehkene_n-ai	ëikëëkë	epitï-Ø_me
	likewise_3Sa-Cop	wound	medicine_Attr

Likewise, it is medicine for wounds,

008.	**ëikëëkë_tao**	**ëmë**	**ahtao,**	**irë_mao_mo**	**katamïimë**	**ahkëhkë,**
	ëikëëkë_tao	ëmë	ahtao	irë_mao_mo	katamïimë	ahkëh-kë
	ëikëëkë_tao	ëmë	ahtao	irë_mao_mo	katamïimë	ahkëh-kë
	wound_In	2	if	3InAna_Tmp_Irr	katamïimë	cut-Imper

if you are wounded (= in wounds), then cut the *katamïimë,*

009.	**irënpë_mo**	**sokïi_me**	**tïrï,**
	irë-npë_mo	sokïi_me	tï-rï-Ø
	irë-npë_mo	sokïi_me	tï-rï-kë
	3InAna-Pst_Irr	hot.water_Attr	t-make-Imper

and make it (the sap) into a hot mixture (i.e. mix it with hot water),

010.	**ëjëikëëkë**	**ijahkatoo_me.**
	ë-jëikëëkë-Ø	i-jahka -too _me
	ë-ëikëëkë -Ø	i-jatu-ka-topo_me
	2-wound-Pos	3-burn-Caus-Circ.Nzr_Attr

in order to burn your wounds.

011.	**Sehken_nai**	**pënjeke**	**wëtuuwë**	**ëë-ja,**
	sehken_ n-ai	ponjeke	wë-tuuwë	ë-:ja
	sehkene_n-ai	ponjeke	wë-tuuwë	ë-:ja
	likewise_3Sa-Cop	peccary	kill-Post	2-Agt

Likewise it is, after you kill a white-lipped peccary,

012.	**tahken**	**ënmuku**	**ëëseenë**	**neejan,**
	tahken	ë-nmuku-Ø	ëëseenë	n-ee-ja-n
	tahkene	ë-nmuku-rï	ëëseenë	n-ei-ja-në
	maybe	2-son-Pos	ill	3Sa-Cop-Prs.Prf-Dbt

maybe your son becomes ill (= from eating peccary meat),

013.	**irë_mao_mo**	**katamïimë**	**isowakata**
	irë_mao_mo	katamïimë	i-sowaka-ta
	irë_mao_mo	katamïimë	i-sowaka-ta
	3InAna_Tmp_Irr	katamïimë	3O-cut.piece-Go.Imper

then go cut a piece of *katamïimë,*

014. **eekuhpë_marë_mo ënmuku tïpï.**
eeku-hpë_marë_mo ë-nmuku-Ø tï-pï-Ø
eeku-hpë_marë_mo ë-nmuku-rï tï-pï-kë
3:sap-Pst:Pos_also_Irr 2-son-Pos t-bathe-Imper
and also with (what was) its sap, bathe your son.[1]

015. **Ijoika_marë_mo,**
i- joika-Ø_marë_mo
i- joika-kë_marë_mo
3O-scratch-Imper_also_Irr
Scrape it, too,

016. **irënpë_mo ipuru mahto_htao,**
irë-npë_mo i-puru-Ø mahto_htao
irë-npë_mo i-puru-kë mahto_htao
3InAna-Pst_Irr 3O-roast-Imper fire_Loc
and roast the scrapings in the fire,

017. **irë_ke_mo ëjëikëëkë epinëhkë.**
irë_ke_mo ë-jëikëëkë-Ø epinëh -kë
irë_ke_mo ë-ëikëëkë -Ø epinëpï-kë
3InAna_Inst_Irr 2-wound-Pos 3O:medicate-Imper
then medicate your wound with it (=i.e. apply it to your wound).

---

[1] I.e. use both a piece of the *katamïïmë* liana and its sap to prepare your son's bath.

APENDIX B. Preliminary Tiriyó-English Dictionary.

> "Dictionaries are like watches: the worst is better than none, and the best cannot be expected to go quite true."
>
> SAMUEL JOHNSON

This preliminary dictionary contains all stems attested in the available corpus, except for the doubtful cases (e.g. apparent mistranscriptions, unanalyzed words, etc.). Every entry contains the stem, in boldface (reducing syllables are in parentheses; irregularity markers, like **[t]** = **t**-adding (5.1.3), **(j)** = **j**-adding (4.3.1.4.2), and **[mï]** = irregular **mï** stems (5.1.4), are not considered in the alphabetic ordering: **(j)akëreu** is under **A**, etc.), followed by grammatical information (word class, class-changing possibilities, irregularities) in parentheses, using the same abbreviations as the grammar sections. The main body of the entry explains the meaning(s) of the stem, with examples. If the stem is discussed in the grammar, the section number is given in parentheses. If the various meanings are related but clearly distinguishable, each is preceded by a number in boldface (**1**, **2**, etc) in the body of the entry. Additional comments, possible etymologies and relations to other stems are given at the end, in square brackets.

Animal species (mammals and birds) were identified in the field with the help of field guides (Emmons & Feer 1990, Eisenberg 1989) by Clinton Epps, and also by Spike Gildea; the identifications given in this dictionary come from their field notes. At Kwamalasamutu, Kamanja Panashekung, who worked with Dr. Mark Plotkin on the identification of medicinal plants, provided a list of scientific names (from Dr. Plotkin's results) which was also incorporated into this dictionary. All these identifications are thus preliminary. Additional notes were added when deemed necessary (e.g. ‘possibly’ or ‘perhaps’ to identifications that seemed less plausible).

A

a- (pfx). ⇒ *ë-*, second-person marker.

aaji (N). Kind of necklace, made with seeds. *Ji-nmuku w-aarama-e aaji_ke*, I am adorning my son with a/his necklace.

aajo (Vt). Clear (an area, prior to making a house or a village); cut (the trees, e.g. when preparing one's field). *T-aajo-e ii-ja tïpata*, he cleared his village (= the area where we were going to build a house).

aaka (Vt). Pour O. *Tuna w-aaka-e kariwa_ta*, I am pouring water into the gourd.

aakëu (N). A species of capuchin monkey (*Cebus olivaceus*, also *nigrivittatus*).

aame(ke) (Pp; nzr. *aameka-to*). Angry at, hating (odiative; 7.3.3). *Ë-pun aameka-to_wï*, I am angry at, I hate your flesh. Back grade form *aame(ke)*, wild, angry: *aame_wï*, I am wild, angry. [Reciprocal form probably exists, but is unattested]

aamiirë (Vt). Make O red, paint O red. *Waamiirëe*, I am making, painting it red. [⇒ *taamiire*, red; 12.2]

aanai (N). Corn. *Irë_mao aanai-ton tï-rë-e ii-ja*, then he put (somewhere) all the corn stalks.

aanao (A). During the day. *Koko_rëken n-etapan-ja-n mëe, aanao enee-ra*, it (= a kind of grasshopper) only chirps during the night; during the day it is invisible. [The final *-o* may be an old locative element (12.2)]

aano (Intrg). Which, which one (8.1). *Ma, aano wi-ponoo-ja-e wapo? Sen_po ji-w-eh-to? Ji-w-eh-topo-npë?* Which (story) do I tell first? The story of my life here? The story of my past?

aano(tï) (N). Shade.

aarama (Vt). Adorn, embellish (with jewels, ornaments, paint, etc.). *Ji-nmuku m-aarama, m-ewe_marë*, you have embellished (adorned) and fed my son. [⇒ Detr. *ëtaarama*, embellish adorn oneself]

aarena (A?, P?). Downstream. *Irënpë_ pëe jarë, Paruma aarena*, after that he took me down the Paruma river.

aarerenna (A). Weak, without strength to continue. *Apëren kureken_pa tïï-të-e, aarerenna i-w-ei_ke*, his owner (a dog's) went slowly, because he was very weak.

aaro (N). Foam; froth.

aawarika (N). Valley.

aawïrï (Vt; *-se* form *aawïrë-e*; takes *-ja*). Kill. *Ji-n-aawïrï-hpë*, that which I killed. [A variant of the idiom 'to make nothing', *wa(a) [t]rï* (⇒ *wa(a)*; 5.1.6), used for 'to kill'; the 1st-person form *waa_wïrï* 'I killed O' is analyzable as *waa_wï-rï* or *w-aawïrï* (cf. the second-person forms *waa_mï-rï* and *m-aawïrï*, you killed O)]

ae (Intj). What? Hey? Yes? Used as an answer to a direct call. *"Pedro!" "Ae?"*

ae (Pp). Along, by (perlative; 7.3.1.1.3). *Tuna ae wï-të-e*, I am going along the river (and inside of it) [syn. *_tae*, by N, *etae*, by the bank of N; the final *-e* may be an old perlative element (12.2)]

aeke(pï) (Vo). Become dull, blunt. *Maja aeketï-npë t-aekee-se*, the sharp knife became dull. [An element *ae*; ⇒ *aesa(ka)*, sharp, and the cessative *-ke(pï)*]

aeke(tï) (N). Irregular nominalized form; ⇒ *aesa(ka)*, sharp.

aeneme (A). Alive. *Sen_nai ikuruma aeneme ëwehtopo_ja*, this is dangerous to your life (=to your being alive). [Possibly a *_me* phrase; a nominal source *aene*, though unattested, is plausible]

aenenpa (Ptc). Show me, let me see. *Aenenpa, ënnapi itïïkato ene_se_wae*, show me, I want to see how you finish up your food.

aerë (A; nzr. *-(no)*). True; indeed. *Aerë, serë apo wïka-wïka_re ëëja*, indeed, I told you that many times, but in vain. *Aerë* is often used by itself to express surprise, like Eng. 'really?'; the nominalization *aerën_ me* is more frequent in the sense of 'truly', 'without any doubt'. [Probably related to the perlative postposition *ae*. *Ae_rë* 'exactly along O' > 'true, genuine']

aeru (N). Noise. *Aeru_hpije_n-ai*, it is noisy (lit. full of noise).

aeruta (Vo). Make noise; also fart. *N-aeruta-n*, it is making noise; s/he is farting.

aesa(ka) (A; nzr. *aesaa-(no), aeke(tï)*). Sharp. *Aesaa_n-ai ji-maja*, my knife is sharp. *Maja aeke, aesaano*, a sharp knife. (6.1.1.1).

aera (A; nzr. *aepï(nï)*). Dull; blunt. *Maja aera t-ee-se*, the knife became dull. [⇒ *aesa(ka)*, sharp]

aha (Intj). Yes. Used to agree with what has been said. [Not a very stable word; it can vary from *aha*, *haha* to a voiceless nasal]

ahkarapa (N). Lower back, spine. *Taru ahkarapa taamiirëe iija inka_pona_rën*, he painted Taru's spine up to his back.

ahke(ne) (Ptc). As though, as if it were. *Tomoike_nai kïto, kaikui ahken*, the *kïto* toad has claws, as if it were a jaguar (7.3.4.3, 9.1.4).

ahkë(të) (Vt). Cut O. *Irëme t-ëhkëë-se ii-ja wewe*, then he cut the wood. *Kana ahkëëse tïïtëe*, he went fish-cutting (a kind of night-time fishing, practiced when the fish come close to the river banks and people with flashlights can kill them with a quick swing of their machetes.) [⇒ Detr. *ëtahkë(të)*, cut oneself, each other. *Ahkë(të)* looks like an old reduplicated form of *akë(të)*]

ahpota (V$_O$). Burp. *J-ahpota-e*, I am burping. [Probably derived with *-ta*; nominal source unattested.]

ahta (V$_O$). Bud, germinate. *N-ahta-n*, it is budding, growing leaves (usually only 3rd). [Probably from *arï*, leaf, with *-ta*.]

ahtaarë (Intrg). How many; how much (8.2.1). *Ma, ahtaarë pai?* How many tapirs? *Ahtaarë nai ëerepa?* How many kinds of foods do you eat? (lit. How many are your foods?)

ahtao (Ptc). When, while, during; if. *Mure_me wï ahtao*, when I was a child (9.1.2, 11.7.1.1.1). [Etymologically, a nominalized *a*-form of the copula with a locative postposition like *_tao*, *_htao*]

aima(ka) (A; nzr. *aine(tï)*). Hot (like pepper). *Pëmëi aima*, the pepper is hot. *Ainetï-npë*, that (pepper) which was hot. [An abstract noun *ain*, 'hotness', probably exists but is unattested; cf. *a(ka)* adverbs in 6.1.1.1]

ainna (A; nzr. *ainmï(nï)*). Not hot; mild. *Sautu ainna*, salt is not hot. [⇒ *aima(ka)*, hot]

aimara (N). Kind of fish, Port. *trairão*, *traíra-açu*. (apparently, *Hoplias malabaricus*, Characidae).

ainka (Vt). Run off with O; steal O and run. *Kutei w-ainka-e*, I am running off with the bottle. [⇒ Detr. *etainka*, run]

(j)aipï (N). Speed. *Ë-j-aipï* your speed, your rapidity. *Mëe_n-ai tï-j-aipï-ke*, that one is fast, has speed. Usually occurs as *aipï_me* 'fast'; idiomatically, *aipï_me* also means 'loud', 'impolite'. *Aipï_me_ta eh-kë!* Don't be impolite! Don't speak aggressively!

aitë (Vt). Push O. *Pahko_rë j-aitë*, it was my father who pushed me (down).

aja (Intrg). Whither (8.2.2). *Aja mï-të-n?* where are you going? Also a 'less definite' where: *aja ji-nmuku?* where could my son be? (Sometimes used as a discourse marker: *aja, kure_manan?* So, are you OK?).

aka (Vt). Disentangle, unravel, unbraid, 'unweave' O. *W-aka-e*, I am unraveling, disentangling it.

aka (Pp). Into a closed space (illative; 7.3.1.1.2). *J-aka nï-tën ëpi*, the medicine went into me. [Equivalent to *awëna(ka/kïi)*; apparently, *aka* is dropping out of usage.]

akaama (Vt). Scold, warn, advise O. *Atïtoome k-akaama-në?* why are you scolding me?

akarama(no) (N). King vulture (sp.) (*Sarcoramphus papa*, Cathartidae).

akarima (N; var. *akariman*). Squirrel monkey (*Saimiri sciureus*).

akëërë (Pp). With N ('comitative'; 7.3.2). *Wï-h-tae aakëërë*, I will go with you. [⇒ Recp. *ëtakëërë*, together, with each other.].

akëmi (N; Voc. *kami*). Younger sibling of the same sex as ego (12.3.1). *J-eire_nai j-akëmi*, my younger brother is angry at me (said by a man).

akëre (A?). For a while. *Irë_po w-ei akëre_sa*, I was (= stayed) there for a while.

(j)akëreu (N). Disease, illness. *Irë kï-j-akëreu-kon AIDS ka-to*, this, our disease, called AIDS.

akë(të) (Vt). Clear O (field) by cutting the bigger trees (⇒ *apo(kï)*, cut the smaller trees and bushes); clear an area (e.g. for a house). *Agosto_po tïpitë akëë-ja-n tarëno*, in August the Tiriyó cut their fields. [Probably related to *ahkë(të)*].

akima (Vt). Make O feel bored or tired; cause O problems (cf. Dutch *vervelen*). *Ëmë_rë_pa erenma-ta mëesan, a-akima-n_to*, you go drive them away, they are causing you trouble. [Probably derived with *-ma*; nominal source unattested. ⇒ *akinta*]

akinta (V_O). Become tired. *J-akinta-e*, I am getting tired. [Probably derived with *-ta*; nominal source unattested. ⇒ *akima*]

akï (Intrg). Animate interrogative pronoun: who, what (animate) (8.1). *Akï mï-wë?* who (=what animal) did you shoot?

akïï (N). Small thing(s); little insects. *Inunu_ke tï-jarahtë-e ii-ja, akïï_ke_ta*, he made a shelter with large (=solid), not small, wood.

akï(kï) (Vo). Harden. *N-akïï-ja-n*, it is getting hard.

akïpëe (A; N. *akïpïrï*). Hard. *Akïpëe ji-putupë*, I don't learn things easily (=my head is hard).

akïpïrï (N; A *akïpëe*). Hard thing. *Akïpïrï_me _n-ai apëi*, this seat is hard. [The regular nominalized form *akïpëe(no)* also exists.]

akohtë (N). Friend, mate. *Atïtoome pïre mïpapooti, j-akohtë-tomo?* why are you throwing away my arrows, friends? [It is not clear how different *akohtë* is from *pawana*.]

akonma (Vt). Repeat; say, do again. *Akonma-kë!* repeat it! *Serë apo_n-ai, akonma-too_mao*, it's like this, when you repeat it.

akoroka (Vt). Sweep (with a broom). *Ë-pakoro i-nkae m-akoroka-e*, you sweep (the area) behind your house.

akoro(nï) (N). Other; companion; partner. *Irënpë_pëe j-akoron kïn-anota*, then my friend (who was playing with me) fell down. [Probably related historically to ⇒ *akëërë*.]

akoronma (Vt). Help O (from an equal position). *K-okoronma-kë!* help me! *Irë_ke w-akoronma-e, Kan epona kï-w-eh-toh-kon_ke*, with this I help, with our belief in God. [From *akoro(nï)*, partner, with *-ma*]

aku (Vt). Eat (grains, nuts; 12.3.5). *W-aa-ja-e*, I am eating nuts.

akuika (Vt). Hurt; ail; pain. *Ji-je j-akuika-n*, my teeth hurt (lit. hurt me).

akunpa(mï) (Vo). Be, feel lazy. *J-akunpan-ja-e*, I am getting, feeling lazy. [⇒ *akunu*, laziness, with *-pa(mï)*].

akunu (N). Laziness, lazy one. *Akunu_sa_w-a-e*, I feel lazy.

akunuura (A; nzr. *akunupï(nï)*). Not lazy, dilligent. *Akunuura ëmë ahtao*, if you are dilligent. [⇒ *akunu*, laziness, with *-:ra*]

akuri (N). Agouti (*Dasyprocta agouti*, 'red-rumped agouti'; Port. *cotia*).

akurijo (N). Akuriyó, member of a related Cariban group. *Antïïnao_n-ai akurijo i-j-omi*, the Akuriyó language is difficult [The word is probably derived from *akuri*, agouti].

akurikuri (N). A species of snake (Port. *papa-ovo (preta)*).

(j)akusa (N). Needle. *Ë-j-akusa_ke sikë m-ëu-ja-e*, you remove chiggers with your own needle. [Borrowing, cf. Port. *agulha* or Sp. *aguja*.]

akuuta (V_O). Become soft (in water); dissolve. *N-akuuta-n*, it is dissolving, becoming soft. [⇒ *akïpëe*, hard]

amana (N). Species of palm tree (Port. *tucumã*).

amatakana (N). Species of toucan (*Selenidera* spp, also *Pteroglossus aracari*; Ramphastidae).

amatawana (N). Deer sp.

ame(mï) (Vt). Wind (up), roll up, wrap (around). *Ewa amemï _se_w-ae*, I want to roll up the rope. [⇒ Detr. *ëtame(mï)*, roll itself up, wrap itself around something; get closer.]

ameraarë (A). All, whole, everything, everyone. *Iijeeta tarëno oto-ton wë-n, kurimau, wïkapau,* *akuri, ameraarë*, the Tiriyó shoot many kinds of game: paca, deer, agouti, all of them. *Tï-wïhka-e_wï ameraarë pahko_ja, maja-pisih_ke*, my father scratched my whole body with a small knife.

amerikan (N). America; American. *Amerikan_po_n-ai ji-pawana*, my friend is in America. *Amerikan_me_n-ai*, s/he is American. [A borrowing; cf. Port. *americano*, Dutch *amerikaan*, American]

amënë(pï) (Vt). Miss O (a target; the opposite of ⇒ *wë* 'shoot, hit O'). *Iwae t-ëmënëë-se ii-ja*, he missed by far.

amërënka (Vt). Finish O fast, ahead of time, before one is supposed to. *W-amërënka-e*, I do it fast, I finish it sooner that I should. [Maybe a *-ka* verb?]

amërënpo (Vt). Deceive O [syn. *entahka*, *winihtë*]. *Mëe j-amërënpoo_se*, s/he wants to trick me. [⇒ Detr. *ëtamërënpo*, be fooled. The final syllable may be the causative *-po*; source stem unattested]

amika (Vt). Dig O. *W-amika-e*, I am digging (a hole) in it. *Ariwe_imë i-potï-pisi t-amika-e ii-ja, tï-patan_me*, he dug a hole on Cayman's little beak, to make a place for himself. [⇒ *ëtamika*, dig itself; open up (hole)]

ami(kï) (Vt). Take, pick O up (from the ground, especially fruit). *Kï-japaruru epï-rï, ameraarë_mo amih-kë*, our banana stocks, pick them up.

aminë(pï) (Vt). Steal O, kidnap O. *Rupeimë tï-w-ëe-se i-nmuku aminëhtoo_me*, the *rupeimë* lizard came to kidnap his son. [⇒ Detr. *ëtaminë(pï)*, escape, disappear, sneak out]

amïïma (Vt). Make O (feel) heavy. *W-amïïma-e*, I make it heavy, I add weight. [⇒ *amïïma(ka)*, heavy]

amïïma(ka) (A; nzr. *amïïne(tï)*). Heavy, difficult (to do). *Amïïma serë!* This is heavy! (6.1.1.1)

amïïnna (A; nzr.*amïïnmï(nï)*). Weightless, light. [Some speakers rejected this form.]

amïï(nï) (N). Weight. *Ahtaarë a-amïïn?* How much do you weigh? [⇒ *amïïma(ka)*, heavy]

amïïnpa (Vt). Use O (bait) to attract fish. *Muunu w-amïïnpa-e*, I am going to attract fish with *muunu* (⇒ *muunu*, fish bait). *Irënpë_pëe_to tïï-të-e, muunu amïïnpa-e*, after that they went there to get fish with *muunu* baits. [Maybe derived from *amïïma(ka)*, heavy, with the beneficiative verbalizer *-pa*]

amïma(ka) (A; nzr. *amïne(tï)*). Stingy, selfish. *Amïma_man-a-e!* you are stingy, selfish. (6.1.1.1)

amïnna (A; nzr. *amïnmï(nï)*). Not stingy, selfless.

amï(nï) (N). Stinginess, selfishness. [⇒ *amïma(ka)*, stingy, selfish]

amo (Vt). Lament, beweep O. *Ma, pihko, atï m-amo-n?* hey, older brother, what are you crying about?

amohka (Vt). Escape from O. *T-omohka-e ii-ja*, s/he escaped from it. *Kaikui w-amohka*, I have escaped from the jaguar.

amohkïï (Pp). Upstream (directional). *Amohkïï wï-të-e*, I am going upriver. [⇒ locative *amohtë*, upstream]

amohtë (Pp). Upstream (locative). *Amohtëe_n-ai*, it is upstream. *Ma, ëmënjamo, tïrïjo_me ooni_po, amohtë i-w-ei_ke*, you all, you are the Tiriyó over there, because you live upstream. [⇒ *amotï*, headwaters; ⇒ *amohkïï*, its directional counterpart; *amohtëna(ka/kïï)*, though unattested, probably also exists]

amohtë (Vt). Call O. *Ameraarë ë-munkë amohtë-kë, ë-w-ë-eweh-toh-kon_me*, call all your children/descendants, for you all to eat. *Irë_mao_rëken, meri_pa tïï-të-e,amohtë-e_pa*, then Squirrel went away, to call him again.

amoi (N). (Finger) nail; claws. *T-omoi-ke_n-ai kïto, kaikui amoi ahken awë_n-ai*, the *kïto* toad has claws, inside it is like a jaguar's claws.

amoihtë (Vt). Hang O. *W-amoihtë*, I hung it (on a nail) [⇒ Detr. *ëtamoihtë*, hang from/on each other. *Amoihtë* may be historically derived from *amoi*, nail, with *-htë*]

amore (N). Spirit, soul; shadow; picture. *Ma, Taru, Moomoori amore, awë tï-rë-e ii-ja*, Taru put Moomoori's soul inside it. *Irëme menjaarë* *_rëken w-ene sen, amore*, so only now do I see this, his picture (referring to an old man's picture on a book).

amorehtë (Vt). Dream of O. *J-eemi w-amorehtë*, I have dreamed of my daughter. [From *amore*, spirit, shadow, with *-htë*; ⇒ Detr. *ëtamorehtë*, dream]

amotï (N). Headwaters, source of a river. *Ipëri amotï*, the headwaters of an *ipëri*, a narrow waterway.

amuru (N). Useless straw; scraps of wood, wood trash. *T-ëkarama-e_pa ii-ja i-taika-hpë, amuru-npë*, it (=the tree) kept producing ('giving') trimmings, useless little pieces of wood.

anïhta (V_O). Grow (up) [syn. *arina*] *T-anïhta-e _wï sen_po*, I grew up here. [Probably derived with *-ta*; nominal source unattested.]

anja (Pro). First person dual exclusive ('1+3', 'exclusive *we*'; 4.1.1). *Anja_pa nï-të-e*, we (1+3) are going (leave-taking expression).

anje (Intrg) Whence? From what side? *Pëë, anje_pa nï-të-n mërë wei*, oh, from what area is that thing, the sun, coming (lit. going)?

(j)ankai (N). Comb. *I-putupë w-ekurima-ne ankai_ke*, I combed his hair (=head) with a comb. *Ji-j-ankai*, my comb.

ankana (N). Cliff; abyss. *T-antë-e_pa ii-ja tïwërë-n_po, ankana epoe, ipëri amotï epoe*, he made a temporary shelter over a cliff, over the source of a narrow river.

anmë (Vt). Plant O. *T-anmë-e ii-ja, paaruru, pïreimë, koimë, napi*, he planted them, banana, sugar cane, yam, sweet potato.

anna (N). Square; open space in the center of the village, usually with a large house, where meetings take place. *Anna_po_too_n-ai*, they are all in the village square.

annë(pï) (V_O). Fill (up). *T-annëë-se_n-ai*, it is full.

anoka (Vt). Get O (from a higher position, e.g. from a tree, from a hanging rope). *T-onoka-e _pa ii-ja, tïï-re, tï-w-ïhtë-e_pa*, he got his arrow back (which was stuck on top of a tree) and went back down.

anota (V_O). **1** Fall. *Tëpu n-anota tuna_hka*, the stone has fallen into the water/river. *J-anota_re*, I (slipped and) almost fell. **2** Land (airplanes). *N-anota?* Has it landed? (asked about an airplane). *Kanawaimë anota-to*, airstrip (i.e. place where airplanes land).

anpëe (Intrg). Where from? *Anpëe-n ëmë, kïrï?* you, man, where are you from? (said by a woman) [⇒ *pëe*, from; cf. 8.2.2].

anpo (Intrg). Where? *Anpo ë-pata?* Where is your village? [⇒ *po*, locative; cf. 8.2.2]

antae (Intrg). Where by? ('perlative'). *An-tae kï-të-n?* By which way are we going? [⇒ *tae*, perlative; cf. 8.2.2]

antë (Vt). Make O, a temporary hiding shelter made of straw (⇒ *mïnnë*). *T-antë-e_pa ii-ja tïwërën_po*, he made (a shelter) elsewhere. [Apparently derived with *-ntë*; maybe from *arï*, leaf, since a *minnë* is usually made of straw. ⇒ Detr. *ëtantë*, make a shelter for oneself]

antïïna(ka) (Pp). Towards 'deep inside N'. *Tuna antïïnaka n-anota*, it fell deep into the water. [⇒ *antïïnao*]

antïïnao (Pp). **1** Deep inside N (e.g. a liquid). *Tuna antïïnao_n-ai tëpu*, the stone is deep in the water/river. **2** Difficult (to understand; syn. *enkume*). *Antïïnao wïja*, this is hard for me to understand. [This postposition is frequently used without an object, coming close to an adverb. The final *-o* may be an old locative element (12.2)]

anu(ku) (V_O). Climb, go up. *A-anuh-ta_pa!* Go climb (the tree)! [Syn. *ënanu(ku)*; these two verbs are obviously related, but the nature of their relationship remains unclear (5.3.1.3)]

aohkao (Intj). Noise of dogs barking. *Kaikui i-j-omi t-ëta-e ii-ja, aohkao ka-to*, he heard the voices of dogs, going [aohao].

aohpï (N). Father-in-law or mother-in-law. *Mëe_hkaanara j-aohpï otï_me*, this is the one (game) that my mother-in-law eats. *Sen_po j-aohpï t-ee-se, Enkiman*, my father-in-law, Enkiman, was here. [*aohpï*, which should only mean 'mother-in-law', unexpectedly means also 'father-in-law'; 12.3.1]

aoja (A). Twisted; crooked. *Aoja_n-ai*, this is crooked; this is wrong (e.g. not correct language). [Nominalized form unattested].

aokï(mï) (Vt). Hug O. *Aokïn-to i-no_ta eh-të*, do not be afraid of hugging.

aotï (N). Rib, ribs. *J-aotï*, my rib(s).

apa (V_O). Drop, lower (the water level of a river). *Ipëri apa-hpë_ton*, the creeks that had dropped their water level. *Ipëri t-apa-e ameraarë*, all creeks dropped their water level. (The water level can vary quite impressively between the rainy and the dry season in Amazonia.)

aparai (N). Apalaí (Indian; land), a related Cariban group. *Ma waijana, akurijo, tarëno aparai, irë apo_n-ai, Tëpu_po-n-ton*, Wayana, Akuriyó, Tiriyó, Apalaí, these (=like this) are the inhabitants of Tepoe. *Sen_n-ai serë_po aparai_po, ji-pata_nkërë serë*, this (place) is here, in the Apalaí village, it is still our place.

aperisina (N; var. *perisina*). Orange fruit. *Aperisina_se_man-a-n?* do you want oranges? [A borrowing from Dutch *appelsien*, a local (Southern) variant of *sinaasappel*, orange; cf. Sranan *pesina*]

apë (N). Arm. *A-apë imenuhtë_se ëmë ahtao, kainan akusa_ke e-menuhtë*, if you want to tatoo your arm, do it with a new needle.

apëe(pï) (V_O). Get tired (from working, etc.). *J-apëe-ja-e*, I am getting tired.

apëëna (Vo). Finish, end (work). *Ma, ji-pëetoh-tomo, k-ëpëëna-ti kï-tupii-kon akëh-toh_pë*, well, my helpers, we have finished cutting our fields.

apë(i) (Vt). **1** Take, get, catch, seize, grab O (with one's hands). *Ji-karakuri apëë-se_pitë wï-të-e*, I will go get my money (and come back). *Akï_pëe m-apëi-ne sen?* Who did you get this from? *Tapïime kana apëë-ja-n*, they catch a lot of fish. *J-apëi_se_n-ai ëkëi*, the snake wants to get me. *Pïrëu apëh-kë!* Grab, catch the arrow! *Kït-apëi-ne!* Let's grab it! *Mataware ii-karau w-apëi*, I have caught Mataware's anger (i.e. Mataware is angry at me). [⇒ *anoka, tomeka* for other kinds of 'seizing'; ⇒ Detr. *ëtapë(i)*, hold on to] **2** Have sex with O (usually female). *Irë_mao tï-pï t-ëpëë-se ii-ja*, then he had sex with his wife. **3** Buy O. *Sen w-apëë-ja-e*, I am taking (buying) this. **4** Marry O. *Mëe apëh-kë ë-njo_me*, take him as your husband. *Wëri w-apëi-ne*, I took a woman, I got married. **5** Adopt, accept O. *Jesu w-apëi-ne*, I accepted Jesus (i.e. I became a Christian). **6** Learn O. *Akurijo i-jomi w-apëi*, I have learned (caught) the Akuriyó language.

apëi (N). Seat, stool, chair; table. *Maja ëpëi_juuwë wï-rï*, I put the knife on the seat. *Apëi wii-mo-e*, I am going to break his/her/the chair. *T-ëpëi tï-rë-e ii-ja kawë*, he made himself a seat high (on top of a tree). [The form *apëi*, morphologically a third-person, is used in a non-possessed sense just as often as *ëpëi*]

apëjano (N). Left; left arm. *Apëjano wenje_n-ai apëi*, to his left, on his left-hand side is the seat. *J-apëjano-npë*, what was my left arm. [Certainly related to *apë*, arm (⇒ *apëtu(nu)*, right); the final *no* may be the adverbial nominalizer [4.2.2.2]; the *ja*, however, remains unexplained]

apëre(mï) (N). Owner (of a pet; ⇒ *entu*). *Ma, serë apo tïï-ka-e kaikui t-ëpëremï_ja*, then the dog spoke like this to his owner. *Ma, irë_mao kutuma ëmuu_me t-ee-se apëren*, at that moment his owner became very sad.

apërëmïhka (Vt). Slow O down, stop O; decrease O's intensity, noise. *Ji-kanawa w-apërëmïhka-e*, I am slowing down, stopping my canoe. *Mëkïjan_pitë apërëmïhka-ta, soo n-ka-n_to*, go tell them to be quiet, they are making noise. [Probably a transitivized stem (with *-ka*); S_O source unattested]

apëri (N). Wing, fin. *Tonoro apëri*, bird wings. *Kana apëri*, fish fins. *T-ëpëri-ke-n*, a winged animal. [Probably related to **apë** 'arm']

apëritïkï (N). Elbow. *J-apëritïkï*, my elbow. [Related to *apë*, arm]

apësohka (Vt). Shake O's hands. *W-apësohka-e*, I am shaking his/her hands. [Probably a case of noun incorporation (*apë*, arm), though the transitive source (presumably *sohka*) is not attested]

apëtu(nu) (N). Right; right arm. *Apëtun wenje_ n-ai apëi*, to his right, on his right-hand side is the seat. *J-apëtunu-npë*, what was my right arm. [Certainly derived from *apë*, arm (⇒ *apëjano*, left); *tu(nu)* is elsewhere unattested]

api(mï) (Vt). Knit, sew O. *W-apin-ja-e*, I am knitting, sewing it. [⇒ Detr. *ëtapï(mï)*, sew oneself]

apïje (N). Bird species, 'pileated finch' (*Coryphospinus fileatus*, Fringillidae).

(j)apo (Pp). **1** Like, similar to (comparative; 7.3.2). *Irë apo_n-ai*, it is like that. *Serë apo papa tï-wë-e*, your father used to shoot (game) like this. *Irë_mao, pïrëu apo-n, t-ëhkëë-se ii-ja*, then he cut something (= some tree) like an arrow. *Wapo w-ei-ne pëera, ponjeke apo*, at first I was stupid, like a peccary. *Ë-j-apo_ro_w-a-e*, I am just like you. **2** nuancing particle: *ji-je_ta apo ëmë*, you seem not to like me (9.1.5).

apo (Vt). **1** Dig O (syn. *amika*). *Ji-tupi w-apo-e*, I am digging my field. **2** Grind O (in a mortar). *J-erepa w-apo-e*, I am grinding our food. [⇒ Detr. *ëtapo*, dig, grind for oneself]

apo(kï) (Vt). Clear O (a field) by cutting the smaller trees and bushes (⇒ *akë(të)*, cut down the large trees). *Ma, irë-npë_pëe-no-npë, ni-pitë-n_pa apohto*, after all this begins the cutting of the smaller trees.

apoto (N). Helper; servant (e.g. the inhabitants of a village, with respect to the *karaman* or *pata entu*, the chief or 'owner of the place'). *Ooni_po i-pata, irë_po-no_ro wï, apoto wï*, his village is over there, I also live there, I am one of his helpers.

apotoma (Vt). Help O; work for O. *Karaman w-apotoma-e*, I am helping the chief. [From *apoto*, helper, with *-ma*. ⇒ Detr. *ëtapotoma*, help oneself, work for oneself]

apuru (Vt; *-se* form *apurë-e* [5.1.6]; takes *-ja* [5.4.1.3.1])). Close O; cover O (with a lid). *Pakoro oota w-apuru-ja-e*, I close the door (lit. the house hole). [⇒ Detr. *ëtapuru*, close oneself]

arahka (N). A species of bird (*Ortalis ruficauda*, Cracidae).

arahkasana (N). A species of woodpecker (*Celeus flavus*, Picidae; Port. *pica-pau amarelo* ⇒ *parïro*).

arahpa (N). Species of small parrots, parrotlets (*Forpus* spp., Psittacidae)

arakapijojo (N; var. *akarapijojo*). Species of birds (*Campylorhamphus trochilirostris*, *Dendrocolaptes* spp., *Xiphorhynchus* spp.; Dendrocolaptidae; Port. *arapaçus*).

arakoere (N). Plant species from which a kind of body paint is made; also, the body paint made from this tree. *M-ëtaarama-ne arakoere _ke*, you adorned (=painted) yourself with *arakoere*.

arama (N). A species of bee.

arami (N). A species of dove (*Leptotila verreauxi*, *Claravis pretiosa*; Columbidae).

aramiimë (N). A species of dove (*Columbina passerina*, Columbidae; Port. *rolinha-taruei*) [Related to *arami*, with the augmentative *-imë*]

Araraparu (N). An old village on a tributary of the Sipaliwini river, in Surinam, abandoned several decades ago but still remembered.

ararapuku (N). A species of bird (*Rallus wetmorei*, Rallidae), 'plain-flanked rail' [⇒ *sanrawa*]

ararawa (N). Blue-and-yellow macaw (*Ara ararauna*, Psittacidae)

arasamare (N). Crimson-crested woodpecker (*Campephilus melanoleucos*, *Campephilus pollens*; Picidae); Port. *pica-pau real*.

aratakai (N). Species of ibis (Ciconiidae: *Jabiru mycteria*, Port. *jabiru-moleque*, *tuiuiu* [also ⇒ *kahke*]; *Mycteria americana*, Eng. *American wood-ibis*).

arawata (N). Red howler monkey (*Alouatta seniculus*, Port. *guariba*). [This word is used at Tepoe (K-Tiriyó); at Missão Tiriós (H-

Tiriyó), *jahkïï* is preferred, and *arawata* is considered a borrowing from Wayana]

arehkïï (Pp). A variant of *rehkïï*.

arehtë (Pp). A variant of *rehtë*. *Mërëme serë_po_nkërë_n-ai i-mun, arehtë*, but the root is here, on top (i.e. not in the bottom). [The initial *a* may be related to *arï*, leaf]

arekore (N). A species of sloth (*Choloepus didactylus*, southern two-toed sloth).

arë (Vt). Take O (somewhere; away). *Manko j-arë-ne Suurinan_pona*, my mother took me to Surinam. *Ma, nana t-ërë-e ii-ja*, he took the pineapple(s) away.

arëtë (N). Bangs, fringe of hair. *Ma, irë_mao wanë i-j-orontï-hpë ekï_ekï-ne arëtë_pë*, then he applied beeswax to (his son's) bangs.

ariki (N). A species of parrot (Port. *parauaçu*).

arimika (N). Raise O (a child). *Noosinpë_rëken j-arimika-ne*, my grandmother raised me by herself.

arimi (N). A species of spider monkey (*Ateles paniscus*, Port. *coatá*, *macaco-aranha*). [This word is used at Tepoe (K-Tiriyó); at Missão Tiriós (H-TIriyó), *tamokonpë* is preferred, and *arimi* is considered a borrowing from Wayana]

arimina (N). **1** Electric eel. **2** Cramps. *Serë_n-ai arimina epi_me tï-rë-en*, this is to make cramp medicine.

ariminaimë (N). A species of liana (*Annona sericea*, Annonaceae) with medicinal uses.

arina (Vo). Grow up [syn. *anïhta*]. *J-arina sen_po, ë-nonoo-kon_po*, I have grown up here, in your land. [Possibly related to *arimika*, raise O]

ariwe (N). Cayman (*Caiman spp.*). *Ariwe_ja t-ërë-e, tuna_po, tuna_juuwë*, the cayman brought (him) on the water.

arï (N). Leaf. *Waruma arï_rëken erepa_me t-ee-se*, all the food he had were *waruma* tree leaves. [Possibly related to *arï*, content]

arï (N). Content; what is inside. *Arakapusa arï*, shotgun cartridges (lit. shotgun contents).

arïhtë (Vt). Fill O. [From *arï*, content, with *-htë*]. *Kariwa w-arihtë-e tuna_ke*, I am filling the gourd with water.

arïra (A; nzr. *arïpï(nï)*). Empty, without its contents. *Kariwa_n-ai arïra*, the gourd is empty. [⇒ *arï*, contents, with *-:ra*; the vowel *ï* is probably *ïï*, but there is no way of knowing.]

arïsi (N). Rice. [Borrowing; cf. Port., Sp. *arroz*]

arokï (N). **1** Tail. *Kaikui arokï*, the tail of the dog. **2** Penis. *K-orokïï_kon i-retï tïkapiire_sa ahtao*, when our (=generic) penis is a little wounded.

aru(ku) (Vo). Get stuck. *Wï pïre n-aruku*, my arrow got stuck. *Irë_mao n-etainka-n epo_ro, n-aruu-ja-n*, then he runs right into it and gets stuck.

aruma (N; var. *waruma*). A species of savannah deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*).

arumapïupïu (N). Bird species (*Emberizoides herbicola*, Fringillidae), often found with the *aruma* deer.

atarakare (N). A species of snake (Port. *papa-ovo (parda)*).

atï (Intrg). Inanimate interrogative pronoun, what (8.1). *Atï_se_man-a-n?* What do you want? *Atï apo_n-ai?* What is it like?

atïna (Ptc). Hesitation term used when the speaker does not remember a certain word; what-do-you-call-it. *Anpo_mëe? Atïna... Ooni _po... Mataware_po.* Where is he? He is in, what-do-you-call-it, in Mataware. (8.1).

atïtoome (Intrg). Why? For what reason? *Atïtoome k-ëpëë-ja-n?* Why should I catch you? *Atïtoome oroko_me_man-a-n?* Why are you working?

atuma(ka) (A; nzr. *atune(tï)*). Hot, warm. *I-pihpë_mo i-sowaka, irë-npë_mo tïrï mahto_tao, atuma_sa irë_ke_mo i-jahka*, cut a piece of its bark, put it in the fire, a little hot, and burn it. (6.1.1.1) [Probably related to the verb *ja(tu)*, burn.]

atunna (A; nzr. *atunmï(nï)*). Not hot, not warm.

atu(nu) (N). Heat, warmth; something for keeping warm. *J-atun*, my warming-thing (e.g. shirt, blanket, etc.).

atura (N; var. *aturai*). A species of kingfisher

(*Chloroceryle amazona*, Alcedinidae), Port. *martim-pescador-verde*.

aturai (N). ⇒ *atura*.

au(mu) (Vo). Stand up, go up. *Irë_mao t-aun-je kaikui*, then the dog stood up. *Aun-kë menjaarë*, stand up now!

awa (Vt). Hook O; get O with a hook. *Siminatë awa-ton*, a liana good for 'hooking' (i.e. it has fishhook-shaped thorns).

awain (N). Illuminated area, place where there is light. *Awain_tao_rë_taike*, only when it is dark (=not illuminated, i.e. during the night). *Awain_tao_n-ai wïja*, it is clear to me, I understand it. [The final *n* is probably the coda grade of a reducing syllable; the full grade is unfortunately unattested.]

awaina (Vo). **1** Rise (sun), begin (day), dawn [used only in the third person]. *N-awaina-n*, the sun is rusing, the day is beginning. **2** Stay out until sunrise [conjugated in all persons]. *K-awaina-e_nkërë_pa*, the two of us are going to be out here (in the jungle) for one more day (lit. we are 'dawning' in the jungle once more).

aware (N). Species of opossum (*Philander opossum*), Port. *mucura*.

awekï (N). A species of bee.

awë (Pp). Inside (a container). *Ji-mënparë_n-ai pakara awë*, my belongings are inside the bag. *Irëme serë ji-j-akëreu kureken ni-n-ja-n j-awë*, so this, my disease, quickly enters inside of me (7.3.1.1.1). [⇒ Recp. *ëtawë*, inside each other; together (in the same house)]

awëe (Pp) In a hanging position, usually across a surface (7.3.1.1.3). *Ewa_n-ai ëpëi awëe*, his/her rope is hanging from the table. *Serë_n-ai ji-putupë awëe*, this is on my head (referring to a headphone). *J-aaji_n-ai j-awëe*, my necklace is on me, I have my necklace on. *Ewa_n-ai putuputuri awëe*, his/her rope is hanging from a nail.

awëna(ka/kïï) (Pp). Into (a container). *Tëpu n-anota kariwa awëna*, the stone fell into the gourd. (7.3.1.1.2).

awïïka (Vt). Try to catch O unsuccessfully. *Meri t-awïïka-e ariwe-imë_ja*, the cayman unsuccessfully tried to catch the squirrel.

D

dëë (Intj). Noise of hitting. *Irë_mao epï tïtëëka-e ii-ja. Dëë, dëë, kuh... tum, t-onota-e i-ponoo-ne-npë*, then he started hitting the tree. *Dëë, dëë, kuh... tum*, the one who had turned him in fell down.

E

e- (pfx). Cf. *ët-* 'Recp', 'Detr'.

-e (sfx). Certainty marker on verbs (5.4.1.3.4).

ee (Intj; var. *ei*). Hey! (attention-calling noise).

ee (Va). Form of the copula (⇒ *e(i)*) or of the verb 'come' (⇒ *ëe(pï)*)

eejaka (Va). Break, crumble (bread, cassava). *Wïï n-eejaka-n*, the cassava bread is breaking (up), crumbling. [⇒ Tr. *:jaka*, break O (bread, cassava)]

eeka (Vt). Bite, sting O. *Ëkëi-ton j-eeka-ewa t-ee-se*, the snakes did not bite me. *Serë_n-ai epi, moi_ja ë-eka-tuuwë*, this is the medicine, after you are bitten (stung) by a spider. *Kaikui j-eeka*, a dog/jaguar has bitten me.

eekaapon (Intrg). What like? *Eekaapon apo_n-ai meri?* What is the squirrel like? (8.2.1) [From *eeke apo*, 'like what?'; usually followed by *apo* again, i.e. *like that which is like what?*]

eekanmao (Intrg). When? At what time? (8.2.1). *Eekanmao_pa n-ee-ja-n ë-pawana?* When is your friend coming back? [From *eeke*, probably nominalized as *eekano*, and the temporal postposition *mao*]

eeke (Intrg). How? In what way? *Eeke t-ee-se pena?* How was that long ago? What did it use to be like? *Eeke m-epanïï-ja-n?* How are you going to avenge him/her? [Sometimes, *eeke* comes close in meaning to 'what?'; cf. 8.2.1]

eeku (N) **1** Thin, water-line sap (usually from lianas), juice; excretion, secretion. *Katamïïmë eeku_ke_mo tï-pï, këi_ke ë-nmuku ahtao*, if your son has fever, bathe him with (immerse him in a bath of) the sap of the *katamïïmë* liana. *Kunawaru eeku-hpë*, the juice of the *kunawaru* toad **2** River, stream. *Kakaimë eeku_n-ai, ji-w-eh-topo-npë_rën*, the Kakaimë river/stream is my real birth place.

eemi (N). Daughter. *Ma, j-eemi, mëe apëh-kë ë-njo_me*, well, my daughter, take him as your husband.

eemita (Vo). Have a daughter. *N-eemita-n*, s/he is having a daughter. [This verb can be used in talking about a woman who is pregnant, or a man whose wife is pregnant]

eemï(mï) (Vt). A variant of *enmï(mï)*.

eena (N). Throat. *Irëmao rokeroke tïï-ka-e eena*, then his throat started to swell.

eenakë (N, Pp). Lie; lying. *Ë-enakë_me_man-a-e*, you are lying, telling lies. *Owa, j-eenakë_taike*, no, I am not lying. [Speakers vary as to whether *eenakë* is a noun or a postposition: cf. the collective forms *ë-enakë-kon*, *ë-enakëë-ne*, you are all lying]

eenë(pï) (Vt). Laugh at O, mock O. *N-eenëë-ja-n*, s/he laughs at it. *Irë in-eenëë-sewa kït-a-ti*, we do not despise (laugh at) this. *Irë_mao t-ëënëënëë-se wëri_ja*, then the woman kept mocking him (internal reduplication). [Possibly derived with *-në(pï)*; ⇒ *eerana*, *eeranu(mu)*]

eepa(mï) (Vo). Get used (to something), become accustomed; become tame. *J-eepamï_se_w-a-e*, I want to get used (to it); I want to become tame. *Tï-wë-to eepan-nëpï_se_w-a-e*, I want to get used to shooting. *Kaikui eepan-nëpï_se_w-a-e*, I want to tame the dog. [The *-në(pï)*-causativized forms should literally mean 'tame O' or 'make O a normal, usual, well-known action'.]

eerana (Vo). Laugh [syn. *eeranu(mu)*]. *Ëërana-to_n-ai antïïnao _ta*, laughing is not difficult.

eeranpa (Vt). Make O laugh. *W-eeranpa-e*, I am making him/her laugh.

eeranu(mu) (Vo). Laugh [syn. *eerana*]. *N-eeranun-ja-n*, s/he is laughing.

eereweti (N). Foam, foamy liquid (e.g. on top of fish scales). *Kunawaru eerewetï-npë*, the foamy, frothy liquid of the *kunawaru* toad. [Apparently *ere*, liver, plus *wetï*, excrement (possessed form; ⇒ *watë*)]

eerë(të) (Va; var. *eere(tï)*). Cross, go across (an obstacle). *Ikutupë_tae s-eerëë-ja-e*, I am crossing (along) the lake. *Tuna_hkao s-eerëë-ja-e*, I am crossing (in) the river. [⇒ Tr. *:rë(të)*, cross O]

eesika (Va). Come out, take oneself out. *Irë_mao Taru t-onota-e, t-eesika-e, wapa_tae*, then Taru fell, he came out (= took himself out) of the bag. [⇒ Tr. *:sika*, remove O, take O out]

ee(tï) (N). Maternal uncle. *Irë_mao w-epeka-ne eetï_ja, Enkiman_ja*, then I asked her maternal uncle (whether I could marry her).

eh- (Va). Form of the copula (⇒ *e(i)*).

ehke(tï) (N; irr. non-poss. *wëitapi*). Hammock. *J-ehke*, my hammock; *j-ehketï-npë*, what used to be my hammock. *J-ehke wi-pina-e*, I am dragging my hammock. *J-ehke w-ewahtë-e*, I am tying my hammock .

ehkërënma (Va). Be aggressive, attack (often); sin. *S-ehkërënma-e*, I sin, I cause trouble (to others), I am violent.

ehku (N) Thick sap (usually from trees). *Parahta apo ahtao, ehku*, if it looks like latex, it is (called) *ehku*. [⇒ *eeku*].

ehpa(mï) (Vo). Be pricked (by thorns, etc.). *J-ehpamï ji-kairi waa_pë*, I got thorns in my foot while I was looking for my food (broth). *W-ehpan-nëë-ja-e*, I am pricking him. *J-ehpan-në ëmëinë*, thorns pricked me.

ehpë(tï) (Vt). Look at O, direct one's look at O. *W-ehpëhpë-e*, I am looking and looking around (internal reduplication). [⇒ Detr. *ëehpë(tï)*, be looking (around). Most of the occurrences of this verb were detransitivized; the meaning of the transitive form is not clear.]

ehpi (N). **1** Lip(s) (especially the upper lip). *J-*

ehpi, my lips. 2 Shore; area surrounding a river, a lake. *Irëme tuna ehpi_po kïn-nonta*, so he left it on the river bank. [Syn. *eta*]

ehpo(tï) (N). Face hair: beard, moustache. *J-ehpo*, my beard, my moustache. *Ehpo-ka*, shave O; *ë-ehpo-ka*, shave. *Tïwërë-n i-w-ëehpoka-toh_ke ëehpoka-ewa k-eh-të-ne*, let us not shave with someone else's razor blade (= lit. instrument for shaving).

ehtarënma (Va). 1 Get ready. *S-ehtarënma-e*, I am going to get ready. 2 Become jealous, worried. *N-ehtarënma-n*, s/he is becoming jealous. *Wëri n-ehtarënma-n tï-njo_pë*, the woman is becoming jealous, worried about her husband. [⇒ *(pï)tarënma*, warn O, worry O]

ehtë (Vt). Plan O; ponder O; think about O. *Jii-të-to w-ehtë-e*, I am planning, thinking about my trip. *Mërë_pohpa ji-n-ehtë-hpë_tae_rë*, it went all according to plan. [Syn. *puunë(pï)*]

e(i) (Va). Be, become; stay *Irë_po w-ei-ne*, I was there. *Taane_rën w-ee-ja-e sen_po*, I will stay here forever. *Ëmuu_me t-ee-se Moomoori*, Moomoori became sad. [Irregular present (gnomic) forms *wae*, *manae*, *nai*, *kïtae* (cf. 5.4.4)]

ei (Vt). Scold O. *Manko_pa j-ei-nen, eta-tuuwë_pa kï-pë*, my mother may scold me again, if she hears about us. *Irë_mao t-ëpëren t-ëi-je ii-ja*, then he (=dog) scolded his owner. [Syn. *akaama*].

ei (Intj). ⇒ *ee*.

ein (N). One. *Ein nunnë*, one month. *Irë_mao, ein_me i-ranta-tuuwë*, then; after one year had passed... [Borrowing from Dutch *een*; ⇒ *tëi(në)*].

eiraanopï (Vt). Be angry at O. *Wë-ewa ji-wehtoh_pë k-ëiraanoo-ja-ti*, you all became angry at me, because I cannot shoot. *J-eiraanoo-ja-n_marë namo_ro*, they are also angry at me. [⇒ *eire*, irascitive]

eire (Pp; nzr. *eira-to*). Angry at (irascitive; 7.3.3). *J-eire_n-ai j-akëmi*, my little brother is angry at me. Recp. form *ëtëire*, angry at each other: *ëtëire_too_n-ai*, they are angry at each other. Back grade *ëire*, wild, unfriendly (people) non-domesticated (animals): *pena anja ëire t-ee-se*, long ago (before the first contacts), we were wild, unfriendly.

ejatë (Vt). Read O. *Panpira in-ejatë-ewa_w-a-e*, I am not reading the paper, book, letter.

ejuuka (Va). 1 Bend. *Wewe t-eejuuka-e*, the tree, wood bent. 2 Hang one's head (in shame). *Irë_mao t-eejuuka-e, pïï_ke t-ee-se*, then he hung his head, he was ashamed. [⇒ Tr. *juuka*, bend O]

eka (N). Name. *Akï ë-eka?* What is your name? *J-eka Naaki*, my name is Naaki.

ekahtë (Vt). Name O, give a name to O. *W-ekahtë-e*, I am giving him/her a name. [⇒ *eka*, name, with *-htë*]

ekanï(pï) (Vt). Suppose, believe, think O; be of the opinion that O. *W-ekanïï-ja-e*, I think so (about O). Tarëno*_me k-ëkanïï-ja-ti?* Do you all belieeve me to be a Tiriyó? *Kana_me t-ëkanïï-se i-pamï-rï_ja*, his son-in-law thought that it was fish. *T-ëpëi t-ëkanïï-se ii-ja*, he thought he was going to get caught. [Maybe related to *eka*, name]

ekantë (Vt). Indicate O, show O (direction, path). *Iijeeta ëema t-ëkantë-e masiwë_ja*, the anteater indicated, showed many paths (to them). [⇒ *eka*, name, with *-ntë*; notice that, unexpectedly, the more direct meaning 'give a name' obtains with *-htë* (⇒ *ekahtë*), not *-ntë*).

ekapokehka (Vt). Cricitize O. *Ëikarë m-ë-ekapokehka-po-ta-e, pipi-tomo_ja*, you are going to get yourself criticized by your older brothers, you will make them criticize you. [This stem is certainly polymorphemic: cf. *-ka* (transitivizer), *-keh* (<*-ke(pï)* 'cessative'). However, the source stem *ekapo* is unattested.]

ekarama (Vt). Give O. *Ë-emi m-ekarama-ne wïja*, you gave your daughter to me. *Aha, ë-n-ekarama-hpë_n-ai mëe*, yes, this is the one you gave (= this is your gift). [⇒ Detr. *ëekarama*, give oneself]

ekata(ka) (Pp). Close to (directional). *Tëpu n-anota kariwa ekata*, the stone fell close to the gourd. *Ekatakaa-ne*, (falling) close to them. [Syn. *ekataona(ka/kïï)*, close to (directional); ⇒ *ekatao*, close, near to (locative)]

ekataka (Va). Shake one's body, flap one's ears (referring to a dog). *Irë_mao t-aun-je kaikui, t-eekataka-e*, then the dog stood up and flapped his ears. [⇒ Tr. *kataka*, beat dust off O]

ekatao (Pp). Beside, close, next to N. *Wapo serë_po w-ei ë-ekatao*, before I was here, at your side. *Ji-w-ëumu_se_w-a-e ë-ekatao*, I want to warm up close to you. *Manko ekatao_w-a-e*, I am close to my mother. (7.3.1.2.2) [The final *tao* looks like a locative postposition; *eka*, however, is probably only homophonous with the word for 'name']

ekataona(ka/kïï) (Pp). Close to N (directional). *Mëe n-ee-ja-n j-ekatana*, that one is coming near, close to me. [Syn. *ekata(ka)*, close to (directional); ⇒ *ekatao*, close to, next to, near (locative)]

ekehka (Vt). Make O work hard. *W-ekehka-e*, I am making him/her work. [⇒ *ëekehka*, work hard, make an effort. *Ekehka* may be a derived (*-ka*) stem; source stem unattested].

ekei (Vt). Bake O (manioc). *W-ekei-ja-e jii-wi*, I am baking my cassava bread.

ekeima (Vt). Curse, cast a spell on O; do evil to O. *Waa_tïrï_se_w-a-e, ekeima_se_w-a-e*, I want to kill (them), I want to curse (them). [Maybe derived with *-ma*] [⇒ Detr. *ëekeima*, curse oneself]

ekepï (N?). Late, deceased. *Sen_po Sokoene i-mama ekepï*, here (in this photo) is Sokoene's late mother. [It is not clear whether this word is a noun ('corpse') or a particle ('late')]

ekï (N). Pet; domestic animal. *J-ekï kaikui*, my pet dog, *j-ekï kurairu*, my domestic chicken. *Ëiwa-e tïï-të-e, t-ëkï-ke t-ee-se_marë*, he went hunting, and he had his pet (dog) with him. *Ekï_pisi akarima apo t-ee-se*, her little pet was like a squirrel monkey. [Syn. *ëënë*]

ekïïka (Va). Rub itself; be rubbed. *Ë-munu i-w-ekïïka-hpë, tïwërën_mao ë-po_pë,..., irë_rë _pitë_pa ii-suka-kë*, if your blood gets rubbed, spread, maybe on your clothes, etc., then wash it off. [⇒ *kïïka*, rub, wipe O]

ekï(kï) (Vt). Spread, apply O (liquid, cream) to a surface. *Orontï w-ekïï-ja-e apëi_pë*, I am coating his seat with beeswax (lit. I am applying beeswax to, on his seat). *Irë_mao wanë i-j-orontï-hpë ekï_ekïï-ne arëtë_pë*, then he applied bee wax to (his son's) bangs.

ekïrika (Vt). Cut (a piece of) O, slice O [syn. *jamu(ku)*, cut a piece of O]. *W-ekïrika-e*, I am cutting a piece of it. [⇒ Detr. *ëekïrika*, cut a piece of oneself]

ekïta (Vo). Get a pet. *J-ekïta-e kaikui_ke*, I am getting a pet, a dog; I am getting a dog for a pet. [⇒ *ekï*, pet, with *-ta*]

ekonka (Va). Pierce oneself, vaccinate oneself. *Irë_rë_ke ë-w-ekonka-n_mahtao*, while you pierce yourself with it (= a needle). *S-ekonka-e*, I pierce myself; I give myself a shot, I get a shot. *M-ekonka-n?* Are you going to pierce yourself? (in this case: are you going to commit suicide?) [⇒ Tr. *konka*, pierce, vaccinate O]

eku (Vt; *-se* form *eko-e* [5.1.6]; takes *-ja* [5.4.1.3.1])) Have sex, copulate, mate with O. *Pena ahtao, pëera wëri eku-to kïn-ei*, before (=long ago), having sex with a woman was no problem. *Nëërë tahken tï-pï eku-ja-n*, maybe he is having sex with his wife. [⇒ Detr. *ëeku*, have sex (with each other)]

eku(nu) (N). Buttocks [syn. *nmapu(nu)*]. *J-ekun*, my buttocks.

ekuure(pï) (Vo). Be left out; not get (what one is entitled to). *Ë-ekuree-ja-e*, you were left out (of the deal), you did not get your part.

ekurima (Vt). Comb O. *W-ekurima-e*, I am combing, going to comb O. *I-nmuku i-putupë ekurima-ne ankai_ke*, s/he combed (someone else's) son's hair with a comb.

ekutunma (Va). Become angry, nervous. *S-ekutunma-e*, I am getting angry, nervous. *Atïtoome k-ee_k-eekutunma-n*, why should we be getting angry? [⇒ Tr. *kutunma*, make O angry]

ema (Vt; optionally loses *e-* [5.1.6]). 1 Throw O. *Akusa ema mahto_hta*, throw the needle into the fire. *I-munu-hpë t-ëma-e ii-ja wiirikiki_ja, moikë_ja, arama_ja*, his/her (someone else's) blood he threw to the wasps, ants, and bees. *Bora ema-n_to*, they are playing soccer (lit. throwing ball). 2 Catch O (fish). *Iijeeta tarëno kana ema-n*, the Tiriyó fish a lot, catch a lot of fish. *Kana ma-e tïï-të-e*, s/he went fishing.

emamin (N). Toy. *J-emamin*, my toy. [The final *n* is probably a reducing syllable; full grade unattested] [⇒ *emamina*, play]

emamina (Vo). Play. *Ma, irë_ke t-ëmamina-e wï, pahko i-nï-rï-hpë_ke*, well, I played with it, with the thing made by my father. [⇒ *emamin*, toy; *emaminë(pï)*, make O play]

emaminë(pï) (Vt). Make O play; play with O. *T-ëkëmi-ke w-ei-ne, j-akëmi w-emaminëë-ne*, I had a younger brother, I made him play, I played with him. [⇒ *emamin*, toy; *emamina*, play]

emeirë (Vt). Mock O [syn. *eenë(pï)*]. *N-eneeja-n_pa, tï-papa i-n-ene-n_me, emeirë-to apo, emeirë-too_me*, he brings it (=the dead snake) back, for his father to see, as mockery, for him to mock it.

emeku(nu) (N). Wrist. *J-emekun*, my wrist.

emeta (Vo). Transform itself, change (into something else). *J-emeta-ta-e*, I will transform myself. *Emeta-ke mëe*, he transforms itself (i.e. he is powerful, he has magic powers). *Kaikui_me t-ëmeta-e*, he transformed itself into a jaguar. [Maybe derived with *-ta*; nominal source unattested]

emënparëma (Va; var. *emënparënma*). Have an accident. *Tahken akï_hpe n-emënparëma-n, ëkëi_ke*, maybe someone has an accident, involving a snake. [Probably detransitivized; So source unattested. The form suggests a relation with *mënparë*, belongings, luggage [with *-ma*], but the semantic connection seems dubious]

emo(kï) (Va). Move away. *S-emoo-ja-e*, I move away. [⇒ Tr. *mo(kï)*, move O away]

emu (N). Testicles; scrotum. *J-emu*, my testicles, my scrotum.

emuhka (Va). Paint oneself [syn. *ëtaarama*]. *Wïïse_ke_marë m-emuhka-ne*, you also paint yourself with anatto. [Probably detransitivized; transitive source (*muhka*?) unattested.)

emuhpa(mï) (Vo). Become sad. *J-emuhpan-ja-e*, I am getting sad, depressed. [⇒ *emu(ku)*, sadness]

emu(ku) (N). Sadness. *Ëmuu_me_w-a-e*, I am sad. *J-emuku-ru_htaka_nkërë_pa mën-epï*, you came into my sadness (i.e. while I was sad).

emuuma (Vt). Sadden O. *Mëërë w-emuuma-e*, I am going to make that guy sad. [⇒ *emu(ku)*, sadness, with *-ma*. ⇒ Detr. *ëemuuma*, become sad]

enao (Pp). Lying with N (e.g. in a hammock); hugging, holding N; close (to chest), in N's arms. *J-enao*, in my arms, together with me (in my hammock). *Irëme Taru i-nmuku t-ee-se rupeimë eemi_rën enao*, so Taru's son was together with the *rupeimë* lizard's daughter (in her hammock). *Tamo, ji-nmuku_se_w-a-e j-enao*, grandfather, I want my son on my lap (close to me). [Maybe related to *eena*, throat; the initial *e* (not *ee*) is surprising. A directional counterpart (*enaona(ka/kïï)*) must exist, but is unattested. The final *o* may be an old locative element (12.2)]

ena(pï) (Vt; optionally loses *e-* [5.1.6]). Eat O (fruit; sweets; eggs [also ⇒ *ënë*]; cf. 12.3.5). *Paaruru enaa-ja-n*, s/he is eating bananas. *Atïtoome_n-ai eperu in-enaa-sewa?* Why doesn't s/he eat the fruit? *Serë ameraarë in-naa-sewa t-ee-se*, he did not eat any of these things. *K-eenaa-ne*, let us eat. [Related to *nnapï*, fruit food]

enarin (N). Scary thing. *J-enarin_me mëe*, I am afraid of this one (i.e. it is my scary thing). [⇒ *nari_ke*, afraid of. It may be that *enari(n)* and *nari* are the same word]

ene (Vt). See O, look at O. *Ene-kë!* Look at it! *Serë_pona w-ëe-ne ë-ene-toh-kon_me*, I came here to see you all. *K-ëne_se_n-ai*, s/he wants to see us. [⇒ Detr. *ëene*, see (each other); become visible. *Ene* looks related to *enu*, eye]

enepiita (Vo). Be displeased; feel bored. *J-enepiita-e*, I feel displeased/bored (said e.g. when one has stayed too long in a house and wants to go out for a walk). [⇒ *erepake(pï)*, stifle]

ene(pï) (Vt). Bring O. *Irë-npë_pëe akuri eneh_pa pahko*, after that my father brought agouti (meat) back. *T-ënee-se_wï manko_ja sen_pona*, my mother brought me here. *J-otï_rëken m-enee-ja-e*, you bring only my (meat) food. [Maybe related to *ëe(pï)* 'come', with an old causative *en-*, *in-* (5.3.1.3)]

enï (N). **1** Container (of something). *Erepa enï*, food container (e.g. a bowl). *Tonoro enï*, a bird cage. **2** Hiding place. *Kaikui enï-npë tïï-mopo-e ii-ja*, he destroyed the jaguar's hiding-place (a hole in a tree).

enï(rï) (Vt). Drink O. *Tï-mama i-susu enïrï-hpë_ke ii-ja*, because s/he drank his/her mother's milk. *Kokoro anja nï-të-e t-ëënïï-sen enïï-se*, tomorrow we go over there to get drinks to drink. *Irë_mo enïh-kë kananaman_tao ëmë ahtao*, drink this if you have yellow fever.

enja (N). Hand. *Ë-enjaa_pë ëikëëkë wa_ken ahtao*, if there are no wounds on your hand.

enjao (Pp). In N's hands. *J-enjao_n-ai tëpupisi*, the stone is in my hands. [⇒ *enja*, hand. The final *-o* may be an old locative element (12.2)]

enjaona(ka/kïï) (Pp). Into N's hands. *Soroto n-anota j-enjaonakïï*, the key fell into my hands. [⇒ *enjao*, in N's hands. Some speakers preferred phrases such as *enja-h_ta(ka)*, into N's hands, to *enjaona(ka/kïï)*]

enjapïnma (Vt). Cause pity in O (for A). *Jipawana j-enjapïnma-n, irëme wi-jahpëntë-e*, my friend causes me pity, so I am going to help him/her. [⇒ Detr. *ëenjapïnma*, feel pity. It may be an old case of noun incorporation, from *enja*, hand, and *pïnma*, put O away. The semantic connection might be as follows: make O put O's hands away > make O quit his/her aggressive stance > make O feel pity]

enjaruhka (Vt). Put in O's hands; hand to O; deliver to O. *W-enjaruhka-e mëe panpira_ke*, I put the book in this guy's hands. [⇒ *ruhka*, stick, put O (somewhere), with incorporated *enja*, hand. Notice that, unexpectedly, *enja* is not the O participant of *ruhka*, but rather its locative complement]

enjatënka (Vt). Squeeze O's hands; shake hands with O. *W-enjatënka-e*, I am shaking hands with him/her. [⇒ *tënka*, squeeze, press O, with incorporated *enja*, hand]

enjawa (Vt). Hand to O, give (something) to O. *Sipaki w-enjawa-e pïrëu_ke*, I am giving, handing an arrow to Spike. [Probably related to *enja*, hand; the final *wa* is unclear (maybe the verbalizer *-wa*; maybe an unattested transitive verb, with incorporated *enja*]

enjawai (Vt). Scratch, rub O's hands. *W-enjawai-ja-e wïrare_ke*, I am rubbing curare on his/her hands (to kill him/her). [⇒ *wai*, scratch, grate O, with incorporated *enja*, hand]

enjawarë (Vt). Catch O by the hand. *Ma, irë_mao t-ënjawarë-e ii-ja*, then he caught him by the hand. [Probably incorporation of *enja*, hand; transitive stem unattested]

enkapihpë (N). Eye ridge (e.g. of a cayman). *Enu enkapihpë awë_awëe, t-omoi tï-rë-e ii-ja*, he drove his claws into the (cayman's) eye ridge (so as not to fall). [Possibly related to *enu*, eye, and *pihpë*, skin]

enke(pï) (Vo). Be in the dark, and thus unable to see. *J-enkee-ja-e*, I will be in the dark (said when the batteries in the speaker's flashlight were about to go empty). *Mahto w-enkeh-ka-e*, I put out the fire; *turi w-enkeh-ka-e*, I put out the lights. [⇒ *enu*, eye, with *-ke(pï)*]

enkïïka (Vt). Wipe O's eyes. *"Ëësena-ewa ehkë", kïn-ka, maaru_ke i-përa enkïïka-ne*, 'Don't cry', he said, and he wiped his/her eyes with a piece of cotton. [⇒ *kïïka*, rub, wipe O, with incorporated *enu*, eye; ⇒ Detr. *ëenkïïka*, rub, wipe one's eyes]

enkïïwa (Vo). Be half asleep. *Ë-enkïïwa-n?* Are you half asleep? [Possibly incorporation of *enu*, eye; transitive stem unattested]

enkume (Pp). Difficult (to understand [syn. *antïïnao*]; difficultative, 7.3.3). *J-enkume_n-ai*, this is difficult for me. Back grade forms *ënkume*, *kuume*, difficult: *ënkume_n-ai ë-j-omi*, your language is difficult; *kuume_n-ai ë-j-omi*, your language is difficult.

enmï(mï) (Vt; var. *eemï(mï)*). Make O enter, dive. *W-eemïn-ja-e*, I am making it enter, I am putting it under water. *J-enmïn-jewa eh-kë*, don't drown me. [Possibly related to *ëmë(mï)*, enter, with an old causative *en-*, *in-* (5.3.1.3)]

enmï(tï) (Vo). Dive; submerge; go under water. *T-ënmïï-se tuna_hkao, aimara apo*, he had gone under water, like an *aimara* fish. *Tuna_hka j-enmïtï_se_w-a-e*, I want to dive into the water. *J-enmïh-ka-ewa eh-kë,* don't drown me.

enno(kï) (Vt). Send O; order O, command O. *Ji-n-ennokï-hpë*, the person I sent. *Mëërë w-enno Beren_pona*, I have sent that guy to Belém. *Pahko n-ëenjapïnma ë-pë, irëme j-enno*, my father pitied you, so he sent me (here). *Nërë t-ëënoo-se ii-ja*, s/he commanded him, told him what to do.

enonta (Va; var. *ëinonta*). Let go (of something). *S-enonta-e*, *t-ëinonta-e*, I let go; I break free. [⇒ *nonta*, leave, abandon O]

enpa (Vt). Teach O (person). *T-ënpa-e ii-ja*, s/he taught him/her. *Mëe_pitë anja n-enpa-e*, we will be teaching this person for a minute. [Possibly from *enu*, eye, with *-pa*; this connection looks better diachronically than synchronically. ⇒ Detr. *ëenpa*, learn]

enpata (N). Face, cheeks. *Kït-ët-ahkëë-ja-e_sa k-ënpataa_po*, we cut ourselves on the face, cheeks. [Possibly from *enu*, eye, and *pata*, place]

enpatae (Pp). On the slope of. *Pï enpatae_n-ai*, it is on the slope of the hill. [⇒ *enpata*, face, with the perlative element *-e* (12.2, 7.3.1.2)]

enpatao (Pp). In front of N. *J-enpatao_n-ai_mëe*, this person is in front of me [⇒ *enpata*, face; ⇒ directional *enpataona(ka/kïï)*].

enpataona(ka/kïï) (Pp). To the front of N. *Mëe n-ee-ja-n j-enpataonakïï*, *k-ënpataonakïï-ne*, he is coming (to the position) in front of me, of us all. [⇒ *enpatao*, in front of N]

enpiini (N). Glasses, spectacles. *Anpo j-enpiini?* Where are my glasses? [Probably related to *enu*, eye; *piini* is unattested by itself]

enpijuku (N). Tears. *J-enpijuku*, my tears [From *enu*, eye; *pijuku*, apparently 'secretion', is unattested by itself but occurs in *pijuh-ta*, have diarrhoea].

enrowaka (Vt). Open O's eyes, force O to open O's eyes. *Sehken wewe-ton t-ëkaaka-e, ariwe-imë_ja, tïï-karau-ke, (...), t-ënrowaka-e_marë ii-ja*, so, the big caiman kept biting the trees, angry, (...) and because he (= squirrel) had forced him to open his eyes. [Incorporation: ⇒ *enu*, eye, and *rowaka*, open O]

enta (Vo). Wake up. *Ë-enta?* Did you wake up? Are you awake? (usual morning greeting). *Enta-tuuwë ahtao w-eneh-tae_pa*, after s/he wakes up, I will bring him/her back (here). [Possibly related to *enu*, eye; it is tempting to see here the *-ta* verbalizer ('produce eyes' > 'wake up'; ⇒ *enuta*, remember, also a possible result of the same combination *enu* + *-ta*)]

entahka (Vt). Deceive, mislead O [syn. *winihtë*, *amërënpo*]. *J-entahka-në mëe, meri!* He is deceiving me, this squirrel! He is playing tricks on me! [Possibly an old case of incorporation: *enu*, eye, and *tahka*, lose O, i.e. make O lose O's eyes > trick, fool O]

entaka (Va). Break apart. *Manan manan... raah raah... T-entaka-e tëpu.* (Noises of lightning), the rock broke apart. [⇒ *ntaka*, break O apart]

entama (Vt). Spill O (liquids). *Tuna w-entama*, I have spilled the water. [⇒ Detr. *ëentama*, spill (liquid)]

entapuru (N). Door, lid. *Entapuru wi-tëëka-e*, I am going to knock at the door. [Maybe a lexicalized Ø-nominalized form; ⇒ *entapu(ru)*, close, cover O]

entapu(ru) (Vt). Close O (door), cover O (with a lid). *W-entapuu-ja-e*, I am closing, covering it. [⇒ *entapuru*, door, lid].

entu (N). **1** Owner (of something; ⇒ *apëre(mï)*). *Pata entu*, owner of the village (i.e. the person who founded it; he usually has some moral authority over the other inhabitants). *Raarijon entu_me_man-a-n?* Do you have a radio? (lit. are you a radio-owner?) *Mono tïpitë entu_me_n-ai*, s/he owns a big field/garden. **2** Keeper, guardian, guide; boss. *Apëh-kë ë-entu_me, k-ëntu_me*, take him as your keeper, as our keeper (said by a man to his daughter, whom he wanted to marry to a certain good hunter). *J-entu ji-je Makapa_po*, my boss wants me in Macapá (i.e. he wants me to go to Macapá).

enu (N). Eye. *Irë_mao enu t-ëne ii-ja*, then he saw (someone else's) eye(s).

enuhka (Vt). Go away, escape unseen by O. *Enuhka-kë!* Go away, without him/her seeing you! *W-enuhka-e*, I walk away without him/her seeing me. *J-enuhka*, someone ran away without me seeing, without me knowing. [Homophonous with the causativized form of *enu(ru)*, be born]

enuhkama (Vt). Indicate O wrong; confuse O. *Ëema t-ënuhkama-e masiwë_ja*, the anteater indicated the path wrong, showed the wrong path. [⇒ *ëenuhkama*, get confused]

enu(mu) (Vt). Suffer from O; be affected by O. *J-otï i-janopï w-enun-ja-e*, I have desire of meat, to eat meat. *Ji-jemi w-enun-ja-e*, I feel hunger; *j-emuku w-enun-ja-e*, I feel sadness; *ji-saasa w-enun-ja-e*, I feel joy, happiness. *J-enun-po-n*, s/he made me suffer (hunger, necessity, etc.). [⇒ Detr. *ëenu(mu)*, suffer, be in need]

enu(ru) (Vo). Be born; give birth. *J-enuu-ne*, I was born, I gave birth (said by the mother or by the child). *Irë_po t-ënuu-se wï*, I was born there. *Anpo ë-enuh-topo-npë?* Where were you born? Where is your birth place? *Eekanmao ë-enuh-topo-npë?* When is your birthday? *W-enuh-ka-e*, I make, help O be born (said by a doctor or midwife). [Maybe related to *enu*, eye]

enuta (Vo). Remember. *Menjaarë n-enuta ji-pë*, now he has remembered (about) me. *Irë_mao_rëken t-ënuta-e Mataware, aja j-eemi?* Only then did Mataware remember (to ask), 'where is my daughter?' [Maybe *enu*, eye, with *-ta*; ⇒ *enta*, wake up, possibly a different result of the same combination]

epa (N). Vulva. *K-ëpaa-kon eeku-h_tao_n-ai AIDS i-w-eh-to*, the dwelling-place of AIDS is in the liquid of our vulva(s). *Epa potï*, clitoris. [syn. *erï potï*]

epahka (Va). Break. *Apëi t-eepahka-e*, (his) seat broke, is broken. [⇒ Tr. *pahka*, break O]

epakë (N). Vaginal liquid [syn *erïkë*]. *Epakë_pëe, kïrï arokï-h_ta n-ëmïn-ja-n*, from (a woman's) vaginal liquid, it (=virus) enters into the man's penis. [⇒ *epa*, vulva]

epanï(pï) (Vt). Revenge, avenge O. *J-eemi t-ënë-e ahtao, w-epanïï-ja-e; j-eemi t-arimika-e ahtao, in-epanïï-sewa_w-a-e*, if my daughter was eaten, I will avenge her; (but) if she was raised (i.e. protected, taken care of), then I will not avenge her. [⇒ Detr. *ëepanï(pï)*, take, seek revenge].

epataka (Va). Go, come out. *S-epataka-e*, I am going out (e.g. of a house). *I-putupë n-epataka-n, ëkëi i-putupë*, its head comes out (i.e. it leaves the body), the snake's head. [⇒ Tr. *pataka*, take O out (e.g. of a house)]

epeka(tï) (Vt). **1** Sell, buy, trade O. *Ëikëëkë apëh-to epekah-kë*, buy bandages (=something to get, hold the wound). *Kï-n-epekatï-kon-sepï*, our favorite merchandise, that which we want to buy/sell. **2** Ask for O, ask that O be granted. *Irë_mao w-epekaa-ne eetï_ja, Enkiman_ja*, then I asked her maternal uncle (to let me marry her; lit. I requested her from her uncle). *'Ënjeenë_w-a-e' kato, 'tuna_se_w-a-e' kato, ameraarë epekaa-se_re_wï*, 'I am hungry', 'I want water', all that I requested in vain. [⇒ Detr. *ëepeka(tï)*, buy (something) for oneself]

eperu (N). Fruit; crop. *Paaruru eperu*, banana fruit (i.e. fruit of the banana tree). *Fevereiro_po tarëno-ton eperu pëë-ja-n: aanai eperu, marasija eperu*, in February the Tiriyó gather fruit: corn (lit. corn fruit), watermelon fruit (etc.). *Waruma eperu_n-ai erepa_me, waruma* (a palm tree) fruits are his/her food.

eperuke(pï) (Vo). Stop bearing fruit (a tree). *N-eperukepï*, it (=tree) does not bear fruit anymore. *Eperukeh-pïn*, the one (=banana stalk) which had stopped bearing fruit. [⇒ *eperu*, fruit, with the cessative *-ke(pï)*]

eperuta (Vo). Bear, produce fruit. *N-eperuta-n*, it is bearing fruit, it has (ripe) fruit. [⇒ *eperu*, fruit, with *-ta*]

epina (Va). Drag. *Irëme i-kamisa t-eepina-e_ken*, then his loincloth was dragging (on the ground). [⇒ Tr. *pina*, drag O]

epinë (Pp). Under N. *Irë_po, pai i-wenahpë, t-ëne ii-ja, oroi epinë*, there he saw the tapir's trail, under the cashew tree. Recp. *ëepinë*, one under the other [syn. *ëepoe*]: *ëepinë_to_n-ai*, they are one under the other, they form a pile.

epinë(pï) (Vt). Medicate O. *Irë eeku_ke epinëh-kë, ë-nmuku këi_ke ahtao*, if your son has fever, medicate him with the juice (of this liana). *Pahko j-epinëë-ne kutuneh_ke*, my father medicated me with a painful one (=i.e. with painful medicine) [⇒ *epi(tï)*, medicine, with *-në(pï)*]

epi(tï) (N). Medicine. *Ji-nmuku epi wï-rï-ne*, I made my son's medicine. *Serë ë-epi*, this is your medicine. *AIDS epi*, medicine (=cure) for AIDS. *Serë_n-ai mïnëtë epi*, this is medicine against scorpion (bites).

epï (N). **1** Tree; tree trunk; stock. *Wapo_mo epï i-joika*, first scrape the trunk (of the tree). *Epï tï-tëëka-e ii-ja*, he started hitting the tree (trunk). *Oroi epï*, cashew tree (trunk). **2** Stalk; roots; sprout; part (of a plant) that can be further planted [⇒ *pëhpë, putupë* (2)]. *K-ërepa epï wa-e_pa wï-të-e*, I am going to get the seeds, roots, sprouts of all our foods. **3** Routine. *Irë_po ituu_roowë pakoro ii-të-toh-kon epï*, they went to that house in the middle of the forest every day (lit. there was the 'base'/'routine' of their going to that house in the middle of the forest). [**1**, **2** may be related to *eperu*, fruit. **3** is only tenously, if at all, connectable to **1**; homophony is not implausible]

epï (Va; *-se* form *epë-e*; takes *-ja*). Bathe; take a bath, shower. *Epë-e wï-të-e*, I am going (somewhere) to bathe. *S-epï-ja-e*, I am bathing. *W-epï-to*, bathing place. [⇒ Tr.*[t] pï*, bathe O]

epïïna (Vo). Become fat. *J-epïïna-e*, I am getting fat.

epïntë (Vt). Burn O (firewood). *Mahtïpï w-epïntë-e*, I am going to burn the firewood. *W-epïntë-e*, I am going to burn it with firewood. [The stem suggests *epï*, trunk, with *-ntë*; but this should mean 'provide with trunk, sprouts, seed'. Coincidence?]

epo (Pp). Enough; fit ['satisfactive'; 7.3.3]. *J-epo_n-ai*, it is enough for me, it fits me. *Kï-h-tah-ki, kori, koeri_me_rëken, epo ëë-ja?* We will go walking around, (female) friend; is that all right with you? [This postposition may be related to the locative *_po*, but this is far from clear]

epoe (Pp). Over, above N. *T-antë-e_pa ii-ja, tïwërë-n_po, ankanna epoe*, he made a shelter somewhere else, above the cliff. *Ëpëi epoe-n-ton*, the things which are above the seat [⇒ directional *epoena(ka/kïi)*, over, above N]. Recp. *ë-epoe*, one on top of the other [syn. *ëepinë*]

epoena(ka/kïi) (Pp). Over; above (directional). *Wewe-pisi wï-rï-ja-e tëpu epoenakïi*, I am putting the little stick above the stone. [⇒ *epoe*, over, above]

epona (Pp; nzr *-(no)*). **1** Conjugated form of ⇒ *pona* to(ward) N. *J-epona n-ee-ja-n*, s/he is coming to(ward) me. Recp. *ëepona*, toward each other: *ëepona_to_nï-të-n*, they are going toward each other. **2** Believing in N; favorable to N; "pro-N" (fidelitive; 7.3.3). *Kan epona kït-a-ti*, we all believe in God. *Ii-të-to epona_ta*, it was not possible, it was not a favorable occasion for him to go. Back grade *ëpona*, credulous; naive; considerate. *Ëpona_w-a-e*, I am naive, I believe in everything; I help everybody.

eponanma (Vt) Help O, be considerate, helpful toward O. *T-ëpëëna-keh-tuuwë_pa, tï-moitï eponanma-n*, after having finished (their fields), they help their relatives (with theirs). [⇒ *epona* (2), believing in, favorable to N, with *-(no)*, nominalizer, and *-ma*, verbalizer]

epo(rï) (Vt; irregular nasal gemination with nasal-initial suffixes: 5.4.1.3.3, 5.4.2.2). Meet O; find O (animate; by accident, unexpectedly) [syn. *erahtë*]. *Irë_po n-epoo-ja-n oto-ton, kapai, kurimau, kurija*, there they find game, armadillos, pacas, land turtles. *Wïtoto_ja pai t-ëpoo-se*, the guy met, found a tapir (i.e. he was lucky). *Tï-nmuku in-epoo-sewa t-ee-se Mataware*, Matawaré did not meet, find his son.[⇒ Detr. *ëepo(rï)*, meet].

epu (N) **1** Post; main pole (in a house). *Pakoro epu*, the main pole of the house (which supports the roof). **2** handle; legs (of a seat). *Piiwa epu*, the handle of the broom. *Apëi epu wi-pahka-e*, I am going to break the legs of his seat. **3** base, prop; that which gives support. *Ji-j-omi epu-ton ji-waarë kïn-ei*, I learned about the 'supports' of my language (i.e. I learned the letters, the alphabet).

epuuka (Va). Take a shortcut; follow a transverse, perpendicular trajectory. *Irë_mao t-eepuka-e_pa_to ëema_tah_pa*, then they came back to the path (after traversing a stretch of jungle). [⇒ Tr. *puuka*, pierce O, traverse O]

erahtë (Vt). Find O (intentionally; after looking for him/her/it) [syn. *epo(rï)*]; find out about O. *M-erahtë!* You've found it! (said to someone who had found a good translation for a certain word). *Kure ji-nmuku m-erahtë-po wïja*, you have shown me (=made me find) my son (who I had been looking for). *Eeke aawë i-w-eh-to m-erahtë-n?* How do you find out that it is inside of you? *Ameraarë_n-ai pananakiri-ton serë epi in-erahtë-ewa*, all the foreigners have not found a cure for this (yet).

erama (Va). Return, go back, come back. *Irë_mao_pa t-eerama-e Taru*, then Taru came back. [⇒ Tr. *rama*, return O, give O back]

eramuhta (Vo). Sweat [syn. *rïhta*]. *J-eramuhta-e*, I am sweating. Incorporation: *j-enja-ramuhta-e*, my hands are sweating, *j-apë-ramuhta-e*, my arm is sweating (always with body parts). [⇒ *eramu(ku)*, sweat, with *-ta*]

eramu(ku) (N). Sweat, sweating. *J-enjaa_pë_n-ai j-eramuku*, my sweat is on my hand(s).

eratonka (Va). Be(come) isolated. *Oto-ton n-eratonka-n pau_htao tuna mono_me i-w-ei_ke*, the animals get isolated (=trapped) in the islands, because the water level rises. [⇒ Tr. *ratonka*, isolate O]

ere (N). Liver. *J-ere*, my liver.

ereeta (Vo). Rest. *J-ereeta-e*, I am resting. *Irë_mao ë-ereeta-kë, kure ë-eweeh-kë*, then rest, and eat well. [Possibly related to *ere*, liver, maybe with *-ta*; the meaning, however, is quite unexpected]

erei(nï) (N; non-poss. *ërentë* [4.3.1.4.3]). Smoke. *Mahto erein*, the smoke of the fire (e.g. a smoldering fire). *J-erein*, my smoke (e.g. when the speaker's body is steaming after heavy exercise), *j-ereinï-npë*, my past smoke (e.g. after having exercised a lot).

ereina (Vo). Smoke (e.g. fire, coals, wood). *Mahto n-ereina-n*, the fire is smoking. *Iijeeta ë-ereina-n*, you are smoking a lot (e.g. after a work-out). [⇒ *erei(nï)*, smoke, with *-na*]

erekonma (Vt). Insist (that O do something), exhort O, harass O. *K-ërekonma-e karakuri_pë*, I am harassing you about money, I insist on talking to you about money. *J-erekonma-n*, s/he is harassing, disturbing me. [⇒ Detr. *ëerekonma*, be worried. This verb may be an old case of incorporation of *ere*, liver; original stem (presumably *konma*) unattested]

erekuika (Vt). Irritate, infuriate O [syn. *eretëu*, *(wï)karauma*]. *W-erekuika-ne*, I irritated him. [⇒ Detr. *ëerekuika*, get angry. This verb seems to be a lexicalized case of incorporation: *ere*, liver, and *kuika*, swallow O (cf. also *akuika*, hurt)].

eremi (N). Song, music. *Tahken ëremi_pë t-ee-se*, maybe he was busy singing ('about songs').

eremina (Vo). Sing. *J-eremina-e*, I am singing. *Ji-pawana_mo eremina-i*, my friend would sing (if...).

erenma (Va). Drive O away. *Kaikui w-erenma-e*, I am driving the dog away (e.g. he was annoying me). *Ëmë_rë_pa erenma-ta mëesan*, you go drive them away! *Ërenma_me_too_n-ai*, they cannot, will not be driven away.

erepa (N). Food (non-meat). *Ahtaarë_ n-ai ë-erepa?* How many are your kinds of food? How many kinds of food do you eat? *Owa, serë_rëken j-erepa*, only this is my food, this is the only kind of food I eat. *Waruma arï_rëken erepa_me t-ee-se*, his only food were *waruma* tree leaves.

erepake(pï) (Vo). Stifle, suffocate; die (from lack of air); drown. *J-erepakee-ja-e ji-pakoro-h_tao*, I am stifling in my house (said as a justification for going for a walk). [Formally, *erepa*, food, with the cessative *-ke(pï)*; the meaning, however, is very surprising]

erereka (Vt). Squash, crush O. *Irë_mao i-juuwë t-ee-se kaikui, t-eeseka-e, t-ërereka-e ii-ja*, then the jaguar was on top of him, he (=jaguar) jumped on top of him, he squashed, crushed him.

eresaarama (Vt). Make O happy, gladden O. *Pahko w-eresaarama-e*, I am making my father happy. [Maybe related to *saasaame*, happy. ⇒ Detr. *ëeresaarama*, become happy]

eretëu (Vt). Irritate O [syn. *erekuika*, *(wï)karauma*]; cause O to worry. *W-eretëu-ne*, I made him/her angry, I worried him/her [⇒ Detr. *ëeretëu*, be angry, worried. Some speakers added a final reducing syllable *(ku)*, others did not. This verb may be a lexicalized case of incorporation, with *ere*, liver; the original transitive verb stem might have been *[t]ëu*, remove O, but this is far from clear]

eretïhka (Vt). Frighten, scare O out of his/her wits. *W-eretïhka-e*, I am scaring him to death. [⇒ Detr. *ëeretïhka*, be terribly scared. ⇒ *tïhka*, scare O, with incorporated *ere*, liver, i.e. 'to liver-scare O']

eri (N; non-poss. *ërinë*). Clay, clay pot. *T-ëri_rë t-ënee-se ii-ja*, s/he brought his/her clay pot. *Ërinë*, clay; clay pot (non-possessed), *j-eri*, my clay pot.

eri(kï) (Vo). Be in danger of dying; die. *J-erii-ja-e*, I am in danger of dying, I may die. *Tïwaarë ë-wei_ke, erii-sewa man-a-e*, because you are careful, you do not run the risk of dying. *Pëë, j-apëë-ja-në_npa, j-erikï pena*, oh, he is going to catch me, I am already in danger of dying.

(j)eripo (N). Big, round stone for baking cassava bread. *I-j-eripo-hpë-kon mono_me*, their (ex-)cassava stone is large.

erï (N). Vagina. *J-erï*, my vagina. *Erï potï*, clitoris [syn. *epa potï*]

erïkë (N). Vaginal liquid [syn. *epakë*]. *Erïkë-pisih_pëe kïrï arokï-h_ta n-ëmïn-ja-n*, from (a woman's) vaginal liquid it enters into a man's penis.

et- (pfx). ⇒ *ët-* 'Recp', 'Detr'

eta (Vt). Hear O, listen to O; understand O. *Kaikui i-jomi t-ëta-e ii-ja*, he heard the barking (lit. voice) of the dog. *Pahko w-eta-e*, I am listening to my father. *Irë apo-n eta-tuuwë nïrïï_ja*, after *nïrïï*, the cricket, had heard these things. *Ji-w-eh-topo-npë w-eta-po-e*, I am explaining (=making O hear, understand) my life story (lit. what I was like, the way I was).

eta (N). Bank; shore (of a river, lake, etc.); rim, edge, margin. *Maa_ta eta i-w-eh-tuuwë*, after the shore was near (said about someone crossing a river).

etae (Pp). By, along the bank, shore, margin of N. *Tuna etae n-urakanun-ja-n*, s/he is strolling by the river bank, following the river. [syn. *ae*, *_tae*; cf. 7.3.1.1.3, 7.3.1.2.2]

etahpaka (Va). Sit down. *S-etahpaka-e*, I am sitting down. *Etahpaka-kë!* Sit down! [⇒ *tahpaka*, make O sit down]

etahta (Vo). Drool. *Ë-etahta-rï_htao kure*, it is all right if you drool. [⇒ *etaku*, saliva; for spitting, ⇒ *pito*]

etainka (Va). Run. *Irënehka t-eetainka-e taanë, tï-pataa_pona_pa*, finally he ran far away, back to his village. [⇒ Tr. *ainka*, run off with O]

etaku (N). Saliva. *J-etaku*, my saliva.

etao (Pp). At, by the bank of N (river, lake, etc.). *Irë-npë_pëe tuna etao tï-nonta-e ii-ja*, then he left it by the river bank. [⇒ directional form *etaona(ka/kïi)*, to(ward) the bank, shore, margin of N] [⇒ *eta*, bank, shore; the final *-o* may be an old locative element (12.2)]

etaona(ka/kïi) (Pp). To(ward) the bank, shore, margin of N. *Tuna etaona nï-të-n*, s/he is going (from the village) toward the river bank [⇒ locative *etao*, at, by the bank of N]

etapa(mï) (Vo). Chirp (e.g. cricket, toad). *Ma, kïja, taparara apo-n, këpëewa koko_rëken n-etapan-ja-n*, the *kïja* cricket is like a locust, but it only chirps at night. *Irëme sehken t-ëtapan-je kunawaru*, so, likewise, the *kunawaru* toad chirped.

etë (Vt). Smoke O (cigarette, etc.); blow O (flute, tube). *In-etë-ewa_w-a-e*, I don't smoke.

e(tï) (N). Maternal uncle (mother's brother). *J-e, j-etï*, my maternal uncle. *Soranpë_n-ai, serë_po_n-ai, j-etï_me_n-ai*, it's Soranpë, he is here (in the village), he is my maternal uncle.

etïïmo (Vt). Cut O in small pieces. *Kananaman _tao ëmë ahtao, wakapuimë arï-npë_mo etïïmo*, if you have yellow fever, then cut the leaves of the *wakapuimë* tree in small pieces.

eu(ku) (Vt). Answer O. *Irë_mao pëtunë_ja t-ëu-se, "owa"*, then the tinamou answered, 'no'. *Irë_mao_rëken Taru eu-ne ëkërëpukë*, only then did the weasel (tayra) answer Taru.

eurë (Vt). Bark at O. *Kaikui j-eurë-n*, the dog is barking at me.

ewa (N). Rope. *J-ewa*, my rope. *Wëitapi ewa*, hammock rope.

ewaaje (Pp). Like, be satisfied with, happy about N (appreciative; 7.3.3). *Ë-ewaaje_w-a-e kutuma*, I am very happy, satisfied with you. Recp. *ëewaaje*, satisfied with, happy about each other: *ëewaaje_to_n-ai*, they are satisfied with each other. Back grade form *ëwaaje, waaje*, nice, who likes everybody. *Ji-nmuku ëwaaje, ji-nmuku waaje*, my son is a nice person, likes everybody.

ewaama (Vt). **1** Make O feel desire. *Ji-pawana w-ewaama-e t-ënë-en_ke*, I make my friend desire meat. *T-ënë-en_me waama-të*, s/he was desirable as meat (i.e. for eating). **2** Feel pity for O, be lenient with O. *Ji-pï w-ewaama-e*, I feel pity for my wife (e.g. I see that she is hungry, I'll give her some food). *Mure-pisi w-ewaama-e; bonbon w-ekarama-e ii-ja*, I feel pity for this child; I'll give him sweets. [⇒ Detr. *ëewaama*, feel desire; maybe related to *ewaaje*, liking, satisfied with]

ewahtë (Vt). **1** Put a string, rope on O. *Ii-raapa w-ewahtë-ne*, I put a string on his bow. **2** Tie O (e..g. a hammock). *Ji-raton_po ewahtë*, tie (your hammock) opposite to me. *J-ehke w-ewahtë-e*, I am tying my hammock. [⇒ *ewa*, rope, with *-htë*]

ewanë (N). Heart. *J-ewanë*, my heart.

ewanëke(pï) (Vo). Became happy, cheer up. *J-ewanëkepï*, I became happy, I cheered up. *W-ewanëkeh-ka-e*, I am cheering him/her up. [Formally, *ewanë*, heart, with the cessative *-kepï*; apparently, the idea of 'stopping one's heart' (maybe 'slowing down the heartbeat') is connected to becoming happy]

ewapu(nu) (N). Calf of the leg. *J-ewapun*, my calf.

ewaraima (Vt). Thank, greet O. *K-ëwaraima-e*, I thank you. *Kïn-ewaraima*, s/he greeted him/her.

ewaru(nu) (N). Darkness. *Ewarunu-npë*, where there was darkness. [⇒ *warume*, dark]

ewata(mï) (Vo). Tremble, shiver (in fever). *J-ewatan-ja-e*, I am trembling, shivering.

ewe(tï) (Vt). Feed O. *Tï-nmuku ewee-ja-n*, s/he is feeding his/her son. [⇒ Detr. *ëewe(tï)*, eat, feed oneself]

Ë

ë- (pfx). Second-person marker (allomorphs *ë-*, *a-*, *o-*; cf. 3.3.1) on nouns (4.3.1.2), verbs (5.4.1.1), and postpositions (7.1.1). *Ë-nta*, your mouth. *Ë-konka*, s/he/it (has) pierced you. *Ë-enta*, you woke up.

ë- (pfx). ⇒ *ët-* 'Recp', 'Detr'.

ëehpë(tï) (Va). Look, be looking (around); change the direction of one's look. *Ji-pakoro_pëe t-ëehpëë-ja-e*, I am looking (out) from my house. *Ji-w-ëehpëtï_se_w-a-e*, I want to look. *Irë_mao tï-w-ëehpëë-se tï-nkae*, then he looked back. [⇒ Tr. *ehpë(tï)*, look at O. Most of the occurrences were detransitivized; the meaning of the transitive form is not clear.]

ëehtë (Va). Be thinking, pondering, planning. *T-ëehtë-e*, I am thinking, planning (some future event). [⇒ Tr. *ehtë*, think about, plan O]

ëekarama (Va). Give, sacrifice oneself; surrender. *Tï-w-ëekarama-e_to*, they surrendered, they gave themselves (to each other). *Tï-w-ëekarama-e*, he gave himself (= parts of his body, to others). [⇒ Tr. *ekarama*, give O]

ëekehka (Va). Work hard; make an effort. *Anja i-jomii_pë namo_ro n-ëekehka-n*, they are working hard on our language. *Tï-w-ëekehka-e mëe*, s/he worked hard. *T-ëekehka-e*, I am making an effort (at doing something). [⇒ Tr. *ekehka*, make O work hard]

ëekeima (Va). Curse oneself. *Tïwërë-n_mao n-ëekeima-n tahkene*, maybe (she) cast a spell on herself (and is now going to die). [⇒ Tr. *ekeima*, curse, cast a spell on O, do evil to O]

ëekïrika (Va). Cut a piece of oneself [syn. *ëësamu(ku)*]. *Ë-ekïrika*, cut a piece of yourself (for the others to eat; said, in a folk tale, by a tree to a tapir). [⇒ Tr. *ekïrika*, cut a piece of O]

ëeku (Vt). Have sex (with each other). *W-ëeku-to*, sex. *Kïrï, wëri_marë, n-ëeku-ja-n*, a man has sex with a woman. *N-ëeku-jan_to*, they are mating (said about two dogs) [⇒ Tr. *eku*, have sex with O]

ëema (N). Path, trail. *Ëema tï-saika-e ii-ja*, he missed the path, took the wrong path. *Aja_nara k-ëëma-rï_npa?* where on Earth is our path? [Irregular possessed stem, with three forms: *eema*, *ëema*, *ëëma*; cf. 2.6.1, 4.3.1.2]

ëemuuma (Va). Become sad. *T-ëemuuma-e*, I am getting sad. [⇒ Tr, *emuuma*, make O sad]

ëene (Va). **1** See, look at (each other). *N-ëene-n_to*, they are seeing, looking at each other. **2** Become visible. *Nunnë n-ëene-n*, the moon is becoming visible (e.g. appearing from behind a cloud). [⇒ Tr. *ene*, see, look at O]

ëenjapïnma (Va). Feel pity (about O). *Pahko n-ëenjapïnma ë-pë, irëme j-enno*, my father pitied you, so he sent me (here). [⇒ Tr. *enjapïnma*, cause pity in O]

ëenkïïka (Va). Rub, wipe one's own eyes. *T-ëenkïïka-e*, I am rubbing, wiping my eyes. [⇒ Tr. *enkïïka*, rub, wipe O's eyes]

ëenpa (Va). Learn, teach oneself (about something). *Akurijo i-j-omii_pë t-ëenpa-ne*, I learned (about) the Akuriyó language. [⇒ Tr. *enpa*, teach O (a student)]

ëentama (Va). Spill (liquid). *Ë-munu ëentama-ewa i-w-eh-too_me*, so that your blood is not spilled. [⇒ Tr. *entama*, spill O (liquid)]

ëenuhkama (Va). Confuse oneself, get confused. *T-ëenuhkama-e*, I am getting confused. [⇒ Tr. *enuhkama*, confuse O]

ëenu(mu) (Va). Suffer; be in need (of food, drink). *T-ëenun-ja-e*, I am in need (of food, drink), I am hungry, thirsty. [⇒ Tr. *enu(mu)*, suffer from O, be affected by O]

ëenuuma (Va). Be busy, working. *T-ëenuuma-e*, I am busy, I am doing something. [Tr. stem probably exists, but is unattested]

ëepanï(pï) (Va). Seek, take revenge. *Toisi_me_n-ai Mataware i-w-ëepanïh-topo-npë*, twice did Mataware revenge himself, seek revenge. [⇒ Tr. *epanï(pï)*, revenge O]

ëepeka(tï) (Va). Buy, trade (something) for oneself. *T-ëepekaa-ja-e*, I am buying myself many things. *T-ëepekaa-ja-e maja_pë*, I am buying myself a knife.

ëe(pï) (Va, non-Detr. [5.2.2, Table 5.4]; irreg. person markers [5.4.1.1.2], irreg. *t*-initial stem in the negative [5.4.3.1.3] and 'Actual S' [4.4.2.1.3] forms, irreg. imperative stem *oh-* [5.4.2.1]). Come. *Mën-eh_pa?* Have you come back? (usual greeting formula). *W-ëe-ne_pa serë_pona_pa*, I came back here. *Oh-të-kë,kït-ëeweh-të-ne*, you all come, let's eat. *Irë_mao t-ee-sewa_pa m-ee-ja-e*, then you will not come back.

ëepona (Pp, Recp). To(ward) each other. [It could also be the second-person form, i.e. to(ward) you; ⇒ *epona*, *_pona*]

ëepo(rï) (Va). Meet. *Pena ahtao kaikui_marë_to tï-w-ëepoo-se*, long ago they met with a jaguar. [⇒ Tr. *epo(rï)*, meet O]

ëerekonma (Va). Be worried; think deeply (about something, so as to solve a problem). *T-ëerekonma-e ji-nmuku_pë*, I am worried about my son. *Këpëewa i-wae tï-w-ëerekonmae rupeimë, mëe i-nmuku_pë*, but the *rupeimë* lizard worried (concerned himself, thought) about his (=Taru's) son a lot. *Irëme kutuma tï-w-ëerekonma-e*, then he thought a lot about that (i.e. about how to get the kind of game that his mother-in-law wanted) [⇒ Tr. *erekonma*, harass O]

ëerekuika (Va). Become angry, furious. *T-ëerekuika-ne*, I became angry. [⇒ *erekuika*, irritate O]

ëeresaarama (Va). Become happy; be glad. *I-wae pahko tï-w-ëeresaarama-e, wë-të i-w-eh-to ene-hpë_ke*, my father became very happy, because he saw that I was good at shooting. [⇒ Tr. *eresaarama*, make O happy]

ëeretëu (Va). Be angry, worried [syn. *ëerekuika*, *ëerekonma*]. *T-ëeretëu-ja-e*, I am (getting) angry, worried. *Ma, irë_mao kïn-ëeretëu Taru*, then Taru got worried. [⇒ Tr. *eretëu*, irritate, worry O]

ëeretïhka (Va). Be terribly scared, out of one's wits. *T-ëeretïhka-e*, I am getting scared to death. [⇒ Tr. *eretïhka*, scare O to death]

ëeton (N). Bunch. *Ëeton eperu*, a bunch of fruits. [The final *n* is probably a reduced nasal syllable; full grade unattested]

ëewaama (Va). Feel desire (sexual, etc.). *Ma, irë_mao tï-w-ëewaama-e Përëpërëwa tï-pï_pë*, then Përëpërëwa felt desire for his wife. *T-ëewaama-e t-ënë-en_pë* (or *t-ënë-en_ke*), I feel desire for meat, I am meat-hungry. [⇒ Tr. *ewaama*, make O feel pity, be lenient]

ëewaaje (Pp, Recp; nzr. *ëewaaja-to*). Happy, satisfied with each other. [It could also be the second-person form, i.e. satisfied with you; ⇒ *ewaaje*]

ëewe(tï) (Va). Eat (general) (12.3.5). *Ëewee-se wï-të-e*, I am going (somewhere) to eat. *T-ëewee-ja-e j-erepaa_ke*, I am eating my food. *Ëeweh-kë_pitë*, eat a little! *Mono_me t-ëewee-ja-e*, I am eating a lot. *Tapïime mëhparë-ton n-ëewee-ja-n*, many animals (birds and monkeys) are eating. *Kït-ëeweh-të-ne*, let's all eat! [⇒ Tr. *ewe(tï)*, feed O]

ëë (Intj). A lamenting sound, often quite long and with level or falling intonation. *Ëë... tïï-ka-e, wïka_reh_pohpa, tïï-ka-e*, oooh, s/he said, I told you, but in vain, s/he said.

ëëkënë (A). Two; as a pair. *Ëëkënë wïtoto n-ee-ja-n*, two people are arriving; they are arriving as a pair.

ëënepe(ke) (A; nzr. *ëënepeka-to*). Drunk. *Ëënepe_n-ai ji-pawana*, my friend is drunk. *Serë apo mï-ka-ne, ëënepe ëmë ahtao*, that's what you said, when you were drunk. [⇒ *_pe(ke)*, negative attributivizer; maybe an old phrase]

(j)ëënë (N). Pet; domestic animal [⇒ *ekï*]. *Ëënë enï*, animal cage. *Ëënë erepa*, pet food. [Apparently, a non-possessed equivalent of *ekï*; the above examples do not imply an owner. However, a couple of possessed instances did occur: *ji-j-ëënë*, my pet. *J-ekï* was always considered more natural]

ëënïhpo (A; nzr. *-to*). Sleepy. *Ëënïhpo_w-a-e*, I am sleepy, I feel like sleeping. [⇒ *ëënï(kï)* 'sleep'; cf. 6.1.1.3]

ëënï(kï) (Va, non-Detr [5.2.2, Table 5.4]).

Sleep. *N-ëënïï-ja-n?* Is he sleeping? *Këpëewa ëënïï-sewa pai*, but the tapir did not sleep. *Irë_po_n-ai tarëno i-w-ëënïh-to Paramaribo_po*, there is the place where the Tiriyó stay (lit. their sleeping-place) in Paramaribo.

ëës- (pfx). ⇒ *ët-* 'Recp', 'Detr'

ëësahpëntë (Va). Help oneself; get out of trouble. *M-ëësahpëntë, meri*, you have escaped, squirrel (said, in a folk tale, by a cayman to a squirrel who had successfully evaded his attempts at capturing him). [⇒ Tr. *jahpëntë*, provide (for) O, help O]

ëësaima (Va). Disperse, scatter (a group of animals). *Mëëjan tï-w-ëësaima-e, i-nnapï i-jokooroka-ne-ton*, they got dispersed, the ones that had been gathering (and stealing) his fruit [⇒ Tr. *jaima*, disperse, scatter O]

ëësamu(ku) (Va). Cut a piece of oneself [syn. *ëekïrika*]. *Ëësamuh-kë ji-n-ene-n_me*, cut a piece of yourself, for me to see. [⇒ Tr. *jamu(ku)*, cut a piece of O]

ëësapëkëma (Va). Be poor, in need (of all basic things). *T-ëësapëkëma-e*, I am poor, I need help. [⇒ Tr. *japëkënma*, make O be in need; notice, however, the unexpected *nm*]

ëëse (Va). Cook something for oneself. *T-ëëse*, I am cooking something for myself. *N-ëëse-n*, s/he is cooking him/herself something. [⇒ Tr. *[t]je*, cook O]

ëëseenë (A; nzr. *-to*). Ill, sick; wounded. *Ë-nmuku ëëseenë n-ee-ja-n*, your son is getting sick. *Ëëseenëto_ta ahken kïtati*, we will be as if we were not ill. *Ëëseenë_w-a-e, s-emënparëma*, I am wounded, I have had an accident. [Maybe related to *ëësena*, cry, weep; 6.1.1.5]

ëësekema (Va). Hurry; start affecting. *AIDS tëin_ken ahtao k-ëwëë-ne, irë_mao_n-ai ëësekema-ewa_ken k-akuika-toh-kon_pë*, when AIDS is inside of us, it does not (yet) hurry about hurting us (i.e. not before another disease enters our body). [⇒ Tr. *jekema*, hurry about O]

ëësena (Va; non-Detr. [5.2.2, Table 5.4]; var. *ëësina*). Cry, weep. *I-pato _ta t-ëësena-e*, I am crying with a reason (not out of the blue). *Ëësena-ewa eh-kë*, don't cry. *Irë_mao pai ëmuu_me t-ee-se, tï-w-ëësina-e*, then the tapir became sad and cried.

ëësina (Va). ⇒ *ëësena*, cry, weep.

ëh- (pfx). ⇒ *ët-* 'Recp', 'Detr'

ëhkï (Va; takes *-ja*). Grate manioc for oneself. *T-ëhkïï-ja-e*, I am grating manioc for myself. [⇒ *[t]kï*, grate O (manioc)]

ëhkuhtuntë (Va). Measure, evaluate each other. *Ameraarë ëhkuhtuntë*, you all, measure each other (i.e. evaluate each other as opponents; also, check how strong, heavy, tall, etc. each other is). [⇒ Tr. *kuhtuntë*, measure, mark, evaluate, count O]

ëhku(ku) (Va). **1** Try. *Tï-w-ë_tï-w-ëhkuu-se_to*, they kept on trying and trying. **2** Measure, evaluate each other. *"Ëhkuh-këë_ne", tïï-ka-e*, measure each other (= see how big, how strong you are), s/he said. [⇒ Tr. *ku(ku)*, try, taste O]

ëhkurunma (Va). Defend, protect oneself. *Wei waraarë ë-w-ëhkurunma_mahtao, irë_mao ë-w-emënparëma-to wa_ken n-eh-ta-n*, if you protect yourself every day, then you will not have accidents. [Tr. counterpart probably exists (presumbaly *hkurunma*), but is unattested. Apparently related to *ikuruma*, dangerous]

ëhpuunë(pï) (Va). Think, ponder, meditate. *T-ëhpuunëë-ja-e*, I am meditating, thinking. *Ëhpuunëë-se_rëken mïïkon*, come think about this. *Irëme wë-pïn tï-w-ëhpuunëë-se kutuma*, then the bad shooter reflected a lot, for a while. [⇒ Tr. *puunë(pï)*, think, meditate about O, understand O]

ëhtë (Va). Shoot oneself. *Këpëewa Jaraware tï-w-ëhtë-e tï-petï_tao*, but Yaraware shoots himself in the thigh. [Irregular Detr. form of *[t]wë*, shoot O]

ëhtïhka (Va). Be, get scared. *T-ëhtïhka-e*, I am getting scared. *Kana-ton n-ëhtïhka-n, tuna-ton wa_ken i-w-ei_ke*, the fish get scared because there are no rivers (i.e. because the rivers become low during the dry season). *Kutuma wë-pïnï-npë tï-w-ëhtïhka-e*, the ex-bad shooter got really frightened [⇒ Tr. *tïhka*, scare O]

ëi- (pfx). ⇒ *ët-* 'Recp', 'Detr'.

ëija (Pp, Recp). To each other. [⇒ *_:ja*]

ëinonta (Va). ⇒ *enonta*, let go.

ëje (Pp). **1** Wanting you; irregular second-person form [⇒ desiderative postposition *se*]. **2** Your tooth [⇒ *je(e)*, tooth]

ëikarë (A). By oneself; without help. *Inpuunëë-sewa ë-w-ei_mahtao, ëikarë ë-erih-ta-e*, if you don't think about this, you will be in danger by yourself (=alone). *Ëikarë t-ëtïrï-ja-e*, I make things (utensils) by myself, without help. *Ëikarë kït-a-e*, we are by ourselves, no one helps us (i.e. we are partners). [Apparently a reciprocal form; non-reciprocal counterpart unattested]

(j)ëikëëkë (N). Wound. *Ë-j-ëikëëkë_po*, on your wound. *Ëikëëkë_hpije_w-a-e*, I am covered with wounds. *Sehken_n-ai ëikëëkë epi_me*, it is also good medicine for wounds.

ëire (A; nzr. *ëira-to*) Back grade of the irascitive postposition *eire*; wild, unfriendly, non-domesticated [⇒ *eire*]

ëisapo (Pp, Recp). The same, equal, equivalent. *Ëisaporo_n-ai*, it is the same thing; they are the same, equivalent. [⇒ *apo*, like, similar to]

ëiwa (Va). Hunt; get game. *Ëiwa-e wï-të-e*, I am going hunting. *Ji-w-ëiwa_se_w-a-e*, I want to hunt. *Ë-w-ëiwa-rï_htao irë_mao n-ee-ja-n kaikui a-apëh-too_me*, when you are hunting, a jaguar comes to get you. [Apparently, a detransitivized form of *iwa*, look for O, seek O, with the lexicalized meaning of 'hunt']

ëiwame(ke) (A; nzr. *ëiwameka-to*). Stupid; ignorant. [Also the reciprocal form of the ignorative postposition *wame(ke)*, i.e. not knowing each other]

ëkëi (N). Generic name for snakes. *J-eeka_se_n-ai ëkëi*, a/the snake wants to bite me.

ëkëimë (N). Anaconda (also called *imatapi*). [⇒ *ëkëi*, snake, and the augmentative *-imë*; apparently, a lexicalization]

ëkëmu (N). A species of fish (Port. *muçum*).

ëkëne(tï) (N). A good, capable person. [This word seems to be old-fashioned; some speakers did not know it]

ëkërëku (N). A smaller kind of cayman (*Caiman sp.*, Port. *jacaretinga*).

ëkërëpukë (N). Species of weasel-like animals (*Galictis vittata*, Port. *furão*, or *Eira barbara*, Port. *irara*) [It is not clear whether these two species share one name or not]

[t]ë(ku) (Vt). Eat O (cassava, flour, bread; 12.3.5). *Këpëewa kajama in-ëë-sewa t-ee-se*, but he did not eat the flour. *T-ëë-se_marë ii-ja wïï*, he also ate the cassava. *T-ëh-kë!* Eat it!

ëmë (Pro; col. *ëmënjamo*). Second-person non-collective ('2'; 4.1.1). *Ëmë_pa?* How about you? *Anpëe-n ëmë, kïrï?* Where are you from, man?

(j)ëmëinë (N). Thorn(s); thorny shrub, bush. *J-ehpënnë ëmëinë*, thorn(s), a thorny shrub pricked me. *Tï-j-ëmëinë-ke_n-ai ipëmu*, this flower is thorny, has thorns.

ëmë(mï) (Va) ⇒ *ëmï(mï)*, enter.

ëmënjamo (Pro; non-col. *ëmë*). Second-person collective, you all ('2Col'; 4.1.1). *Ma, ëmënjamo tïrïjo_me*, you are the Tiriyó.

ëmïje (A; nzr. *ëmïja-no*). Soft. *Ooni_po ëmïja-n-ton eperu*, over there the fruits are softer (said by a speaker who had lost most of his teeth).

ëmï(mï) (Va; non-Detr. [5.2.2, Table 5.4]; var. *ëmë(mï)*). Enter, come in. *Ëmïn-kë! Ëmën-kë!* Come in! *N-ëmïn-ja-n i-munu_hta*, it enters into his/her blood. *Tï-w-ëmën-je wakapu oota_htao*, s/he entered into the hole in the *wakapu* tree.

ëmïsa (N) Nice person. *Mëe_n-ai ëmïsa _me*, this one is nice (Port. *simpático*). *Mataware eemi-h-ton t-ëne-pore, ëmïsa_me*, Mataware's daughters are pretty and nice. [Maybe related to *ëmïje*, soft. It is not clear whether it refers to physical appearance or to behavior]

ëmo(mï) (Va). Gather; get together. *Irë_po pëtunë kïn-ëmon tï-moitï-h-ton_marë*, there the *pëtunë* bird got together with all his relatives. *Irë_po, ii-re_pa tï-w-ëmon-je*, there his arrows (which had been thrown in all directions) had (accidentally) gathered. [⇒ Tr. *mo(mï)*, gather O, put O together]

ënanu(ku) (Va; non-Detr. [5.2.2, Table 5.4]). Climb, go up. *Ma, mope_po_ken ahtao, tï-w-ënanuu-se wïtoto*, when he was next to the *mope* tree, the man climbed it. *Tï-w-ënanuu-se kawë*, he climbed high. *Kapu_pona tï-w-ënanuu-se Jaraware*, Yarawaré ascended to heaven. [This verb is obviously related to its synonym *anu(ku)*, go up, though the nature of the relationship remains unclear]

[t]ënë (Vt). Eat O (meat; also eggs) (12.3.5). *T-ënë-kë!* Eat (meat)! *Ipun ënë! Ipun t-ënë!* Eat the meat! *Iimo ënë_se_w-a-e*, I want to eat eggs. *Akuri eneh_pa pahko, nërë-npë anja n-ënë*, my father brought agouti (=game), and we ate it. *Ë-ënë-ewa_w-a-e*, I am not going to eat you. *Mataware eemi t-ënë-e ii-ja*, he ate Matawaré's daughter. *O-otï_pa, akï ënë-e ëmë?* As for your meat food, what did you usually eat?

ënjeenë (A; nzr *-to*). Hungry. *Ënjeenë_w-a-e*, I am hungry. *Kï-tën-ne ëiwa-e, ënjeenë kï-w-ei_ke*, let's go hunting, because we are hungry. (6.1.1.5)

ënpëi (N). Several species of birds (*Arremon* spp., Fringillidae, Port. *tico-tico* [a kind of sparrow]; *Uromyias agilis*, Tyrannidae, Eng. *agile tit-tyrant*; *Campylorhynchus griseus*, Troglodytidae, Eng. *bicolored wren*).

ënkume (Pp). Back grade form; ⇒ *enkume*, difficult.

ëpëpiri (N). A species of liana (*Guatteria scandens*, Annonaceae), used as liver medicine.

ëpona (A; nzr. *-(no)*). Back grade of the fidelitive postposition *epona*; credulous, naive, considerate [⇒ *epona*]

ërentë (N). Irregular non-possessed form; ⇒ *erei(nï)*, smoke (4.3.1.4.3).

ërimikëri (N). A species of cricket.

ërinë (N). Irregular non-possessed form; ⇒ *eri*, clay, clay pot.

ërukë (N). Generic name for caterpillars.

ërukëu (N). A species of tree (Port. *sucupira*).

ët- (pfx). A general marker of reflexivity and reciprocity; on verbs, a detransitivizer. It has several allomorphs: *ë-*, *ët-*, *ëës-*, *ëi-*, *ëh-*, *e-*, *et-*) (3.3.1.4; 4.3.1.3; 5.3.1.1; 7.1.3).

ëtaarama (Va). Adorn, embellish oneself. *Irë_ja-n_me m-ët-aarama-ne arekoere_ke*, because of this, you adorned yourself with *arakoere* paint. [⇒ Tr. *aarama*, embellish, adorn O]

ëtahkë(të) (Va). Cut oneself, each other. *Kïtëtahkëëjae_sa k-ënpata_po*, we cut ourselves a little on the face (while shaving). [⇒ Tr. *ahkë(të)*, cut O]

ëtakëërë (Pp, Recp). Together, with each other. *Ëtakëërë nï-të-n*, they go together. [⇒ *akëërë*, with]

ëtame(mï) (Va). Wrap itself around something. *Ëkëi n-ëtamen-ja-n wewe_pë*, the snake wrapped itself up around the tree. Idiomatically, get close. *Maa_tah_ken ëkëi, n-ëtamen-ja-n iweike i-pë*, the snake was very near, because it was getting closer ('rolling itself up around him'). [⇒ Tr. *ame(mï)*, roll O up]

ëtamërënpo (Va). Be fooled, deceived. *Ëtamërënpo-ewa meri*, the squirrel did not let others fool him. [⇒ Tr. *amërënpo*, deceive O]

ëtamika (Va). Dig itself; open (hole). *Nono i-w-ëtamika-hpë, mono*, the opening of the ground, of a big hole on the ground. [⇒ Tr. *amika*, dig O]

ëtaminë(pï) (Va). Escape, disappear; go away unseen. *T-ëtaminëë-ja-e*, I am sneaking out. [⇒ Tr. *aminë(pï)*, steal O]

ëtamoihtë (Va). Hang (itself); be hanging. *Tï-w-ëtamoihtë-e_to*, they were hanging, hung themselves (snakes, on a tree). *T-ëtamoihtë-e*, I hung myself (e.g. on a tree). [⇒ Tr. *amoihtë*, hang O]

ëtamorehtë (Va). Dream. *Serë apo t-ëtamorehtë wïraapa_pë*, like this I dreamed of the *wïraapa* tree (from which bows are made). [⇒ Tr. *amorehtë*, dream of O]

ëtantë (Va). Make oneself a temporary hiding shelter, made of straw (⇒ *mïnnë*). *Ma, irë_mao tï-kooman-je ituu_roowë, tï-w-ëtantë-e_marë,* then he spent the night in the jungle, and he made himself a shelter, too. [⇒ Tr. *antë*, make O (temporary shelter)]

ëtapë(i) (Va). **1** Hold on to, stick to. *T-omoi tï-rë-e ii-ja, tï-w-ëtapëh-too_me meri_ja,* the squirrel drove his claws into it, so as to hold on to it (= the cayman's head). *Irë_mao n-ai mëe i-j-akëreu-hpë ëtapëë-sewa ë-pë,* then this guy's disease will not 'stick' (hold on) to you. **2** Fight. *Tï-w-ëtapëë-sen_me,* (people) who fight (with each other). **3** Have sex. *Serë apo anja n-ëtapëë-ja-e,* this is how we have sex (lit. catch each other). **4** Fiddle, play with something. *Tïwërë-n i-munu-hpë_ke ëtapëë-sewa eh-kë,* do not be playing with someone else's blood. **5** Pull oneself together; 'gather oneself'. *Ëtapëh-kë_pa,* gather yourself back! (said to a tapir who had been cut up in pieces). [⇒ Tr. *apë(i),* get, catch O]

ëtapëmë (Va). Be invited; gather. *Irë_mao n-ëtapëmë-n wïtoto,* then people are invited (to help in the preparation of a field). [A transitive source, though unattested, probably exists]

ëtapi(mï) (Va). Sew oneself (e.g. when one has an open wound). *T-ëtapin-ja-e,* I am sewing myself. [⇒ Tr. *api(mï),* sew O].

ëtapo (Va). Grind (something) for oneself. *T-ëtapo-e wïi_pë,* I will grind myself some cassava (to bake cassava bread). [⇒ Tr. *apo,* dig O, grind O; *ëtapo* as 'dig for oneself' is presumably possible, but unattested]

ëtapotoma (Va). Help oneself, work for oneself. *T-ëtapotoma-e,* I am helping myself, working for myself. [⇒ Tr. *apotoma,* help O, work for O]

ëtapuru (Va; *-se* form *ëtapurë-e* [5.1.6]; takes *-ja* [5.4.1.3.1])). Close, cover oneself. *T-ëtapuru-ja-e,* I am going to enclose myself (in a temporary shelter). [⇒ Tr. *apuru,* close O, cover O]

ëtarë (Va). Take oneself; go. *T-ëtarë-e,* I am going, taking myself (somewhere). [⇒ Tr. *arë,* take O]

ëtawë (Pp, Recp). One inside the other; together, in the same house (7.1.3). *I-pakoronna_w-a-e... — Irëme_npa ëtawë k-eh-të-ne!,* I am homeless — Then let us live together in the same house! [⇒ *awë,* inside of N]

ëtëu (Va; *-se* form *ëtëu-je*). Remove oneself; come out. *T-ëtëu-ja-e,* I am coming out (e.g. from the river, after a bath). [⇒ Tr. *[t]ëu,* remove O]

ëtïhka (Va) **1** Be over; be finished. *N-ëtïhka,* it's over, there aren't any left (said to children, about candies). *N-ëtïhka-n,* it is almost over. *N-ëtïhka_rën pïre,* my arrows have really run out-, I have no arrows left. **2** End. *Serë i-w-ëtïhka-to menjaarë,* that's the end now (of the story that the speaker was telling). **3** Die, cease existing. *Manko waa_t-ee-se, pahko waa_t-ee-se, ameraarë tï-w-ëtïhka-e,* my mother had died, my father had died, they were all gone (= i.e. the speaker's family). [⇒ Tr. *tïïka,* finish O, run out of O. The *h* in *ëtïhka* is difficult to explain. There is a verb *tïhka,* but it means 'frighten, scare O', and there already is a form *ëh-tïhka,* get scared. Moreover, *ë-* 'Detr' with a consonant-initial stem (instead of *ëi-* or *e-*) is irregular. A vowel-initial stem *ïhka* with *ët-* would be more regular, but it is unattested]

ëtïrï (Va; *-se* form *ëtïrë-e*; takes *-ja*). Work; make things (for oneself). *Ëikarë t-ëtïrï-ja-e,* I work by myself, I make things for myself (without help). *M-ëtïrï-ja-n?* Are you working? Are you making yourself something? [⇒ Tr. *[t]rï,* do, make O]

ëtona(mï) (Va). Hide; bury oneself. *Kï-pun_tao ahtao, kure n-ëtonan-ja-n,* when it (=virus) is inside of our bodies, it hides itself well. [⇒ Tr. *ona(mï),* hide, bury O]

ëtono(pï) (Va). Paint, grate O's self. *T-ëtonoo-ja-e,* I am painting myself [⇒ Tr. paint, grate O]

ëturu (Va; *-se* form *ëturë-e* [5.1.6]; takes *-ja* [5.4.1.3.1])). Talk, speak (to someone, or in public). *T-ëturu-ja-e_rëken ëë-jaa-ne*, I am just talking to you all (without serious consequences). *Irëme kï-w-ëturu_se_ w-a-e ëi-ja*, so I want us to talk to each other. *Anja n-ëturu-ja-e anja i-w-eh-toh_pë*, we (1+3) are talking [⇒ *uru*, warn, advise, talk to O]

[t]ëu (Vt; *-se* form *[t]ëu-je*; takes *-ja*). Remove O, take O out (usually from O's body) [syn. *:sika*]. *Ëmëinë t-ëu! Ëmëinë ëu!* Remove the thorn! *Sikë m-ëu-ja-n?* Are you removing a chigger (e.g. from your foot)? *Ë-sikë ëutopo-npë, akusa ema mahto_hta*, after having removed the chigger (from your foot), throw the needle into the fire. [⇒ Detr. *ëtëu*, remove oneself; come out]

ëu(mu) (Va; non-Detr [5.2.2, Table 5.4]). Warm up, become warm(er). *T-ëun-ja-e*, I am going to warm up. *Ji-w-ëumu_se_w-a-e ë-ekatao*, I want to warm up close to you (i.e. from your body warmth). *Ji-pawana j-ëun-nëh-po-n*, my friend is warming me up.

ëwaaje (A; var. *waaje*; nzr. *ëwaaja-to*). Back grade of the appreciative postposition *ewaaje*; considerate, nice [⇒ *ewaaje*]

ëwë (A; nzr. *-(no)*) Later. *Ëwë_pa n-e*, s/he came later. *Ëwë_pa_mo apëh-kë!* Get it later! *Ëwë_pitë*, wait a little (lit. later, a second).

ëwë(h) (Ptc). Jussive particle: let him/her... let me... (9.1.1, 5.4.2.2) *Ëwë wï-të-e!* Let me go! *Ëwë n-apëi!* Let him/her get it! *Ëwëh_to n-apëi!* Let them get it! [The final *h* of *ëwë(h)* occurs when it is followed by the collective clitic *_to*; it probably results from a reducing syllable, the full grade of which is unattested]

H

-h (sfx). Coda grade of ⇒ *-(rï)*.

h (Va). ⇒ *të[mï]*, go.

_hkaara (Ptc). Used after verb phrases to indicate certainty with surprise. *Tï-papa eta_hkaara*, ah! it's *his father* he has heard! (the speaker expected someone else to have been heard) [⇒ *hkaarë*, used with non-verb phrases; 9.1.3.2]

_hkaarë (Ptc). Used after non-verb phrases to indicate certainty with surprise. *Taru_hkaarë!* ah! it's Taru! (the speaker was not expecting Taru). *Irë_po_ hkaarë i-pata*, his/her village is *over there!* (the speaker is surprised at the location). [⇒ *hkaara*, used with verb phrases; 9.1.3.2]

_hkaasan (Ptc). This particle marks the alternative that the speaker would have preferred, as opposed to what was really the case (usually, but not always, like English *instead* in *not this, but that, instead*; cf. e.g. Spanish *sino*, German *sondern*; 9.3.1.2). *Owa, wïtoto_hkaasan w-eta-e*, no, I am listening to a person instead (i.e. I am not working). *Këpëewa irë_pëh_ta wëëpïnï-npë t-ëiranoo-se i-moitï-h-tomo_ja, i-pïh_pëkë_hkaasan*, but that was not the reason why the bad shooter's relatives were angry at him; instead, it was because of his wife. *Owa, ëmë_hkaasan_man-a-e pija*, no, *you* are small, not *me*.

_hkahta (Ptc). ⇒ *_kahta*, definitely, without fail.

_hka(ka) (Pp). Aquatic illative ('into a liquid', usually water) postposition (7.3.1.1.2). *Irë_mao tïï-të-e_pa, tuna_hka_pa t-ënmïï-se*, then he went away, he went back into the river. [⇒ locative *_hkao*, in (a liquid)]

_hkao (Pp). Aquatic inessive ('in liquid', usually water) postposition (7.3.1.1.1). *Irëme t-ëne_ken ii-ja tuna_ hkao*, so he kept looking at her in the river. *Itui arï-npë_mo tïpëh-kë, irë-npë_mo tuna_hkao tïrï kapohta_sa*, take leaves from an *itui* tree and put them in water for a little while. [⇒ directional *hka(ka)*, 'into a liquid']

_hkatë (Ptc). This particle is used in equative clauses to attribute responsibility or importance (9.3.1.2): *ëmë_hkatë*, it is up to you, *mërë_hkatë*, it's a necessary thing. In other kinds of clauses, it expresses a less clear element of emphasis: *aja_hkatë kïn-arë, j-eemi,* where on earth did he take my daughter to?

_hkatëti (Ptc). This particle seems to indicate that a presupposition is being countered (cf. some uses of English *come on*, German *doch*; 9.3.1.2). *K-ëne-kë_hkatëti*, come on, just look at me, watch what I'm doing. *W-ene_hkatëti*, I'll go see if it's true.

hkërënma (Vt). Harass, attack , do evil to O. *Wi-hkërënma-e*, I am going to threaten, attack, do evil to O. *Ihkërënma-të*, he is dangerous, violent. *Pata tï-hkërënma-e meekoro_ja*, the Bushnegroes attacked, afflicted the village. *Ë-nnapï, ë-j-oroi, i-hkërënma-n, mëkïnpëken-ton*, your fruits, your cashew (trees), the animals are attacking them, stealing them. [⇒ Detr. *ehkërënma*, be aggressive, do evil, sin]

-hkii (sfx). Collective marker on verbs in the future imperfective (5.4.1.2).

hkoroko (N). A species of bird (*Hylopezus macularius*, Formicariidae; Port. *torom-torom-pintalgado*, Eng. *spotted antpitta*) [The initial *hk* (pronounced [h]) is suspicious; this word may be a borrowing from Kaxuyana. It was collected at the Missão Tiriós; at the Wayana-Apalaí village of Bonna, *moomoori* was given as the Tiriyó word for this species by local native speakers]

_hpe (Ptc). Indefinite particle, always used with interrogatives (9.1.4). *Akï_hpe kïn-arë*, someone (= the speaker does not know who) took him/her/it away. *Maa_tah_ken Taru ahtao, tïwërën_mao ahtaarë_hpe un_kilometru tahken*, when Taru was near, I don't know how near, maybe one kilometer. *Aja_hpe nï-tën*, s/he went somewhere, I don't know where.

-hpë (sfx). Nominal past marker, used with possessed *-rï* class nouns. (⇒ *-npë*, 4.3.1.5.1)

_hpije (Pp). Characterized by; full of; infested with (characterizative, 7.3.2). *Watë_hpije_n-ai*, it is all dirty with excrement. *Kana_hpije_n-ai tuna*, the river is full of fish. *Sikë_hpije_w-a-e*, I am full, infested with chiggers. *Wïkarau_hpije_man-a-e*, you are angry, full of anger.

_hpïtïna(ka/kïï) (Pp). To(ward) the back of N (7.3.1.2.2). *Kanawa_hpïtïna nï-të-n*, s/he is going to the back of the canoe. [⇒ locative *_hpïtïnao*, at, in the back of N]

_hpïtïnao (Pp). At, in the back of N (7.3.1.2.2). *Kanawa_hpïtïnao_n-ai*, s/he is in the back of the canoe [⇒ *pïtïkï*, anus; ⇒ directional *_hpïtïna(ka/kïï)*]

_hpïtïkï (N). Irregular possessed form; ⇒ *pïtïkï*, anus.

hpotï (N). Body hair. *Ji-hpotï*, my body hair.

_hta(ka) (Pp). 'Surrounding' directional postposition. *Tëpu n-anota nono_hta*, the stone fell on the ground. [⇒ locative *_htao*, 'surrounding']

_htao (Pp). 'Surrounding' locative postposition (7.3.1.1.1). *Tëpu_n-ai nono_htao*, the stone is on the ground. *Tëpu_n-ai tïpitë_htao*, the stone is in the garden. *K-otï mahto_htao kii-puru-ja-e*, we roast our meat on the fire. [⇒ directional *hta(ka)*, to(ward) a 'surrounding' position]

htarënma (Vt). Reduced grade; ⇒ *(pï)tarënma*, inform, warn, cause concern in O.

htarënumu (N). Jealousy. *I-htarënumu*, jealousy of him/her. [Possibly related to *htarënma* ⇒ *(pï)tarënma*; the front grade of the initial *h*, though presumably also *pï*, is unfortunately unattested]

-htë (sfx). 'Beneficiative' noun verbalizer (5.3.3.1.2).

htëinkapa(mï) (Vo; var. *htënkapa(mï)*). Forget. *Ji-htëinkapan*, I have forgotten. *Ni-htëinkapan ji-pë*, s/he has forgotten about me. [The initial *h* probably is the result of a reducing syllable; its full grade is unattested]

htëinkato (N). Forgetting. *Ma, irë_mao tï-htëinkato_me tï-waehka-e ii-ja pai_ja*, then the tapir, having forgotten, jumped over it. [This word looks like a *-to(po)* nominalization of a verb; the presumed stem *htëinka* is, however, unattested]

I

i- (pfx). Third-person marker (3.3.1) on nouns (4.3.1.2) and postpositions (7.1.1) [allomorphs *i-* and -∅]

i- (pfx). 'Generic' prefix, found on *i*-adverbs (6.2.1.2) and various verb forms (5.1.5). It is probably historically derived from the third-person *i-*; synchronically, however, it seems to have no function.

-i (sfx). Hypothetical tense (5.4.1.3.5)

ihta (Ptc). Indicator of 'surprise with anger' (9.1.4). *Wï-ka_ihta!* I've already told you that! *Kï-të_ihta!* Yes, we're going—I've already told you that!

iija(no) (N). Part of the nominalized form of ⇒ *iijeeta*, a lot.

iijeeta (A; nzr. *iijan_ta*). Many, much (used with inanimates); a lot, really. *Ma, irë_mao pïrëu tï-w-ëësamuu-se, iijeeta*, then the bow plant cut itself up in many pieces. *Irë_mao tï-w-ëe-se iijeeta tuna*, then lots of water came. *Irë_mao _rë iijeeta k-akuikaa-ti*, only then it starts really hurting us a lot. [Usually pronounced [i.jee.ta], but, when nominalized, it becomes [ii.jan.ta] more clearly] [It looks like a negative form, which it probably was historically; the nominalized form shows this clearly]

iikë (N). Kind of worm (Port. *berne*) which eats its way into its host's body. *Iikë i-w-ëmïn-to apo_ro_pa*, it is like (the way) an *iikë* enters (into your body).

iima (Vo). ⇒ *:ma*, rise, fill up (river).

iimo (N). ⇒ *:mo*, egg.

iina (Vt). ⇒ *:na*, mock O.

iina (N). ⇒ *:na*, *tuna*, water.

iirïpï (N). Third-person possessed form of *(wï)rïpë*, evil spirit, evil thing (⇒ *(wï)rïpë*)

iisika (Vt) ⇒ *:sika*, remove O

iisoimë (N). A species of saki monkey (*Chiropotes satanas*). [Probably derived with *-imë*; source stem unattested]

ijaka (N). Rattlesnake (Port. *cascavel*).

ije (Pp). **1** Wanting him/her/it; irregular third-person form [⇒ desiderative postposition *se*]. **2** His/her/its tooth [⇒ *je(e)*, tooth]

iju (N). A species of hawk (Port. *gavião-real*).

ikamiiru (N). Coals, embers (in fire).

ikapurutu (N). Cloud. [Probably related to *kapu*, sky, heaven, thunder]

ikïïrï (N). Younger brother (used by a female speaker); young man. *Kï-ikïïrï*, our younger brother (said by a woman to her sister) (4.3.1.4.3, 12.3.1).

ikuhpoora (A). No problems; without difficulties. *Owa irë, ikuhpoora, ëikarë kït-a-e kïmë*, no, no problem, we are by ourselves (= we are friends, you can trust me). [Formally, the negative abilitative (*i- -poora*; 6.2.1.2.3) form of the transitive verb stem *ku(ku)*, try O; i.e. 'not being able, needing to try' > 'no problem']

ikuruma(ka) (A; nzr. *ikurune(tï)*). Dangerous. *Ikuruma_n-ai wïja*, this is dangerous to me. *Irëme_n-ai sen ikuruma aeneme ë-w-eh-topo_ja*, so this is dangerous to your life (=lit. to your being alive). *Irë-ton_n-ai ikuruneh-ton*: *kï-munu, kï-kuru...* These are the dangerous things: our blood, our semen... *Irë_me t-antë-e_pa ii-ja, ipëri amotï epoe, ikuruneh_po*, then he made another shelter, above the headwaters of a narrow waterway, in a dangerous place. (6.1.1.1).

ikurunna (A; nzr. *ikurunmï(nï)*). Not dangerous, harmless. *Ikurunna_n-ai ëë-ja*, this is harmless to you. [⇒ *ikuruma(ka)*, dangerous]

ikuru(nu) (N). Something which causes fear in others; a protection. *Ji-kurun*, my weapon; something to keep others away from me (e.g. a dog); my guardian, my bodyguard. *Ji-kurun_me_n-ai*, s/he is my watchman. [⇒ *ikuruma(ka)*, dangerous]

ikutupë (N). Lake; pond. *Ikutupë wii-rëë-ja-e*, I am crossing the lake. [Probably related to words having the *ku*, liquid, formative; 12.2]

imatapi (N). Anaconda (also called *ëkëimë*). [Homophonous with, and perhaps related to, the third-person possessed form of *matapi*, manioc press].

-imë (sfx). Augmentative. *Oota*, hole, *oota-imë*, big hole, cave. (4.2.1.2).

i(mï) (Vt). ⇒ *(mï)*, tie O.

in- (pfx). Third-person prefix, only used on the negative form of verbs (3.3.1, 5.4.3.1.3).

ineku (N). A kind of liana (Port. *timbó*), with poisonous sap; its sap, especially when used to kill fish. *Ineku_ke anja ni-tïn-ja-e*, we poison (the river) with *ineku* (in order to kill the fish).

ineku apihpë (N). A species of egret (*Casmerodius albus*, Ardeidae; Port. *garça branca*, Eng. *great egret*). [A noun phrase based on *ineku*, a species of poisonous liana; the word *apihpë* is elsewhere unattested, and may be connected to the *-api-*, wet, formative (12.2)]

inëërë (Ptc). An identifying particle. *Wï_inëërë!* That's me! I am him/her! I am the one just mentioned! *Wï_inëërë, nïrïï*, I am him, I am the *nïrïï* cricket (said, in a folk tale, by the *nïrïï* cricket to identify himself). *Ëmë_inëërë, pihko waa_rï-ne-npë*, you are the one who killed my older brother. [This particle is certainly related to the animate anaphoric non-collective pronoun *nërë* (4.1.2)].

intaka (Vt). ⇒ *ntaka*, break O in half, translate O.

inunu (N). Large thing. *Inunu_me_n-ai*, it is large (above the average). *Inunu-ton*, the large ones. *Këpëewa inunu_ke tï-jarahtë-e ii-ja, akïï_ke_ta*, but he made his temporary tree shelter with large, thick wood, not small, weak wood.

ipëkapïn (N). Unused one. *Ipëkapïn_ke sikë t-ëu*, remove chiggers with an unused (needle). [This word is probably a negative form derived from an unattested stem (presumably *pëka*)]

ipëmu (N). Flower. *Tï-j-ëmëinë-ke_n-ai ipëmu*, the flower is thorny, has thorns.

ipëri (N). **1** Narrow waterway. *Këpëewa ipëri apa-hpë-ton, iima-ewa_nkërë_pa*, but the little creeks that had lowered have not risen back yet. **2** Branch. *Wewe ipëri*, the branch of the tree.

ipïnumï(nï) (N). Huge one; huge tree, a tree which people cannot climb. *Ipïnumïn mono_pëkë-n nukë*, the termine which lives on a huge (tree). [This word is certainly a negative (*-mï(nï)*) form (⇒ *ipïnunna*); source stem unattested (presumably *(i)pïnu*)]

ipïnunna (A). Isolated; without relatives. *Eeke_n-ai, ipïnunna tarëno?* So, how is it? Are the Tiriyó isolated, without relatives? [This word is certainly a negative (*-nna*) form (⇒ *ipïnumï(nï)*); source stem unattested (presumably *(i)pïnu*)]

irakë (N). Very large species of ant (1-2 inches).

irapipi (N). A species of hawk (*Accipiter superciliosus*, Accipitridae, Port. *gavião-caçador pequeno*, Eng. *tiny hawk*).

irapuru (N). A species of woodpecker (also called ⇒ *kuripipijo*) (*Dryocopus lineatus*, Picidae; Port. *pica-pau de topete vermelho*, Eng. *lineated woodpecker*).

irë (Pro). Inanimate anaphoric non-collective, that (which was said; 4.1.2). *Mono_me_sa ji-w-eh-tuuwë, irë ji-waarë*, (what I was like) after I got a little bigger, that I know. *Irë_rë!* That's it! (= what you have said is correct).

irëmaarë (A). Soon, later. *Irëmaarë_pa*, see you soon (lit. soon again, a frequent leavetaking expression). *Irëmaarë i-kuku_se_w-a-e*, I will soon want to try it. [Probably related to *irëme*; 6.1.1.2).

irëme (Ptc). A conjunction (9.1.1) that marks a weak causal or temporal link; so, then. *Ma, irëme t-ëturu-ja-e ii-ja*, so, I am talking to him. *Pija-n-pisi ëkëi_ja ëëka-to apon, irëme kure tïwaarë eh-kë irë_ja*, it is like the bite of a tiny snake, so be careful about it.(9.1.1).

irënehka (Ptc). Finally, at last (9.1.1). *Irënehka wëri w-apëi-ne*, finally I got a wife (after having tried for some time).

(j)isireti (N). Razor blade. *Ë-j-isireti_ke ë-moitï in-ehpoka-po-ewa ehkë*, do not make your friend shave with your razor blade. [A borrowing from Port. *gilete*, razor blade]

isuhta (Vo) ⇒ *:suhta*, urinate.

isuka (Vt) ⇒ *:suka*, wash O

ito (Ptc). Emphatic particle; its meaning is not well understood. *Anpo_nara_ito ji-nmuku?* Where could my son possibly be? *Mën-ee-ja-n _kara_ito?* Are you really coming?

itu (N). Jungle, forest, woods. *Itu_htao n-urakanun-ja-n*, s/he walks in the jungle. *Kutuma irë kurano itu*, the jungle is very good, pretty there. *Ituu_roowë_w-a-e*, I am in the middle of the jungle. *Jipawana nï-tën itu waku-h_ta*, my friend went into the heart (lit. belly) of the jungle. *Itu-npë*, an area where there used to be jugle.

itui (N). A species of tree (*Protium aracouchini*, Burceraceae), with leaves that can be used as fever medicine.

itumana (N). A species of bird (*Cardinalis phoenicius*, Fringillidae).

ituru (N). Rapids; waterfall. *Março_po ahtao, kana tapïime, ituru_marë iijeeta, konopo_marë iijeeta*, in March, the fish are plentiful, and there are many rapids and rains.

iwa (N). Vocative form. [⇒ *iwana*, iguana]

iwa (Vt). ⇒ *wa*, look for, search, go get O.

iwana (N). Species of iguana. A vocative form *iwa* occurs in folk tales.

iweike (Ptc). Causal conjunction ('because'; 9.1.2, 11.7.1.1.2). *J-apëepï, s-etainka iweike*, I felt tired because I ran. [Originally, a third-person ∅-nominalized form of the copula *e(i)* with the instrumental postposition *_ke*, i.e. *i-w-ei_ke*]

iwïrï (N). Capybara, the world's largest rodent (*Hydrochaeris hydrochaeris*, Port. *capivara*).

Ï

ïhtë (Va; non-Detr. [5.2.2., Table 5.4]; irreg. *p*-initial stem in the first-person (5.4.1.1.2), imperative (5.4.2.1), supine and habitual past (5.4.3.1.1), and negative (5.4.3.1.3) forms). Go, get down, descend. *Pïhtë-kë!* Get down (e.g. from the top of a tree). *Ji-w-ïhtë_se_w-a-e*, I want to go down. *T-onoka-e_pa iija, tïï-re, tï-w-ïhtë-e_pa*, he got his arrow (which was stuck on a tree) and went back down. [This stem was probably *p*-initial at some point]

J

j- (pfx). First-person marker on nouns (4.3.1.2), postpositions (7.1.1), and verbs (5.4.1.1). [allomorphs *j-*, *ji-*]

_:ja (Pp; irregular first-person (*wïja*) and reciprocal (*ëija*) form; lengthens all vowel-final prefixes; 7.3.4.1, 11.4.2). **1** To(ward). *Manko_ja wï-të-e*, I am going to my mother's (house, village). **2** Dative/beneficiary/experiencer marker. *Maja w-ekarama-e ëë-ja*, I am giving a knife to you. *Kïnka wïja*, s/he said to me. *Kure wïja*, it is good to me, I appreciate it. *Sen wïrï ëë-ja*, I have made this for you. **3** Causee. *Ëpëi wi-pahka-po-e ji-nmuku-ru_ja*, I am making my son break the seat. **4** Agent (with remote past or nominalized verb forms). *I-papa t-ëëka-e ëkëi_ja*, a snake bit his/her father. *Eeka-topo-npë ëkëi_ja*, his/her having been bitten by a snake.

-(ja) (sfx). Present imperfective suffix on verbs (5.4.1.3.1).

jahka (Vt). Causativized (with *-ka*) form of *ja(tu)*, burn, be burning. [⇒ *ja(tu)*]

jahkapa(mï) (Vo). ⇒ *jakaapa(mï)*, dry out (leaves, wood).

jahkïï (N). Red howler monkey (*Alouatta seniculus*, Port. *guariba*). [Called *arawata* at Tepoe, a word which Missão Tiriós speakers considered a borrowing from Wayana]

jahpë (N). Goods, utensils; all that is necessary for a living. *Ji-jahpë*, my goods, my materials.

jahpëntë (Vt). **1** Provide O with necessary goods; provide for O. *Pahko tï-jahpëntë-e wïja*, I provided for my father (food, clothes, utensils, medicine, etc.). *Kure kï-jahpëntë*, *naapohpa*, you gave me what I needed, thank you. **2** Help O. *A-apëë-sewa_w-a-e, "kï-jahpëntëe_pa" wïka_hkaasan*, I am not going to catch you, 'I will help you', I said, instead. [⇒ Detr. *ëësahpëntë*, help oneself, get out of trouble]

jahta (N). Armpit. *Ji-jahta*, my armpit.

jai (N). Used by animals in folk tales as a vocative, to call someone's attention (⇒ *jako*, *kori*, used, respectively, by men and women). *Nna_ken_pohpa_nara ji-kaari-rï, jai, tïï-ka-e iwana kaikui_ja*, such is my strength (= I am really strong), my friend, said the iguana to the jaguar. (One speaker remarked that, according to his father, animals call each other *jai* instead of *jako*.)

jaima (Vt). Disperse, scatter O, drive O away (animate; e.g. a group of animals). *I-jaima-kë!* Drive them away! Disperse them! *Wi-jaima-e*, I am driving them away [syn. *erenma*, used when the O participant is not a group, but a single individual]. [⇒ Detr. *ëësaima*, disperse, scatter]

:jaka (Vt). Break O (bread, cassava). *Wïï wii-jaka-e*, I am breaking the cassava bread. [⇒ Detr. *eejaka*, break (bread, cassava)]

jakaapa(mï) (Vo; var. *jahkapa(mï)*). Dry out (leaves, wood). *Tï-jahkapan-je*, dried out (said by a speaker, pointing at dry leaves). *Ni-jahkapan-ja-n*, it is drying out. *Ma, i-jakaapan-tuuwë, i-jahka-tuuwë_marë, irë_mao, onken_taa_n-ai wïtoto, oroko_me mono_me*, after (all the leaves and trees that had been cut) are all dried out and burned, people do not rest, they work a lot.

-(ja)kë(mï) (sfx). Future perfective suffix on verbs (5.4.1.3.2).

-(ja)kë(ne) (sfx). Past imperfective suffix on verbs (5.4.1.3.3)

jako (N). A vocative form, used by men to call another man's attention. (*Jako* cannot be used by men to address women, nor vice-versa.) *Jako! Kure man-a-n? Atï mï-rï-ja-n?* Friend! Are you well? What are you doing? [Possibly related to *akëmi*, younger brother, or to *akëërë*, with]

jamu(ku) (Vt). Cut a piece of O [syn. *ekïrika*]. *Wi-jamuu-ja-e*, I am cutting a piece of it. [⇒ Detr. *ëësamu(ku)*, cut a piece of oneself]

japëkënma (Vt). **1** Make O be poor, in need. *Wi-japëkënma-e*, I make him/her poor. **2** Harm O. *Kï-ja_kï-japëkënmaa-ti*, you have harmed me (economically or otherwise) many times. [Detr. *ëësapëkëma*, be poor, in need; notice the unexpected simple *m* instead of *nm*]

jara (N). A shelf or platform, made of wood, used as a shelf for objects; also, a similar platform, built on top of a tree, used as temporary shelter or hiding/waiting place (e.g. while hunting, waiting for game). [syn. *jarakapu*]. *I-jara*, his *jara*.

jarahtë (V). Build a *jara* on top of O (a tree), so as to have a temporary shelter. *Irëme oroi tï-jarahtë-e ii-ja, wïtoto_ja*, then the guy built a platform in the cashew tree. *Kawë tï-jarahtë-e ii-ja*, he made a *jara* high (= on a tall tree). [⇒ *jara*, temporary shelter]

jarakapu (N). Apparently, the same as *jara*. *I-jarakapu*, his *jara*. *Irëme i-nnapï tï-mon-je ii-ja, mëërë i-jarakapu epinë_ken*, then that guy gathered all his fruit under his *jara*. [⇒ *jara*, shelf, temporary shelter]

jaramata (N). Chin. *Ji-jaramata*, my chin.

jareema (Vt). Have sex (apparently, a 'milder' word than its synonym *eku*). *Wëri i-jareema-n _mahtao*, when having sex with a woman.

jarijari (N). A species of blue-faced parrot (*Amazona amazonica*, Psittacidae; Port. *papagaio-do-mangue*).

jariwëtëru (N; var. *jariwïtïru*). Name used for several species of birds (Tyrannidae: *Arundicola leucocephala*, Eng. *white-headed marsh tyrant*; *Pyrocephalus rubinus*, Eng. *vermillion flycatcher*; *Pyrrhomyias cinnamomea*, Eng. *cinnamon flycatcher*).

ja(tu) (Vo). Burn, be burning. *Ji-jaa-ja-e*, I am burning, I am on fire. *Irë i-pirih-kë ë-jatuhpë_po*, rub this on your burn, on your burned part. *Mahto_ja ë-jah-ka-tuuwë*, after being burned by fire. *Irë_mao tï-jah-ka-e ii-ja, wëri_ja*, then she, the woman, burned it. [⇒ *jahka*, burn O (causativized form)]

[t]je (Vt). Cook O (in water). *K-otï wï-je*, I am cooking our meat (e.g. as a broth). *Mï-je-n?* Are you cooking it? *Tï-je ii-ja, otï_me*, he cooked it, as his (=someone else's) food. *Tï-je-kë!* Cook it! [⇒ Detr. *ëëse*, cook for oneself]

je(e) (N). Tooth. *Ji-je*, my tooth, my teeth. *Jee_pëkë-n*, a dentist (lit. someone who busies him/herself with teeth).

jeepurutu (N; var. *jehkurutu*). A species of owl (*Asio stygius*, Strigidae; Eng. *stygian owl*). [⇒ *jehkurutu*]

jehkurutu (N). Species of owl (Strigidae: *Otus albogularis*, Eng. *white-throated screech-owl*; *Otus watsonii*, Port. *coruja-de-orelha*, Eng. *tawny-bellied screech-owl*). [This word may actually be simply a variant of *jeepurutu*, i.e. *jeepurutu* may possibly be used for these two species as well]

jekema (Vt). Do O fast; hurry about O; hasten to, about O. *Eeke_ rën wi-jekema-n?* Why should I do it fast, hurry about it? (= I can still wait a little while). [⇒ Detr. *ëësekema*, hurry; start affecting] *Kokoro sen ki-jekema-tahki, pupunja jeri, k-uru-kon_me*, tomorrow, we will go ahead and get the green (unripe) *pupunja* to be our food (i.e. we will not wait for it to ripen).

jemi (N). Hunger. *Ji-jemi w-enun-ja-e*, I suffer from hunger, feel hunger.

jemipa(mï) (Vo). Feel, be hungry. *Ji-jemipan-ja-e*, I am getting hungry.

jeneru (N). Drunkenness. *Ji-jeneru_po_w-a-e*, I am drunk (lit. in my drunkenness). *Ë-nmuku kïn-tën sen_tae, tïï-ka-e, tï-jeneru_pona*, your son went this way; he was getting drunk (lit. he was [going] toward his own drunkenness]). [This may be a **j**-adding stem; **j**-less instances are unfortunately unattested]

-:je(pe) (sfx). Incredulitive suffix on verbs (5.4.1.3.5) [The final *(pe)* is being lost]

jetïpë (N). Bone. *Ji-jetïpë*, my bone(s). [Possibly related to *je(e)*, tooth; *-tïpë* may be an older form of the nominal past suffix *-hpë*, i.e. 'bone' = 'ex-tooth']

jetu(nu) (N). Pain; painful thing [syn. *kutu(nu)*]. *Ji-jetun*, my pain. *Ë-jetunu-npë*, the pain you had. *Koa... koa... tïï-ka-e, kunawaru i-nmuku, t-ëpi jetun_ke, (groans)*, said the son of the *kunawaru* toad, because of the pain of (= caused by) his medicine. *Ë-w-ëinema jetun_ke ë-emi m-ekarama-ne wïja*, because of the pain of your drunkenness, you gave me your daughter. [This word seems to belong to a higher register. It may be historically related to its synonym *kutu(nu)*]

jije (Pp). **1** Wanting me; irregular first-person form [⇒ desidertaive postposition *se*]. **2** My tooth [⇒ *je(e)*, tooth]

johpa (Vt). Give O something to drink. *Nëërë i-susu_ke ë-nmuku in-johpa-po-ewa ehkë*, do not give your son that one's (=someone else's) milk to drink. [From *jokï*, drink, with *-pa*]

joi (N). A species of lizard (unidentified). *Irë-npë_pëe joi tï-wë-e wïja*, after that I killed a *joi* lizard.

joika (Vt). **1** Polish, smooth(en) O (i.e. so that its surface becomes smooth); scrape O; cut small pieces off O [syn. *taika*]. *Pïrëu wi-joika-e*, I am polishing, smoothing the arrow. *Epï_marë_mo i-joika, tuna_hkao tï-rï-too_me ëë-ja*, scrape, cut small pieces off the surface (bark) of the tree, so as to put (the scrapings) into water.

jokï (N). Drink (generic noun; 11.5.1.3, Table 11.4). *Tuna_se_w-a-e, ji-jokï_me*, I want water as my drink, I want water to drink. *Irë_ mao kure n-ee-ja-n ë-jokï*, then your drink becomes good.

jokooroka (Vt). Gather O (fruit) [syn *[t]pë(tï)*]. *Eperu wi-jokooroka-e*, I am gathering fruit. *Mëëjan tï-w-ëësaima-e, i-nnapï i-jokooroka-ne-ton*, they dispersed, the ones who were gathering his fruits.

jomita (Vo). Speak; produce speech. *I-jomita-ewa_nkërë*, he does not speak yet (referring to a baby). *Irë_mao awaina_mao akï tï-jomita-e*, then, when the sun was rising, who spoke? (said, in a folk tale, about a dog who was going to scold his owner). *Irë_mao tï-jomita-e _re*, then he spoke in vain. [⇒ *omi*, voice, speech, word(s), language, with *-ta*]

jon (N). Wrapping. *Ji-jon*, my wrapping; thing for wrapping me. *Tï-jon-ke sen, i-jetïpë* this is wrapped, his bone. (The final *n* certainly is a reducing syllable; the full grade (probably *mu*) is, however, unattested]

jonka (Vt). Unwrap O. *Irë_mao Mataware kïn-jonka*, then Mataware unwrapped it. [⇒ *jon*, wrapping, with *-ka*]

jonpa (Vt). Address O, start speaking to O; greet O [syn. *ku(ku)*]. *Irënehka kunawaru tï-jonpa-e ii-ja*, at last he addressed (dared talk to) the *kunawaru* toad. *Irë_mao tï-kuu-se ii-ja, tï-jonpa-e ii-ja*, then he greeted him, he started talking to him. [⇒ *omi*, voice, speech, word(s), language, with *-pa*]

jontë (Vt). Wrap O; provide O with a wrapping. *Tï-jontë-e_marë ii-ja, kure*, he wrapped it well (so that others could not see what was inside). [⇒ *jon*, wrapping, with *-ntë*]

jooka (Vt). Make O fall (fruit); harvest O. *Pahko ni-jooka-po-në manko_ja*, my father makes my mother harvest the fruit. *Serë apo_roken ahtao anja serë i-jooka-e*, only when it is like that did we use to harvest it.

jorohpa(mï). (Vo). Become crazy; become dizzy, queasy. *Ji-jorohpan-ja-e*, I am getting crazy (e.g. running in circles and screaming, as if possessed by a spirit); I am getting dizzy, queasy. [This word is probably derived from a stem meaning 'evil spirit' (cf. Wayana *jorok*), unfortunately unattested but possibly existent]

joto (N). Future spouse; lover. *J-enao_marë_n-ai ji-joto*, my lover is also with me (in the hammock).

_juhkïi (Pp). Onto [syn. *_juuwëna(ka/kïi)*]. *Ji-pawana nï-tën tëpu_juhkïi*, my friend went on top of the rock. *T-eeseka-e i-potï_juhkïi*, he jumped onto his (=cayman's) muzzle. [⇒ locative *juuwë*]

jum (Intj). Bending, wrapping itself around something. *Epï tï-juuka-e ii-ja, jum, tï-w-ëtamën-too_me_pa*, they (= two snakes) bent the tree, *jum*, so as to wrap themselves around it.

junma (Vt). Make magic, cast spells with O. *Serë_n-ai pïjai_ja i-junma-topo-npë pena ahtao*, this is something that shamans used to cast spells long ago.

junme (A; nzr. *-(no)*). Wise; adult, grown-up. *Junme ëmë ahtao*, when you are adult.

juuka (Vt). Bend O. *Kïn-juuka*, s/he bent it. *Epï tï-juuka-e ii-ja*, s/he bent the tree trunk. [⇒ Detr. *ejuuka*, bend; hang one's head]

juuru (N). Time; hour. *Atï juuru?* What time is it? At what time? *Atï juuru_hpe, jiwame*, I don't know when, I don't know what time (it happened). [A borrowing from Sranan *yuru*, ultimately from Dutch *uur*; *oora*, from Port. *hora*, is also found]

_juuwë (Pp). On (top of) N. *I-munu-hpë mï-rï-ja-n ë-j-ëikëëkë_juuwë*, you are putting his/her blood on your wound. *Ariwe_ja t-ërë-e, tuna_juuwë*, the cayman took him (to the other side of the river), on (the surface of) the water. *Maja_n-ai ëpëi_juuwë*, the knife is on top of the seat. [⇒ directional *_juhkïi*, *_juuwëna(ka/kïi)*, onto; 7.3.1.2.1]

_juuwëna(ka/kïi) (Pp). Onto [syn. *_juhkïi*]. *I-potï_juuwëna*, onto its muzzle. [⇒ locative *_juuwë*]

K

k- (pfx). First-person dual inclusive marker on nouns (4.3.1.2), postpositions (7.1.1), and verbs (5.4.1.1). It causes vowel ablaut (2.6.1, 5.1.1).

k(:)- (pfx). ⇒ *kït-*

-ka (sfx). Privative noun verbalizer (5.3.3.1.1).

-ka (sfx). Transitivizer used on reducing S_O verb stems (5.3.1.2).

ka (Va; non-Detr [5.2.2, Table 5.4]; irregular person conjugation (5.4.1.1.2); unexpectedly takes *-ne* 'Actual A nominalizer' (4.2.2.1.1)). Say, tell. *Serë _rëken wï-ka-e ëë-ja*, only this I tell you. Used with ideophones: *përërë n-ka-n*, it is drizzling (9.2.2).

kaaje (N). A species of bird (*Tyrannus savana*, Tyrannidae; Port. *tesoura*, Eng. *fork-tailed flycatcher*).

kaakau (N). A species of hawk (*Daptrius americanus*, Falconidae; Eng. *red-throated caracara*).

kaanu(ku) (Vt). Press O (manioc, with a manioc press: ⇒ *matapi*). *W-ekei-ja-e jii-wi-rï, wi-kaanu-ja-e*, I am preparing our cassava bread, I am pressing it.

kaara (Ptc). A particle; its meaning is not well understood. *"Mëe anja n-enpa-e" ka-kë kaara*, tell (him) that we are teaching this guy.

kaarame (A; nzr. *-(no)*). Bitter. *Kaarame_n-ai t-ënïï-se-n*, the *tënïïsen* (alcoholic beverage) is bitter.

kaari (N). Strength. *Nna_ken_pohpa_nara ji-kaari-rï, jai, tïï-ka-e iwana kaikui_ja*, such is my strength (= I am really strong), my friend, said the iguana to the jaguar. *Kaari_me_w-a-e*, I am strong. *Kaari_me_n-ai anja i-j-omi*, our language is strong (said as a comment on the fact that the Katxuyana, newcomers among the Tiriyó, had all learned to speak Tiriyó).

kaasujana (N). Katxuyana, a member of the Cariban group which moved to the Missão Tiriós area in the early 1960's (1.3).

kahkakane (N). A species of hawk (Accipitridae, *Geranospiza caerulescens*, Port. *gavião-mateiro*, Eng. *crane hawk*). [Probably an onomatopoeic formation: *kahka-ka-ne*, 'kahka' [kaha]-sayer]

kahke (N). Species of birds (Ciconiidae: *Jabiru mycteria*, Port. *jabiru-moleque*, *tuiuiu* [also ⇒ *aratakai*]; Laridae, *Anous spp.*, Eng. *noddys*, *Larus stricilla*, Eng. *laughing gull*, *Sterna spp.*, Eng. *terns*; Rynchopidae, *Rynchops nigra*, Port. *talha-mar*, Eng. *black skimmer*).

_kahta (Ptc; sometimes *hkahta*). Definitely, without fail. *Kokoro_mo oh-kë_kahta*, do come tomorrow, without fail.

kahta (Vo). Drip (a liquid). *Ni-kahta-n*, it is dripping

kaikë (N). A species of fox (*Cerdocyon thous*).

kaikui (N). **1** Jaguar (*Panthera onca*), ocelot (*Felis pardalis*). *Irë_mao kaikui_me t-ëmeta-e*, then he became (= changed into) a jaguar. *Kaikui n-ee-ja-n a-apëh-too_me*, a jaguar comes to catch you. **2** Domestic dog (*Canis familiaris*). *J-ekï kaikui*, my pet dog. *Kaikui t-eekataka-e*, the dog flapped his ears. [It is not infrequent, in Cariban and other Amazonian languages, to find the same word used for both jaguars and dogs]

kaikuise (N). Species of birds (Bucconidae: *Hypnelus ruficollis*, Eng. *russet-throated puff-bird*; Capitonidae: *Eubucco bouricierii*, Eng. *red-headed barbet*). [The name looks like *kaikui*, jaguar, with the desiderative postposition *se*, i.e. 'liking jaguars' (maybe 'the one who likes jaguars'?)]

kaimo (N). Game. *Ji-kaimo akuri*, my agouti (which I killed); my game, agouti. *Ji-kaimo wi-wekena-e*, I am running after my game. *Mëe tï-wë-kë jako, ë-kaimo-rï*, shoot this one, friend, it is your game!

kaimota (Vo). Have game. *Ji-kaimota-e akuri _ke*, I am getting game, agouti; I am going to get agoutis. [⇒ *kaimo*, game, with *-ta*]

kaina(no) (N). New one. *Ëkëreu kainan_pë, AIDS eka, i-ponoh-to serë*, this is to tell about the new disease, called AIDS.

kairen (N). Mosquito net. *Ji-kairen*, my mosquito net. [A borrowing of unknown source]

kairi (N). Broth; soup. *Kï-kairi wï-rï-ja-e*, I am making our broth.

kairintë (Vt). Provide O with broth, soup. *Pahko tï-kairintë-e wïja*, I provided my father with broth (i.e. I provided for his needs). [⇒ *kairi*, broth, with *-ntë*]

kairirawa (N). Species of birds (Tyrannidae: *Platyrinchus spp.*, Port. *bico-chatos*, Eng. *spadebills*; Fringillidae, *Saltator spp.*, Port. *trinca-ferros*, Eng. *saltators*).

kajakë (N). A species of deer (*Mazama gouazoubira*, Eng. *gray brocket deer*).

kajama (N). Flour; cassava flour. *Ërepa t-ënee-se ii-ja, kajama*, s/he brought food, cassava flour. *Kura-no kajama t-ee-se*, the flour looked good.

kamiita (Vo). Produce embers; have embers, coals (fire). *Ni-kamiita-n*, it (fire) is producing embers. [⇒ *ikamiiru*, embers, with *-ta*]

kamisa (N). Loincloth. *Ji-kamisa*, my loincloth. *Irëme i-kamisa t-eepina-e_ken*, then his loincloth was dragging.

kan (N). God. *Kan panpira*, the Bible (lit. God's book). [The final *n* is probably a reduced syllable; full grade unattested]

kana (N). Fish. *Kana ema-to*, fishing (lit. fish throwing). *Kana w-ema sen_po*, I caught (lit. threw) a fish here. Kana *t-ëhkëë-se ii-jaa-ne*, they cut fish. (Reference to a kind of nighttime fishing, practiced when the fish come close to the river banks and people with flashlights can kill them with a quick swing of their machetes).

kanamitëkë (N). A species of parasite (tick).

kananame (A; nzr. *-(no)*). Yellow; also beige, orange. *W-onoo-ja-e kananama-n_ke*, I am painting him with yellow paint. *Kananama-n epi*, medicine for yellow (fever). *Kananama-n_tao ëmë ahtao*, when you have (lit. are in) yellow fever.

kanawa (N). Canoe (and, by extension, other vehicles); also, a big tree, from which canoes are made. *Tï-kanawa-h_tao nï-tën*, he went in his own canoe. *Ji-kanawa w-apërëmïhka-e*, I am slowing down my canoe (also: my car). *Pahko i-kanawa potï apëh-kë*, get the bow of my father's canoe.

kanawaimë (N). Airplane. *Akï n-ee-ja-n kanawaimë_tao?* Who is coming in the airplane? [⇒ *kanawa*, canoe, vehicle, with the augmentative *-imë*]

kane (N? A?). Genenrous. *Kane_marë_w-a-e*, I am generous.

kankamuri (N). Species of gecko.

kap (Intj). Noise of shooting an arrow. *Kap! tïïnapan-në... tëin_ken_pa, kap! tïïnapan-në... tëin_ken_pa, kap! tïïnapan-në... Kap!* (=he shot an arrow), then he waited... again, *kap!*, then he waited... again, *kap!*, then he waited...

kapai (N). Species of armadillo (*Dasypus spp.*). *Irë_po n-epoo-ja-n oto-ton, kapai, kurimau, kurija...* There they find game: armadillos, pacas (labbas), land turtles...

kapaisana (N). A species of eagle (*Harpia harpyja*, Accipitridae; Port. *águia real*, Eng. *harpy eagle*).

kapi (Ideo). Blink. *Kapi wï-ka-e*, I am blinking.

kapi (N). A species of liana (*Prionostoma aspera*, Celastraceae), used as medicine for burns. *Kapi ahkëh-kë*, cut some *kapi*.

kapiten (N). Village chief, captain [syn. *karaman*]. *W-ene_marë, karaman irë_po, Pesaihpë; kapiten-ton, irë apo, tapïime namo_ro irë_po*, I saw him too, the local chief, Pesaihpë; the chiefs there, they are many. [A borrowing from Dutch *kapitein*]

[t]ka(pï) (Vt). Weave O; make O (by weaving). *Tunuku wï-kaa-ja-e*, I am weaving a basket. *Ji-n-kapï-h-ton*, the things I weave, the things I can weave. *Matapi tï-kah-kë, manare tï-kah-kë, wëitapi tï-kah-kë*, make a manioc press, make a sieve, make a hammock (i.e. learn how to make all these things; advice given by an older man to a young boy).

kapohta (A; nzr. *-no*). A long time. *Irë_po anja n-ei, Suurinan_po, kapohta*, there we were, in Surinam, for a long time. *Irë-npë_mo tuna_hka tï-rï kapohtaa_sa*, put it in water for a little while. *Kapohtaa-no_wï*, I am one who takes a long time. [Apparently, a lexicalized negative (*_ta(ike)*) form; source stem unattested]

kapopïn (N?). Different; unlike the others. *Kapopïn_wï*, I am different. [This word looks like a negative (*-pï(nï)*) nominalization; source stem unattested]

kapu (N). Sky, heaven. *Irë_mao, manan_manan tïï-ka-e kapu, tïrïm tïï-ka-e*, then the sky was full of lightning (lit. said *manan_manan*) and thunder (lit. said *tïrïm*). *Kapu_pona tï-w-ënanuu-se Jaraware*, Yarawaré went up, ascended to heaven

_kara (Ptc). Used after verb phrases, apparently as a marker of strong doubt or incredulity. *Mën-ee-ja-n_kara_ito?* Are you coming? Really? [⇒ *karë*, used after verb phrases; 9.1.3.2]

karaipï (N). A species of hawk (*Polyburus plancus*, Falconidae; Eng. *crested caracara*).

karaiwa (N). Brazilian; white person from Brazil (⇒ *pananakiri*, non-Brazilian white person). *Ji-wame karaiwa i-j-omi*, I don't know the language of the Brazilians. *Serë_pona w-ëe-ne, serë karaiwa nono_pona*, I came here, to the land of the Brazilians.

karaka (Vt). Rip off O; cut (a piece of) O off.. *I-karaka-hpë*, the parts that were cut off. *Wi-karaka-e*, I am cutting off O parts which stand out (e.g. when smoothing its surface); I am cutting grass (to clear an area).

karakara (N). A species of cormorant (*Phalacrocorax olivaceus*, Phalacrocoracidae; Eng. *olivaceus (neotropic) cormorant*). Also used to identify two species of parakeet (Psittacidae: *Aratinga acuticaudata*, Eng. *blue-crowned parakeet*; *Aratinga leucophtalmus*, Eng. *white-eyed parakeet*). [Cormorants and parakeets look different enough for this identification to be suspicious]

karakuri (N). Money. *Ë-karakuri_pa?* How about your money? *Ji-karakuri apëë-se_pitë wï-të-e*, I'll go get my money (and then I'll come back). *Ahtaarë karakuri?* How much money (does this cost)?

karama(no) (N). Village chief [syn. *kapiten*]. *Irëme i-karaman n-ëturu-ja-n tï-pëeto-rï_ja*, then their chief talks to them, to his people ('servants', 'subjects').

karapa (N). Palm oil, applied to one's hair, so that it looks shiny. *Karapa i-pëh_ta t-ee-se*, he did not use *karapa* oil on his hair. *Onopï-nna, i-karapa-nna, tï-wë-e ii-ja*, without paint, without *karapa* oil, he shot.

karapa(mï) (Vo). Ferment. *Ni-karapan-ja-n*, it is fermenting (said about alcoholic beverage in preparation).

karapapuhpë (N). A species of bird (*Ochtoeca fumicolor*, Tyrannidae; Eng. *brown-backed chat-tyrant*)

karapa arïrïnpë (N). Species of hawks and falcons (Accipitridae: *Buteo albigula*, Eng. *white-throated hawk*; Falconidae, *Micrastur semitorquatus*, Eng. *collared forest falcon*) [The name looks like a compound; ⇒ *karapa*, palm oil; ⇒ *arï*, leaf; content]

karau (N). A species of palm tree (Port. *ingá*).

:karau (N). ⇒ *(wï)karau*, anger.

:karauma (Vt). ⇒ *(wï)karauma*, irritate O.

:karauta (Vo). ⇒ *(wï)karauta*, become angry.

:karauwa (Vo). ⇒ *(wï)karauwa*, become angry.

_karë (Ptc). Used after non-verb phrases, apparently as a marker of strong doubt or incredulity. *Kura-no_karë?* Is that *really* pretty? (i.e. the speaker is not willing to believe that it is pretty). (9.1.3.2)

kariwa (N). Gourd. *Tëpu-pisi_n-ai kariwa_tao*, the little stone is in the gourd. *Kariwa w-arïhtë-e tuna_ke*, I am filling the gourd with water.

karuta (N). Ornament worn around the knee; knee band. *Ji-karuta*, my knee band. *Ji-karuta eena* (also *ji-karuteena*), the area around (and behind) my knee.

kasihpara (N). Machete. *Kasihpara t-ënee-se ii-ja*, s/he brought a machete.

kataari (N). Basket with a strap, worn around the forehead, used for transporting heavier items (firewood, game, etc.). *Ji-kataari*, my basket. *Kataari tï-kah-kë*, make a basket (i.e. learn, know how to make a basket).

kataka (Vt). Beat dust off O (e.g. one's clothes) with one's hands. *Wi-kataka-e*, I am beating the dust off O. [⇒ Detr. *ekataka*, used to describe a dog flapping his ears]

katamïïmë (N). A species of liana (*Groton pullei*, Euphorbiaceae). [A lexicalized augmentative; the presumable source stem *katamï* was declared non-existent by several speakers]

katï (N). Fat, grease. *Ji-katï*, my fat.

kau (N). Cow, cattle. *Kau_pëkë-n*, cowboy. *Pena kau i-pun otï_pe, menjaarë otï_me*, long ago cow meat was not food (to us); nowadays, it is. [A borrowing from Sranan *kaw*, ultimately from English *cow*. Some speakers have declared that, when cow meat (actually, buffalo meat) was first introduced by the missionaries at Missão Tiriós, many people found it rather disgusting and would vomit if they happened to eat it. Nowadays, however, this is not the case anymore.]

kaukane (N). A species of hawk (*Micrastur ruficollis*, Falconidae; Eng. *barred forest-falcon*)

kawë (A; nzr. *-no*). High; tall. *Irë_mao tï-wë_tï-wë-e ii-ja, wïrari_ke, kawë*, then he shot poisoned arrows high several times. *Irë_mao tï-w-ënanuu-se kawë*, then he climbed up high. *Wëri kawë-no n-ee-ja-n*, the tall woman is coming.

_ke (Pp). **1** Instrumental. *W-ahkëë-ja-e maja_ke*, I am cutting it with a knife. **2** Cause. *J-emamina-e, mure_me ji-w-ei_ke*, I play, because I am a child (lit. with my being a child). **3** Oblique complements of *-ta* verbs: *Ji-pïhta-e karaiwa_ke*, I am getting a wife, a Brazilian. *Ji-jokïta-e tuna_ke*, I am having a drink, water. *Ji-kaimota-e akuri_ke*, I am getting game, agouti. (7.3.4.2, 11.4.2)

-ke (sfx). Part of ⇒ *t- -ke*, having.

kehka (Vt). Stop O; causative form (⇒ *ke(pï)*, stop).

ken (Intj). End (of a sequence of noises). *Irë_mao_rëken_pa tïï-të-e nïrïi, sirin sirin sirin sirin kurun ken*, only then did the *nïrïi* cricket go *sirin sirin sirin sirin* (its own noise), *kurun* (entering a hole), *ken* (end).

kena (Ptc). Ignorative sentence-equivalent particle (9.2.1). *Kena, ëmë_hkatë*, I don't know, it's up to you.

ke(ne) (Ptc). Continuative. *Sen_po_ken_w-a-e*, I am here (and have been, for a while). *Irë_mao kaewa_ken t-ee-se*, then he remained silent (for some time). (9.1.5)

ke(pï) (Vo). Finish; stop. *Ji-ke, ji-kepï*, I stopped. *Irënehka konopo ni-kepï*, finally the rain stopped. *Motoro i-kepï_se_w-a-e*, I want the motor to stop. *Ji-kanawa wi-kehka-e*, I am going to stop my canoe.

-ke(pï) (sfx). Cessative suffix, used to derive verbs from verbs and some nouns (5.3.3.2.2).

kepïn (Intj). Noise of stopping. *Ma, irë apo-n eta-tuuwë nïrïi_ja, tï-kee-se nïrïi, kepïn*, after hearing things like these, the *nïrïi* cricket stopped, *kepïn*. [Certainly related to *ke(pï)*, stop].

-ke(tï) (sfx). Used with the 'generic' **i-** prefix as a 'Actual S' nominalizer (4.2.2.1.3).

kewei (N). Fishhook. *Ji-kewei*, my fishhook. *Kewei w-ema-e*, I am throwing the fishhook. *Pijanaaroi_rëken i-kewei_me*, only hawk nails were his fishhooks, he only had hawk nails for fishhooks.

-kë (sfx). Second-person static imperative suffix on verbs (5.4.2.1).

këhtu(mu) (Vo). Shout, scream. *Ji-këhtun-ja-e*, I am shouting, screaming. *"Ë-këhtun-kë!" wï-ka ii-ja*, 'shout!' I told him.

këi (N). Fever. *Këi_ke ëmë ahtao*, if you have fever. *Serë_n-ai këi epi*, this is fever medicine.

këipa(mï) (Vo). Have fever. *Ji-këipan-ja-e*, I have fever (syn. *këi_ke_w-a-e*). [⇒ *këi*, fever, with *-pa(mï)*]

këpëewa (Ptc). Adversative conjunction ('but', 'however'; 9.1.1. [syn. *mërëme*]). *Irë_mao, pïrëu apo-n t-ëhkëë-se ii-ja, këpëewa pïrëu_ta*, then he cut something like an arrow, but it was not really an arrow. *Tuwei_me pai, këpëewa wïraapa tëin_ken*, there were two tapirs, but only one *pau-d'arco* tree. [Probably an old negative verb form (⇒ *-sewa*); source stem unattested]

kinakina (N). A species of parrot (*Deroptyus accipitrinus*, Psittacidae; Port. *anacã*, *papagaio de coleira*, Eng. *red-fan parrot*).

-kinje (sfx). Used with the 'generic' prefix *i-* as an noun adverbializer, meaning 'having a little, undersized N' (6.2.1.2.4)

[t]kï (Vt). Grate O (manioc). *Wï-kï-ja-e*, I am grating manioc. *Kumuimë i-mun_mo tï-kï simari_ke*, grate *kumuimë* roots with a manioc grater.

kïï (Intj). Rubbing motion. *Maaru_ke i-përa enkïïka-ne, kïï kïï*, with cotton he wiped his (someone else's) tears, *kïï kïï*. *Irëme wïïse tï-kïïka-e ii-ja, kïï...*, then he rubbed anatto (on his chest), *kïï...* [Probably related to *kïïka*, rub O, and maybe to *[t]kï*, grate O]

kïïjeru (N). A species of parakeet (Psittacidae, *Aratinga solstitialis*, Port. *jandaia*, Eng. *sun parakeet*)

kïïka (Vt) Rub, wipe O. *Irëme wïïse tï-kïïka-e ii-ja, kïï...*, then he rubbed anatto (on his chest), *kïï...* [⇒ *ekïïka*, rub itself, be rubbed]

kïja (N). A species of cricket.

kïjapoko (N). Several species of toucans (Ramphastidae), among which: *Ramphastus tucanus*, Port. *tucano de bico avermelhado*, Eng. *red-billed toucan*; *Ramphastus cuvieri*, Cuvier's toucan; *Ramphastus culminatus*, Eng. *yellow-ridged toucan*.

kïjapokoimë (N). A species of bird (Anhingidae, *Anhinga anhinga*, Port. *bigua-tinga*, Eng. *anhinga*).

kïje (Pp). **1** Wanting us; irregular first-person dual inclusive form [⇒ desidertaive postposition *se*]. **2** Our tooth [⇒ *je(e)*, tooth]

kïjokïjo (N). A species of parrot (*Pionus sordidus*, Psittacidae; Eng. *red-billed parrot*).

kïkïkïkïkï (Intj). Noise of something being unrolled. *Irë_tae_rë, kïkïkïkïkï... tïu, akoron, tïu*, then, *kïkïkïkïkï...* (unrolling), *tïu* (end), the other one, *tïu* (end) (referring to two snakes).

kïmë (Pro; col. *kïmënjamo*). First person dual inclusive, I and you ('1+2'; 4.1.1). *Këpëewa pïrasiu kïmë*, but we are (from) Brazil (she said to him). *Kure saasaame kïmë, Mataware_po*, we are really happy in Matawaré.

kïmënjamo (Pro; non-col. *kïmë*). First person collective inclusive, I, you and others ('1+2Col'; 4.1.1). *Akï kïmënjamo? Pananakiri? Owa! Meekoro? Owa!* Who are we? Europeans? No! Blacks? No! *Kïmënjamo tï-tamu-ke*, we have ancestors (i.e. a tradition).

kïn (Intj). Paiting noise. *Irë_mao Taru ahkarapa t-aamiirë-e ii-ja inka_pona_rën, kïn kïn kïn wïïse_ke*, then he painted Taru's lower back red, up to his upper back, *kïn kïn kïn*, with anatto. [Maybe related to *kïï*]

kïn- (pfx). Third-person A/O-marker used only in the past tenses (perfective and imperfective; 5.4.1.1.1, 5.4.1.3.3).

kïnoro (N). A species of macaw (*Ara macao*, Psittacidae; Eng. *scarlet macaw*)

kïnoroimë (N). A species of bird (*Habia rubica*, Thraupidae; Eng. *red-crowned ant-tanager*).

kïnoto (N). A species of bird (*Psarocolius decumanus*, Icteridael; Port. *japu*; Eng. *crested oropendola*).

kïnotoe (N). A species of bird (*Chlorophanes spiza*, Thraupidae; Port. *saí-verde*, Eng. *green honeycreeper*). [Maybe related to ⇒ *kïnoto*, crested oropendola]

kïrikïri (N). A species of parakeet (*Brotogeris chrysopterus*, Psittacidae; Port. *periquito de asas douradas*, Eng. *golden-winged parakeet*)

kïrï (N). Man, male human being. *Kure ëmë, tïï-ka-e, kure kïrï*, you are good, she said, a good man. *Kïrï, wëri_marë, n-ëeku-ja-n*, a man has sex with a woman.

kïrïka (Vt). Clean (a house). *Ma, sehken ë-pakoro mi-kïrïka-e*, likewise you clean your house.

kïrïkïrïme (A). Stuttering; trembling (voice). *I-j-omi wïrïpë_me t-ee-se, kïrïkïrïme t-ee-se*, his voice was bad, 'shaky' (said about *kaikë*, the fox, a character in a folk tale). [Related to *kïrïkïrïpa(mï)*, tremble]

kïrïkïrïpa(mï) (Vo). Tremble (e.g. of cold). *Ji-kïrïkïrïpan-ja-e*, I am trembling. [Related to *kïrïkïrïme*, stuttering, trembling (voice)]

kïrïmuku (N). A boy; a young, non-adult man. *Kïrïmuku_me w-ei-ne irë_po*, I was, became a young man in that place. *Kïrïmuku_me ji-w-ei_mahtao*, while I was still a young man. [⇒ *kïrï*, man, and *nmuku*, son]

kïrïu (N). A species of toucan (*Ramphastos vitellinus*, Ramphastidae; Port. *tucano de peito amarelo*, Eng. *channel-billed toucan*).

kïsinpë (N). A species of toucan (*Pteroglossus aracari*, Ramphastidae; Port. *araçari*, Eng. *black-necked aracari*).

kït- (pfx). First-person dual inclusive A/S_A marker on verbs (5.4.1.1).

kïtae (Va). First-person dual inclusive form of the copula ('we are') [⇒ *e(i)*]

kïta(ne) (Va). First-person dual inclusive form of the copula ('we are') [⇒ *e(i)*]

kïtati (Va). First-person collective inclusive form of the copula ('we all are') [⇒ *e(i)*]

kïtïka (Vt). Tickle. *Wi-kïtïka-e*, I am tickling him/her/it.

kïto (N). A species of toad, which, according to Tiriyó beliefs, can turn into a jaguar. *Irë_po kïto t-ëta-e ii-jaa-ne, t-ëtapan-je_ken*, there they heard the *kïto* toad, chirping and chirping.

kïwïnï (N). *Boa constrictor* (Port. *jibóia*).

ko(o) (Intj). Ideophone of unclear meaning, apparently indicating motion. *Waruma_ta t-ëmën-je mëërë_ja, t-ërë-e ii-ja, ko*, that guy entered the *waruma* tree and took her with him, *ko*. *Irëme i-nnapï tï-mon-je ii-ja, mëërë ijarakapu epinë_ken, ko*, then he gathered his fruit under that shelf, *ko*. *Ma, irë_mao tëne_ken ii-ja enu, koo.. kïï, i-putupë n-epataka-n, ëkëi i-putupë*, then he kept looking at (the snake's) eyes, *koo... kïï*, the snake's head comes out.

koa (Ideo). Noise made by the *kunawaru* toad. *Irëme sehken t-ëtapan-je kunawaru, koa koa koa, tïï-ka-e*, then the *kunawaru* toad also chirped likewise, *koa koa koa*, he said.

-koe (sfx). Irregular optional blending of *-komo*, collective suffix, with the desiderative postposition *_se* (*-komo_se* > *-koe*; 7.1.1)

koeh (Intj). Noise made when starting to run. *Koeh, t-eetainka-e kaikui, kurun, tï-w-ëmën-je, koeh*, the jaguar ran, *kurun*, he entered (= hid under a rock).

koekapo (A; nzr. *-to*). Wanting to defecate. *Koekapo_w-a-e*, I want to defecate. [⇒ *oeka*, defecate]

koeri (N; var. *koiri*). A walk, stroll. *Koeri_me wï-të-e*, I am going for a walk (syn. *urakana*, *urakanu(mu)*) [A borrowing, from Sranan *koyri*, stroll]

koi (N). A species of palm tree (Port. *buriti*; apparently, *Mauritia flexuosa*)

koikoi (N). Wild dog (Port. *cachorro-do-mato*); apparently *Speothos venaticus*.

koimë (N). A species of tuberous root, similar to yam. [A lexicalization; ⇒ *koi*, palm species, with the augmentative *-imë*]

koiraka (N). A species of bird (*Pitangus sulphuratus*, Tyrannidae; Port. *bem-te-vi*, Eng. *great kiskadee*).

koiri (N). ⇒ *koeri*, walk, stroll.

koke (Ideo). Noise of a jaguar growling. *T-eeseka-e, koke koke tïï-ka-e*, he (= jaguar) jumped, *koke koke*, he said.

koko (A; nzr. *-(no)*). (At) night. *Këpëewa koko _rëken n-etapan-ja-n mëe, aanao enee-ra*, but he only chirps at night, during the day he is invisible. *Kana ahkëë-se tïï-të-e, koko ahtao*, (they) went fishing during the night.

kokonjaarë (A). Yesterday, the day before. *Kokonjaarë, jinmuku arë-ne rupeimë*, yesterday, the *rupeimë* lizard took my son. [⇒ *koko*, night; cf. 6.1.1.2 on *-aarë* adverbs]

kokonje (A). (In the) afternoon. *Kokonje, kokonje_rën_marë, iire-ton, irë-npë t-ëma_t-ëma-e ii-jaa-ne*, that same afternoon, his arrows, they threw them away. [⇒ *koko*, night; cf. 6.1.1.5 on *-(n)je* adverbs]

kokonkërë (A). (In the) early morning. *Irëme, t-awaina-e, kokonkërë ahtao, tahken seizimeja*, then it dawned, (when) it was early morning, maybe half past six (AM). [⇒ *koko*, night, and *_nkërë*, still; 'still night' > 'early morning'. It is not clear that this expression has lexicalized to the point that it can e.g. be nominalized; no such examples are attested]

kokopi (N). A species of bird (*Myrmotherula gutturalis*, Formicariidae; Port. *formigueiro-dorso-marrom*, Eng. *brown-bellied antwren*)

kokoro (A). Tomorrow. *Kokoro_pa*, see you tomorrow (i.e. 'tomorrow again', an usual leave-taking expression). *Kokoro_mo oh-kë kahta!* Come tomorrow, without fail! [⇒ *koko*, night, and *_rë* (which assimilates to *_ro*), exactly, i.e. 'exactly night' > 'tomorrow'. Again, it is not clear that this expression has lexicalized to the point of being noinalizable; the necessary examples are not attested]

kom (Intj). Coming close. *Kom, tï-w-ëe-se_pa kaikui, kom*, the jaguar came (close to the iguana). *Irë_mao Taru t-aruu-se majadera_ tao, kom!* then Taru got stuck in the fishing net, *kom!*

-ko(mo) (sfx). Collective possessor marker on nouns (3.3.2, 4.3.2)

kone (Ptc). Sentence-equivalent particle indicating agreement (with a suggestion, invitation, etc.), i.e. 'yes', 'okay', 'all right'. *Ene_mïï, tïï-ka-e. Ma kone.* Come see it, s/he said. Oh, OK.

konka (Vt). Prick, pierce O; vaccinate O. *I-waku_po tï-konka-e*, s/he pierced him on the belly. *Wehtarama ji-konka*, the *wehtarama* tree (a thorny tree) pricked me. *I-konka-hpë-ton*, those that were vaccinated. [⇒ *ekonka*, pierce, vaccinate oneself]

kono (N). Irregular vocative form; ⇒ *konoka*.

konoi (N). Unidentified species of plant. *T-ërepaa_rë konoi arï*, his only food were *konoi* leaves.

konoi (Ideo). Ideophone with an unclear meaning; possibly an animal call. *Konoi konoi tïï-ka-e, ëënïï-sewa, sekarëëken, sekarëëken, sekarëëken, 'konoi-konoi'*, he (= tapir) said, he didn't sleep, he kept making the same noise again and again.

konoka (N; irreg. conjugation [4.3.1.4.3, 12.3.1], irreg. vocative *kono*). Brother-in-law. *Ma, kono, kure_n-ai*, oh, brother-in-law, all right.

konopena (N). A species of bird (*Chelidoptera tenebrosa*, Bucconidae; Port. *miolinho*, Eng. *swallow-wing*).

konopo (N). Rain; rainy season. *Konopo n-ee-ja-n*, rain is coming, it is going to rain. *Janeiro _po_n-ai konopo i-pitë-to*, in January is the beginning of the rain (= rainy season). *Konopo_mao kana saasaame_ n-ai*, when it rains, the fish are happy.

-kontoko(mo) (sfx). Double collective marker (both possessor and possessed) on nouns (3.3.2, 4.3.2).

kooma(mï) (Vo). **1** Become dark; fall (night). *Ni-kooman-ja-n*, it is becoming dark, night is falling. *Pena ahtao i-kooman-jewa t-eese wei*, long ago night did not fall. [Note *wei*, sun, as the S participant, i.e. 'the sun didn't become night'] **2** Spend the night somewhere; spend, live (for some time) somewhere. *Itu_htao ji-kooman-ja-e*, I am going to spend the night in the jungle. *Tï-kooman-je nëërë pakoro-npë_tao*, he spent the night in an abandoned house. *Ahtaarë_hpe tï-kooman-je, irë_n-ai ji-wame*, he spent an indefinite number of nights (there), I don't know how many. *Ma, irë_mao tï-kooman-je, un_me iranta-tuuwë*, then time went on, and, after one year had passed...

kooseke(ne) (A). Slow, slowly [syn. *kureke(ne)*]. *Kooseken n-ëturu-ja-n*, s/he is talking slowly. [Probably related to *ke(ne)*, continuative; 6.1.1.4]

kori (N). A vocative form, used by women to call another woman's attention. (*Kori* cannot be used by men to address women, or vice-versa). *Kori! Aja mï-të-n?* Friend! Where are you going. *M-ekanïï-ja-n, kori?* Do you see, friend?

korohta (Vo). Be, become white. *Ji-korohta-e*, I am becoming white. *Tï-korohta-e_ken_marë papa ee-se, wïïse i-pëh_ta*, your father used to remain white (=unpainted), anatto was never on him. [Probably a lexicalized *-ta* verb; source stem unattested. ⇒ *tïkorooje*, white; *korooma*, paint O white; 12.2]

koron (Ideo). Noise made by the *kïto* toad. *Irë_po_ken t-ee-se kïto samu_juuwë_ken, koron koron koron koron koron koron tïï-ka-e_ken*, the *kïto* toad stayed there, on the sand, going *koron koron koron...*

korooma (Vt). Make, paint O white; whiten O. *Wi-korooma-e*, I am making, painting it white. [⇒ *tïkorooje*, white; *korohta*, be(come) white; 12.2]

kotakaimë (N). A species of bird [also known as *pokoroimë*] (*Jacana jacana*, Jacanidae; Port. *jacana*; Eng. *wattled jacana*)

ku (Ideo). Liquid noise. *W-enïï-ja-e... ku, tïkan*, I am drinking.... *ku*, I'm done. [Maybe related to the liquid formative *ku* (12.2)]

kuh (Ideo). Falling; splash. [Maybe the same as *ku*]. *Irë_mao epï tï-tëëka-e ii-ja. Dëë, dëë, kuh... tum, t-onota-e i-ponoo-ne-npë*, then he started hitting the tree. *Dëë, dëë, kuh... tum*, the one who had turned him in fell down.

kuhpe (N). A species of bird (*Podager nacunda*, Caprimulgidae; Port. *bacurau*, Eng. *nacunda nighthawk*).

kuhtu (N). Mark; sign; a likeness (e.g. a drawing or portrait of something); representation; measure. *I-ranta-to i-kuhtu*, a calendar (lit. a representation, marks made to measure the year) [This expression is used at Missão Tiriós; at Kwamalasamutu, speakers preferred *i-ranta-to i-kuhtuntë-to*]. *Bentu i-kuhtu*, a portrait (a drawing, a photograph) of Bento. *Owa, j-enmïhka-ewa eh-kë, pihko, wïï_w-a-e ë-kuhtu_rën*, no, don't drown me, older brother, I am your equal (= your likeness, i.e. I look like you, I am family).

kuhtuntë (Vt). Measure; mark; evaluate; count. *Ahtaarë_hpe tï-kooman-je, irë_n-ai jiwame, in-kuhtuntë-ewa kïn-ei i-ponoo-ne-npë wïja*, how many nights he spent there, I don't know, the one who told me didn't count. *Irë_rë_ja-n_me_n-ai tamu-san-ton i-n-ponopï tï-puunëh-pore, tï-kuhtuntë-pore*, because of this, the stories of the old men are good to think about and to register for posterity (i.e. we should think about them and mark them). [⇒ Detr. *ëhkuhtuntë*, measure, evaluate each other]

kui (N). A kind of palm tree (Port. *babaçu*, probably *Orbygnia phalerata*).

kuika (Vt). Swallow O. *Wi-kuika-e*, I am going to swallow it (e.g. medicine, food). *Irë_mao, rupeimë_ja, same_ken, tï-kuika-e_re, sen_pona_rën*, then the *rupeimë* lizard swallowed him almost completely, up to here (accompanied by a gesture).

kuita (Vo). Be(come) dirty. *Ji-kuita-e*, I am getting dirty. *Kutuma tï-kuita-e_ken t-ee-se*, he became very dirty. [Probably a lexicalized *-ta* verb; source stem unattested. ⇒ *tïkuije*, dirty; 12.2]

kuitaki (N). A species of bird (*Ramphocelus carbo*, Thraupidae; Port. *sanhaço*, Eng. *silver-beaked tanager*).

kujari (N). A species of macaw (*Ara chloroptera*, Psittacidae; Port. *arara-vermelha*, Eng.

red-and-green macaw).

kujawiwi (N). Species of heron (Ardeidae: *Agamia agami*, Port. *socó-beija-flor*, Eng. *chestnut-bellied heron*; *Hydranassa tricolor*, Port. *garça-de-barriga-branca*, Eng. *tricolored heron*).

kuku (N). Irregular vocative; ⇒ *no(tï)*.

ku(ku) (Vt). **1** Try, taste O. *Wi-kuu-ja-e_pitë*, I am going to try it first (e.g. a new shirt; a new kind of food; a new weapon). *Ma kure, t-oota-ke tahken_n-ai, wi-kuu-ja-e*, all right, maybe (she) has a hole (= vagina), I'll try her (= to have sex with her). *Tï-kuu-sen _me_n-ai*, this is for trying, tasting (= this looks good). *T-ënë-en-ton tï-kuu-se_re ii-ja*, s/he tasted all kinds of meat food in vain (i.e. none was good). [⇒ Detr. *ëhku(ku)*, try]. **2** Measure, evaluate O. *Ë-pun i-kuh-kë!* Measure your body! (= find out how big, how strong you are). [⇒ Detr. *ëhku(ku)*, measure each other] **3** Greet O [syn. *jonpa*]. *Mëërë wi-kuu-ja-e*, I am going to greet that person. **4** Imitate O. *Tarïpi wi-kuu-ja-e*, I am imitating a capuchin monkey. **5** Speak O (language, not one's own). *Waijana i-j-omi wi-kuu-ja-e*, I can speak Wayana.

kumaka (N). A very big species of tree (Port. *samaúma*, *samaumeira*; apparently, *Ceiba pentandra*, Bombacaceae).

kumakaimë (N). A species of liana [From *kumaka*, with the augmentative *-imë*]

kumarakë (N). A species of hawk (*Elanoides forficatus*, Accipitridae; Port. *gavião-tesoura*; Eng. *swallow-tailed kite*.

kumu (N). A palm tree (Port. *bacaba*; probably *Oenocarpus spp.*). *Kumu anoka-e wï-të-e*, I am going to get *kumu*.

kumuimë (N). A species of grass or sedge, used as medicine against fever (*Cyperus odoratus*, Cyperaceae, Eng. *flat sedge*).

kunaparu (N). A species of passion fruit, Port. *maracujá do mato*.

kunawaru (N). A species of toad. Its secretions are used in the preparation of a certain 'medicine' which is supposed to make people hunt better and be more dilligent. *Irëme sehken t-ëtapan-je kunawaru*, then the *kunawaru* toad also started chirping.

kunepepe (N). Species of milipede.

kunepepeimë (N). Tractor. [⇒ *kunepepe*, milipede, with the augmentative *-imë*]

kunjarekena (N). A species of bird (*Euphonia cayennensis*, Thraupidae; Port. *gaturamo de lados amarelarelos*, Eng. *golden-sided Euphonia*).

kunme (Pp?). Almost. *Awaina-rï_ja kunme*, when it was about to dawn [Maybe related to *enkume*, difficult]

kupenkupen (Ideo). Water noise. *Kupenkupen tïï-ka-e i-w-ëepï*, he arrived in the middle of a flood (lit. his arrival went *kupenkupen*).

kupikupi (N). A species of parakeet (Port. *maracanã*).

kupu(nu) (N). Meat; flesh; body (syn. *pu(nu)*). *I-kupunu-nna ëmë*, you have no flesh (i.e. you are not strong enough to tackle me). [Certainly related to *pu(nu)*, meat, flesh, body; the initial *ku* remains unexplained]

kura (N). A kind of tree (still unidentified). *Këpëewa mëe, i-ponoo-ne-npë, tï-w-ënanuu-se, kura_pëe, kura wewe_pëe*, but this one, the one who had turned him in, he climbed a *kura* tree (to escape).

kurairu (N). Chicken. *J-ekï kurairu*, my domestic chicken.

kurairuimë (N). Species of egret (Ardeidae: *Bubuleus ibis*, Eng. *cattle egret*; *Florida caerulea*, Port. *garça azul*, Eng. *little blue heron*; *Pilherodius pileatus*, Port. *garça real*, Eng. *capped heron*).

kuraiwe (N). A species of mockingbird (*Mimus gilvus*, Mimidae; Port. *sabiá-da-praia*, Eng. *tropical mockingbird*)

kuraiweimë (N). A species of antbird (*Cercomacra tyrannina*, Formicariidae; Port. *papa-formiga*, Eng. *dusky antbird*).

kure (A; nzr. *kurano*). **1** Good; pretty; well; healthy. *Kure man-a-n?* Are you well? (frequent greeting). *Kure_pa n-ee-ja-n*, s/he is getting better. *Kurano serë!* This is good. *Kure ëë-ja?* Is that OK with you? *Kurano ë-wëri*, your younger sister is pretty. **2** Intensifier (very, really). *Kure kure_ta man-a-e*, you are really bad. *Kure enee-ra*, it is really invisible. *Kure saasaame_w-a-e*, I am very happy.

kureke(ne) (A). Slow, slowly [syn. *kooseke(ne)*]. *Apëren, kureken_pa tïï-të-e*, his owner went away slowly. [⇒ *kure*, good, well, and *ke(ne)*, continuative; 6.1.1.4]

kurepehpe (N). A species of parakeet (*Pyrrhua picta*, Port. *tiriba pintada*, Eng. *painted parakeet*)

kurija (N). A species of turtle (Port. *jabuti*, probably *Geochelone spp.*).

kurijaamo (N). A species of tree (Port. *araçá*; probably *Psidium araca*, Myrtaceae).

kurikanai (N). A species of parrot (*Pionus fuscus*, Psittacidae; Port. *maitaca-roxa*, Eng. *dusky parrot*)

kurimau (N). A species of large rodent (*Agouti paca*, Port. *paca*, Eng. *paca, labba*).

kuripipijo (N). A species of woodpecker (also ⇒ *irapuru*) (*Dryocopus lineatus*, Picidae; Port. *pica-pau de topete vermelho*, Eng. *lineated woodpecker*)

kuritawa (N). A species of parrot (*Pionus menstruus*, Psittacidae; Port. *maitaca*, Eng. *blue-headed parrot*)

kuritoto (N). A species of bird (*Colaptes campestris*, Picidae; Eng. *flicker*).

kuru (N). Semen. *Irë_mao AIDS apëë-ja-n wëri, kïrï i-kuru_pëe*, then the woman gets AIDS, from the man's semen. [Maybe related to *kïrï*, man]

kurukë (N). Species of ibis (Threskiornithidae: *Eudocimus ruber*, Port. *guará*, Eng. *scarlet ibis*; *Mesembrinibis cayennensis*, Port. *coró-coró*, Eng. *green ibis*).

kurukuimë (N). Measles. [A lexicalization, with the augmentative *-imë*; source stem unattested]

kurukuni (N). A species of plant (Port. *aningá*).

kurun (Intj). Noise of entering or hiding. *Irë_mao_rëken tïï-të-e nïrïï, sirin sirin sirin sirin kurun ken*, the *nïrïï* cricket went like this, *sirin sirin sirin sirin*, *kurun ken* (= he entered his hole).

kurura (N). A kind of alcoholic beverage, made from cassava. *Wïï_pëe... kurura_pëe...* s/he is busy with cassava, making *kurura*.

kururu (N). A species of fish (Port. *curimatã*; probably *Prochilodus sp.*; *kururuimë* also exists)

kutei (N). Bottle. *Ji-kutei*, my bottle. [Apparently a borrowing, possibly from Creole French (cf. Standard French *bouteille*].

kutu (N). Fishing net.

kutuma(ka) (A; nzr. *kutune(tï)*). **1** Painful; poisonous. *Kuu_kutuma ëmë ahtao*, when you are having pain. **2** Bitter. *Kutuma_n-ai sakura*, the *sakura* (alcoholic beverage) is bitter. **3** Intensifier (very, a lot). *Kutuma i-waarë*, s/he knows a lot. *Irë_mao kutuma ëmuu_me t-ee-se apëren*, then his owner became very sad. *Kutuma tï-ripita-e*, he had gotten much thinner. *Epitï-nna kutuma*, it is really without a cure. *Kutuma Moomoori saasaame t-ee-se*, Moomoori got really happy. (6.1.1.1).

kutunma (Vt). Make O angry, irritate O. [⇒ Detr. *ekutunma*, get angry]. *Wi-kutunma-e*, I am making him/her angry.

kutunna (A; nzr. *kutunmï(nï)*). Painless; not bitter. *Kutunna n-ee-ja-n*, it is becoming painless. *Kutunmïn apo_n-aki kïï-jaa-ne*, it is like a painless thing to us (i.e. it deceives us by looking harmless) [⇒ *kutuma(ka)*, painful]

kutu(nu) (N). That which makes something painful; poison. *Ma, wapo_pitë ë-erepa i-kutunu-hpë mii-sika-e*, first you remove the poison of your food (referring to cassava).

kuume (Pp). Irregular back grade form; ⇒ *enkume*, difficult.

kuune (N). A species of hawk (*Micrastur gilvicollis*, Falconidae; Eng. *lined forest falcon*).

kuusi (N). Domestic pig. [Probably a borrowing, maybe from Creole French (cf. Standard French *cochon*)]

kuutaka (N). A species of bird (*Aramides cajanea*, Rallidae; Port. *saracura-três-potes*, Eng. *gray-necked wood-rail*)

kuuwi (N). A species of guan (*Pipile pipile*, Port. *cujubim*, Eng. *blue-throated piping-guan*)

kuwama (N). A species of bamboo (Port. *taquara*, *taboca*).

Kuwamarasamutu (Geo.N; var. *Kuwamara*). A Tiriyó village along the Sipaliwini river in Surinam. (Also spelled *Kwamala*, *Kwamalasamutu*, *Kwamalasamoetoe*) [⇒ *kuwama*, bamboo, and *samu*, sand; 1.2]

M

m- (pfx). Second-person prefix on transitive and S_A verbs (5.4.1.1) [allomorphs *m-*, *mi-*, *mï-*]

-ma (sfx). A non-productive 'abstract beneficiative' noun verbalizer (5.3.3.1.2).

:ma (Vo). Rise (river). *Tuna n-iima-n*, the river is rising, the water level is rising. *Këpëewa ipëri apa-hpë-ton iima-ewa_nkërë_pa*, but the rivers that had lowered do not rise yet. (The water level can vary quite impressively between the rainy and the dry season in Amazonia.)

maakë (N). Species of mosquito.

maaru (N). Cotton. *Irëme maaru tï-kaa-se ii-ja, maa_sa, tï-nmuku i-po_me*, he wove cotton, a little long, so as to make clothes for his (own) son.

maawi (N). A species of bird (*Crypturellus obsoletus*, Tinamidae; Eng. *brown tinamou*).

mahkawa (N). A species of bird (*Crypturellus undulatus*, Tinamidae; Eng. *undulated tinamou*).

mahto (N). Fire; matches. *Mahto w-urë-e*, I am lighting[77] the fire. *Ji-mahto_se_w-a-e*, I want matches for myself.

mami (N). A species of bird (*Psophia crepitans*, Psophiidae; Port. *jacamim-de-costas-cinzentas*, Eng. *grey-winged trumpeter*).

mamije (N). A species of bird (*Dacnis cayana*, Thraupidae; Port. *saí-azul*, Eng. *blue dacnis*).

-ma(mï) (sfx). 'Abstract inchoative' noun verbalizer (5.3.3.2.1).

manae (Va). Second-person form of the copula ('you are'). [⇒ *e(i)*]

manan (Va). Second-person form of the copula ('you are'). [⇒ *e(i)*]

manare (N). Sieve. *Manare tï-kah-kë*, make a sieve (= i.e. learn how to make a sieve).

manati (Va). Second-person collective form of the copula ('you all are'). [⇒ *e(i)*]

manini (N). Ankle. *Ji-manini*, my ankle.

mapataru (N). A kind of tree (Port. *copaíba*; probably, *Copaifera spp.*).

mapijakë (N). A species of mosquito (Port. *maruim*, *pólvora*; found in the jungle).

marasi (N). Species of bird (Cracidae: *Penelope jacquaru*, Eng. *Spix's guan*; *Penelope marail*, Eng. *marail guan*).

marë (Ptc). A scope particle; too, also; with (9.1.4). *Ëmë marë*, you, too. *Wïraapa t-ëpoo-se, ma pai_marë t-ëpoo-se ii-ja*, he met the bow tree, and he met the tapir, too. *Wï-të-e manko_marë*, I am going with my mother. [As in the last example, *_marë* is often synonymous with the comitative postposition *akëërë*, with]

masiwë (N). A species of anteater (*Myrmecophaga tridactyla*, Port. *tamanduá-bandeira*, Eng. *giant anteater*)

matïtïkïri (N). A species of cuckoo [also *nohkaikare*] (Cuculidae, *Coccyzus americanus*, Eng. *yellow-billed cuckoo*).

mato (N). Hammer. *Ji-mato*, my hammer. [A borrowing, apparently from Creole French (cf. Standard French *marteau*]

maura (N). A species of savannah hawk (*Heterospizias meridionalis*, Accipitridae; Port. *gavião caboclo*).

meekoro (N). A black person (originally, the Ndyuka bushnegroes of the Tapanahoni river, with whom the Tiriyó had early commercial contacts; later extended to all black people). *Pananakiri-ton, karaiwa-ton, meekoro-ton, kure wïja*, the Westerners, the Brazilians, the

Bushnegroes, they are all good to me (= i.e. I am not against any of them). *Tapïime_n-ai meekoro*, there are many Blacks (there). *Pata tï-hkërënma-e meekoro_ja*, the Bushnegros attacked, afflicted the village. [Probably a borrowing, ultimately from Port. *negro*; the initial *m* may result from the influence of Wayana *meku*, capuchin monkey (*Cebus apella)*]

menjaarë (A; nzr. *menjato_ro*). Now; today. *Menjaarë t-ëturu-ja-e ëë-jaa-ne*, now/today I am talking to you. [Related to *mënje*; cf. *-aarë* adverbs in 6.1.1.2]

meremereu (N). Species of parrot (Psittacidae: *Touit spp.*, Port. *periquitinhos*, Eng. *parrotlets*).

meri (N). A species of squirrel (probably *Sciurus aestuans*, Port. *serelepe*, *quatipuru*, *caxinguelê*, Eng. *Guianan squirrel*). *Tï-wan-ke meri, kutuma tï-wan-ke*, the squirrel is powerful, very powerful. *Wini_man meri*, he is a winner (i.e. a trickster).

meu (N). A species of bird (Rupicolidae, *Rupicola rupicola*; Port. *galo-da-serra*, Eng. *Guianan cock-of-the-rock*).

mëe (Pro; col. *mëesa(mo)*). Animate demonstrative visible proximal; this one (4.1.2). *Akï mëe?* Who is this guy? Which is this animal? Also used anaphorically: *ma, irë apo_n-ai, mëe, Taru, i-w-eh-topo-npë*, so, such is this guy's, Taru's, story.

mëesa(mo) (Pro; non-coll *mëe*). Animate collective demonstrative visible proximal; these ones (4.1.2). *Ene-këë_ne, mëesamo_hkaarë, tamo*, look, grandpa, it's them (these guys)!

mëëja(mo) (Pro; non-col. *mëërë*). Animate collective demonstrative visible medial; those ones (not far; 4.1.2). *Mëëjan tï-w-ëësaima-e*, they (= those guys) dispersed themselves.

mëërë (Pro; col. *mëëja(mo)*). Animate demonstrative visible medial; that one (not far; 4.1.2). *Mëërë kurikanai*, that one is a *kurikanai* bird. *Ma, irë_mao, tïï-të-e_pa, mëërë urë-e_pa*, then he left, to talk to that guy again.

më(kï) (Pro; col. *mëkïja(mo)*). Animate demonstrative invisible; that one (which cannot be seen). *Pëë, nïrïï mëkï*, oh, the *nïrïï* cricket is the one (that is chirping).

mëkïja(mo) (Pro; col. *mëkïja(mo)*). Animate collective demonstrative invisible; those ones (invisible). *Mëkïjan_pitë apërëmïhka-ta, soo n-ka-n_to*, go stop them, they are making noise (people who are not visible but who can be heard).

mëkïnpëke(ne) (N). Animals in general; all sorts, all kinds of animals [syn. *ohkïnpëke(ne)*]. *Tamo, kure, ë-nnapï, ë-j-oroi, i-hkërënma-n, mëkïnpëken-ton, kurepehpe, mëërë kurikanai*, grandpa, your fruits, your cashew, all sorts of animals are stealing them: parakeets, and parrots... [A plausible etymology is *mëkï*, that (animate, invisible), *-npë* 'Past', and *_ke(ne)* 'Continuative': the ones who used to be those (invisible) (⇒ *ooninpëke(ne)*). There may be some relation to mythological beliefs about animals, but this is not clear]

mën- (pfx). Irregular second-person A-marking prefix (used only with ⇒ *ëe(pï)*, come).

më(nï) (Pro). Inanimate demonstrative invisible; that (invisible; 4.1.2). *Atï mën?* What is that (said about something which can be heard, but not seen; e.g. to ask about the noise made by an electricity generator).

mërë (Pro). Inanimate demonstrative visible medial; that thing (not far; 4.1.2). *Mërë eneh-kë*, bring that one (not far). *Mërë_po*, there (a frequent collocation). *Mërë_po ji-pata*, my village is over there.

mërëme (Ptc). Adversative conjunction ('but', 'however'; 9.1.1. [syn. *këpëewa*]). *Pananakiri-ton serë, epi, iwa-ne_re, mërëme in-erahtë-ewa_nkërë namo_ro*, the foreigners (Westerners) looked in vain for this, a cure, but they have not found it yet.

mi- (pfx) ⇒ *m-*.

miki (N). Domestic cat (*Felis cattus*). *J-ekï miki*, my pet cat.

mï- (pfx). ⇒ *m-*.

(mï) (Vt). Tie O. *Pahko i-kanawa potï apëh-kë, i-n-kë*, get the bow of my father's canoe and tie it (to the shore). *Wi-n-ja-e*, I am tying it (a canoe, a hammock). *Ii-mï_se_w-a-e*, I want to tie it. [The long *i* in *iimï* suggests that the stem *(mï)* lengthens preceding vowels (i.e. it is *:(mï)*); this effect is not noticeable in conjugated forms like *wi-n-ja-e* because of the coda *n*]

mïï

mïïna (Vo). Grumble; groan. *Ji-mïïna-e*, I am grumbling, groaning (*hmpf!*; *hnnn...*). *Tï-mïïna_pëh_ken, nn-nn ka_pëh_ken*, he was groaning, going *nn-nn* (he was wounded).

mïjarë (A). Thither; further in that direction. *Irë_mao tïï-të-e_nkërë mïjarë, itu_rohkïï*, then he went further in that direction, into the jungle. (6.1.1.2).

mïjere (N). A traditional kind of seat, carved out of wood, usually in the form of an animal, and beautifully painted. *Mïjere onoo-ne*, lit. *mïjere* painter/carver, name of a kind of bird (identified as two species, both Trogonidae: *Trogon melanurus*, Port. *surucua-de-cauda-preta*, Eng. *black-tailed trogon*, and *Trogon personatus*, Eng. *masked trogon*).

(mï)ka (N). (Upper) back. *Ji-nka*, my back.

mïkakë (N). A species of ant (unidentified).

(mï)ko (N). Palate; back of the mouth. *Ji-nko*, my palate.

(mï)me (N; poss. *-:me*). Long hair. *Jii-me*, my long hair.

(mï)nepu (N). Bridge. *Ji-nnepu*, my bridge.

mïnëtë (N). Scorpion (all species). *Serë_n-ai mïnëtë epi*, this is scorpion medicine.

-mï(nï) (sfx). Privative nominalizer, the nominalizing counterpart of the privative adverbializer *-nna* (4.2.2.2).

mïnnë (N). A small, more primitive kind of house, used as a temporary shelter while traveling or hunting. *Minnë wï-rï-ja-e* (also *mïnnë w-antë-e*), I am making a *mïnnë*. [⇒ *antë*, make a *mïnnë*]

mïnoto (N). Pregnant woman. *Mïnoto_pa n-e* the pregnant woman came back. *Mïnoo_me t-ee-se i-pï*, his wife was, became pregnant. [*Mïnoo_me*, and its nominalized form *mïnoo_ma-n*, are much more frequent than *mïnoto* and may be lexicalizing (cf. also the unexpected reduction of the final syllable)]

(mï)pa (N). Shoulder blade. *Ji-npa*, my shoulder blade.

mïra (A, N?). Like that, something/someone like that. *Aha, mïra_rë_n-ai mëërë*, yes, that is what he is like. *I-moi-kë, n-kan, këpëewa mïra, owa,* do obey him, she said, but not like that. *Mïra apo-n apo ë-w-ei_se ëmë ahtao*, if you really want to be like (one who is like) that... [*Mïra* seems to have negative connotations (cf. the case of English *ilk*)]

mïrï(tï) (Vo). Choke (on fishbone, etc.) [syn. *urutakï(pï)*]. *Ji-mïrïï-ja-e*, I am choking (on a fishbone).

mïrokoko (N). Species of bird (*Nyctibius spp.*, Nyctibiidae; Port. *mãe-de-lua*, Eng. *potoos*).

(mï)ta (N). Mouth. *Ji-nta*, my mouth.

:mo (N). Egg. *Jii-mo*, my egg; *ii-mo*, its egg. *Ii-mo t-ënë-e ii-ja*, he ate eggs. [The third-person form, *ii-mo*, can clearly be used in a non-possessed sense, i.e. as *iimo*]

_mo (Ptc). Irrealis particle (9.1.3.1), used in: **1** Hypothetical and contrary-to-fact statements. *Wei waraarë karaiwa sen_po ahtao, anja i-waarë_mo ei karaiwa i-j-omi*, if there were Brazilians here every day, we would know the Brazilian language. **2** Future imperatives: *oh-kë_pa_mo!* Come back again, in the future! (said to a visitor who is leaving). **3** Possibilities contrary to expectation (‘unless...’): *ma, tï-wë-e wï-të-e, mama otï, këpëewa, atï_hpe_mo w-epoh-ta-n, irë_po, tïï-ka-e*, “I am going out to hunt your mother’s food... unless I find something else there,” he said.

mohka (Vt). Pluck, dig O out (manioc roots). *Jii-wi mohka-e wï-të-e*, I am going (there) to dig my cassava (= i.e. harvest it). [Maybe a (*-ka*) causativized verb; source stem unattested]

moi (N). Spider. *Serë_n-ai epi, moi_ja ë-eka-tuuwë*, this is the medicine, if you get bitten by a spider.

moi (Vt). Obey, listen to O. *Pahko wi-moi-ja-e*, I obey my father. *Irë_rë wi-moi-ne*, I obeyed that (the suggestation that I had been given).

moikë (N). A smalll species of ant (unidentified).

moitï (N). Relative; person related (to the possessor of this stem) by e.g. belonging to the same group, living in the same household, in the same village, etc. *Ji-moitï-h-ton*, my relatives; my people. *Anpo ë-moitï?* Where are your people? Reciprocal form *ëimoitï*, friendly to each other (4.3.1.3). *Kure_rën kï-w-ei-koe kït-a-ti, ëi-moitï apo_rën*, we want to treat each other well, like people who are relatives.

mokame (A). Round, circular. *Mokame_n-ai tëpu*, the stone is round. [Apparently, an old *_me* phrase; source noun stem unattested]

mo(kï) (Vt). Drive, move O away. *Apëi wi-moo-ja-e*, I am moving the seat away. *Panpira tï-moo-se wïja*, I moved the book away. [⇒ *emo(kï)*, move away]

mokoko (N). Species of crabs (apparently, a generic name).

mo(mï) (Vt). Gather O, put O together. *Irëme i-nnapï tï-mon-je ii-ja, mëërë ijarakapu epinë_ken*, then he gathered all his fruit under the *jarakapu* (shelves). [⇒ Detr. *ëmo(mï)*, gather, get together)]

mone (N). Groins; womb. *Ji-mone*, my groins, my womb.

mono (N). Big one, large one. *Irëme mono wïkapau t-ëpoo-se_re ii-ja*, then he met a big deer, but in vain. *Mono tïpitë entu_me_n-ai*, he is the owner of a large field (for planting). *Maio_po tuna mono oi_po*, in May the river is big in the savanna (i.e. it floods the savanna). *Irë apo_n-ai ëkëreu mono, AIDS eka*, such is the big disease called AIDS. *Mono_me*: **1** big, large. *Menjaarë mono_me_man-a-e*, now you are big (= a grownup). *Mono_me kaikui t-ee-se*, the jaguar was big. **2** A lot [syn. *kutuma(ka)*]. *Mono_me t-ëewee-ja-e*, I eat a lot. *Oroko_man mëe mono_me*, he is a hard worker (lit. worker he is, a lot). [Possibly related to the augmentative suffix *-imë*]

montoru (N). ⇒ *motoru*, motor.

mooraimë (N). A species of armadillo (*Priodontes maximus*, Port. *tatu-canastra*, Eng. *giant armadillo*). [A lexicalized *-imë* augmentative; the source stem (presumably *moora*) is unattested]

mope (N). A species of fruit tree (Port. *taperebá*, also *cajá*; apparently, *Spondias sp.*, Anacardiaceae)

mota (N). Shoulder. *Ji-mota*, my shoulder.

mo(tï) (N). Pubic hair. *Ji-mo*, my pubic hair.

moto (N). Worms in general; earth worm (Port. *minhoca*). *Moto_n-ai*, it's an earth worm.

motoru (N; var. *montoru*). A motor (e.g. a diesel electricity generator). *Motoru i-kepï_se _w-a-e*, I want the motor to stop. [A borrowing that could come from any European language; the absence of an initial long vowel (the usual counterpart of English or Dutch initial stress) suggests Portuguese or Spanish *motor* as the most likely source]

mukuhpë (N). An orphan (non-possessed). [Maybe a non-possessed past form of *nmuku*, son, i.e. *mukuhpë*, orphan > *i-nmuku-hpë*, his/her ex-son]

munke(pï) (Vo). Stop growing (tuberous) roots. *I-munkee-pïn t-ërë-e_pa ii-ja*, he took away the one that had not stopped growing roots. [⇒ *mu(nu)*, tuberous root, with the cessative *-ke(pï)*]

munkë (N). (Someone's) children, descendants. *Sen_po ji-pï, ji-munkë sen_po*, my wife (lives) here, my children also (live) here. *Kï-munkë-npë-kontokon pëera_ta i-w-eh-too_ me*, so that our future descendants will not be ignorant. *Kan munkë_me kï-w-ei-hpë-kon_ke*, because we have all become children of God.

munta (Vo). Bleed. *Ji-mun-ta-e*, I am bleeding. [⇒ *munu*, blood, with *-ta*]

munu (N). Blood. *Ji-munu*, my blood. *Ë-munu _htao n-ëmïn-ja-n*, it enters into your blood. *Irëme ii-ropï munu_hpije t-ee-se*, then his chest was dirty with blood.

mu(nu) (N). Tuberous root. *Kumuimë imun_mo* *tï-kï, simari_ke*, grate *kumuimë* roots, with a manioc grater. *Anpo_kene nai_npa i-mun?* Where do you think its roots are? (asked about a new kind of tuberous plant).

munupë (N). Rat (apparently, all species). *Joi, akï_hpë munupë, ma tahken tonoro, tï-wë-en-ton, tï-wë-e wïja*, lizards, other animals, rats, maybe birds, all kinds of 'shootable' things I killed.

mure (N; irreg. col. *murehti(i)*; 4.3.2). Child; a non-possessible form, corresponding to the possessible *nmuku*, son, and *eemi*, daughter. *Wapo w-ei-ne sen_po, mure_me*, I was here before, as a child; when I was a child, I lived here. *Mure-htii-ton i-j-omi*, children's language. *Mure_me_nkërë ji-w-ei_mahtao*, while I was a child.

muri (N). A species of porcupine (probably *Coendou prehensilis*)

muriki (N). Sheep. *Muriki-ton tapïime*, the sheep are plentiful (here). [The etymology of this word is unknown, but it must be a recent innovation; sheep have only recently been introduced in the Tiriyó area]

murouri (N). A species of owl (*Lophostrix cristata*, Strigidae, Port. *coruja-de-topeete*, Eng. *crested owl*). [The sequence *ou* is elsewhere unattested; this word must either be a borrowing, or the result of bad transcription]

muru (N). A species of frog (unidentified).

murumuru (N). A kind of palm tree; its leaves can be used for making roofs.

mustas (N). A species of bird (*Sporophila plumbea*, Fringillidae, Port. *patativa*, Eng. *plumbeous seedeater*) [This word is phonotactically deviant; it must be a borrowing (cf. e.g. Dutch *moes-tas*, (fruit)pulp-bag)]

muturahka (N). A species of bird (*Momotus momota*, Momotidae, Port. *udu*, Eng. *blue-crowned momot*).

muunu (N). A kind of bait for fish. *Irë-npë_pëe_to tïï-të-e, muunu amïinpa-e, taanë*, after that they went somewhere far, to catch ('call') fish with *muunu* bait.

muupiro (N). Vocative word for a young boy. *Muupiro! Oh-kë!* Young boy! Come here! [The initial syllable *muu* is probably related to *nmuku*, son, and *mure*, child]

muurae (N; var. *muurai*). Species of birds (Pipridae, *Chiroxiphia lanceolata*, Port. *tangará-de-dorso-azul*, Eng. *blue-backed manakin*; Thraupidae, *Tangara chilensis* and *Tangara velia*, Port. *saíra-do-paraíso*, Eng. *paradise tanager*).

N

n- (pfx). Third-person marker on verbs (5.4.1.1). [allomorphs *n-*, *ni-*, *nï-*]

n- (pfx). 'Actual O' verb nominalizer (4.2.2.1.2). [allomorphs *n-*, *ni-*, *nï-*]

-na (sfx). Inchoative noun verbalizer (5.3.3.2.1).

:na (Vt). Mock O [syn *eenë(pï)*, mock O, make O laugh]. *Tïï-na-e ii-jaa-ne_marë*, and they mocked him/her, too.

:na (N). Irregular possessed stem; ⇒ *tuna*, water.

naapohpa (Ptc). Thanking sentence-equivalent particle (9.2.1). *"Naapohka" n-ka-n tarëno teusu_ja*, 'Thank you' the Tiriyó say to God. [Probably related to the particle *_pohpa*]

nai (Va). Third-person form of the copula ('he, she, it is'). [⇒ *e(i)*]

naka (Ptc). Sentence-equivalent particle (9.2.1), meaning: it is over, it is the end; it is enough. *Naka menjaarë*, it is over now. *Naka wïja*, this is enough for me.

namo (Pro; non-col. *nërë*). Animate anaphoric collective, those (previously mentioned; 4.1.2). *Këpëewa i-pawana-hpë-ton, namo_ro, tïï-të-e_pa_to*, but his former friends, they went away. *Tiwërë-no _ro, amerikan-ton... namo_ja tï-ponoo-se*, others, Americans... they told it (=Jesus' story).

_nara (Ptc). An emphatic particle used in questions (9.1.4). *Aja_nara ji-nmuku?* Where on Earth could my son be? [*_nara* cannot co-occur with the copula *e(i)*; it may be itself the remnant of an old copular form]

-(ne). Doubt marker used on future imperfective (5.4.1.3.4) and copular (5.4.4) verb forms.

nere (N). Bats (*Chiroptera*). [There do not seem to be conventional names for the many different species of bats]

-(në). Doubt marker used on present imperfective verb forms (5.4.1.3.4).

në[mï] (Vt; irreg. *mï* stem [5.1.4]). Leave, abandon O [syn. *nonta*]. *Wi-nëmï-i_mo*, *wi-në-i_mo*, I would abandon it. *Panpira wi-në-e*, I am leaving the book here. *Panpira wi-nën*, I have left the book here. *Wi-nën-ne*, I left it. *In-inë-ewa_w-a-e*, I did not leave it. *Tï-në-e_pa ii-jaa-ne*, they left him there again. [The occurrence of a stem-initial *i* in the negative form suggests that this verb may have been *i*-initial]

nërë (Pro; col. *namo*; *nërë*+*_rë* > *nëërë*). Animate anaphoric non-collective, that (which was mentioned; 4.1.2). *Akuri eneh_pa pahko, nërë-npë anja n-ënë*, my father brought agouti, and we ate it. *Akï papa? Soranpë? — Nëërë!* Who is your father? Soranpë? — Yes, that's him! Exactly!

ni- (pfx). ⇒ *n-*, third-person marker; 'Actual O' verb nominalizer.

nï- (pfx). ⇒ *n-*, third-person marker; 'Actual O' verb nominalizer.

_nkërë (Ptc). A scope particle; still, yet. *Mure_me_nkërë ëmë ahtao*, while you were still a child. *_Nkërë_pa*, once more: *t-ërë-e_nkërë_pa*, s/he took it again. (9.1.4)

nmuhta (Vo). Have a son; give birth to a son. *Irë_mao tï-nmuhta-e, i-nmuku t-ee-se*, then (she) gave birth, had a son. [⇒ *nmuku*, son, with *-ta*]

nmuku (N). Son, male descendant. *Ji-nmuku m-ene-ne?* Have you seen my son? *Kure menu _tao_ken t-ee-se nërë Waraku, i-nmuku-pisi sekenkërë t-ee-se*, Waraku was beautifully painted, and so was her little son. [Probably related to *mure*, child, and *munkë*, descendants. A non-possessed form *muku* occurred a couple of times, but its status is not clear]

nohkaikare (N). A species of cuckoo [also *matïtïkïri*] (Cuculidae, *Coccyzus americanus*, Eng. *yellow-billed cuckoo*).

nonta (Vt). Leave, abandon O [syn. *në[mï]*). *Tï-njo-npë_pa tï-nonta-e ii-ja*, she left her husband. *"Kï-nonta-e_rën_pa"*, *tïï-ka-e*, 'I am going to leave you forever,' she said. *Ë-w-ëhpoka-to in-nonta-ewa_rën eh-kë*, don't leave/abandon your razor blade. [⇒ Detr. *enonta*, *ëinonta*, let go]

notïpë (N; irreg. col. *notï-ja(mo)*, *notï-jan-ton*). Old woman. *Mëe_n-ai notïpë, akï_hpe, ji-wame*, she is an old woman, I don't know who (said about a photograph). *Notïpë_me w-ee-ja-e*, I am becoming old (said by a woman; ⇒ *tamutupë*, old man). [The final *-tïpë* may be an old form of the noun past marker *-hpë*; 12.2]

ntaka (Vt). **1** Break O (in two halves); break a piece off O. *Wi-ntaka-e*, I am breaking it, *ini-ntaka-ewa_w-a-e*, I am not breaking it. *T-ëkarama-e ii-ja i-ntaka-hpë*, he gave him the pieces that had been broken. *Tï-ntantaka-e ii-jaa-ne ii-raapa*, they broke his bow to pieces. [⇒ *entaka*, break apart]. **2** Translate O. *Sen wi-ntaka-e tarëno i-j-omi-h_tae*, I am translating this into (lit. by, along, according to) the Tiriyó language.

-ntë (sfx). 'Beneficiative' noun verbalizer (5.3.3.1.2).

O

o- (pfx). ⇒ *ë-*, second-person marker.

oeka (Va; non-Detr [5.2.2, Table 5.4]; irreg. *k*-initial stem in the first-person (5.4.1.1.2), imperative (5.4.2.1), supine and habitual past (5.4.3.1.1), and negative (5.4.3.1.3) forms). Defecate. *K-oeka-e*, I am defecating. [⇒ *wetï*, excrements; *wetï* resembles the allomorph *weka* or *oeka* more closely, suggesting a historical connection]

ohkï (Pro; col. *ohkïja(mo)*). Animate demonstrative visible distal; that one (far away; 4.1.2). *Akï ohkï*? Who is that guy over there? (e.g. on top of a mountain).

ohkïja(mo) (Pro; non-col. *ohkï*). Animate demonstrative visible distal; those ones (far away; 4.1.2). *Akï ohkïjan?* Who are those guys over there? (e.g. on top of a mountain).

ohkïnpëke(ne) (N). Animals in general; all sorts of animals [syn. *mëkïnpëke(ne)*]. *Ohkïnpëken, tarïpi, kïjapoko, tamokonpë, jahkïï, (...) tï-wë-e wïja*, I killed all sorts of animals: capuchin monkeys, toucans, spider monkeys, howler monkeys... [A plausible etymology is *ohkï*, that (animate, far away), *-npë* 'Past', and *_ke(ne)* 'Continuative': the ones who used to be those (far away). There may be some relation to mythological beliefs about animals, but this is far from clear]

ohpatapo (N). A species of pigeon (*Columba suvinacea*, Columbidae; Port. *pomba-preta*)

oi (N). Grassland, savannah. *Maio_po mono tuna oi_po*, in May the rivers grow big in the savannah (i.e. they cause floods). *Oota-imë_tao oi_po, irë_ta t-onota-e i-mama-hpë*, in a big hole in the grasslands, there his/her mother fell.

oi (N). Mix, mixture. *Nërë tï-rë-e pahko_ja, kunawaru eereweti-npë oi_me*, that one my father mixed (=made into a mixture) with the secretions of the *kunawaru* toad.

okomo (N). Wasps (various species).

(j)omi (N). Voice; words; speech, language. *Wïtoto i-j-omi*, human voices; *kaikui i-j-omi*, dog noises, barks. *Manko i-j-omi wi-moi-ne*, I obeyed my mother's words. *Tarëno i-j-omi wi-kuu-ja-e*, I speak (lit. imitate) the language of the Tiriyó, the Tiriyó language.

ona(mï) (Vt). Hide, bury O. *Sen onan-kë*, hide this (said to a shopkeeper, whom the speaker wished to convince not to sell a certain item before he could come back to purchase it). *Panpira onan-jan_to*, they are hiding, burying the book/paper. [⇒ Detr. *ëtona(mï)*, hide, bury oneself]

onke(ne) (A; nzr. *onka-to*). Calm, quiet, peaceful [syn. *oorake(ne)*]. *Onken eh-kë!* Be quiet! *Irë_mao onken w-ei*, then I kept silent. *Tarëno, menjaarë, onken*, the Tiriyó are now peaceful. *Akëh-keh-tuuwë, onken_n-ai wïtoto*, after felling the trees, people rest (=are quiet) a bit. [Maybe related to *_ke(ne)*; 6.1.1.4]

onopira (N). A species of bird (*Monasa atra*, Bucconidae; Port. *bico-de-brasa-preto*, Eng. *black nunbird*)

ono(pï) (Vt). **1** Paint O. *W-onoo-ja-e kananaman _ke*, I am painting it yellow; *w-onoo-ja-e siririman_ke*, I am painting it blue. **2** Grate, scrape, rasp O *Ii-re w-onoo-ne wekïï*, I made (=polished) him a small arrow. [⇒ Detr. *ëtono(pï)*, paint, grate oneself]

onore (N). A species of heron (*Tigrisoma lineatum*, Port. *socó-boi-de-cabeça-castanha*, Eng. *rufescent tiger-heron*).

onpï (N). A species of owl (*Pulsatrix perspicillata*, Strigidae; Port. *murucututu*, Eng. *spectaled owl*).

ooko (N). A species of curassow (*Crax alector*, Cracidae; Port. *mutum*, Eng. *black curassow*)

ookoikë (N). Species of hawk (Accipitridae; *Buteo leucorrhous*, Eng. *white-rumped hawk* [also ⇒ *wirinaje*], and *Buteogallus urubitinga*, Port. *gavião-caipira*, Eng. *great black hawk* [also ⇒ *pïrowarai*]) [Apparently related to *ooko*, curassow sp.]

ookopipi (N). A species of frog (*Dendrobates azureus*), with a very specific blue color. It is an endangered species, found only in Surinam. [A plausibe etymology is *ooko*, curassow, and *pipi*, older brother, i.e. curassow's older brother]

oon (Intj). Apparently, a noise that indicates 'leaving'. *Ma, irë_mao t-eetïrïka-e, oon, ameraarë t-eetïrïka-e wïtoto*, then they left, *oon*, all the people left.

oona (N). Nose. *J-oona*, my nose.

oonapijuhta (Vo). Have a running nose. *J-oonapijuhta-e*, I have a running nose. [From *oona*, nose, incorporated by *pijuhta*, excrete]

ooni (Pro). Inanimate demonstrative visible distal; that (over there, far away; 4.1.2). *Ooni eneh-kë*, bring that one (over there, far away). *Ooni_po*, there, far away (frequent collocation; syn. *taanë*). *Aerë, ooni_po i-pata*, it is true, his village is over there (far).

ooninpëke(ne) (N). All sorts, all kinds of things. *Ooninpëken wï-rï-ja-e*, I make all sorts of things. *Ooninpëken tï-kuu-se_re ii-ja*, s/he tried all sorts of things. [A plausible etymology is *ooni*, that (inanimate, far away), *-npë* 'Past', and *_ke(ne)* 'Continuative': the ones that used to be those (far away). ⇒ *mëkïnpëken(ne), ohkïnpëken(e)*, all sorts of animals]

oora (N). Hour; time. [A borrowing from Portuguese; the Sranan word *juuru* is more frequently used]

oorake(ne) (A; nzr. *ooraka-to*). Calm, quiet, peaceful [syn. *onke(ne)*]. *Ooraken_w-a-e*, I am quiet, peaceful. [Maybe related to *_ke(ne)*; 6.1.1.4]

oorë (N). A species of dove (*Columbina minuta*, Columbidae; Port. *rolinha*, Eng. *plain-breasted ground dove*)

oori (N). A species of bird (*Trogon violaceus*, Trogonidae; Port. *surucua-violeta*, Eng. *violaceus trogon*) [It is not clear whether this word is really different from *oorë*]

ooroimë (N). A species of dove (*Scardafella squammata*, Columbidae; Port. *rola-fogo-apagou*, Eng. *scaled dove*)

oota (N). Hole. *Tï-w-ëmën-je wakapu oota-h_tao*, s/he entered into the hole of the *wakapu* tree. *Mono_me nono oota t-ee-se*, there was a big hole on the ground. *Mërëme erï oota-nna t-ee-se, eku-toh-poora*, but her vagina had no hole (lit. was holeless), so he could not have sex with her.

opi (N). Species of tiny fish (Port. *piaba*).

oransi (N). Dutch; Dutchman. *Oransi i-jomi ë-waarë?* Do you know Dutch? [A borrowing, from Dutch *Hollands*]

(j)oroi (N). Cashew (tree and fruit; *Anacardium occidentale*, Anacardiaceae). *Irë_po, pai i-wena-hpë, tëne ii-ja, oroi epinë*, there he saw the tapir's trail, under the cashew tree. *Irëme oroi tï-jarahtë-e ii-ja*, so he built a temporary resting place [⇒ *jara*] on the cashew tree. *Ë-j-oroi i-hkërënma-n*, they are destroying your cashew (tree, fruit).

(j)oroisi (N). Watch, clock. *Kï-j-oroisi-komo_ro*, exactly our watches. [A borrowing from Dutch (or French, via creole) *horloge*, used at Kwamalasamutu; at Missão Tiriós, *wei*, sun, iss used instead]

(j)oroko (N). Work. *Oroko_me k-eh-të-ne*, let's work. *Serë apo_n-ai ji-j-oroko i-w-eh-to*, this is what my work is like. [A borrowing from Sranantongo *wroko*]

(j)orontï (N). Wax. *Irë_mao wanë i-j-orontï-hpë ekï_ekïï-ne arëtë_pë*, then he ap-plied bee wax to (his son's) bangs. *Sen_n-ai orontï_me*, this is used as wax.

(j)osi (N). Rash; skin disease (typically characterized by whitish spots of varying size; apparently caused by a fungus). *Ji-j-osi*, my rash.

otï (N). Meat food (12.3.5). *J-otï_se_w-a-e*, I want meat food. *O-otï t-ënë-kë!* Eat your meat! *Tarïpi eneh_pa anja otï_me*, he brought capuchin monkey as our food (=meal). *O-otï_pa, akï ënë-e ëmë?* As for your meat food, what did you usually eat?

oto (N). Generic name for terrestrial game animal (for tree game animals, ⇒ *mëhparë*; also 12.3.3). *Irë apo_n-ai oto-ton, pëera, uruu-ra i-w-ei_ke*, so are all the animals, stupid, because they never get advice. *Oto-ton n-eratonka-n pau_htao tuna mono_me i-w-ei_ke*, the animals get isolated on islands because the rivers become very big (during the rainy season). *Iijeeta tarëno oto-ton wën, kurimau, wïkapau, akuri, ameraarë*, the Tiriyó kill many animals: paca (labba), deer, agouti, all of them.

oto (N). Car. *Oto_tao nï-të-n*, s/he went in the car. [A borrowing from Dutch or French *auto*, car; some speakers prefer *kanawa*]

otono (N). Cold; snot. *Ji-j-otono*, my cold.

Otono_tao_w-a-e, I have a cold (lit. I am in a cold).

otonoimë (N). Tuberculosis. *Otonoimë_tao_w-a-e*, I have tuberculosis (lit. I am in tuberculosis). [Etymology: *otono*, cold, snot, with the augmentative *-imë*]

owa (Ptc). General negative particle (9.1.4): no, nothing, nobody. *Oransi i-j-omi ë-waarë? Owa, ji-wame*, Do you know Dutch? No, I do not. *Atï mï-rï-ja-n? Owa, j-urakana-e_rëken*, What are you doing? Nothing, I am just walking around.

P

-pa (sfx). A non-productive 'abstract beneficiative' noun verbalizer (5.3.3.1.2).

_pa (Ptc). **1** 'Again' (marking repetion). *Tëin_ken_pa*, once more. *Kure_pa w-ee-ja-e*, I am recovering (lit. becoming good again). *Ohkë_pa_mo*, come back again in the future! **2** In turn; as for, what about. *Ëmë_pa?* How about you? *Ë-karakuri_pa?* What about your money? **3** 'Away', with verbs of centrifugal motion. *Wï-të-e_pa*, I am going away. (9.1.3.1)

pa (N; irreg. col. form *pan-ton*; prefixless first-person form *pa-rï* occurs in variation with the regular *ji-pa(-rï)*; 4.3.1.2, 12.3.1). Grandchild; descendant. *T-ëëmon-ja-e ji-pan-ton_marë*, I am meeting with my grandchildren. *Anpo_ken_man-a-e, pa-rï*, where are you staying, my grandson? *Ëë, ji-pa-rï*, oh, my grandson! *Ma, tëin_ken_pa irë apo_nkërë mïka, jipa*, oh, you are saying this again, my grandson.

paapotï (N). Young girl; daughter (vocative form). *Paapotï! Ohkë!* You, young girl! Come here!

paara (N). A species of bamboo (unidentified). *Wïtoto_ja pai t-ëpoo-se,paara_htao*, a person met the tapir, among the bamboo trees.

paaruru (N; irreg. poss. *japaruru* (4.3.1.4.3)). Banana (probably *Musa paradisiaca*). *Paaruru t-ënaa-se ii-ja*, he ate bananas. *Kï-japaruru epï-rï, ameraarë_mo amih-kë*, our banana stalks, get all of them.

paasinore (N). A species of acouchy (*Myoprocta acouchy*). [Possibly related to *pai*, tapir, and *nore*, tongue].

paatërëi (N; var. *paaterï*). Flashlight. *Anpo ë-paatërëi?* Where is your flashlight? [A borrowing from Dutch *baterij*]

paateri (N). ⇒ *paatërëi*, flashlight.

pahka (Vt). Break O (in pieces). *Ii-raapa_marë tï-pahka-e ii-jaa-ne wewe_hta*, they also broke his bow against a tree. [⇒ *epahka*, break]

pai (N). Tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*).

paipaijo (N). A species of bird (*Lipaugus vociferans*, Port. *tropeiro*, *frio-frio*, Eng. *screaming piha*).

pajamë (N). A species of bird (*Turdus nudigenis*, Port. *sabiá-caraxue*, Eng. *bare-eyed thrush*).

pakara (N). A bag, a case (for transportation); a suitcase (for luggage). *Panpira wii-sika-e pakara_pëe*, I am taking the book out of the bag.

pakira (N). Collared peccary (*Tayassu tajacu*, Port. *caititu*)

pakira akï (N). A species of owl (*Speotyto cunicularis*, Strigidae; Eng. *burrowing owl*).

pakoro (N). House; roof of a house (note that a traditional Tiriyó house has no walls). *Ji-pakoro-h_ta wï-të-e*, I am going home (into my house). *Aano ë-pakoro?* Which one is your house?

paku (N). A species of fish (Port. *pacu*).

-pa(mï) (sfx). 'Abstract inchoative' noun verbalizer (5.3.3.2.1).

pata (N). Place (general); village, place where people live. *Anpo_n-ai ë-pata*, where are you from? (lit. where is your place, your village?). *Kï-pata tï-rï-kë*, make our place, our village (i.e. clear this area, make it inhabitable). *Tï-pataa_pona_pa tïï-të_se t-ee-se*, he wanted to go back to his village, to his place. *Sen_po_n-ai tïwërë-no_ro i-pata, kï-pata-h_ta*, here is someone else's place, not ours. *Pata tï-hkërënma-e meekoro_ja*, the Bushnegros attacked, afflicted the village.

pataka (Vt). Take O out; remove O (from e.g. inside a house). *J-ekï wi-pataka*, I took my pet out (of the house). [⇒ Detr. *epataka*, go, come out] [Possibly *pata*, place, with the privative -*ka*, i.e. 'make O lose O's place' > 'take O out']

pepei (N). Wind. *Pepei_me*, windy (e.g. talking about the pronunciation of H-Tïriyó speakers). *Pepei mono*, a strong wind.

perei (N). A species of macaw (*Ara nobilis*, Psittacidae, Port. *arara-nanica*, Eng. *red-shouldered macaw*)

pereru (N). Butterfly. [There do not seem to be specific words for the many different species of butterflies]

perisina (N). ⇒ *aperisina*.

pëmëi (N). Pepper. *Pëmëi_se_w-a-e*, I want pepper.

pëmu (N). A species of insect (unidentified).

pëne (N). Piranha fish (apparently, *Serrasalmus spp.*)

pënjeke (N). ⇒ *ponjeke*, white-lipped peccary.

pënpuru (N). A species of toucan (*Pteroglossus flavirostris*, Ramphastidae, Port. *araçari*, Eng. *ivory-billed aracari*).

përa (N). Crying, wailing; tears. *Maaru_ke, i-përa enkïïka-ne, kï kï*, with a piece of cotton, he wiped his (someone else's) tears. *I-përa-rï_htao_rëken Jaraware tï-w-ëe-se ii-ja*, while he was crying, Jaraware came to him.

përei (N). A species of tree (Port. *guaruba*).

përëru (N). A species of toad (unidentified).

pëtu (N). A species of dove (*Geotrygon montana*, Port. *juriti*-vermelha, Eng. ruddy quail-dove).

pëtunë (N). A species of bird (*Tinamus major*, Tinamidae; Port. *inambu-grande*, Eng. *great tinamou*).

pihpë (N). Skin; bark (of a tree). *Ji-pihpë*, my skin. *Kurimau pihpë*, paca skin. *I-pihpë_mo i-sowaka*, cut a piece of its bark.

pijanaaroi (N). Hawk nails. *Pijanaaroi_rëken i-kewei_me*, only hawk nails were his fishhooks, he only had hawk nails for fishhooks. [⇒ *pijana*, hawk, and *(pï)roi*, toe nails]

pijuru (N). Shrimp.

pikore (N). A species of bird (*Oryzoborus angolensis*, Fringillidae, Port. *curió*, Eng. *lesser seed-finch*).

pina (Vt). Drag O. *J-ehke wi-pina-e*, I am dragging my hammock. [⇒ Detr. *epina*, drag]

pinta (N). Peanut. *Pinta_se_man-a-n?* Do you want peanuts? [A borrowing from Sranan *pinda*]

pipikane (N). A species of bird (*Nasica longirostris*, Dendrocolaptidae, Eng. *long-billed woodcreeper*). [Probably onomatopoeic: *pipi* + *ka-ne*, the one that goes *pipi*]

piririkane (N). A species of antbird (*Formicivora grisea*, Formicariidae; Port. *formigueiro-cinzento*, Eng. *white-fringed antwren*). [Probably onomatopoeic: *piriri* + *ka-ne*, the one that goes *piriri*]

[t]pï (Vt; *-se* form *tï-pë-e*; takes *-ja*). Bathe O. *J-ekï wï-pï-ja-e*, I am bathing my pet. *Irë_mao _mo ë-nmuku tï-pï këi_ke ë-nmuku ahtao*, then bathe your son (in the medicinal bath) if he has fever. [⇒ Detr *epï*, bathe, take a bath]

pïhta (Vo). Get a wife. *Ji-pïhtaa_se_w-a-e*, I want to get a wife. *Eekanmao ë-pïh-ta-n?* When are you getting married? [⇒ *pï(tï)*, wife, with *-ta*]

pï(ï) (N). Mountain, hill. *Ma, irë_po t-ee-se, pïï_po t-ee-se*, it was there, on the hill.

_pïïnë (Pp). In favor of N; protective of N ('protective'; 7.3.3). *Kï-pïïnëë-ne_nai kan*, God has pity on us, is in favor of us, protects us. Back grade (prefixless) form *pïïnë*, protective. *Pahko_n-ai pïïnë*, my father is protective, moderate (e.g. he does not let people fight, mock others, etc.). Reciprocal form *ëipïïnë*, protective, in favor of each other.

Ëipïïnë_too_n-ai, they protect each other, feel pity (= are moved by) each other, are in favor of each other. ['Comiserative' might also be a good label for this postposition]

(pï)jai (N). **1** Shaman. *Pïjai_me_n-ai*, he is (like) a shaman, he knows magic. *Itu_htao tahken AIDS epi, tahken pïjai n-erahtë-n*, maybe the cure for AIDS is in the jungle, maybe a shaman will find it. **2** (possessed) A personal spirit. *Jii-jai_me_n-ai pai*, tapir is my 'personal spirit' (i.e. I must respect it; for instance, I cannot eat tapir meat).

pïmoma (N). A species of fish (Port. *mandi*).

pïmuriri (N). Species of woodpecker (*Picumus spp.*, Picidae; Port. *pica-pauzinhos*, Eng. *piculets*) [The word *tintimo* was also used for these birds, but it was also considered to be a borrowing from Katxuyana]

pïnma (Vt). Keep O, put O away, save O. *Wïja-n_me wi-pïnma-e*, I am keeping it for myself. *Kïn-ënë? Kïn-pïnma, tï-nmuku_me?* Did he eat him (= my son)? Or did he keep him as his own son? *Ji-mënparë wi-pïnma-e*, I am putting my things, my luggage away. *Ookopipi i-pïnma-të*, save (col.) the *ookopipi* (an endangered species of frog)!

pïreimë (N). Sugar cane. [A lexicalization; ⇒ *(pï)rëu*, possessed form *(pï)re*, arrow cane]

(pï)repa (N). Shin; leg. *Jii-repa*, my leg.

(pï)rëu (N; irr. poss. *:re*). Arrow. *Wewe tï-wë_tï-wë-e ii-jaa-ne ii-re_ke*, they kept shooting at trees with his arrows. Also: arrow cane.

(pï)ro (N). Inner throat. *Jii-ro*, my inner throat.

(pï)roi (N). Toe nails. *Jii-roi*, my toe nails.

(pï)ropï (N). Chest. *Jii-ropï*, my chest.

(pï)ta (N). Sole of the foot. *Ji-hta*, my sole.

(pï)tai (N). Shoes; sandals. *Ji-htai*, my sandals. [Probably related to *(pï)ta*, sole of the foot]

(pï)tarënma (Vt). **1** Warn O (about a danger); prepare O (for something). *Wi-htarënma-e*, I am going to warn him/her. **2** Cause jealousy in O; cause O to worry. *Pïtarënma-të_w-a-e*, I cause people to feel jealous; I cause people to worry, to feel threatened. [⇒ Detr. *ehtarënma*, get ready; become jealous]

pï(tï) (N). Wife. *Mëe w-apëi-ne ji-pï_me*, I took this one as my wife.

pïtïkï (N; irreg. poss. *hpïtïkï* (4.3.1.4.3)). Anus. *Ji-hpïtïkï*, my anus.

pokopoko (N). Species of cicada (unidentified). [Probably onomatopoeic]

pokoro (N). A species of bird (*Xipholena punicea*, Cotingidae, Port. *anambé-roxo*, Eng. *pompadour cotinga*)

ponï (N). Navel. *Ji-ponï*, my navel.

ponjeke (N; var. *pënjeke*). White-lipped peccary (*Tayassu pecari*, Port. *queixada*).

puipuikë (N). Species of birds (Formicariidae: *Drymophila caudata*, Eng. *long-tailed antbird*; Fringillidae: *Zonotrichia capensis*, Port. *tico-tico*, Eng. *rujous-collared sparrow*). [The two birds look different enough for this identification to seem suspicious]

(pu)pu (N). Foot. *Ji-hpu*, my foot.

pupuri (N). A small-sized species of owl (*Glaucidium brasilianum*, Strigidae, Eng. *ferruginous pygmy-owl*)

putupë (N). Head; hair. *Ji-putupë*, my head, my hair.

putuputuri (N). Nail. *Ewa_n-ai putuputuri awëe*, the rope is hanging from the nail. [This word must be a borrowing of unknown origin]

puunë(pï) (Vt). **1** Think, meditate, ponder about O. *Wi-puunëë-ja-e_pitë*, I am going to think about it first (= I will decide later). *Pëera_ken_ta kï-w-eh-too_me, kure i-puunëhtë-kë serë*, in order not to be stupid (careless), you all think carefully about this. **2** Understand O (usually in the past). *Wi-puunë!* I understood it! I got it! *Ëkëimë ënë-ne_me Moomoori i-w-eh-to tï-puunëë-se i-pamï-rï_ja*, Moomoori's son-in-law understood that she liked to eat anacondas (lit. that she was an anaconda eater). [⇒ Detr. *ëhpuunë(pï)*, think, meditate, ponder]

puure (N). Species of swallow (Hirundinidae: *Stelgidopteryx ruficollis*, Eng. *rough-winged* *swallow*; *Tachycineta albiventer*, Port. *andorinha-de-rio*, Eng. *white-winged swallow*).

R

ra (N). Front of the body. *Irë_mao_rëken, mataware i-ra_pëë_nai i-wïïse*, at that moment, Matawaré had anatto on the front of his body.

raah (Intj). Noise of thunder [⇒ *tïrïm*]. *Manan manan manan, tïrïm, manan manan manan manan, raah*, lightning, lightning, lightning, thunder; lightning, lightning, lightning, lightning, thunder.

raarijon (N). Radio. *Ji-raarijon*, my radio. *Raarijon entu_me_man-a-n?* Do you have a radio? [A borrowing of unknown origin]

rama (Vt). Return O, give O back. *Ë-panpira wi-rama-e*, I am returning your book. [⇒ Detr. *erama*, return, go back]

ranme (Pp). Next to N, beside N; parallel to N. *Ji-ranme ë-ehke ewahtë*, tie your hammock parallel to mine. *I-njo_re wïtoto, i-ranme t-ee-se, eku_se_re t-ee-se*, the guy was her husband, but in vain; he was next to her (= lying parallel to her, in the same hammock), and he wanted to have sex with her, but in vain.

:ranoma (Vt). Do O well. *Ma, tï-rï-këë_ne, ii-ranoma-këë_ne*, well, do it, and do it well! [Apparently, from *kurano*, good one [⇒ *kure*, good], with *-ma*; the full grade of the reducing syllable (presumably *ku*) is unattested]

ranta (Vo). 1 (Only in the third person). Pass (a year). *Tuwei_me ni-ranta*, two years passed (lit. it 'yeared' twice). *Sen i-ranta-to_mao*, during this year. 2 (All persons). Spend (a year). *Kwatru, sinku_me tahken ë-ranta-ta-n*, you will spend four, maybe five years (lit. maybe you 'will year' four, five times).

ranti (N). Government. *Montoru t-ëkarama-e ranti_ja*, the government gave this motor (e.g. electricity generator). [Borrowing, cf. Sranantongo *ranti* 'government']

rato (Pp). Beside; next to. *Ji-rato etahpaka*, sit down next to me. The nominalized form *rato(no)* means opposite side: *ji-rato-n_po_n-ai ji-pawana*, my friend is (sitting) opposite to me. [Maybe related to *ra*, front (of the body)]

ratoe (N). Enemy; someone who is against me (also in the locative sense). *Ji-ratoe-npë w-apëë-ja-e*, I caught my former enemy. *Ji-ratoe*, my enemy; the one who is against me (also physically). [⇒ *rato*, beside, next, parallel to]

ratoema (Vt). Attack O. *Kï-pun-kon i-ratoema-ta-n*, it (= the virus) will attack our bodies. [⇒ *ratoe*, enemy, with *-ma*]

ratonka (Vt). Isolate O; separate O. *I-ratonka-hpë-ton*, the ones that were isolated, separated. [⇒ *eratonka*, be(come) isolated] [⇒ *rato*, beside, nominalized as *rato(no)*, opposite side; and the privative *-ka*, i.e. 'remove the opposing side' > 'isolate']

_rawë (Pp). In the middle (= half part) of N (i.e. in the middle of a linear space; cf. *:roowë*, which implies at least two dimensions). *Kanawa_rawë_n-ai*, he is in the middle of the canoe (equidistant from both extremes). [⇒ *ra*, front (of body); the final *wë* is an old locative (12.2)]

_rawëna(ka/kïï) (Pp). To the half of N. *Tahken i-rawëna_rëken w-arë-n*, maybe I'll take it only to its half (i.e. maybe I'll only tell half of the story). [⇒ locative *raawë*, in the middle (= halfway) of N]

_rehkïï (Pp). Onto the top of N [syn. *_rehtëna(ka/ kïï)*]. *Pïï_rehkïï n-anota*, it fell on top of the hill, mountain. [⇒ locative *rehtë*, on top of N]

_rehtë (Pp). On the top of, on the head of N (7.3.1.2.3; syn. *arehtë*). *Pïï_rehtë_n-ai*, it is on top of the hill, mountain. [From *retï*, horn; ⇒ directional *_rehtëna(ka/kïï)*, *_rehkïï*, onto the top of N]

_rehtëna(ka/kïï) (Pp). Onto the top of, onto the head of N [syn. *rehkïï*]. *Ji-rehtënakïï n-anota*, it fell on top of my head. [⇒ locative *rehtë*, on top of N]

remiki (N). Lime, lemon. [A borrowing, probably from Sranan *lemki*]

_re(pe) (Ptc). Frustrative particle, indicating that the action described in the sentence either was not brought to completion, or was done in vain. *J-anota_re*, I almost fell (but I didn't). *Tï-kaimo i-wekena-ne_re*, he followed his game in vain (= i.e. he was unsuccessful) (9.1.5).

repentë (Vt). Pay, reward O. *Oroko_ma-n-ton wi-repentë-e*, I am going to pay the workers. [⇒ *repe(tï)*, payment, price]

repe(tï) (N). Payment; price. *Sen_n-ai j-enpane i-repe_me*, this is the payment for my teacher. *Ji-repetï-npë*, my ex-payment (e.g. before I spent it).

:re(të) (Vt; var. *:re(tï)*). Cross, traverse O, go to the other side of O. *Irëme same_ken kïï-rëhkë*, so take me fast to the other side! *Ji-mënparë wii-rëë-ja-e*, I am transporting my luggage to the other side. [⇒ Detr. *eerë(të)*, cross, go accross] [There may be a stem-initial reducing syllable; full grade unattested]

retï (N). Horns, antlers; crown of the head. *Wïkapau i-retï-hpë w-ahkëë-ja-e*, I am cutting the deer's antlers. *K-orokïï-kon i-retï tïkapiire _sa ahtao*, if our penis is a little wounded.

_rë (Ptc). Identificational particle: 'exactly', 'this is the one', 'even' (9.1.4). *Irë_po_ro ji-pata*, yes, there is precisely where my village is. *Irë_rë*, this is it.

_rëke(ne) (Ptc). A scope particle: just; only (9.1.4). *J-urakana-e _rëken*, I am just walking around. *Irë_mao_ rëken*, only then. *Irë_rëken wi-ponoo-ja-e*, I am telling only this (and nothing else). [⇒ *_rë*, exactly, and *_kene*, continuative; i.e. 'continually exactly', 'continually the same' > 'only']

_rën(ne) (Ptc). A scope particle: genuine, true (9.1.4). *Tarëno_rën ëmë*, you are a true Tiriyó. *J-eemi_rën mëe*, this one is my real daughter. *Wï-të-e_rën*, I am really going (= I am not kidding).

ripita (Vo). Become thinner, weaker. *Kutuma tï-ripita-e, kapohta i-w-ei-hpë_ke itu_htao*, he had gotten much thinner, because he had been in the jungle for so long. [Probably a *-ta* verb; source stem unattested]

[t]rï (Vt; *-se* form *tï-rë-e*; takes *-ja*). **1** Do, make O. *Kï-kairi wï-rï-ja-e*, I am making our broth. *Pakoro wï-rï-ja-e*, I am making a house. *Atï mï-rï-ja-n?* What are you doing? [⇒ *ëtïrï*, work; make things (for oneself)] (*waa_[t]rï*, kill O ⇒ *wa(a)*). **2** Put O (somewhere). *Irë_rë kure tï-rï ë-pakara-h_tao*, put it back in your bag. *Irë-npë_mo tïrï tïnotï_hkao*, put it in cold water.

-(rï) (sfx). Possessive suffix on *-rï* class nouns (4.3.1.5).

rïhta (Vo). Sweat [syn. *eramuhta*]. *Ji-rïhta-e*, I am sweating. [Probably derived with *-ta*; source stem unattested]

-rïpï (sfx). Pejorative suffix on nouns (4.2.1.5).

rohkïï (Pp). To the middle, center of N [syn. *:roowëna(ka/kïi)*]

roke (Ideo; also *rokeroke*). Swell(ing). *Ma, irë_mao rokeroke tïï-ka-e eena*, then his throat started to swell (lit. went *rokeroke*).

_:roowë (Pp). In the middle, center of N; surrounded by N. *Itu_roowë*, in the middle of the jungle. *Tuna_roowë*, in the middle of the river. [⇒ *(pï)ropï*, chest; the *wë* is an old locative (12.2); ⇒ directional *_:rohkïi*, *_:roowëna(ka/kïi)*, to the middle of N]

:roowëna(ka/kïï) (Pp). To the middle, center of N [syn. *:rohkïï*]. *Itu_roowëna wï-të-e*, I am going to the middle of the jungle. [⇒ locative *_:roowë*, in the middle, center of N]

rowaka (Vt). Open O. *Panpira wi-rowaka-e*, I am opening the book.

ruhka (Vt). Stick O (somewhere); make O stand (e.g. a pole, a house). *Panpira wi-ruhka-e*, I am putting the book away, sticking it somewhere. *Wewe wi-ruhka-e nono_htao*, I am sticking the pole into the earth. *Pakoro i-ruhka_se_w-a-e ëë-ja*, I want you to build a house (= lit. to make it stand).

rupei (N). A species of lizard (Port. *jacuraru*).

Këpëewa mëe t-ee-se tï-pëkën-ke, rupeimë i-pë, but he had a persecutor (=someone who was busy with him); the *rupeimë* lizard was planning something for him (=busy with him). [It is not clear whether or not *rupei* and *rupeimë* refer to the same species]

ruwa (N). A species of bird (Cotingidae, *Perissocephalus tricolor*, Port. *pássaro-boi*, Eng. *capuchinbird*).

S

s- (pfx). First-person marker on *e*-initial S_A verbs (5.4.1.1.2)

saika (Vt). Get O wrong; make mistakes about O; misunderstand, misinterpret O, mistake O [cf. *amënë(pï)*, miss O (target)]. *Wi-saika*, I got it wrong, I missed it. *Ëema tï-saika-e ii-ja*, he took the wrong path, he 'mistook' the path.

saransasa (N; var *saramïsasa*). Species of bird (Parulidae: *Setophaga ruticilla*, Eng. *American redstart*; Thraupidae, *Tachyphonus cristatus*, Eng. *flame-crested tanager*)

sarë (A). Hither. *Oh-kë sarë!* Come here! [cf. *-aarë* adverbs in 6.1.1.2]

saruma (N). Saruma or Xaruma, a Cariban group, known only from the literature. Their descendants (who may still speak the language) apparently live among the Waiwai in the village on the Jatapuzinho river.

sauhka (N). A species of bird (*Cacicus uropygialis*, Eng. *scarlet-rumped cacique*).

sawataru (N). Species of hawk-like birds (Accipitridae: *Gampsonyx swainsonii*, Port. *gaviãozinho*, Eng. *pearl kite*; Falconidae: *Daptrius ater*, Eng. *black caracara*).

sawarakau (N). A big, crab-like kind of spider (Port. *caranguejeira*).

sawaru (N). A species of turtle (unidentified).

se (Pp; irreg. conjugation (7.1.1); nzr. *sa(no)*, *sato*). Desiderative postposition; wanting, needing N. *Tuna se_w-a-e, ji-jokï_me*, I want water to drink. *J-entu ji-je Beren_po*, my boss wants me in Belém. (7.3.3).

se(nï) (Pro). Inanimate demonstrative visible proximal non-collective; this thing here [not being presented (⇒ *serë*); 4.1.2]. *Owa, sen n-ëë-sewa_w-a-e*, no, I do not eat this. *Sen_po*, here (lit. in this (place), a frequent collocation).

serë (Pro). Inanimate demonstrative visible proximal non-collective; this thing here [being presented (⇒ *se(nï)*; 4.1.2]. *Serë ë-uru, ë-eweh-këë_ne*, this is your cassava food, eat!. *Ma menjaarë serë i-ponopï_se_w-a-e, kï-tamu-ru-npë-kon i-w-eh-to pena*, now I want to tell this (=introducing a story), about our ancestors, long ago.

seu (N). A species of raccoon (*Nasua nasua*, Port. *quati*).

:sika (Vt). Remove O, take O out [syn. *[t]ëu*]. *Panpira wii-sika-e pakara_pëe*, I am taking the book out of the bag. *Ë-erepa i-kutu-hpë mii-sika-e*, you take the poison out of your food. [⇒ *eesika*, come out]. *Irë_mao_pa Taru tïï-sika-e ii-ja, tï-wenahta-e*, then he threw Taru out, he vomited him (out) (said about a big lizard who had eaten Taru).

sikare (N). Species of cuckoo (Cuculidae: *Piaya cayana*, Port. *alma-de-gato*, Eng. *squirrel cuckoo*; *Piaya minuta*, Port. *rabilonga vermelha*, Eng. *little cuckoo*).

sikë (N). Tropical flea (*Tunga penetrans*) which embeds itself in the skin, especially of the feet, of humans and animals and lays eggs; chigoe, chigger, jigger.

simari (N). Grater.

simenuri (N). A species of termite (unidentified).

siminatë (N). Liana (general name). *Katamïïmë siminatë*, the *katamïïmë* liana.

(si)pari (N). Species of stingray (unidentified). Also, a fan, used to kindle fire, and a woven tray, used for serving food, which has the same form. *Ji-hpari*, my fan.

siresire (N). Species of bird (*Phaethornis spp.*, Trochilidae, Port. *besourão*, *besourinho*, Eng. *hermits*).

sirikë (N). Star. *Kapu_ta tïï-të-e, sirikë_me i-w-eh-too_me*, he went to the sky to become a star (constellation).

siroi (N). A species of bird (*Sporophila obscura*, Fringillidae; Eng. *dull-colored seedeater*). [Maybe contains the word *(pï)roi*, toe nails]

sisikane (N). Species of birds (Thraupidae: *Tachyphonus luctuosus*, Eng. *white-shouldered tanager*; *Tachyphonus phoenicus*, Eng. *red-shouldered tanager*; *Tachyphonus rufus*, Eng. *white-lined tanager*).

situ (N). A species of ant (unidentified).

:suhta (Vo). Urinate. *Ëë-suhta-n_mahtao*, when you urinate. *Jii-suhta-e*, I am urinating. [⇒ *suku*, urine, with *-ta*]

(si)warapa (N). Club; stick (used as a weapon). *Jii-warapa*, my club.

siwiri (N). A species of fish (Port. *tamoatá*; unidentified).

siwiriwiri (N). A species of swallow (*Atticora fasciata*, Hirundinidae, Port. *andorinha-de-cinta-branca*, Eng. *white-banded swallow*).

sokïi (N). Hot water. *Sokïi_me tï-rï*, make it into hot water (as when preparing certain kinds of medicine).

sokïima (Vt). Boil O. *Wi-sokïima-e*, I am boiling it.

:suka (Vt). Wash O. *Ii-suka-kë soopu_ke*, wash it with soap. *Kïnii-suka*, s/he washed it. Incorporation: *ji-je-suka-to*, my toothbrush (*je*, teeth).

suku (N). Urine. *Kï-suku*, our urine.

suhtapo (A; nzr. *-to*). Wanting to urinate. *Suhtapo_w-a-e*, I want to urinate. [⇒ *suhta*, urinate]

T

t- (prf). Third-person reflexive (coreferential) prefix on nouns and postpositions (3.3.1.3).

t- (prf). First-person marker on *ë*-initial S_A verbs (5.4.1.1.2).

t- -e (cfx). Non-productive proprietive ('having') noun adverbializer (6.2.1.1.1). Also, allomorph of the recent past marker (⇒ *t- -se*).

t- -je (cfx). Non-productive proprietive ('having') noun adverbializer (6.2.1.1.1). Also, allomorph of the recent past marker (⇒ *t- -se*).

t- -ke (cfx). Proprietive ('having') noun adverbializer (6.2.1.1.1).

t- -ne (cfx). Non-productive proprietive ('having') noun adverbializer (6.2.1.1.1)

t- -pore (cfx). Noun adverbializer, 'having a good N' (6.2.1.1.2).

t- -se (cfx). Marker of remote past on verbs (5.4.3.1.2, 11.6.3)

-ta (sfx). Inchoative noun verbalizer (5.3.3.2.1).

taaka (Vt). Hit O (something hard, like bone). *Ji-putupë wi-taaka*, I hit my head. *Apëi wi-taaka-e*, I am hitting the/his seat (really hard). *Wewe wi-taaka-e, arimi ii-të-too_me*, I am hitting the tree, so that the spider monkey will go away.

taanë (A). **1** Yonder, far away [syn. *ooni_po*]. *Pahko nï-tën ëiwa-e taanë itu_htao*, my father went hunting far away, in the jungle. *Tïï-të-e, taanë*, s/he went, far away. **2** Always; forever; never, ever (in negative clauses). *Taanë tïwaarë i-w-eh-too_me, oto apo_ta*, so that we (*anja*) will forever be careful (about these things), unlike the animals. *J-enee-wa_rën m-eh-ta-e taanë_rën_pa*, you will never see me again.

_tae (Pp). Perlative ('by, along') directional postposition. *Sen ëema_tae nï-tën*, s/he went by, allong, following this path. *Tarëno i-j-omi-h_tae*, in (lit. by, along) the Tiriyó language. [⇒ locative *_tao*, in(side); ⇒ directional *_ta(ka)*, into]

tahka (Vt). Causativized (with *-ka*) form of *ta(tï)*, get lost [⇒ *ta(tï)*]

_tahkara (Ptc). Particle used after verb phrases (⇒ *_tahkarë*) to indicate that the speaker is surprised by a likely possibility (of which, however, s/he is not sure). *Nï-të-n_tahkara, pahko*, it may be father coming!; could it be that father is coming?

_tahkarë (Ptc). Particle used after non-verb phrases (⇒ *_tahkara*) to indicate that the speaker is surprised by a likely possibility (of which, however, s/he is not sure). *Pahko_ tahkarë nï-të-n*, it may be father coming!; could it be that father is coming?

_tahke(ne) (Ptc). Maybe, perhaps (9.1.3.2). *Tahken n-ee-ja-n = N-ee-ja-n tahken*, maybe s/he is coming. [*tahke(ne)* is the only *tahka-* particle that can occur sentence-initially]

tahpame (A). Sitting, in a sitting position. *Tahpame_w-a-e*, I am sitting, I sit.

tahpaka (Vt). Make O sit down, sit O. *Ji-nmuku wi-tahpaka-e*, I make my son sit down. [⇒ Detr. *etahpaka*, sit down]

tahturu (Intj). Noise of killing. *Waa_tï-rë-e ii-ja, Taru_ja, tahturu*, Taru killed her, *tahturu*.

taika (Vt). Trim O; cut uneven parts off O. *I-taika-hpë*, trimmings, sawdust, what remains after something was trimmed.

_ta(ike) (Ptc). Negative particle, used with non-verbs and with non-conjugated verb forms (9.1.4). *Wewe_taa_n-ai*, it is not wood, it is not a tree. *T-ëpëë-se_ta ëë-ja*, you didn't get it (it wasn't gotten by you). [The final *(ike)* is, among younger speakers, all but gone]

taja (N). Nape of the neck. *Ji-taja*, my nape.

_ta(ka) (Pp). Illative ('into') directional postposition. *Pakoro_ta nï-tën*, s/he went into the house. (7.3.1.1.2). [⇒ locative *_tao*, in(side); ⇒ perlative *_tae*, by, along]

takaemï (N). Harpoon; arrow used for fishing. *Takaemï_ke tï-wë-e wïja*, I hit it with a harpoon.

tamo (N). Vocative form of *tamu*, grandfather.

tamokonpë (N). A species of spider monkey (*Ateles paniscus*, Port. *coatá*, *macaco-aranha*). [Apparently 'old man'; ⇒ *tamo*, grandfather (voc.). At Tepoe, the word *arimi* is used instead of *tamokonpë*; at Missão Tiriós, *arimi* was considered a borrowing from Wayana]

tamosinpë (N). ⇒ *tamusinpë*.

tamu (N; voc. *tamo*; first-person *tamusinpë*, *tamosinpë*, sometimes *ji-tamu*; 12.3.1). **1** Grandfather. *Kï-tamu_kon*, our grandfather. *Tamo! oh-kë sarë!* Grandfather! Come here! (*tamo* is also used to address an old man, even if he is not the speaker's grandfather). **2** Elder; leader. *K-ëreeta-të-ne_pitë, n-kan tarëno i-tamu*, let us now rest a little, says the elder, the leader of the Tiriyó (referring to a village chief).

tamusinpë (N; var. *tamosinpë*). Irregular first-person possessed form; ⇒ *tamu*, grandfather.

tamutupë (N; irreg. col. *tamu-sa(mo)*, *tamu-san-ton*). Old man. *Irë_mao t-ëturu, nëërë tamutupë_ja, Joonare_ja*, then I talked to him, the old man, Yoonare. *Tamutupë_me_ sa w-ee-ja-e*, I am becoming a little old (said by a man; ⇒ *notïpë*, old woman). [⇒ *tamu*, grandfather; *-tupë* may be an older form of the nominal past suffix *-hpë*; 12.2]

_tao (Pp). Locative inessive (in(side) N) postposition. *Ji-mënparë_n-ai pakara_tao*, my things are in the bag (7.3.1.1.1). [⇒ directional *_ta(ka)*, into; ⇒ perlative *_tae*, by, along]

tapananti (N). Species of sparrows (Fringillidae: *Ammodramus humeralis*, Port. *tico-tico do campo*, Eng. *grassland sparrow*; *Arremonops conirostris*, Eng. *black-striped sparrow*).

taparara (N). A species of grasshopper.

tapitapi (Ideo). A noise for calling fish. *Ma, tapitapi, amïinpa-tuuwë ii-ja, irë_mao tï-w-ëe-se aimara*, then, *tapitapi*, they made fish calls, and then came an *aimara* fish.

tapïime (A). Many (animate). *Tapïime wïtoto irë_po*, there are many people there. *Março_ po ahtao kana tapïime*, in March there are lots of fish. [Probably an old *_me* phrase; source stem unattested (but cf. Apalaí *tapïi*, house; maybe 'house-like' > 'full house' > 'many')]

taran (Ideo). Noise of piling, stacking, building things. *T-ëpëi tï-rë-e ii-ja kawë, jarakapu, taran taran taran taran, irë_juuwë t-ee-se*, he made his own seat high, a temporary shelter: *taran taran taran taran*, it was up there.

tarënje (A). Later. *Irëme tarënje_pa ëeweh-kë*, so, eat later! (6.1.1.5)

tarëno (N). Autodenomination of the Tiriyó.

Tarëno_wï, I am a Tiriyó. *Tarëno i-j-omi*, the Tiriyó language. [Probably the nominalized form of an old word for 'here', i.e. 'local people'; 1.2]

taripikohko (N). Species of birds (Formicariidae: *Cymbilaimus lineatus*, Port. *chacão-barrado*, Eng. *fasciated antshrike*; *Thamnophilus doliatus*, Port. *choca-barrada*, Eng. *barred antshrike*). [This word looks related to *tarïpi*, capuchin monkey; maybe it is *tarïpikohko*, with an *ï* instead of an *i*]

tarïpi (N). A species of capuchin monkey (*Cebus apella*, Port. *macaco-prego*).

ta(tï) (Vo). Get lost. *Tï-taa-se*, s/he got lost; s/he made a mistake (while telling a story). *I-tatï-hpë i-w-eh-topo-npë*, the story of the one who got lost.

tawa (N). Clay [syn. *ërinë*], mud.

tawakira (N). A species of partridge (*Colinus cristatus*, Phasianidae; Port. *uru-do-campo*, Eng. *crested bobwhite*) [syn. *tookoroimë*]

tawamën (N). A species of bird (*Diglossa cyanea*,Thraupidae, Eng. *masked flower-piercer*).

tawari (N). Species of bird (Tyrannidae: *Myiozetetes similis*; Eng. *social flycatcher*; *Ochthoeca rufipectoralis*, Eng. *rufous-breasted chat-tyrant*).

taworo (N; var. *tawaru*). Species of hawk. (Accipitridae: *Buteo albicaudatus*, Eng. *white-tailed hawk*; *Leucoptornis albicollis*, Port. *gavião-branco*, Eng. *white hawk*).

tee (Intj). Expresses surprise, mild dissatisfaction. *Tee! Ëmë?* What? You? (said by a speaker who was surprised by the hearer).

tereine (A; nzr. *-(mï)*). Foggy. *Kapu tereine*, the sky is foggy (e.g. during the morning). [⇒ *erei(nï)*, smoke. This adverb should have been *tëreine*; a transcription mistake cannot be ruled out]

teusu (N). God (syn. *kan*, more usual). *Teusu i-j-omi mi-saika-e*, you are misinterpreting God's words. [A borrowing from Port. *deus*]

tëënakëe (A; nzr. *-(mï)*). Liar; lying. *Tëënakëe_wï*, I am lying. *Irëme_hkatë pena t-ëpëë-se ii-jaa-ne mïka? Tëënakëe*... So you said that they had already gotten it (=the money)? You liar... [⇒ *eenakë*, lie, liar, lying]

të[mï] (Va; non-Detr [5.2.2, Table 5.4]; irreg. person markers (5.4.1.1.2); irreg. *mï* stem (5.1.4); reduces to *h* in the future (5.1.6)). Go. *Nï-tën_pa*, he is gone. *Kokoro wï-h-ta-e Berem_pona*, tomorrow I'll go to Belém. *Kï-tën-ne!* Let's go! *Aja mï-të-n?* Where are you going? (frequent greeting).

tëpu (N). Stone; rock; boulder. *Tëpu-pisi_n-ai kariwa_tao*, the little stone is in the gourd. *T-entaka-e tëpu*, the big rock broke apart. [*Tëpu* (written *Tepoe* in Surinam) is the name of one of the major Tiriyó villages; 1.1]

tëtune (A; nzr. *-(mï)*). Painful. *Tëtune_n-ai*, it is painful. [From *jetu(nu)*, pain; apparently, a higher-register synonym of *kutuma(ka)*]

tintimo (N). ⇒ *pïmuriri*, woodpecker species.

tïhka (Vt; var. *htïhka*). Scare, frighten O. *Wi-tïhka-e*, I am scaring him. *Irë_ja tï-tïhka-e, enu-ru_ja*, it frightened him, his (= the cayman's) eye. *Wei ii-të-topo_ja tï-htïhka-e*, he was frightened by the going (= disappearance) of the sun. [⇒ Detr. *ëhtïhka*, be, get scared. Notice the variant *htïhka*, with an unexpected *h*; cf. also the *h* in the Detr. form]

tïïka (N). Tobacco; cigarettes. *Tïïka tëërë?* Are there any cigarettes? *Ji-tïïka_se_w-a-e*, I want cigarettes for me.

tïïka (Vt). Finish O up; run out of O. *Ni-tïïka-n_to*, they are finishing it (=fruits) up, they are eating them all up. *Wi-tïïka-e*, I am finishing it. [⇒ Detr. *ëtïhka*; the *h* is difficult to explain (⇒ *tïïka*, frighten O)]

tïkatïne (A; nzr. *-(mï)*). Fat; having fat. *Tïkatïne t-ee-se pepeijoto*, the *pepeijoto* snake was fat. [⇒ *katï*, fat]

tïkuije (A; nzr *-(mï)*). Dirty. *Tïkuije_w-a-e*, I am dirty. [⇒ *kuita*, be(come) dirty; 12.2]

tïkupune (A; nzr. *-(mï)*). Fleshy; fat. *Ee, kï-waewaehka-e pai, tïkupune-n ahkene*, oh, you are jumping over me, tapir, as if you had flesh (= i.e. as if you were strong enough to risk irritating me). [⇒ *kupu(nu)*, meat, flesh, body]

tï(mï) (Vt). Poison O (water, river, to kill the fish). *I-tïn-to*, method of fishing whereby a poisonous sap is used to kill the fish. *Ineku_ke anja ni-tïn-ja-e*, we poison (the river) with *ineku*.

tïmune (A; nzr. *-(mï)*). 'Rooty'; with tuberous roots sprouting (i.e. ready for planting). *Wïi tïmunen*, cassava ready for planting. [⇒ *mu(nu)*, tuberious root]

tïnmuuje (A; nzr. *-(mï)*; var. *tïmuje*). Having a son. *Tïnmuuje_w-a-e*, I have a son. [The variant *tïmuje* seems to be a reinterpretation of *tïnmuuje*; both are phonetically very close (the long nasal (/nm/ = [mm]) being the only noticeable difference)]

tïrepehke (A). Expensive, dear. *Tïrepehke_n-ai, kutuma*, it is very expensive.

tïrïjo (N). Name of the Tiriyó, generally used by non-Tiriyó (⇒ *tarëno*, the preferred autodenomination) [Word of uncertain origin; it may be cognate with Kali'na *tïre:wuyu*; 1.2]

tïrïm (Intj). Noise of thunder [⇒ *raah*]. *Manan manan manan, tïrïm, manan manan manan manan, raah*, lightning, lightning, lightning, thunder; lightning, lightning, lightning, lightning, thunder.

tonoro (N). Generic noun for birds. *Tonoro tï-wë-e ii-ja*, he shot (killed) bird(s).

_to(o) (Ptc; var. *_toto*). Collective particle for non-SAP (5.4.1.2). *N-ee-ja-n_to*, they are coming. *M-amohtë_to*, you (non-col.) called all of them. [The variant *_toto* occurred very rarely; being certainly older (*_toto* > *_to(o)*), it seems to be all but gone]

tookoroimë (N). A species of partridge (*Colinus cristatus*, Phasianidae; Port. *uru-do-campo*, Eng. *crested bobwhite*) [syn. *tawakira*]

toran (Intj; var. *tora*). Noise of someone arriving. *Toran, tï-pataa_pona, toran*, (he came back) to his village. *Ma, toran, tï-tunta-e, mataware_ja*, then, *toran*, he arrived at Mataware's (village).

tukui (N). Hummingbirds in general (Trochilidae). *Tukui sikiman*, lit. black hummingbird (*Eupetomena macroura*, Eng. *swallow-tailed hummingbird*). *Tukui taamiiren*, lit red hummingbird (*Topaza pella*, Port. *beja-flor-brilho-de-fogo*, Eng. *crimson topaz*).

tuna (N; irreg. poss. *-:na*). Water; river. *Kariwa w-arïhtë-e tuna_ke*, I am filling the gourd with water. *Tuna_hta j-enmïtï_se_w-a-e*, I want to dive into the water/river. *S-eerëë-ja-e tuna_hkao*, I am crossing the river. *Jii-na enï*, my water container (also *ji-tuna enï*).

tunta (Vo). Arrive. *Tï-tunta-e meekoro irë_mao*, the Bushnegros arrived at that time. *Menjaarë ni-tunta kainan ëkëreu kïï-jaa-ne*, now a new disease has come to us. [Apparently an old *-ta* verb; source stem unattested]

turakane (A; nzr *-(mï)*). Traveling; who travels a lot; tourist, visitor. *Ee... turakanemï, tïï-ka-e rupeimë-ton*, hey... visitors (are coming), said the *rupeimë* lizard's people. *Turakanen_me mï-të-e*, you go visiting places (i.e. you go as a visitor, a tourist). [⇒ *urakanu(mu)*, *urakana*, stroll, walk around]

U

uhtuku (N). A species of pigeon (*Columba cayennensis*, Columbidae; Port. *pomba-pocacu*, Eng. *pale-vented pigeon*).

uhtukuimë (N). Species of pigeon (Columbidae: *Columba corensis*, Eng. *bare-eyed pigeon*; *Columba speciosa*, Port. *pomba pedrês*, Eng. *scaled pigeon*).

un (N). One. [A borrowing from Port. *um*; ⇒ *ein* for a corresponding Dutch borrowing]

unna (Vo). Dry, become dry. *J-unna-e*, I am getting dry. [Maybe related to *tuna*, water, river]

uraika (Vt). Disturb, annoy O; make O angry. *W-uraika-e*, I am disturbing him, making him angry. *J-uraikatopo-npë*, my having been annoyed. *Irë apo ahtao_rëken, wïkapau tïï-karauwa-e t-uraika-toh_pë*, at that time, the deer became angry because of (=about) being disturbed.

urakana (Vo). Stroll, walk around [syn. *urakanu(mu)*]. *J-urakana-e _rëken*, I am just walking around. *Sehken t-urakana-e_wï, pëera ji-w-ei_ke*, likewise I walked around (aimlessly), because I was ignorant.

urakanu(mu) (Vo). Stroll, walk around [syn. *urakana*]. *Ë-pawana akërë, ë-urakanun-ja-e*, you walk around with your friend. *Abril_po tarëno n-urakanun-ja-n*, in April the Tiriyó go walking around.

uramïi (N). Species of birds (Thraupidae, *Euphonia spp.*; Port. *gaturamos*)

uremaru (N; var. *wïremaru*). Species of birds (Tyrannidae: *Elaenia spp.*, Port. *cucurutados*; *Myiarchus spp.*, Port. *maria-cavaleiras*, Eng. *flycatchers*).

[t]urë (Vt). Light O (fire). *Mahto w-urë-e*, I am lighting the fire. *Irë_mao mahto t-urë-e ii-ja*, then he lit a fire. *T-urë-kë!* Light it!

uru (N). Generic word for foods made of flour, cassava, etc. (by extension, also wheat, e.g. bread; 12.3.5). *Serë ë-uru*, that is your (cassava) food. *J-uru eneh-too_me ëë-ja*, so that you bring me food; you are to bring me food.

uru (Vt; *-se* form *urë-e* [5.1.6]; takes *-ja* [5.4.1.3.1])). *W-uru-ja-e*, I am advising, talking to him. *Uru-pïn apo*, like someone who never had good advice, who was never taught how to behave. *Uru-të_n-ai*, this is good advice, this advises well. *Jaraware ii-tëhpë_ke Mataware_ja, Mataware uru-too_me*, because Yarawaré had gone to Matawaré in order to talk to him. [⇒ Detr. *ëturu*, talk, speak (in public)]

urumaimë (N). An unidentified species of wild duck (the word *uruma*, without the augmentative, is unattested).

urutakï(pï) (Vo). Choke [syn. *mïrï(tï)*]. *J-urutakïï-ja-e*, I am choking. *J-urutakïpï_se_n-ai*, s/he wants me to choke. [Maybe a case of incorporation (⇒ *uru*, cassava food); verb stem unattested]

W

w- (pfx). First-person A/S_A-marker on transitive (and some exceptional S_A) verbs (5.4.1.1).

-wa (sfx). Inchoative noun verbalizer (5.3.3.2.1).

wa (Vt). Look for, search, go get O. *Maja i-wa-ta!* Go get the knife! *Papa_pa i-wa-ta!* Go get your father! *Pananakiri-ton serë epi i-wa-ne_re*, the foreigners have looked for a cure for this, but in vain. *Tï-nmuku tï-wa-e_re ii-ja*, he looked in vain for his son. *Akï mi-wa-ne?* Who were you looking for? [This verb—unlike *wë*, shoot, and *wa*, dance—is *i*-initial with the *n*-final prefixes *kïn-*, *in-*, *n-*: e.g. *kïn-iwa*, s/he looked for it (compare with *kïn-wa*, *kïn-na*, s/he danced, or *kïn-wë*, *kïn-në*, s/he shot it)]

wa(a) (Ptc). Negative existential particle (there isn't). *Tïika_waa_n-ai*, there is no tobacco, there are no cigarettes. *Wa_ken*, there isn't any, it's over (maybe already an independent particle *wake(ne)*). *Pahko_waa_n-ai*, my father isn't there; also, my father is dead. With *[t]rï*, make O nothing, kill O. *Mëe waa_wï-rï*, I killed that one. [⇒ *aawïrï*, a lexicalizing variant of *waa [t]rï*]

waaje (A; var. *ëwaaje*; nzr. *waaja-to*). Back grade of the appreciative postposition *ewaaje*; considerate, nice [⇒ *ewaaje*]

wae (Va). First-person form of the copula ('I am'). [⇒ *e(i)*]

waijana (N). Wayana, a member of a neighboring Cariban group (1.3). *Ma waijana, akurijo, tarëno aparai, irë apo_n-ai, Tëpu_po-n-ton*, Wayana, Akuriyó, Tiriyó, Apalaí, these (=like this) are the inhabitants of Tepoe.

waiwai (N). Waiwai, a member of a neighboring Cariban group (1.3).

wame(ke) (Pp). Ignored by, not known to N. (ignorative; 7.3.3). *Irë_n-ai ji-wame*, this I don't know. Non-conjugated form *wame(ke)*, unknown, difficult. *Wameh_ta*, not difficult, easy (to understand). *Ë-j-omi_n-ai wame*, your language is difficult. Recp. form *ëiwame(ke)*, ignorant, stupid. *Wïja-n_me irë, ëiwame ji-w-eh-tëkërë*, this is my fault, because I am stupid.

wan (Va). First-person form of the copula ('I am'). [⇒ *e(i)*]

wapu (N). A species of palm tree (Port. *açaí*; probably *Euterpe oleracea*).

warume (A; nzr. *-(no)*). Dark. *Warume_n-ai*, it is dark (here). [⇒ *ewaru(nu)*, darkness]

watë (N). Irregular non-poss. form. [⇒ *wetï*]

watëika (N). A species of vulture (*Coragyps atratus*, Cathartidae, Port. *urubu*, Eng. *black vulture*) [Related to *watë*, excrements]

wajaka (N). Species of vulture (Cathartidae, *Cathartes aura*, Eng. *turkey vulture*; *Cathartes melambrotus*, Eng. *yellow-headed vulture*).

weka (Va) ⇒ *oeka*, defecate.

wetï (N; non-poss. *watë* (4.3.1.4.3)). Excrements. *Ji-wetï*, my excrements. *Watë_hpije_n-ai*, it is all dirty with excrements. *Kunawaru i-wetï*, the excrements of the *kunawaru* toad.

[t]wë (Vt) Shoot O; hit O (by throwing something at it). [⇒ Detr. *ëhtë*, shoot oneself (irregular Detr. form)]

wëitapi (N). Irregular non-possessed form (⇒ *ehke(tï)*, hammock)

wënjepu (N). Baby hammock (worn by the mother around her body; a means of transporting babies). *Ji-wënjepu*, my baby hammock.

wëri (N). **1** Woman. *Irë_pon wëri w-apëi-ne ji-pï_me*, I took a woman from there as my wife. *Wëri kawë-no n-ee-ja-n*, the tall woman is coming. *Wëri-pisi ahtao, oota-nna _nkërë_n-ai, t-ëpëë-se_ta kïrï_ja i-w-ei_ke*, when she is a little girl (lit. little woman), she does not yet have a hole (= open vagina), because she has not had a man yet (lit. was not caught by a man yet). **2** Younger sister (male ego). *Ji-wëri-h-tomo!* My sisters! (vocative). [Possibly related to *erï*, vagina]

wërimuku (N). Girl, young woman. *Karaiwa nono_pëe tïï-të-e wëri, wërimuku_me tïï-të-e*, from the Brazilian land went a woman, she went still young. [⇒ *wëri*, woman; *nmuku*, son, child]

wiirikiki (N). A species of wasp.

wirinae (N). A species of sloth (*Bradypus tridactylus*, pale-throated three-toed sloth).

wïi (N; irreg. poss. *-:wi*). Cassava. *Jii-wi pata*, the place where I store my cassava. *Kït-ëë-ne wïï*, let's eat cassava. *Wïï n-eejaka-n*, the cassava bread is breaking (up), crumbling. *Irënehka wïi t-ënee-se ii-ja*, finally he brought some cassava.

wïise (N). Anatto, a plant from which red body paint can be made; also, the paint made from this plant. *Mataware i-ra_pë_nai i-wïïse, irëme wïïse tï-kïïka-e ii-ja, kïï...*, Mataware's anatto was on his chest, and then he rubbed it (on his chest), *kïï....*

wïja (Pp). To me; by me; for me. [irregular first-person form; ⇒ *_:ja*]

(wï)karau (N). Anger. *Wïkarau_hpije_n-ai*, s/he is angry, full of anger. *Wewe-ton t-ëëkaaka-e ariwe-imë_ja, tïï-karau_ke*, the cayman bit the trees repeatedly, because he was angry (= with his anger). *Pëë, menjaarë, Mataware ii-karau w-apëi, wï_hkatë, wïja-n_me*, ooh, now I have attracted (= caught) Mataware's anger, it's all my fault.

(wï)karauma (Vt). Irritate O, make O angry [syn. *eretëu*, *erekuika*] [⇒ *(wï)karau*, anger]. *Wii-karauma-e*, I am irritating him/her. *Irë_ja tïï-karauma-e iwana*, this irritated the iguana. *Wïkarau-ma-ton*, irritating, capable of irritating.

(wï)karauta (Vo). Become angry, irritated [syn. *(wï)karauwa*). *Këpëewa, tïï-karauta-e i-w-ei_ke, tï-ponoo-se ii-ja*, but, because he had gotten angry, he told (the story).

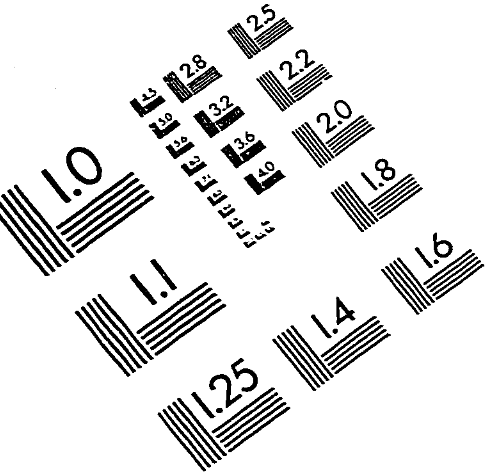
(wï)karauwa (Vo). Become angry, irritated [syn. *(wï)karauta*). *Irëme tïï-karauwa-e*, then s/he got angry. *Irë ene-tuuwë wïtoto_ja, kutuma tïï-karauwa-e*, after having seen this, he became very angry. *Ii-karauwa-ewa_n-ai*, s/he is not angry.

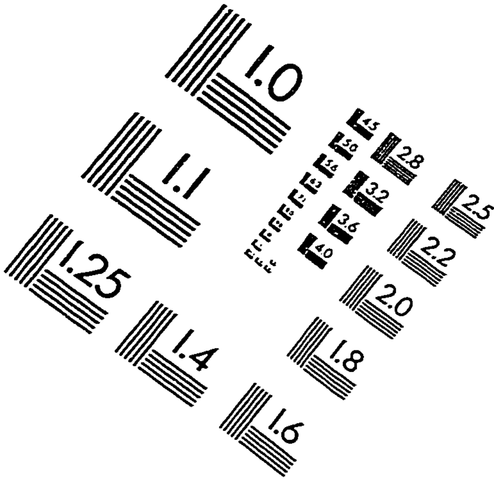
(wï)raapa (N). Bow. *Irë_mao pahko_ja tï-rë-e* *jii-raapaa-pisi*, then my father made a little bow for me. *Wïraapa tï-rë-e ii-ja*, he made a bow. Also: the tree from which bows are made (Port. *pau-d'arco*, similar to fiddlewood). *Wïraapa epoh-topo-npë wïtoto_ja*, the discovery of the *pau-d'arco* tree by people.

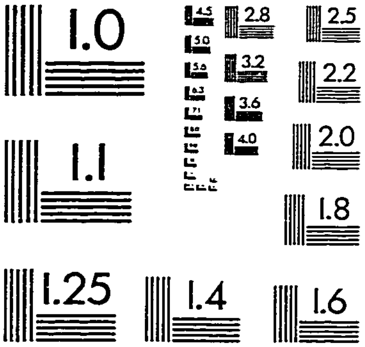
wïremaru (N). ⇒ *uremaru*, bird species.

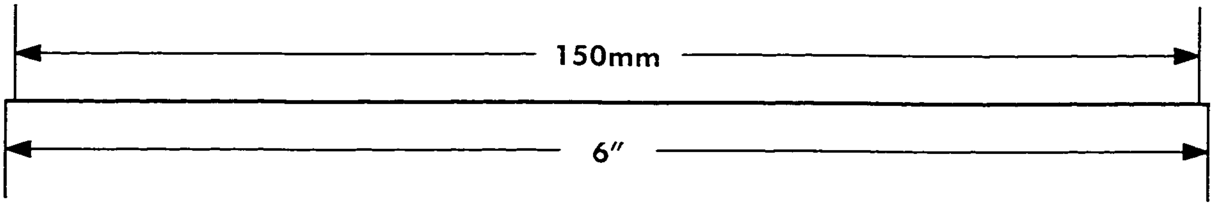
(wï)rïpë (N). [Related to the pejorative suffix *-rïpï*] Bad, evil thing; bad, evil person; sin. *Wïrïpë_me_w-a-e*, I am evil, I am a sinner. *Ëë-rïpï*, your evil, your sin; *ëë-rïpï-hpë*, your past sin (which you do not have anymore). *Iirïpï_me_ta kï-munkë-kontokon i-w-eh-too_me*, in order for (all) the descendants of all of us not to be bad. *Ii-rïpï_tao j-ewee-se ëmë*, you used to feed me in a bad bowl (said, in a folk tale, by a dog to his owner).

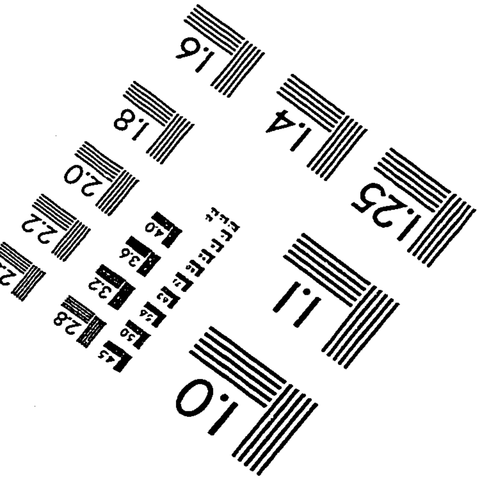
IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (QA-3)


1.0
1.1
1.25
1.4
1.6
1.8
2.0
2.2
2.5
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0
4.5
5.0
5.6


1.0
1.1
1.25
1.4
1.6
1.8
2.0
2.2
2.5
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0
4.5
5.0
5.6

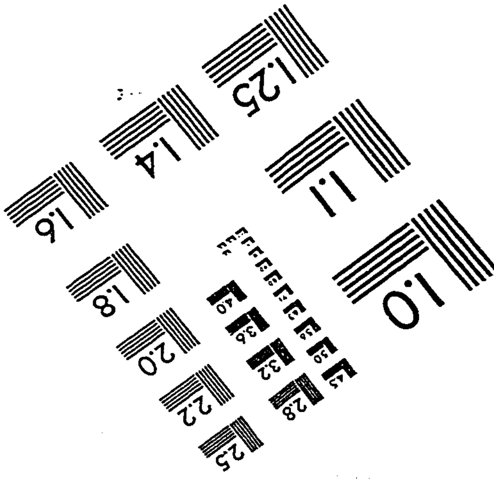

1.0
4.5
2.8
2.5
5.0
3.2
2.2
5.6
3.6
6.3
4.0
2.0
1.1
1.8
1.25
1.4
1.6




1.0
1.1
1.25
1.4
1.6
1.8
2.0
2.2
2.5
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0
4.5
5.0
5.6

APPLIED IMAGE, Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
Phone: 716/482-0300
Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved


1.0
1.1
1.25
1.4
1.6
1.8
2.0
2.2
2.5
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0
4.5
5.0
5.6