

THE LANGUAGE OF THE APINAJÉ PEOPLE OF CENTRAL BRAZIL

by

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A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Department of Linguistics
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

August 2005

“The Language of the Apinajé People of Central Brazil,” a dissertation prepared by Christiane Cunha de Oliveira in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in the Department of Linguistics. This dissertation has been approved and accepted by:

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An Abstract of the Dissertation of

Christiane Cunha de Oliveira for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Linguistics to be taken August 2005

Title: THE LANGUAGE OF THE APINAJÉ PEOPLE OF CENTRAL BRAZIL

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The dissertation is a preliminary grammatical description of the language spoken by the Apinajé, one of the Northern Jê peoples of Central Brazil. It discusses the core facts about Apinajé phonology, morphology and syntax from a functional-typological perspective, and provides three appendices: selected maps, a sample collection of texts and a preliminary dictionary. The phonological analysis proposes an alternative interpretation for the inventory of phonemes as compared to earlier analyses, pointing to phonemic distinctions not previously noted, which might lead to interesting findings regarding the historical development of the language. Apinajé morphemes are typically monosyllabic and the language makes ample use of function words for the expression of grammatical categories, properties that are characteristic of analytic languages. Nonetheless, Apinajé morphology is more complex than it might seem at first, especially with respect to the major lexical categories of the language: Nouns, Verbs and

Postpositions. These word classes, especially Nouns and Verbs, are characterized morphologically by the presence of formatives, which are recurrent morphs that are either semantically empty or of elusive meaning, but which subcategorize words in formal or semantic terms. The categories of nonfiniteness, person, and syntactic constituency constitute the core of inflectional morphology, the last applying to nouns, postpositions, and verbs. Verbs are subcategorized morphosyntactically into transitives, intransitives and descriptives, displaying a split intransitivity system with respect to verbal person-marking. Word order is predominantly SOV. Syntactically complex constructions include verb serialization and clause subordination, with ergative case-marking a characteristic of subordinate clauses.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank my advisor, Professor Spike Gildea, for his assistance in the preparation of this manuscript, as well as the members of my dissertation committee, for their thorough reading and excellent suggestions on a previous draft. My training in the doctoral program of the UO Linguistics Department was possible due to grants from the Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico (CNPq, Brazil) and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, DCT number 55. Research on the Apinajé language was also sponsored in part by CNPq. I gratefully acknowledge both agencies for their financial support. I also acknowledge the Fundação Nacional do Índio (FUNAI) for assistance with the documentation needed for the research.

My research on Apinajé would most certainly not have been possible without the support of the Apinajé community, for which I am most grateful. I especially wish to thank Amçi Creuza de Souza Fernandes; Iré Rita Dias Laranja; Greri Júlia Estêvão Laranja and Ireptsi Maria Barbosa, in memoriam; and Kojkoti Iraci Dias, for their friendship, kindness, warmth, good humor, and enthusiastic interest in my research; this work is as much theirs as it is mine. I also wish to express my deepest appreciation for the festivals, rituals, great food and fresh air, during my stay in Apinajé country. Finally, I thank Marilita Neves de Jesus for taking such good care of us all.

Many people have shared with me the good times and bad, during my time as a student. I am most thankful to all of these people, who will always be in my heart. I will not list your names here; you know who you are. Axé!

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this dissertation is to present a description of the language spoken by the Apinajé, one of the Northern Jê peoples of Central Brazil. The study is based on original data collected by the author in various trips to the field between October 1995 and August 2000, as well as in interviews with speakers of the language in the city of Goiânia, Goiás State, Brazil. Rather than a definite account of the language, this work is intended as the kernel of what will evolve into a more comprehensive grammar as further analysis is conducted; for the time being, my main goal is to lay out as many patterns as can possibly be distilled from the available data, regarding the phonology, morphology, lexicon, and syntax of the language. From a broader perspective, I hope this study will serve as an effective source for historical-comparative work aiming at the reconstruction of the Jê linguistic family, and thus constitute an additional piece for the better understanding of the Macro-Jê stock, a still hypothetical classification for a number of little-documented South American languages.

The dissertation discusses the principal facts about Apinajé and includes three appendices: selected maps, a sample collection of texts and a preliminary dictionary. The remainder of this chapter presents general information about the Apinajé people, including some details about their culture and social organization; geographical, historical, and demographic facts; observations about language contact situations and the

school system available in the communities; as well as details about the genetic affiliation and previous studies done on the language. Methodological considerations and information about the database for the study, as well as conventions used in the text, are also presented in this chapter.

Because most previous studies focus on the phonology of Apinajé, the core of my research project has been devoted primarily to the study of its grammar. Nonetheless, facts about its phonology and morphophonology were also captured during my time in and out of the field. These observations are presented in Chapter II, along with a discussion of previous literature on Apinajé phonology. Chapter III is an introduction to Apinajé morphology in which the relevant morphological units and categories are presented. Chapter IV presents the syntactic and morphosyntactic properties of phrases and simple clauses. Subordination, serialization and other kinds of complex constructions are discussed in Chapter V. Chapter VI is the concluding section; it summarizes the major facts about Apinajé discussed in this work, includes some language internal hypotheses about the development of certain forms and structures, and points to areas that deserve further investigation. Illustrative maps regarding the history and geographical distribution of the Apinajé are found in Appendix A. Appendix B provides three text samples: a traditional story, a personal experience narrative, and an instructional narrative. Appendix C, the Apinajé Dictionary, was created out of the material available the general database I started in 1995, in addition to the items I collected primarily by the lexicographical project. Appendix D is a list of abbreviations used in the glosses.

1. The Apinajé people

A distinguishing feature of Jê groups is the contrast between their relatively simple technology and their highly elaborate social organization. Jê material culture is noted for basketry techniques, but it does not include, for example, hammocks, canoes or ceramics. Jê social organization, on the other hand, is characterized by an intricate system of moieties and men's groups, rules of proper name transmission, and a relationship terminology that ignores the generational distinction principle (Da Matta 1982; Carneiro da Cunha 2004). According to Da Matta's interpretation, the Apinajé universe is ruled by a principle of dualism whereby elements at all dimensions are placed in a relation of complementary opposition thus constituting necessary parts of a closed totality.

Apinajé cosmology, social and physical organization is permeated by this dualism, which is not as much hierarchical as it is dialectic. This may be observed in the Apinajé creation myth, according to which all things existing on Earth were created by Sun and Moon. Sun, the older character, is the initiator, the one who poses a particular, harmonic state of affairs. Moon, the younger character, is the antithetical element, the one who questions the order and brings chaos into the *status quo*. The result of this interaction is a thesis that justifies the dual aspect of all creation in both nature and culture. Thus, animals, colors, name sets, ceremonial roles, among other things, are divided in pairs which are directly associated with either one or the other mythical character; and the members of each pair stand in a kind of inalienable relationship, for the existence of one is only justifiable by the existence of the other (Text I, Appendix B).

Kolti and *Kolre*, the most relevant pair of moieties of Apinajé social organization, are associated to Sun and Moon, respectively. The village layout and, with it, the distribution of marriage groups and formal friends, is guided by this affiliation.

The village community is the political unit of the Apinajé and is also the physical representation of their social organization. An ideal Apinajé village is circular; it includes a central plaza, a periphery area where houses stand, and a clearing beyond the limits of the village. The plaza is the ceremonial area of the village; the periphery is the domestic realm, and the clearing represents the transition from the cultural to the natural world (Da Matta 1982: 35; Nimuendajú 1983: 15).

Ceremonial groups are determined by moiety affiliation. The specific ordering, direction, adornments, behaviors and roles adopted and performed in the rituals are discrete, complementary elements that are pre-established according to each moiety. The same is true of name sets. Proper names are transmitted by formal friends starting at birth. The inventory of names possessed by an individual indicates which moiety s/he belongs to.

In the domestic circle, houses consist of at least one nuclear family plus the uxori-local¹ extended family. Residential segments are formed through economic cooperation between the members of a family and their affines (i.e. those related to them by marriage), including those from an exogamous group (which is also determined by the *Kolti/Kolre* division). The residential segment is the locus of political power. A strong

¹ That part of the family that resides in the wife's home.

segment reflects the capacity of its leader to aggregate members (especially if he manages to keep his sons-in-law within his own household) and to maintain harmony within the group. The prestige of a segment leader determines the degree of political loyalty he can count on when competing for chieftaincy of the village (Da Matta 1982).

Apinajé political structure is straightforward and effective. It includes the chief, his assistants, and a counselor. The chief retains the executive power (articulates collective work of interest to the village as a whole, adjudicates internal disputes, is expected to maintain harmony within the village through the power of oratory and persuasion), while the counselor has a more symbolic role and is in charge of representing and enforcing the traditions (articulates ceremonial groups for the realization of rituals; must be an expert in Apinajé tradition, which is why the position is typically occupied by an elderly man).

The structure of an Apinajé village can only contain a limited number of houses, since the clearing at the outskirts of the village is not meant for dwelling. Likewise, there must be a minimum number of houses to form a proper Apinajé village (Da Matta 1982). New villages are formed when political factions decide to establish a new community, whether for political reasons or not. Be that as it may, a village can only start with a steady residential segment.

1.1. Geographical and environmental considerations

The Central Plateau is a vast area ranging from north to south of Brazil that includes the Araguaia and Tocantins basins. The Brazilian Central Plateau encompasses the States of

Minas Gerais, Goiás, Tocantins, Mato Grosso and Mato Grosso do Sul, and parts of the States of São Paulo, Paraná, Maranhão and Piauí (map 1). The biome characteristic of these areas is the cerrado, a savanna landscape typical of Brazil.²

The cerrado is characterized by hot, semi-humid weather consisting of rainy summers and dry winters; rainfall indices range from 32 to 64 inches a year. The soil is ancient, deep, and naturally poor in chemical nutrients. Cerrado vegetation is characterized by a herbaceous stratum that extends over continuous, mostly flat areas with a variable quantity of trees and shrubs, and by forest formations at river banks; it includes, in addition, patches of palm trees and wetlands. Both the herbaceous layer and the ligneous vegetation are characterized by the ability to sprout or rapidly recover after the dry season or forest fires, a morphology that may have been an adaptive development of the vegetation to survive frequent natural fires caused by lightning and other natural phenomena. The various possible combinations and densities of the basic elements found in the cerrado vegetation result in a wealth of different ecosystems which house one of the largest diversities in plant and animal species on the planet (Pivello 2004; Delitti and Pivello 2004).³

The Apinajé, like most Jê, are a cerrado people. Traditional Apinajé territory is the delta at the confluence of the Tocantins and Araguaia rivers, in the north, extending

² Because they differ in various respects from the savannas of Africa, the term “cerrado” has been adopted in the literature to refer to these typically Brazilian ecosystems (e.g. Goodland 1971; Pivello 2004). Being the second largest biome of Brazil, the cerrado originally extended over about eighty-five percent of the Central Plateau, which represents about 1,5 to 2 million square kilometers or approximately twenty percent of the Brazilian territory (Delitti and Pivello 2004; Fonseca and Por 2004).

³ For that reason, the cerrado is one of the priority areas for the preservation of biodiversity on Earth (Delitti and Pivello 2004).

approximately to 6°30" latitude south (Nimuendajú 1983:1; map 3). In spite of the proximity to the main rivers, the Apinajé typically build their villages inland, close to small creeks. Their economy relies basically on crops, gathering and hunting, differently from other Macro-Jê, such as their Karajá neighbors, who typically live at the river banks and rely mostly on fishing.

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, the territory of the Apinajé was divided into three contiguous, politically defined areas, each with its main village and chief. These areas are associated, in the literature, with three distinct Apinajé groups: the Rõrkojoire, the Cokojoire, and the Krĩjobreire.⁴ Rõrkojoire territory extended from the Araguaia river to the Pecôbo (or Carreira de Pedra) river; Cokojoire territory followed from the Pecôbo river to the Grande creek; and Krĩjobreire territory extended from the Grande to the Curicaca creek (Ladeira 1983; A. Oliveira 1994; map 3). This original configuration was later modified due to accelerating contact with colonialists and, eventually, with the resulting dominant society.

At present, official Apinajé territory represents less than fifty percent of its original area. Such was the result of gradual occupation of the region by ranchers, small farmers and babaçu collectors, which eventually led the Apinajé to near oblivion vis-à-vis the Federal authorities in the early twentieth century. However, they resisted the occupation and finally had their land rights recognized by the federal government in the

⁴ /rõr=ko=tʃoj=rɛ/ [macaúba=patch=?=DIM] ‘Macaúba patch ...’
 /koko=tʃoj=rɛ/ [?=?=DIM] ‘(unidentified meaning)’
 /krĩ=tʃ-ɔpre=rɛ/ [village=RP-irritable=DIM] ‘The brave village’

early eighties. Currently, the Terra Indígena Apinajé is an area of 141.904 hectares that includes thirteen villages for a population of about 1,300 individuals (map 2). The land is legally reserved for the social, economic and cultural subsistence of the Apinajé, as guaranteed by the Brazilian Constitution of 1988.

1.2. History

The contemporary history of the Apinajé is intertwined with the history of the foundation of Goiás State, which takes us back to the colonial history of Brazil as the background.

In the seventeenth century, the economy of Portugal depended largely on Brazilian agriculture for its sustainability. Sugar, cultivated throughout the northeastern area that is now the State of Bahia, was one of the most important marketing goods produced in Brazil. In the second half of the century, however, large-scale colonization of the Caribbean islands imposed fierce competition in the sugar market, resulting in the decrease of prices. In face of the recession, Portugal invested in tobacco as its new economic pillar in South America.

Tobacco became one of Portugal's principal trading goods for investment and export revenue, as well as for the commerce of African slaves. Tobacco crops extended from the north of Bahia into other northeastern States, including Maranhão and Piauí. This led to an incipient occupation of the Central Plateau by colonial forces, consisting mostly of African slaves and European managers. Recession hit the Portuguese tobacco monopoly in the 1680's, with the competition imposed by the tobacco crops of Virginia, in North America (Birmingham 1993).

In 1697, Brazilian explorers coming from São Paulo in search of Indian slaves and natural resources struck gold in the inlands (Birmingham 1993).⁵ The Bandeiras, as such expeditions were called, entered the Central Plateau through the Paranaíba basin, in the south.⁶ In 1727, Bartolomeu Bueno da Silva II and Manoel Campos Bicudo discovered the abundant gold deposits of the Mortes river, beginning an intense gold rush that would extend over the next fifty years (Ribeiro da Silva 1932: 48-9; A. Oliveira 1994). The discovery of gold was obviously welcomed by the crown, which lived on it ostentatiously for as long as the enterprise lasted.

Such progress in the gold industry served to stimulate the Brazilian economy as a whole: the agricultural (tobacco, sugar, cotton) and ranching activities found in the gold mining district a new marketing prospect. The same was true of the slave market (Birmingham 1993). The prosperity of the gold industry was thus the catalyst for the systematic population of the Brazilian Central Plateau by the colonial forces.

The first navigations along the courses of the Araguaia and the Tocantins occurred in the early seventeenth century, when Catholic missionaries based in Grão-Pará led expeditions starting at the mouths of both rivers in a twofold campaign of religious conversion and exploitation of natural resources (Nimuendajú 1983; Moraes Jardim 1915; Paternostro 1945). Fluvial expeditions started from the south as well. In 1673,

⁵ Other records indicate that the discovery of gold in the Tocantins basin occurred as early as 1592, with the Bandeira of Sebastião Marinho (Larousse 1977).

⁶ The Bandeiras had been exploring the Central Plateau since the late sixteenth century. One of the most well-known bandeirantes was Bartolomeu Bueno da Silva, the Anhangüera, notorious for capturing massive numbers of Indians slaves in the inlands, in the second half of the seventeenth century. He was the father of the second Anhangüera, the gold-seeker.

bandeirante Paschoal Paes de Araújo departed from the head of the Tocantins in search of Indian slaves. He navigated the Tocantins up to 4° latitude south and successfully captured the Guarajú (Ribeiro da Silva 1932).

It was not until the gold mining period that the full courses of the Araguaia and the Tocantins became better known to the newcomers, however. Perhaps the first members of the colonial enterprise to ever navigate the full courses of the rivers were African slaves who managed to escape from the gold mines in the south and the plantation fields in the north. Such parties eventually founded the quilombo⁷ of Pederneiras at the upper course of the Tocantins. The fluvial route soon became familiar to gold smugglers as well, who thus avoided paying taxes to the São Paulo administration. In addition, the finding of an ever-increasing number of gold deposits provoked the competition between northern and southern colonial forces for control over the mining district; these political factions also used the fluvial route in attempts at establishing their domain over the territory (Nimuendajú 1983; Birmingham 1993; A. Oliveira 1994).

Familiarity with the fluvial route and territory governance did not come easily for the colonialists, for they had to face the resistance of the many autochthonous populations of the region. That, added to the problems of runaway slaves and contraband, were key

⁷ Quilombos are communities formed originally by slaves who fled from the plantations or other work sites. Several of these communities have remained, specially in the eastern and northern regions of the country, and constitute part of contemporary Brazilian society (see the Maps page of the Instituto Socioambiental website at www.socioambiental.org).

factors for the establishment of military posts and colonialist settlements along the courses of Araguaia and the Tocantins (A. Oliveira 1994).

In 1748, the mining district acquired the status of Capitania Geral de Goyaz thus becoming administratively independent from São Paulo. The need for executive autonomy was a consequence of the district's economic and population growth. By that time, a newly formed local population was emerging, resulting from the offspring of European men with African and Native women, since European women were not to be found in the "sertões" (Larousse 1977).

With the decline of gold-mining productivity in the second half of the eighteenth century, subsistence agriculture and cattle farming gave new character to the region. The importance of fluvial navigation for commercial purposes became highlighted and, in the following years, both Goyaz and Grão-Pará organized expeditions in order to assess the conditions for the fluvial transportation of goods (A. Oliveira 1994).

1.2.1. Contact

The first recorded contact between the Apinajé and the colonialist forces was in 1740. Captain-General D. Luiz Mascarenhas was in charge of an operational expedition along the course of the Tocantins against contraband and slave flight. There he encountered the "Pinarés," later described by him as "powerful and war-like" (Taunay 1950: 209-10; A. Oliveira 1994).⁸

⁸ Nimuendajú (1983:1) notes that nearly a century earlier, in 1658, Friar Manoel Nunes led an expedition starting from the mouth of the Tocantins that extended well into Apinajé country; however, Nunes makes no mention of the Apinajés in his reports.

The second recorded contact between the colonialists and the Apinajé occurred during the recession that followed from the gold crisis. An expedition for the assessment of commercial hauling through the Tocantins departed from Goyaz in 1774, under the command of Antônio Luiz Tavares Lisboa. At the Três Barras rapids, the explorers found themselves surrounded by an impressive number of Apinajé warriors – possibly the Cokojoire, considering the location (map 3). Lisboa (1774:890) notes that they “looked like organized regiments” at both margins of the river. The crew were attacked with arrows but managed to escape by dispersing the crowd with gunshots. The next day, warriors on land and in canoes chased them out of the area.

In 1783 the governor of Grão-Pará appointed Thomaz de Souza Villa Real to verify the prospects of fluvial connection between the Araguaia and the Tocantins through the Vermelho river (map 2). The expedition departed from Grão-Pará in 1791 following the course of the Tocantins, and continued on its mission through the Araguaia in the following year. Aware of the Apinajé presence in that area, the commander recruited Karajá escorts to join the crew (Villa Real 1891 [1783]; Nimuendajú 1983; A. Oliveira 1994).

Villa Real was the first explorer who attempted to establish the limits of Apinajé country. He points out, crucially, that Apinajé groups inhabited the inlands at both margins of the Araguaia at the time, probably a reference to the Rõrkojoire. Impressed by the industriousness of the people and the abundance of their crops, Villa Real realized that it would be to the best interest of the Capitania to stay on good terms with such

diligent people,⁹ who could then provide commercial expeditions with shelter and food during their extended journeys along the Araguaia and the Tocantins (Nimuendajú 1983:2).

The economic importance of the commercial enterprise justified further attempts to establish military bases in the region. In previous decades, the colonialist military campaign had been of little success due to the reaction of native populations. Among them, the Apinajé were well known for their resistance against the colonialist occupation. In 1779, the quilombo of Pederneiras was converted into a colonialist village that was dissolved a few years later due to frequent incursions by the Apinajé. In response to the hostilities, the military post of Alcobaça was established a few miles north of Pederneiras, in 1780, and the post of Arapary was created in 1791. Neither military facility lasted very long; thus in 1797 the Grão-Pará administration joined the resources of the two abandoned posts to create the fortress of São João das Duas Barras, which was also intended as shelter for commercial expeditions.

The presence of colonialists was apparently taken with moderate tolerance by the Apinajé that time around, until soldiers from the regiment were caught vandalizing their crops a few years later. The soldiers were killed. The regiment retaliated using heavy artillery to destroy one of the Apinajé villages. The Apinajé counter-attacked, with help from the women, killing most of the regiment (Pohl 1932 [1819]; Nimuendajú 1983:4).

Due to such confrontations, commercial endeavors along the Araguaia and the Tocantins were postponed until decades later.

⁹ That the Apinajé were hard working was also indicated by their frequent incursions against colonialists of

1.2.2. Socio-economic repercussions of intensified contact

At the turn of the century, extensive cattle farming and the extraction of babaçú palm oil represented new economic prospects for the north of Goyaz. The ranching endeavor extended from the fertile lands of Bahia, in the northeast, to Piauí, up north, and well into the west, reaching the fields of Maranhão and the margins of the Tocantins river. The exploitation of babaçú (*Orbignia speciosa*) palm trees was common at various sites in the northern cerrado lands. Babaçú oil was not a relevant item for international trade, hence it only involved small groups of people, often nuclear families – in contrast to the massive contingents employed in the exploitation of latex and Brazil nuts in the Amazon.

With the success of both economic activities during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, migration into the area resumed and various colonial villages were founded. But because these activities required only a small work force, the non-indigenous presence in the area was not overwhelming to the Apinajé. The contact led to the inevitable involvement of the Apinajé with non-indigenous society: they established neighborly relations with the newcomers and eventually started participating in the local and national political settings, taking sides in disputes between local political authorities and even aiding in the expulsion of the Portuguese with the declaration of Brazilian Independence in 1822 (Nimuendajú 1983; A. Oliveira 1994).

The nineteenth century thus marks the beginning of intensified contact between the Apinajé and the national society and the progressive occupation of Apinajé territory,

Pederneiras in order to snatch their work tools (Nimuendajú 1983: 2).

which continued in the first half of the twentieth century. Despite its generally non-conflictive nature, the contact would prove detrimental to the Apinajé, as reflected in major population reduction, followed by complete disregard for their land rights on the part of well-established farmers.

The village of Santo Antônio das Três Barras was created as early as 1816 within Apinajé territory, especially close to one of the Apinajé villages. The proximity was such that some authors described the community as consisting of a majority of Apinajé people (120 to 150) and some (81) whites (Nimuendajú 1983:4). In 1817, an epidemic of smallpox caused the death of a number of Apinajés, who were still considered the most numerous people in the area despite interethnic conflicts, epidemics, and wars. At the time, the Apinajé population was estimated at around 4,200 individuals, distributed in four localities: Bom Jardim, Santo Antônio, Santo Antônio das Três Barras, and Araguaia (Nimuendajú 1983:5).

Santo Antônio das Três Barras was eventually incorporated to the village of São Pedro de Alcântara, on the other bank of the Tocantins river, and both evolved into present-day Carolina (map 4). After the dissolution of Santo Antônio, the village of Boa Vista was created and soon became the most important locus of interaction between the Apinajé and the national society. Boa Vista, which gave way to present-day Tocantinópolis, was founded in 1818 (map 4).¹⁰

In the mid-nineteenth century, the commercial importance of the fluvial routes became highlighted again, with leather being one of the most significant items for

commercial trade. Large numbers of Apinajés were employed as crewmembers on commercial ships, until a cholera epidemic advancing from Grão-Pará discouraged them from participating in the activity. By 1859, the Apinajé population had decreased by about fifty percent, to around 1,800 to 2,000 individuals (Nimuendajú 1983:6; A. Oliveira 1994).

Between 1862 and 1864, there was considerable improvement in infrastructural conditions both for production and transportation of goods. Goyaz, with the status of *Província* since the declaration of Brazilian Independence in 1822, implemented fluvial connections with São Paulo, Mato Grosso and Pará thus inaugurating steam boat navigation in the region. Roads and schools were built and the province began exporting grains. The first factories were established in 1870 and, in 1872, the census of Goiás indicated 160,395 inhabitants. The population was already predominantly mixed, living in rural areas (Larousse 1977).

By the end of century, the territory of the Apinajé was being systematically occupied by small farmers, merchants and others, as they dramatically decreased in number. In 1882, the reported number of Apinajés was 1,362.

Local political conflicts in the Tocantinópolis area culminated in civil war during the period from 1892 to 1894; the result was considerable impoverishment and population reduction overall. Coudreaux (1897:209) estimated the total Apinajé population at 400 individuals in 1897 – less than ten percent of the original number – distributed in three villages; and by 1899, that number had decreased to 150 individuals

¹⁰ The town of Tocantinópolis was founded in 1840.

(Buscalioni 1901:25). The Apinajé population was thus reduced to less than 4% in a time frame of 83 years (between 1816 and 1899). In contrast, the non-Indian population of the province had increased to 255,284 inhabitants by 1900.

The Apinajé entered the twentieth century as a minority amidst the flourishing of the State of Goiás, established upon the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic in 1888. In 1909, the north, taking advantage of the distance from the central administration and the proximity with the States of Maranhão, Pará, Bahia and Piauí – incidentally, Jê Timbira territory –, resumed its separatist movements but with little success.

In face of intensified land disputes, in 1927, Chief José Dias Mătyk took a trip to Rio de Janeiro representing the interests of the Křijobreire Apinajé of Bacaba. Mătyk sought a solution on the part of the President – since he had not received proper attention from the State government – for whatever regarded the land rights of the Apinajé. Unfortunately, he fell ill in São Paulo and, unable to conclude his original plan, Mătyk returned to the village. He did claim assistance from the SPI (Serviço de Proteção ao Índio), nevertheless.

Meanwhile pressure on Bacaba increased. Non-Indian presence proliferated in the area and local farmers spread the rumor that Chief Mătyk had died on his way to Rio. The Křijobreire, left without its Chief and its land, was under pressure to disperse. But Chief Mătyk returned to reunite the community before the dispersion took place.

Between the years 1928 and 1937, Curt Nimuendajú visited with the Apinajé on various occasions, and reported on the survival conditions of the people:

In 1928 I crossed the State of Maranhão and arrived at the Tocantins, where I spent two months with the Apinajé, visiting their four small villages and making my acquaintance with all. I also calculated their number at a total of 150. The economic and social decay of the tribe was manifest (...). In 1930 I spent one week with them, and two months in 1931. When I paid them another visit in 1932, staying for six weeks, I noticed another moral and economic relapse as a consequence of an epidemic of fevers, which left few hopes for the future. For that reason, it was with great satisfaction that, upon my return in 1937, I could observe that despite a smallpox epidemic in the previous year, the Apinajé people were recovering their strength and that their number had even increased to 160 individuals. In that year, I stayed with them for two months. (Nimuendajú 1983:6; translation mine).

By 1940, the non-Indian population of the State counted 826,414 inhabitants distributed in 33 counties. Goiânia, the freshly built capital city of the State, was inaugurated in 1942.

1.2.3. Land rights and national development

An assistance post of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índio (the national bureau for indigenous affairs at the time) was installed in Bacaba in 1944, conferring great political importance to that village. This was the first governmental presence to address the land rights situation in Apinajé territory – a much belated result of Chief Mâtyk's initiative seventeen years earlier. However, no definite solutions were imposed and, unable to stop the invasion of the land, the SPI adopted a system of leasing as a palliative measure: non-Indians were supposed to pay the Apinajé for use of the land. Due to the inefficient

management of the SPI, however, lease payment fell into oblivion and, by the 1950's, former land leasers started *selling* their "land rights" to other sectors of the Tocantinópolis community. This practice set up the conditions for significant land rights disputes between the Apinajé and the counties of Tocantinópolis and Nazaré, later on.

The 1950's were a decade of major transformations in the infrastructural and political makeup of Brazil. During the electoral campaign of 1955, future president Juscelino Kubistchek advocated the transference of the federal administration from Rio de Janeiro to the Central Plateau. In 1956, governor Pedro Ludovico Teixeira signed part of the Goiás territory over to the federal administration for the construction of Brasília, the new capital city of Brazil, inaugurated in 1960. This shift in the administrative life of the country propelled a new immigration wave to the interior. The population of Goiás increased to 1,954,862 and, by 1967, the number of counties in the State amounted to 222, with agriculture and extensive cattle farming at the heart of the regional economy (Larousse 1977).

The Apinajé population, which had reached a period of demographic stability in the 1940's, enjoyed considerable demographic improvement starting in the second half of the century. In 1967, the total number was estimated at 253 people (Da Matta 1967).

Many governmental programs for national development were launched during the Brazilian military regime (1964-1984). Among them, those that claimed to promote the "development" of the Cerrado and the Amazon – environmental factors ignored – had an immediate impact on the life of the Apinajé.

Topography added to technological improvements made the Central Plateau an ideal region for cattle farming and agriculture, and therefore very attractive economically. Goiás was the largest-growing State in the country in the 1970's, with a population of 2,997,570. The productivity of the agricultural industry fed the textile and food industries as well, thus expanding the regional economy (Larousse 1977).

The construction of the Transamazon Roadway was a landmark of the military regime. The project for this (unfinished) 5,600 kilometer long roadway, meant to connect the Brazilian northeast to the Amazon and thus promote the occupation of the rainforest, was launched by President Gen. Garrastazu Médici in 1970. The first segment of the road, inaugurated in 1972, was built inside Apinajé territory, in fact, crossing the village of São José (Křijobreire). By that time, the estimated number of Apinajés had increased to a total of 364 (Waller 1976).

In 1978, Gen. Lamarth de Araújo, president of FUNAI (formerly SPI), issued a document that established the official Apinajé area at 85,800 hectares, having the roadway as one of its limits. The proposed area excluded the Rõrkojoire territory and cut off part of the Křijobreire territory. For that reason, the decision was rejected by the Apinajé, who interrupted the demarcation process, thus triggering the reaction of local, well-established farmers.

The administrator of the local FUNAI post, partial to the farmers, pressed the Apinajé community to sign the document, arguing that the Apinajé could not “go against a determination of the President of Brazil.” The document was then signed. Fortunately

for the Apinajé, FUNAI discontinued that local office and transferred its businesses to the FUNAI unit of Araguaína, where the principal administrator noted the disadvantages the terms of the document brought to the Apinajé. The document was then nullified, and a counterproposal was offered for the demarcation of Apinajé territory that included the land beyond the limits imposed by the Transamazônica roadway (Ladeira 1983).

The Apinajé had their official territory (141,904 hectares) recognized by the federal government in 1985. The Apinajé population consisted of 565 individuals then (Ladeira and Azanha 2003). In that same year, the north of Goiás achieved its lifelong goal of becoming administratively independent from the south, thus developing into the State of Tocantins. Brazilian society in general began restructuring with the end of the military regime and, in 1988, the new Constitution of Brazil was issued. The Constitution of 1988 represented a considerable advance in the Brazilian policy for indigenous affairs. It recognized and protected the rights of autochthonous populations to their traditional cultures, languages, religions and land use.

By the 1990's there was considerable increase in Apinajé population numbers. Data from the Centro de Trabalho Indigenista (CTI) indicate a population of 780 in 1993¹¹, and in 1997 data from FUNAI indicate an official number of 1,025 Apinajé individuals. Finally, FUNASA data indicate the official number of Apinajés at 1,262 in 2003. This population growth represents an average of ten percent per year, which is more than the average for the Brazilian population in general (Ladeira and Azanha 2003).

¹¹ A. Oliveira (1994:2, 6) estimates a smaller number, 600 people in 1994; however, as he points out, that the census was incomplete as a result of the latent interethnic animosity related to land rights issues during the period in which the survey was conducted.

1.3. Apinajé society in the twenty-first century

Currently, there are thirteen Apinajé villages, with São José (formerly Bacaba; Křijobreire leadership) and Mariazinha (Cocojoire leadership) being the largest and oldest ones, and the smaller villages having been derived from either one or the other.¹² Thus, the villages of Cocalinho, Patizal, Buriti Comprido, Palmeiras, Prata, Cocal Grande and Serrinha have been founded by former members of the São José community, whereas Botica, Riachinho, Bonito and Brejão were founded by former dwellers of Mariazinha.

Except for the most recent settlements, namely, Brejão, Cocal Grande, Palmeiras, Prata, and Serrinha, all villages include a medical assistance facility provided by FUNASA, where a (non-Indian) staff person assists community members full time during weekdays. In order to receive routine medical assistance of this kind, dwellers of the younger settlements must take a trip to the nearest Apinajé village. As a complement to this more basic health service, a physician visits the villages every two weeks in order to provide more detailed medical examination. Patients suffering from serious illnesses are sent to urban centers for medical attention.

Another initiative taken by FUNASA has been the implementation of infra-structural conditions for water treatment as a preventive measure against the proliferation

¹² The Rõrkojoire abandoned their villages at the Araguaia in the first half of the twentieth century. The village of São Paulo, at the margins of the Araguaia, was abandoned in 1920; the Apinajé were uneasy with the proximity with the Kayapó, and moved south to reunite with the Rõrkojoire of São Martinho. That village, in turn, existed until 1943, when an epidemic of fevers nearly decimated the population. Chief Mätyk and the Křijobreire rescued the survivors, taking them to Bacaba. Some of the Rõrkojoire remained with the Křijobreire (Bacaba/São José) and others joined the Cocojoire (Mariazinha).

of parasitic and endemic tropical diseases. Treated water, supplied by artesian wells, is available in most villages, except for those founded in or after the year 2000 (i.e. Brejão, Buriti Comprido, Cocal Grande, Palmeiras, Prata, and Serrinha).

Electricity is available in São José, Mariazinha, Bonito, Botica, Cocalinho, Patizal, Prata, and Riachinho. This infra-structural benefit is provided for the most part by the county administration through the Mayor Office of Tocantinópolis, which is the nearest town and non-Indian administrative center. However, electricity in the villages of Cocalinho and Prata has been provided alternatively by the CTI, a non-governmental organization;¹³ in both villages, electricity is supplied by generators. The remaining, younger villages of Brejão, Buriti Comprido, Cocal Grande, Palmeiras, and Serrinha, do not have access to this benefit yet.

1.4. Language contact situation

According to one speaker's testimony, few Apinajé communities lease their land to small farmers nowadays. The communities of São José, Patizal and Palmeiras, for instance, no longer allow the presence of non-Indian workers on the land; it remains a common practice only in the villages of Mariazinha, Botica and Riachinho. Integration with the non-Indian population appears to be most systematic in the latter communities.

The same speaker estimates that half the population of Riachinho consists of non-Indians due to interethnic marriage; a large number of non-Indians appears to inhabit

¹³ The Centro de Trabalho Indigenista is an NGO that develops a variety of projects alongside indigenous communities all over the country; at the Bico do Papagaio region, in particular, they have worked more closely with the Apinajé and Timbira groups.

Mariazinha as well. He speculates that the high frequency of interethnic marriage in these villages must be due to the lack of eligible Apinajé partners, a speculation that may be justified by restrictions internal to the Apinajé marriage system. As a consequence of this integration, there seems to be an incipient effect on the use of Apinajé in those villages, such that Portuguese is beginning to conquer a greater space in those speaker communities.

In São José and other villages deriving from it, on the other hand, I have noted that the Apinajé language enjoys good health. It is the first language learned by young children, and the speaking community does not at all favor Portuguese in everyday use (despite their systematic exposure to Portuguese through radio, television and other media). Portuguese is used exclusively in interactions with Portuguese-speaking visitors.

Generally, adult Apinajé speakers have good knowledge of Portuguese and are prepared to use it whenever necessary. Although I have not met any adult monolingual Apinajé speakers in São José or Patizal, neither have I met any Apinajé individuals who cannot speak the native language.

From what I could observe, some elderly people, especially women, have very poor command of Portuguese, and children tend to stay monolingual in Apinajé until around the age of twelve. The young Apinajé start learning Portuguese systematically in the school environment, especially at around fourth grade, when the bilingual education system is adopted. Before that stage, monolingual education in Apinajé is applied.

1.5. The school system

The Constitution of 1988 guarantees the right of all autochthonous populations to differentiated, bilingual education. This recent development has resulted in more systematic governmental support for indigenous schools in Brazil, at least in regard to their infrastructural conditions.

School buildings exist in all Apinajé villages, except the youngest ones, which are still in the process of structuring themselves (namely, Brejão, Cocal Grande and Serrinha).¹⁴ The core of infrastructural conditions for the Apinajé school system is provided by the State of Tocantins, following the legislation enforced by the Brazilian Ministry of Education (MEC). Instructors, books, supplies, and food for the school community are all provided by the State.

The first initiatives in the production of didactic materials for the Apinajé were taken by missionaries of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Missionary Patricia Ham was responsible for the elaboration of the Apinajé orthography in the 1960's. That orthography is still currently in use. She also elaborated school books for Apinajé language teaching and helped organize various books of reading in Apinajé (many Apinajé individuals were involved in the latter project).

Other, not as fruitful, initiatives were taken by the University of Goiás and the University of Tocantins, in the early eighties and late nineties, respectively. On these occasions, a few reading books were also produced for Apinajé schools. In addition,

¹⁴ Dwellers of younger settlements must commute to the nearest Apinajé school in order to pursue their studies.

non-governmental organizations such as CTI have contributed to the development the Jê school system.

Apinajé schools are administered internally by members of the Apinajé community. The staff includes both Apinajé and non-Indian instructors and assistants.

2. The Apinajé language

Although the term “Apinajé” and its variants¹⁵ have been employed in the literature to refer to the people and their language, the origin of the term is not known. It is likely that it was first used by outsiders, since the Apinajé themselves use the term *paji* to refer to their own community, and the expression *paji kapẽr*, to refer to their language.

However, when speaking in Portuguese of themselves or their language, they occasionally employ the term Apinajé (or Pinajé [pina'ze]), as they have grown accustomed to its use in interethnic relations.

Other denominations found in reports from previous centuries include *Afotigés*, *Uhitische*, *Utonsché*, *Otogé*, and *Aogé* (Villa Real 1891 [1793], Pohl 1932, Marques 1870, Mattos 1875, cited in Nimuendajú 1983). Curt Nimuendajú suggests that the latter terms derive from the word *ôd*, *ôdo* ‘tip; corner’, and points out that the variants *Hôti* and *Ahôtivyê* used to be employed by the Eastern Timbira to refer to the Apinajé. He further speculates that the terms may have been a reference to the corner formed at the

¹⁵ This word is also spelled as “Apinayé” in the literature, as first introduced by Curt Nimuendajú. Variants of the term are *Pinarés*, *Pinajés* and *Oupinagees*.

confluence of the Tocantins and Araguaia Rivers in the north,¹⁶ traditional Apinajé territory (Nimuendajú 1983).¹⁷

2.1. Genetic affiliation

Apinajé is classified as a Northern Jê language, along with Panará, Suyá, Kayapó, and Timbira. Other branches of the family are Central Jê, which includes the Akwẽ languages (Xavante and Xerente) and Southern Jê, consisting of Kaingáng and Xoklêng. Most Jê languages are spoken in cerrado areas, with the exception of Kayapó and Suyá, spoken in rainforest areas (see e.g. Rodrigues 1986; 1999).

A brief examination of data from Apinajé, Suyá, Kayapó and Timbira may reveal the many differences (e.g. prenasalized stops, nominative case-marking in independent clauses) and similarities (e.g. simple morphology, SOV word order, ergative marking in subordinate clauses) existing among them. Panará, on the other hand, is dramatically distinct from the other languages of the branch. It displays a more polysynthetic morphological typology, with agent, patient and tense/aspect/modality (TAM) marking on the verb; ergative marking in independent clauses and SVO word order, among other things.¹⁸

¹⁶ The area is known in Brazil as “Bico do Papagaio” (‘the parrot’s beak’).

¹⁷ In an interview on this subject, an Apinajé speaker declared his total lack of familiarity with the latter terms. Most interesting in this case would be to check on the word for ‘tip, corner’ in any of the Timbira languages.

¹⁸ Data examined are from Alves (2002), Timbira Apanjekrá; Reis Silva (2003) and Salanova (2001), Mebengokre Kayapó; Santos (2004), Suyá; and Dourado (2001), Panará.

The Apinajé are considered, in the anthropological literature, a Western division of the Timbira, living west of the Tocantins. Eastern Timbira peoples are those distributed at various locations in the States of Maranhão and Tocantins, east of the river (Nimuendajú 1983; Da Matta 1982). In linguistic classifications, on the other hand, it is not uncommon for an Apinajé-Kayapó grouping to be contrasted with the Timbira dialectal cluster (Davis 1966; 1968). Be that as it may, the conclusion in both fields is that the Apinajé constitute an autonomous group and language, distinct from both Kayapó and Timbira.

2.2. Documentational material and previous studies

The first records of the Apinajé language were short lists of words and clauses. The first known record was a 38-word list collected by a military man in São João das Duas Barras in the nineteenth century. The list, which according to Curt Nimuendajú's assessment was poorly transcribed and contained some mistakes, was published in Castelnau (1844: 1850-51); in the same publication, Castelnau includes a list of 177 words collected by himself. Leal (1895: 125-29) reproduces Castelnau's list with Portuguese orthography. Sampaio (1911) inadvertently collected 206 words and phrases in Apinajé, believing he was interviewing Krahô speakers. Snethlage (1926:187 ff.) includes 337 words and phrases, and Oliveira (1930) includes Apinajé data collected by the author in 1926 (Nimuendajú 1983:7).

Analyses of Apinajé language data were first produced in the sixties, when missionaries of the Summer Institute of Linguistics started linguistic work with the

ultimate goal of Bible translation. Most of that work followed the phonemic and tagmemic frameworks (Stout 1960; Ham 1961, 1962, 1965, 1967; Burgess and Ham 1968), with the exception of Callow (1962), which was grounded in Prosodic Theory. In contrast, work published in the seventies, such as Koopman (1976), Waller (1976) Ham, Waller and Koopman (1979), presented the data in a more descriptive – and user-friendly – manner.

More recent studies and publications on the language include Oliveira (1998, 2003) and Salanova (2001).

3. Methodological considerations and fieldwork conditions

The present dissertation is deliberately a descriptive study. It has a functional and typological orientation, and includes some diachronic hypotheses for the interpretation of certain blurry domains. It is meant to serve as a useful source for readers interested in learning about the Apinajé language, researchers interested in typological studies, and linguists engaged in the study of Macro-Jê languages, especially in historical-comparative studies for the reconstruction of Proto-Jê. For these reasons, I have deliberately avoided formal approaches to language, which sometimes obscure the explanation of the data and usually tend to become rapidly outdated.

In the remainder of this section, I comment on fieldwork conditions and on methodological strategies for data collection that I have applied during my research.

My initial interviews with Apinajé speakers occurred in Goiânia, Goiás State. I met Amči Creuza de Souza Fernandes and Dioro Aparecida Laranja in the second half of

1995. Dioro had brought her son to Goiânia for medical attention and they were staying at the Casa do Índio, a hostel unit provided by FUNAI for patients and their caregivers.

I had heard about Dioro's party through the staff of the local FUNAI office, so I proceeded to visit with them at the Casa do Índio. We eventually made arrangements for a recorded interview at the Setor de Etnolingüística of the Museu Antropológico (University of Goiás) to take place a few days later. In that interview and others that followed we recorded word lists and short texts, which I used for preliminary phonological and grammatical analysis. Those meetings occurred in October 1995.

Two weeks later Amči and Dioro received me at the village of São José for a six week fieldwork session. I decided from the outset to work most directly with the women. I accompanied them in their daily tasks such that we had plenty to talk about during recording and interview sessions. I collected most personal experience narratives in that way. For a beginner in the study of the language, having been present at the events narrated allowed me to capture the semantic nuances of certain utterances more promptly than I would have otherwise.

My main consultants turned out to be Amči (Diro) and Iré Rita Dias Laranja, who was introduced to me by Amči herself. Other major consultants I met in that first session were Kojkoti Iraci Dias (Dokre) and Greri Júlia Estêvão (Dada, my adoptive mother), the daughter of late Velho Estêvão, former Chief of São José.

Besides contributing personal experience narratives to the database, Dokre took it upon herself to teach me how to do things properly while in Apinajé country (see Text II,

Appendix B). Greri contributed a significant part of the traditional narratives in my database over the years. From her storytelling comes the version of the Apinajé creation myth found in Appendix B (Text I). Another version of the myth, as well as other traditional stories were provided by Grẽʔo Júlia Corredor; recording sessions with Grẽʔo started in 1999.

The interviews I conducted with male speakers were usually mediated by Amči and Irẽ, although in certain cases I made the arrangements with the speakers myself. That was the case with Daniel Laranja Rodrigues (Kĩkĩ), who contributed a procedural narrative as well as elicited data. Vajmẽ Miguel Fernandes provided a number of traditional stories, and Bogo Moisés Dias Roxo (Velho Moisés) contributed valuable information on animals, plants, and traditional weapons and crafts, which was used in the lexicographical project. Interviews with Vajmẽ started in 1997, and those with Bogo occurred in 2000.

In 2004, I also conducted interviews with a male speaker, who wishes to remain anonymous, about general information on the villages and the Apinajé school system; he also aided me in some follow up work on the phonology of the language.

The transcription and translation of most narratives were done with the assistance of Amči and Irẽ. They also contributed some texts of their own (testimonies and instructional narratives – see Text III, Appendix B) and the bulk of the elicited material

found in the database.¹⁹ Although these women are illiterate, their keen linguistic awareness and passionate interest in their native language and culture proved essential for the development of the project.

Besides the main consultants introduced above, other speakers — men, women, and children — contributed to the database either through scheduled interviews, informal conversations or in a more passive manner, as I took linguistic notes on the way they spoke with one another.

The database consists of about ten hours of recorded material and various books of elicited data. It includes some additional three hours of songs in Křikati recorded live at the Bėrkape festival that took place in Săo Josė in mid 2000;²⁰ those songs are permeated with conversations and ceremonial forms of speech in Apinajė. It was on that same occasion that I recorded a personal experience narrative by Ireptsi Maria Barbosa, Amči's mother, who passed away in 2002.

About six and a half hours of the recorded texts have been transcribed and analyzed, with their transcriptions and analyses having undergone at least one round of revisions. The remainder of the recordings has not been transcribed yet.

Between 1995 and 2000, I worked with speakers in and out of the field, although I spent more time conducting my research in the indigenous land itself. The time I spent

¹⁹ Kojkoti (Dėkre) assisted in a few transcription sessions as well.

²⁰ The festival celebrated the end of the mourning period for the passing of a certain Apinajė man. The Křikati singers had been specially invited for the occasion; I had the privilege of being recruited by the Apinajė organizers to document the event.

working with speakers out of the field probably adds up to some twenty days. On the other hand, I made four trips to the Apinajé area, staying in the field for a total of fourteen months. The main loci of my field research were the villages of São José and Patizal. It was not until 1999 that I had the opportunity to visit the remainder of the villages distributed in the reservation (a total of eight, at the time). I was accompanying a crew from FUNASA who had to visit all the villages on that same day. For me, the trip served better as a first pass to the locations of each village than as a suitable occasion for collecting reliable linguistic information. Other trips to those areas are still necessary before I am able to provide first-hand information on the sociolinguistic aspects of each village or on any linguistic variation among the Apinajé communities. For that reason, I will not speak of dialectal variations of Apinajé in this dissertation.

4. Transcription and other conventions used in the dissertation

In Chapter II – Phonology, I will use symbols from the International Phonetic Alphabet for the introduction of phonemes of the language and the transcription of the data in the illustrative examples.

Starting in Chapter III – Morphology, the transcription conventions employed in the remainder of the dissertation assumes, with the segmental analysis proposed, that prenasal consonants are part of the phoneme inventory of the language; therefore they are represented as such. Because each of the phonemes in question requires the use of two or more symbols for its representation, a different set of symbols is adopted for the sake of economy. Thus, the prenasal consonants /mb, nd, ndʒ/ are represented thereafter as *b*, *d*,

j. Also for the sake of simplicity, the velar nasal consonant /ŋ/ is represented as *g*; the alveopalatal affricate /tʃ/ as *c*; and the alveolar flap /ɾ/ as *r*.

Another convention employed in this dissertation is that, for cross-referencing to sections belonging to a different chapter, I will include the number of the relevant chapter immediately before the section number, as in v.1.2, for “section 1.2 of chapter v”.

CHAPTER II

PHONOLOGY

0. Introduction

The present chapter deals with the sound system of Apinajé. A phonetic description of contrastive segments and their respective variants is given in section 1; syllable patterns and phonotactic constraints are introduced in section 2; the stress system is discussed in section 3; and phonological rules are presented in section 4. Section 5 is a summary of relevant criteria for the definition of phonological word in Apinajé.

The analysis proposed here is based on perceptual and articulatory data; an acoustic survey is beyond the scope of this study.¹ The corpus under analysis consists of elicited and spontaneous material, and data collected through observation of interactions among speakers (see 1.3 above). It is important to note that the generalizations proposed here regard not only the phonology of the speech community in general, but also some mannerisms observed in the speech of some individuals. For the time being, such mannerisms are being treated simply as idiolects, but they may be indicators of more systematic, dialectal variations within the speech community. Since my research was

¹ The data were recorded in analogue and digital media, at different times. The recording equipment used included a Marantz PMD 420 portable deck recorder, a Sony Professional WM-D6C walkman recorder, a Sony TCD-D 100 DAT walkman recorder, and a Sony ECM 959 external microphone. The fact that part of the corpus has been recorded in digital format will allow for eventual acoustic analysis of the data.

carried out in only two of the eight Apinajé villages existing at the time of field work, I will say nothing further about dialects of Apinajé in this dissertation.

1. Phonemic system

According to my analysis, the phonemic inventory of Apinajé consists of seventeen consonants and seventeen vowels. The consonant system includes plain and prenasalized stops and affricates; fricatives, nasals, glides, and a flap. The vowel system consists of nasal and oral phonemes, including front, central, and back; high, mid and low vowels.

In an earlier treatment of the Apinajé phonemic system, Ham (1961) proposes an inventory of twelve consonants² and seventeen vowels. Ham's interpretation is quite accurate and coincides with my own for the most part. However, a point of divergence between the two analyses regards the status of prenasalized consonants. Ham analyzes them as allophones of nasal phonemes occurring before oral vowels. While this hypothesis appears to be correct at first, my data show that this is not exactly the case, since minimal pairs can be found that illustrate the contrast between nasal and prenasalized segments.

My own observations have been independently reinforced by the opinion of a native instructor from São José. According to that speaker, the interpretation of prenasalized stops as allophones has also had a problematic effect in the orthographic

² /p, t, tʃ, k, ʔ, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, v, r, z/. Ham (1961) excludes the prenasalized and fricative phonemes /mb, nd, ɲdʒ, s, f/ proposed here.

system of the language: learners are sometimes unable to identify the words they are reading because the relevant contrast is not properly expressed in writing.

Next, I illustrate the contrasts amongst Apinajé phonemes and give details about allophonic variations motivated by factors such as phonetic context and speech rate, as well as those cases of allophony which do not result from any apparent motivation – the so-called “free variation”.

1.1. Consonant phonemes

In Apinajé, sonorant phonemes are voiced and obstruent phonemes are voiceless, with the exception of the prenasalized phonemes, which are fully voiced. The motivation for the predominant voiced character of prenasalized segments in the system is presumably the fact that these complex sounds consist of a nasal contour, and nasals in Apinajé are always voiced.

The consonant phoneme inventory of Apinajé is presented in table II.1. (Symbols used are from the International Phonetic Alphabet, following the orientation given in Pullum and Ladusaw (1986)).

Table II.1

APINAJÉ CONSONANT PHONEMES

	<i>Bilabial</i>	<i>Labiodental</i>	<i>Alveolar</i>	<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>	<i>Glottal</i>
<i>Stop</i>	p mb		t nd		k	ʔ
<i>Affricate</i>				tʃ ɲdʒ		
<i>Fricative</i>		f	s			
<i>Nasal</i>	m		n	ɲ	ŋ	
<i>Flap</i>			r			
<i>Glide</i>				j	w	

The consonant phonemes of Apinajé are grouped here into three major classes. The class of *plosives* comprises stops and affricates (section 1.1.1.); the *continuants* include fricatives and nasals (section 1.1.2); and the *approximants* are the flap and glides (section 1.1.3). The contrast amongst Apinajé phonemes is illustrated in examples (1-7) (where “x” stands for “contrasted to”).

(1) a. /p/ x /m/

[¹ pa] ‘live <INTR>’	[¹ ma] ³ ‘no <FEM>’
[¹ pĩ] ‘kill’	[¹ mĩ] ‘hold it!’

b. /p/ x /mb/

[¹ pɔ] ‘dent; wreck <TR>’	[¹ mbɔ] ‘what; thing’
[a ¹ pa] ‘2.arm’	[a ¹ mba] ‘think; ponder’

c. /m/ x /mb/

[¹ mba] ‘hear; fear’	[¹ ma] ‘no <FEM>’
----------------------------------	-------------------------------

(2) a. /t/ x /n/

[¹ ta] ‘pick (fruit); pull out’	[na] ‘RLS’
[¹ tõ] ‘K.T.’	[¹ nõ] ‘lie down’

b. /t/ x /nd/

[¹ ti] ‘AUG’	[¹ ndi] ‘woman’
[¹ tĩ] ‘die’	[¹ ndiw] ‘young’

³ Although it is natural for vowels to become somewhat nasalized in the context of nasal consonants, I have not been able to perceive any degree of nasalization of oral vowel phonemes in this phonetic environment, reason why no nasalization is indicated in the phonetic transcription of such examples. The phonetic nasalization of oral vowels in nasal environments can certainly be captured in an acoustic analysis of the data; the results could then be compared to the quality of oral and nasal vowel phonemes in other

c. /t/ x /r/

[¹ti] ‘die’

[¹ri] ‘long’

[¹tẽ] ‘go’

[¹rẽ] ‘throw <PL.O>’

d. /n/ x /r/

[ra] ‘ASP’

[na] ‘RLS’

[¹rõ] ‘hang onto’

[¹nõ] ‘lie down’

e. /n/ x /nd/

[na] ‘RLS’

[¹nda] ‘rain’

(3) a. /s/ x /t/

[¹si] ‘K.T.’

[¹ti] ‘AUG’

b. /s/ x /r/

[¹si] ‘K.T.’

[ri] ‘DEM’

c. /s/ x /n/

[¹si] ‘K.T.’

[¹nĩ] ‘have sex’

d. /s/ x /nd/

[¹si] ‘K.T.’

[¹ndi] ‘woman’

environments for the establishment of degrees of nasalization in Apinajé. But that task is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

(4) a. /j/ x /tʃ/

[je] 'DEF.ART.CLT'
[ˈpoj] 'arrive <INTR>'

[ˈtʃe] 'EXCL.FEM'
[ˈmbotʃ] 'cattle.head'

b. /j/ x /ɲ/

[aˈtʃwəj] 'similarly'
[ja] 'DEF.ART.SG'

[ˈtʃwəɲ] 'A.NMLZ'
[ˈɲam] 'chin'

c. /j/ x /ɲdʒ/

[ja] 'DEF.ART.SG'
[je] 'DEF.ART.CLT'

[ˈɲdʒa] 'bite <TR>'
[ˈɲdʒeb] 'bat'

d. /tʃ/ x /ɲ/

[tʃuˈtʃũ] 'mythical character' [ˈɲũm] 'CNJ.DS.3'

e. /tʃ/ x /ɲdʒ/

[ˈtʃo] 'fruit' [ˈɲdʒo] 'hang <TR>'
[ˈtʃi] 'put lying on the ground' [ˈɲdʒi] 'get (water)'

f. /ɲ/ x /ɲdʒ/

[ˈɲam] 'chin'

[ˈɲdʒa] 'bite <TR>'

(5) a. /tʃ/ x /s/

[tʃi] ‘put O lying on the ground’ [si] ‘K.T.’

b. /tʃ/ x /t/

[tʃa] ‘stand’ [ta] ‘chop off’
 [tʃi] ‘put O lying on the ground’ [ti] ‘AUG’

(6) a. /k/ x /w/

[tik] ‘black; dark’ [ndiw] ‘young’
 [ʔok] ‘sperm’ [əw] ‘yes’
 [ŋgek] ‘sore <INTR>’ [ŋgiw] ‘mud; starch’

b. /k/ x /ŋ/

[kõn] ‘knee’ [ŋõr] ‘sleep’
 [kõk] ‘lizard (sp.)’ [ŋõ] ‘give’

(7) a. /ʔ/ x /k/

[ʔok] ‘sperm’ [kok uja'per^e] ‘wind’
 [ka'ʔe] ‘confine; dam’ [ka'ke] ‘scratch’

b. /ʔ/ x /t/

[ka'ʔi] ‘thinning (of hair)’	[ka'ti] ‘waist’
[ku'ʔõ] ‘wash (hard O)’	[ku'tõj] ‘worm’

c. /ʔ/ x /p/

[ka'ʔi] ‘thinning (of hair)’	[ka'pi] ‘select’
[ka'ʔõ] ‘wash (soft O)’	[ka'põ] ‘sweep’

d. /ʔ/ x /Ø/

[me'ʔõ] ‘some (INDF)’	[me'õ] ‘food’
[ka'ʔõ] ‘wash (soft O)’	[k'kao] ‘cooked’

1.1.1. Plosive phonemes

As a general rule, Apinajé plosives have voiced and voiceless allophones, with the voiceless counterparts appearing at the onset of stressed syllables, and the voiced ones occurring in more marginal positions, such as non-stressed syllables and coda position. Although this is the most frequent distributional pattern, it is possible on occasion to find alternation between voiced and voiceless allophones in less prominent positions as well. The conditions for the distribution of each phoneme's variants are presented next.

Oral Stops. Apinajé stops are plain, unaspirated segments, generally produced in the very place of articulation by which the phoneme is described. (Prenasal phonemes, which

are obviously a phonetic combination of nasal and oral properties, and which comprise stops and one affricate, are not included here; they are discussed in a separate subsection, instead.) All stops may occupy syllable onset or coda (section 2), and may occur in initial, medial or final position in the word.

The bilabial stop /p/ is realized by the allophones [p] and [b]. The voiceless allophone [p] invariably occurs at the onset of stressed syllables (8).

(8) a.	/pĩ/	[ˈpĩ]	‘kill’
b.	/pok/	[ˈpok]	‘catch on fire’
c.	/prɔ/	[ˈprɔ]	‘cover with leaves’
d.	/prek/	[ˈprek]	‘tall’
e.	/kapa/	[gaˈpa]	‘pull out; take out’
f.	/pepek/	[peˈpek]	‘drip repeatedly on the same spot’
g.	/katpre/	[katˈpre]	‘tie’
h.	/prõprõt/	[prõˈprõt ^o]	‘shiver (of anxiety)’

The voiced and voiceless allophones alternate at syllable coda word finally and at the onset of unstressed syllables, though the voiced counterpart occurs more frequently in these contexts (9-10).

(9) a.	/tɛp/	[ˈtɛp] [ˈtɛb]	‘fish’
b.	/rɔp/	[ˈrɔp] [ˈrɔb]	‘dog’
(10) a.	/pika/	[biˈka] [piˈka]	‘earth’

b./pitʃo/	[bi'tʃo] [pi'tʃo]	'plant; banana'
c./pumbu/	[bu'mbu] [pu'mbu]	'see'
d./preprek/	[pre'prek] [bre'prek]	'quickly'

Word medially, the alternation between [p] and [b] in syllable coda partially depends on the quality of the following segment. The examples in (11) illustrate the occurrence of /p/ at syllable coda followed by a voiceless obstruent; the allophone [p] invariably occurs in this position.

(11) a./apku/	[ap'ku]	'eat <INTR>'
b./aptʃet/	[ap'tʃet]	'peba (armadillo sp.)'
c./apkati/	[,apka'ti]	'morning; tomorrow'

The data in (12-13), on the other hand, illustrate contexts where there may be a voicing alternation. The allophone [p] is preferred when followed by an obstruent belonging to a distinct lexical base, as shown by the compounds in (12).⁴ Note that alternations do occur in this context (12.c). When followed by a sonorant segment at morpheme boundary, the voiced allophone is preferred (13).

⁴ The symbol “=” is used here to indicate the boundary between the elements of a compound. It will also be used throughout the dissertation to indicate a clitic boundary.

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| (12) a./ɲdʒep=kʌk=ti/ ⁵ | [ɲdʒep'kʌ:'di] | ‘bat (sp)’ |
| b./tɛp=kaʔe/ | [,tɛpka'ʔe] | ‘fish trap’ |
| c./rɔp=krɔr/ | [,rɔb'krɔr] | ‘jaguar’ |
| | [,rɔp'krɔr ^ɔ] | |
| (13) a./tɛp=nde=tʃə/ | [tɛb,nde'tɕə] | ‘fish trap’ |
| b./tɛp=rɔ̃=rɛ/ | [tɛb,rɔ̃:'rɛ] | ‘piabinha (fish sp.)’ |

In compounds formed with one of the clitics *ti* ‘AUG’ or *rɛ* ‘DIM’, morpheme-specific rules will apply; but the voiced allophone [b] is generally preferred in these contexts also (section 4).

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------|------------|
| (14) a./ndʒep=ti/ | [ɲdʒep'ti] | ‘bat (sp)’ |
| | [ɲdʒeb'ti] | |
| b./ɲdʒep=rɛ/ | [ɲdʒeb'rɛ] | ‘bat (sp)’ |

Word finally, a transitional bilabial nasal [m] is inserted between a nasal vowel and /p/ at syllable coda. Notice that the bilabial stop may be realized as either voiced or voiceless, or it may be left unreleased due to its position in the word (15).

- | | | |
|----------------|--------------------------------------|-----------|
| (15) a./kupĩp/ | [gu'pĩ ^m p] | ‘hammock’ |
| | [gu'pĩ ^m p [̚]] | |
| b./pẽp/ | [^l pẽ ^m p] | ‘warrior’ |
| | [^l pẽ ^m b] | |

⁵ See morpheme-by-morpheme glosses starting in Chapter III - Morphology.

The alveolar stop /t/ comprises the allophones [t], [t̚], [t̚], their voiced counterparts [d], [d̚] and [d̚], and the alveolar flap [ɾ]. Voiceless allophones invariably occur at the onset of stressed syllables (16).

(16) a. /tɛ/	[t̚ɛ]	‘leg’
b. /tik/	[t̚ik]	‘black’
c. /twəm/	[t̚wəm̩]	‘fat’
d. /krɔ̃tə/	[kr̚ɔ̃tə]	‘cut a chunk’

Voiced allophones usually occur at the onset of unstressed syllables, though there may be variation (17).

(17) a. /tatak/	[ta'tak] [da'tak]	‘hit’
b. /tãtãk/	[tã'tãk] [dã'tãk]	‘ache’

The voiced and voiceless series of allophones alternate word-finally as well. An additional factor to be considered in this environment is the occurrence of echo-vowels, which is somewhat related to the manner of articulation of the allophones. An echo-vowel is a reduced vowel inserted after a coda obstruent at word boundary (section 4.5). The phonetic quality of an echo-vowel is reminiscent of that of the vowel at the nucleus.

The presence of the echo-vowel favors the occurrence of voiced allophones.

Retroflexed allophones [ʈ, ɖ] tend to occur in the context of non-coronal vowels⁶, and the alveolar flap [ɾ] in the context of coronal vowels (18).⁷

(18) a. /kot/	[^h kot]	‘behind’
	[^h kot ^o]	
	[^h kod ^o]	
b. /mbut/	[^h mbud]	‘neck’
	[^h mbud ^u]	
c. /tʃet/	[^h tʃet ^ʰ]	‘burn’
	[^h tʃer ^e]	
d. /aptʃet/	[ap ^h tʃet]	‘peba (armadillo sp.)’
	[ap ^h tʃer ^e]	

The voiceless dental stop [t̪] occurs before the high front vowel /i/, especially in emphatic speech (19).

(19) a. /əmbri nūm tʃewε tε amōra ti/		‘Then they cried desperately’
	[ə̃m ^h bri nūm tʃewε tε amō ^h ra t̪i]	
b. /pika=ti=ŋrΛ/	[bi ^h kafi ^h ŋgrΛ]	‘beach’

⁶ Coronal vowels are those produced in the coronal area, i.e. non-low front vowels. Non-coronal vowels are those produced elsewhere (Lahiri and Evers 1991; Clements 1985).

⁷ The following example illustrates one instance of the flap allophone in the context of a non-coronal vowel. Here, the condition for this allophone to occur at syllable coda is presumably the nasality of the vowel at the nucleus (the flap does not occur in the context of oral /o/, as demonstrated in (18.a)), associated with the coronal properties of /r/ at the onset.

/prōt/	[^h prōr ^o]	‘run’
--------	------------------------------------	-------

Word-medially, the voiceless alveolar allophone [t] is preferred at syllable coda when followed by a voiceless obstruent (20). The voiced alveolar allophone [d] occurs before a sonorant, as illustrated by the compound in (21.a), compared with that in (21.b).

(20) a. /atpẽ/	[at'pẽ]	‘RCPR’
b. /katpɔ=rɛ/	[,kat'pɔ,rɛ]	‘money’
c. /atkwõr/	[at'kwõr]	‘break <INTR>’
(21) a. /mbət=wrɔ=rɛ/	[,mbəd'vrɔ,rɛ]	‘moon’
b. /pət=kalk=rɛ/	[,pətka'lg,rɛ]	‘skunk’

The velar stop /k/ comprises the allophones [k], [k^h] and [g]. The voiceless allophones [k, k^h] invariably occupy the onset of stressed syllables, whereas the voiced allophone [g] tends to occur at the onset of unstressed ones (22-23).

(22) a. /kə/	[^h kə]	‘breast’
b. /jaka/	[ja ^h ka]	‘white’
c. /apku/	[ap ^h ku]	‘eat <INTR>’
d. /kruə/	[^h kru ^v ə]	‘arrow’
(23) a. /kaʔõ/	[ga ^h ʔõ] [ka ^h ʔõ]	‘wash hard O’
b. /kupĩ/	[gu ^h pĩ] [ku ^h pĩ]	‘kill it’
c. /kuweŋ/	[gu ^h veŋ]	‘bird’
d. /kambɔt=ko/	[gam ₁ bɔt ^h ko]	‘darkness; night’

As with the other voiceless obstruents, there is alternation between the voiced and voiceless counterparts of /k/ word-finally, with preference for the voiced allophone [g] in the presence of echo-vowels.

(24) a. /kuk/	[kug ^h]	‘face’
b. /tik/	[^h tiɡ] [^h tik]	‘black’
c. /kak/	[kak]	‘phlegm’

The occurrence of /k/ at syllable coda does not seem as frequent word medially when compared with other supralaryngeal stops. The data in (25) are compounds involving the diminutive clitic *rɛ*; the allophone [g] is preferred when followed by the sonorant.

(25) a. /pʌt=kʌk=rɛ/	[pʌtkʌg ^h rɛ]	‘anteater (sp.)’
b. /mbrek=rɛ/	[mbreg ^h rɛ]	‘seriema (bird sp.)’

The phoneme /k/ is palatalized [k^j] before front vowels, which is especially noticeable in careful speech (26).

(26) a. /ken=rɛ/	[k ^j en ^h lɛ]	‘pebble’
b. /krɔ̃ kī mbetʃ/	[krɔ̃ ^j k ^j ī ^h mbɛdʒ ^h]	‘(his/her) hair is pretty’

The glottal stop phoneme /ʔ/ occupies stressed syllable onsets, where it contrasts with the presence or absence of other segments (see (7) above). Other occurrences of [ʔ] are phonetic, particularly observable in careful speech and typically indicative of syllable boundaries involving obstruents.

(27) a. /ken=krǝ=ti/	[kʰen,ŋgrǝʔ'ti]	‘(a tall) mount’
b. /akro=ti/	[aʔkroʔ'ti]	‘fish poison (vine sp.)’
c. /tɛp=kaʔe/	[tɛpʔkaʔ'e]	‘fish cage’

Affricates. The palatal affricate /tʃ/ comprises the allophones [tʃ, tɕ, dʒ, dʒ̥], though it is most often realized as alveopalatal [tɕ, dʒ̥]. It may occupy syllable onset or coda. As with other plosives, voiceless allophones of /tʃ/ occur in stressed syllable onsets and voiced allophones in unstressed syllables (28).

(28) a. /tʃa/	[ʰtɕa] [ʰtʃa]	‘stand’
b. /aptʃet/	[apʰtɕet] [apʰtʃet]	‘peba (armadillo, sp.)’
c. /tʃutʃũ=ti/	[dʒuʰtʃũ'ti] [dʒuʰtʃũ'ti]	‘Sun (mythical character)’

In word medial and final positions, voice alternation is largely determined by the sonorant quality of the environment. In the context of nasals and glides word medially, the voiced allophones [dʒ, dʒ̥] may even occupy the onset of stressed syllables (29-30).

(29) a./mbɛɲ=tʃi/	[mbɛɲ ¹ dʒi]	‘bee (sp)’
b./amtʃo=rɛ/	[am ¹ dʒo ₁ rɛ]	‘rat (sp)’
(30) /itʃwər/	[idʒ ¹ vər]	‘towards me’

Word finally, voiced alternants are preferred in sonorant contexts as well. Notice the absence of sonorant consonants in example (31.a) and the presence of the voiceless allophones. Contrast with (31.b), where the word/syllable begins with a prenasalized consonant. The voice properties of the pre-nasal phoneme favor the occurrence of the voiced allophones [dʒ, dʒ̥]; so does the presence of echo-vowels (31.b-c).

(31) a./apɛtʃ/	[a ¹ petɕ] [a ¹ petʃ]	‘finish’
b. /mbɛtʃ/	[¹ mbɛdʒ] [¹ mbɛdʒ̥ ⁱ]	‘good’
c./mẽ=wa=kratʃ/	[₁ mẽva ¹ kratʃ] [₁ mẽva ¹ kradʒ̥ ⁱ]	‘fangs’

Prenasalized Stops. The labial and coronal prenasal(ized) phonemes /mb, nd, ɲdʒ/ are voiced complex segments consisting of homorganic nasal-obstruent contours. Their distribution is restricted to stressed syllable onset, word initially and medially. The prenasal stops contrast with nasal consonants before oral vowels, but they do not contrast before nasal vowels. In addition, there is no contrastive prenasalized velar stop, and the number of contrastive pairs for the series is rather small, amounting to only six or seven pairs in my database.

Under such restrictive conditions, one might be inclined to interpret such pairs merely as “exceptions.” Although this is an easy enough solution, it obscures a view of the problem from a broader, historical-comparative perspective. Many Jê languages display a contrast for obstruents not only in the nasal-oral dimension, but also in the voice-voiceless dimension. These dimensions may have – probably did – interact, historically, resulting in the obstruent inventories found in the languages nowadays. Exceptions such as the ones noted in Apinajé probably constitute important clues for this historical development.

As mentioned before, Ham (1961) considers prenasalized segments as allophones of nasal phonemes. In her analysis, /m, n, ɲ/ display the allophones [mb, nd, ɲdʒ] before oral vowels, since she does not take into consideration the few existing minimal pairs. As a final result, she concludes that there are just two series of phonemes: oral stops and nasal consonants.

The intention here is to propose an analysis alternative to Ham (1961), one that takes into consideration the existing contrastive pairs. I then propose three (not two) series of related phonemes – stops, nasals, and prenasal stops –, noting that the contrast between nasals and prenasal stops is observable only before nasal vowels, as illustrated by the following examples.

(32) a. /na/	[na]	‘RLS’
b. /nda/	[¹ nda]	‘rain’
c. /ta/	[¹ ta]	‘chop off’
d. /nã/	[¹ nã]	‘K.T.’
(33) a. /ma/	[¹ ma]	‘no <FEM>’
b. /mba/	[¹ mba]	‘fear; hear’
c. /pa/	[¹ pa]	‘arm’
d. /mã/	[¹ mã]	‘ALLT’
(34) a. /mbrɔ/	[¹ mbrɔ]	‘ashes’
b. /mrõ/	[¹ mrõ]	‘dive’

One initial hypothesis for the case of Apinajé obstruents would be that the prenasalized phoneme series is a recent development starting off from the nasal-oral contexts in which transitional segments are inserted, as seen with the velar nasal phoneme /ŋ/, where an oral velar transition [k, g] appears before oral vowels but not before nasal vowels (section 1.1.2, examples (37-38)). Obviously, this historical hypothesis needs to be tested through comparative analysis. This is a task that is beyond the scope of this dissertation, and therefore will be postponed.

1.1.2. Continuant phonemes

Nasals. The labial and coronal nasal phonemes /m, n, ɲ/ occur in syllable onset and coda, in word initial, medial and final positions.

The bilabial nasal /m/ may appear fully de-nasalized [b] in the context of non-front mid oral vowels.

(35) /twəm/	[^o tʷəm]	‘fat’
	[^o tʷəb]	

A transitional palatal glide [j] is inserted between non-front mid oral vowels and the palatal nasal phoneme /ɲ/ at syllable coda (36).

(36) a. /tʃwəɲ/	[^o tʃwəjɲ]	‘AG.NMLZ’
b. /rəɲ/	[^o rəjɲ]	‘macaúba (palm sp.)’

The velar nasal phoneme /ŋ/ is realized as [ɲ, ɲg]. Of restricted distribution, the velar nasal /ŋ/ occurs exclusively in stressed syllable onset. The allophone [ɲg] occurs before oral vowels (37-38).⁸ In careful speech, the stop contour may be slightly devoiced (37).

⁸ Ham’s (1961) hypothesis holds true for this phoneme, with regard to the nasal/prenasal contrast.

(37) a./ŋo/	[^l ŋ ^g o] [^l ŋ ^k o]	‘stand’
b./ŋiw/	[^l ŋ ^g iw] [^l ŋ ^k iw]	‘mud; starch’
(38) a./iŋrõt/	[i ^l ŋrõt ^o]	‘sprout from the soil’
b./ŋõ/	[^l ŋõ]	‘give’

Fricatives. The alveolar fricative /s/, realized as [s], has fairly restricted distribution in Apinajé, occurring mostly in proper names. A consultant has reported to me that many, though not all, of the proper names containing this phoneme come from the related language Xerente (Central Jê), and may have been incorporated into the Apinajé inventory of names by means of interethnic marriage. Some examples are *Sít*, *Sipãč*, *Simika*, *Sikwa ðta* (women’s names), *Surirɛ*, and *Suggi* (men’s names).⁹ This observation sounds plausible given the distributional restrictions of /s/.

The phoneme /s/ has been noted also in variations of an Apinajé kinship term: *si* ‘female.vocative’, *sirɛ*, *sisi*. Other than that, /s/ appears more often in words borrowed from Portuguese. In words other than Portuguese borrowings, the alveolar fricative /s/ occurs at syllable onset, in word initial and medial positions.

(39) a./kõset/	[kõ ^l set]	‘Apinajé proper name (male)’
b./sisi/	[si ^l si]	‘FEM.VOC’

⁹ One Apinajé proper name which includes the phoneme /s/ is *Kõset*.

The labiodental fricative /f/ is a phoneme borrowed from Portuguese, whose occurrence in Apinajé is limited to loan words. In spite of that, /f/ is also subject to the voice alternation typical of Apinajé obstruents, especially in the context of sonorants (40.b).

(40) a./famas/	[fa'majs]	‘pharmacy’
b./fuwnio rɛ/	[,fuw'njo,rɛ]	‘Fulniô (nickname)’
	[vuw'njo,rɛ]	

1.1.3. Approximant phonemes

Flap. The alveolar flap /r/ is realized by the allophones [r], [ɾ], [l] and [l̥]. The phoneme may occupy syllable onset and coda, occurring in initial, medial and final positions in the word. The retroflex allophone [ɾ] appears in syllable onset word medially, and in syllable coda word finally. At word boundary, there is fluctuation between the retroflexed flap and lateral allophones [ɾ, l]. The retroflex flap is in free variation with its non-retroflex counterpart [r], which occurs in all other environments (41-42).

(41) a./ŋgo=ratʃ/	[,ŋgo'ɾadzi]	‘river’
	[,ŋgo'radzi]	
b./kɔp=rɛrɛk=ti/	[,kɔbrɛ'rɛdi]	‘fly (sp)’
	[,kɔprɛ'rɛdi]	
c./karə/	[ga'rə]	‘deer (sp)’
	[ga'rə]	

(42) a./pur/	[^h pur ^h]	'garden'
	[^h pu <u>u</u>]	
	[^h puɾ ^h]	
b./aʔir/	[a ^h ʔir]	'division; limits'
	[a ^h ʔiɾ]	
	[a ^h ʔi]	

The non-retroflexed lateral allophone [l] is used word initially in emphatic speech. At morpheme boundary, the lateral allophone [l] occurs when the preceding segment is a coronal consonant (43).

(43) a./ratʃ kumrɛtʃ/	[^h la:d kũm ^h rɛdʒ]	'Huge!'
	b./kuweɲ=rɛ/	

Glides. The palatal glide /j/ has the allophones [j], [z], [ʒ] and [dʒ]. The allophone [j] occurs (a) in simplex onsets of unstressed syllables, immediately followed by a vowel; (b) in syllable codas, word-medially, followed by a consonant; and (c) in syllable codas at word-final position (44). The voiced alveolar fricative allophone [z] occurs in complex syllable onsets, occupying second position in a tautosyllabic consonant cluster (45). The voiced alveopalatal fricative allophone [ʒ] occurs in simplex onsets of stressed syllables (46). Finally, the voiced palatal affricate allophone [dʒ] occurs in syllable codas at word-final position, immediately followed by a vowel-initial morpheme (47).

- | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| (44) a./me ndi ja/ | [mẽ'ndi.ja] | ‘the women’ |
| b./awjakri/ | [awja'kri] | ‘to become cold (of weather)’ |
| c./kaj=ti/ | [kaj'di] | ‘rabbit’ |
| d./na me ra poj/ | [name'ra 'poj] | ‘They have arrived!’ |
| (45) a./ijmbjeŋ ja/ | [ij'mbzeŋ.ja] | ‘my husband’ |
| b./akje/ | [a'kze] | ‘to open a hole (on a surface)’ |
| c./aŋje/ | [a'ŋgze] | ‘to enter (PL.S)’ |
| (46) a./ajet/ | [a'zet] | ‘to be suspended on a surface’ |
| b./atkaje/ | [atka'ze] | ‘to crack; to fissure’ |
| c./jar/ | [ʔar ⁱ] | ‘that (one)!’ |
| (47) /na me ra poj ɔ mō/ | [name'ra 'podʒ ɔ'mō] | ‘They are arriving!’ |

The labial glide /w/ is realized by the allophones [w], [v] and [ʋ]. The allophone [w] occurs (a) in syllable codas and (b) in complex syllable onsets, occupying second position in a tautosyllabic consonant cluster. In both environments, it alternates with the voiced labiodental approximant [v], except in syllable codas at word boundaries (48). The voiced labiodental fricative allophone [ʋ] occurs (a) in simplex syllable onsets and (b) in complex syllables onset, occupying first position in a tautosyllabic consonant cluster (49).

- | | | |
|----------------|-----------|---|
| (48) a./kupaw/ | [gu'paw] | ‘to miss (a target); to make a mistake’ |
| b./awjarẽ/ | [awja'rẽ] | ‘to story-tell’ |
| | [awja'rẽ] | |

	c./kwrəj=ti/	[kwrəj'di] [kvrəj'di]	'parrot'
(49)	a./kuwɛɲ/	[gu'vejɲ]	'bird'
	b./awəɾ/	[a'vəɾ]	'towards you'
	c./mbət=wrə=rɛ/	[,mdəd'vrərəɛ]	'moon'
	d./wrəm/	['vrəm]	'hut; shack; old dwelling place'

1.2. Vowel phonemes

The phoneme inventory of Apinajé includes a seventeen-vowel system that consists of eleven oral and six nasal distinctive segments.

Table II.2

APINAJÉ VOWEL PHONEMES

	<i>Front</i>		<i>Central</i>		<i>Back</i>	
	Nasal		Nasal		Nasal	
<i>High</i>	i	ĩ	i	ĩ	u	ũ
<i>Mid</i>	e	ẽ	ə	ẽ	o	õ
	ɛ		ə	ã	ɔ	
<i>Low</i>			ʌ			
			a			

The inventory of Apinajé vowel phonemes proposed here differs from Ham (1961) in that (a) it includes the schwa /ə/ as a distinctive segment and (b) it excludes the nasal central low vowel /ã/ present in Ham's proposal, which I have not attested in my data. In other words, the present phoneme inventory includes four (not three) mid central vowels – three orals and one nasal; in addition to two high central vowels (oral and nasal), and one low central vowel.

From a typological viewpoint, the proliferation of contrastive vowels occurs most commonly in the front space of the vocal tract. Thus, if the analysis proposed here is correct, the occurrence of five central (oral) vowel phonemes is a typologically uncommon fact about Apinajé. However, the distinction between two of these mid-central phonemes, /ə, ʌ/, is also attested in at least four other Northern Jê languages: Suyá, Tapayúna, Parkatejê, and Krahô.

Independent support for the segmental analysis proposed here comes from historical-comparative evidence as well. An ongoing study on the development of present-day vowel systems in Jê languages reveals a phonological correspondence of the Northern Jê mid-central vowels /ə, ʌ/ to the mid-high and mid-low front vowels /e, ε/ of Central Jê languages, respectively (Oliveira and Ribeiro 2005).

As for the schwa /ə/, so far its phonemic status in Apinajé seems to be attested by minimal and analogous pairs, as will be shown below. However, because of the typologically questionable existence of three contrastive mid-central vowels in any phonemic inventory, an eventual acoustic analysis might prove useful for an accurate

phonetic characterization of this segment in particular, such that it can be contrasted with the phonetic properties of the other two mid-central vowels /ə, ʌ/ found in the language.

If the phonetic and phonemic distinctions amongst the three segments become further confirmed by an acoustic analysis, then the addition of the schwa /ə/ to the phoneme inventory may have been a phonological innovation of Apinajé. One functional motivation for this diversification of contrastive vowels could be the fact that morphemes in Apinajé are monosyllabic, and phonemic distinctions help maintain semantic distinctions amongst morphemes by avoiding homophony.

The contrasts amongst vowel phonemes are illustrated in (50-56).

(50) a./i/ x /e/

[¹ pitʃ] ‘only’	[a ¹ petʃ] ‘finished; finish’
[a ¹ pi] ‘ascend; climb’	[a ¹ pe] ‘work’
[¹ tʃi] ‘put O on the ground’	[¹ tʃe] ‘EXCL.FEM’

b./e/ x /ɛ/

[¹ be] ‘or’	[¹ bɛ] ‘mix’
[a ¹ pe] ‘work’	[ka ¹ pɛ] ‘village path’
[¹ gre] ‘little (in quantity)’	[¹ grɛ] ‘dance; sing’

c./ɛ/ x /i/

[¹ grɛ] ‘dance; sing’	[¹ gri] ‘small (in size)’
[prɛ] ‘PST’	[¹ pri] ‘frog (sp)’
[tɛ] ‘HAB’	[ti] ‘DIM’

(51) a./i/ x /ə/

[a'mbi] 'tail'	[a'mbə] 'catch [PL.O]'
[ˈpri] 'road; track'	[ˈprə] 'feather'
[ˈti] 'die'	[ˈtə] 'yes <MSC.INTRJ>'

b./ə/ x /ə/

[ka'prə] 'empty'	[ka'prə] 'fire ember'
[a'tʃwə] 'expose [PL.O]'	[a'tʃə] 'enter'
[ˈkətʃ] 'softly; gently'	[ˈkətʃ] 'jar; frame'

c./ə/ x /i/

[ˈkətʃ] 'frame; jar'	[ˈkitʃ] 'tear <TR>'
[ka'prə] 'fire ember'	[a'kri] 'be.cold'
[amə'krɔ̃] 'shade'	[ami'kri] 'afternoon; evening'

(52) a./ʌ/ x /ə/

[u'tʌ] 'promise; agree on'	[u'tʃə] 'aching belly'
[ˈtʌm] 'saturated; soaked'	[ˈtʌm] 'fat'
[a'mbʌn] 'piranha (sp.)'	[a'mbə] 'catch [PL.O]'

b./ʌ/ x /ə/

[,pʌ'lɛ] 'mambira'	[ˈpər̩] 'plant; tree'
--------------------	-----------------------

(53) a./a/ x /ʌ/

[ˈŋgra] 'capibara'	[ˈŋgrʌ] 'dry'
--------------------	---------------

b./a/ x /ə/

[ˈka] ‘you’
[ˈŋgra] ‘capibara’

[ˈkə] ‘breast’
[kaˈprə] ‘fire ember’

(54) a./ɔ/ x /ʌ/

[kuˈtɔ] ‘make it’

[uˈtʌ] ‘agree upon; arrange’

b./ɔ/ x /o/

[ˈkɔt] ‘3.irls’
[ɔ̃ʔˈtɔ] ‘tongue’

[ˈkɔt^o] ‘after; behind’
[ɔ̃ʔˈtɔ] ‘many’

c./o/ x /u/

[ˈpoj] ‘arrive’
[aˈko] ‘smoke’
[ˈkro] ‘vine; shrub’

[ˈpuj] ‘1.INCL.IRLS’
[apˈku] ‘eat <INTR>’
[ˈkru^oə] ‘arrow’

(55) a./i/ x /u/

[ri] ‘DEM.TMP’

[ˈru] ‘pour’

b./i/ x /i/

[kuˈkrit] ‘virgin girl’

[kuˈkrit] ‘tapir’

c./u/ x /i/

[kuˈpu] ‘wrap’

[kuˈpit] ‘guariba (monkey sp.)’

(56) a. /i/ x /ĩ/

[ˈpri] ‘frog (sp)’	[ˈpɾĩ] ‘short; small’
[aˈpi] ‘climb up; ascend’	[aˈpĩ] ‘kill you’

b. /e/ x /ẽ/

[aˈre] ‘dig out’	[aˈrẽ] ‘tell’
[aˈpe] ‘work’	[atˈpẽ] ‘RCPR’

c. /i/ x /ĩ/

[ˈti] ‘die’	[ˈʝĩ] ‘sit’
-------------	-------------

d. /ə/ x /õ/

[rəˈrər] ‘yellow’	[rõˈʔõ] ‘always’
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e. /u/ x /ũ/

[ˈtu] ‘belly’	[tʃuˈtʃũ] ‘mythical character’
---------------	--------------------------------

f. /o/ x /õ/

[aˈprõ] ‘your wife’	[aˈpro] ‘buy; bring’
[ˌkõˈdi] ‘camalleon (sp)’	[ˈko] ‘patch’
[põˈti] ‘tall grass’	[ˈpok] ‘catch on fire’

The nasal front mid vowel /ẽ/ is realized by the allophones [ẽ, ẽ] in free variation. The nasal back mid vowel /õ/ is realized as slightly lower than [õ] and slightly higher than [õ̃].

One instance of alternation between this allophone of /ð/ and higher counterparts [ũ, õ] has been noted in the corpus. The alternation applies to one morpheme in particular, the indefinite determiner ð. The alternative realizations of this morpheme might be partially due to factors external to the phonological system, however. It appears that the indefinite article *um* [ũ] has been borrowed from Portuguese and phonologically adapted into Apinajé as /ð/. The high allomorphs could be a retention of the original shape of the borrowed morpheme.

The mid-low central phoneme /ʌ/ displays the allophones [ʌ, ɣ, ə]. There is free variation between the allophones [ʌ, ɣ] in stressed position (57).

(57)	/atpẽn tɔ utʌ/	[at'pẽn ɿdɔ u'tʌ]	‘make an agreement’
		[at'pẽn ɿdɔ u'tɣ]	

The more neutral schwa allophone occurs in relaxed speech and because of this pattern, the contrast between the central phonemes /ʌ, ə/ may get obscured in some contexts, although it is promptly verifiable in others (58-59).

(58)	/urʌk/	[u'rʌg]	‘be similar’
		[u'rəg]	
(59)	a./ambi/	[a'mbi]	‘tail’
	b./ambə/	[a'mbə]	‘catch (P.L.O)’

c./ambʌn/	[a'mbʌn]	‘piranha’
d./atʃə/	[a'tʃə]	‘enter’
f./utʃə/	[u'tʃə]	‘aching belly’
e./utʌ/	[u'tʌ]	‘make an agreement’

Nasality and voicing are analyzed as dynamic processes and are discussed in section 3.

2. Syllable structure

The phonological inventory of Apinajé includes open and closed syllables. Syllable onsets may be simplex or complex, consisting of up to three consonants. Complex syllable codas have been noted only in instances of transitional consonant insertion (section 1.1.); these are not being considered here as a distinctive syllable types, but rather as one derived by a phonetic process.

Syllable structures attested in Apinajé are V(C), CV(C), CCV(C), CCCV(C), illustrated in (60-63).

(60)	a./o/	‘leaf’	V(C)
	b./ək/	‘hawk (sp)’	
(61)	a./ɲĩ/	‘sit’	CV(C)
	b./ket/	‘no’	
(62)	a./kĩ/	‘village’	CCV(C)
	b./mbjeɲ/	‘husband’	

Table II.3

CONSONANTS IN COMPLEX-ONSET CLUSTERS

	<i>Plosives</i>		<i>Nasals</i>	<i>Approximants</i>
	Prenasal			Flap
Labial	p	mb	m	w
Coronal	t			r
	tʃ	ɲdʒ		j
Velar	k		ŋ	

All consonants obey a distributional restriction whereby each segment in a tautosyllabic sequence must be produced at a different place of articulation – labial, coronal or velar. An additional dimension of this requirement is that each segment in the sequence be produced with a different mode of articulation – plosive, nasal or approximant. Sequences of approximants are attested, but among the approximants, it is the flap that occurs closest to the nucleus. Possible tautosyllabic clusters are those listed in (64-66). There are no occurrences of clusters formed by a coronal nasal followed by the labiovelar glide (nw, ɲw).

- (64) a.pr, pj; mbr, mbj *Labial-Coronal*
 b.mr; wr *Labial-Coronal*
- (65) a.tw *Coronal-Labial*
 b.tʃw; ɲdʒw *Coronal-Labial*

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| (66) a.kw | <i>Velar-Labial</i> |
| b.kr, kj; ηr, ηj | <i>Velar-Coronal</i> |
| c.kwr, ηwr | <i>Velar-Labial-Coronal</i> |

Syllable codas may be occupied by voiceless plosives or sonorants. Prenasals, along with the velar nasal /η/, do not appear in coda position.

Patterns resulting from the phonotactic constraints are illustrated in (67-70).

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| (67) a./pɾə/ | ‘cover with leaves’ |
| b./apje/ | ‘long’ |
| c./mbri/ | ‘game’ |
| d./mbjɛɲ/ | ‘husband’ |
| e./mɾũm/ | ‘ant’ |
| f./wɾə/ | ‘descend’ |
| | |
| (68) a./twəɲm/ | ‘fat’ |
| b./tʃwa/ | ‘bathe’ |
| c./ɲɲdʒwə/ | ‘place (PL.O) right-side up on a flat surface’ |
| | |
| (69) a./krẽ/ | ‘eat (assorted O)’ |
| b./kje/ | ‘drag; pull’ |
| c./ɲje/ | ‘place (PL.O) in deep recipient’ |
| d./ɲɛɾi/ | ‘(a proper name)’ |
| e./kwĩɾ/ | ‘break (long O) partially’ |
| f./kwrət/ | ‘traíra (fish, sp.)’ |
| g./ɲwra/ | ‘buriti (palm, sp.)’ |
| | |
| (70) a./kep/ | ‘3.DRT’ |
| b./krikrit/ | ‘noise; engine sound’ |
| c./kaek/ | ‘chop (wood)’ |
| d./kritʃ/ | ‘pet; livestock’ |
| e./pɾĩn/ | ‘pequi (fruit, sp.)’ |
| f./ɾɔɲ/ | ‘macaúba (palm, sp.)’ |

g./rõr/	‘babaçú (palm, sp.)’
h./ɲoj/	‘pan (pot)’

Diphthongs are not frequent; very few instances have been attested in the data. The examples, listed in (71), show the recurrence of a central-back dimension in the quality of the vowels involved.

(71) a./kaõ/	[¹ ka ^o]	‘cooked’
b./krũə/	[¹ krũ ^{və}]	‘arrow’
c./mbuə/	[¹ mbu ^ə]	‘cry’

3. Stress system

In Apinajé, stress falls invariably on the last syllable of the phonological word.

Morphemes are typically short, such that it is common for monomorphemic words to be one-syllable long. Words that are two or more syllables long are likely to consist of one morpheme per syllable.

Stress is a necessary and sufficient property of the phonological word, and is indicative of its boundaries. However, the limits of a phonological word sometimes do not coincide with those of a grammatical word (see section III.2.2). In examples (72-74), stress falls predictably on the last syllable regardless of the word length. Some of these words contain affixes, but they constitute simple *lexical bases* in that they include only one root.

(72) a./ɲrɔ/	[ʰɲgrɔ]	‘roast; bake’
b./mbjeɲ/	[ʰmbzeɲ]	‘husband’
(73) a./aɲrɔ/	[a.ʰɲgrɔ]	‘pig (sp)’
b./kupu/	[gu.ʰpu]	‘wrap’
(74) a./katōtō/	[ga.tō.ʰtō]	‘thunder’
b./amutʃu/	[a.mu.ʰtʃu]	‘hide’

Compounds may be formed either (a) with a lexical base and one of the clitics *rɛ*, *ti*; (b) with two or more lexical bases and no clitics; or (c) with two or more lexical bases and one of the clitics (75-77). Every lexical base consists of at least one root and may include affixes as well.

Lexical bases bear stress, as do some of the clitics. Affixes do not bear stress and constitute phonological frame material for the placement of stress in the word. The clitics *ti* ‘AUG’ and *rɛ* ‘DIM’ bear independent stress, which they display in compounds.

(75) a./aɲrɔ=rɛ/	[a.ʰɲgrɔ.ʰrɛ]	‘caititú (wild pig)’
b./mbjeɲ=rɛ/	[ʰmbze.ʰlɛ]	‘husband <DIM>’
(76) a. /ə̀k=ɲdʒət/	[,ə̀gʰɲdʒəd]	‘hawk (sp.)’
b./ic-krǝ=krat/	[ic,krǝʰkrat]	‘the back of my neck’
c./kuwi=j-a-krat/	[ku,vijaʰkrad]	‘fire ember’
(77) a./apat=kǝ=ti/	[a.patʰkǝʰdi]	‘surucucú (snake, sp.)’
b./mbri=tʃ-ũm=ti/	[,mbriʰtʃũmʰdi]	‘tiú (lizard, sp.)’
c./ɲij=ndo=kje=rɛ/	[,ɲĩ.ndo.ʰkze.ʰrɛ]	‘mucura (mammal, sp.)’
d./mẽ=pa=krǝ=ratʃ=ti/	[me,pakrǝʰradʒʰti]	‘one’s toe’

heterosyllabic cluster. The affected consonant may be a sonorant or an obstruent. Examples (79.a-b) illustrate the nasalization of a bilabial stop at coda position; the original place of articulation is maintained. In both cases, the segments constitute a labial-coronal sequence.

(79) a./rɔp ndi/	[,rɔm ⁿ di]	‘dog.FEM’
b /ɲdʒɔp=ɲdʒɔp/	[ɲdʒo ^b m ⁿ dʒɔb]	‘itch’

In (80), the affected consonant undergoes nasal assimilation, but it undergoes place dissimilation because both segments in the sequence are coronal sonorants (section 4.2). In the same environment, the coronal plosive assimilates the nasality of the coronal prenasal (80-81).

(80) /mbɚr=ɲdʒi/	[mbɚ ^m dʒi]	‘cry-baby’
(81) /tʃet=ɲdʒi/	[tʃe ⁿ dʒi]	‘flammable’

Oral spreading. Oral vowel phonemes create specific phonetic effects as well. The bilabial nasal /m/ may be fully de-nasalized in the context of non-front mid oral vowels. Example (82) shows that the consonant maintains its voice properties in spite of losing its nasal quality.

(82) /twəm/	[^h twəm ^h]	‘fat’
	[^h twəb ^h]	

The same process has not been attested among coronals in the same environment. Nonetheless, the oral quality of the vowel is preserved in these contexts too, as shown in (83).

(83) a./kukeŋ/	[gu'keŋ]	‘cotia (rodent, sp.)’
	[gu'keŋ ^o]	
	[gu'ken ^o]	
b./ton/	['ton ^o]	‘armadillo’

Voicing. Plosives are voiced before sonorants at morpheme boundary. In (84), voiceless stops are affected respectively by a following flap and labial glide, in regressive assimilation.

(84) a./pɔt=kəɔk=rɛ/	[pɔtkə'əg'rɛ]	‘anteater (sp.)’
b./mbəɔ=wɔɔ=rɛ/	[,mbəɔd'vrɔ,rɛ]	‘moon’
c./ŋrɔj=ti/	[ŋgrɔj'di]	‘quandú (mammal, sp.)’

4.2. Dissimilation

Coronal dissimilation. Apinajé imposes restrictions on sequences of coronal consonants. When both underlying segments are coronal, they must distinguish in major class terms (sonorant, obstruent) or in place terms (labial, coronal).

An underlying sequence of coronal obstruents yields a sonorant-obstruent sequence, after dissimilation (85). In an underlying sequence of sonorants, place

b./pẽp/	[^l pẽ ^m p]	‘warrior’
	[^l pẽ ^m b]	

A voiceless echo-consonant is inserted in final position, following an oral nucleus with a nasal coda. This is the reverse process of that illustrated in (88), involving a nasal nucleus and an oral coda. The reason one knows that the vowel in (89) is an oral phoneme is that, under the proper conditions, the echo-vowel is clearly perceptible word finally, betraying the nasal quality of the coda consonant. That is not the case with the examples in (88).

(89) /kuwi kum/	[ku,vi ^l kum ^p]	‘smoke’
	[ku,vi ^l kum ^u]	

In the context of non-front mid oral vowels, the transitional glide [j] is inserted between the nucleus and a palatal nasal consonant at the coda.

(90) a./tʃwəŋ/	[^l tʃwə ^j ŋ]	‘AG.NMLZ’
b./rɔŋ/	[^l rɔ ^j ŋ]	‘macaúba (palm, sp.)’
c./mbjeŋ/	[^l mbze ^j ŋ]	‘husband’

4.4. Compensatory lengthening.

Compensatory lengthening applies to a plosive-final lexical base when it is followed by a consonant-initial morpheme – that is, the plosive is deleted, being replaced by vowel lengthening. If the lexical base ends in glide or vowel, no lengthening applies (91-92).

(91) a. /aptʃet=ti/	[ap'tʃe:di]	‘peba (armadillo, sp.)’
b. /ʌk=ɲdʒə=ti/	[ʌ:ɲdʒəɹ'ti]	‘hawk (sp)’
c. /kokoɲ=krə̃=jakɔt=rɛ/	[go,koɲ'krə̃ja'ko:lɛ]	‘monkey (sp)’
(92) a. /kaj=ti/	[kaj'di]	‘rabbit’
b. /kokoɲ=rɛ/	[go'koɲ'rɛ]	‘monkey’
c. /pu=ti/	[pu'ti]	‘morissoca (insect, sp.)’

4.5. Prosodies

Aspiration. Aspiration occurs between a syllable-final vowel and a stressed syllable beginning in voiceless obstruent. Vowels often involved in the process are the central low phoneme /a/ or the back high phoneme /u/. Aspiration often takes place at morpheme boundary, but within the same phonological word.

(93) a. /mẽ katut/	[,mẽga ^h tut]	‘(one’s) back’
b. /atõtʃ/	[a ^h tõtʃ]	‘kinship term’
c. /apoj/	[a ^h poj]	‘depart’
d. /kutʃe/	[gu ^h tʃe]	‘riffle’

Echo-vowels. Closed syllables usually display an echo-vowel word finally. The echo-vowel is a phonetically reduced sound whose quality is reminiscent of that of the vowel at the nucleus. Words ending in the voiceless affricate /tʃ/ are an exception; the quality of the echo vowel in this case is reminiscent of the palatal quality of the consonant – it is [i].

(94)	a. /mbop/	[¹ mbob ⁰]	‘(edible) root’
	b. /rərər/	[rə ¹ rər ^ə]	‘clear; yellow’
	c. /ton/	[¹ ton ⁰]	‘armadillo’
(95)	a. /pitʃ/	[¹ pidʒ ⁱ]	‘only’
	b. /mbətʃ/	[¹ mbədʒ ⁱ]	‘good’
	c. /ratʃ/	[¹ radʒ ⁱ]	‘large’
(96)	a. /ket/	[¹ ked ^e]	‘NEG’
	b. /kot/	[¹ koɫ ⁰]	‘after; behind’

The echo-vowel indicates the end of a phonological word. It occurs most often in content words, though there are instances of echo-vowels in function words too. The morphemes *ket* and *kot*, in (96), are a negative particle and a postposition, respectively.

The fact that these units are prominent within their respective constituents might be one reason why these function words – and not others – tend to display echo-vowels. Both particles and postpositions occur phrase-finally and thus have better chances of appearing in utterance-final position, the locus of echo-vowels.

An independent hypothesis for why *ket* and *kot* display a property characteristic of content words is that both, particle and postposition, must derive historically from content words – a verb and a noun, respectively (chapter III). The occurrence of echo-vowels may be one feature that indicates their diachronic origin.

5. Summary of properties of the phonological word

Three prosodic properties characterize the phonological word: stress, echo-vowels and aspiration. Stress is predictable in Apinajé and indicates the end of a phonological word.

Any putative phonological word must consist of at least one stress-bearing element.

Aspiration is a process that applies only word-medially; it is also related to stress.

Finally, echo-vowels also serve as an index of final word boundary. A more detailed discussion of the phonological word in Apinajé is provided in the next chapter, where this notion is contrasted to that of grammatical word.

CHAPTER III

MORPHOLOGY

0. Introduction

For the unacquainted observer, Apinajé may appear as a morphologically plain language of the analytic kind, consisting of rather short words, and having much of its grammatical categories expressed by function words rather than bound morphemes. That impression is justified: Apinajé morphemes are monosyllabic indeed, and the grammatical categories found in the language are often expressed by function words that may or may not be phonologically dependent, or by syntactic constructions that often times employ a subset of these very function words.

However, Apinajé words are not necessarily monomorphemic – nor monosyllabic, for that matter. Words consisting of more than one syllable usually consist of as many morphemes; and Apinajé morphology is rather rich, especially in regard to content words. Thus, Apinajé may be typologically characterized as an agglutinating language of analytic spirit, with compounding and prefixation playing major roles in word formation. The predominance of prefixes over suffixes is reminiscent of the fact that Apinajé is a head final language: syntactically dependent elements serve as a diachronic source for phonologically dependent ones.

A set of morphs appearing in specific word classes do not constitute productive morphology, however. These are fossilized morphological debris that simply subcategorize words into morphological or semantic classes at the synchronic level (section 3.1). Bare-root counterparts can be found for some of these stems but not for others, which shows that despite their high frequency in the lexicon, these morphs are not part of a productive morphological system. Added to that, these morphs tend to be semantically empty or of elusive meaning. For these reasons, they are called “formatives” (and not “morphemes”) in the remainder of the text.

It appears that a large part of the Apinajé lexicon consists of words that include some type of formative in its morphological structure; most disyllabic verbs and nouns are like that (see Dictionary, Appendix C).

The morphological units of Apinajé are introduced in what follows. A phonological and grammatical characterization of the word, as well as the word-formation strategies available, are presented in section 2; section 3 deals with the various word classes of Apinajé, grouped here under two main subheadings: lexical categories and grammatical categories; and section 4 presents the inflectional and derivational morphology.

1. Morphological units

1.1. Roots

Apinajé roots are monosyllabic, bear stress and may come in any of the syllable types available in the language, namely, V(C), CV(C), CCV(C) or CCCV(C). Some roots may

constitute words on their own, while others serve as the base for morphologically complex stems, such as compounds and derived lexemes. Compounds consist of more than one root (2.a), and may include derivational morphology as well (2.b). Derivational morphemes may be clitics or affixes attaching to the root (3). Roots may also come accompanied by formatives, constituting another kind of morphologically complex stem (4).

- | | | | |
|--------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| (1) | <i>bra</i> | ‘walk, stroll; wake O up’ | |
| | <i>brí</i> | ‘game; hunt’ | |
| | <i>krẽ</i> | ‘eat’ | |
| | <i>pok</i> | ‘catch on fire’ | |
| (2) a. | <i>ikra=krẽ</i> | ‘finger’ | |
| | hand=nugget | | |
| | <i>bʌn=kwrət</i> | ‘beans’ | |
| | ?=? | | |
| | <i>kupẽ=c̣-e</i> | ‘fabric’ | |
| | non.Indian=RP ¹ -tie | | |
| b. | <i>bʌn=tɪk=ti</i> | ‘macaw bird (arara, sp.)’ | |
| | ?=black=AUG | | |
| | <i>pu=tɛ=j-apje=ti</i> | ‘morissoca (insect, sp.)’ | |
| | fly=leg=RP-long=AUG | | |
| (3) | <i>a-go</i> | ‘saliva’ | < <i>go</i> ‘water’ |
| | <i>a-ko</i> | ‘smoke <TR>’ | < <i>ko</i> ‘suck’ |
| | <i>ba=c̣ə</i> | ‘gossip’ | < <i>ba</i> ‘hear’ |
| | hear=NMLZ.INSTR | | |

¹ Relational Prefixes (RP) are part of the inflectional system of Apinajé. These morphemes occur pervasively in vowel-initial nouns, verbs and postpositions of Apinajé. See details in section 4.1.2. below.

grer=*ɟ-ð=čwəɲ* ‘singer’ < *grer* ‘sing; dance’
 dance.NF=RP-gen=NMLZ.AG

- (4) *kaɽe* ‘confine; dam; obstruct’
kaɽð ‘wash soft or granulated O’
kabro ‘blood; menstruate’
kuɽe ‘stand in vertical position [PL.S]’
kuɽð ‘wash firm O’
ðkre ‘throat’
ðkwĩ ‘home’
ðpti ‘roll end over end; tumble’

1.2. Affixes

Inflectional and derivational affixes are often monosyllabic morphemes whose structure is restricted to the V(C) and CV(C) syllable patterns. Certain inflectional affixes may consist of a single consonant, as is the case with relational prefixes and nonfiniteness suffixes (sections 4.1.2. and 4.1.3.). Affixes do not display any particular stress properties in Apinajé; they simply contribute segmental material to the phonological word, submitting to the overall stress rule applicable to that word. The verb *pĩ* ‘kill’ is inflected for person in (5). The finite form of the verb is shown in (a), and its nonfinite form in (b).

- (5) a. *ic-pĩ* [ic'pĩ] ‘kill me’
a-pĩ [a'pĩ] ‘kill you’
ku-pĩ [gu'pĩ] ‘kill it’
- b. *ic-pĩ-r* [ic'pĩr] ‘kill me’

<i>a-pĩ-r</i>	[a'pĩr]	'kill you'
<i>Ø-pĩ-r</i>	[pĩr]	'kill it'

Formatives display the same structural properties as affixes, certainly because they too were affixes at an earlier stage in the development of the language. For instance, it is possible to identify personal prefixes that have been reanalyzed as part of some stems, which take productive inflectional morphology at the synchronic level (6).

(6) a.	<i>kupe</i>	[gu'pe]	'touch'	< <i>ku-</i> '3'
	<i>a-kupe</i>	[agu'pe]	'touch on you'	
b.	<i>ipok</i>	[i'pog ^o]	'core'	< <i>i-</i> '3'
	<i>pər n-ipok ri</i>	[pəɾni ₁ pog ^o ri]	'in the core of the forest'	

1.3. Clitics

Clitics may be of three kinds: positional clitics, phrasal clitics and word clitics, all of which display specific stress properties and, like the roots, may come in any of the syllable patterns available. Positional clitics occupy specific slots in the structure of the clause, and they usually encode grammatical categories that pertain to the proposition as a whole, such as mood, tense, aspect and the like (7). Few phrasal clitics indicate the initial boundary of a phrase; the tendency is for them to occur phrase finally (8). The same is true of word clitics, except that their structural domain is restricted to the (grammatical) word (9).²

² As mentioned in footnote 3 of chapter II, throughout this dissertation I will use the symbol “=” to indicate clitic boundaries, but only in the case of word clitics. Positional (phrase and clause) clitics will be simply

- (7) a. *pa na pa ijmã ate pïkap ja nõr prãm ket.*
 1.EMPHRLS **1** 1.DAT 2.ERG earth DEF lie.on.NF want NEG
 ‘It is I who don’t want you to lie on the ground.’
- b. *čě! ɔ ra mēļõ ja ʌr kačïw amjĩ tɔ aļwə.*
 INTRJ INTRJ **IMM** someone DEF enter PURP RFLX RP.do request
 ‘Geez! There’s already someone asking to come in!’
- (8) a. *a-tɛ pïkap ja nõr*
 2-ERG earth DEF lie.on.NF
 ‘you lying on the ground’
- b. *pïkap ja*
 earth DEF
 ‘the earth’
- (9) a. *ipeč=čə*
 make=NMLZ.INSTR
 ‘father’
- b. *kra=ja=bəp=čwəŋ*
 child=DEF=hold=NMLZ.AG
 ‘midwife’

Some phrase final clitics retain stress prominence in their domain (10). Some positional clitics retain stress prominence in a clitic sequence – that is true of the tense and aspect clitics *vis-à-vis* mood and pronominal clitics. Notice that the clause-initial

written as monosyllabic function words and separated by spaces, since they have broader syntactic scope

clitics in (11) form one phonological word, with stress falling on the last syllable of the sequence, that is, the past tense marker.

- (10) *ʃum* [mē̃ |kɔ̃ mē̃ ɔ̃buʃn ɔ̃ ɔ̃]= *čwəŋ* *ja*
 CNJ.DS PL 3.ERG PL 3.see.NF INSTR LOC NMLZ.AG DEF
 ‘Then, those who were watching them...’

- (11) *na pa* *prɛ* *ʃɔ̃* *at pɔ̃*
 RLS 1 PST yesterday get.drunk
 ‘I got drunk yesterday’

Word clitics are enclitics; and as word-final syllables they carry word stress (12).

- (12) *əpat=kək=ti* [ə₁patkə:¹di] ‘pico de jaca (snake, sp.)
 ?=?=AUG
- katɔ̃=čə* [ga₁tɔ:¹tʃə] ‘mother’
 exit.NF=NMLZ.LOC/INSTR

2. Word

In any language, words can be characterized in terms of phonological and grammatical properties, which constitute independent criterial dimensions. One general definition of the phonological word is provided in Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002) as follows:

A **phonological word** is a phonological unit larger than the syllable (in some languages it may minimally be just one syllable) which has at least one (and generally more than one) phonological defining property chosen from the following areas:

and occupy predictable positions in clauses and phrases.

- (a) *Segmental features* – internal syllabic and segmental structure; phonetic realisations in terms of this; word boundary phenomena; pause phenomena.
- (b) *Prosodic features* – stress (or accent) and/or tone assignment; prosodic features such as nasalization, retroflexion, vowel harmony.
- (c) *Phonological rules* – some rules apply only within a phonological word; others (external sandhi rules) apply specifically across a word boundary.

Note that there is likely to be a close interaction between these types of features (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002: 13).

The definitional criteria put forward by them are seen, admittedly, as types rather than universal criteria, which may not apply to every language. In regard to the definition of a grammatical word, however, they offer what they see as a set of universal criteria.

Their list is as follows:

- A **grammatical word** consists of a number of grammatical elements which:
- (a) always occur together, rather than scattered through the clause (the criterion of cohesiveness);
 - (b) occur in a fixed order;
 - (c) have a conventionalized coherence and meaning. (...)
 - (d) Morphological processes involved in the formation of words tend to be non-recursive. That is, one element will not appear twice in a word. (...)
 - (e) There will be just one inflectional affix per word. (...)
 - (f) A speaker may pause between words but not within a word. (...)
 - (g) A word may constitute a complete utterance, all by itself (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002:19-25).

The list certainly includes criteria that cannot be taken to the letter, or, as Dixon and Aikhenvald put it, they must be “tempered by a number of caveats”. In the case of Apinajé, at least two of those certainly do not apply, namely, criteria (d, e). As will be seen, relational prefixes, for instance, can certainly appear more than once in a word (section 3.1.2.4, example (63)). In addition, a relational prefix must necessarily co-occur

with a person prefix in the context of a vowel-initial stem; and both relational and person prefixes are inflectional morphemes in Apinajé.

Dixon and Aikhenvald call attention to the fact that a phonological word – or, the word as defined by its phonological properties – in a given language, may or may not coincide with a grammatical word in the same language. Thus, a grammatical word may consist of more than one phonological word or, likewise, a phonological word may consist of more than one grammatical word. In the first case, they cite the example of Yimas (Foley 1991: 86, cited in Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002), in which compounds (grammatical words) are composed of more than one phonological word (the participating nouns), in that they bear individual primary stresses. As an illustration of the second case, they cite examples of one positional clitic in Dyirbal (p. 27-28).

In Apinajé, as will be seen, a grammatical word may comprise more than one phonological word. The grammatical and phonological criteria for the delimitation of the word in Apinajé are addressed next.

2.1. Phonological word

A phonological word is often one foot long and possibly two feet long. Stress is a necessary property of a phonological word. Segmental and prosodic criteria that help define the phonological word include those indicative of word initial and final boundaries, and word internal cohesion.

The flap lateralization phenomenon indicates the beginning of a phonological word (13). Certain sandhi rules applying exclusively across word boundaries, such as

2.2. Grammatical word

In Apinajé, a grammatical word must consist of at least one phonological word, but it can include more than one such unit. It may comprise one root (16.a), a combination of roots (16.b), a combination of root and affix (16.c), a combination of root and clitic (16.d), or a combination of root, affix and clitic (16e) (roots are in bold). Both roots and clitics may bear stress, thus constituting separate phonological words within the same grammatical word (16.e).

- | | | | | |
|------|----|--|------------------|---------------------------|
| (16) | a. | <i>jĩ</i> | [ˈjĩ] | ‘Sit!’ |
| | b. | <i>bɛɲ=čə</i>
honey=wasp.sp | [ˌmbɛɲˈdʒə] | ‘bee’ |
| | c. | <i>am-čə</i>
?=wasp | [amˈdʒə] | ‘wasp (sp.)’ |
| | d. | <i>pri</i> = <i>ti</i>
frog=AUG | [priˈti] | ‘frog (sp.)’ |
| | e. | <i>pu</i> = <i>tɛ</i> = <i>j-a-pje</i> = <i>ti</i>
fly=leg=RP-?-?=AUG | [puˌtɛjaˈpzeˈti] | ‘morissoca (insect, sp.)’ |

Clitics that are phonologically autonomous must occur in specific slots in the syntactic context; in this sense, they are syntactically bound (details in section 3.2.2).

The Apinajé grammatical word can be identified according to some of the criteria listed in Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002:19-25). First, the grammatical word is internally cohesive, both formally, since its components constitute a bound unit; and semantically, because that unit conveys a conventionalized meaning. Secondly, the component

morphemes of a grammatical word in Apinajé follow a particular order, with word clitics always occupying the outermost final position in the word, thus indicating the word final boundary, and person prefixes appearing in first position, when applicable, thus indicating the word-initial boundary. Thirdly, speakers generally utter the word without interruptions or pauses, except in case of hesitations, clarifications or factors of this sort, which are part of natural speech in any language. Finally, the Apinajé grammatical word can constitute a complete utterance by itself.

2.3. Word-formation strategies

Mechanisms of word formation in Apinajé include affixation and compounding, and phonological strategies such as vowel alternation, reduplication, and suppletion. These are discussed in what follows.

2.3.1. Affixation

Prefixes are more numerous than suffixes in Apinajé. Affixes encode inflectional and derivational categories; they have no stress properties but may participate in segmental alternations.

Inflectional prefixes express the categories of person and constituency; whereas suffixes encode nonfiniteness and the participle (section 4.1). Relational prefixes (indices of constituency) are single consonants mostly of palatal quality (17.a). Nonfiniteness suffixes are coronal consonants (17.b).

- (17) a. *č-eč* ‘lie’
ǰ-ibεč ‘exterminate O; kill off O’
ǰ-ɔŋto ‘many’
- b. *arē-ǰ* ‘confide.NF’
ō-t ‘sleep.NF’
ĩ-r ‘sit.NF’

Derivational prefixes express various middle-voice meanings. “Middle voice” is taken here in a broad sense; under this heading are grouped semantic nuances such as ‘impersonal’, ‘patientive’, and ‘middle’, in a strict sense. Middle prefixes may detransitivize the bases to which they attach ((18); section 4.2).

- (18) *a-kɔt* ‘round; spherical’ < *kɔt* ‘swell’
a-gje ‘enter [PL.S]’ < *gje* ‘place [PL.O] into deep recipient’
ap-ku ‘eat <INTR>’ < *ku* ‘eat <TR>’

Formatives, the semantically empty morphs found recurrently in certain words, are prefixal (19).

- (19) *uba* ‘fear; be afraid’ < *ba* ‘feel’
ũrε ‘abandon’ < *rε* ‘leave behind’
učĩ ‘spell <N>’
umĩ ‘smoke [meat]’

2.3.2. Vowel alternation

Lexical counterparts are derived through vowel alternation. Although this is not a widespread morphological mechanism in Apinajé, some semantically related roots belonging to different lexical categories share all phonological characteristics but one vowel feature. In (20.a), the relevant feature is height; in (20.b) it is nasality.

(20)	Noun		Verb	
a.	<i>go</i>	‘water’	<i>gɔ</i>	‘wet O’
b.	<i>kago</i>	‘juice’	<i>kagõ</i>	‘squeeze juice out of O’
	<i>agə</i>	‘tiririca seed’	<i>agẽ</i>	‘take seeds out of [plant]’

As the examples show, the alternations result in word class change, a property common to derivational-type morphology. Although a decision about which root is the source of the derivation could be somewhat arbitrary in strictly phonological terms, the semantics of the resulting stems suggest that nouns are sources and verbs are derived.

2.3.3. Reduplication

Reduplication is a strategy frequently used in the formation of descriptive verb stems (3.1.2). Verbs derived in this way often refer to such concepts as colors, (onomatopoeic) sounds, iterative, repetitive or progressive events, and events that depict fragmentation, as

‘shatter’. Only a few instances have been found of reduplication verbs that are not descriptive; these include *krakra* ‘shatter [TR]’ and *kapreprek* ‘spank’ (which is a transitive classificatory verb of the *ka-* class; section 3.1.2.2).

As a phonological strategy, reduplication reproduces the first foot right-to-left of the original stem. The fact that most closed syllables lose their coda under these conditions suggests that the preferred phonological structure of the derived item is a default iambic foot, that is (\checkmark $\bar{\quad}$) (Hayes 1995: 62ff; 205).

(21)	(. x) ³		
	<i>ko.kot</i>	‘rest’	
	<i>pε.pεk</i>	‘drip repeatedly on the same spot’	
	<i>tã.tãk</i>	‘hurt; ache’	
	<i>ta.tak</i>	‘tap repeatedly upon O’	
	<i>rε.rεk</i>	‘soft; spoiled [viscous]’	
	<i>ro.rok</i>	‘erode; collapse’	
	<i>rə.rəp</i>	‘yellow’	
	<i>kri.krit</i>	‘make a sound’	
	<i>pre.prek</i>	‘be fast; rush’	< <i>prek</i> ‘tall’
	<i>prō.prōt</i>	‘shiver; tremble’	< <i>prōt</i> ‘run’

Under the same conditions, the closed syllables of certain bases maintain their coda, but are subject to resyllabification or to phonological processes that affect the segments involved in the heterosyllabic consonant cluster (22).

³ Following Hayes (1995), the notation (. x) stands for an iambic foot; that is, a unit consisting of two syllables where prominence is placed on the last syllable in the sequence. The notation (x), seen below, stands for a foot formed by a single syllable.

- (22) (. x)
 a. *ɔ.rɔr* *ɔr=ɔr* ‘boil; come to a boil’
 b. *ʃop.ʃop* [ɲdʒo^mɲɔb] ‘itch’
tɛt.tɛt [tɛɾ¹tɛt] ‘tremble; shake’

Fewer reduplicated forms may consist of all light syllables, always maintaining the iambic structure.

- (23) (. x)
kɔ.kɔ ‘make sound’
grã.grã ‘green [color]; not ripe’
kra.kra ‘shatter; break into pieces’ < *kra* ‘beat’

Finally, reduplication verb stems may include classificatory formatives, such as *ka-* and *õ-*, or they may occur with word clitics such as the morphological causative *ɔ*. Under these conditions, the prefixes or enclitics are (re)parsed either into defective feet or into canonical iambic feet, after they take inflectional prefixes (Hayes 1995: 113; (24)).

- (24) (x) (. x)
ka.rõ.rõr ‘snore’
ɔ.kri.krit ‘race O’
ka.pre.prek ‘spank O’
õ.pat.pat ‘feel nauseous’

One important point to notice is that, in some cases, the base for reduplication may not be found as a root elsewhere; in other words, some of these items, such as *rɛrɛk*

and *tãtãk*, only occur in their reduplicated forms, in the database. Such cases suggest that reduplication in Apinajé is more a lexicalized result than a fully productive process.

Another point is that the semantic relationship between reduplicated stems and their respective bases may be completely obscure, as illustrated by the verb *preprek* ‘be fast; rush’, based on the root *prek* ‘tall’ (but see *kapreprek*, section 3.1.2.2).

Although reduplication is more common in the formation of verbs, a few noun stems are also formed in this way. However, some of these stems may result from the conversion of reduplicated verbs into nouns (25.b), or are compounds that include reduplicated verbal stems (25.c).

- | | | |
|---------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (25) a. | <i>brəbrə</i>
<i>põpõ</i> | ‘dawn; sunset’
‘garça (bird, sp.)’ |
| b. | <i>awrɛwrɛk</i> | ‘gully’ |
| c. | <i>da= katõtõtök</i>
rain=snore | ‘thunder’ |
| | <i>katkwa=rərər</i>
sky=yellow | ‘rainbow’ |
| | <i>pã=rɛrɛk</i>
cajá=soft | ‘cajzinho (plant, sp.)’ |

2.3.4. Conversion

<i>ačə</i>	‘enter’	<i>ačə</i>	‘put on [clothes]; bring O in’
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2.3.5. Suppletion

Some postpositions display suppletive inflectional forms. The postposition *pe* ‘detrimental’, inflected for person in (28), is illustrative. A hypothesis for these suppletive forms is that, at an earlier historical stage, these postpositions must have taken the third person prefix *ku-*. Vowel harmony may have applied, affecting the quality of the prefix vowel, followed by deletion of the word final vowel. This hypothesis needs historical-comparative verification, however.

(28)	<i>ic-pe</i>	‘from me’		
	<i>a-pe</i>	‘from you’		
	<i>kep</i>	‘from him’	< * <i>ke-pe</i>	< * <i>ku-pe</i>

A subset of verbs display different forms depending on the number of participants in the events they describe. I do not analyze these cases as suppletion; these are actually pairs of semantically related but distinct verb stems (section 3.1.2.3).

2.3.6. Compounding

A traditional debate about compounding is whether this is a strategy that belongs to the domain of syntax or to that of morphology (cf. e.g. Benveniste 1989 [1967; 1974]; Matthews 1993 [1974]; Bauer 1988). Authors that defend the syntax viewpoint (e.g.

Benveniste 1967) call attention to the fact that compounds display internal syntactic structuring, among other syntactic properties; whereas those that argue for the affiliation of compounds to the domain of morphology (e.g. Matthews 1993) point out that these complex elements *name* (rather than *describe*) entities, properties or events, and that they are learned as a single units, i.e. lexemes, by young speakers. The approach adopted here for the analysis of the Apinajé data is one which takes into consideration both views. I will seek to justify an analysis of compounds as morphologically complex lexical units by providing criteria that distinguish them from ordinary phrases, but I will also demonstrate the possible combinations of basic elements, and how these elements may form constituents within the compound itself.

Apinajé compounds consist of more than one putative phonological word, since they consist of more than one root. They also have an internal structural organization whereby the stress patterns of each putative phonological word must be combined, and thus constitute what I term here a phonological phrase. Compounds are phonological phrases that correspond to grammatical words. That they are words (not syntactic phrases) can be established on the grounds of internal cohesion and conventionalized meaning (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002: 19), as well as prosodic properties and certain phonological processes.

For the most part, Apinajé compounds are not characterized by any obvious stress shifts, as compared to grammatical phrase patterns. However, the phonological phrase that results from compounding displays a particular, cohesive intonation pattern, that comes accompanied by a rearrangement of the overall stress pattern of the word. It can

be described, in the terms of Hayes (1995), as an iambic stress pattern, parsed from right to left, with final prominence, foot construction being iterative. These phonological properties of compounds are illustrated below, after their structural properties have been introduced.

Compound stems are verbs and nouns. In terms of internal structure, these grammatical words may involve nominal, verbal and postpositional bases, as well as clitics.

Noun-Noun Stems. Compounds consisting exclusively of nominal elements may include two roots or more, in a structure reminiscent of genitive constructions (29). When more than two roots are involved, they are correspondingly distributed into constituents.

Relational prefixes and other relevant bound morphemes may occur (29.b).⁵

- (29) a. *i-j-ičō=krε* ‘my anus’
 1-RP=buttocks=hole
- a-krǫ=kĩ* ‘your hair’
 2-head=hair
- b. *kařĩ=tε=č-e* ‘leg adornment’
 lower.leg=RP-tie
- ōkrε=č-e* ‘neck adornment’
 throat=RP-tie
- c. *kučē=ři* ‘ammunition; bullet’
 gun=seed

⁵ The occurrence of inflectional material is not a structural impediment in the analysis of compounds; it is not a typologically uncommon feature either, as may be noted from languages as diverse as Finnish, Icelandic, Turkish, and Portuguese (cf. e.g. Bauer 1988).

- d. *bĩt=karõ* ‘watch; clock’
 sun=image

Noun-Clitic Stems. Clitics of degree – *rɛ* ‘DIM’ and *ti* ‘AUG’– are commonly found in compound nouns, where they may subcategorize the set of referents encoded by formally related words (30.a), or simply be a part of the stem (30.b).

- (30) a. *agre=rɛ* ‘rabo-de-couro (armadillo, sp.)’
agre=ti ‘zumbi (armadillo, sp.)’

ǰep=rɛ ‘vampire bat’
ǰep=ti ‘herbivorous bat’
- b. *tɛp=rõ=rɛ* ‘piabinha (fish, sp.)’
 fish=?=DIM

tɛp=kʌk=ti ‘piabanha (fish, sp.)’
 fish=?=AUG

rɔp=krɔ=rɛ ‘onça (jaguar, sp.)’
 cat=dotted=DIM

tɛp=pɔ=krɔ=ti ‘pacú (fish, sp.)’
 fish=flat.wide=dotted=AUG

Noun-Verb Stems. Compounds consisting of nominal and verbal elements usually include just two roots in a structure reminiscent of clausal predicates, with the nominal

element preceding the verbal one. Clitics of degree may occur, as usual. Some of the resulting stems are descriptive predicators (31).

(31) Descriptives

<i>abak=krɔ</i> ear=rotten	‘stubborn; disrespectful’
<i>apə=ri</i> align.lumber=long	‘be in line’
<i>kə=kagrɔ</i> body=hot	‘have a fever’
<i>krə̃=katɔ</i> head=come.out	‘wake up [SG.S]’
<i>krə̃=apoj</i> head=come.out.PL	‘wake up [PL.S]’
<i>uʔ=č-ə</i> belly=RP-hurt	‘be in labor’
<i>ukrar=krɔ</i> belch=spoiled	‘belch with offensive odor’

Compound nouns also result from the noun-verb combination. Here, the verbal element involved is often a descriptive verb (32.a) or some nonfinite verb form (32.b).

(32) a. <i>kagə̃=to=rɛ</i> snake=sticky=DIM	‘snake (sp)’
<i>kareŋ=pɔ</i> smoking.leaf=flat.wide	‘cannabis’

Noun-Postposition-Noun Stem. Some compounds consist of a postpositional phrase-like construction which is subordinated to a nominal element. In this context, the group headed by the dative postposition indicates purpose.

- (34) $d\sigma = m\tilde{\sigma} = k\check{\sigma}$ 'eyeglasses'
 eye=DAT=frame/jar
 [[dσ m̃] kəč̣]
 [ɪdσm̃'kəč̣]
- $ikra = m\tilde{\sigma} = k\check{\sigma}$ 'ring'
 finger=DAT=frame
 [[ikra m̃] kəč̣]
 [i,kram̃'kəč̣]

Verb-Postposition Stem. Transitive verbs can result from compounding that involves a verb and a postposition, in a very peculiar construction: from a strictly distributional perspective, the verb is apparently subordinated to the postposition; however, the verb form is finite (35).

- (35) $\check{c}a = \tilde{\sigma}$ 'wait for O'
 stand=LOC
 [[č̣a] ̃] (?)

3. Word classes

The present section is about the content and function words of Apinajé: how they categorize and how this categorization is expressed in structural terms, among other things. The discussion is organized in terms of lexical categories and grammatical categories. Lexical categories include nouns, verbs, postpositions and adverbials – mostly open classes (section 3.1). Grammatical categories are pronouns and clitics that encode various grammatical meanings – words that constitute closed classes (section 3.2).

3.1. Lexical categories

The categories Noun, Verb and Postposition share inflectional properties. The same set of person prefixes is employed in the expression of possession, grammatical relations, and postpositional objects. In rare instances, Nouns and Verbs may even display the same derivational morphology. The fluidity that exists among Nouns and Verbs is also noticeable in conversion, fairly common in the language. The similarities between each of these classes and Postpositions is indicative of the diachronic sources of postpositions. The same is partly true for adverbials, some of which may have verbal or nominal sources.

The morphological and semantic properties of the various lexical classes are introduced in what follows.

3.1.1. Nouns

3.1.1.1. Morphosyntactic classes

Nouns in Apinajé are categorized morphosyntactically into alienable, inalienable and ambivalent according to the grammatical pattern employed in the expression of possession. Possession and constituency are the inflectional categories pertinent to nouns.

Inalienable Nouns. One pattern used in the expression of possession is the prefixation of person markers directly to the noun stem. Person prefixes indicate the possessor and the stem refers to the possessum. This pattern defines the set of inalienable nouns.

Semantically, this set mostly includes terms for part-whole relations, such as kinship and body parts. The examples in (36) are illustrative.

In (36.b), a relational prefix occurs between the person prefix and a vowel-initial stem; this morpheme indicates that possessor and possessed elements form a constituent. (36.c) shows that person prefixes are in complementary distribution with a possessor noun phrase. Notice that the relational prefix applies in this context as well (section 4.1.2).

- | | | |
|---------|--------------------------------|----------------|
| (36) a. | <i>a-krẽ</i>
2-head | ‘your head’ |
| | <i>a-bjeɲ</i>
2-husband | ‘your husband’ |
| b. | <i>i-ɲ-õ ʔɔ</i>
1-RP-tongue | ‘my tongue’ |

	<i>i-j-akrõm</i>		‘my husband’
	1-RP-husband		
c.	<i>di</i>	<i>č-učĩ</i>	‘the woman’s spell’
	woman	RP-spell	

Alienable Nouns. Another pattern used in the expression of possession involves the genitive postposition *õ*, which immediately follows the possessor noun or takes a person prefix that refers to it.

(37)	<i>a-j-õ</i>	<i>meõ</i>	‘your food’
	2-RP-GEN	food	
	<i>i-j-õ</i>	<i>rɔp</i>	‘my dog’
	1-RP-GEN	dog	
	<i>Irɛ j-õ</i>	<i>prĩn</i>	‘Iré’s pequis’
	N. RP-GEN	pequi	

The genitive postposition serves as a grammatical mediator between possessor and possessed element, and takes relational marking; notice that the complementary distribution between person prefixes and possessor noun phrases also holds in this context, that is, possessor noun phrases and person prefixes do not co-occur.

This morphosyntactic pattern defines the set of alienable nouns, which include terms for natural phenomena and elements, social roles and positions, among others.

Ō-Noun Stems. The semantics of the formative *ō* refers to ‘inner side’, combining the senses found among Verbs and Nouns. In Nouns, the formative seems to have a more specific meaning, especially among inalienable, body part nouns. Body part nouns constitute the majority of nouns formed with *ō*; here the formative refers to the ‘inner side of the body’. Other related meanings occur with other nouns of this class, including compounds.

(39)			Inflected for 1st person:	
	<i>ōkrε</i>	‘throat’	<i>i-j-ōkrε</i>	< <i>krε</i> ‘orifice’
	<i>ōkrō</i>	‘forehead’	<i>i-j-ōkrō</i>	< <i>krō</i> ‘head’
	<i>ōŋɔ</i>	‘tongue’	<i>i-j-ōŋɔ</i>	
	<i>ōkrεpoj</i>	‘voice’	<i>i-j-ōkrεpoj</i>	
	<i>ōkrεčē</i>	‘necklace’	<i>i-j-ōkrεčē</i>	
	<i>ōkwĩ</i>	‘home’	<i>i-j-ōkwĩ</i>	

I-Noun Stems. Stems with the formative *i-* are body part terms. This formative evolved from a third person prefix attached to a noun which eventually became reanalyzed as part of the noun stem. These are all inalienable nouns that take person and relational prefixes, as any member of the class.

(40)			Inflected for 1st person:
	<i>ibri=kə</i>	‘hunting bag’	<i>i-j-ibrɪkə</i>
	<i>idε</i>	‘cheeks’	<i>i-j-idε</i>
	<i>idwət</i>	‘wrist’	<i>i-j-idwət</i>
	<i>ijū</i>	‘nose’	<i>i-j-ijū</i>

3.1.1.3. Compound Nouns

Compounding is a productive noun formation strategy (section 2.3.6). Compound noun stems necessarily involve noun roots; elements are organized either in a genitive construction-like structure or in a predicate-like structure. The augmentative and diminutive clitics occur word finally. Like all other nouns, they may be categorized as alienable, inalienable or ambivalent, depending on the preferred pattern of inflection (29-30).

3.1.1.4. Derived Nouns

Derivational morphology that creates deverbal nouns includes the phrasal clitics *čǎ* ‘NMLZ.INSTR/LOC’ and *čwəŋ* ‘NMLZ.AG’; the latter is employed in relativization, as a nominalizer of the dependent clause. Nouns derived by these clitics may be based on nonfinite verb stems or on more complex structures, comparable to the compound stems introduced above.

The nominalizer of instrument or location *čǎ* is used with transitive, intransitive, and descriptive verbs. The absolutive argument of the base verb may be expressed as the possessor of the resulting noun (41.a); bases beginning in a vowel must take the relational prefix.

- (41) a. *ic-katɔr=čə* ‘my mother’
 1-get.out.NF=NMLZ.LOC
- a-ŋ-ipeč=čə* ‘your father’
 2-RP=make=NMLZ.INSTR
- b. *pok=čə* ‘firing cap’
 ignite=NMLZ.INSTR
- atkatɪ=čə* ‘loincloth’
 cover=NMLZ.INSTR

The nominalizer *čwəŋ* applies to transitive and intransitive verbs. Nouns derived by it designate agents regardless of the valency of the base verb; the accusative argument of a transitive base is usually present, and the agent is typically understood as referential/definite. There may be incorporation of the base-verb object into the newly formed lexeme (42.b).

- (42) a. *brɪ=čwəŋ* ‘hunter’
 hunt=NMLZ.AG
- b. *kawə=ŋ-ipeč=čwəŋ* ‘basket-weaver’
 basket=RP-make=NMLZ.AG

The morpheme *čwəŋ* is also employed in nominalizations involving the genitive postposition *ə*. The clitic encodes what would be the possessum in this genitive-like construction (43).

- (43) *ipok=jɫ-ð=čwəɲ* ‘people from the center [social organization]’
 core=RP-GEN=NMLZ
- go=jɫ-ð=čwəɲ* ‘water creature’
 water=RP-GEN=NMLZ
- grɛr=jɫ-ð=čwəɲ* ‘singer’ (“one that belongs to singing”)
 dance/sing.NF=RP-GEN=NMLZ

In all above cases, primary word stress falls on the nominalizer.

One set of nouns includes prefixes that occur more productively in verbs, namely, the middle prefixes (*a-*, *aw-*, *am-*; see section 3.1.2.4). When attached to verbs, these prefixes typically result in detransitivization of the base. A similar result holds with nouns, in that the valency of the noun may also be reduced: inalienable nouns become alienable after the derivation (44.a). There is one instance in which the opposite is true, with the derivation departing from an alienable noun (44.b). Other cases involve the use of verbal roots as bases, a role that may be performed by transitive, intransitive or descriptive verbs (44.c-d). Sequences of morphemes belonging to the “middle inventory,” such as *aw-* and *am-*, apply to these verbal bases for noun derivation.

- (44) a. *akro* ‘vine; shrub (AL)’
-kro ‘vine; shrub (INAL)’
- akrɛ* ‘hole (AL)’
-krɛ ‘orifice; hole (INAL)’
- akunĩ* ‘closed jungle (AL)’
-kunĩ ‘all (INAL)’
- b. *-ago* ‘saliva; drool (INAL)’
go ‘water (AL)’

c.	<i>abak</i>	‘ear’
	<i>ba</i>	‘hear; know; fear’ (TR)
	<i>agreri</i>	‘prayer’
	<i>grer</i>	‘sing.NF’ (INTR)
d.	<i>amgrΛ</i>	‘drought; dry season’
	<i>grΛ</i>	‘dry’ (DSCR)
	<i>awrɛwrɛk</i>	‘gully’
	<i>rɛrɛk</i>	‘soft’ (DSCR)

Finally, the other derivational strategy commonly used in the formation of nouns is conversion, based either on finite or nonfinite verb forms ((26); section 2.3.4).

Reduplication is employed as a marginal strategy in the formation of noun stems (25).

3.1.2. Verbs

Apinajé verbs inflect for person, constituency and nonfiniteness. Like Nouns, Verbs are grouped into classes according to the inflectional patterns they follow. Unlike Nouns, Verbs also form subclasses according to the formatives that constitute part of their stems. This subclassification may result in purely morphological verb classes or it may result in morpho-semantic verb classes, depending on the semantic value of the formatives involved. In addition, Apinajé presents pairs of verb stems that are complementary with respect to the category of number, among other semantic properties.

3.1.2.1. Morphosyntactic classes

Verbs fall into three major classes depending on the way they pattern for person inflection in main clauses. Bivalent and trivalent verbs inflect for person, with the person prefix encoding O. Some monovalent verbs inflect for person, with the prefix encoding S, while others do not inflect for person at all. Monovalent verbs belonging to the former set typically describe states; those belonging to the latter, activities and events. That is, the morphosyntactic split existing among monovalent verbs corresponds, by and large, to semantic classes as well.

The three major classes revealed by these inflectional patterns are those of transitive verbs (45.a), descriptive verbs (45.b) and intransitive verbs (45.c).⁶

(45) a.	<i>pĩ</i>	‘kill’
	<i>ic-pĩ</i>	‘kill me’
	<i>a-pĩ</i>	‘kill you’
	<i>ku-pĩ</i>	‘kill it’
b.	<i>akrĩ</i>	‘cold’
	<i>i-j-akrĩ</i>	‘I’m cold’
	<i>a-j-akrĩ</i>	‘you are cold’
c.	<i>čã</i>	‘stand’
	* <i>ic-čã</i>	
	* <i>a-čã</i>	
	* <i>ku-čã</i>	

⁶ Throughout this dissertation I will use the term *descriptive verb* to refer to “stative intransitive” or “unaccusative” verbs; and the term *intransitive verb* to refer to “active intransitive” or “unergative” verbs. By doing so, I will be following the traditional terminology of the South American literature on Macro-Jê languages.

The split intransitivity that characterizes the verbal system in main clauses is neutralized in dependent clauses, where verbs take on a nonfinite form. Under these conditions, verbs belonging to the class of intransitives also take person inflection, thus following the same pattern as descriptives (46.a-c).

(46) a.	<i>pĩ-r</i>	‘kill.NF’
	<i>ic-pĩr</i>	‘kill.NF me’
	<i>a-pĩr</i>	‘kill.NF you’
b.	<i>akri</i>	‘cold.NF’
	<i>i-j-akri</i>	‘I cold.NF’
	<i>a-j-akri</i>	‘you cold.NF’
c.	<i>əm</i>	‘stand.NF’
	<i>ic-č-əm</i>	‘I stand.NF’
	<i>a-č-əm</i>	‘you stand.NF’

Details about occurrence restrictions on person markers in finite and nonfinite verb forms are given in section 4.1.

3.1.2.2. Morpho-semantic classes

Verb stems may also constitute morpho-semantic classes that correspond to the occurrence of formatives. Some formatives present fairly clear semantic content, while others are semantically empty. Recall that formatives are not any type of productive

derivational or inflectional morphology; instead, they are frozen forms that appear recurrently in lexical categories.

From a historical viewpoint, some formatives have evolved from third-person morphemes which have been reanalyzed as part of the stem; others must have evolved from nouns; while still others may have been derivational morphology at an earlier stage in the history of the language. These morpho-semantic verb classes and the formatives that motivate them are discussed next.

***Ka-* Verb Stems.** The formative *ka-* appears in transitive and descriptive verb stems, with *ka-*transitives constituting the largest semantically transparent class in the database. To some extent, the formative *ka-* operates as an index of “classificatory stem,” in the sense that (transitive) verbs containing this formative always refer to physical contact or manipulation (47).

(47)	<i>kaʔe</i>	‘confine; dam; obstruct’
	<i>kaʔek</i>	‘chop [wood]’
	<i>kaʔõ</i>	‘wash [soft or granulated O]’
	<i>kaʔukʷ</i>	‘grind; pound’
	<i>kačər</i>	‘pull out’
	<i>kačõ</i>	‘tear; rip’
	<i>kagə</i>	‘make marks on O; write on O’
	<i>kagõ</i>	‘squeeze to extract liquid’
	<i>kajě</i>	‘capture with trap; entwine, entangle’
	<i>kajor</i>	‘sting; pierce’
	<i>kake</i>	‘pinch’

<i>kaki</i>	‘taste o’
<i>kakje</i>	‘scratch with cutting instrument; mark with fine lines’
<i>kakre</i>	‘scratch with claws or nails’
<i>kakwə</i>	‘dig; poke’
<i>kakwrə</i>	‘mince’
<i>kaʔo</i>	‘suck the juice out of a fruit’
<i>kapa</i>	‘extract; pull out’
<i>kapi</i>	‘pick; select; choose’
<i>kapĩ</i>	‘spread; spill; throw away’
<i>kapõ</i>	‘sweep’
<i>kapreprek</i>	‘spank’
<i>karə</i>	‘soothe’
<i>kare</i>	‘hoe’
<i>kati</i>	‘cover’
<i>kate</i>	‘break into pieces; shatter’
<i>katpre</i>	‘fasten’
<i>katwə</i>	‘pound’
<i>kawrə</i>	‘gather; harvest’

It is also possible to recognize certain independent verb roots in these stems, such as *kje* ‘drag; pull’, *o* ‘suck’, *re* ‘cross [e.g. a river]’, and *preprek* ‘fast’. While the meanings found in the overall set are already a good indication of the semantic value of the formative *ka-*, the meanings of the related roots support the analysis of ‘physical contact or manipulation’ (48).

(48)	<i>kje</i>	‘drag; pull’	<i>kakje</i>	‘scratch’
	<i>o</i>	‘suck’	<i>kaʔo</i>	‘suck out of fruit’
	<i>preprek</i>	‘fast’	<i>kapreprek</i>	‘spank’
	<i>re</i>	‘cross [e.g. a river]’	<i>kare</i>	‘hoe’

Transitive *ka-* stems constitute a morpho-semantic class. These verbs do not present any morphological or syntactic idiosyncrasies, behaving just like any other regular transitive verb.

In descriptive verbs, the formative *ka-* is less transparent semantically (49), even though it is easier to find independent roots related to these descriptives than to *ka-* transitives (50).

(49)	<i>ka ʔi</i>		‘become thin [of hair]; fall [of long fibers]’	
	<i>kabrek</i>		‘be red’	
	<i>kabro</i>		‘menstruate’	
	<i>kaga</i>		‘refuse’	
	<i>kagrɔ</i>		‘be hot; heat up’	
	<i>kaprə</i>		‘be or become empty’	
	<i>kaprĩ</i>		‘be sad; mourn’	
	<i>karər</i>		‘be blond’	
	<i>karõrõr</i>		‘snore [of pigs]’	
	<i>karot</i>		‘be frizzly; be tightly curled’	
	<i>katɔ</i>		‘exit; leave’	
	<i>katət</i>		‘be straight’	
	<i>katkrɨ</i>		‘be light [of weight]’	
(50)	<i>ʔi</i>	‘be skinny’	<i>ka ʔi</i>	‘be thinning [of hair]’
	<i>grɔ</i>	‘bake; roast’	<i>kagrɔ</i>	‘be hot’
	<i>rərər</i>	‘be yellow’	<i>karər</i>	‘be blond’
	<i>prẽ</i>	‘remain; stay behind’	<i>kaprə</i>	‘be empty’

One observation about the set in (49) is that it includes a number of “hair-related” terms. It also seems, on the basis of the semantic content of the roots listed above, that *ka-* operates as an overt index of state or change-of-state in these cases. This hypothesis

seems to apply beyond *kagrɔ* ‘be(come) hot’, *kaʔi* ‘be(come) thin’, and *kaprĩ* ‘be(come) sad’ (which could possibly be explained in metaphorical terms: *ka-* ‘become’ + *prĩ* ‘short’), since some of these verbs already indicate state, as is the case with *karɔr* ‘be blond’. In the case of *kaprɔ*, it seems it could relate to *prɛ̃* in the following way: *prɛ̃* focuses on the thing that has been left behind after everything else was gone, whereas *kaprɔ* focuses on the space left after everything else has gone (for vowel alternations in Apinajé see section 2.3.2). This is just a speculation, however; more systematic evidence must be sought in historical-comparative analyses.

Members of the descriptive *ka-* class constitute more of a morphological than a semantic class, in that they share the same formative *ka-* with transitives but with no transparent semantic value in common. In any case, *ka-*descriptives do not display any morphological idiosyncrasies.

Because of the remaining semantic content of the formative *ka-*, I would hypothesize that this formative must have evolved from a derivational morpheme.

U- Verb Stems. The class of verb stems taking the stem-initial formative *u-* may be divided into two subclasses on the basis of the relational prefix that they take, which may be either *p-* or *c̣-* (see section 4.1.2).

- (51) a. *ude* *p-ǐde* ‘capture; seize; imprison’
 uba *p-ǐba* ‘fear’
- b. *umče* *č-umče* ‘hold with both arms; hug’
 ujaprə *č-ujaprə* ‘slander’

The first subclass to be examined is that taking the prefix *p-*. For certain members of this subclass, the formative *u-* displays its phonological variant *ǐ*, which occurs in the context of the relational prefix (52.a). A second set takes the vowel *ɔ* in non-relational prefix contexts, while maintaining the *u-* intact with the prefix *p-* (52.b).

- (52) a. *ude* *p-ǐde* ‘capture; seize; imprison’
 uba *p-ǐba* ‘fear’
 urak *p-ǐrak* ‘act like O; behave as O’
 utA *p-ǐtA* ‘help; assist’
 utĩ *p-ǐtĩ* ‘heavy’
- b. *ɔmduj* *p-u-duj* ‘bad; ugly’
 ɔbu *p-u-bu* ‘see’

Base roots present in some of the preceding stems are identifiable; these include *de* ‘take from’, *ba* ‘be scared’, *duj* ‘bad’. The semantic trait that unites these forms is unclear, especially because the base roots have meanings very similar to the derived ones. One property that is more systematic, which is actually a morphosyntactic one, is the tendency for these verbs to employ noncanonical argument marking (for patterns and details see section IV.3). That is true of the verbs *ude*, *uba*, *urak*, and *utA*, in (52). Two of

the remaining verbs are descriptives, and one is a canonical transitive. Thus, this set of *u*-verbs constitutes more of a morphosyntactic than a semantic class.

The second subset of *u*-verbs takes the palatal relational prefix *č̣*- (53). In example (53.b), an anomalous alternation is noted for both the relational prefix and the formative *u*- itself: the formative is nasalized, and the relational prefix is the palatal nasal *ɲ*-. Verbs belonging in this class are transitives and descriptives; among them, *ũrɛ* requires non-canonical argument-marking.

(53) a.	<i>uʃwə</i>	<i>č̣-uʃwə</i>	‘place [pl] O right-side up on flat surface’
	<i>ukapi</i>	<i>č̣-ukapi</i>	‘choose; select; meet for the first time’
	<i>ukrarkrə</i>	<i>č̣-ukrarkrə</i>	‘belch’
	<i>umčē</i>	<i>č̣-umčē</i>	‘hold with the arms; embrace’
	<i>umĩ</i>	<i>č̣-umĩ</i>	‘bury with hot stones so as to bake’
	<i>upəm</i>	<i>č̣-upəm</i>	‘deep’
	<i>upr̃r̃ə</i>	<i>č̣-upr̃r̃ə</i>	‘stubborn; uptight’
	<i>uwapo</i>	<i>č̣-uwapo</i>	‘serene; placid’
b.	<i>ũrɛ</i>	<i>ɲ-ũ-rɛ</i>	‘cease consideration of O; terminate an association with O’

This second subclass of *u*-verbs gives no better clues to its semantic ties than the first one. Only two separable roots have been identified for this set, namely, *pr̃r̃* ‘provoke; tease; annoy’ and *rɛ* ‘abandon; depart’. Based on the first root, *pr̃r̃*, one hypothesis would be that *u*- has a detransitivizing function, with a focus on the agent, and

that it must have evolved historically from a derivational morpheme. However, more synchronic and historical data would be necessary to refine and sustain this hypothesis.

From a historical perspective, there must have been two different sources for the present-day formative *u-*, and the different choices for relational prefixes reflect that. Another possibility is, conversely, that the present-day prefix *p-* evolved historically from a distinct source and became reanalyzed and standardized into one of the relational markers, while the formative *u-* was one and the same in either context. The fact that not all *u-* initial stems may take *p-* could be explained if the historical source of this pseudo-relational prefix *p-* had been a derivational morpheme, in which case it would have been semi-productive, as is typical of derivational morphology.

***Ku-* Verb Stems.** *Ku-* verbs constitute a morphological class only, since the semantics that unites verbs in this set is opaque. In general, though, the semantics characteristic of the *ku-* verb set seems to focus on movement or direct contact against a surface. For instance, in order to wash a firm object, such as a table or one's body, one might think of rubbing a brush or soap against the surface of that object; in the seemingly more problematic case of *kukwə* 'break hard-shelled nuts', as compared with *kakwə* 'dig; poke', the action again affects the surface of the item being broken, and so on. *Ku-* verbs are mostly transitives (although there are a few exceptions), and they do not display any structural idiosyncrasies.

(54)	<i>kuʔe</i>	‘stand [pl.S]’
	<i>kumrǝ̃</i>	‘bathe O’
	<i>kuʔǝ̃</i>	‘wash firm O’
	<i>kučǝ̃</i>	‘peel’
	<i>kučǝ̃t</i>	‘roast [small food items, e.g. little fish]’
	<i>kugǝ̃</i>	‘burn hair or skin [of game]’
	<i>kuke</i>	‘remove scales or skin [from fish/game]’
	<i>kukǝ̃</i>	‘break into pieces’
	<i>kukja</i>	‘inquire’
	<i>kukǝ̃</i>	‘rub some substance on a surface; massage’
	<i>kukwǝ̃</i>	‘break hard-shelled nuts [e.g. coconut, babačú, etc.]’
	<i>kupaw</i>	‘make a mistake; miss [a target]’
	<i>kupe</i>	‘touch; mess with’
	<i>kupu</i>	‘wrap; involve [usu. inanimate] O in leaves, cloth, or paper’
	<i>kura</i>	‘beat; punch; break’
	<i>kure</i>	‘deny; renegade’
	<i>kurǝ̃</i>	‘be sexually aroused; horny’
	<i>kutǝ̃</i>	‘murky; dirty’
	<i>kutep</i>	‘being left behind; stand and wait’

The examples in (55) show some *ku-* stems compared with other, semantically related classificatory stems of the *ka-* class.

(55)	<i>kuʔǝ̃</i>	‘wash hard objects’	<i>kaʔǝ̃</i>	‘wash soft objects’
	<i>kučǝ̃</i>	‘peel’	<i>kačǝ̃</i>	‘tear; rip’
	<i>kugǝ̃</i>	‘burn hair or skin’	<i>kagǝ̃</i>	‘make marks’
	<i>kuke</i>	‘remove scales or skin’	<i>kake</i>	‘pinch’
	<i>kukwǝ̃</i>	‘break hard-shell nuts’	<i>kakwǝ̃</i>	‘dig; poke’

The fact that there are *ka-* counterparts to some *ku-* verbs is worthy of notice, as it gives us some indication of the semantics of the class. A hypothesis about the formative *ku-* is that it may have started out as the third person prefix (section 4.1.1), which

eventually got reanalysed as part of the stem. If that is true, then the semantic value of the *ku-* stems would be the same as the very root that served as a base, whereas the *ka-* stem would change based on the addition of the meaning of *ka-* as a derivational morpheme.

I- Verb Stems. Verb stems belonging to this class do not display much semantic transparency. Base roots identified for these stems are *gr̃gr̃* ‘be green (reduplicated)’ and *tæ̃* ‘be hard; robust’. Verbs of the *i-* class include mostly descriptives and transitives, such that there is a preference for absolutive person marking on stems from this set.

Like the *ku-* formative discussed above, it is possible that the *i-* observed in these verbs may have started out as a third person prefix which became reanalyzed as part of the stem. Additionally, as with the *ō-* formative described above, this morphological pattern is also observable in a large number of nominal stems.

- (56) *ibē̃* ‘exterminate; kill [PL] O’ [TR]
igō̃ ‘push [O]’
igrō̃ ‘sprout from a branch’ [DSCR]
igrō̃t ‘sprout from the ground’
iŋə̃jē̃ ‘be strong’ [DSCR]
ikrī̃ ‘be curly’
ikwī̃ ‘lie flat’
ipeē̃ ‘make O’

<i>iprɔr</i>	‘cut O in strands or chunks [of meat]’
<i>irǝ</i>	‘watch from above’ [see ‘shore; bank’]
<i>irɔt</i>	‘be weak; exhausted; fatigued’

***Ǟ-* Verb Stems.** *Ǟ*-verbs constitute a fairly transparent semantic class. The morpheme *ǝ*-refers to the inner side of the body, as may be seen in most examples of the set (57). The meaning of this classificatory morpheme becomes most obvious when it occurs with nouns, which form a much larger *ǝ*-class than verbs. These verbs, as well as the nouns, take the relational prefix *ɟ*-. Of the verbs below, the first three are descriptive; the fourth is a transitive, and the last is an intransitive.

(57)	<i>ǝc̣wa</i>	‘be sleepy’
	<i>ǝjaĩri</i>	‘vomit’
	<i>ǝpatpat</i>	‘feel nauseous’
	<i>ǝpok</i>	‘gut O; rip O’
	<i>ǝptɛ</i>	‘tumble, roll end over end; throw oneself into water or on ground’

***Pia-* Verb Stems.** *Pia*-verbs also have to do with the body, and make more sense if *pia*-is thought of as a nominal component. Of the base roots occurring with these verbs, at least two are clearly identifiable: *o* ‘suck’ and *gri* ‘be small’. It is possible that *ɛm* is a nonfinite form of such a movement verb as ‘enter’ (in which case the meaning

‘embarrassed’ would call for a metaphorical interpretation), except that in that case, one would expect the relational prefix \check{c} -, which does not occur.

Piagri ‘give birth’ is coherent with the semantic analysis *pia+gri* ‘body/womb+be small’ (which is definitely the case as one gives birth!); this analysis is supported by the morphological pattern for person inflection as well as the classification of the verb as a descriptive. *Piao* is also coherent in both semantic and morphosyntactic terms: *pia+o* ‘body+suck’, from the perspective of the child, should not require person marking on the stem, since the body belongs to the mother. Accordingly, *piao* is an intransitive verb (section 3.1.2.1).

(58)	<i>piao</i>	‘nurse (on mother’s breast)’	< <i>ʔo</i> ‘drink; suck’
	<i>piagri</i>	‘give birth’	< <i>gri</i> ‘be small’
	<i>piaəm</i>	‘be shy/embarrassed’	< <i>əm</i> ‘stand.NF’ (?)

***Krǽ* Verb Stems.** *Krǽ*-verbs also include a nominal component. The morpheme *krǽ*, which may mean ‘head’, also encodes the more general notions of ‘spherical object; nugget; chunk’. The verb stems in which it occurs, below, are verbs of cutting which imply that a chunk falls off in the process. *Krǽ*-verbs form a semantic class and display no idiosyncratic behavior.

(59)	<i>krǽʔir</i>	‘cut; trim [of hair]’	
	<i>krǽʔta</i>	‘cut off; chop off’	< <i>ta</i> ‘cut’

Verb stems belonging to this class seem more like instances of noun incorporation, since *kr̃* is a full-fledged noun of Apinajé. And if this hypothesis is correct, it would suit *ō*- verbs and *pia*- verbs equally well; however, there are no occurrences of *ō* and *pia* as regular noun roots in the database.

The next possibility, then, is that *ō*- and *pia*- verbs must have evolved *historically* from a noun-incorporation structure, with the incorporated noun later becoming reanalyzed as a frozen part of the stem (and disappearing from the language, elsewhere). One problem with this hypothesis is that no traits of relational prefixes can be observed in *ō*-, *pia*- and *kr̃*- stems whose roots begin in a vowel. Relational prefixes would certainly occur in this context, if noun incorporation had in fact applied.

3.1.2.3. Lexical pairs

Plural Stems vs. NonPlural Stems. Apinajé displays verb pairs which encode basically the same semantics, but contrast in the number of the absolutive argument. The contrast seems to lie in a distinction between plural, on the one hand, and singular, dual, or mass absolutives (termed here “non-plural”), on the other. Both bivalent verbs and monovalent verbs may have such pairs; in the case of monovalents, each member of the pair may come from a distinct class – intransitive and descriptive. Most such monovalent verb

pairs consist of movement and position verbs (60). Transitive verb pairs include a broader range of meanings, from position manipulation to ingestion, to killing (61).

(60) a. Descriptives:

PL	NON-PL		
<i>kuʔe</i>	<i>ča</i>	‘stand in vertical position’	DSCR-INTR
<i>ikwĩ</i>	<i>nõ</i>	‘lie in flat, horizontal position.’	DSCR-INTR
<i>krĩ</i>	<i>ɟĩ</i>	‘sit; be seated’	DSCR-INTR
<i>apoj</i>	<i>katɔ</i>	‘leave; exit’	DSCR-DSCR

b. Intransitives:

PL	NON-PL		
<i>agje</i>	<i>ačə</i>	‘enter’	INTR-INTR
<i>bra</i>	<i>tẽ</i>	‘go’	INTR-INTR
<i>bra</i>	<i>mõ</i>	‘go (wandering)’	INTR-INTR

(61) Transitives:

PL	NON-PL	
<i>gje</i>	<i>ə</i>	‘place O into a deep container; help oneself to food’
<i>rẽ</i>	<i>mẽ</i>	‘throw O; help oneself to food’
<i>ũʃwə</i>	<i>əm</i>	‘place [concave] O right-side up on a flat surface’
<i>ačwə</i>	<i>i</i>	‘place [non-concave] O flat; place [concave] O upside down’
<i>ku</i>	<i>krẽ</i>	‘eat’ [diversified O vs. unitary O] [eat vs. swallow]
<i>ĩbɛč</i>	<i>pĩ</i>	‘kill; exterminate’

The pair *ku/krẽ* encodes an interesting distinction: here, the contrast is not so much in quantity, but whether the absolutive argument consumes a diversified meal, consisting of servings of different foods (*ku*); or whether the participant ingests food of a single kind, regardless of the quantity or number (*krẽ*). Additionally, there is an independent distinction between these two stems, with the possibility of *krẽ* indicating a more perfective action, ‘swallow’, in some contexts, whereas *ku* is unmarked for that distinction.

The items *tẽ/mõ* contrast with *bra* in terms of absolutive number: *bra* typically refers to a large number of persons walking together, wandering. On the other hand, *tẽ* ‘go’ and *mõ* ‘go (wandering)’ also contrast, the former indicating straightforward displacement, and the latter indicating a more slow-paced, maybe wandering, motion. Both *tẽ* and *mõ* may occur in the non-singular, the number category then being indicated by the particles *wa* and *mɛ* (section 3.2.2.5). However, the stem *bra* seems less flexible in this respect: apparently, it refers necessarily to a collective band.

3.1.2.4. Derived verbs

Intransitive a(C)- Verb Stems. The inventory of Apinajé intransitive verbs includes a large number of stems beginning with the vowel *a-*, usually with a following consonant, as in *at-*, *aʔ-*, *ap-*; or glide, as in the sequence *aw-*, which consists of the detransitivizing morpheme *a-* plus the formative *u-* (section 3.1.2.2). For convenience, I refer to these

collectively as “middle prefixes” (see section 2.3.1). These are often prefixed to transitive verb stems, although they may occasionally appear in descriptive stems, as will be seen. The prefixed forms vary slightly, but their distribution is not phonologically determined, as different prefixes may occur in the same environments. Instead, the differences in shape indicate distinct meanings, despite the fact that all of them derive intransitive stems.

Verbs derived with *a-* create anticausative counterparts to their simple transitive causative stems. Verbs derived with *at-* encode middle voice; and verbs derived with *aʔ-*, *ap-*, and *a-w-*, have either generic or impersonal patient semantics.

(62) Intransitive		Transitive	
<i>a-gje</i>	‘go [PL] in’	<i>gje</i>	‘place [PL. O] into deep recipient’
<i>at-kačo</i>	‘tear; rip’	<i>kačo</i>	‘tear O.; rip O’
<i>at-kapĩ</i>	‘pour; drip; spill’	<i>kapĩ</i>	‘spill O’ throw O away’
<i>at-katε</i>	‘shatter; break into pieces’	<i>katε</i>	‘shatter O’
<i>at-kukẽ</i>	‘break into pieces’	<i>kukẽ</i>	‘break [long O] into pieces’
<i>at-kwĩr</i>	‘break [limb]’	<i>kwĩr</i>	‘break [limb] partially’
<i>at-kje</i>	‘separate; go apart; divide’	<i>kje</i>	‘drag O; pull O’
<i>at-pǝ</i>	‘get intoxicated’	<i>pǝ</i>	‘smell O’
<i>aʔ-kapi</i>	‘browse’	<i>kapi</i>	‘choose O; select O’
<i>ap-ku</i>	‘eat’	<i>ku</i>	‘eat O’
<i>aw-j-ačǝ</i>	‘sow; plant’	<i>ačǝ</i>	‘sow O; plant O’
<i>aw-j-ako</i>	‘smoke’	<i>ako</i>	‘smoke O’
<i>aw-j-apro</i>	‘go shopping’	<i>apro</i>	‘buy O’
<i>aw-j-arẽ</i>	‘tell tales’	<i>arẽ</i>	‘tell O’

The segment sequence *aw-* seems to consist of two morphemes, which becomes obvious in the nonfinite forms of verbs (section 4.3.1) in which they occur: in such cases, the detransitivizing prefix *a-* is removed, the morph *u-* is retained and the stem then requires the relational prefix *č-* (63).

(63)	Finite		Nonfinite	
	<i>aw-j-ačə</i>	‘sow; plant’	<i>č-u-j-ačə</i>	‘sow; plant’
	<i>aw-j-ako</i>	‘smoke’	<i>č-u-j-ako</i>	‘smoke’
	<i>aw-j-apro</i>	‘go shopping’	<i>č-u-j-apro</i>	‘go shopping’
	<i>aw-j-arě</i>	‘tell tales’	<i>č-u-j-arěŋ</i>	‘tell tales’

This two-morpheme analysis seems more appropriate as a historical hypothesis, however, with the nonfinite stem being actually a suppletive form, since it is not possible to specify what the semantic value or morphosyntactic function of *u-* would be, synchronically. Notice that it does not even display the same morphological behavior as that of stems beginning with the formative *u-* (section 3.1.2.2).

While it is true that the sequence *aw-* occurs mostly with transitive stems beginning in /a/, its distribution is not so limited. *Aw-* also appears on two consonant-initial bases: the descriptive stems *kagrɔ* ‘be hot’ and *rɪ* ‘be long’. The other descriptive stem with which *aw-* occurs is *akrɪ* ‘cold’. The semantics of *aw-* in these forms appears to conform to that observed in transitive stems, i.e. the patient — here the sole argument — takes generic or impersonal semantics. If, on the one hand, each morpheme *a-* and *u-* has its own particular function, on the other, they must occur in combination in order to

convey the meaning observed in the examples, the nonfinite formal changes notwithstanding.

(64)	Intransitives: Finite forms		Descriptives: Finite forms	
	<i>aw-j-akri</i>	‘cool down [of weather]’	<i>akri</i>	‘cold’
	<i>aw-kagrɔ</i>	‘warm up [of weather]’	<i>kagrɔ</i>	‘hot’
	<i>aw-ri</i>	‘far’	<i>ri</i>	‘long’

Certain intransitive stems beginning in *a-* do not have a transitive or descriptive counterpart. However, in nonfinite forms, *a-* is replaced with *pi-*, which makes *a-* segmentable and comparable to the forms introduced in (62-64). Some of these verbs may undergo vowel deletion and resyllabification in their nonfinite form (see section 4.1.3. for further details).

(65)	Intransitive		
	Finite	Nonfinite	
	<i>a-kuřa</i>	<i>pi-kuřa-r</i>	‘laugh’
	<i>a-kuprõ</i>	<i>pi-kuprõ</i>	‘gather’
	<i>a-kudɔ[k]</i>	<i>pi-kudɔ</i>	‘disappear; get lost’
	<i>a-nipa</i>	<i>pi-nipa</i>	‘switch; run around aimlessly’
	<i>a-pɔ</i>	<i>pi-pɔ</i>	‘stand parallel to s.t.’
	<i>a-mřti</i>	<i>pi-mti-r</i>	‘dream’
	<i>a-muču</i>	<i>pi-mču-r</i>	‘hide’

Other intransitives that also lack a descriptive or transitive counterpart are verbs whose nonfinite forms retain the marker *a-*, instead of substituting for *pi-*. Deletion and resyllabification may apply here as well.

(66)	Intransitive		
	Finite	Nonfinite	
	<i>ape</i>	<i>j-apeŋ</i>	‘work’
	<i>apeč̣</i>	<i>j-apeč̣</i>	‘end’
	<i>am̄ra</i>	<i>j-amra</i>	‘scream; utter inarticulately’

Descriptive a(C)- Verb Stems. Besides intransitives, some descriptive verbs also take the prefix *a-*. Their counterparts include intransitives and noncanonical monovalent verbs (section IV.2.3). One of the examples appears to have a noun root as its counterpart; in another example the shape of the prefix is *ə-*, not *a-*, and the counterpart is a denominal transitive verb.

(67)	Descriptive		Counterparts
	<i>aba</i>	‘feel; ponder; meditate’	<i>m̄ba</i> ‘fear <v>’
	<i>akri</i>	‘be [physically] cold’	<i>m̄kri</i> ‘feel cold’
	<i>apoj</i>	‘leave; depart [PL.S]’	<i>poj</i> ‘arrive [PL.S]’
	<i>apə</i>	‘align lumber together’	<i>pə</i> ‘forest; the woods’
	<i>apəri</i>	‘be in line’	<i>ri</i> ‘long’
	<i>əkre</i>	‘plant; sow’	<i>kre</i> ‘plant o’

(70) Intransitive Finite	Nonfinite		Counterpart	
<i>itkõ</i>	<i>kõm</i>	‘drink’	<i>mõko</i> ⁷	‘be thirsty’
<i>itkwə</i>	<i>kwər</i>	‘defecate’		
<i>itpe</i>	<i>pek</i>	‘fart’		
<i>iʔtu</i>	<i>tur</i>	‘urinate’		

Resultative verbs. Resultative verbs are a subset of descriptives which derive from the nonfinite form of certain transitive verbs. Although nonfinite forms are productive, it seems that only some of these serve as bases for resultatives. In addition, morphology that would otherwise apply to specific formal classes of intransitives may occur in verbs outside that membership, for the purpose of resultative-verb formation (72).

In the examples below, (71.a) illustrates nonfinite formation with the consonant suffix, and (71.b) shows the replacement of *aC-* with *pi-*, along with suffixation. (71.c) is an instance of deletion, also common in nonfinite formation, although morphs that delete elsewhere are either *aC-*, *iC-*, or the first segment of verbs, and never a syllable of like /kat/. (71.d) is an instance of nonfinite formation with no change in the base.

In (72), on the other hand, the prefix *pi-* applies to verbs that do not begin in *aC-*, an uncommon fact elsewhere. One more anomaly, in comparing resultatives with other instances of nonfinite forms, is that a word-final *-i* attaches to some forms (71.a); this does not happen elsewhere.

⁷ The pattern of argument marking for this monovalent predicator is S-*mõko*. See section IV.3.3.2.

(71) Resultative (nonfinite)	Counterpart			
a.	<i>akə-r</i>	‘trimmed’	<i>akə</i>	‘cut O; trim O’
	<i>kapō-ŋ</i>	‘swept’	<i>kapō</i>	‘sweep O’
	<i>ire-ŋ-i</i>	‘sliced; cut’	<i>ire</i>	‘cut soft O’
b.	<i>pī-grə-ŋ</i>	‘scattered’	<i>aj-grə</i>	‘scatter’
	<i>pi-kukē-ŋ</i>	‘broken’	<i>at-kukē</i>	‘break O into pieces’
	<i>pi-kwĩ-ŋ</i>	‘broken’	<i>at-kwĩr</i>	‘break [a limb or extension]’
c.	<i>prɛ</i>	‘tied up’	<i>kat-prɛ</i>	‘tie O; fasten O’
d.	<i>jae</i>	‘bushy’	<i>jae</i>	‘scare O off; send O away’
(72) Resultative (nonfinite)	Counterpart			
	<i>pi-kaʔek</i>	‘broken’	<i>kaʔek</i>	‘break O into large pieces; chop [wood]’
	<i>pi-kačō-ŋ</i>	‘torn’	<i>kačō</i>	‘tear O; rip O’

Causative verbs. Some descriptive and intransitive verb stems may be used as transitives with causative semantics, with no overt marking in the verb to indicate the alternation.

(73) Descriptive	Transitive		
<i>tik</i>	‘be dirty’	<i>tik</i>	‘make O dirty’
<i>pɔ</i>	‘be flat’	<i>pɔ</i>	‘wreck O; dent O’
<i>ae</i>	‘be bushy (of hair)’	<i>ae</i>	‘scare O off; send O away’
<i>kapri</i>	‘be empty; skinny’	<i>kapri</i>	‘empty O’
<i>ɔmdu</i>	‘go bad; get spoiled’	<i>ɔmdu</i>	‘spoil O’

<i>grə</i>	‘be dry’	<i>grə</i>	‘roast [farinha] on a flat surface’
<i>kəkɔ</i>	‘make a sound’	<i>kəkɔ</i>	‘play [an instrument]’
Intransitive		Transitive	
<i>ačə</i>	‘enter’	<i>ačə</i>	‘put on [clothes]; bring O in’

Labile verb. The difference between causative verbs and labile verbs is that in the case of the latter, the participant that is affected is still the same. The example in (74) is the one instance in the database where the subject is an experiencer in both uses of the verb.

(74) Descriptive		Transitive	
<i>kaprĩ</i>	‘be sad’	<i>kaprĩ</i>	‘take pity on O; mourn O’

Denominal Verb Stems. Nouns can serve as bases for the creation of transitive, intransitive, and descriptive verb stems. Common strategies for denominal verb formation are conversion, vowel alternation, and prefixation of *a-* (see section 2.3).

Compound Verb Stems. Descriptive and transitive verbs may be compound stems consisting of combinations of a verbal root and a nominal root, or a verbal root and a locative postposition (section 2.3).

Reduplication Verb Stems. Reduplication is frequently employed in the creation of descriptives (details in section 2.3).

3.1.3. Postpositions

Postpositions constitute a (rather large) closed class in Apinajé. Postpositions occur postposed to their object noun phrase or, in the absence of an overt dependent noun phrase, they inflect for person in the same way as Verbs and Nouns. The set of person prefixes used is the same for all three lexical categories, as is the complementary distribution between prefixes and noun phrases.

The fact that Postposition is viewed here as a lexical category might seem at odds with the fact that postpositions are function words. However, even though a clear set of standard postpositions (monosyllabic, high frequency of use, with more grammatical than lexical meaning) does exist in the language, other members of this category seem more like postpositions-in-the-making, evolving from a class of nouns that I will term here “relator nouns.” For that reason, it is almost inaccurate to speak of postpositions in Apinajé as constituting a closed class; perhaps this might be best described as a “halfway open” class.

Relator nouns are lexemes whose semantics extend metaphorically into grammatical meanings related to space orientation and position. Typically, relator nouns are body part terms, or part-whole terms which pattern as inalienable nouns in languages that make this distinction (DeLancey 1997). This kind of diachronic development is

fairly common crosslinguistically. In Apinajé, it is possible to observe, at the synchronic level, hints of the grammaticalization of some nouns into postpositions, as will be seen.

Although there seems to exist a tendency for postpositions to evolve from nouns in Apinajé, there is at least one instance of a postposition having a verb as its diachronic source. That is the case of the instrumental postposition *ɔ* and the verb *ɔ* ‘do’ (Oliveira 1998).

The set of grammatical postpositions and some selected relator nouns are introduced in what follows.

Fully grammaticalized postpositions of Apinajé include the genitive *õ*, dative *mẽ*, detrimental *pe*, instrumental *ɔ*, associative *mẽ*, locatives *tar* and *ã*, inessive *kamã*, allative *wəɾ*, ablative *rum*, positionals *kot* ‘after; behind’ and *itep* ‘near’, and similitive *ačwəj*. Morphologically complex stems are *kamã*, *itep*, and *ačwəj*, which include the formatives *ka-*, *i-* and *a-*, respectively. The genitive postposition *õ* has the same shape as the formative *õ-* ‘inner side; core’ found in nouns and verbs.

Genitive õ. The genitive marker *õ* behaves very much like other postpositions of Apinajé.

The third person form of this marker presents a morphological peculiarity, however. If the referent is expressed by a full noun phrase, then the postposition maintains its bare form and co-occurs with the noun, which is in consonance with the behavior of other postpositions (77.a). On the other hand, with a pronominal third person referent, the form is *kə̃m* (77.b).

(77) a. *Na mε ma amjĩ=m goj=mə̃ e ka liĩp mə̃ mō*
 RLS PL MOV RFLX=DAT water=DAT fabric wash DAT go
 ‘They all went to the creek to do their laundry [to their benefit].’

b. *ij-mə̃* ‘to/for me’
a-mə̃ ‘to/for you’
kə̃m ‘to/for him/her’

Detrimentive pe. The detrimental (often called malefactive) postposition *pe* basically indicates detriment to its object; another, more space-oriented meaning encoded by this postposition is the ablative.

(78) *O:na kafε ic-pe ic-č-e ə̃ atkapĩ*
 EXCL coffee 1-DTR 1-RP-fabric LOC spill
 ‘Dammit! The coffee spilled on my clothes [to my detriment].’

Like the dative, the detrimental marker *pe* has a suppletive third person pronominal form, *kep*. These two postpositions are the only ones in my database that display this idiosyncrasy.

- (79) *ic-pe* ‘from me; to my detriment’
 a-pe ‘from you; to your detriment’
 kep ‘from him/her; to his/her detriment’

Irregularities call for historical explanations. As shown in section 3.2.1, the third person prefix *ku-* occurs almost exclusively with verbs, indicating the accusative argument of transitives; but there is at least one instance of occurrence of *ku-* with a postposition, namely, the ablative *rum*. Given this precedent, it seems plausible to hypothesize that the third person pronominal forms of the dative and detrimptive may have started out as *ku-m̃* and *ku-pe*, respectively, at a stage in which *ku-* must have been more productively used with postpositions.⁸ Eventually, it must have fallen in disuse; the unusual but highly frequent forms *kum̃* and *kupe* underwent phonological modifications, presumably vowel harmony first (i.e. *k̃m̃*, *kepe*) and word-final vowel deletion next, which led to the present-day forms.

Instrumental *ɔ*. The postposition *ɔ* indicates instrumental and, when taking human objects, has associative semantics. The relational prefix *t-* occurs with an overt noun phrase object and with personal prefixes. This morpheme is homophonous to the

⁸ It could also be that the postpositions *rum*, *m̃* and *pe* come historically from verbs.

- (82) *Na pa [Dirɔti nẽ Dibʌnrɛ] mẽ wa grɛ.*
 RLS 1 N. CNJ N. ASSC DU dance
 ‘I am dancing with [both] Diró and Dibʌn.’

Locative tar. Although it has semantic content typical of postpositions, the morpheme *tar* has distribution that is considerably more restricted than that of other postpositions. For that reason, the analysis of this morpheme as a member of this class is still tentative, until further evidence comes to light.

Tar occurs with the personal prefixes of first and second person, as well as with the morpheme *mĩ*, resulting in proximal and distal demonstratives, respectively. The semantic contrasts between *ictar* [1-LOC], *atar* [2-LOC] and *mũtar* [DEM.DST-LOC] lie basically in difference of deictic center (namely, first, second, and third persons), which is thus overtly expressed. Of the resulting forms, only the one with the second person prefix occurs as a pronoun (section 3.2.1).

- (83) *Mũtar a-kra ja arĩ ɕwɛɲ ja kãm ic-kĩ nẽ.*
 DEM.DST 2-child ART stay NMLZ ART 3.DAT 1-fond PRT
 ‘That daughter of yours that stayed [back there], she likes me.’

Locative ẽ. The locative *ẽ* (which takes the relational prefix *t-*) occurs less frequently in noun phrases than it does in temporal expressions (section 3.1.4). This morpheme may also operate at the discourse level, serving as a grammatical connector of the events

expressed in discourse (section v.5); and it may occur in some of the postpositional expressions involving relator nouns, as will be seen.

- (84) *Kət paj ma ri kapot ẽ bra.*
 IRLS 1.IRLS MOV PRT chapada LOC wander
 ‘I am going for a walk in the chapada.’

Allative wər. Unlike the postpositions just introduced, the allative *wər* appears to occur mostly with nominal objects, not performing the more clause or discourse level functions observed elsewhere.

- (85) *Na Irepti=re ic-wər, i-j-ðkwẽ wər ic-p-ubuŋ mẽ tẽ*
 RLS N.=DIM 1-ALL, 1-RP-home ALL 1-RP-see.NF DAT go
 ‘Ireptsi came to me, to my home to see me.’

Ablative rum. The ablative *rum* is not as frequent as *pe* ‘detrimentive’, which may also express this notion. Like the allative *wər*, the ablative is less flexible in its meaning and distribution than other postpositions, such that its semantics seems to be limited to the domain of space. *Rum* is the only postposition in my database that may take the third person prefix *ku-*; this may indicate that this postposition is more conservative than *mẽ* ‘dative’ or *pe* ‘detrimentive’, since here the person prefix has not crammed its way into the base stem (86).

- (86) *Na ka ke paʒi pĩ ku-rum kwə*
 RLS 2 PRT native kill 3=ABL come
 ‘You killed the native yourself and fled from there.’

Inessive kamǽ. The inessive postposition is used at the phrase level and also occurs in idiomatic expressions such as *ja kamǽ* ‘for that; for this reason; that’s why’ and with the relator nouns.

- (87) *ickrɛ ja kamǽ na pipɔ j-ɔʔto*
 house DEF INSV RLS chair RP-plenty
 ‘There’s a lot of chairs in this house.’

Positionals kot and itep. The postpositions *kot* ‘behind; after’ and *itep* ‘near’ indicate relative position between referents. Of the two, the postposition *itep* resembles relator nouns due to its form, since the occurrence of the formative *i-* has been observed in a number of such nouns. The formative *i-* is also common in nouns other than these, most of which, crucially, refer to body parts (section 3.1.1.2; compare also with *kutep*, section v.5.2).

- (88) *Na kəm i-kot mō kaga.*
 RLS 3.DAT 1-after go refuse
 ‘He doesn’t want to come along with me [i.e. he feels lazy].’

Similitive ačwəj. The postposition *ačwəj* ‘likewise; too’ is a category that pertains structurally to the noun phrase, being thus a counterpart of *mənēn* ‘also; likewise’, which is an adverbial element that operates at the clause level (section IV.2.3). This postposition takes the relational prefix *j-* and interacts with the switch-reference system of Apinajé in interesting ways.

- (89) a. *Na ra Marizĩ=j-ō=cwəjɲ jaja ra poj*
 RLS ASP N.=RP-GEN=NMLZ DEF.PL ASP arrive
ɲum Kəkali=j-ō=cwəjɲ j-ačwəj jaja
 DS.3 N.=RP-GEN=NMLZ RP-SIMIL DEF.PL
 ‘The folks from Mariazinha have already arrived, and so have those from Cocalinho.’
- b. *Kət paj karə ja pĩ ka a-j-ačwəj òt pĩ*
 IRLS 1.IRLS deer DEF kill 2 2-RP-SIMIL INDF kill
 ‘I’m going to kill this deer and also you, you’re going to kill one too.’

Relator nouns. Apinajé makes extensive use of relator nouns to express more detailed nuances of space relations. Most of the instances found in the corpus also involve the use of postpositions, resulting in fixed, compound expressions where specific postpositions and relator nouns associate. The inventory of postpositions noted in these cases is broad, although it seems to exclude the associative *mē*, the allative *wəɾ*, and the ablative *rũm*.

The inventory of relator nouns found in the database includes those listed in (88). Notice the use of the postpositions *ə* ‘locative’, *kamə* ‘inside’, *pe* ‘detrimental/ablative’,

kot ‘after; behind’, as compared to the particle *ri* ‘demonstrative’, which has semantic content typical of postpositions, but does not display their morphological characteristics.

- (90) *ipi* ‘inside a deep container’
pum ‘outside’
- ipok=ri / kəm / kot* ‘in the middle of; at the core; in the center’
 core=LOC / 3.DAT/ POS
- katut=ri* ‘at the back of something; behind’
 back=LOC
- krak=ri* ‘under; underneath’
 upside.down.orifice=LOC
- imōk=ǎ* ‘on top of a flat surface’
 top=LOC
- ikje=ǎ* ‘at one side of something’
 side=LOC
- kuk=kamǎ* ‘in front of something; ahead’ (*kuk* ‘face’)
 face=INSV
- kačwəj=kəm* ‘in the inside of something’
 inner.side=3.DAT
- par=pe* ‘at the bottom of O; at O’s feet’
 foot=DTR
- ire=kot* ‘at the side of something’
 slice=behind

The occurrence of relator nouns in postpositional expressions is illustrated in (91).

- (91) a. *Kwər ja ǎ kawə j-ipi na pa ku-čǎ*
 yucca DEF LOC basket RP-inside RLS 1 3-put
 ‘It was in this basket [filled] with yucca that I put it.’

- b. *Pipɔ ja j-imõk=õ na ča*
 table DEF RP-top=LOC RLS stand
 ‘It is on top of the table.’
- c. *Na pa ic-kawə Krak=ri i-j-õ kagotikre čom ɔ amuču*
 RLS 1 1-basket orifice=LOC 1=RP=GEN coffee powder INSTR hide
 ‘I hid my coffee powder under my [upside-down] basket.’
- d. *Na pa ic-tu kačwəp kəm kutōjrač nē*
 RLS 1 1-belly inside 3.DAT worm QTF PRT
 ‘I’m with a lot of worms inside my guts.’
- e. *Kɔ puj kapot n-ipok kot tē*
 IRLS HORT.IRLS chapada RP-core after go
 ‘We are going to the center of the chapada.’

3.1.4. Adverbials

The set of adverbials includes morphologically simple and complex items, and expressions carrying adverbial meaning or function. Adverbials constitute another one of those almost closed classes which nevertheless seems somewhat open and expansive, since adverbial meanings may come in phrases and other larger constituents. Some members of this class are temporal adverbs, location adverbs, intensifiers and a temporal negative adverbial, discussed here.

Adverbs are phonological/grammatical words that are characterized morphologically by lack of inflection. Their distribution in the sentence depends on the kind of adverbial function they perform. Temporal and location adverbs seem more

syntactically free than other adverbs. Intensifiers are positional clitics, as is the temporal negative adverbial. Some of these are introduced next.

Temporal Adverbs. The temporal adverbs *jǎ* ‘yesterday’, *jarǎ?ǎ* ‘today’ and *rǎ?ǎ* ‘always’ are based on the morpheme *ǎ*, which could be the locative postposition, only with its original semantics extended metaphorically into a temporal notion. If that is the case, it is possible that the glide-initial component of the first two stems is the definite article *ja* performing a demonstrative function (section 3.2.1). As for the component *rǎ*, one could imagine it as the real temporal index in the stem, possibly meaning ‘now’.

- (92) *Na pa prε jǎ akreč aguprō.*
 RLS 1 PST yesterday trash gather
 ‘I gathered the fallen leaves yesterday.’

The expression *ǎm depeme* ‘long ago’, with the alternate *ǎm dapeme*, seems to include the third person pronoun *ǎm*. This adverbial expression occurs most often in clause (discourse) initial position.

- (93) *Na pa prε tε ǎm=depeme ic-prīrε ri,*
 RLS 1 PST HAB long.ago 1-child TMP.DEM

ic-pǎm ja prε tε kǎm ujarēn prǎm nē.
 1-K.T. DEF PST HAB 3.DAT story.tell please PRT
 ‘Long ago, when I was a child, my father enjoyed telling stories.’

Temporal Negative Adverbial. The expression *a... ket=nẽ* ‘never’ consists of the proclitic *a*, which could be translated as ‘ever’ but has not been observed elsewhere independently from this expression, and the negative enclitic *ket=nẽ*, which is a clause final clitic sequence. The two elements circumscribe the proposition being negated, often expressed as an embedded clause. For its distributional properties, this adverbial expression could be described as a “circumclitic.”

- (94) *Na te da wri ruŋ nẽ, do jum*
 RLS HAB rain fall much PRT but 3.DS
- go ja a upəm ket=nẽ.*
 water DEF TMP deep.NF NEG
 ‘It rains a lot, but this creek has never become deep.’

Intensifiers. Apinajé intensifiers serve primarily as modifiers of the predicate, but all of them also carry adjectival semantics, like descriptive verbs do, and may modify nouns as well. The distinguishing property between intensifiers and descriptives, apart from the primary functions each of them performs in the syntax of Apinajé, is the range of morphological categories they each take. While descriptives take person and relational prefixes, intensifiers take no inflectional morphology.

At the other end, at least one descriptive root has been observed to perform the function of an intensifier: the morpheme *bεč* distinctively finds its way into the class of “true” intensifiers, albeit from a functional point of view. Under such circumstances, one

could think of this distribution of *bεč* in terms of conversion – derivation from one class to another without the use of overt morphological marking.

Because of their semantics and (in part) their function, intensifiers would make good candidates for a closed class of adjectives, in Apinajé. The structural and functional properties of intensifiers are discussed in what follows.

The morpheme *təč* has the basic lexical meanings of ‘be hard; tense, stiff, rigid; robust’. It may occur in predicate position (95.a), or modifying predicates, in which case it may itself be modified by the additional intensifier *kũmrεč* (95.b-c). The use of *təč* with descriptive predicates implies a reading in which the predicator encodes a transitional or temporary condition or state (95.d), and in this respect it contrasts with *rũʒ* ‘plenty; grand’ and *racĩ* ‘large’.

- (95) a. *Iʒ-but təc.*
 1-neck be.stiff
 ‘My neck is tense.’
- b. *Na ka i-j-abəʒ təcĩ*
 RLS 2 1-RP-hold INTS
 ‘You hold me back a lot! [i.e. won’t let me do my things]’
- c. *Na ra iʒ-mə bεč təc kumrεč.*
 RLS ASP 1-DAT be.good INTS INTS
 ‘This [fruit] is now just right for me [to pick up].’
- d. *Na pa ic-p-uduj təc nē.*
 RLS 1 1-RP-be.bad INTS FCT
 ‘I’m very ill/full of diseases.’

This morpheme is transparently related to *itǎč* ‘be strong’, which is a descriptive stem in all respects: it inflects for person, in which case it takes the relational prefix *č*̣; and operates as a predicator, though it may be a noun modifier, as other descriptives. Both *tǎč* and *itǎč* display a high front echo-vowel, in agreement with the word final palatal consonant

- (96) *Iɲ-bjeɲ* *na* *itǎči*.
 1-husband RLS strong
 ‘My husband is strong.’

The morpheme *rac*̣ (and its variant *raci*̣) has the lexical meanings ‘large; much’. It may occur as a noun modifier, and in compound noun stems, such as *go rac*̣ ‘river’ (lit.: ‘water=large’) and *kṛ rac*̣ ‘city’ (‘sitting=large’). As a modifier of the predicate, it may be further modified by *kũmṛeč*. Similarly to *rũɲ*, and in contrast to *tǎč*, this marker usually modifies predicators which encode a permanent property (97.c), in addition to more eventive ones (97.d-e). Structurally, this morpheme never appears inflected or derived, in my database; it occurs only in its bare form.

One morphosyntactic property of *raci*̣ that is worthy of notice is that, this morpheme modifies descriptive verbs derived with the morpheme *-ǎi*. In this respect, it contrasts with *rũɲ*, which does not suit that purpose (97.b). Additionally, evidence

indicates that, if used with a transitive verb, this morpheme may refer to the quantity of the direct object (97.d-e), even though it appears syntactically as an intensifier of the verb.

- (97) a. *Na ra iŋ-mǎ beč rac kumreč.*
 RLS ASP 1-DAT be.good INTS INTS
 ‘(Things) are really good for me.’
- b. *Ic-kengrə=jǐ rac nē.*
 1-be.tired=ADJ.DSCR INTS PRT
 ‘I’m really easy to get tired.’
- c. *Na pa ic-p-uduj rac nē.*
 RLS 1 1-RP-be.bad INTS PRT
 ‘I’m really ugly.’
- d. *Na Ø Ø-bən rac kũmrēč.*
 RLS 3 3-carry.NF INTS INTS
 ‘S/he carried lots of things.’
- e. *Na katpɔɛ pǐ rac kũmrēč.*
 RLS money grab INTS INTS
 ‘S/he made a lot of money.’

The morpheme *rũŋ* has the lexical meanings ‘plenty; grand; many [times]’. Like *rac*, which also has quantifying semantics, this morpheme also occurs in compounds, such as *mēðkrepoj ruŋti*, the name of a traditional festival (98.a). The use of *rũŋ* also implies permanent reading to a property encoded in a descriptive predicate (98.b-c). On the other hand, with active or eventive verbs *rũŋ* tends to imply repetitive action or frequency in the occurrence of a particular action or event (98.d).

This morpheme shares a phonological property with *rac̣̈́*, in that it undergoes lateralization after coronal segments; it is pronounced as [lũɲ] (section II.4.2). However, *rũɲ* does not display the stem-final alternation common to both *rac̣̈́* and *tæc̣̈́*; its form is invariant in this respect.

Also in contrast with *rac̣̈́*, the morpheme *rũɲ* does not occur with predicates derived by *-ĩ*.

- (98) a. *mε=ðkrε=poj=rũɲ=ti*
 PL/INDF=throat=arrive=grand=AUG
 [Name of a traditional Apinajé festival which is led by the women.]
- b. *Na pa ra ic-kengrΛ rũɲ nẽ.*
 RLS 1 ASP 1-tired INTS FCT
 ‘I’m very tired already.’
- c. *Na pa ic-p-unduj rũɲ nẽ.*
 RLS 1 1-RP-ugly INTS FCT
 ‘I’m very ugly.’
- d. *Na pa bəɲ rũɲ nẽ.*
 RLS 1 carry INTS FCT
 ‘I carry it all the time (i.e. frequently).’

The morpheme *bεc̣̈́* is a descriptive verb (99.a). However, it may be used as an intensifier on occasion, especially as a modifier of other descriptive verbs. Its semantics in these contexts is ‘very; well’, which is reminiscent of its basic, descriptive semantics ‘good; pretty’. This verb may itself be modified by *kũmrεc̣̈́* as well.

- (99) a. *Na ra kabek=rε beč təč kumrεč.*
 RLS ASP jussara be.good INTS INTS
 ‘That jussara is quite good already.’
- b. *Na ra kabek=rε tɪk beč kumrεč.*
 RLS ASP jussara be.black be.good INTS
 ‘That jussara is quite ripe now.’
- c. *Wapɔ ja na beč.*
 knife DEF RLS be.good
 ‘This knife is good.’
- d. *Kət ja wapɔ ja wa beč nē.*
 IRLS 3 knife DEF be.sharp be.good FCT
 ‘S/he will get the knife well sharpened.’

Of the set of intensifiers observed in the database, the morpheme *kumrεč* is the intensifier with the most character, as it is the only one that can modify the others. *Kumrεč* occurs postposed to the predicate it modifies (100).

- (100) *Na pa ra i-ɲ-ō čak ɔ dət rač kumrεč,*
 RLS 1 ASP 1-RP-GEN bag INSTR full INTS INTS
- ja kamō əbri kwɪĩ.*
 DEM INSV now leave.be
 ‘I have plenty in my bag, already; that’s why I don’t need any more.’

Interestingly, this morpheme may occur with nouns as well, but not in an adjectival function. What it does in these contexts is to indicate the first referent in a

sequence of elements. Here, it also occurs postposed to the modified nominal and, under strong focus conditions, it may take person inflection.

- (101)a. *Na pa Ø=kot ic-prõt kumreč̣.*
 RLS 1 3=after 1=run INTS
 ‘I ran after him real hard.’
- b. *Na pa kumreč̣ Ø=kot ic-prõt.*
 RLS 1 INTS 3=after 1-run
 ‘I ran after her first.’
- c. *A-kot kũmreč̣ mǽ na pa ic-prõt.*
 2-after INTS DAT RLS 1 1-run
 ‘I ran after *you* first.’
- d. *A-kumreč̣ a-kot na pa ic-prõt.*
 2-INTS 2-after RLS 1 1-run
 ‘It was after *you* that I first ran.’

3.2. Grammatical categories

3.2.1. Pronouns

The pronominal system of Apinajé includes person, demonstrative, indefinite and interrogative pronouns. These are introduced next.

Person Pronouns. Person pronouns are positional clitics. They occupy second position in a main clause, thus contrasting with person prefixes, which come attached to a stem. Person pronouns indicate the nominative argument of a sentence, whereas prefixes express the absolutive (section 4.1.1).

Person pronouns encode the first, second and third persons. The first person includes the hortative and plural inclusive distinctions (other number distinctions are not expressed in the pronominal system as such; instead, they are encoded by number clitics; see section 3.2.2.5 below). There are two sets of person pronouns, one for the realis mode and the other for the irrealis. The same form of the pronoun is used for first person pronoun and first person plural inclusive, but with different syntactic distribution (Table III.1).

TABLE III.1
PERSON PRONOUNS

	REALIS	IRREALIS
1 <INCL>	<i>pa</i>	<i>paj</i>
2	<i>ka</i>	<i>kaj</i>
3	<i>əm/ø</i>	<i>ja</i>
HORTATIVE	<i>pu</i>	<i>puj</i>

In pragmatically unmarked use, the pronoun participates in a clitic sequence that includes the mood marker in first position and possibly a tense/aspect clitic that carries stress in the group. Such sequences of clitics constitute phonological words (sections 1.3 and 2.1). Because the pronoun never bears stress in this context, plosives occurring in pronouns display voice alternation in the same way as unstressed syllables in other phonological words.

(102)a. *Na ka kɔtmə arĩ apku*
 RLS 2 still stay eat
 ‘You are still eating.’

b. *Na [pa mɛ] ra pĩ kə*
 RLS 1 PL ASP tree cut
 ‘We (exclusive) have already torn down the trees.’

c. *Na pa ra ku-ku*
 RLS 1.INCL ASP 3-eat
 ‘We (inclusive) have already eaten.’

(103)a. *Kɔ puj amə.*
 IRLS HORT.IRLS wait
 ‘We shall wait [in the hospital].’

b. *Mɛ a-krĩ [pu mɛ] pa krĩ.*
 PL 2-sit.PL HORT PL 1.INCL sit.PL
 ‘Have a seat, you all, let’s have a seat and gather.’

In pragmatically marked use, a token of the pronoun occurs outside the clitic sequence; in fact, it precedes the sequence clause initially. When the pronoun is thus placed under focus, it is stressed, and morpheme initial plosives are necessarily voiceless. Notice that only the realis form of pronouns participates in this strategy.

(104)a. *Pa kɔ paj Zəkabeti ɔ grɛ rač kumrɛč*
 1 IRLS 1.IRLS N. INSTR dance QTF INTS
 ‘It’s me that I want to dance all night with Zé Cabere.’

b. *Pa na pa ic-kĩ nẽ*
 1 RLS 1 1-merry FCT
 ‘It’s me that I am really happy!’

c. *Ka na ka tɛ arĩ a-mə kaga a-pa*
 2 RLS 2 HAB stay 2-DAT lazy 2-live
 ‘You, you’ve been utterly lazy to this day!’

d. *Ja na əm mɛ=bɔj pitə uba!*
 DEM RLS 3 PL=thing all fear
 ‘That one, he is afraid of everything!’

Although it is frequently true that the same pronoun is presented twice in the clause – once for focus and once as the nominative –, as shown in (104), that is not necessarily the case: the pronoun/referent in focus position may be distinct from that in nominative position (105).

(105) *Ka na pa a-j-amə̃r ɔ ča*
 2 RLS 1 2-RP-wait.for.NF do stand
 ‘It’s you, I’m waiting for you.’

Personal pronouns participate in the expression of mood, a category that is obligatorily expressed in the clause. First and second person pronouns take the suffix *-j* to indicate irrealis mood; thus, two series of speech-act-participant pronouns surface because of this distinction (106). The irrealis form of the pronoun typically co-occurs with the mood marker *kɔ* in the beginning of the sentence (sections 3.2.2.1 and IV.2.1). However, if the mood particle is omitted, the presence of the pronoun suffices to indicate the relevant category (106.b, d).

(106)a. *Kɔ paj arĩ ic-kri*
 IRLS 1.IRLS stay 1-sit
 ‘I’ll remain seated.’

b. *Paj a-mə̃ a-go j-apeə.*
 1.IRLS 2-DAT 2-lice RP-search
 ‘I’ll catch your lice for you.’

c. *Na pa tẽ tẽm jũm mε ic-t-ǎ pikujar rac̣ nẽ.*
 RLS 1 go fall DS PL 1-RP-loc laugh INTS PRT
 ‘I slipped [fell] and they laughed hard at my expense.’

d. *Pa tẽ tẽm.*
 RLS go fall
 ‘I fell.’

The third person pronoun *əm* is easily omitted in realis contexts (107.a-b). In irrealis contexts, however, the third person is overtly and necessarily encoded by *ja*, which occurs immediately postposed to the irrealis marker *kɔ* (107.c). The presence of the irrealis morpheme is also mandatory in this case. The third person (demonstrative) pronoun *ja* is realized alternatively as [da] or [ra], the initial coronal segment resulting from assimilation to the coronal coda of the mood clitic *kɔ* (107).

(107)a. *Ja na əm mε=bɔj pitǎ uba. kəm ba tǎč̣*
 DEM RLS 3 PL-thing all fear 3.DAT fear INTS
 ‘This one is afraid of everything. He’s a scaredy-cat.’

b. *Na [∅ mε] ma amnĩ-m e ka ʎĩɲ mǎ [∅ mε] tẽ*
 RLS 3 PL MOV RFLX-DAT fabric wash DAT 3 PL go
 ‘They all went do the laundry.’

c. *Kɔ ja iɲ-mǎ a-w-j-arẽ.*
 IRLS 3 1-DAT DTRZ-U-RP-tell
 ‘She will tell me a story [i.e. “story-tell to me”].’

Emphatic forms of personal pronouns. Non-hortative personal pronouns display emphatic forms. Emphatic first and second person pronouns include an oral open vowel

and the suffix *-m* in root-final position; the stem initial plosive is always voiceless, since the pronoun carries discourse stress. The emphatic third person pronoun is also realized with an open vowel. The inventory of emphatic personal pronouns as compared to their nonemphatic counterparts is listed in table III.2. The example in (108) is illustrative.

TABLE III.2
PERSON PRONOUNS:
Emphatic vs. Nonemphatic forms

	NONEMPHATIC FORM	EMPHATIC FORM
1	<i>pa</i>	<i>pam</i>
2	<i>ka</i>	<i>kam</i>
3	<i>əm/ø</i>	<i>am</i>

- (108) *Pa na pa pam amjũ j-ok.*
 1 RLS 1 1.EMPH RFLX RP-body-paint
 ‘It was I myself who did my body-painting.’

Indefinite pronouns. The indefinite pronouns *jə̃m* ‘[someone; somewhere] else’ and *mɛʔð* ‘someone’, *waʔð* ‘someone’ have the alternating forms *jam* and *mɛʔũ*, *waʔũ* respectively. The reason for the alternation between *jə̃m* and *jam* is not clear yet, although this form may be related diachronically to the third person pronoun *əm*; but this is only a conjecture that needs to be confirmed with historical evidence.

The alternation between *mεl̥ð*, *wa l̥ð* and *mεl̥ũ*, *wa l̥ũ* appears to be phonetically motivated; these pronouns seem to result of a combination of the indefinite pronoun *ð* with each of the number markers *mε* and *wa*.

In addition to these two pronouns, the form *mεbɔj* ‘something’ also consists of two morphemes, the plural/nonreferential marker *mε* plus *bɔj* ‘thing’. This form also serves as an interrogative pronoun, as will be seen.

- (109)a. *Ka na ka prε ra ɲəm ɔ a-prð kɪnð.*
 2 RLS 2 PST ASP another PRT 2-wife indeed
 ‘You have indeed married another.’
- b. *Paj əbri ɲəm tẽ ne apa*
 1.IRLS now elsewhere go CNJ move
 ‘I’m moving somewhere else.’
- c. *Čě, ɔ ra mεl̥ũ ja ər kac̣iw amɲĩ=t-ɔ a l̥wə.*
 EXCL EXCL ASP someone DEM enter PURP RFLX=RP-PRT request
 ‘There is already someone outside asking to come in.’
- d. *Iɲ-mð mε=bɔj j-arẽ pa ku-ba.*
 1-DAT something RP-tell 1 3-hear
 ‘Say something for me to listen.’

Demonstrative pronouns. Demonstrative pronouns observed in the database are *ja*, *mũj*, *nẽj*, and stems formed with the deitic *tar*. The latter morpheme occurs in the demonstratives *ictar* ‘here’, *atar* ‘there.PRX’ and *mũtar* ‘there.DST’. Although the morpheme *tar* is morphologically and semantically comparable to postpositions, in that it

takes person inflection and is deictic in nature, its distribution is restricted to the lexical items just presented; that is, *tar* does not occur productively as head of postpositional phrases. In addition, its semantic content is not transparent, if analyzed in isolation.

The word *ja* has the primary function of a definite article within a noun phrase; *mũj* and *atar* are demonstratives that operate either as full pronouns or as determiners of the noun. The present section focuses on the pronominal role of these markers. For details about their function, distribution, and morphological properties within the noun phrase, see section IV.2.1. The forms *ictar* and *mũtar* are used mostly as locatives and are not discussed here.

The semantic contrast between *ja* and *mũj* is that the former operates as a proximal demonstrative pronoun, while the latter is a distal demonstrative. When in demonstrative function, *ja* is typically stressed; thus, the root-initial glide /j/ is realized as a voiced alveo-palatal fricative [z]. *Ja* does not seem to carry any specification as to a particular deictic center: it may indicate a referent close to both speaker and listener, away from both, or close to either one or the other. On the other hand, *mũj* and *atar* do each refer to a particular deictic center.

The demonstrative *mũj* ‘that’, which has the alternate form *mũ* (apparently phonologically motivated), points to a referent away from listener and speaker. *Atar* ‘that [close to you]’ consists of the second person prefix *a-* and the deictic morpheme *tar*. The presence of the second person prefix is overt indication of the deictic center for this demonstrative.

The demonstrative morpheme *něj* appears only in pronominal function in the database; it could be characterized semantically as a “medio-distal” demonstrative, and it does not seem to have any specifications for a particular deictic center.

(110)a. *Ja* *na* *kəm* *ɔpre* *prəm* *ket*.
 DEM.PRX RLS 3.DAT aggressive wish NEG
 ‘This one does not like to get upset.’

b. *A-tar=rε* *na* *ra* *mε* *kĩjñ* *ajtε=mñ*
 2-DEI=DIM RLS ASP PL other distinct
 ‘This [little] one is different from the others.’

c. *Mũj* *na* *ma* *tur* *mñ* *tě*
 DEM RLS MOV urinate.NF DAT go
 ‘That one is going to pee.’

d. *Něj* *na* *prε* *ujaprə*.
 DEM RLS PST gossip
 ‘That one gossiped.’

Interrogative Pronouns. Interrogative pronouns introduce information questions. Most interrogative words noted in the database are either compounds that include verbal or postpositional roots, or they are morphologically complex in some other way. However, monomorphemic interrogative words do occur, as well as periphrastic expressions.

Monomorphemic interrogative words include *bɔ*, and its variant *bɔj* ‘what [is s.t.]’; and *dɔ*, with the variant *dɔk* ‘where [is s.t.]’. The former is homophonous with the word for ‘thing’, and the latter with the word for ‘eye’. These may optionally co-occur with other elements, thus highlighting a particular aspect of the question. In (107.c), for

instance, the pronoun *bɔj* co-occurs with the purpose marker *kačřw*, placing some emphasis on the reason for the event or action.

- (111)a. [*Mε* *bɔj*] *na* *a-t-ɔ* *aně* *ka* *ri* *aně?*
 PL<INDF> what RLS 2-RP-do thus 2 PRT thus
 ‘What happened to you that you’re like that right now?’
 (Lit.: “What did you this way...”)
- b. [*Bɔj* *kačřw*] *na* *ka* *ri* *amjř=t-ɔ=aně?*
 what PURP RLS 2 PRT RFLX=RP-do=thus
 ‘What did you do that for?’
- c. *Dɔ* *mε*, *jř-im* *na* *mε* *apeč?*
 where PL LOC-CNTRFG RLS PL end
 ‘Where are they? Where have they gone to?’

Among bimorphemic interrogative words are included the indefinite pronouns *wařð* and *mεřð*, used also as interrogative pronouns. The occurrence of the dual marker in *wařð* ‘who’ might suggest the meaning ‘which one’ for this pronoun; however, *mεřð* and *wařð* ‘who’ seem to share the same meaning; if there is any semantic difference, it is not an obvious one.

- (112)a. *Wa=řð* *na* *prε* *Ø-ipeč?*
 DU=INDF RLS PST 3-make
 ‘Who made it?’
- b. *Mε=řð* *na* *prε* *Ø-ipeč?*
 PL=INDF RLS PST 3-make
 ‘Who made it?’

The bimorphemic interrogative pronoun *tajmǝ* ‘how’ consists of the form *taj* plus the dative postposition *=mǝ*. It has not been possible to identify the specific meaning of the morph *taj*, as it seems to be unique to this word. It may be better analyzed as a formative, rather than as a full-fledged morpheme.

- (113) *Tajm=mǝ* *na* *ka* *tɛ* *mɛ* *Ø-ɔ?*
 how RLS 2 HAB PL 3-do
 ‘How do you guys do this?’

The words *jĩrĩ* ‘where at’, *jĩĩm* ‘where to’ and *jĩĩj* ‘where from’ have the verbal root *jĩ* ‘sit [LOC.INT]’ as a base. The other morphemes are *rĩ* ‘locative’ (a form related to *arĩ* ‘stay’), *-ĩm* ‘centrifugal motion’ and *-jĩ* ‘centripetal motion’. The latter two suffixes have been observed in other locative/directional bases as well, as illustrated by the pair *akup-ĩm* ‘return here (i.e. away from deictic center and back)’ and *akup-jĩ* ‘return there (i.e. towards deictic center and back)’.

- (114)a. *jĩ=rĩ* *ka* *tɛ* *a-pa?*
 where=at 2 hab 2-live
 ‘Where do you live?’
- b. *Dɔ* *mɛ*, *jĩ-ĩm* *na* *mɛ* *apec?*
 where PL LOC-CNTRFG RLS PL end
 ‘Where are they? Where are they gone to?’

Other interrogatives are expressions consisting of more than one word. The expression *pẽr apu* ‘why’ consists of one clitic, *pẽr*, which has been noted to occur on its

own in other environments, with epistemic semantic nuance, as in ‘it looks like [x]’.

Other uses of the morpheme *apu* still remain to be identified. The expression may come accompanied by an extra interrogative pronoun, as illustrated in (115).

- (115)a. *Pẽr=apu dɔ bɔj na ka ri bra?*
 why but what RLS 2 LOC wander
 ‘Why are you wandering around?’
- b. *Dɔ pẽr=apu tajɾ=mɔ̃ na ka ri amjũ=t-ɔ=anẽ?*
 but why how RLS 2 PRT RFLX=RP-do=thus
 ‘But why are you acting like this?’

All these interrogative pronouns occur at the beginning of the clause, preceding the mood marker. Depending on the discourse context, however, they may themselves be preceded by conjunctions or other categories of that sort. Besides interrogative pronouns, which introduce information questions, there is a question clitic that introduces polarity questions in Apinajé; this morpheme is discussed in section IV.3.2.

3.2.2. Clitics

Much of Apinajé grammatical categories is expressed by clitics – positional, phrasal, and word clitics. Some clitics bear stress while others are stress dependent; some clitics may form sequences or even serve as bases for morphologically complex stems. In the following subsections, some of the most frequently used positional, phrasal and word clitics of Apinajé are introduced.

3.2.2.1.Mood

The distinction between realis and irrealis mood is overtly and obligatorily expressed in Apinajé propositions, thus subcategorizing verbal clauses into two morphosyntactic sets.

Realis. Realis clauses are introduced by the clause-initial clitic *na*, which indicates initial boundary thus serving as landmark for discourse-related operations, such as focus or cleft constructions. The realis domain includes present, past, and habitual propositions.

- (116) *Na ic-pe ku-bə*
 RLS 1-DTR 3.ACC-grab
 ‘He took it from me.’

Irrealis. Irrealis clauses are introduced by the clause-initial clitic *kɔ* which, like the realis marker, indicates initial boundary. The irrealis domain includes future, hypothetical, counterfactual and conditional propositions. The irrealis marker requires the use of the corresponding set of person pronouns (section 3.2.1).

- (117) *Kɔ paj mĩj mē wa grɛ*
 IRLS 1.IRLS DEM.DST ASSC DU dance
 ‘I will dance with that one.’
 (Lit.: ‘Me plus that one, the both of us will dance [together]’)

3.2.2.2.Tense

The positional clitic *prɛ* indicates past tense. It carries its own stress and heads a phonological word formed by a clitic sequence. In the clause, it follows a person pronoun, or precedes a nominative noun phrase.

- (118) *Na prɛ Ireti me=grɛr wɔr tẽ.*
 RLS PST PN PL.INDF=dance.NF ALLT go
 ‘Ireti went to festival.’

3.2.2.3.Aspect

The positional clitic *tɛ* indicates habitual aspect. Like the past tense marker, this clitic bears stress. In a clause, it may occur immediately postposed to the past tense clitic or, in its absence, in the same general position as the tense clitic, either following the person pronoun or preceding a nominative noun phrase.

- (119) *Na prɛ tɛ mĩtar ic-pa.*
 RLS PST HAB DEM.DST 1-live
 ‘I used to live there.’

Another aspectual marker commonly found in the data is the perfective clitic *ra*.

Tɛ and *ra* do not co-occur.

- (120) *Iɲ-mã brutti č-əɲ ket, dɔ kɔt paj ku-krẽ ra i-ɲ-ð=u=č-ə.*
 1-DAT fruit.spRP-eat neg because IRLS 1.IRLS 3-eat PFV 1-RP-bellyache
 ‘I don’t like to eat bruto because as soon as I eat it my stomach aches.’

3.2.2.4.Movement

Movement verbs unspecified for direction, such as *mõ*, *tẽ*, *bra* and so on, require the occurrence in the clause of a movement particle that specifies whether the motion is centripetal or centrifugal.⁹ This particle is the positional clitic *ma*, which occurs in the same general area of the clause as the other positional clitics.

(121)a. *Na pa ra ma mõ.*
 rls 1 pfv mov go
 ‘I’m going away.’

b. *Na pa ra mõ.*
 rls 1 asp go
 ‘I’ve come.’

3.2.2.5.Number

The category of number comprises the singular, dual and plural distinctions, for nouns and verbs. Overt morphemes that express these categories are positional clitics – *wa* ‘dual’ and *mε* ‘plural’ – that occur preposed to nouns and verbs.

Number clitics most often modify person pronouns and person prefixes, occurring adjacent to the pronominal element they modify. They form a clitic sequence with

⁹ The terms *centripetal* and *centrifugal* correspond, respectively, to such terms as “venitive” and “andative”, or “cislocative” and “translocative”, used in the linguistic literature for the expression of movement/direction notions. The choice for *centripetal* and *centrifugal* to be employed throughout the dissertation follows the terminological tradition of South American literature on Macro-Jê languages.

person pronouns, occurring postposed to them, different from their distribution elsewhere. This is illustrated in (122) with the hortative first person pronoun.

- (122) *Mε a-krĩ [pu mε] pa krĩ.*
 PL 2-sit.PL HORT PL 1.INCL sit.PL
 ‘Have a seat, you all, let’s have a seat and gather.’

Only the plural clitic *mε* appears as a noun modifier; the dual clitic *wa* doesn’t. In this context, the clitic indicates the initial boundary of the noun phrase.

- (123) *mε di jaja* ‘the women’
 PL woman DEF.ART.RDPL

The plural marker *mε* may indicate nonreferentiality, on occasion, a fact that is better observed at the phrase (and discourse) level (section IV.2.1). The clitics *mε* ‘plural’ and *wa* ‘dual’ may also participate in compounding. For instance, they combine with the indefinite article *ǝ* to form the indefinite pronouns *mεǝ* ‘someone’ and *waǝ* ‘someone’.

3.2.2.6. Reflexive and Reciprocal

Reflexive and reciprocal markers are word proclitics. They have the same distribution as person prefixes in any of the lexical classes Noun, Verb and Postposition. Unlike person prefixes, however, reflexive and reciprocal clitics carry stress, thus forming a

phonological word on their own. Together with the stem, the clitics form what I have been calling a phonological phrase that is equivalent to a grammatical word.

Details about the occurrence of the reflexive and reciprocal clitics with each Verb, Noun and Postposition are given next.

Verbs. The nominative argument of a simple verbal clause controls reflexivization and reciprocity. One target of reflexivization is the direct object of a transitive clause. In this case, the reflexive marker *amĩĩ* occupies the direct object position slot in the verb phrase, in which case the verb may take a relational prefix if vowel initial. Compare the examples (a-b) below.

(124)a. *Kaprãnrɛ na ic-pe iʔ-tu kakre.*
 turtle RLS 1-DTR 1-belly scratch
 ‘The turtle scratched my belly [to my detriment].’

b. *Pa na pa amĩĩ kakre.*
 1 RLS 1 RFLX scratch
 ‘I’ve scratched myself.’

(125)a. *Pa na pa a-j-ok.*
 1 RLS 1 2-RP-body.paint
 ‘I body-painted you.’

b. *Pa na pa amĩĩ j-ok.*
 1 RLS 1 RFLX RP-body.paint
 ‘I body-painted my own self.’

The reciprocal marker has the same distribution in the verb phrase as the reflexive marker; likewise, it may target the accusative argument of a transitive clause. However, at least at the semantic level, the reciprocal marks both the subject relation, which controls the process, and the object relation, which is the target, since the reciprocal relation must include at least two referents.

- (126)a. *Ka na ka iɲ-mẽ*
 2 RLS 2 1-trip
 ‘You tripped me [caused me to fall].’
- b. *Pa na pa wa atpẽ=mẽ*
 1 RLS 1 DU RCPR=trip
 ‘It was the two of us that tripped each other [caused each other to fall].’

In bitransitive clauses, an oblique participant may also be a target of either reflexivization and reciprocity.

Nouns. Apinajé exhibits instances of reflexive possession. In a transitive clause, the strategy applies when the argument directly affected in the event is a body part of the subject (127). Reflexive possession does not apply with other inalienable nouns, however, such as kinship terms (128).

- (127)a. *Kɔ paj amɲĩ krẽ kĩ ka ʔõ.*
 IRLS 1.IRLS RFLX head hair wash
 ‘I’ll wash my hair.’
- b. *Kɔ paj amnĩ kuk ku ʔõ.*
 IRLS 1.IRLS RFLX face wash
 ‘I’ll wash my face.’

- (128) *Kɔ paj iʔ-kra tɛ kuʔð.*
 IRLS 1.IRLS 1-child leg wash
 ‘I will wash my son’s legs.’

There are no examples of the reciprocal marker occurring with nouns, although it does not seem odd to imagine the use of *atpẽ* in a nominal context such as “They touched each other’s arms” and “We are each other’s bothers,” for instance. This hypothesis awaits verification.

Postpositions. As mentioned previously, oblique participants are targets of reflexivization controlled by the subject. In cases of oblique reflexivization, the reflexive pronoun attaches to the relevant postposition, which may occur with a relational prefix, as needed. Among all postpositions, the dative frequently allows for phonological truncation, being realized simply as a bilabial nasal consonant in word-final position. In this case, the stress of the reflexive clitic is the relevant one in the phonological word. Compare (129.a-b).

- (129)a. *Na pa a-mẽ ic-kapẽ ɔ jĩ.*
 RLS 1 2-DAT 1-talk PRT sit
 ‘I’m talking to you.’

- b. *Na pa ajtɛ amnĩ-m ic-kapẽ ɔ jĩ.*
 RLS 1 alone RFLX-DAT 1-talk PRT sit
 ‘I’m (alone) talking to myself.’

Reciprocity also targets obliques, as illustrated in (130), as well as the second argument of noncanonical verbs (section IV.3.3.2.). Notice that the number particle applies to the reciprocal marker in the same way as it does with other pronouns (131-132).

(130) *Na mε atpẽ=mḏ kapẽr ɔ jĩ.*
 RLS PL RCPR-DAT talk PRT sit
 ‘They are talking with one another.’

(131)a. *Na pa tε a-t-ɔ atkẽ.*
 RLS 1 HAB 2-RP-INSTR play
 ‘I [always] play with you.’

b. *Na pa tε wa atpẽ t-ɔ atkẽ.*
 RLS 1 HAB DU RCPR RP-INSTR play
 ‘The two of us (exclusive) play with one another.’

(132) *Atpẽ=t-ḏ katprε jum mε mḏ.*
 RCPR=RP-LOC fasten 3.DS PL go
 ‘They are attached to one another [e.g. by a rope] and going.’

3.2.2.7.Causative

The morphological causative is expressed by the word proclitic *ɔ*, which attaches directly to the descriptive or intransitive verb stem. This clitic does not carry stress; it submits to the overall word stress.

(133) *Na ka ic-t-ɔ=tujaro*
 RLS 2 1-RP-CAUS=pregnant
 ‘You got me pregnant.’

3.2.2.8. Nominalizers

The nominalizers *čwəŋ* ‘agent’ and *čə* ‘instrument; location’ are phrasal clitics that indicate the end boundary of the phrase. The nominalizers bear stress (section 3.1.1.4).

- (134) *Akustīti kɔt Pirɔre mǝ [mɛ=kɔdɛ=čə j-ǝt]*
 N. 3.ERG N. DAT PL.INDF=antidote=NMLZ.INSTR RP-give
- čwəŋ ja na ra ɔmduju*
 NMLZ.AG ART RLS PFV spoiled
 ‘That medication A. gave to P. was already expired.’

3.2.2.9. Ergative

Ergativity is a category expressed exclusively in the context of subordination in Apinajé.

The ergative markers *tɛ* and *kɔt* are positional clitics that introduce the subordinated ergative clause; they indicate the initial boundary of the clause. The clitic *tɛ* is used with speech act participants and takes person marking; the clitic *kɔt* is used with third persons and does not take inflection (see chapter v).

- (135) *Na pa [ic-tɛ ra a-mǝ i-j-abatpēr] ket.*
 RLS 1 1-ERG PFV 2-DAT 1-RP-think.about NEG
 ‘I don’t think about you anymore.’

3.2.2.10. Diminutive and Augmentative

The clitics of degree are word enclitics. They carry stress, which superposes to the stress of the word to which it attaches (section 2.3.6, example (30)).

3.2.2.11. Evidentiality

The notion ‘hearsay information’ is expressed in Apinajé by the clitic *čɛp* (which apparently may take an echo-vowel, thus undergoing segmental alternation and being realized as *čɛwɛ*). This clitic is often introduced in the general positional clitic area where tense-aspect markers are found. But that is not necessarily so; this clitic has much freer distribution than any of the other clitics presented here.

- (136) *əbri jum čɛwɛ, wa tō=ti ja, əm wa ənduj təč kumrɛč.*
 then 3.DS HRS DU brotherDEF 3 DU bad INTS INTS
 ‘Then it is said that his two brothers were really mean.’

4. Morphology

4.1. Inflectional categories

4.1.1. Person

The category of person is expressed by roughly the same set of prefixes in three distinct lexical categories: Verbs, Nouns, and Postpositions. For that reason, person inflection is not the best criterion for delimiting parts-of-speech in Apinajé; syntactic facts must be taken into account also. Indeed, some of the strongest evidence for distinguishing

between Nouns and Verbs, and Postpositions comes from syntax (chapter IV; Oliveira 2003).

TABLE III.3
PERSON PREFIXES: VERBS

Finite form	Nonfinite form	
<i>i(C)-</i>	<i>i(C)-</i>	'1'
<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	'2'
\emptyset -	\emptyset -	'3'
<i>ku-</i>		'3.ACC'

TABLE III.4
PERSON PREFIXES: NOUNS

<i>i(C)-</i>	'1'
<i>a-</i>	'2'
\emptyset -	'3'
<i>i-</i>	'3'

TABLE III.5
PERSON PREFIXES: POSTPOSITIONS

<i>i(C)-</i>	'1'
<i>a-</i>	'2'
\emptyset -	'3'
(<i>ku-</i>)	'3')

Person inflection occupies the most external morphological slot in a word. Person prefixes encode first, second, and third persons, that refer to the objects of Postpositions, the possessor in Nouns, and the absolutive arguments of Verbs. There are three third person prefixes: *ku-*, *i-* and \emptyset -. The zero prefix is the only one used with all three word classes. The prefix *ku-* occurs exclusively with transitive verbs (there is one instance of *ku-* with a postposition) and the prefix *i-*, very marginally, with nouns. The accusative prefix *ku-* has further distributional restrictions: it occurs exclusively with the finite form

of verbs, only in monosyllabic stems, and is employed when the accusative noun phrase is not contiguous to the verb, but elsewhere in the clause (section IV.2.3).

The nonfinite form of a verb performs a more nominal role in the syntax (section IV.2.1). The set of prefixes employed with nonfinite forms is reduced, as compared to that of finite verb forms, because only the third person zero prefix (not *ku-*) may occur.

The third person form *i-* does not occur very frequently. Although the occurrence of *i-* seems to coincide consistently with the absence of a dependent noun phrase contiguous to the head noun (137), \emptyset - may also appear in this context (138). It seems, then, that the use of *i-* is lexically, rather than phonologically or grammatically, motivated.

(137)a. [[*Kēn krə̃*] *krat*] *ō* *kṛi* *rũn* *nē*
 rock head stem INDF settlement large/plenty PRT
 ‘At the foot of this hill lay a large settlement...’
 (Lit.: ‘the stem of a head of rock’ = “foot of the hill”)

b. *I-krat* *kəm* *əm* *me* *kət* *pa* *j-arē* *ja* *kət* *añĩ*
 3-stem 3.LOC 3 PL 3.ERG 1 rp-tell DEM 3.ERG thus
 ‘In the beginning that’s how they used to tell us [our story], that’s how it used to be...’

(138) *Kəm* “*ən*, *na* *wa* \emptyset -*wər* *tē* *ne* \emptyset -*ũde*
 3.DAT yes RLS DU 3-ALLT go CNJ.SS 3-capture

ne \emptyset -*kə* *kapa* *ne* *kačwar* *tatak* *ke* *amñĩ* *pubu*”
 CNJ.SS 3-skin rip CNJ.SS salt tap PURP RFLX see
 ‘So she told them, “Well, you’re going to go there and catch them, rip off their skin and tap them with salt, so they’ll learn a lesson.”’

The prefixes *i-* and *ku-* are also found as formatives in stems from all three classes. There is a set each of noun, verb and postposition stems that include the formative *i-* (sections 3.1.1.2 and 3.1.2.2). The formative *ku-* does not seem to occur on postpositions, except – hypothetically – as the source of the suppletive forms found in some postposition paradigms. The distinction between person prefixes as productive morphology and *i-* and *ku-* as formatives resides in the fact that stems containing either of these formatives may be inflected for (any) person.

An accusative person prefix is in complementary distribution with its referent noun phrase, as seen above. The pattern with descriptives seems more like one of agreement, since both the prefix and an independent pronoun indicate the same referent in the clause (section IV.2.3); however, it is the prefix that actually encodes the argument of a descriptive: in casual speech, the independent pronoun may be omitted, but not the prefix (see chapter IV).

4.1.2. Relational Prefixes

Relational prefixes constitute another morphological category common to Nouns, Verbs, and Postpositions. These morphemes are overt indices of the constituency between a head and a dependent element. In formal terms, relational prefixes serve as linkers between a given root and some element that immediately attaches to it, including certain derivational morphemes (139.a), personal prefixes (139.b) or, at a more syntactic level, dependent noun phrases ((139.c); see section IV.1). The role of relational prefixes

is precisely to indicate this bond between units that belong together, either as constituents within a phrase, or as the component morphemes of a word, even compounds (139.d-e).

- (139) a. *aw-j-apro* ‘go shopping <INTR>
DTRZ-RP-buy<TR>
- b. *i-j-ōʔo* ‘my tongue’
1-RP-tongue
- c. *di n-ipok ri* ‘in the core of the forest’
wood RP-core LOC
- d. *pu=tɛ=j-apje=ti* ‘morissoca (insect, sp.)’
fly=leg=RP-long=AUG
- e. *kupẽ=č-e* ‘fabric’
non.Indian=RP-tie

Historically, the occurrence of relational prefixes must have been phonologically motivated, with the proto-form having been a coronal – presumably palatal – segment (Davis 1966; Ribeiro 2004), whose reflexes in present-day Apinajé includes some six different forms. In addition to those, there are elements beginning in a bilabial stop that display distribution and function similar to those of relational prefixes; however, in addition to form, other idiosyncrasies indicate that these morphemes must have evolved historically from a distinct source.

Verbs. Relational prefixes occur in the finite forms of transitive and descriptive verbs, but only in the nonfinite forms of intransitive verbs, which do not take person marking in any other environment.

The inventories of relational prefixes for transitives and descriptives are very similar: they consist mostly of coronal segments, although both also include a few instances of the segment *p-* as applied to *u-*initial stems. The examples in (140) illustrate the range of relational prefixes observed in transitive and descriptive verbal stems.

(140) a. Transitives

<i>j-</i>	
<i>j-aə</i>	‘cut’
<i>j-abə</i>	‘cling; grab’
<i>j-ačə</i>	‘put on [clothes]’
<i>j-ade</i>	‘squeeze’
<i>j-agje</i>	‘thread.in.string’
<i>j-aǰi</i>	‘grab[mass.N’s]’
<i>j-akə</i>	‘cut’
<i>j-ako</i>	‘smoke’
<i>j-akrɛ</i>	‘pass.by’
<i>j-amə</i>	‘accompany’
<i>j-apeə</i>	‘search’
<i>č-</i>	
<i>č-ə</i>	‘put.in.deep.rcp[PL]’
<i>č-ər</i>	‘roast’
<i>č-əm</i>	‘place.rghtsd.up’
<i>č-i</i>	‘put.pair.upsdwn’
<i>č-uǰwə</i>	‘place.rghtsd.up[PL]’
<i>č-umče</i>	‘hold.with.arms’

b. Descriptives

<i>j-</i>	
<i>j-aok</i>	‘watery’
<i>j-abatpěr</i>	‘melancholy’
<i>j-abaketkatijǰi</i>	‘forgetful’
<i>j-akoǰi</i>	‘chain-smoker’
<i>j-akri</i>	‘cold’
<i>j-apərǰi</i>	‘be.in.line’
<i>j-apkurǰi</i>	‘big-eater’
<i>j-aka</i>	‘white’
<i>j-akrɛn</i>	‘more.than’
<i>j-i</i>	‘skinny’
<i>j-əpeǰǰi</i>	‘hard-working’
<i>č-</i>	
<i>č-eč</i>	‘lie’
<i>č-ečǰi</i>	‘liar’
<i>č-itəč</i>	‘strong; brave’
<i>č-ə</i>	‘sick’
<i>č-əǰi</i>	‘salty; sweet’
<i>č-əǰi</i>	‘enjoy[palate]’

<i>č-ujo</i>	‘cover’	<i>č-ə</i>	‘hot; spicy’
<i>ʃ-</i>		<i>ʃ-</i>	
<i>ʃ-ibεč</i>	‘kill[pl]’	<i>ʃ-igrə</i>	‘sprout.frm.branch’
<i>ʃ-igə</i>	‘push’	<i>ʃ-igrōt</i>	‘sprout.frm.ground’
<i>ʃ-ipeč</i>	‘make’	<i>ʃ-ikrī</i>	‘curly’
<i>ʃ-iprɔ</i>	‘cut [meat]’	<i>ʃ-ikwī</i>	‘lie.flat[pl]’
<i>ʃ-ire</i>	‘slice’	<i>ʃ-ireʃi</i>	‘sliced’
<i>ʃ-ōpok</i>	‘gut; rip’	<i>ʃ-ipu</i>	‘overflow’
<i>ʃ-ōr</i>	‘give<NF>’	<i>ʃ-irɔ</i>	‘weak; exhausted’
<i>ʃ-ī</i>	‘sit’	<i>ʃ-ipečji</i>	‘maker’
<i>ʃ-ũ-rε</i>	‘drop’	<i>ʃ-ōčwa</i>	‘sleepy’
<i>p-</i>		<i>p-</i>	
<i>p-ũ-de</i>	‘reach; get’	<i>p-u-tī</i>	‘heavy; dense’
<i>p-i/u-ba</i>	‘fear’	<i>p-u-duj</i>	‘bad; ugly’
<i>t-</i>		<i>t-</i>	
<i>t-ɔ</i>	‘do’	<i>t-əgo</i>	‘sweat; be.warm’
<i>t-ɔkrikrit</i>	‘race.after[so]’	<i>t-əgre</i>	‘inexpensive’

The inventory of relational prefixes for intransitive verbs also includes coronal elements, but – crucially – only intransitive verbs display the form *pi-*, which applies to base stems beginning with a specific middle prefix. The set of relational prefixes observed in intransitive verbs is displayed in (141). Notice how distinct the pattern is from the other two sets: not only does *pi-* occur exclusively in this set, but it seems to be the preferred choice. The stem acquires a consonant-initial form, once *pi-* has been attached to it.

(141) Intransitive verbs: Nonfinite forms

a. Verbs with standard relational prefixes

j-	
<i>j-aba</i>	‘ponder; feel’
<i>j-ačər</i>	‘enter’
<i>j-agje</i>	‘enter [pl]’
<i>j-agrə</i>	‘get.damaged’
<i>j-akjer</i>	‘yell; argue’
<i>j-akje</i>	‘open.a.hole’
<i>j-afir</i>	‘climb.up’
<i>j-apkur</i>	‘eat <intr>’
<i>j-arĩ</i>	‘dance.in.festival’
<i>j-amra</i>	‘scream’
<i>j-əpej/j-apej</i>	‘work’
<i>j-əʔə</i>	‘fly’ cnfrm
č-	
<i>č-wər</i>	‘bathe’
ʃ-	
<i>ʃ-ōt</i>	‘sleep’

b. Verbs with the prefix *pi-*

pi-	
<i>pi-grəj</i>	‘scatter’
<i>pi-kudə</i>	‘disappear’
<i>pi-kuʃar</i>	‘laugh’
<i>pi-kuprō</i>	‘gather’
<i>pi-mtir</i>	‘dream’
<i>pi-mčur</i>	‘hide’
<i>pi-nikre</i>	‘silence’
<i>pi-nipa</i>	‘exchange.places’
<i>pi-pə</i>	‘be.parallel’
<i>pi-təm</i>	‘walk.in.pairs’
<i>pi-kaje</i>	‘crack; fissure’
<i>pi-ken</i>	‘make.jokes’
<i>pi-kjer</i>	‘go.apart’
<i>pi-pəj</i>	‘get.intoxicated’
<i>pi-pu</i>	‘fight.one.another’

Perhaps the most conspicuous alternation involving relational prefixes is that resulting from the loss of *a(C)-* in stem initial position and its replacement with the formative *pi-*; resyllabification may apply, as demonstrated in (142.a). This state of affairs indicates that, even though *pi-* has a distribution similar to relational prefixes, it is not a member of this class, but rather a morphological component that serves to indicate a category pertaining to the class of intransitive verbs itself (reason why I consider it to be a the “pseudo-relational prefix”). The semantic value of this category is not clear, however.

(142) Relational prefixes

		pi-	
(a)	<i>akuĵa</i>	<i>pi-kuĵar</i>	‘laugh’
	<i>akuprō</i>	<i>pi-kuprō</i>	‘group’
	<i>anikre</i>	<i>pi-nikre</i>	‘quiet; silent’
	<i>anipa</i>	<i>pi-nipa</i>	‘switch; run around aimlessly’
	<i>apɔ</i>	<i>pi-pɔ</i>	‘be parallel to’
	<i>atəm</i>	<i>pi-təm</i>	‘walk in pairs’
	<i>amīti</i>	<i>pi-mdir</i>	‘dream’
	<i>amuču</i>	<i>pi-mčur</i>	‘hide’
		j-	
(b)	<i>akə</i>	<i>j-akə</i>	‘cut’
	<i>akje</i>	<i>j-akje</i>	‘open a hole’
	<i>ako</i>	<i>j-ako</i>	‘smoke’
	<i>akre</i>	<i>j-akre</i>	‘show; pass by O’
	<i>apə</i>	<i>j-apə</i>	‘put [long, straight, rigid object] aligned’
	<i>apeə</i>	<i>j-apeə</i>	‘look for’
	<i>ok^o</i>	<i>j-ok</i>	‘body-paint O’
	<i>i</i>	<i>j-i</i>	‘skinny’
		č-	
(c)	<i>i</i>	<i>č-i</i>	‘place [2] upside down’
	<i>ũĵwə</i>	<i>č-ũĵwə</i>	‘place [pl] right-side up’
	<i>umče</i>	<i>č-umče</i>	‘hug; hold with both arms’
	<i>umĩ</i>	<i>č-umĩ</i>	‘bury so as to bake’
		ɶ-	
(d)	<i>ĩbεč</i>	<i>ɶ-ĩbεč</i>	‘kill [pl]’
	<i>ĩgǣ</i>	<i>ɶ-ĩgǣ</i>	‘push’
	<i>ōpok</i>	<i>ɶ-ōpok^o</i>	‘gut O; rip out’
	<i>ipeč</i>	<i>n-ipeč</i>	‘make’
		p-	
(e)	<i>ũde</i>	<i>p-ide</i>	‘reach; catch up with; get’
	<i>utΛ</i>	<i>p-ĩtΛ</i>	‘help; assist’
	<i>ɔmduj</i>	<i>p-uduj</i>	‘bad; ugly; badly’

(f)	ɔ	<i>t-</i> <i>t-ɔ</i>	‘do’
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To summarize, the distribution of other relational prefixes is as follows: *j-* occurs before /a, ɔ, o, i/; *č-*, before /u, i, ə, ʌ, ə, e, ɔ/; *ɲ-*, before /õ, ã, i/; *t-*, before /ɔ, õ/; and *p-*, before /ũ, u, ɔ/ (142). The occurrence of the latter prefix, which may also have originated historically from a distinct source, coincides with vowel alternations in certain stems: a vowel /u/ is realized as /i/, in some stems, and as /ɔ/ in a few others (142.e). This stem-initial *u-* is in fact a formative that occurs with a small set of stems, characterizing two morphological classes (section 3.1.2.2).

Nouns. The inventory of prefixes observed in nouns is similar to that of transitives and descriptives; however, here there is a preference for the nasal palatal segment *ɲ-*, whereas in the other two samples the preference was for the palatal glide.

(143)	Nouns	
	<i>j-</i>	
	<i>j-aʔkə</i>	‘head.adorn’
	<i>j-abi</i>	‘tail.long’
	<i>j-abak</i>	‘ear’
	<i>j-aʃi</i>	‘tail.short’
	<i>j-akwa</i>	‘mouth’
	<i>j-ara [krɛ]</i>	‘wing; armpit’
	<i>j-arɔp</i>	‘phlegm’
	Ø / <i>j-i</i>	‘bone’

č-	
č-e	‘string; thread’
č-e	‘fabric; clothes’
č-uč <i>í</i>	‘spell’
č-u-j-akəp	‘the scent’
č-wa	‘tooth’

ɲ-	
ɲ-ĩɲ	‘feces’
ɲ-ĩkɔ	‘swollen.bp’
ɲ-ĩbrɪkə	‘hunting.bag’
ɲ-ĩdɛ	‘cheeks’
ɲ-ĩdwət	‘wrist’
ɲ-ĩju	‘nose’
ɲ-ĩjukrɛ	‘nostrils’
ɲ-ĩju o	‘nose.hair’
ɲ-õkrẽ	‘forehead’
ɲ-õʔi	‘belly [inside]’
ɲ-õtɔ	‘tongue’
ɲ-õkrepojcade	‘counterpoint’

t-	
t-u	‘belly [outside]’

Postpositions. The set of relational prefixes used in postpositions is not based on a generous sample, since postpositions constitute a quasi-closed class. However, the examples below should suffice to illustrate the variations.

(144) Postpositions

j-	
<i>j-atep</i>	‘near’
<i>j-ačwəj</i>	‘likewise’
č̣-	
<i>č̣-w-əʀ</i>	‘towards’
J-	
<i>J-ǝ</i>	‘genitive’
<i>J-ipok</i>	‘in.the.middle’
t-	
<i>t-ǝ</i>	‘locative’

The examples above indicate that the variation in the form of prefixes results in part from the presence of formatives such as *i-*, *u-*, and *ǝ-*, found in each stem class.

4.1.3. Nonfiniteness

Nonfiniteness is an inflectional category that pertains exclusively to verbs. Nonfinite verb forms are the most nominal form of verbs: they are required in subordination and similar syntactic contexts, as well as in various instances of nominalization.

Nonfinite verb forms are characteristically distinct from the base. The changes in form may be subcategorized into three patterns, to be introduced shortly. However, it is not uncommon for the nonfinite counterpart of a verb to remain unchanged. Descriptive verbs are the most stable in this respect, followed by transitive and intransitive verbs, respectively.

A base verb may end in a vowel or in a consonant. In the latter case, it is not uncommon for an echo vowel to occur after the word final coda. The quality of the echo vowel is typically the same as that of the nucleus of the syllable in question, except when the syllable nucleus is /a/: under these circumstances, the tendency is for the echo-vowel to surface as [i] provided it follows a flap; otherwise, no echo-vowel occurs (145). In any case, verb stems ending in a consonant do not undergo changes due to nonfinite status, except for the fact that the echo-vowel does not occur in the nonfinite form. Thus:

(145) Consonant-final verbs

Finite forms	Nonfinite forms	
<i>katət^ə</i>	<i>Katət</i>	‘straight’
<i>kačər^ə</i>	<i>kačər</i>	‘dig; pull off the ground’
<i>prek^e</i>	<i>prek</i>	‘tall’
<i>tətək^ə</i>	<i>tətək</i>	‘ache [esp. head]’
<i>kabrek^e</i>	<i>kabrek</i>	‘red’
<i>təčⁱ</i>	<i>təč</i>	‘hard; sturdy’
<i>rītⁱ</i>	<i>rīt</i>	‘see; visualize; look’
<i>Λr^Λ</i>	<i>Λr</i>	‘enter’
<i>twəm^ə</i>	<i>twəm</i>	‘fat’
<i>krər^ə</i>	<i>krər</i>	‘dotted; flowery’
<i>kaʃor^o</i>	<i>kaʃor</i>	‘sting; pierce’
<i>ok^o</i>	<i>ok</i>	‘body-paint O’
<i>prōt^o</i>	<i>prōt</i>	‘run’
<i>karot^o</i>	<i>karot</i>	‘frizzly’
<i>kokot^o</i>	<i>kokot</i>	‘rest’
<i>rorok^o</i>	<i>rorok</i>	‘erode; collapse’
<i>jaok^o</i>	<i>jaok</i>	‘watery [of feces]’
<i>kaʔuk^u</i>	<i>kaʔuk</i>	‘pound; grind’
<i>akuʃarⁱ</i>	<i>akuʃar</i>	‘laugh’
<i>kučwarⁱ</i>	<i>kučwar</i>	‘exhale odor’
<i>tak</i>	<i>tak</i>	‘hit; beat up’

<i>tatak</i>	<i>tatak</i>	‘tap repeatedly’
<i>ōpatpat</i>	<i>ōpatpat</i>	‘feel nauseous’

Verbs that do undergo alternations in their nonfinite forms may (a) have a consonant added in stem-final position; (b) have its syllables rearranged; or (c) undergo vowel or consonant alternations. It is possible for more than one of these patterns to apply at a time. In my database, intransitive verbs display these alternations relatively most frequently.

Suffixation is the most widespread of the three patterns. The consonant suffixes most commonly found are /ŋ, n, r/, although /j, k/ also occur. Phonological motivations for the distribution of these variants are not obvious. The distribution appears to be lexically determined, instead. This pattern applies to transitive, intransitive, and to a very few descriptive stems.

(146) Suffixation in nonfinite forms

	Intransitive	Nonfinite form	
(a)	<i>aŋgrə</i>	<i>pīgrə-ŋ</i>	‘scatter’
	<i>atpə̃</i>	<i>pipə̃-ŋ</i>	‘get intoxicated’
	<i>ape</i>	<i>jape-ŋ</i>	‘arrive’
	<i>awjarə̃</i>	<i>čujarə̃-ŋ</i>	‘tell tales’
	<i>atkē</i>	<i>pike-n</i>	‘play; make jokes’
(b)	<i>api</i>	<i>japi-r</i>	‘climb; ascend’
	<i>atkačo</i>	<i>atkačo-r</i>	‘tear; rip’
	<i>atkje</i>	<i>pikje-r</i>	‘separate; go apart; divide’
	<i>atkwř</i>	<i>jatkwř-r</i>	‘break a limb or extension’
	<i>bra</i>	<i>bra-r</i>	‘wander; walk; stroll’
	<i>grε</i>	<i>grε-r</i>	‘dance’
	<i>mō</i>	<i>mō-r</i>	‘come; go’

	Transitive	Nonfinite form	
(c)	<i>abə</i>	<i>abə-ɲ</i>	‘cling’
	<i>kakwə</i>	<i>kakwə-ɲ</i>	‘dig; scratch deep on a surface’
	<i>kapō</i>	<i>kapō-ɲ</i>	‘sweep’
	<i>gje</i>	<i>gje-ɲ</i>	‘place O into deep recipient’
	<i>ačə</i>	<i>ačə-n</i>	‘bury’
	<i>akje</i>	<i>akje-n</i>	‘open a hole’
	<i>akre</i>	<i>akre-n</i>	‘show; pass by O’
	<i>kaɽō</i>	<i>kaɽō-n</i>	‘wash soft of granulated O’
	<i>ru</i>	<i>ru-n</i>	‘pour’
(d)	<i>ačwə</i>	<i>ačwə-r</i>	‘place upside down’
	<i>aʃi</i>	<i>aʃi-r</i>	‘grab [mass]’
	<i>umĩ</i>	<i>umĩ-r</i>	‘bury so as to bake’
	<i>akə</i>	<i>akə-r</i>	‘cut’
	<i>ako</i>	<i>ako-r</i>	‘smoke’
	<i>apeə</i>	<i>ape-r</i>	‘look for’
	<i>ba</i>	<i>ba-r</i>	‘hear; listen’
	<i>kagō</i>	<i>kagō-r</i>	‘squeeze juice out of O’
(e)	<i>re</i>	<i>re-j</i>	‘go across a path’
	<i>pɨ</i>	<i>pɨ-r/pɨ-j</i>	‘hold; pick; get’
	<i>aɨ</i>	<i>aɨ-r/aɨ-k</i>	‘cut’

Resyllabification involves deletion and applies mostly to intransitive verbs in the database. As illustrated in (147.a-b), the initial segment of the stem may be either replaced by a CV syllable or deleted. Words based on disyllabic stems lose the vowel of the penultimate syllable, and the result is a CVC.CV(C) pattern for the word (147.a). Monosyllabic stems simply lose the first segment of the base (147.c-d); word-final consonant insertion may apply and the result is a closed-syllable word (147.d). The nonfinite stem usually spans one foot consisting mostly of heavy syllables.

(147) Deletion and resyllabification in nonfinite forms

	Base	Nonfinite form	
(a)	<i>amĩti</i>	<i>pi-mti-r</i>	‘dream’
	<i>amučũ</i>	<i>pi-mčũ-r</i>	‘hide’
	<i>amĩra</i>	<i>j-amra</i>	‘scream; utter inarticulately’
(b)	<i>ačə</i>	<i>čə-r</i>	‘enter’
	<i>ajet</i>	<i>jet</i>	‘lie suspended on a surface’
	<i>apku</i>	<i>ku-r</i>	‘eat’
	<i>čwa</i>	<i>wə-r</i>	‘bathe’
	<i>itkō</i>	<i>kō-m</i>	‘drink’
	<i>itkwə</i>	<i>kwə-r</i>	‘defecate’
	<i>itpe</i>	<i>pe-k</i>	‘fart’
	<i>iʎtu</i>	<i>tu-r</i>	‘urinate’
(c)	<i>gōr</i>	<i>ɲ-ō-t</i>	‘sleep’
(d)	<i>gō</i>	<i>ɲ-ō-r</i>	‘give’

The last pattern of nonfinite verb stem formation consists of alternation in the vowel quality of the base. This pattern is perhaps the least productive of the three. In the examples below, there is a tendency for the nonfinite form to have a more centered or fronted vowel, but again, it appears that the resulting vowel is lexically determined.

(148) Vowel alternations in nonfinite forms

Base	Nonfinite form	
<i>bur</i>	<i>bə-r</i>	‘cry’
<i>ča</i>	<i>čə-m</i>	‘stand’
<i>kukja</i>	<i>kukje-r</i>	‘ask about O’

4.2. Derivational categories

Derivational categories may be expressed by affixes or clitics. Some of the most pervasive derivational categories in the database include detransitivization with the middle prefixes (section 3.1.2.4), causativization (section 3.2.2.7), verbalization and nominalization (section 3.1.1.4).

CHAPTER IV

SYNTAX

0. Introduction

The structural and semantic properties of phrases and simple clauses, and the functional motivation behind possible construction options, constitute the subject of the present chapter. Section 1 introduces the relevant criteria for the establishment of constituency in Apinajé. Section 2 presents the morphosyntactic properties shared by the noun phrase, the postpositional phrase and the verb phrase, as well as those properties typical of each. Section 3 discusses the various clause types. Relevant clause-level grammatical distinctions, such as realis and irrealis mode, and the formal expression of speech-act distinctions, serve in part as the base for a structural subcategorization of simple clauses; for that reason, they are introduced first. Section 4 is a discussion of grammatical relations in terms of the morphological and syntactic properties that characterize such relations in Apinajé. Valency-changing operations, which affect not only the morphological composition of predicators but also the grammatical properties of the clause as a whole, are presented in section 5. Section 6 summarizes the findings imparted in this chapter and offers language-internal hypotheses about the historical development of some of the grammatical patterns observed.

1. Criteria for the establishment of constituency

Phrasal and clausal constituency are detectable in Apinajé according to three types of criteria: prosodic, morphological, and distributional. By prosodic criteria I mean (a) the intonation contour that characterizes phrases and larger constituents as internally cohesive units, and (b) stress patterns characteristic of such combination of elements. Another phonological criterion that may help identify the boundaries of a constituent is the echo-vowel phenomenon, which is indicative of final boundary and must be followed by silence (sections II.4.5 and III.2.1). This criterion, although helpful, is not as specifically indicative of constituency, since it may delimit a word said at random, that is, one that is not necessarily in a constituency relation with some other element (a word uttered as a citation form, for instance).

The main morphological criterion to be considered is the use of relational prefixes (section III.4.1.2), which are precisely the overt grammatical marking of phrasal constituency in Jê (and other Macro-Jê) languages. Relational prefixes are common to noun, verb, and postpositional phrases, and indicate contiguity between the head of a phrase and its dependent. Such contiguity is one of the clues for the constituency relation between the elements, and a violation of this state of affairs has overt grammatical repercussions as well, such as the use of specific person prefixes for head marking (section 2.3). Even though the relational prefix strategy indicates the bond between two-word units, and thus would not seem as useful for larger units, it may recur in sequences of more than two words thus indicating relevant constituency relations among the units that participate in the hierarchy (provided the elements involved are vowel-initial).

While relational prefixes are indicative of constituent internal cohesion, other morphological devices delimit the initial and final boundaries of certain types of (phrasal and clausal) constituents. These devices include (a) nonfiniteness suffixes, (b) ergative clitics, (c) nominalizers and (d) determiners, like the definite article *ja*. Most of these markers pertain to subordination, and the roles they perform in such contexts are discussed in chapter V. With respect to constituency, however, positional clitics (b-d) overtly set the boundaries for clausal constituents.

Distributional criteria include (a) the relative order of elements inside the constituent and (b) the distribution of the constituent in the sentence, along with (c) the distribution of overt indices of constituent internal cohesion and boundaries.

Prosodic, morphological and distributional criteria for the establishment of constituency are illustrated and discussed further in the following sections.

2. Phrase structure

The different phrase types of Apinajé – verb, noun and postpositional – share at least two basic properties: they are head final and head marking (Nichols 1986). Relational prefixes and person prefixes attach to the phrase head, encoding contiguity and cross-reference to the dependent element, respectively. The details specific to each phrase type are discussed next.

2.1. Noun phrase

The expression of possession, noun modification, determination and quantification produce different effects in the structure of the noun phrase. Such differences are guided by the inherent morphosyntactic properties of the elements involved.

Genitive constructions. The structure of a genitive construction is determined by the subclass – alienable or inalienable – of the head noun (section III.3.1.1.1). Thus, a noun phrase headed by an inalienable noun is characterized structurally by juxtaposition (1.a-b) or, if person prefixes are involved, by prefixation on the head noun (1.c-d); in either case, a relational prefix occurs between a vowel-initial head and its dependent noun or person prefix.

- | | | | |
|--------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| (1) a. | <i>kuweŋ=rɛ</i>
bird=DIM | <i>j-ae</i>
RP-nest | ‘the bird’s nest’ |
| b. | <i>boč</i>
bovine | <i>j-abi</i>
RP-tail<long> | ‘the cow’s tail’ |
| c. | <i>i-ŋ-ōkrɛ</i>
1-RP-throat | | ‘my throat’ |
| d. | <i>a-j-abak</i>
2-RP-ear | | ‘your ear’ |

On the other hand, when the head of a noun phrase is a member of the alienable class, the structure of the genitive construction involves the occurrence of a postpositional phrase headed by the genitive postposition *ō*, which requires the relational

Apinajé thus has both head marking and genitive marking noun phrases, with either option being determined by the morphosyntactic subcategory of the head noun. Both genitive constructions express possession.

Noun modification. Noun modification may be expressed by the juxtaposition of nouns, with the difference that no genitive marking needs to be involved. In (4), the phrases consist of all alienable nouns. The relative ordering of dependent and head elements is the opposite of the standard pattern in (4.b): the modifier follows the head noun.

Examples such as this are exceptional; there are only two such cases in my database, both of which involve the word *kupẽ* ‘non-Indian’.¹

- | | | | |
|--------|-------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| (4) a. | <i>kupẽ</i> | <i>di</i> | ‘foreign woman’ |
| | foreign | woman | |
| b. | <i>kupẽ</i> | <i>pajni</i> | ‘Indian-like foreigner’ |
| | foreign | Indian | |

The function of noun modification may be performed by noun phrases involving inalienable nouns (5).

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------|------------|-----------------------------------|
| (5) | <i>apen</i> | <i>krẽ</i> | ‘mangaba (latex plant, sp.) ball’ |
| | mangaba | head | |

¹ Another possibility is that there may have been some translation inadequacy for these two isolated cases.

Noun modification is also expressed by noun phrases consisting of a noun and a nonfinite verb form. In these cases, the nonfinite verb is the head of the noun phrase, which derives from a verbal predicate construction, whereas the other nominal involved serves as the modifier (6). That the nonfinite verb is part of a noun phrase is demonstrable by its distribution and its function in the clause: it is surrounded by a noun and the definite article *ja*, and it is an argument of the main predicator (6.b). Note that the relational prefix occurs, since the head of the noun phrase, *ireŋ*, begins in a vowel; the pattern is comparable to that of the genitive construction introduced above.

- (6) a. [*bri j-ireŋ*] *ja* ‘a slice of meat’
 game RP-slice.NF DEF.ART
- b. *iŋ-mã* [[[*bri j-ireŋ*] *ja*] *õ*] *gõ*
 1-DAT game RP-slice.NF DEF.ART one give
 ‘Give me one of those slices of meat’

Noun modification may also involve the presence of a descriptive verb in attributive function in the noun phrase, in a relative clause construction. In this case, the descriptive is the modifier element and follows the head noun (see details on relativization in section v.2). Notice one such complex noun phrase as the object of the instrumental postposition *ɔ* in (7.c).

- (7) a. [*ic-č-e* [[*krɔr [krã j-akɔt]]kabrek=rɛ*] *na* *ic-pe* *akudɔk*.
 1-RP-cloth dot head RP-tiny red=DIM RLS 1-DTR disappear
 ‘My dotted red dress has disappeared!’

- b. [[*bi prek=ti*] *mũj*] *na in-bjeŋ ja.*
 man tall=AUG DEM.DST RLS 1-husband DEF.ART
 ‘That tall man is my husband.’
- c. *na pa* [[*go j-akri*]_{NP}] *ɔ]_{PP} amyñ krð kaʔð.*
 RLS 1 water RP-cold INSTR RFLX head wash
 ‘I washed my head with cold water.’

Determiners. In phrases where the head noun co-occurs with a determiner, the head does not appear phrase finally, since determinants are positional clitics that necessarily follow the nominal element they refer to. Determiners include the definite articles *ja* ‘singular’ and *je* ‘collective’, and the indefinite article *ð* ‘some; a; one’ (8).² Demonstrative pronouns also fall in this functional and distributional category, following the head noun (9).

- (8) a. *pikap ja* ‘the dirt’
di ja ‘the woman’
- b. *kupẽ di je* ‘the kupẽ women (a distinctive group)’
kupẽ jep je ‘the kupẽ jep people (a foreign group)’
- c. *katpɔɛ ð* ‘some money’
karə ð ‘a deer’
apčət ð ‘one peba (armadillo sp.)’
- (9) *go mũj* ‘that water (river, creek)’
přire něŋ ‘this boy’

The indefinite marker \bar{o} may operate as a pronoun and thus head a noun phrase on its own. That is also true of the demonstratives and the singular definite article *ja* (10).

The collective article *je* has not been noted in this function.

- (10) a. *kət paj karə ja pĩ, ka a-j-ačwəj \bar{o} pĩ.*³
 IRLS 1.IRLS deer DEF.ART kill 2 2-RP-also one kill
 ‘I’ll kill the deer and you’ll kill one too.’
- b. *mũj na kəm a-beč*
 DEM.DST RLS 3.DAT 2-good
 ‘That one is pleased with you.’
- c. *ja na kət kakje beči*
 DEF.ART RLS 3.ERG draw.lines good
 ‘This one makes good lines.’

Plurality may be expressed with reduplication of the definite article, although the category of number is often expressed with quantifiers as well (11).

- (11) *me di jaja* ‘the women’
me prĩε jaja ‘the kids’

² The distinction between the indefinite determiner \bar{o} and the homonymous genitive postposition \bar{o} is noticeable, among other things, by the distribution of each: the determiner follows the head; the postposition *is* the head of a lower phrase but it *precedes* the head of the higher structure.

³ In this context, the indefinite article \bar{o} is pronounced as [õ^l]. It is not yet clear whether the reduced consonant at coda position is morphological material, the result of a phonological process, or merely a phonetic effect. Compared to that, there are instances in which the definite article *ja* in pronominal function is also pronounced as the more “extended” form [zar^l]; under these circumstances, however, it usually has the more adverbial meaning ‘here’. Thus, the alternation in shape is justifiable as the result of a morphological process.

Quantifiers. The quantifiers *wa* ‘dual’ and *me* ‘plural’ are positional clitics too. Either one of them may co-occur with an overt head noun; unlike determiners, however, these clitics precede the head noun they modify (11-12).

- | | | | |
|------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| (12) | <i>wa</i> | <i>di</i> | ‘(dual) women’ |
| | <i>me</i> | <i>bi</i> | ‘(plural) men’ |

The dual and plural clitics are most frequently used with pronominal elements. Under these circumstances, their distribution will vary depending on whether the pronominal element is a prefix or a free pronoun. The quantifier clitics have the same distribution relative to person prefixes as they do with full nouns, that is, they precede them both (13). With free pronouns, the distribution of *wa* ‘dual’ and *me* ‘plural’ is the opposite: the clitics follow the pronoun (14).

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (13) | [<i>wa</i>
DU | <i>ij</i>]- <i>mã</i>
1-DAT | ‘for us (DU.EXCL)’ |
| | [<i>me</i>
PL | ∅]- <i>karõ</i>
3-spirit | ‘the (deceased people’s) spirits’ |
| | [<i>me</i>
PL | <i>a</i>]- <i>p-ubu</i>
2-RP-see | ‘...see you all’ |
| (14) | <i>kət</i>
IRLS | [<i>kaj wa</i>]...
2.IRLS DU | ‘the both of you will...’ |
| | <i>na</i>
RLS | [<i>pa me</i>]...
1 PL | ‘we all...’ |

It is important to note that, of quantifiers in general, only the plural and dual markers *me* and *wa* are positional clitics. Apart from these, other words that encode quantity in Apinajé are descriptive verbs, such as *ɔʔto* ‘many’, or intransitive verbs, such as the numerals, and therefore do not pertain to the noun phrase.

Co-occurrence restrictions. Some determiners may co-occur within the same noun phrase. In my database, the only determiners that appear as such are the ones in (15) below, and only in the relative orders presented. The juxtaposition of determiners encodes specific semantic nuances in a more hierarchical than linear way, structurally. Here, determiners perform distinct functions within the same noun phrase, such that one member of the class heads the other. Consider the examples below, among them (6.b), repeated for convenience as (15.a).

(15) a. *iŋ-mã* [[[*bri* *ŋ-ireŋ*] ***ja***] ***õ***] *gõ*
 1-DAT meat RP-slice.NF DEF.ART one give
 ‘Give me one of those slices of meat’

b. *me* *prĩ* *abak=krɔ=ti* *jaja,* *me* [[***ja***] ***mũj***] *ča.*
 PL child ear=rotten=AUG DEF.RDPL PL DEF.ART DEM.DST stand
 ‘You spoiled kids, stand over there.’

c. [[***ja***] ***mũj***] *a-bə.*
 DEF.ART DEM.DST 2-fetch
 ‘Catch him (i.e. that one)!’

In (15.a), the marker *ja* indicates definiteness and referentiality pertaining to the phrase ‘slice of meat/sliced meat’; the indefinite marker *ō*, in turn, encodes a (generic, non-specified) portion of that referent. Thus, the indefinite marker *ō* heads the definite noun phrase *bri jūreŋ ja* in a genitive construction, whereby it expresses the partitive category. The constituency relation is indicated here by the intonation pattern and the cohesive distribution of the elements with respect to one another and the verb.

The examples in (15.b-c) involve the definite marker *ja* and the distal demonstrative *mūj*. Here, the definite article has a third person pronominal function and heads the phrase; and the distal demonstrative performs its regular function as a determiner of the head.

Morphosyntactically complex noun phrases. In the beginning of this section, I have pointed out that verbs may perform nominal functions within the noun phrase. The presence of verbal elements may result in higher complexity when we consider relative clauses. The structural properties of relativization involve basically the same mechanisms observed in the constructions introduced previously, but here further elements are involved as well. The syntactic and functional details about relativization and its impact on the organization of the sentence will be discussed further in chapter V. For now, I will concentrate on the structural makeup of such clauses in Apinajé, and how they fit in the noun phrase.

As a general rule in Apinajé, all kinds of subordination require that the relevant verb be in its nonfinite form (16). In nonfinite forms, it is the absolutive argument that is expressed; either with full noun occurring along with the verb (16.a-b) or with a person prefix attached to the verb (16.c).

- (16) a.

	S	V.NF							
	[[<i>přĩ=rɛ</i>	<i>č-əm]</i>	<i>ja]</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>prɛ</i>	<i>ra</i>	<u>∅</u>	<i>ə</i>	<i>katɔ</i>
	child=DIM	RP-stand.NF	DEF.ART	RLS	PST	ASP	3	ill	come.out

‘The child that was standing here, s/he was born sickly.’

- b.

	O	V.NF									
	[[<i>a-tɛ</i>	<i>[bri</i>	<i>krẽr]</i>	<i>čwəŋ]</i>	<i>ja]</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>prɛ</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>kapot</i>	<i>ə̃</i>	<u><i>ku-pĩ.</i></u>
	2-ERG	game	eat.NF	NMLZ	DEF.ART	RLS	PST	PL	woods	LOC	3-kill

‘This game you’re eating, they caught it in the wild.’

- c.

	O-V=V.NF								
	<i>a-bjɛŋ</i>	[[<i>kɔt</i>	<i>[a-t-ɔ=ɔnir</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>pa]</i>	<i>čwəŋ]</i>	<i>ja]</i>		
	2-husband	3.ERG	2-RP-do=thus.NF	do	live	NMLZ	DEF.ART		

na *kəm* *a-kĩ* *ket*
 RLS 3.DAT 2-like NEG

‘This husband of yours who keeps on treating you like that, he doesn’t like you.’

If the subordinate verb is transitive, the ergative argument of the relative clause must be overtly marked as such (16.b-c). The ergative marker is a positional clitic and has the alternative forms *tɛ* and *kɔt*: the former is used with first and second person arguments, and takes person prefixes; *kɔt* refers to third person arguments, and takes no prefixes (see chapter VI for a diachronic hypothesis about the development of differences in the form of the ergative clitics).

The ergative marker indicates the initial boundary of the subordinate clause – and consequently, of the noun phrase. At the other end, the clausal boundary may coincide with the nonfinite verb form (16.a) or with a nominalizer clitic (16.b-c). However, as far as the noun phrase boundary is concerned, it is the definite article *ja* that usually seals it, in these circumstances (16.a-c).

Besides these overt boundary markers, these constituents may be identified also by their intonation contour and by their internal cohesion, or uninterruptability.

Noun phrase coordination. Three distinct strategies for noun phrase coordination have been noted in my database. The first involves the use of the conjunction *ně*; the next employs the associative morpheme *mě* in conjunction with the dual marker *wa*; and the last strategy involves the expression *(ne) kačiw*, which translates approximately as ‘in addition to; along with’. The conjunction *ně* is also used for clausal coordination, in which context it performs the more specialized function of ‘same subject’ marker (see further details in section 4).

The examples in (17) illustrate the use of *ně*. The coordinate noun phrases are the arguments of the transitive verbs *ɔbu* ‘see’ and *gõ* ‘give’, and the intransitive *tě* ‘go’. In (17.a), only the conjunction is used, whereas the dual marker co-occurs with it in (17.b-c). In the latter examples, we notice two tokens of the realis marker *na* – once

introducing the coordinate noun phrases, and the second time introducing the clause as such. Here, the dual marker *wa* refers back to the noun phrase referents, which are somewhat emphasized in this type of construction.

- (17) a. *pa* *na* *pa* [[*a-kra* *nẽ* *a-bjeŋ*] *p-ubu*]
 1 RLS 1 2-child CNJ 2-husband RP-see
 ‘I saw your husband and your child.’
- b. *na* [*a-kra nẽ* *ic-kra*] *na* [*wa*] *ma* *tẽ*
 RLS 2-child CNJ 1-child RLS DU MOV go
 ‘My child and your child have both left (together).’
- c. *na* [*ireptsire nẽ tij* *dada*] *na* [*wa*] *ɨŋ-mã kwərčəŋ* *gõ*
 RLS N. CNJ HT N. RLS DU 1-DAT macaxeira give
 ‘Ireptsi and Dada, both of them have given me some macaxeira.’

Factors that may be of relevance for the double occurrence of the realis marker in this context are (a) that the arguments expressed by the coordinate noun phrases are A/S, and (b) that they are not encoded by pronouns. Were these arguments to be expressed as pronouns, the pattern for syntactically encoded emphasis on them would be the double occurrence of the pronoun itself; and had they been O arguments, the dual clitic could have been dispensed with, as in (17.a).

As pointed out earlier, the number clitics *wa* and *mɛ* generally precede the noun phrase they modify, follow the pronoun they modify, and precede the verb whose bound prefix they modify. In these conjunction examples, the first impulse might be to assume that they modify the preceding noun phrase, which would be structurally odd. However,

this is not the case: the realis clitic *na* marks the right boundary of the conjoined S/A noun phrase in (17.b-c), leaving *wa* to serve as a resumptive pronoun.

When a conjoined noun phrase is in O function, the resumptive pronoun slot is not available. In this case, *wa* can occur only as a modifier of the third person form of the verb (18.a), in which case the O noun phrase is not within the verb phrase, but stands as a preverbal adjunct. The attempt to force an analysis with *wa* as a post-NP modifier fails, as seen in (18.b): *wa* cannot be interpreted as the dual marker when it comes between the conjoined noun phrase and a transitive verb bearing a relational prefix (indicating contiguity with its O argument). Here, *wa* can only be interpreted as the homophonous noun ‘tooth’, and the conjoined noun phrase must be its possessor.

(18) a. *pa na pa [a-kra nẽ ic-kra] [wa ɔbu]*
 1 RLS 1 2-child CNJ 1-child DU see
 ‘I saw both your child and mine.’

b. ?? *pa na pa [[a-kra nẽ ic-kra wa] p-ubu]*
 1 RLS 1 2-child CNJ 1-child tooth RP-see

The same observations regarding the use of the realis and the dual markers are valid for the examples involving the expression (*nẽ*) *kačiw*, which has the same distribution in the noun phrase as the plain conjunction *nẽ* in the examples above. Notice that, here too, the dual marker may be dispensed with, when the coordinates constitute the O argument of the verb (19.d). The morpheme *kačiw* can also function as an inchoative marker in a different type of construction (section v.4).

(19) a. *pa na pa [a-kra nẽ kačiw ic-kra] p-ubu*
 1 RLS 1 2-child CNJ in.addition 1-child RP-see
 ‘I saw your child, along with mine.’

b. *na [a-kra ne kačiw ic-kra] na [wa] ma tẽ*
 RLS 2-child CNJ in.addition 1-child RLS DU MOV go
 ‘Your child and mine have both left.’

c. *na [ireptsi ne kačiw tij dada]*
 RLS N. CNJ in.addition HT N.

na [wa] ijn-mã kwərčəɲ gõ
 RLS DU 1-DAT macaxeira give
 ‘Ireptsi, along with Dada, they have both given me some macaxeira.’

d. *wa ijn-mã [[kago=tik=re kačiw čwə=krã=ti] õ] gõ.*
 DU 1-DAT juice=black=DIM in.addtn dough=head=AUG INDF give
 ‘Give (the two of) us some coffee along with some cake.’

The examples in (20) illustrate the use of the associative marker *mẽ*, which follows the same general pattern noted above. One interesting fact about this morpheme is that it serves as the basis for the numeral *amẽtkrut* ‘two’. The use of *amẽ* as a numeral results in different distribution from its use as the associative (20.c). It appears as a common modifier of the coordinates, thus closing the higher noun phrase, which is again not contiguous to its predicator.

(20) a. *na [a-kra mẽ ic-kra] [wa] ma tẽ*
 RLS 2-child ASSC 1-child DU MOV go
 ‘Your child and mine have both left (together).’

b. *pa na pa [a-kra mē a-bjeŋ] [wa] ɔbu*
 1 RLS 1 2-child ASSC 2-husband DU 3.see
 ‘I saw your child and your husband, both of them (together).’

c. *pa na pa [[a-kra ne a-bjeŋ] amē] [wa] ɔbu*
 1 RLS 1 2-child CNJ 2-husband two DU see
 ‘I saw your husband and your child, the two of them.’

Notice that (20.a) is a counterexample to the analysis proposed here, that the coordination of S/A noun phrases must be mediated by the realis marker. The examples in (21), on the other hand, not only confirm the analysis, they also show that, without the realis marker, the clause is grammatically unacceptable, a fact that reinforces the idea that coordinate noun phrases in Apinajé are somewhat emphasized because of the very syntactic construction in which they appear. In face of the evidence, however, it appears that the analysis will have to be reajusted to include the possibility that position and movement intransitives may, in fact, allow for the lack of the realis marker. Further research will be necessary to clarify this point.

(21) a. *na ireptsire mē tij dada na wa iŋ-mā kwərčəŋ gō*
 RLS N. CNJ HT N. RLS DU 1-DAT macaxeira give
 ‘Ireptsi and Dada, both of them have given me some macaxeira.’

b. **na ireptsire mē tij dada iŋ-mā kwərčəŋ gō*

The strategies for noun phrase coordination presented in (17-21) all indicate that the referents performed actions, underwent changes-of-state or participated in events together, as a party. Another coordination strategy, one that employs the noun *áčwəj*

prefix or third person form of the postposition takes on the role of resumptive pro-form, instead (25).

- (25) [[*go* *ɲ-ikje*] *ə̃*] *me* *di* *jaja*] *kəm* *apeɲ* *prəm*.
 water RP-side LOC PL women DEF.RDPL 3.DAT work.NF wish
 ‘The women from the other side of the river like to work.’

Determiners. Of the determiners found in noun phrases, only demonstrative pronouns may replace the noun phrase headed by a postposition. Otherwise, in the absence of a full noun phrase, it is a person prefix or the reflexive or reciprocal clitics that attach to the postposition, serving as cross-reference markers (26).

- (26) a. *ja* *kamə̃* ‘for that reason (lit.: ‘in this’)
 DEF.ART INSV
- b. *atpə̃* *t-ə̃* ‘with one another’
 RCPR RP-INSTR
- c. *ku-rum* ‘from it’
 3-ABL

Quantifiers. The plural and dual clitics may each co-occur with a postposition that is inflected for person. In this case, the quantifier clitic is actually modifying the (referent of the) person prefix attached to the postposition, and occurs preposed to it. Most postpositions take a zero prefix for third person; others have irregular third person forms (see diachronic hypothesis in section III.3.1.3). In these cases, the quantifier occurs preposed to the postposition itself (27).

associative and the dual marker (29.a). That is not exactly what could be called coordination, though the combination of dual marker and first person prefix encodes first person exclusive, and the other participant is clearly indicated by the associative marker *mě*. In (29.b), on the other hand, the two third person objects are expressed by overt noun phrases linked by the associative marker.

(29) a. *kɔt kaj tě ne [[a-brɛget mě] wa iŋ]-mã ape.*
 IRLS 2.IRLS go CNJ 2-KR. ASSC DU 1-DAT work
 ‘You will go and work for both of us [me with your mother-in-law].’

b. *Siračti na [[krĩ mě pur] kəm] wa amě kamã pa.*
 N. RLS village ASSC field 3.DAT DU two INSV live
 ‘Sirač lives both in the field and in the village.’

[Lit.: ‘Sirač, towards the village and the field, in both places she lives/wanders.’]

The unacceptable examples in (30) show that the presence of the dual marker *wa* is necessary, and that it mediates the relation between the coordinate noun phrases and the postposition that heads the higher phrase. In other words, there is no coordination of postpositional phrases as such; instead, there is either noun phrase or clause coordination (31).

(30) a. **kɔt kaj a-brɛget ne iŋ-mã ape*

b. **Siračti na krĩja ne pur ja kamã pa.*

c. ?? *Kɔt kaj a-brɛget ne iŋ-mã meõ n-ipeč.*

‘You will cook some food for your mother-in-law and for me.’

(33) a. *na pa [ic-kĩ nẽ]*.
 RLS 1 1-cheerful FCT
 ‘I’m cheerful/happy.’

b. *na [[me kra=rɛ] Ø-kĩ nẽ]*.
 RLS PL child=DIM 3-cheerful FCT
 ‘Those kids are cheerful’.

(34) a. *na pa a-t-ɔ amiti*
 RLS 1 2-RP-INSTR dream
 ‘I dreamed about you.’

b. *əw, pa a-t-ɔ [ic-pimtir] beč ɔ nõ*
 yes 1 2-RP-INSTR 1-dream.NF good do lie
 ‘Yes, I had a good dream about you.’

Verb arguments may be expressed by full noun phrases within the verb phrase or by person prefixes; either way, vowel-initial predicators must take relational prefixes. Relational prefixes, as already mentioned, indicate distributional contiguity and syntactic constituency between the elements of the phrase. When such contiguity is breached, the relevant argument is understood as being under focus, as it occurs elsewhere in the clause. In the case of transitive, monosyllabic predicators, an argument under focus is replaced in the verb phrase by the third person accusative prefix *ku-*, which serves as a resumptive pronoun (35-36).

(35) a. A O V
na pa [[pĩ ja] pi]
 RLS 1 wood DEF grab
 ‘I grabbed that wood stick.’

b. O A _o-V
[pĩ ja] na pa ku-pi
 wood DEF RLS 1 3-grab
 ‘It was that wood stick that I grabbed (lit: ‘That wood stick, I grabbed it’).’

(36) a. A O V
na pa [[pĩgak=ti ən] n-ipeč]
 RLS 1 bacuri=AUG sweet RP-make
 ‘I made some bacuri jam.’

b. O A _o-V
[pĩgak=ti ən] na pa Ø-ipeč
 bacuri=AUG sweet RLS 1 3-make
 ‘The bacuri jam, I made it.’

The other possibility is that the relevant noun phrase argument may occur elsewhere in the discourse, in which case the accusative prefix serves as an anaphoric pronoun. Note also that the zero third person prefix occurs, when distributional restrictions prevent the occurrence of *ku-*.

(37) a. A _o-V
na pa ku-pi.
 RLS 1 3-grab
 ‘I grabbed it.’

	A	o-V
b. <i>na</i>	<i>pa</i>	\emptyset - <i>ipeč</i>
RLS	1	3-make
'I made it.'		

Verb phrase/clause coordination. Verb phrase coordination basically coincides with clausal coordination. The strategies employed include the conjunctions *ně* and *jum*, which have the additional function of a switch reference system; or simply the juxtaposition of phrases. The distribution of these markers is also ruled by the contrast between speech-act and third person participants.

Ně indicates same subject (see discussion of grammatical relations in section 4) and is used regardless of person distinctions (38.a-b). When there is switch in reference such that both referents are third person participants, the conjunction *jum* is employed (38.c). When there is switch of reference to a speech-act participant, however, there is juxtaposition of clauses such that the second referent is introduced by a free pronoun (38.d).

(38) a.	<i>dɔm</i>	<i>kɔt</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>a-bra</i>	<i>təč</i>	<i>ně</i> ,				
	but	IRLS	2	2-run	fast	FCT				
	<i>ně</i>	[[[<i>a-mě</i>	<i>nĩ</i>	<i>prəm</i>]	<i>čwəɟɪ</i>]	<i>ja</i>]	<i>rɛ</i>	<i>ně</i>	<i>rĩ</i>	<i>a-nĩ</i>
	SS	2-DAT	have.sex	wish	NMLZ	DET	outrun	SS	may	2-h.s.
	<i>dɔ</i>	<i>kɔt</i>	<i>kaj</i>	\emptyset - <i>rɛ</i>	<i>ket=ně</i> ,	<i>ně</i>	<i>nĩ</i>	<i>ket=ne</i> .		
	but	IRLS	2.IRLS	3-outrun	NEG	SS	have.sex	NEG		
	'Well, if you run really fast and outrun the one you want to have sex with, then you may have sex with her. But if you don't outrun her, then you may not have sex.'									

b. *miti krẽ pa nẽ kir kamã kə, krã, i ċi pa*
 alligator eat CNCL SS moquia LOC skin head bone put CNCL
 ‘(They) ate the alligator and put its skin, head, bones, all into the roasting place.’

c. *kot paj aroj kugãn pa nẽ pãjn Ø-katõ pa*
 IRLS 1.IRLS rice thresh CNCL SS after 3-roast CNCL

nẽ pãjn ku-ċi jum nõ nẽ akri
 SS after 3-put 3.DS lie SS cold
 ‘I’ll thresh the rice, roast it, put it on a flat surface, then it will sit there and cool off.’

d. *əbri jum kəm, “ε! kət paj a-tu,*
 then 3.DS 3.DAT EXCL IRLS 1.IRLS 2-carry.on.back

pa dɔ=kij a-t-ɔ tẽ ka itkõ.
 1 at.once 2-RP-INSTR go 2 drink
 ‘Then she (the jaguar) says to him (the paŋi), “Yeah, I’ll carry you on my back, take you so you drink water at once.’

The noun *ačwəj* ‘likewise’ is, structurally speaking, the head of a noun phrase, possessed by *ic-kra* in the examples below. *Ačwəj* behaves morphosyntactically as an inalienable noun. It takes person prefixes and may be followed by determiners such as the definite marker *ja*. In other words, not only does it belong in the noun phrase, it heads it (38). The adverbial *mənẽjn* ‘also’, on the other hand, is a sentence-level operator with rather flexible distribution in the clause, as will be seen later on.

Thus, the strategies presented in (39-40) are not exactly instances of noun phrase, but clausal coordination. Further details on this subject are in section (4).

- (39) a. *na* [*a-kra*] *ma* *tě* *kačiw* [*ic-kra j-ačwəj*] *ma* *tě*
 RLS 2-child MOV go in.addition 1-child RP-likewise MOV go
 ‘Your child and mine left (separately).’
 (Lit.: ‘Your child left and, in addition, my child likewise left.’)
- b. [*mε* \emptyset -*ačwəj* *jaja*] *apen=krě=ti* *rě*
 PL 3-likewise DEF.RDPL mangaba=head=AUG throw
 ‘They too play ball.’
- c. *ma*, *kət* *paj* [*i-j-ačwəj*] *akupim* *i-č-ujaně* *ket=ně*
 no IRLS 1.IRLS 1-RP-likewise back.CNTRF 1-RP-return NEG
 ‘No, I’m not coming back either.’
- (40) *na* [[*a-kra*] *ma* *tě*] *jum* *məněj* [[*ic-kra*] *ma* *tě*]
 RLS 2-child MOV go CNJ.DS also 1-child MOV go
 ‘Your child left and my child also left.’

3. Clause structure

In what follows, the various types of main clause structure are introduced. It will be seen that some of the variation found in verbal clauses is due to the major distinction between the realis and irrealis mode, as well as to speech-act distinctions, especially the contrast between affirmative and negative sentences. Other differences in the structure of verbal clauses are due to the morphosyntactic nature of the predicators involved, namely, those that entail the standard pattern of argument marking already introduced (sections III.3.2.1. and III.4.1.1), as against those predicators that involve non-canonical patterns of argument marking.

3.1. Mode distinctions

The realis and irrealis encompass all clause structure types in Apinajé. That is, clauses are either realis or irrealis, structurally. From a semantic and functional perspective, the realis mode includes past, present, habitual – negative, positive or interrogative – propositions. The irrealis mode comprises future, hypothetical, counterfactual, conditional, intensitive – negative, positive, interrogative and some imperative – propositions. Speech act distinctions therefore do not interfere with mode distinctions, for the most part (except for one type of imperative, as will be seen below).

The realis mode is encoded by the positional clitic *na*. As a general rule, this marker indicates the clause initial boundary and is typically followed by a free pronoun, which encodes the nominative argument of the clause. Tense-aspect distinctions are expressed elsewhere in the clause, often by clitic sequences postposed to the nominative pronoun, or by clause final clitics, subordinators, or serial constructions (41).

(41) a. *na pa prɛ ic-tik*
 RLS 1 PST 1-black
 ‘I got dirty.’

b. *na mũj prɛ tɛ eč=ʒi nẽ*
 RLS DEM PST HAB lie=NMLZ FCT
 ‘That one used to lie.’

The irrealis mode is encoded by the positional clitic *kɔt*. This clitic also indicates clause initial boundary and is obviously in complementary distribution with *na* (42).

- (42) a. *kɔt kaj a-tik*
 IRLS 2.IRLS 2-black
 ‘You will get dirty.’
- b. *kɔt ja wa prek nẽ wa beč nẽ.*
 IRLS 3.IRLS DU tall CNJ DU pretty FCT
 ‘They will both grow up and be beautiful.’

The form of independent pronouns, which encode the nominative argument of the clause, is different in irrealis and realis clauses; except for this detail, other aspects of the clause are the same in either clause type.

Beyond this basic observation, it is also noticeable that *kɔt* has a more restricted distribution than *na*. The latter may occur in positions other than clause initially; in such circumstances, it is often syntactically associated to noun phrases, indicating either (a) that such noun phrases are in focus position – a function common also to the irrealis marker (43); or (b) stating the status of the noun phrase as the predicator (under focus) of the clause, as illustrated by an example of noun phrase coordination, repeated below as (44).

- (43) a. *pa na pa pre iŋ-diw nẽ*
 1 RLS 1 PST 1-young FCT
 ‘(As for me,) I was young then.’
- b. *təm na wa beč=ti*
 DEM RLS DU pretty=AUG
 ‘Those are pretty!’
- c. *pa kɔt paj zekabere ɔ gre*
 1 IRLS 1.IRLS N. INSTR dance
 ‘I’ll dance with Zecabere.’

- (44) *na ireptsire mē tij dada na wa iŋ-mã kwərčəŋ gō*
 RLS N. CNJ HT N. RLS DU 1-DAT macaxeira give
 ‘Ireptsi and Dada, both of them have given me some macaxeira (sweet manioc).’

3.2. Speech-act distinctions

The declarative, interrogative and imperative speech-acts correspond to morphological and structural distinctions in Apinajé. Declarative clauses have the structural properties of the types just introduced.

Polarity questions may be expressed with exactly the same kind of structure as simple declarative clauses, but with a distinct intonation pattern; or the question may be introduced by the positional clitic *čə* (alternative form *čo*, depending on the speaker), which co-occurs with the mode markers, but at absolute clause-initial position (45.a-b). Information questions are naturally introduced by interrogative pronouns, also at clause initial position (45.c-d).

- (45) a. *čo na ka ra a-tujaro?*
 Q. RLS 2 ASP 2-pregnant
 ‘Are you pregnant yet?’

- b. *čo kət kaj ajte a-tujaro?*
 Q. IRLS 2.IRLS more 2-pregnant
 ‘Will you get pregnant again?’

- c. *meʔō na jari tujaro?*
 who RLS here pregnant
 ‘Who is pregnant, here?’

d. *ɲi na wε ðčwa?*
 which RLS HRS sleepy
 ‘Which one is sleepy?’

There are two strategies for the expression of imperative constructions. One of them is the use of an irrealis clause whose nominative participant is the addressee of the command (46.a). This strategy is employed when the speaker is making a request or giving advice to the addressee. The other strategy is used in more direct commands, and that is reflected in the structure of the imperative construction (Haiman 1985; Givón 2001: 34-35). Here, no mode marker is employed. The proposition is expressed, instead, by the bare or inflected form of the verb, depending on its morphosyntactic class. This is the only construction type in which a transitive verb may display a nominative pattern of inflection (i.e., it takes the second person prefix, as one might expect of an imperative context (46.b)).

(46) a. *kɔt kaj ɲn-mɛ me ok j-akre pa ɔbu*
 IRLS 2.IRLS 1-DAT PL paint RP-show 1 see
 ‘Show me how to paint so I can see it (i.e. teach me how).’

b. *a-pĩ*
 2-kill
 ‘Kill it (e.g. game)!’

3.3. Verbal clauses

Verbal clauses have a structure distinct from nominal ones, not only because they – obviously – are centered around verbal predicators, but especially because they involve an interesting combination of alignment patterns (cf. section 4).

In the present discussion, I will be employing the notation A, S, and O, proposed in Dixon (1979, 1994) and later expanded to include E, in Aikhenvald, Dixon and Onishi's (2001) framework. The characterization proposed by Dixon for these symbols, as representing universal syntactic-semantic primitives, has been critiqued by other linguists. Some of the problems that have been pointed out include (a) inadequacies in the semantic characterization of these primitives; (b) the fact that their definition is based on a mixture of semantic and grammatical properties; and (c) that certain languages do not seem to follow these kinds of patterning, and therefore such primitives should not be regarded as universal (Mithun and Chafe 1999; Comrie 1978; 1989). Nonetheless, these symbols are amply used in the literature as a means to refer to core arguments of transitive and intransitive verbs.

Keeping in mind the problems raised in the literature regarding the theoretical implications carried by these symbols, in the present discussion I will use them more as useful mnemonic devices than as strict theoretical constructs. On the other hand, I will follow the typology proposed in Aikhenvald, Dixon and Onishi (2001) when laying out patterns of participant marking noted in Apinajé. Once these patterns have been laid out, I will propose a set of language internal criteria for identifying what relevant grammatical relations there are in Apinajé (section 4; cf. Dryer 1997).

3.3.1. Canonical predicates

The major morphosyntactic classes of verbs, as seen in section III.3.1.2.1, are those that comprise (di)transitive verbs, intransitive verbs, and descriptive verbs. It should be noted from the start that, for each verb class, specific participants are understood as core arguments (A, S, O, E) because they are necessarily required by the verb. However, the core argument status of some of these participants may or may not be supported by a robust set of grammatical criteria in Apinajé, as will be seen in section 4.

Transitive and descriptive verbs are inflected for person according to an absolutive pattern. In the former class, person prefixes are pronominal, that is, they stand for the O argument itself; this is what is referred to here as “cross-referencing”. In the latter class, person prefixes agree with independent pronouns in the indexation of the sole argument of the verb, i.e. S.

Intransitive verbs do not take person inflection in simple clauses, and thus form a split intransitivity pattern along with descriptives, as both types are monovalent. The split between descriptives and intransitives corresponds in large part to the semantic distinction between states as against events and activities, but it is not guided by it. The sub-categorization is basically of a morphosyntactic nature (for a detailed discussion about descriptive verbs see Oliveira 2003).

Contrasting to bound person inflection, the use of independent pronouns follows a nominative pattern. Indeed, nominative free pronouns are nearly obligatory in any simple

clause. Pronouns express the pertinent (S/A) arguments of all intransitive, descriptive and transitive verbs.

- (47) a. *na* *ka* *pre* *te* *mε* *ape*
 RLS 2 PST HAB PL work
 ‘You used to work.’
- b. *na* *ka* *a-t-ǎ=go* *ně*
 RLS 2 2-RP-LOC=water FCT
 ‘You’re sweating’
- c. *na* *ka* *ic-kake*
 RLS 2 1-scratch
 ‘You’ve scratched me.’

Thus, the structure of simple clauses in Apinajé betrays a combination of split intransitivity and nominative alignment patterns – all this relative to agreement and cross-referencing, however. It is only in the context of subordination that ergativity is overtly expressed by case markers (see chapter V). These patterns comprise the canonical marking of arguments in Apinajé verbal clauses.

3.3.2. Noncanonical predicates

The typology of argument marking proposed in Onishi (2001) departs from the assumption that all languages include transitive and intransitive clauses, and that the core arguments of these clauses – A, S, O – will be expressed according to certain canonical patterns noticeable in that given language. Additionally, languages will also display a set of predicators that include what he terms “extensions to the core”, which he indicates

with the symbol E (which stands for “extended argument”, following Dixon 1994). The “core” plus “extensions” result in four clause types, displayed schematically below (from Onishi 2001: 2), in which core arguments may be marked in the most diverse ways, crosslinguistically.

(48)

Plain transitive	A	O	
Extended transitive (ditransitive)	A	O	E (or O)
Plain intransitive		S	
Extended intransitive		S	E

The schematic representation in (48) defines possible clause types according to the types of arguments that are obligatorily required in each. Thus, a plain transitive clause must include A and O; a ditransitive clause must include A, O and a third argument, which may be expressed morphosyntactically as an indirect object E or as a secondary object O; a plain intransitive has its single argument S; and an extended intransitive has two obligatory arguments: S plus another, E, which is typically expressed with oblique markers. Extended arguments differ from oblique participants or adjuncts in that they are obligatorily required by the verb.

The fact that some of these core arguments will be marked with adpositions or case-marking certainly makes it hard to decide whether the participant in question is in fact a core argument of the verb. Thus, as Onishi wisely points out, “both morphological and syntactic criteria [are necessary] to determine which arguments should be regarded as A, S, O and E” (p.2).

The noncanonical marking of core arguments is understood here, with Onishi (2001), as those patterns that deviate from the standard patterns of argument marking used in a given language. In the case of Apinajé, the canonical pattern is the use of free pronouns to indicate $S_A/S_O/A$ (nominative pattern), and bound person markers to indicate S_O/O (absolute pattern). Noncanonical marking in Apinajé then involves the use of various postpositions for the expression of what appear to be core arguments, that is, participants that are obligatorily required by verbs.

In the remainder of this section, I will tentatively depart from the assumption that the patterns of Apinajé laid out here involve the noncanonical marking of core arguments; at this point, this assumption is based simply on (a) the frequency and consistency with which certain postpositions come associated with certain verbs; and (b) the fact that these combinations sometimes result in significantly distinct meanings from those of the base verbs, as if in a derivational relation. Supporting grammatical evidence is presented in section 4.

Noncanonical marking in Apinajé is noticeable with verbs of cognition, emotion, utterance, and sensation, among others. The patterns observed with these verbs all depart from the basic canonical patterns of argument marking and involve many sorts of postpositions – from locative, to dative, to instrumental to ergative. The semantic sub-categorization of such predicators corresponds somewhat to the kinds of postpositions used, but not necessarily so.

Notionally monovalent non-canonical predicators. Most (notional) monovalent non-canonical predicators (and I say “predicators,” rather than “verbs,” because some of these are based on nouns⁴) have their sole participant marked with the dative postposition, although there is one verb, *amjĩ kati* ‘have fun; enjoy oneself’, which calls for the reflexive pronoun. Verbs belonging in this class encode sensations and emotions (49-50).

(49) a. S_{-DAT}

<i>mã</i>	<i>ba</i>	‘be fearful’
<i>mã</i>	<i>kaga</i>	‘be lazy’
<i>mã</i>	<i>kri</i>	‘feel cold’
<i>mã</i>	<i>prãm</i>	‘be hungry’
<i>mã</i>	<i>ko</i>	‘be thirsty’

b. S_{-RFLX}

amjĩ kati ‘enjoy oneself’

(50) a. *na pa amjĩ=kati.*
 RLS 1 RFLX=play
 ‘I played/enjoyed myself.’

b. *na əm meɔj pitã uba. kəm ba tãč.*
 RLS 3 thing all 3.fear 3.DAT fear INTS
 ‘That one is afraid of everything. He’s very fearful.’

⁴ That the elements involved are nouns, and not simply the result of conversion of nouns into verbs, can be seen from morphological differences between the members of a pair, for instance, as in *akri* ‘be cold’ as compared to *kri* ‘cold (?)’; another example is *t-ã go* [RP-LOC water] ‘sweat’, as against *ã* ‘LOC’ and *go* ‘water’.

c. *na pa iŋ-mã kaga.*
 RLS 1 1-DAT refuse
 ‘I feel lazy (Possibly: ‘It refuses to me’).’

d. *na pa i-ŋ-mã prãm nẽ.*
 RLS 1 1-DAT wish FCT
 ‘I am hungry.’

e. *pa i-ŋ-mã kor.*
 1 1-DAT thirst
 ‘I’m thirsty.’

f. *na ka a-mã kri nẽ.*
 RLS 2 2-DAT cold FCT
 ‘You are cold.’

At a closer look, one could hypothesize that the predicator in these cases may be taking a zero third person marker, in which case the predicator could not be adequately described as monovalent. The difficulty with confirming this hypothesis is that, in some cases, a regular verb adopts an alternative form which is specific to this kind of predication. Take the example of *mã kri* ‘feel cold’: elsewhere, the form of the predicator is *akri* ‘be.cold’, which may take person inflection, thus also employing the relational prefix *j-*. In the case of a zero third person form, the relational prefix would not occur; but the formative *a-* would not be lost either. Therefore, the best criteria for deciding whether these are mono- or bivalent predicators, and even whether the participants marked with postpositions are or are not core arguments, must come from syntax. For the time being, I will simply lay out the morphological patterns involved, and will postpone a discussion of the syntactic evidence until section 4.

Bivalent non-canonical predicates. Bivalent non-canonical predicates come in a variety of patterns. The primary difference between the patterns is whether A or O is noncanonically marked, and secondarily whether we should think of some of these as extended intransitives rather than noncanonical transitives. We begin with two clear cases of noncanonical A: some verbs require that the A be marked as a dative, others that it be marked as ergative.

The verbs that require a dative A include verbs of liking, disliking, refusal, fear, and desire. The latter three occur as complement-taking verbs as well, as may be seen in the examples. The clause begins with the nominative pronoun in first or second position, followed a bit later by a coreferential dative-marked A argument; the O follows the canonical pattern, either occurring as a noun phrase immediately adjacent to the verb, or indicated morphologically with bound pronouns ((51-52); O-NP's are within brackets).

- (51) A-DAT O-ACC
- | | | |
|----|--------------------|--------------------|
| a. | <i>mã əŋ</i> | ‘please.palate’ |
| | <i>mã kʲiŋi</i> | ‘please.affection’ |
| | <i>mã kure</i> | ‘dislike.people’ |
| b. | <i>mã kaga</i> | ‘give up; refuse’ |
| | <i>mã prəm</i> | ‘want; desire’ |
| | <i>mã uba/pubā</i> | ‘be afraid of O’ |

- (52) a. *na pa a iŋ-mǝ [bi nēŋ] kī kačiw.*
 RLS 1 INCH 1-DAT man DEM please.affection INCH
 ‘I’m about to fall in love with this man.’
- b. *nēŋ na kəm ic-kure.*
 DEM RLS 3.DAT 1-dislike
 ‘That one dislikes me.’
- c. *pa na iŋ-mǝ [bri] č-əni.*
 1 RLS 1-DAT game RP-please.palate
 ‘I like meat.’
- d. *ja na kəm [əm] kaga.*
 DEM RLS 3.DAT get.up.NF refuse
 ‘This one won’t get up.’
- e. *na pa iŋ-mǝ [kagǝ] p-uba.*
 RLS 1 1-DAT snake RP-fear
 ‘I’m afraid of snakes.’
- f. *iŋ-mǝ [[akunī kot ic-tem] ja] pu-ba.*
 1-DAT woods DIR 1-go.NF DEF RP-fear
 ‘I’m afraid of walking in the woods.’

The ergative A pattern is found with three transitive verbs, which exceptionally occur in their nonfinite forms in main clauses (53). The A occurs once only, marked as ergative, and the O takes the canonical expression of the accusative argument (54). Predicators from this morphosyntactic class have cognition semantics, but the A argument is not a passive experiencer: there is often some deliberate involvement of the participant in the cognitive experience. The ergative marking on A then seems to encode this semantic nuance.

- (53) A-ERG O-ACC
- tε/kɔt bar* ‘understand; comprehend’
tε/kɔt ɔbu/pubu ‘know; learn’
tε/kɔt urak/pirak ‘behave in similar way’

- (54) a. *ic-tε a-barⁱ ket*
 1-ERG 2-understand NEG
 ‘I cannot understand you.’
- b. *ic-tε a-pubuyi.*
 1-ERG 2-see.NF
 ‘I know you.’

The motivation for these verbs to occur in their nonfinite forms is not clear yet; further data and analysis are still needed for a better understanding of the occurrence of nonfinite forms in what otherwise appear to be simple clauses (cf. section v.4).

The next set of patterns could be analyzed in two different ways: either they present a noncanonical O or they present formally intransitive predicates with an obligatory oblique argument (E) instead of an O. In favor of the former analysis is the obligatory nature of the second argument. In favor of the latter analysis is the fact that the putative A for some verbs follows the standard A/S_A pattern (unmarked, clause-initial); but for other verbs, it follows the pattern for subjects of descriptives (clause-initial nominative pronoun, S_O verbal prefix).

The verbs shown in (55) are based on intransitive stems, which take no person marking. Thus, both arguments of the predication must be marked outside the verb stem. For this set in particular, the A/S_A argument is indicated with the nominative free pronoun,

and the O argument is marked with either the dative, instrumental, locative or inessive postpositions. These are mostly utterance verbs, in addition to one emotion verb.

(55) a. A/S_A O/E-DAT

mã amõra 'yell at'
mã akiri 'swear at; yell at'
mã e 'tie; fasten'

b. A/S_A O/E-LOC

õ akuĵa 'laugh at O'
õ aʔwə 'request from O'

c. A/S_A O/E-INSTR

o aba 'miss O'

d. A/S_A O/E-INSV

kamõ Krak 'shoot at'

(56) a. *di kɔt iŋ-mã amra čwəŋ ja na ickramčwə ket.*
 woman3.ERG 1-DAT yell.NF RLVZ ART RLS 1-friend NEG
 'This woman who's yelling at me is no friend of mine.'

b. *kəm akiri.*

3.DAT call
 'Call him!'

c. *kɔt paj pĩ mã e.*
 IRLS 1.IRLS wood DAT tie
 'I will tie the lumber.'

d. *ka na ka ic-t-∅ aba nẽ*
 2 RLS 2 1-RP-INSTR think FCT
 ‘It is you, you miss me (i.e. feel my absence).’

The verb *kamã krak* ‘shoot [at]’ is, in reality, a trivalent verb whose O argument, *kuče* ‘gun’, is often omitted; for that reason, the observable pattern for this verb resembles one of the noncanonical patterns – in fact, it may eventually become solidified in that way. Typically, with this verb the focus is on the target of the shooting, i.e. E: the fact that there was a weapon used is assumed, and thus left unsaid. The status of the weapon as the O argument of the verb is demonstrated in the examples below: in (57.a-b) the target is marked with the inessive postposition; in (57.c), it is marked directly on the verb.

(57) a. *pa na pa a=kamã Ø-krak.*
 1 RLS 1 2=INSV 3(gun)-shoot
 ‘It was I, I shot you.’

b. *pa na pa amjĩ=kamã Ø-krak*
 1 RLS 1 RFLX-INSV 3-shoot
 ‘It was I, I shot myself.’

c. *na kuče ate amjĩ=krak*
 RLS gun alone RFLX=shoot
 ‘The gun went off on its own.’

The other pattern is illustrated in (58). The A/S₀ argument is marked by the nominative pronoun plus the S₀ prefix on the verb, while the O/E argument is marked with the dative postposition. This set includes verbs of utterance, deception and refusal. It also

includes the verbs for ‘find’, which are actually metaphorical extensions of a pair of movement-verb constructions in which the literal endpoint of the trajectory is the metaphorical O argument of the verbal expression.

(58) A/S_O O/E-DAT

<i>mã ure</i>	‘drop; leave behind; give up’
<i>mã abatpẽre</i>	‘remember’
<i>mã ec̣</i>	‘lie to O’
<i>mã kapẽr</i>	‘talk to’
<i>mã apoj</i>	‘find <PL.O>’
<i>mã katɔ</i>	‘find <NONPL.O>’

(59) a. *na pa pre kəm i-j-ĩre jum tẽ tẽm.*
 RLS 1 PST 3.DAT 1-RP-let.go DS go fall
 ‘I let go of him and he fell.’

b. *na pa ra ajte [a-mã i-j-abatpẽr] ket.*
 RLS 1 ASP more 2-DAT 1-RP-remember NEG
 ‘I don’t think about you anymore.’

c. *na pa [mε kəm] i-j-apoj.*
 RLS 1 PL 3.DAT 1-RP-exit<PL>
 ‘I found them.’

d. *na pa uĩ ji-ipok ri [kəm] ic-katɔ.*
 RLS 1 woods RP-middle DEM 3.DAT 1-exit<SG>
 ‘I found it out in the woods.’

A set of verbs of negative emotion follows the same pattern, except that the O/E argument, the target of the emotion, is marked with the inessive postposition *kamã*.

(60) A/S₀-ABS O/E-LOC

kamã *grik* ‘be angry at’
kamã *ɔpre* ‘be aggressive towards’
kamã *ɔkure* ‘be upset with’

(61) *na* *ickamã* *agrik.*
 2 1-INSV 2-angry
 ‘You got angry at me.’

A third set of verbs, of cognition and interaction, comprise the last set of bivalent non-canonical verbs. Along with the A/S₀ subject, the O/E argument takes the instrumental postposition *ɔ*.

(62) A/S₀ O/E-INSTR

ɔ utʌ/pitʌ ‘agree with’
ɔ abaketkati ‘forget O’
ɔ abatpěr ‘think about O’
ɔ akěč ‘spin’

(63) a. *atpěr t-ɔ* *wa* *ic-p-itʌ.*
 RCPR RP-INSTR DU 1-RP-agree
 ‘The two of us agreed with one another.’

b. *na* *pa* *tɛ* *ɔ* *i-j-abatpěr.*
 RLS 1 HAB INSTR 1-RP-remember
 ‘I keep thinking about him.’

c. *na* *pa* *a-n-õ* *ken=re* *ɔ* *i-j-abaketkati.*
 RLS 1 2-RP-GEN beads INSTR 1-RP-forget
 ‘I forgot your glass beads.’

d. *na pa ic-kra o i-j-akěč.*
 RLS 1 1-child INSTR 1-RP-spin
 ‘I spun my child [e.g. holding in the arms or on some children’s toy.]’

3.4. Clauses with nominal predicates

Clauses with nominal predicates involve either juxtaposition or copula constructions. The functional domain encoded by each construction type overlaps somewhat, such that proper inclusion (cf. Payne 1997) and equative predicates may be expressed by both types, whereas possessive predicates are expressed only by juxtaposition.

Juxtaposition constructions. A juxtaposition construction is one that does not include any type of verbal element, but rather consists of a noun phrase in predicate position plus its subject. Proper inclusion, equative, and possessive predicates are expressed by the same construction overall, although it will differ in a few structural details depending on the function of the nominal predication at hand. In what follows, I will address these differences, comparing the structure of each subtype of juxtaposition construction with that of descriptive predicates and verbal clauses.

3.4.1. Proper inclusion predicates

Functionally, proper inclusion predicates indicate the membership of a given entity into a general class, as in “I am a teacher.” In Apinajé, a juxtaposition construction expressing

this kind of predication does not require the presence of a free pronoun for the expression of the subject. Here, the person prefix attached to the predicate noun is what indicates the subject, regardless of whether a pronoun also occurs. Should a pronoun be included in the clause, it would appear preceding the modality marker and agreeing with the prefix, as illustrated in the elicited examples presented below.

(64) a. *pa* *na* *ɨn-di*
 1 RLS 1-woman
 ‘I’m a woman.’

b. *ka* *na* *a-bi*
 2 RLS 2-man
 ‘You’re a man.’

c. *ja* *na* *∅-wapɔ*
 DEM RLS 3-knife
 ‘This is a knife.’

This construction type then differs structurally from verbal clauses and descriptive predicates because of the potential absence of the independent pronoun, and the reversed relative order of the mood marker and the pronoun when one occurs at all. In addition, it is specifically distinct from descriptive predicate constructions in that, even though pronominal prefixes refer to the subject in both, in the nominal predicate construction the prefix structurally encodes the subject, rather just than agreeing with it.

3.4.2. Equative predicates

Equative predicates functionally express a one-to-one identity relation between two specific, referential entities, as in “I am Sam” or “I am your sister.” A structural difference between the juxtaposition construction employed here and the one expressing proper inclusion is that here a personal prefix on the predicate noun indicates the possessor, and not the subject. The subject is encoded rather by a free pronoun, although its order relative to the mood marker remains reversed as compared to verbal clauses: the pronoun occurs clause-initially, and not in second position.

(65) a. *pa na a-prõ*
 1 RLS 2-wife
 ‘I’m your wife.’

b. *ka na iŋ-bjeŋ*
 2 RLS 1-husband
 ‘You’re my husband.’

Equative predicates by juxtaposition differ structurally from descriptive and verbal clauses primarily with respect to the relative order of the mood marker and the pronoun, and, specifically with respect to descriptives, because the prefix on the predicator is not coreferential with the subject of the clause.

3.4.3. Possessive predicates

Possessive predicates (e.g. “I have a sister”) expressed by juxtaposition in Apinajé share some structural details with equative predicates, namely, the free pronoun must precede

the modality marker, but here it must be coreferential with the prefix on the predicate; these morphemes refer collectively to the possessor (66.a). If the coreferentiality condition is not met, then the construction will functionally constitute an equative nominal predicate (66.b).

(66) a. *pa* *na* *ic-wapɔ*
 1 RLS 1-knife
 ‘I have a knife.’

b. *ja* *na* *ic-wapɔ*
 DEM RLS 1-knife
 ‘That is my knife.’

It is evident that the construction in (66.a) is structurally identical to that expressing proper inclusion predicates introduced above (cf. (64)). Nonetheless, the interpretation here is one of possession because the nominal predicate has an inanimate, non-human referent. When asked whether one could get a proper inclusion interpretation out of example (66.a), as in “I am a knife,” consultants rejected the possibility and offered copula constructions, instead (67).

(67) a. [*pa* *na*] *ic-pe* *wapɔ*
 1 RLS 1-COP knife
 ‘I am a knife.’

b. [*pa* *na*] *ic-pe* *kuč*
 1 RLS 1-COP rifle
 ‘I am a rifle.’

Copula constructions. In the copula construction, subject marking is expressed by a person prefix attached to the copula *pe*, such that free pronouns are optional (67-68). This construction may express equative predication (68.a) as well as proper inclusion (68.b-c).

- (68) a. *ǎ* *ic-pe* *kenkutǎ*
 yes 1-COP N.
 ‘Yes, I’m Kengutǎ.’
- b. *pa* *na* *ic-pe* *kupē*
 1 RLS 1-COP foreigner
 ‘I’m a foreigner.’
- c. *pa* *na* *ic-pe* *wajga*
 1 RLS 1-COP shaman
 ‘I’m a shaman.’

Noun phrases that occupy predicate position in copula constructions can be proper nouns (68.a), alienable (68.b-c), or inalienable nouns (69). Prefixes attached to an inalienable noun in predicate position refer to a possessor, which is non-coreferential with the subject of the clause; compare (69.a-c) with (69.d).

- (69) a. *pa* *na* *it-pe* *a-prō*
 1 RLS 1-COP 2-wife
 ‘I am your wife.’
- b. *ka* *na* *a-pe* *in-bjen*
 2 RLS 2-COP 1-husband
 ‘You are my husband.’
- c. *na* *ka* *a-pe* *in-bjen*
 RLS 2 2-COP 1-husband
 ‘You are my husband.’

d.**na ka a-pe a-di*
 RLS 2 2-COP 2-woman

In the case of coreferentiality between the subject and the possessor, as in a hypothetical example such as “I’m my own boss,” the possessor would probably be expressed by the reflexive marker *amjĩ*. In verbal clauses, at least, this morpheme is obligatorily present under such coreferentiality conditions (70).

(70) *na pa amjĩ kuk kuʔõ*
 RLS 1 RFLX face wash
 ‘I washed my face.’

3.5. Locative predicates

Locative predicates follow the same pattern as verbal clauses, since they involve position verbs, which are typically intransitive. Thus, this clause type includes the mood marker, the subject nominal, the locative adverbial and a position verb, such as *ča* ‘stand’, *jĩ* ‘sit’, or other, depending on the number of the absolutive argument (section III.3.1.2.3.)

(71) a. *kət kaj ja=ri arĩk.*
 IRLS 2.IRLS DEM=PRT stay
 ‘You will stay here.’

b. *ja=ri na ča re*
 DEM=PRT RLS stand DIM
 ‘There it is [affectionate]!’

3.6. Existential predicates

Existential predicates are structurally similar to locative predicates, except that in these constructions the verb is dispensed with. The necessary elements are simply the location and the referent located, which typically comes accompanied by a quantifier or the existential negative *amrakati* in the predication.

(72) a. *go kapre ã na rõr=ko pič.*
 water along LOC RLS babaçu=patch only
 ‘There is babaçu all along the river shore.’

b. *pičo=rã rərə=rε na ja=ri amrakati*
 plant=flower yellow=DIM RLS here NEG.EXST.
 ‘There are no yellow flowers around here.’

c. *ja=ri čwə=grə krɔ=bikar rači,*
 here farinha dot=mixed plenty

ne ja na čwə=grə tam=grə=rε rači
 CNJ DEM RLS farinha raw=dry=DIM plenty
 ‘Around here there is a lot of farinha de puba and farinha seca.’

3.7. Negation

Negation is another dimension whereby clauses can be subcategorized into structural types. Negation applies differently depending on the type of predicate being negated. Nominal predicates are negated with the clause-final clitic *ket*, verbal predicates with the clitic sequence *ket=ně*, whereas existential predicates can be negated either with *ket* or

the negative existential pronoun *amrakati*; apparently, some negated locative predicates (section 3.5) may function as negative existentials as well, except that these predicates are characterized by the use of positional verbs in predicate position which are, therefore, negated with *ket=ně*.

On the other hand, for any of these clause types, the expression of negation is not affected by the mode (realis or irrealis) or speech-act (declarative, interrogative, imperative) distinction of the clause.

The negation of juxtaposition nominal predicates, expressed by the simplex negative *ket*, is illustrated in (73). (There are no examples of negated copular predicates available in the database.) The examples (73.c-d) demonstrate that the complex negative marker is not preferred in this syntactic context.

- (73) a.

S		S		N	
a. <i>ka</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>kɔt=mã</i>	<i>a-di</i>	<i>ket</i>
2	RLS	2	yet/still	2-woman	NEG

‘You are not [i.e. haven’t grown into] a woman yet.’
- b.

	E		s-V		s-N		s-N	
b. <i>če!</i>	<i>ic-t-ě</i>		<i>a-piləm dɔ</i>		<i>ijn-bjeŋ,</i>		<i>ic-kuprə</i>	<i>ket.</i>
EXCL	1-RP-LOC		2-be.shy because		1-husband		1-single.woman	NEG

‘Ce! You better show some respect, because I am married, I am not available.’
- c.

S		S		s-N	
c. <i>pa</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ic-wapɔ</i>	<i>ket</i>	
1	RLS	1	1-machete	NEG	

‘I don’t own a machete.’

d. **ic-wapɔ ketnẽ.*

Existential predicates can be negated by either *amrakati* or *ket*, as illustrated in (74) and (75), respectively (example (72.b) is repeated for convenience as (74.a)).

(74) a. *pičo=rẽ rəɾə=rɛ na ja=ri amrakati*
 plant=flower yellow=DIM RLS here NEG.EXST.
 ‘There are no yellow flowers around here.’

b. *kamẽ me amrakati*
 3.INSV PL NEG.EXTS
 ‘There’s no one in there.’

c. *ic-pe amrakati nẽ ic-pe ket kumrɛč*
 1-DTR NEG.EXTS FCT 1-DTR NEG INTS
 ‘I have nothing, I have nothing at all.’

The simplex marker negates existential predicates that are headed by a noun modified by a descriptive in a relative clause.

(75) a. *kɔt=mẽ* [N MOD]
 [go kagrɔ] *ket*
 yet water hot NEG
 ‘There’s no hot water yet.’

In (76), the negative existential notion seems to be expressed by means of negated locative predicates, which characteristically involve the use of positional verbs. For that reason, the verbal negative *ket=nẽ* is employed here.

(76) a. *na meɽõ kamẽ əm ket=nẽ*
 RLS someone INSV stand.NF NEG
 ‘There’s no one in there.’

- b. ɔ *me* *kamã* *kuʔe* *ket=nẽ*
 EXCL PL INSV stand.PL NEG
 ‘There’s nobody in there.’

Negation of intransitive (77-78) and transitive (79) verbal predicates is invariably encoded by the clitic sequence *ket=nẽ*. The nonfinite form of the verb is required by the negative marker. However, the ergative marker does not ever occur in the negation of transitive predicates.

- (77) a. S S V_{INTR}
pa *kɔt* *paj* *akudɔ*
 1 IRLS 1.IRLS disappear
 ‘I will get lost.’

- b. S S S-V_{INTR} *ket=nẽ*
pa *kɔt* *paj* *ic-pikudɔ* NEG
 1 IRLS 1.IRLS 1-disappear.NF
 ‘I won’t get lost.’

- (78) a. S E V_{INTR}
na *pa* *a-t-ɔ* *amãti*
 RLS 1 2-RP-INSTR dream
 ‘I dreamt about you.’

- b. S E S-V_{INTR} *ket=nẽ*
na *pa* *a-t-ɔ* *ic-pimdir* NEG
 RLS 1 2-RP-INSTR 1-dream.NF
 ‘I didn’t dream about you.’

- (79) a.

A	O	V	
<i>paj</i>	<i>[ic-kawə</i>	<i>krɛ]</i>	<i>kati</i>
1.IRLS	1-basket	hole	cover

‘I will cover (the inside of) my basket.’
- b.

A	O	V			
<i>na</i>	\emptyset	<i>[i-kawə</i>	<i>krɛ]</i>	<i>katir</i>	<i>ket=nẽ</i>
RLS	3	3-basket	hole	cover.NF	NEG

‘S/he didn’t cover (the inside of) his/her basket.’

The negation of descriptive verb predicates, illustrated in (80), presents some variation as to which form of the negative should be used. Most consultants tended to employ *ket=nẽ* for negation of descriptive predicates. However, at least one consultant showed preference for the use of the simplex negative morpheme *ket* in these contexts. As seen in the examples, the predicate of the clause type in (80.a) is unambiguously verbal; whereas in (80.b, c) the existential semantics of the constructions (ambiguous, in example (b)) might justify the preference for *ket*, since existential predicates categorize morphosyntactically with nominal predicates in Apinajé (section IV.3.5), and nominal predicates are negated with *ket*.

- (80) a.

S			<i>s-V</i>	
<i>na</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>kət=mã</i>	\emptyset - <i>akri</i>	<i>ket</i>
RLS	water	yet/still	3-cold	NEG

‘The water has not cooled yet.’

- b.

[S	<i>s-V]</i>		
<i>na</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>j-akri</i>	<i>ket</i>
RLS	water	RP-cold	NEG

‘The water has not cooled.’

		[N	MOD]	
c. <i>kət=m̃</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>j-akri</i>		<i>ket</i>
yet/still	water	RP-cold		NEG
'There is no cold water yet.'				

Whether the variation alluded to is a reflection of dialectal differences remains to be investigated in future research.

Finally, the adverbial notion of a temporal negative, 'never', involves the co-occurrence of the generic negative marker *ket* with what could be analyzed as a temporal component, *a*, glossed here as 'ever'. Together, *a...ket* form what could be described structurally as a "circumclitic". The temporal marker precedes the element under the scope of negation, and the negative marker *ket* follows it, occupying the constituent final position, as expected.

(81) a. *a* *prō* *ket*. *ajte* *na* *te* *ri* *bra*.
 ever wife NEG alone RLS HAB DEM wander
 'He never had a wife. He wanders around all by himself.'

b. *a* *ic-wapɔ* *ket*.
 ever 1-machete NEG
 'I never owned a machete.'

4. Grammatical relations

Keenan (1976) proposes a set of criteria, which may apply to different languages to a greater or lesser extent, for a definition of Subject as a universal category. The idea of grammatical relations as a universal category has been questioned by Dryer (1997), who

points out that, while a set of criteria may be helpful to establish what similarities there are amongst languages, these similarities do not explain why languages are the way they are. Any similarities are, he claims, the reflexes of functional and cognitive processes which themselves may be universal. Thus, it is not grammatical relations as such that are universal. Each language displays its own relevant grammatical relations, which may or may not coincide with the notions of “Subject” and “Object” as found in other languages.

In the analysis of Apinajé, I share Matthew Dryer’s view that the grammatical relations of a language are specific to that language and may be defined according to language internal criteria. In section 3.3 I have pointed out how distinct systems of alignment interact in Apinajé. Thus, coding patterns and control properties relevant for the establishment of grammatical relations in Apinajé include:

(82) Relevant criteria for the establishment of grammatical relations in Apinajé

- (a) word order
- (b) person prefixes
- (c) independent pronouns
- (d) person inflection in imperative clauses
- (e) the use of reflexives
- (f) the occurrence of the realis marker in noun phrase coordination
- (g) switch-reference strategies
- (h) valency-changing operations
- (i) ergative marking in subordinate clauses
- (j) equi-deletion in complementation
- (k) coreferential deletion in coordination

The SOV word order (criterion (a)) is fairly rigid in Apinajé and serves as a useful criterion of the identification of A and O. The use of person prefixes (b) reveals a split-

intransitive system in simple main clauses, and an absolutive pattern in nonfinite clauses. To go along with the absolutive pattern, criterion (i) reveals an ergative case-marking system that is conditioned by subordination environments. All other criteria (c-h; j-k) betray a nominative pattern and provide strong support for the grammatical relation Subject in Apinajé.

On the other hand, Direct Object is a less robust grammatical relation in the language. The O argument forms a tight constituent with the following verb, and if the O does not occur as a free form, then a personal prefix on the verb must index the person of O. In addition to this morphosyntactic pattern, the accusative prefix set contains a unique form, the prefix *ku-*, which is *the* one criterion that unquestionably identifies the Direct Object. Note that these criteria only identify the canonical O as Direct Object, leaving no syntactic or morphological evidence for the combination of the canonical O category with the many proposed noncanonical O arguments: these latter bear case-markers, cannot be indexed on the verb, and show no evidence of constituency with the V. As such, we push them to the next category, that of Indirect Object.

If Direct Object in Apinajé is not particularly robust, the evidence in favor of the grammatical relation Indirect Object is limited to a single criterion: obligatoriness. In the traditional ditransitive predicates, the third argument bears the dative case-marking, and in the various noncanonical verb types seen in section 3.3.2, the second argument bears one of four different case-markers, lexically determined by the verb. Thus, the category of Indirect Object could be defined as those obligatory arguments that otherwise have no morphological or syntactic patterns to unite them.

The criteria listed above for subjects are further discussed and illustrated in the next sections.

4.1. Person marking

First, examples (83-84) illustrate the use of person prefixes. In finite verb forms O and some s are morphologically marked in the verbal stem (83). In nonfinite verb forms, all s and O participants are marked by prefixes (84).

- | | | |
|---------|-----------------|----------------|
| (83) a. | <i>pĩ</i> | ‘kill’ |
| | <i>ic-pĩ</i> | ‘kill me’ |
| | <i>a-pĩ</i> | ‘kill you’ |
| | <i>ku-pĩ</i> | ‘kill it’ |
| b. | <i>akri</i> | ‘cold’ |
| | <i>i-j-akri</i> | ‘I’m cold’ |
| | <i>a-j-akri</i> | ‘you are cold’ |
| c. | <i>ča</i> | ‘stand’ |
| | * <i>ic-ča</i> | |
| | * <i>a-ča</i> | |
| | * <i>ku-ča</i> | |
| (84) a. | <i>pĩ-r</i> | ‘kill.NF’ |
| | <i>ic-pĩr</i> | ‘kill.NF me’ |
| | <i>a-pĩr</i> | ‘kill.NF you’ |
| b. | <i>akri</i> | ‘cold.NF’ |
| | <i>i-j-akri</i> | ‘I cold.NF’ |
| | <i>a-j-akri</i> | ‘you cold.NF’ |

c.	<i>əm</i>	‘stand.NF’
	<i>ic-č-əm</i>	‘I stand.NF’
	<i>a-č-əm</i>	‘you stand.NF’

The use of independent pronouns, which express the S and A arguments of verbs, as well as the use of word order for the identification of A and O, are illustrated in section 3.3.

4.2. Imperatives

In imperative clauses, bound person inflection also displays a nominative pattern, in what seems to be a unique occurrence of this pattern for person marking in Apinajé (85-87). In (85.a), the O argument of the verb is overtly expressed, forming a phrase with it. In (85.b), the O argument is not overtly mentioned, in which case, the verb inflects for A. This occurrence forms a nominative pattern with the person agreement marking of the descriptive predicates; compare (85.b) and (86.a-b), which contrast with the intransitive predicate in (87).

(85) a. *kagə̃* *pĩ*
 snake kill
 ‘Kill the snake!’

b. *a-pĩ*
 2-kill
 ‘Kill it!’

(86) a. *kij* *a-tik*
 HORT 2-black
 ‘Become black at once!’

- b. *kij* *a-tujaro*
 HORT 2-pregnant
 ‘Become pregnant at once!’
- (87) a. *grɛ*
 dance
 ‘Dance!’
- b. *ɲi*
 sit
 ‘Have a seat!’

4.3. Reflexivization

Reflexivization is controlled by the nominative argument of the clause (section III.3.2.2.6). Likewise, the occurrence of the realis marker in noun phrase coordination is required if the conjoined noun phrases refer to the S or (at least the) A argument of the clausal predicate, cf. (21), repeated here as (88).

- (88) a. *na* *ireptsire* *mẽ tij* *dada* *na* *wa* *ɲn-mã kwərčəɲ* *gõ*
 RLS N. CNJ HT N. RLS DU 1-DAT macaxeira give
 ‘Ireptsi and Dada, both of them have given me some sweet manioc.’
- b. **na* *ireptsire* *mẽ tij* *dada* *ɲn-mã kwərčəɲ* *gõ*

4.4. Noun phrase coordination and the realis marker

The double occurrence of the realis marker *na* in the context of noun phrase coordination is required when the conjoined noun phrases refer to S/A of the clause in which they occur.

- (89) a. *na ireptsire mē tij dada na wa iŋ-mã kwərčəŋ gō*
 RLS N. CNJ HT N. RLS DU 1-DAT macaxeira give
 ‘Ireptsi and Dada, both of them have given me some macaxeira.’
- b. **na ireptsire mē tij dada iŋ-mã kwərčəŋ gō*

4.5. Switch reference

The switch reference system of Apinajé also operates according to a nominative pattern.

The conjunctions *nē* and *jũm* serve as indices of same- and different-subjects,

respectively, as illustrated in (38), repeated below as (90).

- (90) a. *dɔm kɔt ka a-bra təc nē,*
 but IRLS 2 2-run fast FCT
- nē* [[[*a-mã nĩ prəm*] *čwəŋ*] *ja*] *rɛ nē rĩ a-nĩ*
 SS 2-DAT have.sex wish NMLZ DET outrun SS may 2-h.s.
- dɔ kɔt kaj Ø-rɛ ket=nē, nē Ø-nĩ ket=ne.*
 but IRLS 2.IRLS 3-outrun NEG SS 3-have.sex NEG
 ‘Well, if you run really fast and outrun the one you want to have sex with, then you may have sex with her. But if you don’t outrun her, then you may not have sex.’
- b. *miti krẽ pa nē kir kamã kə, krẽ, i čĩ pa*
 alligator eat CNCL SS moquía LOC skin head bone put CNCL
 ‘(They) ate the alligator and put its skin, head, bones all into the roasting place.’
- c. *kot paj aroj kugãn pa nē pãŋ Ø-katõ pa*
 IRLS 1.IRLS rice thresh CNCL SS after 3-roast CNCL

ně *pãju* *ku-čĩ* ***jum*** *nõ* ***ně*** *Ø-akri*
 ss after 3-put 3.DS lie ss 3-cold
 ‘I’ll thresh the rice, roast it, put it on a flat surface, then it will sit there
 and cool off.’

d. *əbri* *jum* *kəm,* “*ε!* *kɔt* ***paj*** *a-tu,*
 then 3.DS 3.DAT EXCL IRLS 1.IRLS 2-carry.on.back

pa *dɔ=kij* *a-t-ɔ* *tẽ* ***ka*** *itkõ.*
 1 at.once 2-RP-INSTR go 2 drink

‘Then she (the jaguar) says to him (the *paŋi*), “Yeah, I’ll carry you on my back,
 take you so you drink water at once.’

4.6. Valency-changing operations

Other syntactic processes relevant to grammatical relations patterns are the valency-changing operations found in the language, namely, detransitivization and causativization. These are discussed next.

4.6.1. Detransitivization

The middle prefixes occur as formatives in certain verbs. However, they are also productive in the derivation of intransitive verbs from transitive bases. The examples below are illustrative.

(91) a. *kɔt* *paj* *amjũ* *mã* *mebɔj* *j-apro*
 IRLS 1.IRLS RFLX DAT things RP-buy
 ‘I’ll buy something for myself.’

b.kət paj amjĩ mǎ awjapro.
 IRLS 1.IRLS RFLX DAT go.shopping
 ‘I’ll do my shopping (for myself).’

Verbs derived with middle prefixes follow the intransitive morphosyntactic pattern, that is, are not inflected for person in simple main clauses but take a person prefix for S when in its nonfinite form.

4.6.2. Causativization

The two main strategies for the expression of causativization in Apinajé are a periphrastic construction and a morphological construction, both involving the morpheme ɔ , translatable in both cases as ‘do’ – synchronically and diachronically, respectively.

Periphrastic causative. The periphrastic causative construction encodes indirect causation; in this context the construction ɔ anẽ expresses the cause, and a subsequent clause encodes the result. Unlike languages like English where the causative predicator takes an embedded complement clause, in the periphrastic causative construction of Apinajé, the clause encoding the resulting situation is not structurally an embedded complement, but rather a different-subject clause in a paratactic relation with the clause that expresses the causation ((92) see chapter V for other complex constructions).

- (92) a. *na ka ri ic-t-ɔ anẽ pa rɔp kura*
 RLS 2 DEM 1-RP-do thus 1 dog hit
 ‘You caused me to hit the dog’ (Lit.: “You did me thus, I hit the dog”) [i.e. I was going to hit you with a stick, you stood behind the dog and I hit the dog instead of hitting you].
- b. *(na) ka ri ic-t-ɔ anẽ pa mrõ nẽ amni gɔ pa*
 RLS 2 DEM 1-RP-do thus 1 sink SS RFLX wet CNCL
 ‘You caused me to fall into the water and get all wet’ (Lit.: “You did me thus, I sank and wet myself completely”) [i.e. you pushed me into the creek].
- c. *ta dɔ me kučwar mã ic-t-ɔ anẽ pa ic-krɔr bεč=rε*
 EXCL but PL on.behalf DAT 1-RP-do thus 1 1-dotted pretty
 ‘Why, then make me dotted just like her!’ (Lit.: “Do me thus as the others, I will get nicely dotted.”) [i.e. burn me with hot stones].

In the constructions above, the two clauses are tightly bound into a single sentence: (i) a single modality morpheme occurs at the beginning of the utterance; (ii) no morphemes intervene between the two clauses involved (note that *ɔ anẽ* ‘do thus’ constitutes a single predicate); and (iii) the intonation pattern treats the two as a single unit. (The absence of a modality marker in (92.c) is due to the imperative speech act.) In addition, in the case of the periphrastic causatives in (92) the two clauses are linked by the fact that they share an argument: the object of *ɔ anẽ* ‘do thus’ is coreferential with the causee, which is expressed by the independent pronoun placed at the beginning of the result clause. Now consider the example in (93).

- (93) *na rɔp ri ic-t-ɔ anẽ nẽ pa amjũ pe i-ɟ-õ gwra kago kapi*
 RLS dog DEM 1-RP-do thus FCT 1 RFLX DTR 1-PSSR buriti juice spill
 ‘The dog caused me to spill my juice (i. e. it ran across my way, I tripped on it and dropped the bowl with the juice).’

Here we note the occurrence of the particle *nẽ* between the two clauses. The presence of the *conjunction* suggests that in (93) the clauses expressing cause and result are not as formally bound to each other as those in (92). On the other hand, both clauses fall under the scope of the same modality marker, which is confirmation that they still constitute a single sentence.

The structural differences observed in (92-93) correlate with slight semantic distinctions. In both (92-93) the causers are animate beings, except that in the former the causation may be understood as intentional whereas in the latter the causer is unaware of its acts. This nuance is motivated by the fact that the causer in (92) holds a higher degree of volition for it is a human (or human-like) being.

Finally, a third syntactic pattern may be noted in (94).

(94) ? *i-j-apen ja na ri ic-t-ɔ anẽ na pa ra ic-kengra*
 1-RP-work DET RLS DEM 1-RP-do thus RLS 1 ASP 1-tired
 ‘My work is already making me tired.’

Here, a new token of the modality marker *na* in the second clause suggests that cause and result are expressed by two independent sentences. It should be pointed out, however, that my consultant considered the sentence (94) somewhat odd; such a construction could only be found in an elicitation situation. The reason for the oddity is probably the fact that the higher agent here is an event, and not a participant. A more

natural way for expressing a meaning similar to that of (94) would be with a different structure, involving the postposition *kure* ‘reason’. This is illustrated in (95) below.

(95) a. *i-j-apeŋ ja na ic-pe uñĩ nẽ*
 1-RP-work.NF DET RLS 1-DTR heavy FCT

əbri pa ra Ø-kure ic-kengra
 then 1 ASP 3-RSN 1-tired

‘This job of mine it too heavy on me; I’m already tired because of working on this.’

b. *pa na pa wa ra ij-apeŋ kure ic-kengra*
 1 RLS 1 DU ASP 1-work RSN 1-tired
 ‘The two of us are already tired because of working.’

In sum, the Apinajé periphrastic causative is characterized by the occurrence of ɔ *anẽ* as the causative predicator plus a subsequent clause encoding the result. The result clause is not a complement of ɔ *anẽ* but rather in a paratactic relation with it (literally: “you did me this way, I [V]”); in addition, the accusative argument of ɔ *anẽ* ‘do thus’ must be coreferential with the first argument of the result clause. Differences in the structure of a periphrastic causative correlate with the human-ness/volitionality of the causer: if that argument is not an inherently volitional being, the first clause is linked to the second one by the conjunction *nẽ*.

Morphological causative. The morphological causative is characterized by the occurrence of \varnothing ‘causative’ preposed to the lexical verb of a clause. Even though stress patterns indicate that \varnothing is not a prefix on the verb, the $\varnothing V$ complex may be regarded as a compound, since no intervening elements are allowed between the two morphemes. Accusative agreement is attached to \varnothing . The examples of morphological causativization by means of \varnothing found in my corpus apply only to monovalent verbs.

(96) a. *na kawə dʒt*
 RLS cōfo full
 ‘The basket is full.’

b. *na ka kawə ɔ=dʒt*
 RLS 2 cōfo CAUS=full
 ‘You filled the basket.’

(97) a. *na ra apec̃*
 RLS ASP end
 ‘It’s over.’

b. *na pa ra i-j-apec̃*
 RLS 1 ASP 1-RP-end
 ‘I’m fading, perishing (e.g. due to malnutrition).’

c. *kət kaj ic-t-ɔ=apec̃*
 IRLS 2 1-RP-CAUS-end
 ‘You will destroy/finish with me.’

(98) a. *pa ra ma tẽ*
 1 ASP MOV **go**
 ‘I’m leaving.’

b.na pa a-t-ɔ-tĩ
 RLS 1 2-RP-CAUS=go
 ‘I’m taking you.’

In the periphrastic causative, ɔ is the causative verb, which ultimately precedes the predicator encoding the result, but each of these verbs has its own valence frame. Moreover, in that context the same degree of relevance is attributed to both cause and result, and the focus is on the intentions of the causer. The morphological causative, in turn, encodes direct manipulation and consists of a single predicator whose valence has been increased by one, via by the morpheme ɔ preposed to the lexical verb. Functionally, the morphological causative is really about the result of a causal chain, and therefore it focuses on the effect on the causee. This functional distinction is the motivation for the juxtaposition that has yielded the $\text{ɔ} V$ construction in Apinajé: what is in focus here is the fact that the causee is affected by the agent/causer; thus, the causee is expressed simply as the patient argument of the verb derived with the causative morpheme ɔ .

In the morphological causative, the lexical verb then turns out to have the same distribution relative to ɔ as the manner adverb in a given clause; but that does not necessarily make an adverb out of it: the fact that the lexical verb shares an argument with ɔ and that the latter has a very generic meaning makes it easier for ɔ to become reinterpreted as belonging to a distinct category – a derivational morpheme, in the case at hand – than for the lexical verb to be reinterpreted as a manner adverb.

The establishment of the new function for ɔ as a morphological causative is effected by the generalization in the usage of the construction. The examples in (99), in which inanimate participants occupy the position of the erstwhile higher agent, illustrate this.

(99) a. *na ra a-n-ōkwi a-pe ǰet pa*
 RLS ASP 2-home 2-DTR burn CNCL
 ‘Your house burned down on you (i.e. to your detriment).’

b. *na kupĩp kagrɔ i-n-ikre ɔ=ǰet*
 RLS mat hot 1-shoulder CAUS=burn
 ‘The hot mat burned my shoulder.’

c. *kwər ja pit jaja na me ra kawə ɔ=dɨt pa*
 manioc DET only DET.PL RLS PL ASP cōfo CAUS=full CNCL
 ‘The cassava, just them (the roots) have already filled up the basket.’

Criteria (h-j) for the establishment of Apinajé grammatical relations involve other complex constructions. Of these criteria, equi-deletion follows a nominative pattern while subordination requires ergative case-marking. In coordination, coreferential deletion varies according to whether the verbs involved are transitive or descriptive. Details on each construction are presented in chapter V.

The criteria proposed here are applied to noncanonical predicates in the next section.

4.7. Grammatical relations and noncanonical predicates in Apinajé

In this section, I comment on the typology of grammatical relations with noncanonical marking predicates proposed in Onishi (2001), and compare those generalizations with what may be observed in Apinajé, once the relevant criteria are applied to the noncanonical predicates of the language.

4.7.1. Imperatives

In his typology, Onishi (2001) points out that non-canonically marked A/S tend not to occur in languages where only second person A/S is allowed in imperative constructions, since they refer to non-controllers; but that they seem to occur marginally in this type of construction, in head marking languages.

In Apinajé, many noncanonical predicates can be found in the imperative of command; these are presented in (100-102) below.

- (100) a. *kij* *a-mã* *kaga*
 HORT 2-DAT refuse
 ‘Become lazy already!!!’
- b. *a-mã* *kri* *ket=nẽ*
 2-DAT cold NEG
 ‘Don’t get cold!’

- (101) a. *ic-t-ɔ* *aba*
 1-RP-INSTR miss
 ‘Miss me!’

- (102) a. *ijn-mã* *a-č-eč* *ket=nẽ*
 1-DAT 2-RP-lie NEG
 'Don't lie to me!'
- b. *ijn-mã* *a-j-abatpěr*
 1-DAT 2-RP-think.about
 'Remember me!'

4.7.2. Reflexivization

Different types of noncanonically marked arguments may behave differently even within the same language, with respect to control over reflexives. In Hindi-Urdu, for instance, dative, genitive and locative arguments control reflexivization, but instrumentals do not (Onishi 2001).

In Apinajé, noncanonical predicates of the set presented in ((49) section 3.3.1) do not allow reflexivization (103), which means that these are *really* monovalent predicates, and not predicates that involve third-person impersonal verb forms.

- (103) * *na pa* *amjĩ=mã* *prəm*
 * *na pa* *amjĩ-mã* *ba*
 * *na pa* *amjĩ=mã* *kor* ...and so on.

On the other hand, verbs from all other sets may participate in reflexivization, as illustrated in (104-106). In particular, note that both types of noncanonical subjects control coreference with the reflexive, the ergative A in (105.a) and the dative A in (105.b).

- (104) a. *na pa amjũ=mã akiri*
 RLS 1 RFLX=DAT argue<INTR>
 ‘I’m fighting with myself.’
- b. *na pa amjũ=t-ɔ aba nẽ.*
 RLS 1 RFLX=RP-INSTR miss<INTR> FCT
 ‘I miss (feel the absence of) myself.’
- (105) a. *na pa ic-te amjũ=pirak*
 RLS 1 1-ERG RFLX=look.like<TR>
 ‘I look like myself.’
- b. *na pa iŋ-mã amjũ=puba nẽ*
 RLS 1 1-DAT RFLX=fear<TR> FCT
 ‘I’m scared of myself.’
- (106) a. *na pa a-mã i-j-abatpẽr*
 RLS 1 2-DAT 1-RP-remember
 ‘I’m thinking about/remember you.’
- b. *na pa amjũ=mã i-j-abatpẽr*
 RLS 1 RFLX=DAT 1-RP-remember
 ‘I’m remembering myself (i.e. thinking about what I’ve done)’
- c. *na pa amjũ=kamã iŋ-grik*
 RLS 1 RFLX=INSV 1-angry
 ‘I’m angry at myself’

4.7.3. Coreferential deletion

Onishi (2001) observes that languages with clear syntactic derivations have constraints on many clause-linking devices; for instance, they may require that one of two coreferential arguments be deleted in such contexts (what Dixon 1994 terms “pivot conditions”). Languages in which semantic roles dominate the process typically lack these constraints, whereas languages with noncanonically marked arguments have an

intermediary status. In general, noncanonically marked A/S are more likely to control pivot constraints than to become targets of such constraints. Some languages allow predicates with non-canonically marked A/S to occur both in the main and the complement clause. In general, restrictions on the occurrence of predicates with noncanonically marked arguments are more likely to apply when they function as target of coreferential deletion in the complement clause.

In Apinajé, most, if not all complement-taking verbs are noncanonical predicates. There seems to be no restrictions as far as the occurrence of noncanonical predicates in complement positions either. Under coreferentiality conditions, all relevant arguments are marked with person prefixes on the verb and the postposition, as applicable. However, no independent pronouns occur in the subordinate clause, that is, there is A/S coreferential deletion. On the other hand, when there is no coreferentiality between A and/or S of both clauses, the occurrence of the ergative marker in the subordinate clause is obligatory.

- (107) a. *ijɪ-mã* *kagã* *puba*
 1-DAT snake RP.fear
 ‘I’m afraid of snakes.’
- b. *ijɪ-mã* [*kuken krẽr*] *puba*
 1-DAT cotia eat.NF RP.fear
 ‘I’m afraid of eating snakes (and getting sick, e.g.)’
- c. *ijɪ-mã* [*a-kamã* *ijɪ-grik*] *prəm* *ket=nẽ*
 1-DAT 2-INSV 1-angry wish NEG
 ‘I don’t want to be angry with you.’
- d. *ijɪ-mã* [*a-te* [*ic-kamã* *a-grik*] *ja*] *prəm* *ket=nẽ*
 1-DAT 2-ERG 1-INSV 2-angry DEF want NEG
 ‘I don’t want you to be angry with me.’

e. *na ka* [[*ic-kamã* *a-grik*] *mã*] *a-n-ũre*
 RLS 2 1-INSV 2-angry DAT 2-RP-abandon
 ‘You’ve stopped being angry with me.’

4.8. Conclusions

At this point, sufficient evidence has converged to argue for a convincing grammatical category of Subject, a morphologically heterogeneous category that is united by syntactic behaviors. In future research, this category might become even stronger, as the database lacked examples of noncanonical predicates with noun phrase coordination, in sentences that engage the switch reference system, and in valency-changing derivations. In any of these, the noncanonical A arguments might share yet one more syntactic pattern with the canonical A.

In contrast, the search for syntactic properties that distinguish the categories of Direct Object and Indirect Object was unsuccessful, leaving a potentially interesting topic for future research.

CHAPTER V

COMPLEX CONSTRUCTIONS

0. Introduction

The present chapter discusses those construction types that encompass more than one predicator within a single syntactic unit. Arguments are typically shared, but that may not necessarily be the case. In functional terms, what I will be discussing here are the domains of (a) complementation, understood, in the sense of Noonan (1985), as a complex structure involving a clause that serves as argument of a matrix verb; (b) relativization, a clause that serves as modifier of a head noun, thus belonging within a noun phrase; (c) adverbial clauses, those expressing contextual or circumstantial information that serves as a frame for the main event described by the matrix verb, that is, clauses that modify a verb phrase or clause; (d) constructions expressing aspectual meanings, such as the inchoative, the progressive, and the continuous; and (e) the comparative of superiority. Causative constructions, discussed in section IV.5.2, also constitute one type of complex construction in Apinajé, since they are expressed by the types of syntactic strategies described here.

In structural terms, these functional domains are expressed in Apinajé by means of subordination embedding, parataxis, and serialization. Many cases of complementation make use of embedding, while in others parataxis is used (Noonan

1985: 44; 55). The alternation between one type of construction and the other within this domain is determined by the syntactic properties of complement-taking verbs, which are, in general, of the non-canonical marking type. The alternation between subordination and parataxis is observable also among the different types of adverbial clauses, although parataxis is more frequently used.

On the other hand, relative clauses are always embedded inside the noun phrase. Certain properties commonly found in subordinating constructions, such as the use of the nonfinite form of verbs, are also necessarily employed in the expression the comparative of superiority and one type of inchoative construction. The structural properties observed in the latter cases, which are typologically less common, are crystallized and presumably result from the diachronic development of source biclausal constructions, in which the modern main verb was subordinate and the modern postverbal particle was the main verb. The original main verbs eventually became reanalyzed and grammaticalized as function words, which they still are in the synchronic stage of the language.

Serialization is a structural strategy often used for the expression of the progressive and continuous aspects, as well as the more adverbial manner nuance.

The discussion proposed here is intended to be broad enough that it will touch on the various structural strategies observed in the corpus for the expression of typologically common functional domains, but it is by no means intended as an exhaustive account of the inventory of complex predicates and constructions found in Apinajé. That is a task that requires continued analysis of the data already found and yet to be included in my database. For the time being, however, the present chapter should serve as a

representative sample. The formal properties of subordination, parataxis, and serialization in Apinajé are introduced briefly in the remainder of this section; subsequent sections elaborate on structure in further detail, along with the functional domains expressed by each structure.

Subordination in Apinajé requires that the relevant verb be inflected for nonfiniteness. The ergative case marker may or may not mark the A argument, depending on coreference conditions. In complementation, the distribution of a subordinate predicate is the same as that of the equivalent nominal. The matrix verb occurs in final position, postposed to the subordinated element.

Paratactic clauses are finite, displaying the very same structure as independent simple clauses. Parataxis may require the same-subject or different-subject switch-reference markers, where pertinent, and it often involves morphemes from the TAM clitic inventory.

Serialization requires the nonfinite form of verbs when the (causative or instrumental morpheme) verb *ɔ* ‘do’ is involved. Otherwise, it is just the bare form of verbs that occur in a sequence; in this case, the verbs involved are usually from the class of intransitives (i.e. they take no inflection in their finite form). In Apinajé, serialization always involves either a movement verb or a position verb. Not all verbs belonging to each category are eligible for serial constructions expressing aspectual meanings, but only a selected few. When verbs from outside this inventory are used, the resulting overall meaning of the construction is more literal than grammatical, sometimes yielding awkward or jocular meanings.

General criteria used for deciding whether these clauses or predicators in a sequence all belong in a single complex syntactic unit are of three kinds: prosodic, morphological, and syntactic. From the prosodic point of view, the elements of each complex construction belong within a single sentential intonation contour.

Morphologically, there is only one mode marker for the whole construction, such that all elements fall under its scope. In regard to syntax, boundary indices and the internally cohesive distribution of elements in the sentence are indicative of the internal coherence of serialization and embedding constructions, whereas switch reference and other markers are indicative of the internal coherence in the context of parataxis. Other, more specific criteria can be identified for each construction type, and will be introduced in what follows.

1. Complementation

The examples of complementation existing in my database consist of clausal complements occupying positions other than that of a sentence subject. Additionally, the overwhelming majority of complement-taking predicators are of the noncanonical marking type, most often involving the use of the dative postposition *mã*. These may be mere coincidences; however, there has been at least one instance in which I tried to elicit a sentence that included a clausal complement in subject position, and speakers offered paratactic clauses, instead.

As already mentioned, the use of subordination for the expression of complementation requires that the subordinate verb be in its nonfinite form. The subordinate clause occupies some position between the matrix verb, which occurs in final position, and the positional clitics normally occupying sentence-initial position. Since the complement-taking verbs noted all involve the use of a postposition for marking one of the core arguments (which could be either A or O, depending on the verb), it is often the case that the clausal complement will be immediately preceded by this case marker, when A is the noncanonically marked argument.

The examples in (1.a-d) illustrate the parallel distribution of clausal complements with that of an O noun phrase. The noun phrase in (1.a) occurs immediately preposed to the matrix verb (which therefore displays its relational prefix-equivalent form *pubu*) and postposed to the dative phrase that indicates the A argument of the verb in question.

In (1.b-c), the subordinate verbs are transitive and intransitive, respectively; the internal structure of the clausal complement thus reflects this difference in transitivity. Comparing (1.b) with (1.d), in which both subordinate verbs are transitive, it is possible to notice the presence of the ergative marker in the latter, but not in the former. The ergative case marker in (1.d) indicates that the A argument of the subordinate verb is not coreferential with that of the matrix. The subordinate A arguments is thus overtly expressed in the embedded clause.

- (1) a. *na* *ijn-mã* [*kukeɲ*] *p-uba*
 RLS 1-DAT cotia RP-fear
 'I'm afraid of cotia.'

- b. *ijn-mã* [*kukeŋ* *krẽr*] *p-uba*
 1-DAT cotia eat.NF RP-fear
 ‘I’m afraid of eating cotia meat [and getting sick].’
- c. *ijn-mã* [*i-č-ɔprer*] *puba*
 1-DAT 1-RP-irritable RP.fear
 ‘I’m afraid of becoming violent [e.g. due to alcohol].’
- d. *ijn-mã* [*me* *karõ* *kɔt* *i-n-irã* *ja*] *p-uba*
 1-DAT INDF soul 3.ERG 1-RP-watch DEF.ART RP-fear
 ‘I’m afraid that spirits might spook me.’

In (2-3), one will notice that the inflectional pattern of the complement-taking verb is slightly different than that of (1). In (1), the matrix verb stem follows a transitive pattern of inflection, whereas in (2), the matrix verb follows a descriptive pattern of inflection. That is, in (2), the first argument of the matrix verb is indicated by both an independent pronoun (when it occurs) and the person prefix attached to the verb. In its turn, the dative marker attaches to the constituent that refers to the (noncanonically marked) O argument of the verb in question. When that constituent is a clausal complement, the dative marker follows the final boundary of the subordinate clause.

- | | | | | |
|--------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------------------|
| | A | | O | A-V |
| (2) a. | <i>na</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>prɛ</i> | <i>ijn-mã a-n-ũrɛ</i> |
| | RLS | 2 | PST | 1-DAT 2-RP-abandon |
- ‘You’ve abandoned me.’

In (3.a), the main verb is intransitive and is here used with a locative postpositional phrase. In (3.b), the complement clause, which structurally takes the object position within the matrix, is marked by the dative. In (3.c), the matrix verb is a

- (4) a. DAT O V
ij̃n-mǎ̃ [*ij̃n-go* *j-apeə*]
 1-DAT 1-lice RP-search
 ‘Take my lice out for me, will you?’
- b. DAT O V
ij̃n-mǎ̃ [*kɔt* [*ij̃n-go j-apeə*] *ja*] *prəm*
 1-DAT 3.ERG 1-lice RP-search DEF.ART enjoy
 ‘I enjoy her taking out my lice.’

The parataxis strategy is also employed for the expression of complementation, as already mentioned. In my database, complement-taking predicates that employ this strategy are utterance and manipulation predicators, as illustrated in (5). The presence of the switch reference marker *jum* indicates that the A argument of the second clause is a third person, coreferential with the O argument of the first clause, *ickra*.

- (5) A O V A O V
na *pa* *ic-kra* *mǎ̃* *aně̃* *jum* \emptyset *go* *kagrɔ*
 RLS 1 1-child DAT thus DS 3 water heat
 ‘I told my child to warm the water.’
 [Lit: ‘I said thus to my child, s/he warmed the water.’]

(The “say” part of the meaning is indicated by the dative postposition *mǎ̃* combined with the predicator *aně̃*.) The possibility that the second clause is an imperative clause is disconfirmed by the intonational pattern of the sentence.

2. Relativization

Relativization in Apinajé is necessarily expressed by means of subordination. Thus, other morphosyntactic properties internal to Apinajé relative clauses include the facts that the verb must occur in its nonfinite form and, if it is a transitive verb, the ergative case marker must occur on the first nominal constituent of the subordinate clause.

Additionally, the definite marker *ja* must occur at the end boundary of the clause, being optionally preceded by the agent nominalizer *čwəŋ*, which occurs most often (though not strictly) with verbs of action or activity. The order of elements remains basically the same as in simple clauses.

Relativization is carried out by means of both internal and external relative clauses (meaning “internally headed” and “externally headed,” as in the terminology and typology proposed in Keenan 1985, *inter alia*). The choice for one or the other strategy depends on the position being relativized. Positions that may be relativized are A, S, O and the dative/recipient (Keenan and Comrie 1977; Givón 2001b). When an external relative clause is employed, it will be of the postnominal type, as the RC will come postposed to the head noun.

Of the positions that may be relativized, S and O form verb phrase-internal absolutes and are thus grammatically required to occur in internally headed relative clauses; however, the head may occur externally if a third person resumptive pronoun is employed in the required position. The ergative A is always external to the RC, with the person prefix (or the suppletive form) of the ergative marker serving as a resumptive

pronoun. A relativized dative participant is external to the RC, with no need for a resumptive pronoun.

The examples in (6) illustrate these points. (6.a) shows the regular use of the verb *arẽ* ‘tell’ in a simple clause, for comparison with the other constructions. In (6.b), the noun *bi* ‘man’ is the understood head of the RC and occurs within the restrictive clause. That is so because *bi* is the second argument of the verb *arẽ*, and accordingly, it occurs immediately preposed to the verb, which takes the relational prefix; the same is true of *di* ‘woman’ in (6.c), the S argument of the verb *ča* ‘stand’. In (6.c-d), on the other hand, the relativized element *di* ‘woman’ is the A argument of *arẽ* ‘tell’. The external relative strategy applies in this case, with the restrictive clause following the head noun. Notice in (6.d) the presence of the third person ergative marker *kət* inside the subordinate clause; the ergative case marker is coreferential with the external head noun and serves as a resumptive pronoun.

- (6) a. *pa na pa a-mã [mũj j-arẽ]*
 1 RLS 1 2-DAT DEM.DST RP-tell
 ‘I’m telling you about this one.’
- b. [*ic-te a-mã [bi j-arẽn] ja*]_{NP}
 1-ERG 2-DAT man RP-tell.NF DEF.ART
- na te Ø krĩ õ kamã pa*
 RLS HAB 3 village one INSV live
 ‘This man I’m telling you about lives in the other village.’
- c. [[*di č-əm] ja*]_{NP}
 woman RP-stand.NF DEF.ART

na \emptyset *pre* *ra* *ijn-mã* *a-j-arẽ*
 RLS 3 PST ASP 1-DAT 2-RP-tell
 ‘This woman standing [there] had already told me about you.’

- d. [*di* [*kɔt* *ijn-mã* *a-j-arẽjn* *čwəjn*] *ja*]_{NP}
 woman 3.ERG 1-DAT 2-RP-tell.NF NMLZ.A DEF.ART

na \emptyset *pre* *ra* *ma* *mõ*
 RLS 3 PST ASP MOV go
 ‘This woman who told me about you has already left.’

The examples in (7-9) further illustrate the point. In (8), the relativized element is the dative participant, which also occurs internally in the relative clause. Thus the instances in which externally headed relative clauses occur include mostly cases of ergative relativization, but are not limited to this. For instance, consider (9.b), where the second argument of the verb, *mekədečə* ‘medication’, appears in initial position in the sentence. Inside the relative clause, the subordinate verb appears without the relational prefix, since its object is not contiguous to it. Examples of this kind were not very frequent during elicitation sessions. It is possible that this fronting of the object of the RC is a pragmatic strategy for placing it under focus, in which case this construction would be more marked than those in which the relativized object occurs internal to the relative clause. It is also possible that this is all artefacts of elicitation; further (textual) examples are still needed for clarification of this point.

- (7) di_i [kɔt_i iŋ-mã [me=kədəɛčə jɪ-õr] čwəŋ ja]
 woman3.ERG 1-DAT INDF=counterpart RP-give.NF NMLZ.A DEF.ART

na ∅_i prɛ ra jã ma tẽ
 RLS 3 PST ASP yesterday MOV go
 ‘The woman who gave me the medication left yesterday.’

- (8) [ic-tɛ di mã me=kədəɛčə jɪ-õr čwəŋ ja]_{NP}
 1-ERG womanDAT INDF=counterpart RP-give.NF NMLZ.A DEF.ART

na ∅ kɔt=mã akupijɪ tẽm ket=nẽ
 RLS 3 yet/still return.1 go.NF NEG
 ‘The woman who I gave the medication to has not come back here yet.’

- (9) a. [a-tɛ iŋ-mã me=kədəɛčə jɪ-õr čwəŋ ja]_{NP}
 2-ERG 1-DAT INDF=counterpart RP-give.NF NMLZ.A DEF.ART

na ra ∅ ɔmduju
 RLS ASP 3 3.bad
 ‘This medication you gave me is already expired.’

- b. [me=kədəɛčə [a-tɛ iŋ-mã ∅-õr čwəŋ ja]]_{NP}
 INDF=counterpart 2-ERG 1-DAT 3-give.NF NMLZ DEF.ART

na ra ∅ ɔmduju
 RLS ASP 3 3.bad
 ‘This medication you gave me is already expired.’

Strategies for case-recovery in Apinajé relativization are the use of resumptive pronouns, which are zero in many cases, but which may also come attached to the ergative marker (or expressed by its suppletive form, in the case of the third person). Otherwise, it is pragmatics that indicates which grammatical relation is being relativized.

3. Comparative of superiority

The expression of the comparative of superiority in Apinajé is done by clausal subordination to the predicator *j-akreɲ* ‘more than’, which is apparently the nonfinite form of the verb *akre* ‘pass straight by [sby]’. This is a rare instance of a nonfinite verb form operating as a main clause predicator; the nonfinite form could be analyzable as a participial form, perhaps, which would make it structurally and semantically equivalent to a descriptive predicator (in terms of person marking and adjectival semantics). And indeed, it inflects as a descriptive because all nonfinite forms take person marking and obey an absolutive pattern.

The comparative construction includes the ergative marker as an index of the matrix clause subject, which is the starting point of the comparison. The bound pronominal marker on the comparative predication *jakreɲ* refers to the second element in the comparison, that against which the matrix subject is being compared. The subordinated clause refers to the property (or event) being compared and it takes instrumental case marking.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|------|--|-----------|-----------|----------------|-----------------|------------|--------------|--------------------|
| | S | | | S | V | | A | o-V |
| (10) | <i>irɛ</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>ra</i> | [[\emptyset | <i>kengra</i>] | <i>ɔ</i>] | [<i>kɔt</i> | <i>i-j-akreɲ</i>] |
| | N. | RLS | ASP | 3 | tired.NF | INSTR | 3.ERG | 1-RP-more.than |
| | ‘Iré is more tired than me.’ | | | | | | | |
| | [Lit.: ‘Iré is past me with her being tired.’] | | | | | | | |

The subject of the subordinate instrumental clause is coreferential with that of the matrix. Within the subordinate predicate, the verb usually comes modified by an

4. Inchoative aspect: *kačiw*

The morpheme *kačiw*, which may appear as a purpose marker in other circumstances, encodes the inchoative aspect when in predicate position, as illustrated in (13-14). Here, the form of the verb under its scope is nonfinite, and the distribution of the predication is similar to that of the clausal complements introduced above. The examples show that the use of this strategy for the expression of the inchoative applies to intransitive, descriptive, and transitive predicates alike, including non-canonical marking predicators.

Example (13) illustrates the use of the inchoative with an intransitive verb that includes a locative oblique participant.

- (13) *na pa ra ickre wər ic-č-əm kačiw*
 RLS 1 ASP house ALLT 1-RP-enter.NF about.to
 ‘I was about to enter the house.’

The examples (14.a-c) show the use of the inchoative with non-canonical marking verbs of sensation and emotion. In (14.c), the verb in question is bivalent; however, no ergative marking is involved, as its first argument already takes a case marker, the dative *mã*.

- (14) a. *na pa ra iŋ-mã prəm kačiw*
 RLS 1 ASP 1-DAT wish about.to
 ‘I’m getting hungry.’

- b. S S V
na pa ra iŋ-mã kri kačiw
 RLS 1 ASP 1-DAT cold about.to
 ‘I’m getting cold.’
- c. A A O V
na pa ra iŋ-mã [[bi nẽŋ] kĩ] kačiw
 RLS 1 ASP 1-DAT man DEM like about.to
 ‘I’m beginning to like/falling in love with this man.’

On the other hand, the examples in (15.a-b) involve plain transitive verbs. Under these conditions, the ergative case marking is required and it agrees with the clause-initial independent pronoun for the category of person. The same is true in (15.c), with the difference that here the predicator is a non-canonical utterance verb.

- (15) a. *na pa ra [ic-tɛ bi ja ta] kačiw*
 RLS 1 ASP 1-ERG man DEF hit.NF about.to
 ‘I’m about to hit this guy.’
- b. *na pa ra [ic-tɛ ic-kra bɔŋ] kačiw*
 RLS 1 ASP 1-ERG 1-child hold about.to
 ‘I was about to pick up my child.’
- c. *na pa ra [ic-tɛ a-mã i-j-amra] kačiw*
 RLS 1 ASP 1-ERG 2-DAT 1-RP-cry about.to
 ‘I was about to call out to you.’

As may be seen from the examples, then, *kačiw* operates in a way similar to other subordinating predicators, even though it is not a verbal stem elsewhere. A language-internal diachronic hypothesis is that this morpheme – which is actually a morphologically complex stem in that it includes the formative *ka-*, like other verbs – must have evolved from a verbal source and retained the syntactic property of a

subordinator, despite the absence of productive verbal morphology at the synchronic level.

5. Adverbial clauses

In the present section I will discuss two types of adverbial clauses found in Apinajé, both of which involve the presence of specific morphemes, which indicate the syntactic relationship between the matrix and the adverbial clause.

5.1. *Ri* constructions

The particle *ri* serves as an indicator of sequential relation between events, as described by clauses in a sentence. The particle appears in two kinds of constructions: the first translates as ‘SBJ will X, then SBJ will Y’; the second translates as ‘before SBJ X, SBJ will Y’.

In the first construction (‘SBJ will X, then SBJ will Y’), the particle *ri* is immediately postposed to the clause(s) describing the first event in the sequence; the clause expressing the second event occurs last in the sentence. In the examples below, the two events in sequence share the same subject, so the subject is mentioned only once at the beginning of the sentence.

Example (16.b) is more complex in that the first event of the sequence consists of two clauses – i.e. two minor events: the wait for the potatoes to cook, and the cooking of the potatoes. Within that domain, the subjects of the first and second events are distinct,

thus the different-subject third person conjunction occurs in the second clause. Although there is no structural evidence of subordination between the clauses expressing the first and second events, the ‘cook’ clause stands in a complement-type relation with the ‘wait’ clause, albeit semantically. For the purposes of the construction being described in the present section, those two clauses are taken here as if constituting a unit.

- (16) a. *Kət paj [kagə n-ipeč pa] ri kətmã apku.*
 IRLS 1.IRLS mark RP-make.NF CNCL LOC still eat.INTR
 ‘I’m going to study first, then I’ll eat.’
 [Lit.: “At the conclusion of my doing some writing, I’ll eat.”]
- b. *Kət paj [[kətmã i-j-ō jət j-amã]*
 IRLS 1.IRLS still 1-RP-GEN sweet.potato(sp) RP-wait

[jum kao pa]] ri apku.
 DS.3 cooked CNCL LOC eat.INTR
 ‘I’ll wait until my potatoes are all cooked, then I’ll eat.’
 [Lit.: “At the conclusion of my waiting for my potatoes to cook, I’ll eat.”]

The second possibility (‘before SBJ X, SBJ will Y’) includes the negative marker *ket*. Here, the order of the clauses is reversed in the sentence: the first clause encodes the event that should happen last in the sequence; the particle *ri* occurs postposed to this clause and the negator *ket* modifies its predicate.

- (17) a. *Kət paj [i-j-apku ket] ri kagə n-ipeč.*
 IRLS 1.IRLS 1-RP-eat.NF? NEG LOC mark RP-make
 ‘Before I eat, I’m going to do some writing.’
 [Lit.: “At my having not eaten, I’ll do some writing.”]

- b. *Kɔt paj [ič-wər ket] ri amjĩ=kĩ gɛgrɛri.*
 IRLS 1.IRLS 1-bathe.NF NEG LOC RFLX=hair rub.oil.on
 ‘Before I bathe I will rub oil on my hair.’
 [Lit.: “At my having not bathed, I will rub oil on my own hair.”]

Thus, the particle *ri* is always postposed to the first clause in the sequence; whether that clause indicates the initial or the final event of the sequence depends on the occurrence of the negative marker *ket*.

Some aspects in the overall structure of *ri* constructions which show that the *ri*-marked clause is in fact structurally subordinate to that in sentence-final position are as follows. In examples (16.a) and (17.b), repeated as (18) below, the sentence-final clauses have the typical distribution of a main predicate, and the subject of each is that expressed by the nominative pronoun at the beginning of the whole complex sentence. As for the *ri*-marked elements, they have the distribution that a postpositional phrase would have, and they come marked with a postposed particle that, in other contexts, may function either as a demonstrative or a locative. An alternative semantic interpretation of the *ri*-marked expressions in the examples below then could be, respectively, ‘at/upon/when [clause]’. Hence the alternative translations:

- (18) a. *Kɔt paj [kagə n-ipeč pa] ri kɔtm̃ apku.*
 IRLS 1.IRLS mark RP-make CNCL LOC still eat.INTR
 ‘I will eat upon/when I have finished studying.’
- b. *Kɔt paj [ič-wər ket] ri amjĩ=kĩ gɛgrɛri.*
 IRLS 1.IRLS 1-bathe NEG LOC RFLX=hair rub.oil.on
 ‘I will rub oil on my hair upon/when I have not yet bathed.’

5.2. The postposition *kutep*

The morpheme *kutep* marks a temporal adverbial construction, which consists of clauses that encode simultaneous events. The clauses in question do not occur in a subordinating relation: they occur in a paratactic relation with one another and each has its own subject. That the clauses involved belong in the same sentence is indicated by the fact that they fall under the scope of the same mood marker; and by the intonation pattern of the utterance, which clearly includes them both.

The morpheme *kutep* is a postposition that indicates something like ‘in one’s stead’. Functionally, it clearly indicates the simultaneous relation between the events described in each clause. As to its distribution in the sentence, it occurs in the clause that serves as the ground event with respect to which the other, simultaneous event is located.

The person index occurring in *kutep* refers to the subject of the second, “figure” clause in the temporal relation, as expressed by agreement with the independent pronoun.

- (19) a. *Kɔt* *ka* *wa* *ic-kutep* *čwa*, [*pa* *meõ* *n-ipeč.*]_{FIG}
 IRLS 2.IRLS DU 1-kutep bathe 1 food RP-make
 ‘While you both bathe, I’ll cook the food.’
 [Lit.: “You both bathe in my stead, I make food.”]

- b. *Kɔt* [*kaj* *marĩ* *a-ŋ-õkwĩ* *ɔ* *beč.*]_{FIG}
 IRLS 2.IRLS PRMS 2-RP-home INSTR good

pa *a-kutep* *Bogoti mẽ* *wa* *atpěŋ mẽ* *ic-kapěre.*
 1 2-kutep N ASSC DU RCPR DAT 1-talk
 ‘You tidy up your house while Bongoti and I will both chat with each other.’
 [Lit.: “You may tidy up your house; me, in your stead, along with Bogo,
 chat with each other.”]

6. Progressive aspect

Constructions involving the combination of movement or position verbs with the morpheme *ɔ* are widely employed for the expression of aspectual nuances. Among these, the progressive and the continuative are the most common. In constructions of this type, the *ɔ V* sequence follows the lexical verb of the clause, which appears in its nonfinite form.

Consider the examples in (20). In (a), the regular use of the verb *ti* in a simple clause is illustrated. In (b-c), the lexical verbs of each clause co-occur with the sequence *ɔ mō* ‘do go’ and *ɔ nō* ‘do lie’, respectively. The lexical verb appears in its nonfinite form, as already mentioned, whereas the other two verbs appear without any sort of inflection whatsoever. Both examples (20.b-c) encode the progressive aspect.

- (20) a. *na pa ti.*
 RLS 1 die
 ‘I died.’
- b. *na pa ra [ic-tik ɔ mō]*
 RLS 1 ASP 1-die.NF do go
 ‘I’m dying.’
- c. *ɔ mūj ja [bər ɔ nō]*
 EXCL DEM DEF.ART cry.NF do lie
 ‘That one is lying there crying.’

In examples (20) as well as (21-22), we notice the use of the verb *mō* ‘go’ with lexical verbs of varied semantic nuances, such as ‘die’, ‘disappear’ and ‘mature’. This

fact demonstrates that the meaning of the movement verb is not literal, although it must be compatible with the semantics of the lexical verb to some extent. It indicates a metaphorical transition from a previous stage to a new one: from life to death, from appearance to disappearance, from green to ripe.

(21) *ka na ka ra ic-pe a-pikudər* ɔ *mõ*
 2 RLS 2 ASP 1-DTR 2-disappear.NF do go
 ‘You’re already disappearing from me.’

(22) *na ra Ø kλ* ɔ *mõ*
 RLS ASP 3 mature.NF do go
 ‘It’s getting ripe already.’

Compared to (20.b) and (21-22), it is possible to note that similar constructions involving position verbs focus more on the activity being performed, ‘cry’, ‘fasten’, ‘dance’ (23), rather than the result accomplished after the activity has been concluded.

(23) a. *na pa kət=mã i-ŋ-õ* *pĩ katpre* ɔ *jĩ*
 RLS 1 still/yet 1-RP-GEN wood fasten.NF do sit
 ‘I’m still fastening my wood.’

b. *ka na ka a-grer* ɔ *ča*
 2 RLS 2 2-dance.NF do stand
 ‘You are dancing.’
 (I.e. ‘It is you who are dancing.’)

Not all movement verbs are eligible for appearing in this construction type, as they yield literal rather than grammatical meanings. Thus, the verb *tẽ* ‘go’ in (24.a) indicates the actual movement of the participant as s/he fastens the wood sticks; that is,

there are two simultaneous actions going on. Comparatively, the examples in (24.b), involving the dative postposition *mã* in place of the morpheme *ɔ*, indicates literal movement towards the locus of an action.

(24) a. *na pa kɔt=mã i-ɲ-õ pĩ katpre ɔ tẽ*
 RLS 1 still/yet 1-RP-GEN wood fasten do go
 ‘I’m still walking and fastening my wood.’

b. *ma, mutũm na pa i-ɲ-õ pĩ katpre mã tẽ*
 no DEM.DST RLS 1 1-PR-GEN wood fasten DAT go
 ‘No, I’m headed that way to fasten my dry wood.’

Some alternative hypotheses are possible for the analysis of the morpheme *ɔ* in this context, since this marker appears in various positions with distinct meanings, in the grammar of the language. One hypothesis could be that *ɔ* is the instrumental postposition in the examples above, and that would even justify the nonfiniteness of the preceding verb; after all, in order for it to be the object of a postposition, it must be more nominal than verbal – and that is what nonfinite verb forms are, in Apinajé.

Another hypothesis is that the morpheme *ɔ* appearing in these contexts is the transitive verb ‘do’, which likewise could require a more nominal form of the lexical verb. According to this interpretation, the sequence of elements involved could be analyzed as a case of verb serialization, including the lexical verb, the verb *ɔ*, and the movement or position verb.

One morphological detail to keep in mind is the absence of a relational prefix in \mathfrak{c} , which has analytical consequences for both hypotheses proposed, since both verb and postposition take relational prefixes in Apinajé.

In the analysis presented here, I opt for the transitive verb analysis, for at least two reasons: First, it is typologically common for serial verb constructions to encode aspectual meanings such as the ones noted here. Second, there is evidence leading to the conclusion that the instrumental postposition has evolved from the verb \mathfrak{c} 'do' (Oliveira 1998).

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the previous chapters I have provided an overview of the core aspects of Apinajé grammar – its phonology, morphology, simple clause syntax, and complex constructions and predicates. Despite its preliminary character, the description presented here is intended as a fresh contribution to the study and documentation of Apinajé, especially because, for the first time, the morphology and syntax of the language are treated in detail and from a non-formalist perspective. The functional-typological approach adopted in the present study has made possible a richer and more fluid analysis of the data, especially in regard to certain puzzling patterns, such as the association of subordinating morphology with certain domains of the grammar.

It has been noted, for instance, that the negative clitics not only require such morphology, but display a morphological make up that may be seen as evidence for a verbal diachronic origin, namely, the consonant *k-*, analyzed here as a reflex of the third person accusative prefix. Other factors that have been considered are its clause-final position and its possibility of occurrence with the clitic *nẽ*. The presence of this clitic suggests an affinity of the form *ket* with the class of descriptive verbs, in that some of them often co-occur with the morpheme *nẽ*. These are simple observations, however, and need to be further investigated.

The morphosyntactic and distributional facts about the negative morphemes suggest that they may have all originated diachronically from verbal sources. At least in regard to the morpheme *ket*, a plausible hypothesis is that it must have started out as a monosyllabic negative predicator of *tV* structure, and that the *kV*- syllable is a reflex of the accusative prefix *ku*-, also noted in other function words, such as *kumreč* ‘INTS’ and *kət* ‘3.ERG’, among others (see chapter IV). The hypothetical predicator **tV* must have been responsible for the negation of the proposition described in the clause, thus requiring the nonfinite form of the subordinate verb; whereas the morpheme *ku*- could have operated as an anaphoric/resumptive pronoun, referring back to the negated proposition. Verbs do take noun phrases as arguments; and it is quite possible that the distribution of *ku*- was restricted to cases of propositional, not nominal, negation in a past stage of Apinajé.¹ However, since the most frequent scope of negation is the proposition, the use of the **kVtV* form may have become more standardized, leading to its reanalysis as *the* negative stem of Apinajé thus replacing other related forms elsewhere in the grammar. As far as phonological changes, one could speculate a path such as **kute* > **kete* > *ket*, for Apinajé, with vowel harmony and eventual deletion of the stem final vowel. In any case, it is no longer possible to speak of *ket* and *ketnẽ* as true verbs in

¹ In Kaingang (Southern Jê), one of the negative markers is indeed a monosyllabic morpheme beginning in /t/: *tõ* ‘NEG’ (Wiesemann 1986). However, in that language this form of the negative is employed in narrow scope negation, specifically, in the negation of nouns; sentential negation is expressed by a similar *ket* morpheme. (Thanks to Eduardo Ribeiro for calling my attention to this piece of data, in personal communication.)

Apinajé. These morphemes have now become positional clitics which do not display the full morphosyntactic behavior and semantic content of a lexical verb.

Other elements that may have involved the prefix *ku-* in earlier times include the ergative markers and the intensifier *kumrɛč̣*. While it seems plausible that the intensifier may have evolved from a verb, given its final position in the clause and the role it performs, as a modifier of the predicate, the same may not be said of the ergative markers.

The ergative markers *tɛ* and *kɔt* must have evolved from a nominal source. My claim is based on their distribution in the sentence and their function in present-day Apinajé syntax, as case markers of nominal elements. However, the possibility that the prefix *ku-* may have participated in the development of the suppletive third-person form of the ergative is also present here – a path that I propose for the other two postpositions that display suppletive forms, namely, the detrimentalive and the dative, as well. The hypothesis is displayed schematically below:

- (1)
- | | | | | | |
|--------|---|-------|---|-----|---------|
| *ku-mǎ | > | kə-mǎ | > | kəm | ‘3.DAT’ |
| *ku-pe | > | ke-pe | > | kep | ‘3.DTR’ |
| *ku-tɛ | > | kɔ-tɛ | > | kɔt | ‘3.ERG’ |

The idea proposed in (1) is that all three postpositional markers may once have been used with the third person prefix *ku*. With the frequency of use, the vowels involved underwent certain phonological changes, such that non-low vowels ended up in full harmony, whereas in the environment of a low vowel, only partial assimilation took place,

such that the high back vowel became lowered. Eventually, all word-final vowels were lost, giving way to a heavy monosyllabic word.

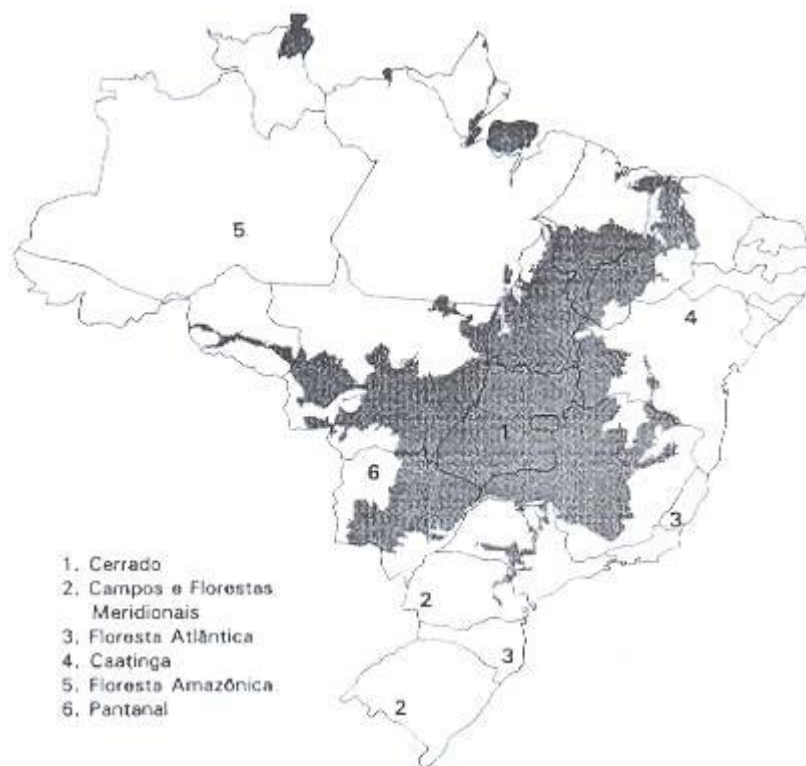
In this vein, it is hoped that this description of Apinajé will serve as a basis for future historical and comparative work, which will allow the testing of the various internal reconstructions proposed here, and which will also allow the creation of new, fruitful comparative hypotheses for the reconstruction of the phonology and grammar of Proto-Jê.

APPENDIX A

SELECTED MAPS

MAP 1

Source: Ribeiro, José Felipe and Bruno M. T. Walter. 1998. Fitofisionomias do bioma Cerrado. In S.M. Sano and S.P. Almeida (eds.), *Cerrado: Ambiente e Flora*, pp. 89-166. Brasília: EMBRAPA.



APPENDIX B

SAMPLE COLLECTION OF TEXTS

TEXT I

Čučūti nē Čučūre Jarēn

Teller: Greri Júlia Estêvão

Location: Aldeia São José

əw # əbri jum wεʔε čučūti ja nē čučūre ja kət me pa nipeč kačiw ate wa ri pa #

əw	əbri	jum	wεʔε	čučū=ti	ja	nē	čučū=re	ja
yes	then	DS	HRS	sun=AUG	DEF.ART	CNJ	moon=DIM	DEF.ART

kət	me	pa	n-ipeč	kačiw	ate	wa	ri	pa
3.ERG	PL	1.ACC	RP-make	PURP	alone	DU	DEM	live/walk

‘Well, Sun and Moon, they lived [on Earth] by themselves, at the time they were to create us.’

əbri jum wε ra atpē mǎ kapēr # “təjmǎ kət pu wε wa ri pika ja kamǎ pa pa ate ri pa pa #

əbri	jum	wε	ra	atpē	mǎ	kapēr
then	DS	HRS	ASP	RCPR	DAT	talk

təjmǎ	kət	pu	wε	wa	ri	pika	ja	kamǎ
how	IRLS	1.HORT	HRS	DU	DEM	earth	DEF.ART	INSV

pa	pa	ate	ri	pa	pa
1.INCL	live/walk	alone	DEM	1.INCL	live/walk

‘Then it is said they talked with one another; they say: “How are we going to end up, all by ourselves on this Earth?...”’

pu pa kra jaja ɔ pa katɔ # *ne ɲum wɛ ʧʊʧũɾɛ kəm* # “*mebɔj tɔ kɔt puɲ wɛ me me ipeʧ?*”

pu	pa	kra	jaja	ɔ	pa	katɔ		
1.HORT	.INCL	child	DEF.ART.RDPL	INSTR	1.INCL	come.out		
ne	ɲum	wɛ	ʧʊʧũɾɛ	kəm				
CNJ	DS	HRS	moon=DIM	3.DAT				
mebɔj	t-ɔ		kɔt	puɲ	wɛ	me	me	Ø-ipeʧ
INDF=thing	RP-INSTR		IRLS	1.HORT.IRLS	HRS	PL	PL	3-make

“Let us create our descendants!” Then Moon asked, “But what are we going to make them out of?”

tɔ # kɔt puɲ me ipeʧ # *ne əbri ɲum ʧɛ wɛ wa pur ja ʧi* #

tɔ		kɔt	puɲ	me	Ø-ipeʧ	ne		
no<MSC>		IRLS	1.HORT.IRLS	PL	Ø-make	CNJ		
əbri	ɲum	ʧɛ	wɛ	wa	pur	ja		ʧ-i
then	DS	HRS	HRS	DU	field	DEF.ART		RP-place.on.ground

“Nah, don’t worry, we’ll make them.” Then it is said they planted a garden.’

əbri ɲum bitti ja krit ja mǎ kapɛr ɲum wɛ krit ja kəm kare #

əbri	ɲum	bɪt=ti	ja	krit	ja	mǎ	kapɛr	
then	DS	sun=AUG	DEF.ART	fire.stone	DEF.ART	DAT	talk	
ɲum	wɛ	krit	ja	kəm	kare			
DS	HRS	fire.stone	DEF.ART	3.DAT	clear			

‘Sun made an arrangement with the Fire Stones so they would clear the land for him.’

kəm kare jum mō əbri čučũre ra ma tẽ ne me əbu ne me kuba ne me wər tẽ ne kəm #

kəm	kare	jum	mō	əbri	čučũ=re	ra	ma	tẽ
3.DAT	clear	DS	go	then	moon=DIM	ASP	MOV	go

ne	me	əbu	ne	me	ku-ba
CNJ	PL	3.see	CNJ	PL	3.ACC-hear

ne	me	wər	tẽ	ne	kəm
CNJ	PL	ALLT	go	CNJ	3.DAT

‘So they were clearing for him when Moon heard the noise and saw them, then Moon went to them and said, ‘

“ε me ape # me ape pa me apubu” # ne jum wε ã me kuba nō #

ε	me	ape	me	ape	pa	me	a-pubu
EXCL	PL	work	PL	work	1.NOM PL		2-RP.see

ne	jum	wε	ã	me	ku-ba	nō
CNJ	DS	HRS	LOC	PL	3.ACC-hear	lie

“Hey, work! Work for me to see!” Then they heard him and immediately laid on the ground.’

əbri jum wε tẽ me kəm kapēr ne ja pi ɔ atpẽ kura # “pa atɔ anẽ ka amjĩ pubu #

əbri	jum	wε	tẽ	me	kəm	kapēr	ne	ja	pi
then	DS	HRS	go	PL	3.DAT	talk	CNJ	DEF.ART	grab

ɔ	atpẽ	kura	pa	a-t-ɔ	anẽ	ka	amjĩ	pubu
INSTR	RCPR	break	1.NOM	2-do	thus	2.NOM	RFLX	RP.see

‘Then it is said he went to talk to them, and he grabbed them and hit them against one another [so they would break]. “Here! This is what I do to you so you’ll learn a lesson!”

me ape ne ka me ri apen ket ne # aŋikwĩ ne ɔ aně” #

me	ape	ne	ka	me	ri	apen	ket	ne
PL	work	CNJ	2.NOM	PL	DEM	work.NF	NEG	COP
a-ŋ-ikwĩ	ne	ɔ	aně					
2-RP-lie	CNJ	do	thus					

“First you work, then you work no more, just stay lying on the ground like that!”

əbri jum ma tẽ ne poj # əbri jum čẽ we əbri čučũti ma tẽ #

əbri	jum	ma	tẽ	ne	poj			
then	DS	MOV	go	CNJ	chegar			
əbri	jum	čẽ	we	əbri	čučũti	ma	tẽ	
then	DS	HRS	HRS	then	sun.AUG	MOV	go	

‘Then Moon left and arrived. Sun went to the garden place...

ne me ɔbu əbri jum kəm kapěr # “kwa # pa krəmre # meɔ na ka te ri aŋĩr ɔ bra?”

ne	me	ɔbu	əbri	jum	kəm	kapěr		
CNJ	PL	3.see	then	DS	3.DAT	talk		
kwa	pa	krəm=re	me=ɔ	na	ka	te		
EXCL	1.PSSR	K.T.=DIM	INDF=thing	RLS	2.NOM	HAB		
ri	aŋĩr	ɔ	bra					
DEM	thus.NF	do	walk					

‘...and saw the stones, so he went to talk to Moon. He says, “Êta!, my child, why do you keep behaving like that?!”

jum čẽ we kəm # “əw # na pa me ɔ aně dɔ mǎ ke pa kra jaja katɔ

jum	čẽ	we	kəm	əw	na	pa	me	ɔ	aně
DS	HRS	HRS	3.DAT	yes	RLS	1.NOM	PL	do	thus

dɔ=mã ke pa kra jaja kato
 because PURP 1.PSSR child DEF.ART.RDPL.PL come.out

‘Then it is said he answered, “Yes, I did this to them so our children will learn...’

ne təm jaja ikra ɔ ape # krit pem pə ɔ aně dɔ kət wa # dɔ kət wa ...

ne təm jaja ikra ɔ ape
 CNJ 3.ACC.EMPH DEF.ART.RDPL.PL hand INSTR work

krit pem pə ɔ aně dɔ kət wa dɔ kət wa
 fire.stone DTR woods do thus but IRLS DU but IRLS DU

‘...to work with their own hands. Let them do like that within the wild...’

kət pu [ã] aɲĩr ja rãʔã ne ɲum me katɔ amɲi pe bri pə ɔ apeč #

kət pu [ã] aɲĩr ja rãʔã ne ɲum
 IRLS 1.INCL LOC thus.NF DEF.ART always CNJ DS

me katɔ amɲĩ pe bri pə ɔ apeč
 PL come.out RFLX DTR game woods CAUS finish

“...because if we do it your way all the time, they will finish off with the home of the game [i.e. the woods] [to their own detriment].”

jakamã na pa ã me ipeč ɔ aně” # ne tã ɲum čε wε əbri pur ja čet #

ja=kamã na pa ã me Ø-ipeč ɔ ane
 DEF.ART=INSV RLS 1.NOM LOC PL 3-make do thus

ne tã ɲum čε wε əbri pur ja čet
 CNJ RP-LOC DS HRS HRS then field DEF.ART burn

“That’s why I’m doing this.” Then the wood [at the garden field] burned...’

əbri ɟum ra ɟĩ-ri kukon i ja pi ne ɔ tẽ kamã kre pa #

əbri	ɟum	ra	ɟĩ-ri	kukon	i	ja	pi
then	DS	ASP	where-DEM	cabaça	seed	DEF.ART	grab

ne	ɔ	tẽ	kamã	kre	pa
CNJ	INSTR	go	INSV	plant/whole	CNCL

‘and they got some cabaça seeds from somewhere, they took them and planted the whole field.’

əbri ɟum wε ri kukõ ja kə kabrek ɔ ča ɟum wε ma tẽ ɔbu #

əbri	ɟum	wε	ri	kukõ	ja
then	DS	HRS	LOC.DEM	cabaça	DEF.ART

kə	kabrek	ɔ	ča
skin/bark	red	do	stand

ɟum	wε	ma	tẽ	ɔbu
DS	HRS	MOV	ir	3.see

‘Then the cabaças were getting ripe and he went there to check them out.’

əbri ɟum wε ra amɟĩm ja ta ne ɔ tẽ ne ɔ amɟĩ mǎ prõ nipeč # čučũti amɟĩm prõ nipeč #

əbri	ɟum	wε	ra	amɟĩ=m	ja	ta	ne	ɔ	tẽ
then	DS	HRS	ASP	RFLX=DAT	DEF.ART	chop.off	CNJ	INSTR	go

ne	ɔ	amɟĩ	mǎ	prõ	n-ipeč
CNJ	INSTR	RFLX	DAT	wife	RP-make

čučũti	amɟĩ=m	prõ	n-ipeč
Sun	RFLX=DAT	wife	RP-make

‘So he took one for himself, took it and made himself a wife out of it. Sun created his own wife.’

əbri ɟum ʧe we ma ri kačiw bri ɔ pa ɟum ra ʧučũre ra tẽ kep prõ ni #

əbri ɟum ʧe we ma ri kačiw bri ɔ pa
then DS HRS HRS MOV dem PURP game do live/walk

ɟum ra ʧučũre ra tẽ kep prõ ni
DS ASP Moon ASP go 3.DTR esposa copulate

‘But when he went hunting, Moon came by and had sex with Sun’s bride.’

əbri ɟum poj ɟum we rač kəbro ɟĩ #

əbri ɟum poj ɟum we rač kəbro ɟĩ
then DS arrive DS HRS large blood sit

‘When he came back, she was sitting there, menstruating.’

ɟum we kəm kapẽr # ɟum # “ma # na akrəmre tẽ ne ke ma iɟbjeɟre tẽ ne ke ape iɟnĩ #

ɟum we kəm kapẽr ɟum
DS HRS 3.DAT talk DS

ma na a-krəm=re tẽ ne ke ma
MOV RLS 2-K.T.=DIM go CNJ PURP MOV

iɟ-bjeɟ=re tẽ ne ke ape iɟ-nĩ
1-husband=DIM go CNJ PURP work 1-copulate/sting

‘Then it is said he spoke to her and she said, “No, your godson came by when my husband was out hunting, and he copulated with me in your stead.’

jakamã pa rač kabro” # ne ɟum kəm # “wa: nẽ pakrəmre # mebɔ na ka te anẽ?”

ja=kamã pa rač kabro ne ɟum kəm
DEF.ART=INSV 1.NOM large/plenty blood CNJ DS 3.DAT

wa:=nẽ pa krəm=rε me-bɔ na ka tε anẽ
 EXCL 1.PSSR K.T.=DIM INDF-thing RLS 2.NOM HAB thus

“That is why I am bleeding.” So he says, “But my godson, why are you like that?!”

“tɬ # pu pěr ã # pa pěr ã pa kra je mǎ ɔ anẽ ke pa kra jaja katɔ ã

tɬ pu pěr ã pa pěr ã pa kra je
 no<msc> 1.INCL think LOC 1.NOM think LOC 1.PSSR child DEF.CLLT

mǎ ɔ anẽ ke pa kra jaja katɔ ã
 DAT do thus PURP 1.PSSR child DEF.ART.RDPL.PL come.out LOC

“No, I did it like that because when our children come out...”

ne kamǎ me kəm me prǔ je kīni ã ri me ɔ anẽ” #

ne kamǎ me kəm me prǔ je kīni
 CNJ INSV PL 3.DAT INDF wife DEF.CLLT enjoy/merry

ã ri me ɔ ane
 LOC DEM PL do thus

“and they start fancying someone else’s wife, that’s what they will do.”

ãbri jum čε wε əbri # “ε # kwa amjĩ čwar ijumǎ icprǔ nipeč” # ne jum kəm #

ãbri jum čε wε əbri ε kwa amjĩ čwar
 then DS HRS HRS then EXCL EXCL RFLX likewise?

ijumǎ ic-prǔ n-ipeč nẽ jum kəm
 1-DAT 1-wife RP-make CNJ DS 3.DAT

‘He says, “Okay, now you’ll make me a wife just like yours .” And he,

“*kwa # ja čiw mǎ*” # “*ta # dɔ kij iɲmǎ ɔ ipeč*” #

kwa	ja	čiw=mǎ	ta	dɔ	kij	iɲ-mǎ	ɔ	ipeč
EXCL	DEF.ART	wait=DAT	no.MSC	but	quick	1-DAT	one	make

“Hey, wait a moment!” “No, right now, let’s make one for me too!”

ne əbri ɲum čε we wa ma mǔ # ɲum kukõɲ ja ta ne ɔ mǔ #

ne	əbri	ɲum	čε	we	wa	ma	mǔ
CNJ	then	DS	HRS	HRS	DU	MOV	go
ɲum	kukõɲ	ja	ta	ne	ɔ	mǔ	
DS	cabaça	DEF.ART	chop.off	CNJ	INSTR	go	

‘So they went to the garden, he took one cabaça and brought it.’

kəm kumě ɲum kəm prǔ katɔ # dɔ mǎ kep dɔ nikje kreti #

kəm	ku-mě	ɲum	kəm	prǔ	katɔ
3.DAT	3.ACC-throw	DS	3.DAT	wife	come.out
dɔ=mǎ	kep	dɔ	n-ikje	kre=ti	
but	3.DTR	eye	RP-side	whole=AUG	

‘So he [Sun] tossed it in the water and woman came out for him [Moon], only it had one blind eye.’

əbri ɲum we akupim # əbri ɲum čε we # “ě # amɲĩ ja tu čəm ǎ # amɲĩ čəm” #

əbri	ɲum	we	akupim	əbri	ɲum	čε	we
then	DS	HRS	CNTRP=ALLT	then	DS	HRS	HRS
ě	amɲĩ	ja	tu	č-əm	ǎ	amɲĩ	č-əm
EXCL	RFLX	DEF.ART	belly	RP-stand.NF	LOC	RFLX	RP-stand.NF

‘Then they came back. Then, it is said, eh!, the bottle gourds were all ripe, just right to pick.’

əbri jum čεwe kəm # “ε # pakrəmre # dəkij aně pur pa pa kra je kačiw ape” #

əbri jum čε we kəm ε pakrəm=rε
then DS HRS HRS 3.DAT EXCL K.T.=DIM

dɔ kij aně pur pa pa kra je kačiw ape
but quick thus field 1.NOM 1.PSSR child DEF.CLLT PURP work

‘Then it is said, one said to the other, “Éta!, godson, let us at once work on the garden for our children.’

“əw” # ne əbri jum we ma mō pī ja kət we wa ɔ go kapε kə pa #

əw ne əbri jum we ma mō pī ja
yes D.SP then DS HRS MOV go wood DEF.ART

kət we wa ɔ go kapε kə pa
chop HRS DU do water shore cut CNCL

“All right!” Then it is said they cut some logs and made a dam in the creek.’

əbri jum wa ma mō nō # jum apkati # əbri jum we kəm #

əbri jum wa ma mō nō jum apkati
then DS DU MOV go lie DS morning

əbri jum we kəm
then DS HRS 3.DAT

‘Then they went to bed. It became morning. Then one said to the other,’

“ε # ickrəmgetti # pu mō pa pam ačwari ijakə ja ɔ pi” # ně#

ε ic-krəmget=ti pu mō pa pam ačwari
EXCL 1-K.T.=AUG 1.INCL go 1.NOM 1.NOM.EMPH 2-likewise

ijakə ja õ pi ne
 1-RP-cocar DEF.ART one grab DIR.S

‘Ê, godfather, let us go there for me to grab a cocar just like yours!’, like that.’

əbri ɲum ʧɛ wɛ wa tẽ ɲum ʃət kutəti mō ɲum ʧɛ wɛ kəm # “ja” # nẽ # “tɬ # ajakə ja õ” #

əbri ɲum ʧɛ wɛ wa tẽ ɲum ʃət kutə=ti mō
 then DS HRS HRS DU go DS woodpecker yellow=AUG go

ɲum ʧɛ wɛ kəm ja nẽ
 DS HRS HRS 3.DAT DEF.ART DIR.SP

tɬ a-j-akə ja õ
 no<MSC> 2-RP-cocar DEF.ART one

‘Then they went; a woodpecker was passing by and he said, “Is it this one?” “No, I want one *just like* yours!’

əbri ɲum wɛ wa tẽ ɲum wɛ əbri ʃən krə kə kabroti ja ʧa # ɲum ʧɛ wɛ kəm # “ja” # nẽ #

əbri ɲum wɛ wa tẽ ɲum wɛ
 then DS HRS DU go DS HRS

əbri ʃən krə kə kabroti ja ʧa
 then woodpecker head skin red DEF.ART stand

ɲum ʧɛ wɛ kəm ja ne
 DS HRS HRS 3.DAT DEF.ART DIR.SP

‘So they went, and a red-head woodpecker was around and he said, “That’s the one!”

“kwa # to ke ka ɔ bɛʧ nẽ # pa pam amã kupi” #

kwa to ke ka ɔ bɛʧ nẽ
 EXCL EXCL? PURP 2.NOM do good CNJ

pa pam a-mǎ ku-pi
 1.NOM 1.NOM.EMPH 2-DAT 3.ACC-pegar

“All right, but be careful so you’ll do it right! Let me get it for you myself.”

“tʌ # pa pam” #

tʌ pa pam
 no.MSC 1.NOM 1.NOM.EMPH

“No, I will do it myself!”

əbri ɲum ǎε wε əbri ʝətti mǎ anē ɲum kapa # ɲum kəm kumē # ɲum tē # ɲum #

əbri ɲum ǎε wε əbri ʝətti mǎ anē
 then DS HRS HRS then woodpecker DAT instruct/thus

ɲum kapa ɲum kəm ku-mē ɲum tē ɲum
 DS take.out DS 3.DAT 3.ACC-throw DS go DS

‘Then it is said he [Moon] spoke to the woodpecker so he took the cocar, tossed it to him, and the other [Sun] [commanded]:’

“kupaw # kupaw # kupaw” # ne ɲum ǎε wε kupaw # ɲum tē tem nē tu bə #

kupaw kupaw kupaw
 drop drop drop

ne ɲum ǎε wε kupaw ɲum tē tem nē tu bə
 CNJ DS HRS HRS drop DS go fall CNJ bush light.up?

“Let it fall, let it fall, let it fall!” Then it is said he [Moon] did let it fall; so the cocar fell on the ground setting fire to everything in the area.’

əbri jum wε əm tuj pok rač kumrěč # əbri jum čε wε wa prōt #

əbri	jum	wε	əm	tuj	pok	rač	kumrěč
then	DS	HRS	3.ACC	bush	catch.on.fire	large/plenty	INTS

əbri	jum	čε	wε	wa	prōt
then	DS	HRS	HRS	DU	run

‘Then the fire caught good in the woods and they all ran away.’

əbri jum čučūti ja amči j-īkə pe pika wər ačə #

əbri	jum	čučū=ti	ja	amči
then	DS	sun=AUG	DEF.ART	wasp

j-īkə	pe	pika	wər	ačə
RP-house	DTR	earth	ALLT	enter

‘Then Sun ran and entered the waspbox [of the kind that is built] on the ground.’

əbri jum čučūre ja tɔɔmǝ gotpore ja jĩ kɔɔmǝ ačə #

əbri	jum	čučūre	ja	tɔɔmǝ
then	DS	Moon	DEF.ART	somehow

gotpore	ja	jĩ	kɔɔmǝ	ačə
wasp	DEF.ART	sit	upright	enter

‘And Moon entered the waspbox [of the kind that is built] upright.’

əbri tu jire čet # əbri jum kuwi ja ma mō #

əbri	tu	j-ire	čet	əbri	jum	kuwi	ja	ma	mō
then	belly	RP-slice	burn	then	DS	fire	DEF.ART	MOV	go

‘So a piece of his tummy got burned; then the fire went out.’

əbri juum wε wa wrə nē tē # əbri juum wε tē [ne] kəm #

əbri	juum	wε	wa	wrə	nē	te
then	DS	HRS	DU	descend	CNJ	go

əbri	juum	wε	tē	[ne]	kəm
then	DS	HRS	go	CNJ	3.DAT

‘So, it it said, they came down, and he says,’

“ickrəmgetti # kwa # na pa tu čet [nē]” # juum čε kəm # “go mǎ # go mǎ # go mǎ” # nē #

ickrəmgetti	kwa	na	pa	tu	čet	[nē]”
1-K.T.=AUG	EXCL	RLS	1.PSSR?	belly	burn	FCT

juum	čε	kəm	go	mǎ	go	mǎ	go	mǎ	nē
DS	HRS	3.DAT	water	DAT	water	DAT	water	DAT	DIR.SP

“Godfather, ouch!, my tummy is so burned!” And he answered, “To the water, to the water, to the water!!!”

əbri juum čε wε ma prōt ne go mǎ mrō # əbri # juum go grə # nē #

əbri	juum	čε	wε	ma	prōt	ne	go	mǎ	mrō
then	DS	HRS	HRS	MOV	run	CNJ	water	DAT	submerge

əbri	juum	go	grə	ne
then	DS	water	dry	FCT

‘Then it is said he ran to the water. And Sun commanded, “May the water dry up!”, just like that.

əbri juum go grə # əbri juum tē nē əbri api # əbri juum wε kəm # “kaprənre kep tu kake” #

əbri	juum	go	grə	əbri	juum	tē	nē	əbri	api
then	DS	water	dry	the	DS	go	CNJ	then	ascend

əbri ɲum wɛ kəm kaprən=rɛ kɛp tu kake
 then DS HRS 3.DAT jaboti=DIM 3.DTR belly scratch

‘So the creek dried. Then the other one [Moon] lay there on the sand, and Sun commanded, “May the turtle scratch your tummy!”

əbri ɲum kaprənɾɛ kɛp tu kake # “go təm akupim ǎʝi” # ne ɲum ǎʝi

əbri ɲum kaprən=rɛ kɛp tu kake
 then DS jaboti=DIM 3.DTR belly scratch
 go təm akupim ǎʝi ne ɲum ǎʝi
 water 3.ACC.EMPH CNTRP.ALLT fill.up CNJ DS fill.up

‘So, it is said, the turtle scratched his tummy. “May the creek become full again!”, so it did.

ɲum kaprənɾɛ kɛp tu kake # əbri ɲum akupim tɛ #

ɲum kaprənɾɛ kɛp tu kake
 DS jaboti=DIM 3.DTR belly scratch

əbri ɲum akupim tɛ
 then DS CNTRP.ALLT go

‘Then the turtle scratched his [Moon] tummy. Then he came back.’

əbri ɲum wa ɲĩ # əbri ɲum wɛ wa atpɛ mǎ #

əbri ɲum wa ɲĩ əbri ɲum wɛ wa atpɛ mǎ
 then DS DU sit then DS HRS DU RCPR DAT

‘The two of them sat together and said to one another,’

“ɛ # pu dɔ kij anɛ pu pəɲ ɛ pa kra je kačiw bri čet kwə kawrə” # nɛ #

ɛ pu dɔ kij anɛ pu pəɲ
 EXCL 1.INCL but soon thus 1.INCL afterwards

ε pa kra je
EXCL 1.PSSR child DEF.CLLT

kačiw bri čet kwə kawrə ne
PURP game burn QTF collect DIR.SP

“Say, let’s go get some burned game for our children.” Like that.

əbri jum wa kawrə ɔ mō # ne wa pəɲ umĩr ɔ ča ne tẽ wɛ bra #

əbri jum wa kawrə ɔ mō ne wa pəɲ
then DS DU collect do go CNJ DU afterwards

umĩr ɔ ča ne tẽ wɛ bra
3.bake.underground do stand CNJ go HRS walk

‘So they collected them, when they were making the fire afterwards, Moon came,’

“ickrəmgetti # ket aɲō bri twəmə” # ne jum ra kačiw kuta # ne grɔ #

ickrəmgetti ket a-ɲ-ō bri twəmə
1-K.T.=AUG SPRLAT 2-RP-GEN game fat

ne jum ra kačiw ku-ta ne grɔ
CNJ DS ASP PURP 3.ACC-chop.off CNJ roast

“Godfather, your game is bigger!” He [Sun] had already taken a slice and was roasting it.’

əbri jum mō ne wər tẽ # ickrəmgetti # na ket əm aɲō bri twəmə” #

əbri jum mō ne wər tẽ ic-krəmget=ti
then DS ir CNJ ALLT go 1-K.T.=AUG

na ket əm a-ɲ-ō bri twəmə
RLS SPRLT 3.ACC 2-RP-GEN game fat

‘Then the other [Moon] came towards him, “Godfather, your game is bigger!!”

“kwa # akapēr ket nē” # tε ma bra # ã atumrε wər bra #

kwa	akapēr	ket=nē
EXCL	2-talk	NEG

ε	ma	bra	ã	atum=rε	wər	bra
?	MOV	walk	LOC	little.while=DIM	ALLT	walk

‘Êta! Stop babbling!’ He [Moon] left; a little while later, there he comes again.’

kəm kapēr bərape jum wε ajte kep tu četčə ja ã kučĩ jum čet # əbri jum wε kəm #

kəm	kapēr	bərape	jum	wε	ajte	kep	tu
3.DAT	talk	because		DS	HRS	more	3.DTR belly

čet=čə	ja	ã	ku-č-i
burn=NMLZ.LOC/INSTR	DEF.ART	LOC	3.ACC-RP-place.on.ground

jum	čet	əbri	jum	wε	kəm
DS	burn	then	DS	HRS	3.DAT

‘When he [Moon] was about to speak, it is said the other [Sun] took a slice of the roast and tossed it right on top of his burned tummy.’

“ow waj nē # na pa tu čet” # nē jum kəm # “go wər” # ne jum wε ma go mǎ tē #

ow	waj	nē	na	pa	tu	čet	nē	jum	kəm
EXCL	EXCL	EXCL	RLS	1.NOM	belly	burn	FCT	DS	3.DAT

go	wər	nē	jum	wε	ma	go	mǎ	tē
water	ALLT	CNJ	DS	HRS	MOV	water	DAT	go

“OUCH!!! My tummy is burned!!!” And the other, “To the water, to the water, to the water!!!” So he disappeared towards the water.’

əbri juṃ keṗ go grə # juṃ kaprənre keṗ tu kake # əbri juṃ čewε wa ɔ jĩr pa # ne kutu #

əbri	juṃ	keṗ	go	grə	juṃ	kaprən=rε	keṗ	tu	kake
then	DS	3.DTR	water	dry	DS	jaboti=DIM	3.DTR	belly	scratch

əbri	juṃ	čewε	wε	wa	ɔ	jĩr	pa	ne	ku-tu
then	DS	HRS	HRS	DU	do	thus.NF	CNCL	CNJ	3.ACC-carry.on.head

‘So the water dried and the turtle scratched his tummy. They stayed this way until they finished transporting everything [the game].’

ma ɔ mō poj # əbri wε wa pəŋ kra je re ne mrō pa # əbri jakamã na pu me pa katɔ #

ma	ɔ	mō	poj	əbri	wε	wa	pəŋ
MOV	INSTR	go	arrive	then	HRS	DU	afterwards

kra	je	re	ne	mrō	pa
child	DEF.CLLT	pull.out	CNJ	submerge	CNCL

əbri	jaka=mō	na	pu	me	pa	katɔ
then	for.this.reason	RLS	1	PL	1.NOM	come.out

‘They arrived with the game, then took the cabaças and submerged them all. This is how we came out to life.’

əbri ri pa pa # tã na pa me me kəm arẽ # kəm arẽ ke me kuba #

əbri	ri	pa	pa	tã	na	pa	me
then	DEM	1.NOM	live/walk	this.way	RLS	1.NOM	PL

me	kəm	arẽ	kəm	arẽ	ke	me	ku-ba
PL	3.DAT	tell	3.DAT	tell	PURP	PL	3.ACC-hear

‘Now we live out here. That is why I am telling you this so you’ll learn about it.’

ǎ me pa krokrač ja # me pa krokrač pe na kukōj #

ǎ	me	pa	krokrač	ja
LOC	PL	1.PSSR	stem	DEF.ART

me	pa	krokrač	pe	na	kukōj
PL	1.PSSR	stem	DTR/ABL	RLS	cabaça

‘At the tip of our stem, [from] the tip of our stem [there] is the cabaça.’

ǎbri pa me kro=ŋ-ijot kəm ǎ kukōn ne ǎ kukrač # ne kamǎ [čē] apku # ne kamǎ itkō ɔ pa #

ǎbri	pa	me	kro=ŋ-ijot	kəm	ǎ	kukōj	ne	ǎ	kukrač
thus	1.PSSR	PL	vine=RP-tip	3.DAT	LOC	cabaça	CNJ	LOC	bowl

ne	kamǎ	[čē]	apku	ne	kamǎ	itkō	ɔ	pa
CNJ	INSV	?	eat	CNJ	INSV	drink	do	live/walk

‘But at the tip of our stem there is the cabaça, and the bowls that we use to eat and drink nowadays.’

TEXT II

A walk in the wild

Teller: Kojkoti Iraci Dias
Location: Aldeia São José

ən # kət paj wa amjĩ arẽ ka mɛ ictɛ wa amjim arẽ ba #

ən	kət	paj	wa	amjĩ	arẽ	
yes	IRLS	1.IRLS	DU	RFLX	tell	
ka	mɛ	ic-tɛ	wa	amjĩ	arẽ	ba
2.NOM	PL	1-ERG	DU	RFLX	tell	hear

‘Yes. I’m going to tell you about the two of us so you’ll learn about us.’

na prɛ awrĩ ə ickrəmčwə ja ičwər poj nẽ ijmǝ kapẽr ɔʔ krĩ

na	prɛ	awrĩ	ǝ	ic-krəmčwə	ja	ič-wər	poj
RLS	PST	far	LOC	1-friend	DEF.ART	1-ALLT	arrive
nẽ	ijm-ǝ	kapẽr	ɔʔ	krĩ			
CNJ	1-DAT	talk	do	sit			

‘My friend arrived from far away and stayed talking to me.’

pa prɛ kapẽr ba nɛ əbri kot amjĩ n-ipeč #

pa	prɛ	kapẽr	ba	nɛ	əbri	kot	amjĩ	n-ipeč
1.NOM	PST	talk	hear	CNJ	then	after	RFLX	RP-make

‘I heard her conversation and followed her manners.’

əbri ɲum prɛ kəm ickĩ nẽ ri kəm mẽ ijõ kapot ǽ

əbri	ɲum	prɛ	kəm	ic-kĩ	nẽ	ri	kəm	mẽ
then	DS	PST	3.DAT	1-like	COP	DEM	3.DAT	PL
i-ɲ-õ		kapot	ǽ					
1-RP-GEN		outside	LOC					

‘She liked me, and she wished to...’

ri brar prəm nẽ əbri ijadɔ pa wa ma kapot ǽ [ri] wa ri bra #

ri	brar	prəm	nẽ	əbri	i-j-ado			
DEM	walk	wish	CNJ	then	1-RP-call			
pa	wa	ma	kapot	ǽ	[ri]	wa	ri	bra
1.NOM	DU	MOV	outside	LOC	[DEM]	DU	DEM	walk

‘...stroll around in the wild, so she called me and the two of us went out.’

wa ja rum ickatɔ nẽ wa mō nẽ əbri ɲum ijmǽ

wa	ja	rum	ic-katɔ	nẽ	wa	mō
DU	DEF.ART	ABL	1-come.out	CNJ	DU	go
nẽ	əbri	ɲum	ijm-ǽ			
CNJ	then	DS	1-DAT			

‘We left from here and went, so she showed me...’

rɔn pər ja jakrɛ nẽ ǽ kukja # “mɛbɔ na ja?”

rɔn	pər	ja	j-akrɛ	nẽ
coco	tree	DEF.ART	RP-show	CNJ

ð kukja me=bɔ na ja
 LOC ask INDEF=thing RLS DEF.ART

‘...a palm tree and asked, “What is it?”’

əbri pa prɛ kəm arɛ # “rɔn nɛ # na pa tɛ kuku” #

əbri pa prɛ kəm arɛ rɔn nɛ na pa tɛ ku-ku
 then 1.NOM PST 3.DAT tell coco DIR.SP RLS 1.NOM HAB 3.ACC-eat

‘And I said to her, “It is babaçú, we eat it.”’

nɛ ɲum iɲmð # “to ɔn # (na) pu wər bət # ka iɲmð ð pi pa mɛ akučwar ð kaki” #

nɛ ɲum iɲ-mð toʔɔn (na) pu wər bət
 CNJ DS 1-DAT EXCL (RLS) 1.INCL ALLT detour

ka iɲ-mð ð pi pa mɛ a-kučwar ð kaki
 2.NOM 1-DAT DET get 1.NOM PL 2-likewise one taste

‘So she said, “Well, then let’s get out of the track so as to get one for me to taste, just like you do.’

nɛ əbri pa prɛ kəm ja pi nɛ iɲð wapɔti ɔ kəm katɛ ɲum prɛ kaki nɛ #

nɛ əbri pa prɛ kəm ja pi
 CNJ then 1.NOM PST 3.DAT DEF.ART get

nɛ iɲ-ð wapɔti ɔ
 CNJ 1-GEN machete INSTR

kəm katɛ ɲum prɛ kaki nɛ
 3.DAT break DS PST taste CNJ

‘So I got one for her and cracked it with my machete, so she tried it.’

“a: čě běči # jakamǎ ka tε na aku” #

a:	čě	běči	ja=kamǎ	ka	tε	na	a-ku
EXCL	EXCL	good	DEF.ART=INSV	2.NOM	HAB	RLS	2-eat

“Ah!! This is good! That’s why you eat it.”

nē ǎ ijmǎ arē anē əbri pa prε wa akupim pri nǎ

nē	ǎ	ijmǎ	arē	anē			
CNJ	LOC	1-DAT	tell	thus			
əbri	pa	prε	wa	akup-im	pri	nǎ	
then	1.NOM	PST	DU	CNTRP-ALLT	track	return	

‘She said just like that to me, so we went back to the track.’

nē wa icte grirε wa prīgətti ja wər ickatǎ # əbri pa prε kəm pər ja krε #

nē	wa	ic-te	gri=re	wa	prīgət=ti	ja	wər	ic-katǎ
CNJ	DU	1-ERG	small=DIM	DU	bacuri=AUG	DEF.ART	ALLT	1-come.out
əbri	pa	prε	kəm	pər	j-akrε			
then	1.NOM	PST	3.DAT	tree	RP-show			

‘We walked for a while and reached a bacuri tree. I showed it to her.’

pər ja krε jum pape ja ra pič nǎ # pa prε kəm kupi nē kəm katε jum prε kaki #

pər	jakrε	jum	pa=pe	ja	ra	pič	nǎ	
tree	show	DS	foot=ABL	DEF.ART	ASP	only	lie	
pa	prε	kəm	ku-pi	nē	kəm	kate	jum	prε
1.NOM	PST	3.DAT	3.ACC-pegar	CNJ	3.DAT	quebrar	DS	PST
								kaki
								experimentar

‘I showed the tree and under it there was just one fruit. I picked it for her, cut it and she tasted it.’

“a: # čē bečī” # nē prē əbri kukrē # krēr pa # pa wa ijukri va pri ǝ wa ictēm ri nε

a:	če	beči	nē	prē	əbri	ku-krē	krēr	pa
EXCL	EXCL	good	CNJ	PST	then	3.ACC-eat	eat.NF	CNCL
pa	wa	i-j-ukri	wa	pri	ǝ			
1.NOM	DU	3-RP-ahead	DU	road	LOC			
va	ic-tēm	ri	nε					
DU	1-go.NF	long	COP					

‘Ah!! This is good!!’ And she ate it. She ate it up and we went ahead in the track; we walked for a while.’

jum prē icpijǝ ja ickot tē wa ickot tē nē wa ickukja # “pa # jǝm na ka wa mǝ?”

jum	prē	ic-pijǝ	ja	ic-kot tē	wa	ic-kot	tē	
DS	PST	1-K.T.	DEF.ART	1-after go	DU	1-after	go	
nē	wa	ic-kukja	pa	jǝm	na	ka	wa	mǝ
CNJ	DU	1-ask	GRT	LOC-ALLT	RLS	2.NOM	DU	go

‘Then my relative was coming behind us and asked, “Hey, where are you going to?”

əbri pa prē wa kəm amjǝ arē #

əbri	pa	prē	wa	kəm	amjǝ	arē
then	1.NOM	PST	DU	3.DAT	RFLX	tell

‘So I told him about us.’

“ma # ickrəmčwə na kəm me pa jǝ kapot ǝ ri brar prəm

ma	ic-krəmčwə	na	kəm
no.FEM	1-friend	RLS	3.DAT

me	pa	ɲ-õ	kapot	ẽ	ri	brar	prəm
PL	1.NOM	RP-GEN	outside	LOC	DEM	walk	wish

‘No, my friend wanted to stroll in the wild.’

nẽ ijadɔ pa ɔ mõ” # nẽ əbri nẽ wa bət # nẽ wa prinɛ ja wər ickatɔ

nẽ	i-j-ado	pa	ɔ	mõ	nẽ
CNJ	1-RP-call	1.NOM	INSTR	go	CNJ

əbri	nẽ	wa	bət	nẽ	wa	prin=rɛ	ja	wər	ic-katɔ
então	CNJ	DU	detour	CNJ	DU	oití=DIM	DEF.ART	ALLT	1-come.out

‘so she called me so I would bring her.’ Then we took a different way and reached an oití tree.’

ɲum ra pape ikwĩ ra nõ rač nẽ əbri pa wa kawrə ɔ rit pa

ɲum	ra	pa=pe	ikwĩ	ra	nõ	rač	nẽ
DS	ASP	foot=ABL	lie.PL	ASP	lie	large/plenty	COP

əbri	pa	wa	kawrə ɔ	ri	ic-pa
then	1.NOM	DU	collect do	DEM	1-live/walk

‘Under the tree there was a lot of it [oití fruit], so we started collecting.’

ɲum ẽ pape mrũmti rat kũmrɛč # mrũmti jɔʔto nẽ #

ɲum	ẽ	pa=pe	mrũm=ti	rač	kũmrɛč
DS	LOC	foot=ABL	ant=AUG	large/plenty	INTS

mrũm=ti	jɔʔto	nẽ
ant=AUG	many	COP

‘Only under the tree there was a lot of ants, and I mean, a lot of them!’

əbri ɲum əbuɲ ket ne rit kawrə ɔ prõt # əbri ɲum par ǽ tu #

əbri ɲum əbu-ɲ ket ne ri kawrə ɔ prõt
then DS see-NF NEG COP DEM collect do run

əbri ɲum par ǽ tu
then DS foot LOC agglomerate

‘But she [my friend] didn’t even notice and went ahead collecting fruit [real fast]. So a lot of crawled onto her feet.’

par ǽ tu ɲum əbri kaga # “ma # pa ajte kwə kawrə ket ne # atǽ ate kawrə” #

par ǽ tu ɲum əbri kaga
foot LOC agglomerate DS then give.up

ma pa ajte kwə kawrə ket ne a-t-ǽ ate kawrə
no.FEM 1.NOM more QTF collect NEG COP 2-RP-LOC alone collect

‘They crawled onto her feet and she quit. “No, I won’t collect them anymore. You go ahead.”

ně əbri pa ǽ akuɟa ǽ akuɟa rəm ɲum prɛ ictōč ja me čě mě ickot katɔ #

ně əbri pa ǽ akuɟa ǽ akuɟa rəm
CNJ then 1.NOM LOC laugh LOC laugh at.this.time

ɲum prɛ ic-tōč ja me čě mě ic-kot katɔ
DS PST 1-k.t. DEF.ART PL? ? ASSC? 1-after
come.out

‘So I laughed at her. So my [another] relative came behind us.’

ně me ickukja # “ka # ɲĩĩm kɔ kaj wa tẽ?” ně na pa kəm #

ně me ic-kukja ka ɲĩ-ĩm
CNJ PL 1-ask 2.NOM LOC-ALLT

kət kaj wa tẽ nẽ na pa kəm
IRLS 2.IRLS DU go PRT RLS 1.NOM 3.DAT

‘So she asked, “Hey, where are you going to?” And I, ...’

“ma # ickrəmčwə na kəm ri mε pa jō kapot ð ri brar prəm nε pa ri ɔ bra #

ma ic-krəmčwə na kəm ri mε pa j-ō
no.FEM 1-friend RLS 3.DAT DEM PL 1.NOM RP-GEN

kapot ð ri brar prəm nε pa ri ɔ bra
outside LOC DEM walk wish CNJ 1.NOM DEM INSTR walk

‘No, my friend wanted to see the wild so I’m taking her around.’

kət paj rit ɔ ijbra ra amikri # jum rĩ təm amjĩ kəm aba” #

kət paj rit ɔ ij-bra ra amikri
IRLS 1.IRLS DEM INSTR 1-walk.NF ASP afternoon

jum rĩ təm amjĩ kəm aba
DS DEM 3.ACC?RFLX 3.DAT feel

‘I’ll walk with her until the afternoon, so she’ll get the feel of it.’

nẽ əbri prε me ijakrɛn pa #

nẽ əbri prε me i-j-akrɛn pa
CNJ then PST PL 1-RP-go.by.NF CNCL

‘Then they passed us by.’

əbri pa prε wa əbri prinlε pər pape wa mrũmti ja ð pa wa ε ijō kawə ja čəm

əbri pa prε wa əbri prin=rε pər pa=pe
then 1.NOM PST DU then oiti=DIM árvore foot=ABL

wa mrũm=ti ja ǽ
 DU ant=AUG DEF.ART LOC

pa wa ε i-ŋ-ǽ kawə ja č-ǽm
 1.NOM DU ? 1-rp-GEN basket DEF.ART RP-place

‘Under the oiti tree we placed our baskets on top of the ants...’

[na pa va mrũmti tǽ ickawə čǽm]

[na pa va mrũm=ti t-ǽ ic-kawə č-ǽm]
 [RLS 1.NOM DU ant=AUG RP-LOC 1-basket RP-place]

[‘we placed our baskets on top of the ants.’]

nε wa ri atpē mǽ ickapēr atpēn tǽ akuǰa #

nε wa ri atpē mǽ ic-kapēr atpēn t-ǽ akuǰa
 CNJ DU DEM RCPR DAT 1-talk RCPR RP-LOC laugh

‘And we sat there talking and laughing at one another.’

əbri ɲum krat=kə=ri kamǽ ri bra ja=kamǽ

əbri ɲum krat=kə=ri kamǽ ri bra ja=kamǽ
 then DS leg=cover=long INSV DEM walk DEF.ART=INSV

ɲum krat=kə tεʔ=kə kot agje
 DS leg=cover calf=cover after enter.PL

‘Then the ants crawled and entered her pants from the end of the legs.’

ɲum əbri rik amɲĩ nikra ɔ ri kure #

ɲum əbri rik amɲĩ n-ikra ɔ ri ku-re
DS então DEM RFLX hand INSTR DEM 3.ACC-take.out

‘So she removed them [the ants] with her hands.’

[ikkra ɔ amɲĩ de ri kure]

[ikkra ɔ amɲĩ de ri ku-re]
[hand INSTR RFLX ABL DEM 3.ACC-take.out

[‘she removed them with her hands.’]

əbri pa pa icpič kawrə # əbri ɲum va ijukri va ictēm grirɛ #

əbri pa pa ic-pič kawrə əbri ɲum
então 1.NOM 1.NOM 1-only collect then DS

va i-j-ukri va ic-tēm gri=rɛ
DU 3-RP-ahead DU 1-go.NF small=DIM

‘[In the meantime] I finished collecting the oití by myself. We walked ahead a while longer.’

əbri ɲum apčət kre ja prɛ pri kamǎ nɛ ɲum kɔt mǎ kakwən čə diw pa wa wər ickatɔ #

əbri ɲum apčət kre ja prɛ pri kamǎ nɛ
then DS peba burrow DEF.ART PST track INSV CNJ

ɲum kɔt=mǎ kakwən=čə diw pa wa wər ic-katɔ
DS yet dig.NF=LOC fresh/young 1.NOM DU ALLT 1-come.out

‘Soon we reached peba footprints on our way. The burrow was fresh as it had been recently dug; we reached it.’

əbri ɲum ickrə̃mčwə ja iɲmǎ pī ja pɪ nɛ iɲmǎ #

əbri ɲum ic-krə̃mčwə ja
then DS 1-friend DEF.ART

iɲ-mǎ pī ja pɪ nɛ iɲ-mǎ
1-DAT wood DEF.ART get CNJ 1-DAT

‘So she found me a woodstick and said, ...’

“čɛ # ɔ kačũ! kɔt ja arĩ kamǎ nǔ kɔt pu kupĩ” #

čɛ ɔ kačũ kɔt ja arĩ kamǎ nǔ
EXCL INSTR poke IRLS DEF.ART stay INSV lie

kɔt pu ku-pĩ
IRLS 1.INCL 3.ACC-kill

“Hey, why don’t you poke it?! If the peba is in there we could kill it.”

ně pa wa rit ɔ kačũ əbri ɲum wa kaga # kəm # “ma # mǎn krɛ rɪ nɛ” #

ně pa wa rit ɔ kačũ əbri ɲum wa kaga
CNJ 1.NOM DU DEM INSTR poke then DS DU give.up

kəm ma mǎn krɛ rɪ nɛ
3.DAT no.FEM maybe burrow long/deep COP

‘So we poked it, but then we quit. I said, “You know, I think the burrow is really deep.’

ɲum wa kaga ɲum wa ijukri tẽ # nɛ wa əbri prɪ nǎ #

ɲum wa kaga ɲum wa i-j-ukri tẽ
DS DU give.up DS DU 3-RP-ahead go

nε wa əbri pɾi nǔ
 CNJ DU then track return

‘So we dropped it and moved on. We took the road again.’

ně wa ictem grirε əbri wa pəŋ botlε ja wər ickatɔ #

ně wa ic-tem gri=rε
 CNJ DU 1-go.NF small=DIM

əbri wa pəŋ bot=rε ja wər ic-katɔ
 then DU after jatobá=DIM DEF.ART ALLT 1-come.out

‘After walking a little while longer we reached a jatobá tree.’

botrε wər ja wa ickatɔ əbri ɲum wa ɲum kǔmrεč ja pi #

bot=rε wər ja wa ic-katɔ
 jatobá ALLT DEF.ART DU 1-come.out

əbri ɲum wa ɲum kǔmrεč ja pi
 then DS DU? DS first/INTS DEF.ART get

‘We reached this jatobá and she grabbed one [fruit] first.’

ja pi ně iɲmǔ # “čɔ na ka tɛm aku?” # na pa kəm # “na pa tɛ kuku” # nε ɲum iɲmǔ #

ja pi ně iɲ-mǔ čɔ na ka tɛm a-ku
 DEF.ART pegar CNJ 1-DAT Q RLS 2.NOM HAB 2-eat

na pa kəm na pa tɛ ku-ku nε ɲum iɲ-mǔ
 RLS 1.NOM 3.DAT RLS 1.NOM HAB 3.ACC-eat CNJ DS 1-DAT

‘She grabbed it and said, “Do you eat these?” “Yes, we eat them.” And she, ...’

“toʔən iʝmǎ ǔ kate # iʝmǎ ǔ kate pa mε akučwar kaki” #

toʔən	iʝmǎ	ǔ	kate	iʝmǎ	ǔ	kate
EXCL	1-DAT	one	break	1-DAT	one	break

pa	mε	a-kučwar	kaki
1.NOM	PL	2-likewise	taste

“So will you break one for me, so I will taste it just like you do?”

nē əbri pa iʝo wapɔti ɔ kəm ja kate # ʝum kupi nē ri kupǎ nē kaki nē #

nē	əbri	pa	iʝ-ǔ	wapɔti	ɔ	kəm	ja	kate
CNJ	then	1.NOM	1-GEN	machete	INSTR	3.DAT	DEF.ART	break

ʝum	ku-pi	nē	ri	ku-pǎ	nē	kaki	nē
DS	3.ACC-get	CNJ	DEM	3.ACC-smell	CNJ	taste	CNJ

‘So I cracked it with my machete for her to try. She took it, smelled it, tasted it, ...

“ma # bečǐ # dɔ mǎ icpe ɔmduj” # nε ri agolē # əbri pa ʔǎ akuʝa pa ri ǎ akuʝa #

ma	bečǐ	dɔ	mǎ	ic-pe	ɔmduj	nε	ri	ago=rē
no.FEM	good	but	DAT	1-DTR	3.bad	CNJ	DEM	spit.out

əbri	pa	ʔǎ	akuʝa	pa	ri	ǎ	akuʝa
then	1.NOM	LOC	laugh	1.NOM	DEM	LOC	laugh

“No, it’s good, but to me it tastes bad.” She spit it out and I laughed hard at her.’

əbri ʝum wa ʝum kwə krē ket nē #

əbri	ʝum	wa	ʝum	kwə	krē	ket	nē
then	DS	DU	DS	QTF	eat	NEG	PRT

‘Then she decided not to eat it.’

əbri pa wa ijukri pəŋ pɾĩnlɛ ja wər ickatɔ nɛ va kawrə # va kawrə #

əbri	pa	wa	i-j-ukri	pəŋ	pɾĩn=rɛ	ja	wər	ic-katɔ
then	1.NOM	DU	3-RP-ahead	after	oiti=DIM	DEF.ART	ALLT	1-come.out
nɛ	wa	kawrə	wa	kawrə				
CNJ	DU	collect	DU	collect				

‘So we moved on, reached other oití trees and gathered, gathered,...’

nɛ̃ wa kawrə pa əbri ɲum wa ijukri əbri ɲum kəm #

nɛ̃	wa	kawrə	pa	əbri	ɲum	wa	i-j-ukri	əbri	ɲum	kəm
CNJ	DU	collect	CNCL	then	DS	DU	3-RP-ahead	then	DS	3.DAT

‘Then we finished gathering. After that we moved on and me to her,...’

“əŋ # na əbri pɾĩnlɛ pər ja apeč # kɔt puɟ əbri pəŋ amari ri kapot ɔ̃ ri bra” #

əŋ	na	əbri	pɾĩn=rɛ		pər	ja		apeč		
yes	RLS	then	oiti	tree	DEF.ART		finish			
kɔt	puɟ		əbri	pəŋ	amari	ri	kapot	ɔ̃	ri	bra
IRLS	1.INCL.IRLS		then	after	PRMSV	DEM	outside	LOC	DEM	walk

‘Well, now we are done with the oití trees, so now we will just walk around in the wild.’

ri bra nɛ ɲum əbri iɲmɔ̃ # “əw” #

ri	bra	nɛ	ɲum	əbri	iɲ-mɔ̃	əw
DEM	walk	CNJ	DS	then	1-DAT	yes

‘We went ahead and she, “Sounds good.”’

nē pa wa əbri ma kapot ə wa ictəm ɔ tē #

nē	pa	wa	əbri	ma	kapot	ə	wa	ic-təm	ɔ	tē
CNJ	1.NOM	DU	then	MOV	outside	LOC	DU	1-go.NF	do	go

‘So we just strolled around in the wild.’

əbri jum wa ... əbri ictēm grirɛ jum pəŋ karə pri ja wər ickatɔ jum ijmə #

əbri	jum	wa	əbri	ic-tēm	gri=rɛ				
then	DS	DU	then	1-go.NF		small=DIM			
jum	pəŋ	karə	pri	ja	wər	ic-katɔ	jum	ijmə	
DS	after	deer	track	DEF.ART	ALLT	1-come.out	DS	1-DAT	

‘Then we walked some more and reached deer footprints. So she, ...’

“čɛ # am na ri karə ja [ri ja] kot bra ma pu apeə # ma pu pri kot tē jĩm wər pa katɔ” #

čɛ	am	na	ri	karə	ja	[ri	ja]		
EXCL	3.ACC.EMPH	RLS	DEM	veado	DEF.ART	DEM	DEF.ART		
kot	bra	ma	pu	apeə	ma	pu	pri	kot	tē
after	walk	MOV	1.INCL	search	MOV	1.INCL	track	after	go
jĩm	wər	pa	katɔ						
LOC-ALLT	ALLT	1.NOM	come.out						

‘‘Maybe this deer has just passed by us, let us follow the tracks and see where it takes us.’’

nē pa kəm # “ma # rəp na tɛ ri karə ja kot ri bra #

nē	pa	kəm	ma	rəp
CNJ	1.NOM	3.DAT	MOV	dog

na te ri karə ja kot ri bra
 RLS HAB DEM veado DEF.ART after DEM walk

‘And me to her, “No, it’s only dogs that can follow the tracks.’

də kət pu pa də ɔ rĩ bra ne ɔ bu ket nẽ” #

də kət pu pa də ɔ ri bra ne ɔ bu ket nẽ
 but IRLS 1.INCL 1.NOM eye INSTR DEM walk CNJ see NEG COP

“Just with our own eyes we aren’t capable of finding it.”

nẽ pa wa əbri karə pri ja kot tẽ nẽ wa əbri # əbri kaga # pa kəm #

nẽ pa wa əbri karə pri ja kot tẽ
 CNJ 1.NOM DU then deer track DEF.ART after go

nẽ wa əbri əbri kaga pa kəm
 CNJ DU then then give.up 1.NOM 3.DAT

‘Then we went after the deer and finally gave up. Me to her, ...’

“ma # əbri # na pu də kij # pəj amjĩm pĩ grΛ #

ma əbri na pu də kij pəj amjĩ-m pĩ grΛ
 no.FEMready RLS 1.INCL but quick after RFLX-DAT wood dry

“No, let it go. Let’s find some dry wood.’

pĩ grΛ ɔ čə nẽ ɔ mɔn ɔ poj num də kij amjĩm iɲɔ ape nẽ də kij kwə krẽ” #

pĩ grΛ ɔ čə nẽ ɔ mɔn ɔ poj
 wood dry some ? CNJ INSTR go.CNJ INSTR arrive

num də kij amjĩ-m i-ɲ-ɔ ape
 DS but quick RFLX-DAT 1-RP-food work

nē dɔ kij kwə krē
 CNJ but quick QTF eat

“We’ll find some dry wood to take home and prepare our food for us to eat already.”

dɔ ɲum pu ra ri bra ri nē #

dɔ ɲum pu ra ri bra ri nē
 but DS 1.INCL ASP DEM walk long COP

‘So we walked a long ways.’

nē ɲum wa əbri akup-ɪm wa tē nē kenlɛ kamə irə rač nē # irə beč nē #

nē ɲum wa əbri akup-ɪm wa tē
 CNJ DS DU then CNTRP-ALLT DU go

nē ken=rɛ kamə irə rač nē irə beč nē
 CNJ pebble=DIM INSV clearing large COP clearing good COP

‘Then we came back and reached the pebbles clearing. The pebbles area was really clear.’

əbri pa wa wər ickatɔ nē wa əbri kamə ɲɪ #

əbri pa wa wər ic-katɔ nē wa əbri kamə ɲɪ
 then 1.NOM DU ALLT 1-come.out CNJ DU then INSV sit

‘We got there and sat down.’

kamə ɲɪ nē kəɲnmə rīt nɛ bɪt pubu # ɲum ra kəɲnmə bɪt #

kamə ɲɪ nē kəɲnmə rīt nɛ bɪt pubu
 INSV sit CNJ upright look CNJ sun RP.see

ɲum ra kǎjnmǎ bit
 DS ASP upright sun

‘We sat, looked up and saw the sun high above us. The sun was high.’

əbri pa wa kamǎ ɲǐ # ɲum wa ickokot ɔ ɲǐ # əbri ɲum kəm #

əbri pa wa kamǎ ɲǐ ɲum wa ic-kokot ɔ ɲǐ
 then 1.NOM DU INSV sit DS DU 1-rest do sit

əbri ɲum kəm
 then DS 3.DAT

‘We sat there and rested. Then I said to her,...’

“ǎn # əbri # pu ra na pa kokot pa # dɔ kij” #

ǎn əbri pu ra na pa kokot pa dɔ kij
 yes ready 1.INCL ASP RLS 1.NOM rest CNCL but quick

‘Hā, there? We have rested well, now we may leave.’

ně ɲum wa əbri akupim ně əbri pri ǎ wa tē nē #

ně ɲum wa əbri akup-im ně əbri pri ǎ wa tē nē
 CNJ DS DU then CNTRP-ALLT CNJ then track LOC DU go CNJ

‘Then we took the road again and moved on.’

ɲūm əbri amčǐ ɲǐkλ rat ja pubu # ně iɲmǎ # “mɛɔj na ja?”

ɲūm əbri amčǐ ɲ-ǐkλ rač ja pubu
 DS then wasp RP-home large DEF.ART RP.see

ně iŋ-mǎ me=bɔj na ja
 CNJ 1-DAT INDF=thing RLS DEF.ART

‘She saw a waspbox and asked me, “What is it?”’

pa kəm # “amčǐ” # ně jum kəm uba # ně ubaj prōt #

pa kəm amčǐ ně jum kəm uba ně ubaj prōt
 1.NOM 3.DAT wasp CNJ DS 3.DAT fear CNJ fear.NF run

‘I told her, “Marimbondo.” She got startled and ran away in fear.’

əbri pa kəm akuǰa # ǝ akuǰa # əbri jum wa tē ně ri mē jō pri jatep #

əbri pa kəm akuǰa ǝ akuǰa
 then 1.NOM 3.DAT alugh LOC laugh

əbri jum wa tē ně ri mē j-ō pri j-atep
 then DS DU go CNJ DEM PL RP-GEN track RP-close

‘So I laughed real hard at her. Then we left and were close to the road again.’

ně əbri kəm # “ən # ma pu ja kot pri ja kλ kot # ictɔ tē pa amjǐm pǐ grλ ǝ čǝ” #

ně əbri kəm ən ma pu ja kot
 CNJ then 3.DAT yes MOV 1.INCL DEF.ART after

pri ja kλ kot
 track DEF.ART cover atrás

ic-t-ɔ tē pa amjǐ-m pǐ grλ ǝ čǝ
 1-RP-INSTR ir 1.NOM RFLX-DAT wood dry some place?

‘And I, “Hey, let’s go by the road edge. You come with me getting the dry wood and tossing it in my basket.”’

nē ɲum wa əbri pɾi ja kɿ kot pĩ grɿ ja gjen ɔ nē wa aɾi ja atep # əbri ɲum kəm #

nē	ɲum	wa	əbri	pɾi	ja	kɿ	kot
CNJ	DS	DU	then	track	DEF.ART	cover	after

pĩ	grɿ	j-agjen	ɔ	nē
wood	dry	RP-put.inside.PL	do	thus

wa	aɾi	ja	atep	əbri	ɲum	kəm
DU	stay	DEF.ART	close	then	DS	3.DAT

‘So we went by the road edge, gathering the wood and placing it in the basket, already getting close. Then I said to her,...’

“čē # ja ri iččə ǽ ča na pa mutĩ ača ǽ amɲĩm pĩ japeə

čē	ja	ri	iččə	ǽ	ča
EXCL	DEF.ART	DEM	1-wait	LOC	stand

na	pa	mu=tũ	a-ča	ǽ	amɲĩ-m	pĩ	j-apeə
RLS	1.NOM	DEM.DST=LOC	2-stand.NF	LOC	RFLX-DAT	wood	RP-search

“Hey, wait for me here. I’m going over there to get some of that dry wood,...’

dɔ kɔt mǽ iɲǽ pĩ ja icpe grerε #

dɔ	kɔt=mǽ	i-ɲ-ǽ	pĩ	ja	ic-pe	gre=rε
mas	yet	1-RP-GEN	wood	DEF.ART	1-DTR	small=DIM

“because my wood is not enough yet.”

nē ɲum əbri iɲǽ kawə ja aɾi ča pa əbri tε apere # nē ra wa icte krĩvej ja tep #

nē	ɲum	əbri	iɲ-ǽ	kawə	ja	aɾi	ča
CNJ	DS	then	1-GEN	basket	DEF.ART	stay	stand

pa əbri tɛ apere nẽ ra wa ic-tɛ křivɛj j-atɛp
 1.NOM then go.NF? search.NF CNJ ASP DU 1-ERG N. RP-close

‘So she stood by my basket and I went for wood. There we were already close to the old village.’

tep ja kamã jum əbri icpe ijõ kawə ja ð awə #

tep ja kamã jum əbri
 near DEF.ART INSV DS then

ic-pe i-ɲ-õ kawə ja ð awə
 1-DTR 1-RP-GEN basket DEF.ART LOC request

‘Close to there, she asked me for by basket.’

“əɲ # ickrãmčwə ijɲmã aɲõ kawə ja gõ pa amã kwə tu # dɔ na ka ra akengrΛ nẽ” #

əɲ ic-krãmčwə ijɲ-mã a-ɲ-õ kawə ja gõ
 yes 1-friend 1-DAT 2-RP-GEN basket DEF.ART give

pa a-mã kwə tu
 1.NOM 2-DAT QTF carry.on.head

dɔ na ka ra a-kengrΛ nẽ
 but RLS 2.NOM ASP 2-tired thus

‘‘Hey, my friend, give me your basket, let me take it for you, you must be tired already.’’

nẽ pa kep de nẽ ð icpiaəm nẽ # ð icpiaəm nẽ # əbri jum ð iʔtəjt nẽ #

nẽ pa kep de nẽ ð ic-piaəm nẽ
 CNJ 1.NOM 3.DTR take CNJ LOC 1-embarrassed COP

ð ic-piaəm nẽ əbri jum ð iʔtəjt nẽ
 LOC 1-embarrassed COP then DS LOC force COP

‘But I didn’t want to give it to her. I was embarrassed. I was embarrassed at the idea. But she insisted.’

əbri pa kuɡō # “ən # atə atu atε amjĩ kəm ačaba ačə kot” #

əbri pa ku-ɡō ən a-tə a-tu
then 1.NOM 3.ACC-give yes 2-LOC 2-carry.on.head

a-tε amjĩ kəm ačaba ačə kot
2-ERG RFLX 3.DAT ? ? after

‘So I gave my basket to her. “Well, you take it then, if that’s what you want.”’

ně jum əbri kawər ja tu əbri pa kot iɲō wapɔti nə iɲō pĩ ɔatkrut nə

ně jum əbri kawər ja tu əbri
CNJ DS then basket DEF.ART carry.on.head then

pa kot i-ɲ-ō wapɔti
1.NOM after 1-RP-GEN machete

ně i-ɲ-ō pĩ ɔatkrut nə
CNJ 1-RP-GEN wood two PRT

‘So she took by basket, I got the machete and a couple pieces of dry wood...’

əbri kot inikra ɔ kubə ǽ pikuɟar ɔ mō #

əbri kot i-n-ikra ɔ ku-bə ǽ pikuɟar ɔ mō
then after 1-RP-hand INSTR 3.ACC-grab LOC laugh.NF do go

‘and went taking these and laughing at her.’

ně va krĩweɟ ja wər ickatɔ nε wa ma mō # mō ne wa rit krĩ ja tep #

ně wa krĩ=weɟ ja wər ic-katɔ nε wa ma mō
CNJ DU N. DEF.ART ALLT 1-come.out CNJ DU MOV go

mō ne wa rit křī ja tep
 go CNJ DU DEM village DEF.ART close

‘Then we reached the old village and moved on. We went on and on and came close to our village.’

əbri jum mε pri krat kəm mε wa icpubu wa icpubu #

əbri jum mε pri krat kəm
 then DS PL track start 3.DAT

mε wa ic-pubu wa ic-pubu
 PL DU 1-RP.see DU 1-RP.see

‘Then the people at the end of the road were just staring at the both us.’

nē mē wa ictā ʔtu # əbri pa kəm # “čē # ijmā ijō kawər ja gō #

nē mē wa ic-tā ʔtu əbri pa kəm
 CNJ PL DU 1-LOC carry.on.head then 1.NOM 3.DAT

čē ijm-ā i-ʔ-ō kawər ja gō
 EXCL 1-DAT 1-RP-GEN basket DEF.ART give

‘Then lots of people came close to stare at us and I said to her, “Hey, won’t you give me back my basket...”’

na ka ri iʔt-ə nē pa icpiaəm nē # kət mε tājč ə na əm kəm kugō jum kutu nε ə mō #

na ka ri iʔ-t-ə nē pa ic-piaəm nē
 RLS 2.NOM DEM 1-RP-do CNJ 1.NOM 1-embarrassed FCT

kət mε tājč ə na əm kəm ku-gō
 3.ERG PL force do RLS 3 3.DAT 3.ACC-give

ɲum ku-tu nɛ ɔ mɔ̃
 DS 3.ACC-carry.on.head CNJ do go

“You do this way but I get embarrassed, maybe the folk will think I’m forcing you to carry it for me.”

ɲɪr tɔ̃ # əbri ɲum əm de tɔjt kumrɛč #

ɲɪr t-ɔ̃ əbri ɲum əm de tɔjt kumrɛč
 thus.NF RP-LOC então DS 3 take force INTS

‘But she insisted, nonetheless.’

əbri ɲum ra ickatɔrčə ja ra mɛ kaʔɛč ɔ̃ ra ɔkwɪ kapɛm ča #

əbri ɲum ra ic-katɔr=čə ja ra mɛ kaʔɛč
 then DS ASP 1-come.out.NF=LOC DEF.ART ASP PL among
 ɔ̃ ra ɔkwɪ kapɛm ča
 LOC ASP home backyard.DAT stand

‘Then my mom was already amidst the people, standing at her backyard.’

əbri ɲum icpubu nɛ kapɛr ja ɔ # “ejta # ickra sɪdɔkre ti ja #

əbri ɲum ic-pubu nɛ kapɛr ja ɔ
 then DS 1-RP.see CNJ talk DEF.ART do
 ejta ic-kra si=dɔ=kre=ti ja
 EXCL 1-child H.T.=N.=AUG DEF.ART

‘As soon as she saw me, she started saying, “Êta, my crazy daughter Sidokre!”’

ɔ̃ abatpɛr ket kumrɛč ja kamɔ̃ na ri krɔ̃mčwə ja ɔ aɲɪr ɔ ri pa ɔ nɛ #

ɔ̃ abat=pɛr ket kumrɛč ja kamɔ̃ na ri
 LOC feel=think NEG INTS DEF.ART INSV RLS DEM

krǝmčwə ja ɔ aɲĩr ɔ ri pa ɔ nẽ
 friend DEF.ART fazer thus.NF do DEM walk do thus

“She doesn’t think right, that’s why she’s treating her friend like that.”

ja wɛ amɲĩ de kəm kawə ja gō ɲum kutu ɔ mō” #

ja wɛ amɲĩ de kəm kawə ja gō
 DEF.ART HRS RFLX take 3.DAT basket DEF.ART give

ɲum ku-tu ɔ mō
 DS 3.ACC-carry.on.head do go

“She didn’t want to carry her basket, so she gave it to the girl for her to carry.”

əbri pa prɛ kuba # kuba nɛ əbri ja am icɾiaɬm nẽ # nẽ kəm #

əbri pa prɛ ku-ba ku-ba nɛ
 then 1.NOM PST 3.ACC-hear 3.ACC-hear CNJ

əbri ja am ic-ɾiaɬm nẽ nẽ kəm
 então DEF.ART 3.EMPH 1-embarrassed COP CNJ 3.DAT

‘So I heard it. I heard it and became embarrassed. And I told her [my friend],...’

“na ka rĩ mẽ kapẽr ja ba” #

na ka rĩ mẽ kapẽr ja ba
 RLS 2.NOM DEM PL talk DEF.ART hear

“Did you hear what she said?”

əbri ɲum prɛ pa wa mō nẽ go ẽ re nɛ wa ma mō # ɲum mẽ iɲō kawə ja tu n ɔ mō #

əbri ɲum prɛ pa wa mō nẽ go ẽ re nɛ
 then DS PST 1.NOM DU go CNJ water LOC cross CNJ

wa ma mō jum mǎ ijŋ-ō kawə ja
 DU MOV go DS DAT 1-GEN basket DEF.ART

tun o mō
 carry.on.head.NF do go

‘Then we both crossed the creek and moved on, with her taking my basket all the while.’

əbri pa wa ma mō # jum ijŋōkwĩ kamǎ əbri kawə ja čəm # əbri pa prɛ ǎ akuja

əbri pa wa ma mō jum i-ŋ-ōkwĩ kamǎ
 then 1.NOM DU MOV go DS 1-RP-home INSV

əbri kawə ja č-əm əbri pa prɛ ǎ akuja
 then basket DEF.ART RP-place.on.ground then 1.NOM PST LOC laugh

‘So we moved on. She delivered the basket right into my home; then we sat there and burst into laughter.’

ne kəm ijŋō kukrač kəm əbri prĩnrɛ ja ɔ dət jum prɛ ne kačiw rɔŋrɛ #

ne kəm i-ŋ-ō kukrač kəm əbri prĩn=rɛ ja
 CNJ 3.DAT 1-RP-GEN vasilha 3.DAT então oiti=DIM DEF.ART

ɔ=dət jum prɛ ne kačiw rɔŋ=rɛ
 CAUS=fill DS PST CNJ PURP coco=DIM

‘We got one of my bowls for her and filled it up with oití and also with babaçú, ...’

rɔŋrɛ krǎ ja pa prɛ kəm ɔ=atkrut nẽ krǎ ɪta #

rɔŋ=rɛ krǎ ja pa prɛ kəm ɔ=atkrut nẽ krǎ=ta
 coco=DIM head DEF.ART 1.NOM PST 3.DAT CAUS?=two CNJ head=chop.off

‘I cut two babaçú shells for her.’

ɲum imõgã kəm kučĩ ɲum əbri ma ickrɛ ɲõ dõn ja wər ma n ɔ mõ #

ɲum	imõgã	kəm	ku-č-i
DS	top	3.DAT	3.ACC-RP-put.lying.flat

ɲum	əbri	ma	ickrɛ	ɲ-õ	dõn
DS	then	MOV	house	RP-GEN	dono

ja	wər	ma	ne	ɔ	mõ
DEF.ART	ALLT	MOV	CNJ	do	go

‘Then she placed the nuts on top of the oitís and took it home to where she was staying.’

əbri na atũ ɲum čɛ ne tẽ iɲmõ # “hã # dɔ kij # əbri #

əbri	na	atũ	ɲum	čɛ	ne	tẽ	iɲ-mõ
then	RLS	little.while	DS	EXCL	CNJ	go	1-DAT

hã	dɔ	kij	əbri
hey	but	quick	ready

‘A little while later she came to call me, “Hey, ready? Let’s go...”’

na pu ra pa jakri # dɔ kij pu pãɲ mõ čwa” #

na	pu	ra	pa	j-akri	dɔ	kij	pu	pãɲ	mõ	čwa
RLS	1.INCL	ASP	1.NOM	RP-cool	but	quick	1.HORT	after	go	bathe

‘We’ve cooled off already, now we can go for a swim.’

nẽ pa prɛ wa pãɲ ma gon mõ mõ # gon mõ mõ nẽ wa əbri čwa # nẽ ri amɲĩ ku ʔõ pa #

nẽ	pa	prɛ	wa	pãɲ	ma	gon	mõ	mõ
CNJ	1.NOM	PST	DU	after	MOV	water	DAT	go

gon	mõ	mõ	nẽ	wa	əbri	čwa
water	DAT	go	CNJ	DU	then	bathe

ně ri amjĩ kuʔõ pa
 CNJ DEM RFXL wash CNCL

‘Then we went to the creek. We went to the creek and bathed. Then we finished bathing.’

əbri pa prɛ wa əbri atpɛn pe akje

əbri pa prɛ wa əbri atpɛn pe akje
 then 1.NOM PST DU then RCPR DTR part

‘Then we parted ways,

ɲum prɛ õkwĩ kamõ ɲĩ pa prɛ kučwar iɲõkwĩ kamõ ɲĩ #

ɲum prɛ õkwĩ kamõ ɲĩ
 DS PST home INSV sit

pa prɛ kučwar i-ɲ-õkwĩ kamõ ɲĩ
 1.NOM PST likewise 1-RP-home INSV sit

‘she went to her home and I went to mine too.’

TEXT III

Extraction and uses of babaçú oil

Teller: Iré Rita Dias Laranja

Location: Aldeia São José

kət paj irɛ mǎ mē pa tɛ rōr twəm ɔ poj arē ke kuba.

kət	paj	irɛ	mǎ	mē	pa	tɛ			
IRLS	1.IRLS	N.	DAT	PL	1.NOM	HAB			
rōr	twəm		ɔ	poj	arē	ke	ku-ba		
coco	fat		do	arrive	tell	PURP	3.ACC-hear		

‘I will tell how to extract babaçú oil for Iré to learn.’

na pa tɛ rōr i twəm mɛ ɔt poj kačiw, nē akə nē katōk nē katōk pa,

na	pa	tɛ	rōr	i	twəm	mɛ	ɔt	poj	kačiw
RLS	1.NOM	HAB	coco	seed	fat	PL	do	arrive	PURP
nē	a-kə		nē	katōk		nē	katōk	pa	
CNJ	2-cut		CNJ	roast		CNJ	roast	CNCL	

‘In order to extract babaçú oil one cuts the nuts, then roast them, roast them up,’

nɛ pəŋ ka twít ka u pa nē go kamə uʃwə, ɲum ɔrɔr nē twəm apoj pa,

nɛ	pəŋ	ka	twít	ka	u	pa	nē	go	kamə	uʃwə
CNJ	after	2.NOM	pound	2.NOM	grind	CNCL	CNJ	water	INSV	boil
ɲum	ɔrɔr	nē	twəm		apoj		pa			
DS	boil	CNJ	fat		come.out		CNCL			

‘then you pound it, put it in a pan, bring it to a boil then the fat comes out.’

mě pəɲ ja go ja kamǎ kuru, twəm ja ru ně go kamǎ uʃwən,

mě pəɲ ja go ja kamǎ ku-ru
PL after DEF.ART water DEF.ART INSV 3.ACC-pour

twəm ja ru ně go kamǎ uʃwən
fat DEF.ART pour CNJ water INSV 3.boil

‘Then you take the fat (with a spoon), pour it in another pan and place it on heat;’

ɲum ɔɔr ně rĩ kaɲin katǎ pa, me kaɲt kəm kuru, kamǎ aroj ʃuʃwən,

ɲum ɔɔr ně rĩ kaɲin katǎ pa
DS boil CNJ DEM foam pop CNCL

me kaɲt kəm ku-ru kamǎ aroj ʃ-uʃwən
INDF/PL jar 3.DAT 3.ACC-pour INSV rice RP-boil

‘then it comes to a boil, it pops, and after it cools off, you pour it in a jar; you may add it to rice.’

arɔj go kamǎ uʃwən, kuku ɲum beč ně. ně tɛp ɔ frit kəm na mənən,

arɔj go kamǎ uʃwən ku-ku ɲum beč ně
rice water INSV boil 3.ACC-comer DS good COP

ně tɛp ɔ frit kəm na mənən
CNJ fish do fry 3.DAT RLS also

‘Added to rice, it is good to eat. It is also good with fried fish...’

rōr twəm ja beči ně bezu...čwəj agiw ɔ bezu kamǎ mənən, rōr twəm ja beči.

rōr twəm ja beči ně bezu čwəj agiw ɔ bezu
coco fat DEF.ART good COP bejú also tapioca do bejú

kamã mänen rōr twəm ja beči
 INSV also coco fat DEF.ART good

‘babaçu oil is good; and with bejú... tapioca bejú also, babaçu oil is good.’

əbri.

əbri
 then

‘There.’

paj mε pa tε kəm, mε pa tε aroj nipeč arē kuba.

paj mε pa tε kəm
 1.IRLS PL 1.NOM HAB 3.DAT

mε pa tε aroj n-ipeč arē ku-ba
 PL 1.NOM HAB rice RP-make tell 3.ACC-hear

‘I will tell how to prepare it with rice so she will hear.’

kət paj mē ma pur mǎ mō nē aroj re nē mō nē ɔ poj nē kugǎ nē kugǎ,

kət paj mē ma pur mǎ mō nē aroj re
 IRLS 1.IRLS PL MOV field DAT go CNJ rice pull.out

nē mō nē ɔ poj nē ku-gǎ nē ku-gǎ
 CNJ go CNJ INSTR arrive CNJ 3.ACC-debulhar CNJ 3.ACC-debulhar

‘We go to the garden, then we bring the rice and take it off the stem, and you take it off...’

kugǎn pa nē pəŋ katō nē, katō pa, nē pəŋ kuči ɲum nō nē akrí.

ku-gǎn pa nē pəŋ katō nē katō pa
 3.ACC-debulhar.NF CNCL CNJ after pop CNJ pop CNCL

pəŋ əbri a-ke nē ke pa
 after then 2-grind CNJ grind CNCL

‘you pull out the yucca, peel it, finish peeling it and grate it, grate it off.’

nē əgɪw ka čɛ kačɪw ka go ja ʃi nē kəm aru, nē ɔ akɬ, de kago ja de pa nē,

nē əgɪw ka čɛ kačɪw ka go ja ʃi
 CNJ tapioca 2.NOM HRS PURP 2.NOM water DEF.ART get.water

nē kəm a-ru nē ɔ a-kɬ
 PL 3.DAT 2-pour CNJ INSTR 2-mix

de kago ja de pa nē
 squeeze juice DEF.ART squeeze CNCL CNJ

‘Then for the tapioca you get some water, pour it into the dough, mix it up, and then squeeze the juice out of the fibers.’

anigrɔ mǎ ʃum ča nē, əgɪw nō pa. ka pəŋ əbri ʃum de kago kapi, nē ajte ka ʔō,

anigrɔ mǎ ʃum ča pa
 daylight DAT DS stand CNCL

nē əgɪw nō
 CNJ starch lie

ka pəŋ əbri ʃum de kago kapi
 2.NOM after then DS squeeze juice drain

nē ajte ka ʔō
 CNJ more wash

‘and let it sit under the sun so that the tapioca will go all down to the bottom. Then you pour that water out and wash the fibers some more.’

ně ka řǫn pa, jum ča, əgɪw jum ɔ pa, ka de kago kapī ča ně grə; ka katɛ,

ně	kařǫn	pa	jum	ča	əgɪw	jum	ɔ	pa
CNJ	wash.NF	CNCL	DS	stand	starch	DS	do	CNCL

ka	de	kago	kapī	ča	ně	grə
2.NOM	squeeze	juice	drain	stand	CNJ	dry

ka	katɛ
2.NOM	break

‘Then you finish washing and let the tapioca sink to the bottom. Then you pour that water out again, now you let it dry then you break the tapioca.’

ačĩ jum nō, anigrɔ ačĩ jum nō ně grə. əbri kačĩw rōr twəm ja kwə run,

a-č-i	jum	nō	anigrɔ	a-č-i
2-RP-place.lying.flat	DS	lie	sunlight	2-RP-place.lying.flat

jum	nō	ně	grə
DS	lie	CNJ	dry

əbri	kačĩw	rōr	twəm	ja	kwə	run
then	PURP	coco	fat	DEF.ART	QTF	pour.NF

‘Put it back in the sun, let it dry, then you pour some babaçú oil on the tapioca, ...’

ɔ bɛ pa ně ɔ pejun, akrě jum bɛč ně. na tɛm? tɛp kaǰɛ, kaǰɛr ɔ poj,

ɔ	bɛ	pa	ně	ɔ	pejun	a-krě
INSTR	mix	CNCL	CNJ	do	bejú.NF	2-eat

ɲum	bɛč	ně	na	tɛm	tɛp	kaʃe	kaʃɔr	ɔ	poj
DS	good	COP	RLS	HAB?	fish	catch	catch.NF	INSTR	arrive

‘mix them up, then you make the bejú, it is good. You go fishing and you arrive with the fish...’

ně kə kuken pa ně, əbri ka rɔr twəm ja ru əm ɲum čan kagrɔ

ně	kə	kuken	pa	ně
CNJ	bark	remove.skin.NF	CNCL	CNJ

əbri	ka	rɔr	twəm	ja	ru
then	2.NOM	coco	fat	DEF.ART	pour

əm	ɲum	ča	ně	kagrɔ
3	DS	stand	CNJ	hot

‘you finish skinning it, then you pour some babaçú oil and heat it up.’

pa mɛ kamã tɛp ja ren ɔ frit, akrě ɲum mənɛn bɛč ně.

pa	mɛ	kamã	tɛp	ja	ren	ɔ	frit
1.NOM	PL	INSV	peixe	DEF.ART	crossed	do	fry

a-krě	ɲum	mənɛn	bɛč	ně
2-comer	DS	also	good	COP

‘then you toss the fish in the pan and fry it in there, it is really good too!’

kɔt paj ma mɔn katẽ rɛ tu ně ɔ mɔ ně ɔ poj ně kukon pa, ně goj kamã, əbri ɔrɔr,

kɔt	paj	ma	mɔn	katẽ=rɛ	tu
IRLS	1.IRLS	MOV	ir.NF	squash=DIM	carry.on.head

ně	ɔ	mɔ	ně	ɔ	poj	ně
CNJ	INSTR	go	CNJ	INSTR	arrive	CNJ

kukon pa nē goj kamā əbri ɔrɔr
 peel CNCL CNJ water INSV then boil

‘We go to the garden and pick a squash, then you go and peel it off, place it in boiling water and let it cook...’

ɔrɔr pa kamā rōr twəm ja ru, ɲum bεč nē.

ɔrɔr pa kamā rōr twəm ja ru ɲum bεč nē
 boil CNCL INSV coco fat DEF.ART pour DS good COP

‘once cooked, we pour some babaçú oil on it and it is really good.’

čɛ pa čwə rōr twəm ja, mənən, mε kəjɪw mǎ bεčɪ.

čɛ pa čwə rōr twəm ja mənən
 HSR 1.NOM also coco fat DEF.ART also

mε kəjɪw mǎ bεčɪ
 PL/INDF wound DAT good

‘It is said that this oil is also good for treating wounds.’

kɔt čɛ wε akra ɔ kəjɪw rač nē ɲum ka twəm kapa nē kačɪw famais kəm isotti ja kwə pi,

kɔt čɛ wε a-kra ɔ kəjɪw rač nē
 IRLS HRS HRS 2-child GEN wound large/plenty.NF COP

ɲum ka twəm kapa nē kačɪw
 DS 2.NOM fat extract CNJ PURP

famais kəm isotti ja kwə pi
 pharmacy 3.DAT sulfur DEF.ART QTF get

‘They say you may give it to a child with skin rash in the body, you take some of the oil and add some pharmacy sulfur to it...’

ɔ akən, ɔ akra kukõ, nẽ ɔ krã kukõ jum čewε kəm beč nẽ.

ɔ	a-kən	ɔ	a-kra	kukõ	nẽ	ɔ	krã	kukõ
INSTR	2-mix	INSTR	2-child	rub	CNJ	INSTR	head	rub

jum	čewε	kəm	beč	nẽ
DS	HRS	3.DAT	good	COP

‘mix them up and rub it on the child’s head, they say it is good.’

na tε pa tεm ɔ jĩr ɔ pa nẽ ɔbu.

na	tε	pa	tεm	ɔ	jĩr	ɔ	pa	nẽ	ɔbu
RLS	HAB	1.NOM	ERG	do	thus.NF	do	live/walk	CNJ	3.see

‘I know it because we do it often.’

APPENDIX C

Apinajé Dictionary

<i>a-</i>	<i>prfx.pers.</i> second person prefix. Grammar: Encodes the direct object of transitive verbs, the subject of descriptive verbs, and the object of postpositions. Phonology: allomorph <i>ah-</i> before voiceless obstruents; allomorph <i>a-</i> before pre-nasal and nasal consonants.
<i>a ... ket ne</i>	<i>advl.neg.cmp.</i> never. Ex.: <i>Na te da wri rūjī nē dɔ jum go ja a upəm ket nē.</i> ‘It rains a lot, but this creek has never been deep.’ See <i>rəʔə</i> ‘always’.
<i>aí</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> cut (deep, of skin and body parts; of wood). Ex. <i>Pa na pa amjī jaík jum itkabro atkapī</i> ‘I cut myself and my blood spilled.’ Nonfinite form: <i>aík</i> (before consonants), <i>aír</i> (before vowels and consonants). Inflection pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>j-aí</i> . Related forms: <i>u-j-aí</i> ‘brocar’ (elderly). Grammatical restrictions: * <i>Na pa ku-j-aí</i> . *(?) <i>Aw-j-aí</i> . * <i>Na ra aír ɔ tē</i> ‘S/he went and cut as they went’; ✓ <i>Na ra aír/ujair ɔ mō</i> ‘S/he was cutting/was about to cut’. See <i>kjít</i> .
<i>a(C)-</i>	<i>prfx.der.</i> detransitivizing prefix. Grammar: a. Occurs in a large group of intransitive verbs, some of which do not have a transitive counterpart characterized simply by the absence of this prefix. In such cases, the occurrence of the prefix appears to have been lexicalized, and the prefix might be better analysed as a formative in the stem, rather than a derivational prefix. b. The presence of this prefix in most verbs simply indicates intransitivity; there is a contrast between this and the prefix <i>aw-</i> in that the latter appears to encode the antipassive. See <i>aw-</i> .
<i>ajgrə</i>	<i>v.intr.</i> scatter. Nonfinite form: S= <i>pīgrəjī</i> . Ex.: <i>Ja na me pipɔ ketnē; na me əm ajgrə ne me ča.</i> ‘These are not side by side; they have scattered around.’ <i>Na me di jaja atpən tɔ pipɔ ɔ mō akupim pīgrəjī pa.</i> ‘The women go into pairs then they scatter back again (of a traditional dance).’
<i>aʔkə</i>	<i>n.inal.</i> head adornment. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>j-aʔkə</i> .
<i>aʔkapi</i>	<i>v.intr.</i> select, choose a place (e.g. for planting a crop or building a village). See <i>kapi</i> , <i>ukapi</i> .
<i>aʔkre</i>	<i>n.al.</i> hole.
<i>aʔkwrət rə</i>	<i>n.dim.</i> cashew (sp.), Port.: cajuf
<i>aʔkwrət ti</i>	<i>n.aug.</i> cashew (sp.), Port.: cajú
<i>aʔkwrət rə ko</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.</i> cashew patch
<i>aʔtər kaʔe</i>	<i>n.cmp.</i> trap for birds, Lit. “jaó cage”. It is set up on the ground for catching birds that move around by walking; rice is commonly used as bait.
<i>abi</i>	<i>n.inal.</i> tail, of the long kind, as that of an armadillo or a cow. Relational prefix: <i>j-abi</i> . Ex. <i>Boč jabi</i> ‘the bull’s tail’.
<i>abə</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> 1. cling; hold on; remain close, resisting separation. 2. carry. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>j-abə</i> . Nonfinite form: <i>abəjī</i> . Grammar: This verb appears to be a derived counterpart of the transitive verb <i>bə</i> . Intensifiers such as <i>təjč</i> , <i>rač</i> and <i>rūjī</i> have slightly different readings when used with each verb. Ex.: <i>Na pa abəjī təjč nē.</i> ‘I

	carry her all the time.’ <i>Na ka ijabəɲ təjč nē.</i> ‘You cling onto me a lot (such that I have no time for doing anything else).’ <i>Na pa abəɲ təjč.</i> ‘I hold it all the time.’ See <i>bə</i> .
<i>abən rε</i>	<u>n.aug.</u> pirana (sp.)
<i>abən tik ti</i>	<u>n.cmp.aug.</u> pirana (sp.), Lit.: big black pirana.
<i>aba</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> ponder; feel; meditate. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: S= <i>j-aba</i> . Grammar: This verb has a bivalent, noncanonically-marking counterpart in O= <i>mā</i> A= <i>j-aba</i> . Ex.: <i>Na mε kətmā aba.</i> ‘They are still pondering/feeling.’
<i>abak</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> ear. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-abak</i> . Alternate form: <i>aba</i> .
<i>abak kajwər</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> ear piercing. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-abak kajwər</i> . (<i>abak=kajwər</i> ‘ear=pierce.NF’)
<i>abak kre</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> inner ear. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-abak kre</i> . (<i>abak=kre</i> ‘ear=hole’)
<i>abakəmkəč</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> earrings. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j=abakəmkəč</i> . (<i>aba-kəm-kəč</i> ‘ear=3.DAT=frame’)
<i>abakəmpī</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> wood sticks used as adornments for the ears. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j=abakəmpī</i> . (<i>aba-kəm-pī</i> ‘ear=3.DAT=wood.stick’)
<i>abaketkatiji</i>	<u>n.cmp.der.act.</u> forgetful. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>E_O=ɔ S-j-abaketkatiji</i> . Ex. <i>Cε, pa na pa pēr tε mebcj pitō ɔ ijabaketkatiji</i> ‘Geez! I’m really forgetfull of all things!’ (<i>aba=ket=kati=jī</i> ‘feel=NEG.EXST=recognize=NMLZ’)
<i>abakrɔ</i>	<u>v.dscr.cmp.</u> 1. stubborn; disrespectful. 2. deaf. 3. tease; mock or annoy playfully. Inflection pattern and relational prefix: <i>S-j-abakrɔ</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: a. Used as a predicator but may also occur as a modifier within the noun phrase. In predicate position, uses clause-final particle <i>nē</i> . b. This verb has the counterpart <i>ɔ abakrɔ</i> . Ex.: <i>Prīre ja na prε beč nē; tō na əbri ra abakrɔ nē.</i> ‘This child used to be good, but now s/he is getting stubborn.’ <i>Mεlō kra ɔmdujti ne abakrɔti ja na ijōkwī ijukri.</i> ‘This ugly, disrespectful child lives near my home.’ <i>Na mε abakrɔ rīj nē.</i> ‘They tease all the time.’ <i>Na pa ijabakrɔ təjč nē.</i> ‘I tease a lot.’ (<i>aba=krɔ</i> ‘ear=spoiled’) See <i>ɔ abrakrɔ</i> .
<i>abatpēr</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> 1. think; be melancholic. 2. <u>v.tr.noncan.</u> remember; think about. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S= <i>j-abatpēr</i> ; O _E = <i>mā</i> S= <i>j-abatpēr</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Alternate form: <i>abatpēr^ε</i> . Ex.: <i>Karō na tε ictɔ ne pa kām ijabatpēr.</i> ‘The photos made me think about him.’ <i>Na pa ijabatpēr.</i> ‘I’m thinking.’
<i>abatpērji</i>	<u>n.cmp.der.act.</u> 1. reflective; pensive. 2. melancholic. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>S-j-abatpērji</i> . Grammar: May occur as a predicator. Ex.: <i>Abatpērji ja na krī rač kəm pa.</i> ‘The pensive one lives in town.’ <i>Ka na ajabatpērji.</i> ‘You are pensive/melancholic.’ (<i>abatpēr=jī</i> ‘think=NMLZ’) <i>Di mūj na abatpērji.</i> ‘That woman is a pensive one.’
<i>ačə</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> 1. enter. Nonfinite form: S= <i>čər</i> . Ex.: <i>Ačə.</i> ‘Come on in!’ <i>Ma, pa iččər ket nē.</i> ‘No, I’m not coming in.’ <i>Na pa ickre mā atɔ ačə.</i> ‘I went into the house with you.’ <i>Na pa pka kamā iččər ɔ mō</i> ‘I’m sinking into the dirt (lit.: ‘going into the dirt’).’ 2. <u>v.tr.</u> enter. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>j-ačə</i> . Nonfinite form: O= <i>čər</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa ajačə.</i> ‘I brought you in.’ 3. <u>v.tr.</u> put on (of garments, etc.). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>j-ačə</i> . Nonfinite form: O= <i>čər</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa iče jačə.</i> ‘I put my clothes on.’ <i>Na pa jndmākəč jačə.</i> ‘I put my eyeglasses on.’ <i>Na pa icpakə</i>

- jačə*. ‘I put my flip-flops on.’ Semantics: This verb root seems to contrast with *agje* in terms of number. *Ačə* is used when the absolutive argument is singular. See *ar*, *agje*.
- ačə* v.tr. **1.** bury. **2.** confine; incarcerate; arrest. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=*j-ačə*. Nonfinite form: O=*ačən*. Grammar: This verb has a derived intransitive counterpart in *awjačə*. Ex.: *Na me kupēdirə jaja kupīp jačə*. ‘The kupē women buried the mat.’ *Na pa pika kamə ačə* ‘I buried it in the ground’. *Na pa ti, ka ijačə*. ‘I died and you buried me.’ *Na pa pika kamə ajačə*. ‘I buried you in the ground.’ *Bi əmduj čwəp ja ata na pre me ra ačə*. ‘This bad man over there, he’s been arrested before.’ See *awjačə*; *ə ačə*; *čə*. **b.** There is a causativized version of this verb, *ə ačə* ‘sink’. *Da na pre pika ja ə ačə*. ‘The rain sunk the earth.’
- ačə? ti* n.aug. deer (sp.), the male specimen. Port: veado mateiro.
- ačitərə* n.al.cmp.aug. snake (sp.), Port.: coral.
- ačwə* v.tr. **1.** place multiple objects upside down on a surface (e.g. on the ground or on a table). **2.** place an object in horizontal position. **3.** comb one’s hair. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=*j-ačwə*. Nonfinite form: *ačwər*. Semantics: One aspect in which this verb (and its counterpart *i*) contrasts with the pair *əm*, *ūjwə* is that the former may refer to objects shaped in such way that would usually be conceived of as lying in horizontal position (e.g. forks and knives), whereas the latter often refer to those that could be thought of as “standing up” (e.g. bowls, plates, cups). On the other hand, the former pair may also refer to this same class of objects, but indicating that they lie upside down. Ex.: *Na pa amjīm ijō kujə jačwə*. ‘I’ve set my spoons down.’ *Na pa amjīm ijō prat jačwə*. ‘I’ve set my plates upside down.’ *Akupim ijmə ačwə*. ‘Put them back for me, will you?’ *Pa na pa kətmə akī jačwər ə mō jum pərti ma tē*. ‘I was still combing your hair and the truck left.’ *Na ka tē ijabə pa tē gōr əbri ka ijačwə*. ‘You hold on to me, I sleep, and you put me to bed.’
- ačwəj* n. likewise; similitive marker. Alternating form, *-ačwəjə*.
- adə* v.tr. **1.** send. **2.** invite; call. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=*j-adə*. Nonfinite form. Ex.: *Pa na pa vər ajadə* ‘I sent you there.’
- ade* v.tr. squeeze. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=*j-ade*. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: *Na pa kətmə ijō cwə tam jade ne ə grə*. ‘I’m still squeezing my dough to dry it.’
- agə* n.al. the seed of the tiritica plant (see *kaparə*) used for making necklaces and other adornments. Lexical restriction: **agə ?i*. The word *?i* is not appropriate because it refers to seeds that come from within fruits, shells or skins; that is not the case for the tiritica seed.
- agə* v.tr. thresh; remove the seeds from the chaff (of rice). Nonfinite form, *-gən*. See *agə*.
- agiw* n.al. **1.** clay; mud. **2.** starch; tapioca.
- agje* v.intr. **1.** enter. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: S=*j-agje*. **2.** v.tr. thread pieces on a string (e.g. glassbeads); pull something through a whole. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=*j-agje*. Nonfinite form: *agje*. Ex.: *Na pa me agje*. ‘We all went in.’ *Ijmə ken kwə jagje*. ‘Thread some beads for me.’ *Ijməpōjūji ũ pi pa amjū jabak kot agje*. ‘Get me a little pō stem for me to hang on my ear.’ Semantics: This verb stem is used when the absolutive argument is plural. See *gje*; *ačə*.
- ago* n.inal. saliva; drull. Relational prefix: *j-ago*
- agrə* v.intr. get damaged or impaired. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: S=*j-agrə*.

- Grammar: This verb seems to have a transitive counterpart: *grə*. There is one example in the database that is indicative of this, but it is not to be confused with the verb *grə* ‘dry’. Lexicon: This predicator may be simply an alternative use of the verb *ąngra* ‘scatter’. Ex.: *Na ickrε krač agrə* ‘The wall got damaged.’ *Təm na amjū grə*. ‘I got damaged (i.e. it wasn’t me).’ See *grə*; *ajgrə*.
- agre re* n.dim. type of armadillo (Port.: rabo-de-couro). Lives in the rocky areas and is smaller in size, measuring about 20 cm as an adult. The female of the species typically has one offspring at a time, possibly two as it gets older.
- agre ti* n.aug. type of armadillo (Port.: zumbi). Lives in the woods and is larger in size, measuring about 30 cm as an adult. The female of the species typically has one offspring at a time, possibly two as it gets older.
- agro* n.al. (domestic) pig.
- agrorε* n.al.dim. mammal (sp.), Port.: caititú.
- ajī* n.inal. tail, of the short kind, as that of a deer or a cotia. Relational prefix: *j-ajī*. Ex. *Kukenre jajī* ‘the cotia’s tail.’
- ajī* v.tr. **1.** grab (of mass nouns). Usually employs the quantifier *kwə* to refer to the direct object. Ex. *Na pa aroj kwə jajī* ‘I got some rice.’ **2.** take over, invade. Ex. *Na go itpe ijōrkwi jajī*. ‘The water took over my house (to my detriment).’ Non-finite form: *ajīr*. Inflection pattern and relational prefix: O=*j-ajī*. Grammatical restrictions: * *Na ra ajīr ə tē/pa/bra*; ✓ *ajīr ə mō*. See *pī, re, ta*.
- ajōrčə* n.inal.der. hanger. (*a-jōr=čə* ‘INTR-hang.NF=INSTR.NMLZ’). See *ajet, jō*.
- ajet* v.intr. **1.** lie on a surface above the ground (e.g. on the branch of a tree); be suspended. **2.** be hanging. **3.** reach; catch up with someone. Nonfinite form: S=*jet*. Grammar: **a.** Clause typically includes a postpositional phrase expressing the location in which S is suspended or from which it is hanging. If a location from which S is hanging is not specified in the clause, it may be expressed as *kəč pe* ‘from a [hanger]’. **b.** **ə jet*. Ex.: *Mekarō kawəre ə ajet*. ‘The photograph is (suspended) in the basket.’ *Na mekarō ickawəre ə jet ketnē*. ‘The photograph is not (suspended) in my basket.’ *Na ka ickawəre ə azet ket nē*. ‘You are not (suspended) in my basket.’ *Də kəč pe ijēt kete*. *Pikap na pa nō*. ‘I’m not hanging. I’m standing on the ground.’ *Me ajetčwəŋ* ‘one who stays suspended’. *Pa na pa ə ijēt ə mō*. ‘I go reaching for the trees (using one tree to get to the next one).’ *Na pa ra atē ijēt ə tē*. ‘You’re almost reaching/catching up with me.’ See *jō*.
- akə* v.tr. cut. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=*j-akə*. Nonfinite form: *akər*. Ex. *Na pa akər ket ne* ‘I haven’t cut it.’ **2.** v.dscr. cut; trimmed. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: *j-akə*. Nonfinite form: *akər*. Ex.: *Co na krəʔkī na akər ti*. ‘Your hair is all cut/trimmed.’ *Akrəʔkī jakər ja butrε*. ‘Your haircut looks pretty.’ See *krəʔta; krəʔir*. **3.** mix. Grammar: Form combined with the causative morpheme *ə*. Ex.: *Paj amjūmā ijō ə akə ne kuwi kamā amjūm əm*. ‘I’m going to to mix up my food and set it on the fire.’ See *kə*.
- akət* v.dscr. **1.** round; spherical (e.g. of berries). **2.** short in length (e.g. of garments and shoes) or in duration. Sociolinguistic: The second sense of this word is used especially by speakers of younger generations. Speakers of older generations tend to use the term *krən*, instead. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S=*j-akət*. Nonfinite forms: same. Ex.: *Ickabro jakət re* ‘My period lasts a short period of time.’

<i>akapērjī</i>	<u>n.der.act.</u> a person characterized by the habit of talking; prattler. (<i>akapēr=ji</i> ‘talk=AG.NMLZ’)
<i>akēč</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> spin; turn around. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S= <i>j-akēč</i> . Grammar: This verb cannot take the detransitivizing morpheme <i>aw-</i> : * <i>awjakēč</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: This predicator has a bivalent counterpart in <i>ɔ akēč</i> . Ex.: <i>Ajakēč!</i> ‘Turn around/spin!’
<i>akījī</i>	<u>n.der.act.</u> stealer. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S= <i>j-akījī</i> . (<i>akījī=ji</i> ‘steal.NF=AG.NMLZ’).
<i>akiri</i>	<u>v.tr.noncan.</u> 1. yell at someone; swear at someone. 2. argue with someone. 3. call someone. Inflectional pattern: E= <i>mā akiri</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: A= <i>j-akjer</i> . Ex.: <i>Na me ijmā akjer ketnē</i> . ‘They are not calling (upon) me.’ <i>Na ka te ijmā ajakjer ɔ akrī</i> . ‘You keep arguing with me.’ <i>Nēj na te me kām akjer ɔ krī ti</i> . ‘That one keeps swearing/yelling at people.’ <i>Kām ajakje ketnē</i> . ‘Don’t call him!’ See <i>ɔkure</i> ; <i>ɔpre</i> .
<i>akje</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> open a hole (e.g. in a wall made of palm leaves). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>j-akje</i> . Nonfinite form: <i>akjen</i> . Ex.: <i>Pa na pa kre krač jakje</i> . ‘I opened the hole (in the wall).’ <i>Atā ijmā akje</i> . ‘Open (it) for me.’ <i>Akjen ketnē</i> . ‘Don’t open it!’ <i>Na ickre krač akje ne ča</i> . ‘The wall is open (i.e. there’s a hole in it).’ <i>Tām na amyī jakje</i> . ‘It opened itself (i.e. “I didn’t do it”).’ See <i>atkje</i> ; <i>ɔ atkje</i> ; <i>kje</i> .
<i>ako</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> smoke. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>j-ako</i> . Nonfinite form: same; alternate form: <i>akor</i> . Related form: <i>awjako/čujako</i> .
<i>akoji</i>	<u>n.der.act.</u> one who is known for smoking (cigarettes) constantly. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>j-akoji</i> . (<i>ako=ji</i> ‘smoke.NF=AG.NMLZ’) Ex.: <i>Di mūj čikar jakoji</i> . ‘That woman is a cigarette smoker.’ See <i>ako</i> ; <i>ujako</i> , <i>ujakoji</i> .
<i>akri</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> be cold. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S= <i>j-akri</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: a. In predicate position, the relational prefix does not show with a third person S, since the third person participant appears in subject position, and there is zero third person agreement marking. In attributive constructions, the verb does take a relational prefix with a third person participant, and that indicates both elements belong within a single noun phrase. b. This verb has a bivalent counterpart in <i>ɔ akri</i> . c. This verb can take the detransitivizing morpheme <i>aw-</i> : <i>awjakri</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa ra ijakri ɔ mō</i> . ‘I’m already cooling off (because the fever is gone).’ <i>Na ra go akri</i> . ‘The water has already cooled off.’ <i>Na ra rōr i twām akri</i> . ‘The rōr fat has cooled off.’ <i>Rōr i twām jakri na ufi</i> . ‘The babačú fat get thick when it cools off (the cold babačú fat is thick).’ <i>Kōtmā go jakri kete</i> . ‘There’s no cold water yet.’ See <i>mā kri</i> .
<i>akri</i>	<u>n.al.</u> ice.
<i>akre</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> 1. show; 2. teach. Contiguous form, <i>jakre</i> . Nonfinite form, <i>j-akre</i> .
<i>akrājpapōti</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> certain traditional song performed in a festival of the same name, to which men and women dance. (<i>akrājpapō=ti</i> ‘?=?=AUG’)
<i>akreč</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> leftover; rest. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-akreč</i> . Ex.: <i>Ijmā akreč ja gō</i> . ‘Give me the leftovers.’ <i>Na meō akreč prā</i> . ‘Some leftover food remained.’ <i>Na pī akreč prā</i> . ‘Some leftover wood remained.’ <i>Amnē ijmā akreč prārō ja gō</i> . ‘Give me that leftover (thing) here.’
<i>akro</i>	<u>n.al.</u> vine (generic). Alternate form: <i>akro?</i> . See <i>kro</i> .

<i>akroʔčõ</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> fruit (sp.), Port.: maracujá do mato.
<i>akroʔčõ kaakti</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> maracujá vine.
<i>kro</i>	
<i>akroʔre</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.dim.</u> vine used in fishing, Port.: tinguí. Phonology: [akroʔlɛ]
<i>akroʔti</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.aug.</u> vine used in fishing, Port.: timbó.
<i>akudʒk°</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> disappear; get lost. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S= <i>pikundõ</i> . Alternate form: <i>akundõ</i> . Phonology: In the context of an identical subsequent vowel, there is an epenthetic flap [r] that separates the two, as in <i>icpikudɔr ɔ mõ</i> . Grammar: This verb has a bivalent version, <i>ɔ akudɔk</i> . Ex.: <i>Pa kɔt paj akudɔ</i> . ‘I’m going to disappear.’ <i>Ka na ka akudɔ</i> . ‘You’re going to get lost.’ <i>Pa kɔt paj icpikudɔ ketnẽ</i> . ‘I’m not going to get lost.’ <i>Ka kɔt kaj apikudɔ ketnẽ</i> . ‘You’re not going to get lost.’ <i>Na ka icpe apikudɔr ɔ mõ</i> . ‘You’re disappearing from me.’ See <i>ɔ akudɔ</i> .
<i>akuǰa</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> laugh. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: S= <i>pi-kuǰar</i> ; alternate form: S= <i>pi-kuǰarʹ</i> . Grammar: May occur with the locative postposition <i>ǰ</i> , indicating E _O .
<i>akunĩ</i>	<u>n.</u> forest; thick wilderness.
<i>akup–</i>	<u>adv.</u> back to; centripetal movement. Requires one of two referential suffixes: <i>–im</i> and <i>–ijr</i> . <i>akupim</i> ‘back to here’; <i>akupijr</i> ‘back to there’.
<i>akuprõ</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> gather; get together and form a group (esp. of people). Nonfinite form: S= <i>pi-kuprõ</i> . Grammar: Occurs with the causative morpheme <i>ɔ</i> . Ex.: <i>Kot paj me akupim akuprõ</i> . ‘We’re getting together again.’ <i>Na pa me ra akupim icpikuprõjn kačiw</i> . ‘We are about to gather again.’
<i>akwa</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> mouth. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j=akwa</i> .
<i>am</i>	<u>pro.pers.</u> third person emphatic pronoun.
<i>amɛ</i>	<u>num.</u> two
<i>amãkrã</i>	<u>n.cmp.</u> shade
<i>amĩra</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> 1. scream; utter inarticulately and loudly. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: S= <i>j-amra</i> . 2. <u>v.tr.noncan.</u> yell. Inflectional pattern: O _E = <i>mã</i> A= <i>j-amra</i> . Ex.: <i>Kɔt ka akudɔ ne amĩra</i> . ‘If you get lost, scream.’ <i>Ajamra ketnẽ</i> . ‘Don’t yell!’ <i>Na pa ijumã ijamra prãm nẽ</i> . ‘I feel like screaming.’ <i>Na pa ijumã ajamra prãm ketnẽ</i> . ‘I don’t want you to scream.’
<i>amĩti</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> dream. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: S= <i>p-ĩmtir</i> . Phonology: [pĩmdir]
<i>amȳĩ</i>	<u>pro.</u> reflexive marker. Grammar: May occur in a truncated form with the dative morpheme <i>mã</i> , resulting in the form <i>amȳĩm</i> .
<i>amȳĩ čã ba</i>	<u>Idiom.</u> Feel ill; suffer from disease. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: [<i>amȳĩ</i> _S čã] _O <i>ba</i> . Nonfinite form: <i>amȳĩ čã bar</i> . Grammar: The reflexive pronoun refers back to the S of <i>čã</i> , whereas the predicate <i>amȳĩ čã</i> is the O of the verb <i>ba</i> . (<i>Amȳĩ=čã=ba</i> ‘RFLX=RP-ill=feel’) See <i>amȳĩ kamã abak</i> .
<i>amȳĩ kamã abak</i>	<u>Idiom.</u> Feel better; recover from disease. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>Amȳĩ</i> _S <i>kamã</i> S= <i>j-abak</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Ex. <i>Na pa ra amȳĩ kamã ijabak ɔ mõ</i> . ‘I’m feeling better.’
<i>amȳĩ kati</i>	<u>v.intr.noncan.</u> play; enjoy oneself. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: Although the reflexive marker occurs with this verb, the reflexive-verb root pair have become lexicalized as a single predicator. The word <i>kati</i> by itself means ‘waist’; there is no evidence for its use as a verb. In addition, the compound predicator may apparently have its valency increased by means of the morpheme <i>ɔ</i> , in <i>ɔ amȳĩ kati</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa</i>

	<i>amjū kati</i> . 'I played/enjoyed myself.' <i>Na pa atɔ amjū kati</i> . 'I enjoyed myself with you/played with you.' <i>Na pa ickra mē kɔt amjū kati čə kamə ɔ akěč</i> . 'I played with my son in the toy [at the park].' See <i>kati</i> .
<i>amjū kati čə</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.der.</i> toy. (<i>amjū=kati=čə</i> 'RFLX=enjoy=INSTR.NMLZ')
<i>amjū pubu čə</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.der.</i> mirror. (<i>amjū=p-ubu=čə</i> 'RFLX=RP-see=INSTR/LOC.NMLZ')
<i>amīkrī</i>	<i>n.al.</i> 1. afternoon; 2. <i>v.intr.</i> becoming afternoon.
<i>amikri kot</i>	<i>n.advl.cmp.</i> 1. evening; 2. <i>v.intr.der.</i> becoming evening. (<i>amikri=kot</i> 'afternoon=behind')
<i>amεtkrut</i>	<i>num.cmp.</i> two. <i>Krut</i> 'two'
<i>amarī</i>	<i>v.intr.evnt.</i> stay. Alternate form, <i>marī</i> .
<i>amāri</i>	<i>intrj.</i> response to thanks. Lit.: "For nothing".
<i>amčī</i>	<i>n.cmp.</i> marimbondo
<i>amčō re</i>	<i>n.al.dim.</i> mouse (sp).
<i>amčō ti</i>	<i>n.al.aug.</i> rat (sp). Type of rat used as bait in hunting.
<i>amgrə</i>	<i>n.al.der.</i> dry season; drought. Grammar: This and other metheorological verbs appear to have a descriptive verb as a base plus the prefix <i>a-</i> .
<i>amkorε</i>	<i>n.dim.</i> lizard, sp.
<i>amkoti</i>	<i>n.aug.</i> lizard, sp.
<i>amkoti</i>	<i>n.aug.</i> caterpillar, sp.
<i>amnε</i>	<i>advl.mov.</i> here; towards here.
<i>amni kati</i>	<i>v.intr.evnt.rflx.</i> play; amuse oneself. Argument marked as instrumental ɔ, ex. <i>na pa atɔ amnī kati</i> 'I played with you.'
<i>amni tɔ utī</i>	<i>idiom.</i> watch out! (der. <i>amni tɔ utī</i> 'RFLX=do=heavy')
<i>amnī de ɔ amə</i>	<i>idiom.</i> watch out!
<i>amnī krə kot</i>	<i>idiom.</i> Out of one's own will; on purpose. Ex. <i>pa na pa amnī krə kot avər tē ne abra mā</i> . 'I didn't wake you up for myself; you told me to do so.'
<i>amrākati</i>	<i>intrj.</i> 1. Negative response to a polarity question. No inflection. Ex.: <i>Co na ka ve ra aŋdčwa nē? Amrākati</i> . 'Is it the case that you are already sleepy? Not at all. ' 2. <i>v.exst.neg.</i> nothing. No inflection. Ex.: <i>Kamə me amrākati</i> . 'There's nobody in there.' <i>Ipte meboj kete, nē itte meboj kučə itpe amrākati</i> . 'I have no possessions and I have nothing to eat.'
<i>amuču</i>	<i>v.intr.evnt.</i> hide. Nonfinite form, <i>-pimčur</i> .
<i>anē</i>	<i>v.intr.</i> 1. thus; be thus. 2. instruct; order; comand. Nonfinite form: <i>ajūr</i> . Grammar: This item does not take person inflection. Ex.: <i>Cep kɔt ajūr</i> . 'That's how it is (it looks like).' <i>Na pa icte amə ajūr jum ate ijmə ša nipeč prəm nē</i> . 'I wish you'd make me some tea.'
<i>anikre</i>	<i>v.intr.evnt.</i> become quiet. Alternate form, <i>anikreč</i>
<i>anipa</i>	<i>v.intr.evnt.</i> 1. run around aimlessly; 2. exchange something. Nonfinite form, <i>-pinipa</i> .
<i>apɔ</i>	<i>v.intr.rcpr.</i> 1. be in parallel position to something; be side by side with something. Nonfinite form: <i>S=pipɔ</i> . 2. get along with someone; be close to someone. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: <i>S=j-apɔ</i> . Grammar: a. The use of plural nouns may require the co-occurrence of the dual marker. Presumably, this peculiarity has to do with the semantics of the verb. b. This verb has a causative counterpart, ɔ <i>apɔ</i> . c. This verb allows for variation in nonfinite forms. It is possible that this variation is determined by the meaning of the verb in each use. Ex.: <i>Akreči ne Kenkutə wa apɔ nē</i>

ikwĩ. ‘Akreti and Kengutā were lying side by side.’ *Pittā pipɔ pa.* ‘Everyone is lined up side by side.’ *Me pa jaja na wa me icpipɔ ket nē.* ‘We all are not lined up side by side.’ *Ka na ka wa əbri ajapɔ ketnē.* ‘The two of you don’t get along anymore.’ See ɔ apɔ.

apə v.tr. put (e.g. two-by-fours) tidily together. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=j-apə. Nonfinite form: same.

apəri v.dscr.cmp. be in line. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S=j-apəri. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: *Pittā pipɔ pa, apəri pa ne ča.* ‘Everyone is side by side, standing in line.’ *Me apittā ajapari.* ‘Get in line, everyone!’

apar mǝ v. duck.

apat kər ti n.cmp.aug. snake, sp. Port: pico-de-jaca; surucucú de fogo.

apčət n.al. armadillo (sp.). Port.: tatú peba. The female of the species typically has one offspring at a time, possibly two as it gets older.

ape v.intr. work. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: S=j-apej, *apen*, alternate form: S=j-opej. Grammar: This verb does not take the derivational morpheme -ji: *apenji. Usage: Variation seems to be due to age groups, the former being spoken by younger speakers and the latter by elderly ones. Ex.: *Di mǝj ja kəm apen prəm.* ‘That woman enjoys working.’

apeə v.tr. look for; seek; hunt. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=j-apeə. Nonfinite form: O=j-aper.

apeč v.intr.evnt. come to an end. Nonfinite form, *apet*.

apen n.al. fruit (sp.), Port.: mangaba.

apen krǝ n.al.cmp. ball made out of latex from the mangaba plant. Used in children’s games and entertainment. (*apen=krǝ* ‘mangaba=head’)

api v.intr. climb up; ascend. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: S=j-apir. Ex.: *Pa na pa ickrǝ ə api ne wri.* ‘I climbed up and down the house.’ *Kɔt paj ə ijapir ket nē.* ‘I’m not climbing up there.’ *Me apirčə* ‘staircase; ladder’

apirčə n.al.der. **1.** ladder; staircase. **2.** incline; slant; slope (*apir=čə* ‘climb.up.NF=INSTR.NMLZ’). Ex.: *Me apirčə ja ə ɔmduju.* ‘The slope is hard [to climb].’

apirčwəj n.al.der. climber. (*apir=čwəj* ‘climb.up.NF=AG.NMLZ’)

apje v.intr.dscr. long.

apkəj v.intr.evnt. turn around. Ex. *əbri jum pipɔj me kəm apkəj əbri jum me tēm pa nē* ‘...Then the bench turned and they all fell down.’ *mǝ apkəj.*

apkati n.al. **1.** morning; **2.** v.intr.der. become morning.

apkatim jǝ n.advl.cmp. the day after tomorrow. (*apkatim=jǝ* ‘morning=DIR=LOC’)

apkatimǝ n.advl.cmp. tomorrow. (*apkatim=mǝ* ‘morning=DIR’)

apku v.intr. eat. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: S=j-apkur. Grammar: **a.** Related to the transitive verb *ku* ‘eat’ and apparently created by the addition of the detransitivizing prefix *ap-*. Differently than other *ap-* verbs, however, it maintains this formative in its nonfinite form. Ex.: *Na pa ra apku.* ‘I’ve eaten.’ *Na pa ra ijapkur pa* ‘I have finished eating.’ *Na pa kətmǝ ijapkur ket nē.* ‘I haven’t eaten yet.’

apkurji n.inal.der. one how enjoys eating; one who is characterized by the habit of eating. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR=j-apkurji. (*apkur-ji* ‘eat<INTR.NF>-AG.NMLZ’). Ex.: *Brǝjapkurji* ‘Wild animal that eats all the time.’

apoj v.dscr. **1.** leave; depart; exit. **2.** arrive (when the deictic center is a third person, usu.

- marked with the postposition *wər*.) Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S=*j-apoj*. Nonfinite form: same. **3.** *v.tr.noncan.* find something (pl). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=*m̃* A=*j-apoj*. Nonfinite form: same. Phonology: In nonfinite position, especially preceding a vowel, the last consonant of the root is realized as the voiced alveolopalatal affricate [j], as in *poj* *ɔ* *m̃*. Semantics: The semantic contrast between this verb and *katɔ* has to do with the number of participants, *katɔ* being the singular and *apoj* the plural counterpart. Grammar: **a.** In the compound verb ‘wake up’, the verb roots alternate according to the number of the absolutive argument, thus: *kr̃əkətɔ* ‘wake up (sg.)’ and *kr̃əapoj* ‘wake up (pl)’. **b.** The same is true when the root is used with directional postpositions such as *wər* ‘ALLT’ and *m̃* ‘DAT’. **c.** This verb cannot take the detransitivizing morpheme *aw-*: **awjapoj*. Ex.: *Na pa m̃ ijapoj*. ‘We left.’ *Na pa m̃ kəm ijapoj*. ‘I found them.’ See *katɔ*.
- apok* *v.tr.* make holes. Ex. *pī jī r̃e na t̃e pī japok* ‘The termites make holes in in wood.’ Form with relational prefix, *-japok*.
- aprə* *v.tr.* slander someone. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=*j-aprə*. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: *ujaprə*; *ujapr̃j̃i*; **awjaprə*. Ex.: *Na ijaprə*. ‘That one slanders me.’ *Na ka ijaprə*. ‘You dishonor my name.’ *Na pa ajaprə*. ‘I gossip about you.’ *Na ijaprə* *ɔ* *ča*. ‘That one has been gossiping about me.’ *Mūj na ijaprə* *ɔ* *ri pa*. ‘That one has been gossiping about me.’ *Paj̃i na kət atp̃ən t̃ɔ kap̃r̃ pr̃əm, ne kəm atp̃ən kure ne kəm atp̃ən ja pr̃ə pr̃əm̃*. ‘Panhi like to speak of each other, they get angry at one another then fight and slander one another.’ See *ujaprə*; *ujapr̃j̃i*.
- apr̃* *v.tr.* become satisfied; finish. Relational prefix: *-japr̃*
- apr̃ə̃* *v.tr.* provoke; tease. Ex. *ickra ja na amni icpr̃ə̃ne* ‘My son is provoking me.’
- apro* *v.tr.* **1.** bring; take. See *ɔ* *m̃*, *ɔ* *t̃ē*. **2.** buy. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=*j-apro*. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: This verb can take the detransitivizing morpheme *aw-*: *awjapro*.
- apu?* *advl.cmp* behind. the last one in a line; the last thing to be done.
- ara* *n.inal.* wing.
- are* *v.tr.* dig (of potatoes, etc.). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=*j-are*. Nonfinite form: *arej̃n*. Related forms: *arej̃n* (detransitive form); *arej̃ni* (participial resultative form). Ex.: *Kwər ja na pa ra arej̃ pa* ‘The yucca, I’ve dug them all up.’ *Kwər ja na arej̃ pe ɔmduju* ‘This yucca is hard to dig.’ *Kət aj̃r̃ t̃ē na pa are* ‘It’s that way, but I’ve dug it nonetheless.’ *Na ra arej̃ni* ‘They are all dug up.’ See *re*.
- ar̃ē* *v.dtr.* **1.** tell. **2.** confide about oneself. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: E_O=*m̃* O=*j-ar̃ē*. Nonfinite form: *ar̃ēj̃n*. Grammar: **a.** The transitivity pattern of this verb is the same for both senses. In the second sense, O is encoded by the reflexive pronoun, which is controlled by the subject. **b.** This verb can take the detransitivizing morpheme *aw-*: *awjare*. See *awjar̃ē*.
- ar̃ī* *v.dscr.* **1.** jump on or onto the ground; land. **2.** dance in a festival. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: S=*j-ar̃ī*. Ex.: *T̃ē na ajar̃ī ne atɔ*. ‘Jump and stand on the ground.’ *Atɔjar̃ɔr̃e* *ɔ* *na pa ijar̃ī* *ɔ* *ča*. ‘I’m dancing with Atojar̃ɔr̃e.’ *Na akr̃əj̃ap̃ōpti* *ɔ* *gr̃er* *ɔ* *ča m̃e* *ɔ* *ar̃ī* *ɔ* *ča*. ‘They are singing and dancing to the *akr̃əj̃ap̃ōpti*.’
- ar̃īgr̃ɔ* *n.al.* **1.** sunshine; **2.** daytime. Alternate form: *añīgr̃ɔ*. Ex.: *Ar̃īgr̃ɔ t̃aj̃č!* ‘The sun is hot!/It’s too hot/bright!’
- ar̃īgr̃ɔ* *?* *advl.cmp.* at daytime (*ar̃īgr̃ɔ*=*?* ‘sunshine=LOC’). Ex.: *Ar̃īgr̃ɔ ū* *?* ‘Some other day.’

<i>aričǎ</i>	<u><i>n.amb.der.</i></u> hammock. (<i>ari</i> =čǎ ‘stay.NF?=LOC.NMLZ’)
<i>aroj</i>	<u><i>n.al.loan.</i></u> rice (Port.: arroz.)
<i>aroj kro</i>	<u><i>n.al.cmp.</i></u> rice grass.
<i>asuk</i>	<u><i>n.al.loan.</i></u> sugar (Port.: açúcar.)
<i>atε</i>	<u><i>advl.</i></u> alone; by oneself.
<i>atɔ</i>	<u><i>v.intr.</i></u> stand on the ground [pl]. Grammar: * <i>atǎji</i> ; * <i>mǎ atɔ prǎmǎ</i> . Ex.: <i>Tǎ na ajarǎ ne atɔ</i> . ‘Jump and stand on the ground.’ <i>Tutrǎ ja na kǎm wrǎ/*atɔ prǎm</i> . ‘These doves like to come down here.’
<i>atɔm</i>	<u><i>v.intr.</i></u> 1. walk together as a pair or group. 2. stick together as a close pair or group of friends or companions. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S= <i>pi-tɔm</i> . Grammar: a. This verb takes the clause-final particle <i>nǎ</i> . b. There appears to be free alternation between finite and nonfinite form when this predicator is modified by <i>kačǎiw</i> . Both forms were possible, according to speakers’ judgements; however, there was preference for the nonfinite form when the clause was realis, and for the finite form when the clause was irrealis. Ex.: <i>Kɔt paj mǎ akupim atɔm nǎ</i> . ‘We’ll walk together again.’ <i>Kɔt ja mǎ akupim atɔm nǎ</i> . ‘Those are going to wander around together again.’ <i>Kɔt paj mǎ akupim icpitɔm ketnǎ</i> . ‘We won’t be walking together anymore.’ <i>Na pa mǎ akupim icpitɔm kačǎiw</i> . ‘We were about to walk together again.’ <i>Kɔt paj mǎ akupim atɔm kačǎiw</i> . ‘We will gather again.’ See <i>akuprǎ</i> ; <i>agrǎ</i> .
<i>atɔr re</i>	<u><i>n.al.dim.</i></u> bird (sp.). Port.: Jaó.
<i>atɔr tik ti</i>	<u><i>n.al.aug.cmp.</i></u> bird (sp). Port.: Jaó preto. Also called <i>atɔr ti</i> , Lit. big jaó. See <i>putǎ ti</i> .
<i>atɔr ti</i>	<u><i>n.al.aug.</i></u> bird (sp.), Lit. “big jaó”. Port.: Jacú. Also called <i>atɔr tik ti</i> , Lit. “big black jaó”.
<i>atar</i>	<u><i>dem.prx.cmp.</i></u> over there, close to you. Alternate form: <i>ata</i> . (<i>a=ta</i> ‘2=DEM’) See <i>tar</i> , <i>mǎtar</i> .
<i>atep</i>	<u><i>psp.</i></u> near. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: OBJ= <i>j-atep</i> .
<i>atkačǎ</i>	<u><i>v.intr.</i></u> tear; rip. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: Ex.: <i>Ma na pa ri aǎǎ čakre ɔ jǎir ketnǎ</i> ; <i>ǎm tǎm na atkačǎ</i> . ‘I didn’t do that to your little bag; it just got torn [on its own].’ <i>Pa tǎ ne ɔbu jum ra atkačǎ ne nǎ</i> . ‘I got there and it had already got torn and was lying there.’
<i>atkaje</i>	<u><i>v.intr.</i></u> crack; fissure. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S= <i>pikaje</i> . Grammar: a. This verb does not have a transitive counterpart in <i>kaje</i> . b. There is evidence of free variation between <i>pikaje</i> and <i>atkaje</i> as nonfinite forms; in the latter case, it is not possible to tell from the examples what the inflectional pattern is. Ex.: <i>Ka na ka icpe ijǎ kukrač mǎ jum atkaje</i> ‘You threw my bowl and it cracked.’ <i>Pa kɔt paj ǎbri ijǎ kukrač kǎm amyǎm meǎ kwǎ mǎn ketnǎ</i> . <i>Dɔ na ijǎ kukrač icpe atkaje pa</i> . ‘I’m not going to serve myself food in this bowl anymore, because it cracked completely.’ <i>Na ijǎ kukrač icpe pikaje pa</i> ‘My bowl cracked completely.’ See <i>kate</i> , <i>atkate</i> .
<i>atkapǎ</i>	<u><i>v.intr.der.</i></u> pour; drip; spill. Ex. <i>Pa na pa amyǎ jaǎk jum ickabro atkapǎ</i> ‘I cut myself (accidentally) and my blood spilled/dripped.’
<i>atkate</i>	<u><i>v.intr.der.</i></u> 1. break into pieces; shatter. 2. crack; fissure. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: Grammar: This verb does not have a participial counterpart in <i>pi</i> -the same way as other verbs of breaking. Ex.: <i>Na kɔp tǎm ne atkate</i> . ‘The glass fell and broke [it wasn’t me].’ <i>Kɔp ja na ra ɔbu jum ra atkate</i> . ‘I saw that glass and it was already broken.’ * <i>Kɔp ja na pikate</i> . See <i>kate</i> .

<i>atkatičə</i>	<i>n. al. cmp.</i> loincloth (<i>at=kat+i=čə</i> ‘DETR=cover=INSTR.NMLZ’)
<i>atkē</i>	<i>v. intr. evnt.</i> make jokes; paly. Nonfinite form, <i>-piken</i> .
<i>atkje</i>	<i>v. intr.</i> 1. separate; go apart from one another. 2. become divided into separate parts. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S= <i>pi-kjer</i> ; alternative form: S= <i>pi-kje</i> . Grammar: a. In its first sense, this verb is a reciprocal one; the predication subsumes two participants. b. This verb has a bivalent counterpart in <i>ə atkje</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa wa atkje</i> ‘The two of us parted ways.’ <i>Icpe apikjer ketnē</i> . ‘Don’t part away from me.’ See <i>ə atkje</i> ; <i>kje</i> ; <i>akje</i> .
<i>atko</i>	<i>v. tr.</i> blow on.
<i>atkra</i>	<i>v. intr. estv.</i> be frightened; startled. Ex. <i>pa na pa jae əbri ka atkra</i> ‘I startled you, then you got startled.’ Confront with <i>jae</i> .
<i>atkrut</i>	<i>num</i> 1. two; 2. <i>v. tr. der.</i> <i>ətkrut</i> two, p.ex. <i>pa kot ijō wapəti nē ijō pī ətkrut (ne)</i> ‘I followed you with my machete and two pieces of dry wood.’
<i>atkrut nεpcī</i>	<i>v. cmp. num.</i> three
<i>atkukē</i>	<i>v. intr. der.</i> break into pieces (of long objects); break completely. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Ijō pipə na ra atkukē</i> ‘My stool broke into pieces.’ <i>Ijō pipə na ra atkukē ket ne</i> . ‘My stool didn’t break.’
<i>atkwīr</i>	<i>v. intr. der.</i> break an extension or limb (of long objects). Nonfinite form: same. Alternate form: <i>atkwī</i> . Ex.: <i>Pipə na ra atkwīr</i> ‘The bench/stool broke.’ <i>Na pipə atkwīr ket nē</i> . ‘The stool didn’t break.’ <i>Na mesti te atkwīr</i> . ‘The table’s leg broke.’ <i>?Na boč amjū te atkwīr</i> . <i>?Na bi pa atkwīr</i> . [Strange because it sounds as if one were talking about a wood stick of some sort.] See <i>kwīr</i> , <i>pikwīj</i> .
<i>atpə</i>	<i>v. intr. evnt.</i> become drunk; intoxicated; without balance. Nonfinite form, <i>pipəjn</i> .
<i>atpēn</i>	<i>cl.</i> reciprocal
<i>atpu</i>	<i>v. intr. rcpr.</i> fight one another. Nonfinite form: S= <i>pipu</i> . Ex.: <i>Pa na pa va atpu</i> . ‘The two of us fought (one another).’ <i>Na pa va icpipu pa</i> . ‘We’ve finished fighting.’ <i>Na me pipu ə ča</i> ‘They are fighting (one another).’
<i>atū</i>	<i>v. tr.</i> bathe; wash.
<i>atum</i>	<i>n. advl. tmp.</i> a chunk of time (after a given moment); in a little while. Also <i>atumre</i> .
<i>awerε</i>	<i>n.</i> potato, sp. Ex. <i>amnī tē averε kwə kuke nē amnī nīkət ja ə acī</i> ‘You take out a bunch of these potatoes and put them on top of your swelling/abscess.’
<i>awrεwrək</i>	<i>n. cmp. rdpl.</i> barranco
<i>aw-</i>	<i>prfx. infl.</i> detransitivizing prefix. Grammar: Occurs mostly, though not exclusively, with verbs that begin in /a/ and take the relational prefix <i>j-</i> . This morpheme contrasts with the other detransitivizing prefix <i>aC-</i> in that it appears to encode the antipassive and other uses of this category. In this sense, it appears to be better characterized as an inflectional rather than derivational morpheme. See <i>aC-</i> ‘detransitivizer’.
<i>awja gro</i>	<i>n. cmp.</i> dust
<i>awja pok</i>	<i>n. cmp.</i> brejo
<i>awjačə</i>	<i>v. intr. der.</i> sow; plant. Ex.: <i>Na pa pīka kamə awjačə</i> ‘I planted in the ground.’ See <i>ačə</i> ; <i>aw-</i> .
<i>awjako</i>	<i>v. intr. der.</i> smoke. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: S= <i>č-u-j-ako</i> . (Finite form: <i>aw-j-ako</i> ‘INTRZ-RP-smoke’; nonfinite form: <i>č-u-j-ako</i> ‘RP-INTRZ-RP-smoke<TR>.’) Ex.: <i>Di čujakor čwəj ja na ə nē</i> . ‘The woman that smokes is ill.’ <i>*Di kət ujakor.... Di čujakor ə ə čwəj mīj na inə na</i> . ‘That woman who is smoking is my [formal] mother.’ See <i>ako</i> ; <i>aw-</i> .

- awjakrĭ* v.intr.der. cool down (of weather). Nonfinite form and relational prefix: (Finite form: *aw-j-akrĭ* 'INTRZ-RP-be.cold'; nonfinite form:.) Ex.: *Na ra awjakrĭ* 'It is getting cold.' *Na ra awjakrĭ nĕ*. '[The weather] is already cool.'
- awjanĕ* v.intr. return. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: S=*ĉ-u-j-anĕ*. (Finite form: *aw-j-anĕ* 'INTRZ-RP-?'; nonfinite form: *ĉ-u-j-anĕ* 'RP-INTRZ-RP-?'). Grammar: **a.** This verb follows the same morphological patterns as other derived intransitive verbs belonging to the *aw-* class. However, there is no evidence for the existence of *anĕ* as a verb on its own. It is possible that this form may have been monomorphemic once, but has become lexicalized through history. **b.** This predicator follows the same pattern as *awjako* in subordinate position, in that it does not employ the ergative marker *kot/te*; instead, it occurs in constituency with the noun, evidence of which is the presence of the relational prefix in such contexts. Ex.: *Di ĉujanĕ ĉwəŋ mŭj ja na inĕ na*. 'That woman who has returned is my [formal] mother.' See *aw-*.
- awjapro* v.intr.der. shop; purchase items for a party or a festival. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: S=*ĉ-u-j-apro*. (Finite form: *aw-j-apro* 'INTRZ-RP-buy<TR>; *ĉ-u-j-apro* 'RP-INTRZ-RP-buy.NF'). Ex.: *Pajni ma tĕm ĉwəŋ ja na ma ujapro ma tĕ dɔm poj kaĉiw ə bit pubuŋ ketnĕ*. 'The person who went do the shopping doesn't know what time s/he will come back.' *Di kot ujapro ĉwəŋ ja na inĕ na*. 'The woman who went to do the shopping is my [formal] mother.' *Kot kaj ma krĭ raĉ mĕ tĕ ne ijmĕ awjapro*. '[I want] you to go downtown and do some shopping for me.' *Na pa ijmĕ amĕ jum ma atem ne ate ijmĕ aĉujapro prĕm nĕ*. 'I want to send you downtown so you can do some shopping for me.' *Na pa ma krĭ raĉ mĕ tĕ ne ictĕ amjŭ mĕ iĉujapro kaĉiw*. 'I [want / intend to] go downtown to do some shopping for myself.' *Na pa ijmĕ krĭ raĉ mĕ ictem ne ictĕ amjŭ mĕ iĉujapro prĕm nĕ*. 'I feel like going to town and do some shopping for myself.' See *apro*.
- awjarĕ* v.intr.der. tell stories. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: S=*ĉ-u-j-arĕj*; alternative form: *arĕn*. (Finite form: *aw-j-arĕ* 'INTRZ-RP-tell<TR>; nonfinite form: *ĉ-u-j-arĕj* 'RP-INTRZ-RP-tell.NF') Ex.: *Di kot ijmĕ ujarĕj ĉwəŋ ja na inĕ na*. 'That woman who is telling stories is my [formal] mother.' *Ka na amĕ aĉujarĕj prĕm?*. 'You enjoy telling stories.' *Amne iŋdɔkwĭ wər tĕ ne ijmĕ awjarĕ*. 'Come over to my house and tell me some stories.' *Kot paj amĕ mebɔj gō ka ijmĕ awjarĕ*. 'I'm going to give you something so you tell me some stories.' *Na pa ictĕ kəm mebɔj jōr^o jum kot ijmĕ ujarĕn kaĉiw*. 'I intend to give her something soe she will tell me some stories.' *Pa na pa ictĕ amĕ mebɔj jōr jum ate ijmĕ aĉujarĕn kaĉiw*. 'I intend to give you something for you to tell me a story.'
- awrĭ* n.advl. far.
- bĭ* n.al. man.
- bə* v.tr. **1.** pick up, grab; hold in the hands. **2.** carry in the hands (e.g. a bag) or in the arms (e.g. a baby). **3.** hug; embrace. Inflectional pattern: O=*bə*; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: *bəŋ*. Phonology: The nonfinite form of this verb alternates between the nasal-ending [bəŋ] and the flap-ending [bər]. Ex.: *Na pa kubə*. 'I carried it (in the arms).' *Na bəŋ raĉ kŭmrĕĉ*. 'S/he carried lots of things.' *Na pa bəŋ təjĉ*. 'I hold it tight (in the arms).' See *pi*.
- bε* v.tr. mix. Nonfinite form, *bε*

<i>bə</i>	<u>v.intr.dscr.</u> catch on fire.
<i>bɛɲ</i>	<u>n.al.</u> honey
<i>bɛɲčĩ</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> honey bee (sp.). (<i>bɛɲ=čĩ</i> ‘honey=insect’)
<i>bəɲkwɾət rɛ kro</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> vine beans.
<i>bɛč</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> 1. good; pretty. 2. <u>adv.</u> well; very. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>bɛč</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Alternate form: <i>bɛčĩ</i> (emphatic?). Grammar: a. This verb may occur with the clause-final particle <i>ně</i> . b. The alternate form does not appear in nonfinite position. c. It has an adverbial use in which it modifies certain predicates with the role of an intensifier. Ex.: <i>Na ra kabekrɛ bɛč tǎjč kumrɛč</i> . ‘The jussara is quite good already.’ <i>Na ra kabekrɛ tik bɛč kumrɛč</i> . ‘The jussara is quite ripe now.’ <i>Wapɔ ja na bɛč</i> . ‘This knife is good.’ <i>Kɔt ja wapɔ ja wa bɛč nẽ</i> . ‘This knife will get (sharpened) good.’ See <i>tǎjč, rač, rĩɲ</i> .
<i>bəčwəɲti</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> a kinship term
<i>bɔɲ</i>	<u>n.al.</u> 1. thing. Alternate form: <i>bɔ</i> . Grammar: This root often occurs with the indefinite marker <i>mɛ</i> , as the compound stem <i>mɛbɔɲ</i> . 2. <u>inter.pro.</u> what. Ex.: (<i>Mɛ</i>) <i>bɔɲ na ja?</i> ‘What is this?’
<i>bɛju</i>	<u>n.al.loan.</u> bread-like product made of yucca dough. Port.: <i>bejú</i> .
<i>bəmɲi</i>	<u>n.der.act.</u> cry-baby; person who cries a lot. Phonology: <i>bəɾ-ɲi</i> ; stem-final flap of nonfinite verb form changes into bilabial nasal when followed by the pre-nasal obstruent of the derivational suffix. Inflectional pattern: S- <i>bəmɲi</i> . Ex. <i>Me abəmɲi jaja me ma ajapɔj!</i> ‘You all cry-babies, go away now!’ <i>Di mũj na bəmɲi</i> . ‘The woman is a cry-baby.’
<i>bɛɲ ɲɔ kwĩ</i>	<u>n.cmp.</u> bee hive
<i>bɛɲ ɲɔ pɔɾ</i>	<u>n.cmp.ant.</u> bee hive
<i>bɔɲ [bɔɲʌ]</i>	<u>n.al.</u> macaw bird (sp.), Port.: <i>arara</i> .
<i>bəɲkwɾit</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> bean (sp.), Port.: <i>feijão trepa-pau</i> .
<i>bɔɲtɪkti</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.aug.</u> macaw bird (sp.), Port.: <i>arara preta</i> (<i>bɔɲ=tɪkti</i> ‘macaw=black=AUG’)
<i>bəɾ</i>	<u>psp.</u> near.
<i>bəɾape</i>	<u>cnj. adv. psp.</u> because of. Ex. <i>na pa ɲipti bəɾ ape kupẽ kə tɪk ti mɔ akiri</i> ‘I had an argument with N. because of the car.’
<i>bɔɪ</i>	<u>v.intr.evnt.</u> make a detour.
<i>bɪ</i>	<u>n.al.</u> one of two celestial bodies, the sun or the moon. See <i>bitti, bitwɾɛɛ</i> .
<i>bɔɪi</i>	<u>n.aug.</u> deer (sp), female. Port.: <i>veado ganheiro</i>
<i>bɪkarɔ</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> clock; wrist watch. (<i>bit=karɔ</i> ‘sun=replica, image’)
<i>bitti</i>	<u>n.al.</u> the sun. Phonology: [bɪˈdi]
<i>bɪwɾɛ dɪw</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> first quarter. (<i>bit=wɾɛ=dɪw</i> ‘celestial.body=far=young’)
<i>bitwɾɛɛ</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> 1. moon. 2. a certain time period, presumably corresponding to the moon cycles. (<i>bit=wɾɛ=rɛ</i> ‘celestial.body=far=DIM’) Ex.: <i>Təɲmɔ na ka ra atɔ bɪwɾɛ amɲi tɔ?</i> ‘How far are you (in your pregnancy)?’
<i>bɪwɾɛti</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> full moon. (<i>bit=wɾɛ=ti</i> ‘celestial.body=far=AUG’)
<i>ba</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> 1. ponder something; wonder about something. 2. hear; listen to something. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>ba</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: <i>bar</i> . Grammar: This verb related to descriptives <i>aba</i> and <i>uba</i> . Ex.: <i>Na kuba</i> . ‘He pondered it.’
<i>ba</i>	<u>v.tr.noncan.</u> know; learn. Inflectional pattern: A _{ERG} O= <i>ba</i> ; no relational prefix.

	Nonfinite form: <i>bar</i> ^l . Grammar: Verb related to transitive <i>ba</i> . Ex.: See <i>ba</i> ; <i>uba</i> ; <i>aba</i> .
<i>ba</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> liver
<i>ba</i>	<u>v.intr.noncan.</u> afraid; scared. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>mā ba</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: This verb has a transitive counterpart in <i>uba</i> . Ex.: <i>Na əm mebrəj pitā uba. kəm ba təjč</i> ‘That one is afraid of everything. He’s a scaredy one.’ See <i>uba</i> .
<i>bačə</i>	<u>n.inal.der.</u> bad talk; gossip; tattle. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>bačə</i> . (<i>ba</i> = <i>čə</i> ‘hear=INSTR/LOC.NMLZ’) Ex.: <i>Ka na ka ri ijmā ačēc əbri abačə kot ə ənduj nē</i> . ‘You lied to me then I went by your rumours and treated her badly.’
<i>bačə</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> stomach
<i>be</i>	<u>cnj.</u> or. Ex. <i>čə kət paj marī tē ne aṅō go jō pri ā čwa, be kamā pani?</i> ‘My I go to your creek for bathing or is there anybody there?’ <i>čə akrare ja dire be bīre?</i> ‘Your baby, is it a boy or a girl?’
<i>bjen</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> husband; boyfriend. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>bjen</i> ; no relational prefix. Ex.: <i>Pa na abjen</i> . ‘I’m your husband.’ <i>Iṅbjen na itəjč</i> ‘My husband is strong.’
<i>bjen kumreč</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> husband (<i>bjen</i> = <i>kumreč</i> ‘husband=proper’). Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>bjen kumreč</i>
<i>bjen purə</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> boyfriend (<i>bjen</i> = <i>purə</i> ‘husband=like’). Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>bjen purə</i> .
<i>boč</i>	<u>n.al.loan.</u> male or female bovine (Port.: boi).
<i>bop kro</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> sweet potato vine.
<i>bop ti</i>	<u>n.aug.</u> fish (sp), Port.: puraquê (peixe elétrico)
<i>botre</i>	<u>n.dim.</u> jatobá
<i>bri</i>	<u>n.al.</u> 1. game; meat from wild animals. 2. <u>v.intr.</u> hunt. Nonfinite form: same; inflectional pattern: zero. Grammar: The expression S= <i>te bri kete</i> is used specifically to refer to someone who cannot hunt. Ex.: <i>Ra iṅō bri</i> ‘I’ve already got some meat.’ <i>Pa pre ra bri pa</i> ‘I’ve finished hunting.’ <i>Pa pre jō bri ket nē</i> . ‘I did not hunt yesterday.’ Also <i>bri japeə</i> ‘look for game.’
<i>bri čwəṅ</i>	<u>n.al.der.</u> hunter. (<i>bri</i> = <i>čwəṅ</i> ‘game=AG.NMLZ’)
<i>bri?bri</i>	<u>n.al.rdpl.</u> 1. dawn. 2. dusk.
<i>bričūm ti</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.aug</u> lizard (sp.), Port.: tuú.
<i>breget</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> kinship term
<i>brīi</i>	<u>n.al.aug.</u> rodent (sp.), Port.: capivara.
<i>bra</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> 1. go on foot; walk. 2. stroll. Nonfinite form: S= <i>brar</i> . Semantics: The semantic contrast between this verb as against <i>mō/tē</i> apparently has to do with the number of participants (<i>bra</i> being plural) as well as the specificity about going ‘on foot’. Grammar: The root may cooccur with the directional/movement particle <i>ma</i> in the clause; the combination of particle and verb root means ‘go’. If the particle is absent in the clause, the verb root means ‘come’.
<i>bra</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> wake up. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>bra</i> ; no relational prefix. Ex.: <i>Kət paj kwə?tā tē ne abra</i> . ‘I will wake you up in the morning.’ <i>Pa ra me abra pa</i> . ‘I’ve awoken you all.’
<i>brekre</i>	<u>n.al.dim.</u> bird (sp.), Port.: seriema.
<i>bro</i>	<u>n.al.</u> plant (sp.), Port.: tucum.
<i>bro jī</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> thorn.
<i>bro ti</i>	<u>n.al.aug.</u> plant (sp.), Port.: jenipapo; the fruit of this plant. It is the source of the dark-

	colored pigment used in Apinajé body-painting.
<i>bročá</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> thread made of fibers from a certain plant. (<i>bro=čá</i> ‘tucum=strip’)
<i>bur</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> cry. Alternate form: <i>buə</i> (elderly). Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: <i>S-bur</i> . Ex. <i>Prī re ja na bur rūjn kumreč</i> ‘This child cries a lot.’
<i>but</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> neck. Inflectional pattern: <i>PSSR=bu</i> . Alternate form: <i>but</i> .
<i>butě</i>	<u>n.al.</u> bird (sp.), Port.: jacú. See <i>putě</i> .
<i>čə</i>	<u>cl.</u> 1. nominalizer of place and/or instrument. 2. <u>n.al.</u> place.
<i>čē</i>	<u>pri.disc.</u> index of hearsay information. Alternate form: <i>čēp</i> .
<i>čə</i>	<u>cl.intrj.</u> clause-initial clitic index of information question. Alternate form: <i>čo</i> .
<i>čə</i>	<u>n.</u> fox (sp)
<i>čə</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> gather, collect (of foods) from a mat into a basket. Inflectional pattern: <i>O=čə</i> ; no relational prefix. Ex.: <i>Tě ne kuri aroj kwə čə</i> ‘Go there and get some of the rice.’
<i>čə</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> put in a (deep) recipient, <i>esp.</i> baskets. Nonfinite form, <i>-ə</i> .
<i>čə</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> urine
<i>čēp</i>	<u>Pri.disc.</u> index of hearsay information. Alternate form: <i>če</i> .
<i>čá</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> stand in vertical position (of one or a pair of objects or people). Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: <i>S=čəm</i> ; alternating form: <i>S=čar</i> . Semantics: The semantic contrast between this verb and <i>ku?e</i> appears to be that the former indicates movement towards standing position, whereas the latter indicates being in that position. However, only <i>čá</i> seems to occur in constructions that require position verbs, indicating, in this case, something already in standing position. This hypothesis is at odds with the morphological class of each verb and their correlation with descriptive and eventive notions. Another hypothesis is that the contrast may have to do with the number of participants, <i>čá</i> being the singular and <i>ku?e</i> the plural counterpart. A third hypothesis is that both verbs mean ‘be standing’, but with the semantics of <i>ku?e</i> focusing on the resultative aspect of getting up, and <i>čá</i> not having such connotation. Ex.: <i>Pa na pa čá</i> . ‘I’m standing (here).’ <i>Kətmə čá</i> . ‘Stand up (few people).’ <i>Na ka va kəjumə čá</i> . ‘The two of you stood up.’ See <i>ku?e</i> .
<i>čá</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> strips of fiber extracted from palm leaves in general.
<i>čá?ə</i>	<u>v.tr.cmp.</u> wait for.
<i>čak</i>	<u>n.al.loan.</u> sak; bag (Port.: saco). Phonology: [čag]
<i>če</i>	<u>intrj.fem.</u> geez!
<i>čet</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> burn. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: <i>S=čet</i> . Ex.: <i>Pī ?o ja na kəm čet prəm</i> . ‘These leaves burn well.’
<i>četčə</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> place of [a wound caused by] a burn. (<i>čet=čə</i> ‘burn=LOC.NMLZ’)
<i>četji</i>	<u>n.der.act.</u> Something that burns well. Inflectional pattern: <i>S=četji</i> . (<i>čet=ji</i> ‘burn.NF=AG.NMLZ’) Ex.: <i>Goj ja na əm kamə mebcj četji</i> . ‘Things have a way of getting burned in this pan.’ <i>Pī ?o ja na četji</i> . ‘These leaves burn well.’ See <i>čet</i> ; <i>prəm</i> .
<i>čo</i>	<u>cl.intrj.</u> clause-initial clitic index of information question. Alternate form: <i>čə</i> .
<i>čoj</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> mix (of food)
<i>čučüre</i>	<u>n.pr.dim.</u> name of a mythical character of certain traditional stories, the Moon.
<i>čučüti</i>	<u>n.pr.aug.</u> name of a mythical character of certain traditional stories, the Sun.
<i>čwə</i>	<u>n.al.</u> wet and coarse substance resulting from the grating of fresh produce usually rich in starch, such as yucca roots or fresh corn.

<i>čwə čom</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.</i> yucca dough for farinha. (čwə=č-om ‘yucca=RP-dough’)
<i>čwə grə</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.</i> yucca meal (čwə=grə ‘yucca.dough=roasted’)
<i>čwə tam</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.</i> raw yucca dough. (čwə=tam ‘yucca.dough=raw’)
<i>čwəŋ</i>	<i>cl.</i> phrase-final clitic, nominalizer of agent. Grammar: This morpheme occurs in relative clauses indicating the relativized noun, which may be a subject or object. Structurally, it is placed at the end of the relative clause and is followed by the definite article <i>ja</i> , or another determiner. Its occurrence in this context appears to be optional. Ex.: <i>Bi ti čwəŋ ja na pre kəm apen prəm^o</i> . ‘The man who died enjoyed working.’ <i>Di piagri ɔ nō čwəŋ mīj na icprō na</i> . ‘That woman who is giving birth is my wife.’ <i>Na grepōčwəŋ kutəč kəkɔ ɔ čā</i> ‘The singer is playing the maracá.’ <i>Bi ra kengrə čwəŋ ja na grepōčwəŋ ja</i> . ‘This man who is tired is the singer.’ <i>Bi ɔmduj čwəŋ ja ata na pre me ra ačə</i> . ‘This bad man over there, he’s been arrested before.’ See <i>ji</i> .
<i>čwəj ti</i>	<i>n.al.aug.fem.</i> kinship relation term, vocative. Female speaker to female addressee.
<i>čwəkupu</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.</i> cake made of yucca dough wrapped in banana leaves, baked in a fireplace built for that purpose; the cake may contain pieces of meat. (čwə=kupu ‘yucca.dough=wrap’)
<i>čwa</i>	<i>v.intr.</i> bathe. Nonfinite form: S=wər. Ex.: <i>Na pa kətmə čwa</i> . ‘I’m still bathing.’ <i>Na pa icčwər ɔ čā</i> . ‘I’m taking a shower.’
<i>čwari</i>	<i>psp.</i> in the stead of . Ex. <i>pa ma tē ne akatərčə mē ne ke ma ne tē ne ačwari me ɔ bu</i> ‘I’ll ask your mother to come and look after the kids on your instead.’
<i>dɔ</i>	<i>intrj.msc.</i> no.
<i>dɔ</i>	<i>cnj.</i> but; because. See <i>dɔ mē</i> .
<i>dɔ</i>	<i>n.inal.</i> eye. Inflectional pattern: PSSR=dɔ. Alternate form: <i>dɔp</i> .
<i>dɔ ʔo</i>	<i>n.cmp.inal.</i> 1. eye lashes; 2. eye brow
<i>dɔ jaka</i>	<i>n.inal.cmp.</i> white part of the eye.
<i>dɔ kajī</i>	<i>n.inal.cmp.</i> remela. Inflectional pattern: PSSR -dɔ kajī. (dɔ=kajī ‘eye=slime’)
<i>dɔ kago</i>	<i>n.cmp.inal.</i> tear
<i>dɔ tik re</i>	<i>n.inal.cmp.dim.</i> the iris of the eye. (dɔ=tik=re ‘eye=black=DIM’)
<i>dɔjaret</i>	<i>v.intr.evnt.</i> hurry.
<i>dək</i>	<i>inter.</i> clause-initial question word of location used in information questions; where. Alternate form: <i>dɔ</i> .
<i>dɔmē</i>	<i>cnj.cmp.</i> because; why. (dɔ=mē ‘but=DAT’) See <i>dɔ</i> .
<i>dɔmēkəč</i>	<i>n.amb.cmp.</i> eyeglasses. (dɔ=mē=kəč ‘eye=DAT=frame’)
<i>dəp</i>	<i>v.dscr.</i> ripe. Inflectional pattern: S=dəp. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>broti dəp</i> ‘ripe jenipapo’.
<i>dəpemē</i>	<i>Adv.cmp.</i> at a certain time in a remote past. Ex.: <i>Dəpemē na pre kubən ri ɔ pa</i> . ‘Back in the old days, s/he used to carry it (in the arms).’
<i>dət</i>	<i>n.inal.</i> umbilical cord, navel.
<i>dət</i>	<i>v.dscr.</i> be or become full. Inflectional pattern: S=dət; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: Occurs with the causative morpheme ɔ. Ex.: <i>Na go dət</i> . ‘The creek filled up.’ <i>Kawə dət ja kət ka marī ma ɔ mō</i> . ‘This basket that is full you may take.’ See <i>ɔ dət</i> .
<i>dət [dətʰ]</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> caress, stroke. P.ex. <i>na pa krē kī dət</i> ‘I stroked my hair.’
<i>dīw</i>	<i>v.dscr.</i> 1. young. Inflectional pattern: S=dīw. Nonfinite form: same. Alternate form:

	<i>diw</i> ¹ . 2. <u>n.inal.</u> young; descendant. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>diw</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa iɲdiw nē</i> . ‘I’m young.’ <i>Na pa iɲdiw</i> . ‘I rejuvenated.’ <i>Na pa kɔtmã iɲdiw</i> ¹ . ‘I’m still young.’ <i>Pa na icpe adiw</i> . ‘I’m your young (descendant).’
<i>da</i>	<u>n.al.</u> rain.
<i>da ačēt</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> lightning. (<i>da</i> = <i>a-čēt</i> ‘rain=dtrz-burn’). Alternate form: <i>da ačen</i> . Grammar: The presence of the formative <i>a-</i> in this word makes it comparable to words such as <i>amgrə</i> ‘drought; dry season’. In both cases, the base of the word is a descriptive verb. It might even be possible to include <i>awjakri</i> in the equation. Ex.: <i>Da ačēt ka:pri</i> . ‘It’s lightning a little.’
<i>da katōtōk</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> 1. thunder. 2. <u>v.intr.</u> thunder. (<i>da</i> = <i>katōtōk</i> ‘rain=?’)
<i>da wrə</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> 1. rainy season; 2. <u>v.intr.</u> rain.
<i>dapemã</i>	<u>adv.cmp.</u> 1. at a certain time in the past. 2. for a long stretch of time. No inflection. Ex.: <i>Dapemã na pre kubə</i> . ‘(One) carried it for a long time.’ (<i>da</i> = <i>pe=mã</i> ‘rain=DTR/COP?=DAT?’)
<i>de</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> 1. arrest; incarcerate; 2. <u>v.btr.</u> take something from someone; 3. <u>psp.</u> ablative, p.ex. <i>ickra ə amnī de ri kure</i> [‘She] took the ants off herself with the hand.’
<i>de</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> squeeze the juice out of. Nonfinite form, <i>de</i> .
<i>di</i>	<u>n.al.</u> woman.
<i>di</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> pelvis
<i>dōn</i>	<u>n.al.loan.</u> owner (Port.: dono).
<i>duj</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> bad; ugly; badly. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S= <i>p-uduj</i> ; alternate form: <i>əmduj</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Alternate form: <i>puduju/əmduju</i> ; this form does not occur in nonfinite position. Grammar: This verb may occur with the clause-final clitic <i>nē</i> , which expresses temporary state or condition, in this context. Ex.: <i>Ata na əmduju</i> . ‘This one (over there) is bad.’ <i>Ata na əm əmduj təjč kūmrēč</i> . ‘That one is really mean!’ <i>Na pa icpuduju</i> . ‘I’m ugly/mean/sickly.’ <i>Na pa icpuduj nē</i> . ‘I look ugly/am being mean/am sick.’ <i>Mε kadēčə duj ja marī amē</i> . ‘This spoiled medication you may throw away.’ See <i>əmduj</i> .
<i>e</i>	<u>v.tr.noncan.</u> tie; fasten. Inflectional pattern: O _E = <i>mã e</i> ; no relational prefix. Grammar: a. One piece of evidence of the absence of a relational prefix for this verb is the ungrammatical form <i>*aje</i> (for “tie [it] up!”). b. When there is a beneficiary, the clause will contain two dative-marked nominals: one being the beneficiary and the other the dative-marked, extended O. c. This verb contrasts with <i>pre</i> , <i>katpre</i> in that it may have a participial reading with no change in form. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Kɔt paj pī mã e</i> . ‘I’ll fasten the lumber.’ <i>Iɲmã iɲō boč mã e</i> . ‘Tie my cow for me, will you?’ <i>Kəm e!</i> ‘Tie it up!’ <i>Bi pipəɲi mūj, na mε ra kəm e</i> . ‘That drunk man, they’ve tied him up.’ <i>Bi na ra kəm e jī</i> . ‘The man is tied up, sitting.’ <i>Pa na pa mε bi jaja mã e ə ča</i> . ‘I’m taking care of tying up these men.’ <i>Na pa mε kəm e pa</i> . ‘I’ve tied them all up.’ <i>Na mε ra pittã mε kəm e pa</i> . ‘They are all tied up.’ See <i>kapre</i> ; <i>pre</i> .
<i>e čă</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> fishing line. (<i>če</i> = <i>čă</i> ‘tie=INSTR.NMLZ’)
<i>eč</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> lie; deceive; cheat; pretend. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S= <i>č=eč</i> . Nonfinite form: <i>et</i> . Grammar: This verb may occur with the dative postposition <i>mã</i> in a noncanonical pattern of argument marking; in such cases the inflectional pattern is as follows: E _O = <i>mã</i> S= <i>č=eč</i> .
<i>eɲta</i>	<u>intrj.loan.</u> geez! (Port.: êta!)

<i>eri</i> [e:ri]	<u>n.cmp.</u> snake (sp.), Port.: jararacuú. Poisonous, black and white, lives in the brejo.
<i>eri jaĩ jaka re</i>	<u>n.cmp.dim.</u> snake (sp.), Port.: cobra rabo-de-osso. Poisonous, white tail, lives in the chapada. Its bite may leave a wound that will not heal very easily.
<i>etĩ</i>	<u>n.al.der.</u> a deceitful person; a liar; a cheater. (<i>et=ĩ</i> 'lie.NF=AG.NMLZ')
<i>etrɛ</i>	<u>n.al.dim.</u> spider (sp). Phonology: [e:rɛ].
<i>etti</i>	<u>n.al.aug.</u> spider (sp). Phonology: [e:ti].
<i>famajs</i>	<u>n.al.loan.</u> pharmacy (Port.: farmácia)
<i>gə</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> central plaza of a village, the place where gatherings, festivals, and certain ceremonies take place. Alternate forms: <i>gəp</i> , <i>gəj</i> , <i>gəm</i> .
<i>gɔ</i>	<u>v.dscr.denom.</u> 1. be or become wet; 2. <u>v.tr.</u> wet.
<i>gA</i>	<u>n.al.</u> kinship relation term used between spouses for reference to one another.
<i>gAʔ čiw</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> a male baby. Phonology: [ʔgAʔ čiw]
<i>gĩj rɛ</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.dim.</u> bee (sp), Port.: abelha europa.
<i>giw to</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> argil, from the bank of a creek.
<i>ga</i>	<u>adv.</u> until (something) finally (happens).
<i>gek</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> sore. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>gek</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: May occur with the clause-final particle <i>ně</i> . Ex.: <i>Iɲbut gek</i> 'My neck is sore.' <i>Na pa iji gek ně</i> 'I have a sore body (There is soreness in my bones).'
<i>get</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> kinship relation term.
<i>gje</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> 1. place multiples objects, of either the same or different kinds, into a deep recipient (e.g. a basket, a box, or a bag). 2. serve foods of various kinds in a deep container (e.g. a bowl). Inflectional pattern: O= <i>gje</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: <i>gjeɲ</i> . Ex.: <i>Pa prɛ akreč kavrə ne kavə kamə kugje</i> . 'I gathered the leaves and put them into the basket.' <i>Ma tẽ ne amɲim meə kwə gje</i> . 'Go and help yourself to some food.' See <i>agje</i> ; <i>ə</i> , <i>rě</i> , <i>mě</i> .
<i>go</i>	<u>n.al.</u> 1. water; 2. a body of water (e.g. creek; <i>go rači</i> 'river')
<i>go</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> louse; lice. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>go</i> . Ex.: <i>Paj amə ago japeə</i> 'I will search [your head] for lice, for you.'
<i>gō</i>	<u>v.dtr.</u> give. Inflectional pattern: E ₀ = <i>mə</i> O= <i>gō</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: E ₀ = <i>mə</i> O= <i>ɲ-ōt</i> ; alternative forms: <i>ɲōr^o</i> , <i>ɲōr</i> . Ex.: <i>Kət paj amə mebəj gō ka iɲmə awjarě</i> . 'I'm going to give you something so you tell me some stories.' <i>Na pa icte kəm mebəj ɲōr^o ɲum kət iɲmə ujarěn kačiw</i> . 'I intend to give her something soe she will tell me some stories.' <i>Pa na pa icte amə mebəj ɲōr ɲum ate iɲmə ačujarěn kačiw</i> . 'I intend to give you something for you to tell me a story.' <i>Kupě iɲmə pəri ɲō čwəɲ ja na ickrəmčwə na</i> . 'This foreigner who gave me the pepper is my friend.' <i>Kupě mə icte pəri ɲō čwəɲ ja na ickrəmčwə na</i> . 'This foreigner to whom I gave the pepper is my friend.'
<i>go ɲō čwəɲ</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> life forms that live in water (<i>go=ɲ-ō=čwəɲ</i> 'water=RP-GEN=AG.NMLZ')
<i>go bra təjč</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> rapids. (<i>go=bra=təjč</i> 'water=run=INTS')
<i>go kapɛ ʔə</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> river bank.
<i>go rač</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> river. (<i>go-rač</i> 'water=large')
<i>go tAm</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> flood. Phonology: <i>goʔ tAm</i> .
<i>goɲijot</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> water spring. (<i>go=ɲ-ijot</i> 'water=RP-tip')
<i>goj</i>	<u>n.al.</u> round pan for cooking on the fire.

<i>gokōn</i>	<u>n.al.</u> container for carrying water, of vegetal origin. Port.: cabaça.
<i>gokōn°</i>	<u>n.amb.cmp.</u> container for carrying water.
<i>gōr</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> 1. sleep. 2. close one's eyes. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: S= <i>ɲ-ōt</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa ra gōr</i> . 'I've already slept.' <i>Na pa ra ɲōt grirɛ</i> . 'I've slept a bit.' <i>Na pa ra ɲōt ɔ gōr</i> . 'I've slept hard.'
<i>gorēncǎ</i>	<u>n.amb.cmp.</u> paddle (<i>go=rēn=cǎ</i> 'water=cross.NF=INSTR.NMLZ').
<i>gotkɛ</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> comb. Ex.: <i>ɪɲō gotkɛ na akud ɔ</i> 'My comb has disappeared.'
<i>gotporɛ</i>	<u>n.cmp.dim.</u> wasp (sp.), Port.: marimbondo (sp.).
<i>grɛ</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> sing; dance. Nonfinite form: S= <i>grɛr</i> . Grammar: This verb cannot take the derivational morpheme <i>ɲi</i> : * <i>grɛɲi</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa ɲgrɛr ɔ ɕa</i> . 'I'm dancing.' <i>Kij pu mɛgrɛrpreprek kəm grɛ</i> . 'Let's dance forró!'. <i>Na əm grɛ prəm</i> . 'That one likes to dance.' See <i>ōkrepoj</i> .
<i>grə</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> 1. be dry; become dry. 2. <u>v.tr.</u> roast farinha. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>grə</i> ; O= <i>grə</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: In order to obtain a transitive version of 'dry', it is necessary to use the causative morpheme <i>ɔ</i> . The plain stem can only be used transitively with the specific meaning 'roast farinha.' Ex.: <i>Na kupěče grə ɔ ajet</i> . 'The clothes are drying (hanging).' <i>Paj ɲōkrākī ɔ grə</i> . 'I'll dry my hair.' <i>Kət paj ɲō čwɪ grə</i> . 'I will roast my farinha.' <i>Na pa kətmǎ ɲō cwɪ tam jade ne ɔ grə</i> . 'I'm still squeezing my dough to dry it.' <i>Pa na icče ɔ grə kete</i> . 'I have no dried clothes.' <i>Pa na pa arəm ǎ če grə ɲabə</i> . 'I took my dried clothes off the clothesline.' <i>Na kətmǎ icče grə ɔ ajet</i> . 'My clothes are still up drying.'
<i>grɔ</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> roast.
<i>grɛ</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> vagina. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>grɛ</i> ; no relational prefix.
<i>grɛ ʔo</i>	<u>n.cmp.inal.</u> female pubic hair
<i>grɛ niko</i>	<u>n.cmp.inal.</u> testicles
<i>grɔ rač</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> food prepared from cooking, rather than roasting, the same yucca dough used in the preparation of yucca meal. (<i>grɔ=rač</i> 'bake=large'; Lit.: 'large bits of baked [yucca dough]')
<i>grǎgrǎ</i>	<u>n.rdpl.cmp.</u> 1. the color green; 2. unripe
<i>grɛɲōčwəɲ</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> singer (<i>grɛ=ɲ-ō=čwəɲ</i> 'sing=RP-PRTV=NMLZ.AG'); the person who performs in a ceremony or festival. Ex.: <i>Bi ra kengrə čwəɲ ja na grɛɲōčwəɲ ja</i> . 'This man who is tired is the singer.'
<i>grɔɲ ti</i>	<u>n.aug.</u> rodent (sp). Port.: quandu
<i>grik</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> be or become angry. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>grik</i> . Grammar: This verb may occur with the inessive postposition <i>kamǎ</i> in a noncanonical pattern of argument marking; in this case, the pattern is E ₀ = <i>kamǎ</i> S= <i>grik</i> . Ex.: <i>Na ka ictɔ nɛ pa əmduj nɛ jum ickamǎ grik</i> . 'You made me treat her badly, now she's angry at me.' <i>Ka ickamǎ agrik</i> . 'You got angry at me.'
<i>grɪk ɲi</i>	<u>n.cmp.</u> jealous person
<i>grɛrɲi</i>	<u>n.al.der.</u> one who can sing or dance; one who enjoys singing or dancing. Ex.: <i>Na pa ɲgrɛrɲi tǎjč kumrěč</i> . 'I really like to dance.' See <i>grɛɲōčwəɲ</i> .
<i>grati</i>	<u>n.al.aug.</u> mammal (sp.), Port.: paca.
<i>gre</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> 1. little (in quantity). 2. few (of countable nouns). Inflectional pattern: S= <i>gre</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same.

<i>gri</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> 1. small (in size); tiny, frail. 2. meager; reduced in quantity; little (of mass nouns). Inflectional pattern: S= <i>gri</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same.
<i>grīdin ko</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> puçá (cerrado fruit sp.) patch
<i>gwra</i>	<u>n.</u> 1. palm tree (sp.) Port.: buriti. 2. the log of this palm tree, which is used for ceremonial purposes.
<i>gwra jōr</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> the fibers of a certain palm tree (Port.: buriti).
<i>gwra ko</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> buriti patch
<i>gwra krǎ</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> the fruit of a certain palm tree (Port.: buriti).
<i>i</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> 1. place one or a pair of objects upside down on a surface (e.g. on the ground or on a table); 2. put away one or a pair of objects. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>č-i</i> . Nonfinite form: <i>ir</i> . Grammar: Allows for third person accusative prefix <i>ku-</i> . Semantics: One aspect in which this verb (and its counterpart <i>ačwə</i> contrasts with the pair <i>əm</i> , <i>ıjwə</i> is that the former may refer to objects shaped in such way that would usually be conceived of as lying in horizontal position (e.g. forks and knives), whereas the latter often refer to those that could be thought of as “standing up” (e.g. bowls, plates, cups). On the other hand, the former pair may also refer to this same class of objects, but indicating that they lie upside down. Ex.: <i>Na pa kuči</i> ‘I’ve put it away.’
<i>i</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> bone. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>i</i> ; no relational prefix, apparently. Phonology: form alternates between <i>ji</i> and <i>i</i> . The former occurs after consonant-final nouns and the latter after vowel-final nouns.
<i>i</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> thin; skinny. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S= <i>j-i</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Also <i>irε</i> (<i>i=rε</i>). Phonology: [i ¹ zire]. Ex.: <i>Na pa ra ijire</i> . ‘I’m already all skinny.’ <i>Na ra irε</i> . ‘S/he is already skinny.’
<i>i-</i>	<u>prfx.pers.</u> third person singular, possessor.
<i>ijn</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> feces. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-ijn</i> . Alternate form: <i>ijn¹</i> .
<i>ıbeč</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> 1. kill (pl). 2. exterminate; execute. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>j-ıbeč</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Na pa ıbeč pa</i> . ‘I killed them all.’ <i>Na pa agro jıbeč pa</i> . ‘I killed all the pigs.’ See <i>pı</i> .
<i>ıbrıkə</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> Small bag made out of woven palm fibers used by men to carry supplies used in hunting trips. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-ıbrıkə</i> . (<i>i=bri=kə</i> ‘?=game=skin’).
<i>ıde</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> cheeks. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-ıde</i> . Ex.: <i>Ijıde</i> ‘my cheeks’; <i>qııde</i> ‘your cheeks’.
<i>ıdwət</i>	<u>n.cmp.inal.</u> wrist. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-ıdwət</i>
<i>ıgǎ</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> push. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>j-ıgǎ</i> . Ex. <i>na ijıgǎ pa tē ne mrō ne amni gɔ pa</i> ‘He pushed me, then I fell into the water and got all wet.’
<i>ıgrǎ</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> sprout from the branch of a plant. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S= <i>j-ıgrǎ</i> . Nonfinite form: same. See <i>ıgrōt</i> .
<i>ıgrōt</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> sprout from the ground; germinate. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S= <i>j-ıgrōt</i> . Nonfinite form: same. See <i>ıgrǎ</i> .
<i>ıju kre</i>	<u>n.cmp.inal.</u> nostrils. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-ıju kre</i> .
<i>ıju o</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> nose hair. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-ıju o</i> .
<i>ıju</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> nose. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-ıju</i> .
<i>ıkre</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> shoulder. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-ıkre</i>
<i>ırǎ</i>	<u>n.</u> edge; river bank. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>n-ırǎ</i>
<i>i ıjǎč</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> 1. strong. 2. bold; courageous. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix:

S=č-*iʔtəjč*. Nonfinite form: *iʔtəjt*. **3.** v.tr. force; insist. Nonfinite form: *iʔtəjt*. Ex.: *Ijbjey na itəjč* ‘My husband is strong.’ See *təjč*.

<i>ibo / ĩpo</i>	<u>n.</u> puddle
<i>ibrɔ</i>	<u>n.</u> dust
<i>iC-</i>	<u>Pers.pfx.</u> first person prefix. Grammar: Encodes direct object of transitive verbs, subjects of descriptives, and objects of postpositions.
<i>iči</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> name. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>n-iči</i> .
<i>ičo</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> buttocks. Inflectional pattern: <i>j-ičo</i>
<i>ičo krɛ</i>	<u>n.cmp.inal.</u> anus. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-ičo krɛ</i>
<i>ičot</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> penis.
<i>ičot ʔo</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> male pubic hair
<i>ickrɛ</i>	<u>n.al.</u> house, shelter.
<i>ickrɛ krač</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> wall. (<i>ickrɛ=krač</i> ‘house=stem; stalk’)
<i>ictu</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> urinate. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S= <i>tur</i> . Alternate form (suspicion): <i>iʔtu</i> .
<i>iji</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> the long leaf of a grass plant. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>j-iji</i> . Ex.: <i>pō jiji</i> ‘grass leaf’.
<i>ijot</i>	<u>n.</u> tip; end, cf. <i>kro nijot</i> ‘tip of the vine’
<i>ijukri</i>	<u>n.rel.</u> ahead
<i>ikɔp</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> claw. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>n-ikɔp</i>
<i>ikje</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> side. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-ikje</i> .
<i>ikrɛp</i>	<u>n.</u> direction; pathway. Alternate form, <i>nikrɛ</i> . Inflectional: <i>ikrɛp</i> ; <i>nikrɛp</i>
<i>ikra</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> hand. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>n-ikra</i> .
<i>ikra</i>	<u>n.cmp.inal.</u> hand <i>nikra</i>
<i>ikra katut</i>	<u>n.cmp.inal.</u> back of hand. <i>nikra katut</i>
<i>ikra krě</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> finger. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-ikra krě</i> . Phonology: [ikraʔkrě]. (<i>ikra=krě</i> ‘hand=head’)
<i>ikra krě gri rɛ</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.dim</u> pinky finger. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-ikra krě gri rɛ</i> . Phonology: [ikraʔ krě gri rɛ]. (<i>ikra=krě=gri=rɛ</i> ‘hand=head=small=DIM’)
<i>ikra krě i</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> finger bone. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-ikra krě i</i> . Phonology: [ikraʔ krě i]. (<i>ikra=krě=i</i> ‘hand=head=bone’)
<i>ikra krě rači</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> thumb. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-ikra krě rači</i> . Phonology: [ikraʔ krě rači]. (<i>ikra=krě=rači</i> ‘hand=head=large’)
<i>ikra pɔ</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> palm of the hand. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-ikra pɔ</i> . Phonology: [ikraʔ pɔʔ]. (<i>ikra=pɔ</i> ‘hand=flat’)
<i>ikraměkáč</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> ring. (<i>ikra=mě=káč</i> ‘finger=DAT=frame’).
<i>ikrĩ</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> curly (of hair). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S= <i>j-ikrĩ</i> . Nonfinite form: same. May occur with clause-final <i>rɛ</i> in predicate position.
<i>ikwĩ</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> lie in flat, horizontal position (of multiple objects or people). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S= <i>j-ikwĩ</i> . Nonfinite form: same; alternate form: <i>ikwĩr</i> . Semantics: This verb appears to contrast with <i>nō</i> in terms of number. This root is used when the absolutive argument is plural. See <i>nō</i> . Grammar: The verbs <i>nō</i> ‘lie’ and <i>jĩ</i> ‘sit’ contrast with their respective counterparts <i>ikwĩ</i> and <i>krĩ</i> in that the former seem to have a more flexible use, with respect to the number distinction of the absolutive, than

	the latter. It is possible to find examples of <i>mε nō</i> and <i>mε jī</i> , even though these verbs refer basically to singular and dual absolutes; but <i>krī</i> and <i>ikwī</i> are often <u>not</u> found with singular absolutes. Ex.: <i>Mε krare jaja mε ikwī nē. Mε piget jaja ačwəj jaja, mε ə ne ikwī.</i> ‘The children were all lying (there). The elderly also, they were all ill and lying (there).’ <i>Čo na ka mε arī aṇikwī.</i> ‘Are you all lying there/resting?’
<i>ikwīčə</i>	<u>n.inal.der.</u> place of rest; place for lying (<i>ikwī=čə</i> ‘lie.NF=LOC.NMLZ’).
<i>imōk</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> the top surface of any given body; tip. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>ɲ-imōk</i> . Ex.: <i>Iṇimōk</i> ‘the top of my head.’ <i>Pa na pa pre vajrərti jakər ɔ ča ne amjī nikra krə ṇimōk krə ta.</i> ‘I was chopping onions, then I cut the tip of my finger.’
<i>ipī</i>	<u>psp</u> inside.
<i>ipeč</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> make. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>ɲ-ipeč</i> . Nonfinite form: same; alternate: <i>ipet</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa icte amə aṇīr ṇum ate iṇmə ša nipeč prēm nē.</i> ‘I wish you would make me some tea.’
<i>ipečjī</i>	<u>n.al.der.</u> person who is characteristically known by making things. (<i>ipeč=jī</i> ‘make=ag.nmlz’) Ex.: <i>kawə nipeč jī</i> ‘basket maker.’ Grammar: When <i>jī</i> is used with transitive verbs, the derived word may require the use of relational prefixes depending on whether the verb root starts in a vowel.
<i>ipetčə</i>	<u>n.inal.der.</u> father. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>ɲ-ipetčə</i> . (<i>ipet=čə</i> ‘make.NF=INSTR.NMLZ’).
<i>ipok</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> 1. the center of a particular space. 2. the midst (e.g. of a crowd). 3. the innermost area of a large location (e.g. a forest). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>n-ipok</i> . Grammar: Due to its semantics, this noun is sometimes used similarly to a postposition; but its referential nature is also very clear. In cases of referential use, a postposition or demonstrative is likely to follow this noun, such that the integrity of the genitive construction (or, the NP) in which it occurs is maintained, thus avoiding any kind of structural ambiguity. Ex.: <i>Pər nipok ri.</i> ‘The center of the forest.’ <i>Pər nipok.</i> ‘In the middle of the forest.’ <i>Krī rač nipok ri.</i> ‘The downtown area.’ <i>Krī nipok.</i> ‘In the middle of the village.’ <i>Kapot nipok.</i> ‘In the middle of the outdoors.’ <i>Go nipok.</i> ‘In the middle of the river.’ <i>Arīgrə nipok ri.</i> ‘In the middle of the sunlight.’ [Notice the contrast in meaning between this <i>ri</i> -ending phrase and the ones above: it could be that in this phrase, the sense of the word is more one of ‘midst; being involved/engulfed by’, similarly to the next example.] <i>Mε? ipok ri.</i> ‘In the middle of the crowd.’ * <i>Na pa mε? ipok ča.</i> ✓ <i>Na pa mε ipok ri ča.</i> ‘I’m standing in the middle of the crowd.’ <i>Kət poj kapot nipok kot tē.</i> ‘We’re going to the center of the wilderness.’ <i>Krī nipok kot tē.</i> ‘Go to the center of the kři.’ <i>Pər nipok kot tē.</i> ‘Go to the center of the woods.’ <i>Go nipok kot tē.</i> ‘Go to the center of the creek.’ */? <i>Kət puj kapot nipok ri wər tē.</i> But <i>Kət puj kapot nipok wər tē.</i> ‘We’re going to the middle of the wilderness.’ <i>Na wa ipok kəm ča.</i> ‘The two of them are in the center.’ See <i>kaeč</i> ; <i>ire</i> .
<i>ipok ṇō čwəṇ</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> person from the inside; usually a reference to humorous, cheerful people. (<i>ipok=ɲ-ō=čwəṇ</i> ‘inside=RP-PSSD=NMLZ.AG’).
<i>iprər</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> slice (of meat). Ex. <i>kət paj ipō brī nīprər ne kušə ṇum grə</i> ‘I will make strips out of my meat, hand them and they become dry.’ <i>nīprər</i>
<i>irə</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> watch from above. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>ɲ-irə</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Na mekarō iṇirə.</i> ‘The ghost watched me.’ <i>Na mekarō irə.</i> ‘The ghost watched her/him.’ <i>Na mekarō iṇirə ne icpubuṇ ɔ ča.</i> ‘The ghost stood watching

	me.'
<i>irǎ</i>	<u>n.</u> clearing. <u>V.tr.</u> clear; clean [of leaves, etc.]
<i>irǎ</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> watch from above. Nonfinite form, <i>jiirǎ</i>
<i>irerek</i>	<u>v.intr.dscr.</u> be(come) weak. Ex. <i>ǎm itǎjčket ne; irerekre</i> 'He's not strong; he's weak.'
<i>irǎt</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> weak; exhausted; fatigued. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>S=j-irǎt</i> . Nonfinite form: Ex.: <i>Na pa ra jirǎt</i> 'I'm already weak/fatigued.'
<i>ire</i>	<u>n.inal.der.</u> Piece, cut or slice of something soft, such as cloth, leaf, meat or cake. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>PSSR-j-ire</i> . Alternate form: <i>n-irej</i> , especially before stops, but also (semi)vowels. Ex.: <i>Ijmǎ kupěče jire ō gō</i> 'Give me a piece of cloth.' <i>Ijmǎ pape jire ō gō pa kamǎ amjūm čikar kwǎ čī</i> . 'Give me a piece of paper for me to roll up my cigarette in.' <i>Me jīmǎ bri jirej ja ō gō</i> 'Give me one of those slices of meat.' <i>Kǎt paj kupěče jirej ?kri</i> 'I'll cut the pieces of cloth (with the scissors).'
<i>ire</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> Cut soft things into slices or chunks. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>O=j-ire</i> . Nonfinite form: <i>irej</i> . Ex.: <i>Kǎt paj bri jire</i> 'Eu vou cortar a carne.' <i>Kǎt paj bri jirej ketne</i> . 'Eu não vou cortar a carne.' Related forms: <i>ireji</i> 'cut (resultative participial)'; <i>irej</i> 'cut (detransitive usage), ex. <i>Bri ja na irej pe ǎmduju</i> 'Essa carne é ruim de cortar.' See <i>are/arej</i> . Restrictions: <i>*awjirej</i> .
<i>ireji</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> cut (resultative participial). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>S-j-ireji</i> . Ex.: <i>Bri ja na ra ireji</i> 'The meat is sliced.' <i>Cwǎkupu na ra ireji</i> . 'The cake is already sliced.'
<i>irum</i>	<u>psp.</u> ablative marker. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>OBJ=j-irum</i> . Ex.: <i>Na me ijirum me učǎkwrǎ</i> 'They removed the spell from me.'
<i>isker rǎ</i>	<u>n.al.loan.</u> lighter. (Port.: isqueiro)
<i>isotti</i>	<u>n.al.aug.loan.</u> sulfur.
<i>itǎ</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> open
<i>itkō</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> drink. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: <i>S=kōm</i> . (<i>itkō</i> < <i>it-kō</i>) Grammar: This verb has a counterpart in <i>ǎ itkō</i> . Ex.: <i>Co na ka ra itkō?</i> 'Have you drunk yet?' <i>Na pa kǎtmǎ ickom ketnē</i> . 'I haven't drunk yet.' <i>Ja na kōm kete</i> . 'This one (person) doesn't drink.' See <i>pe; ǎ itkō</i> .
<i>itkwǎ</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> defecate. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: <i>S=kwǎr</i> . Ex.: <i>Cučūti na itkwǎ jūm ĩj ja kabrekrǎ</i> . 'Cučūti defecated and his feces were nice and colorful.'
<i>itpe</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> fart. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: <i>S=pek</i> .
<i>itu javek</i>	<u>n.cmp.</u> bush
<i>jǎǎǎ</i>	<u>n.advl.cmp.</u> 1. yesterday. 2. the day before yesterday. (<i>jǎ=ǎǎ</i> '?=LOC')
<i>ǎǎj</i>	<u>n.al.</u> 1. bird (sp.), Port.: pica-pau (woodpecker). 2. Proper noun.
<i>ǎǎ</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> 1. bite. 2. to subject to an electric shock. Inflectional pattern: <i>O=jǎ</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Na rǎp ijǎ</i> . 'The dog bit me.' <i>Na rǎp ijǎ rač nē</i> . 'The dog bit me a lot.' <i>Na rǎp ijǎ tǎjč</i> . 'The dog bit me hard.'
<i>ǎǎ</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> bite. Inflectional pattern: <i>O=jǎ</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: Ex.: <i>Na rǎp ijǎ</i> 'The dog bit me.' <i>Amjūde tǎ rǎp čǎ kǎt ǎǎ</i> . 'Beware of that dog over there, it will bite you.'
<i>ǎǎp kǎk ti</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.aug.</u> bat (sp.). Larger species.
<i>ǎǎp rǎ</i>	<u>n.al.dim.</u> bat (sp.). Blood-feeding species. Used as bait for hunting.

<i>ĵep ti</i>	<i>n.al.aug.</i> bat (sp.). Herbivorous species.
<i>ĵi</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> get water into a bowl or deep container
<i>ĵi</i>	<i>suf.der.ag.</i> adjective-forming suffix. Grammar: a. This suffix may attach to transitive, intransitive or descriptive verbs. It indicates that the referent is characterized by the event or state described by the verb, or that the referent constantly and/or enjoyably performs the action described by the verb. b. The derived form maintains the same inflectional pattern as the base verb. Ex.: <i>Bisənrɛ ja na prɛ tɛ ɔ ickakeĵi nē.</i> ‘This kitty scratches me all the time.’ <i>Abatpērĵi ja na krī rač kəm pa.</i> ‘The pensive one lives in town.’ <i>Ka na ajabatpērĵi.</i> ‘You are pensive/melancholic.’ <i>Di mūĵ čikar jakoĵi.</i> ‘That woman is a cigarette smoker.’
<i>ĵo</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> hang. Inflectional pattern: O=ĵo; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: <i>ĵor.</i> Grammar: a. Clause may include postpositional phrase encoding location. b. Intransitivized form: <i>aĵo</i> ; Nonfinite form and relational prefix: <i>j-aĵo[r]</i> . This form seems to be used with a generic, nonspecified object. Ex.: <i>Pa na pa amā akawərə ɔ tē ne ickrɛ krač ɔ kuĵo.</i> ‘I took your basket and hung it on the [house] wall for you.’ <i>Na pa pa iĵō čak ĵo.</i> ‘I hung my bag.’ <i>Aričə jaĵorčə</i> ‘hammock hanger’. <i>Mebəj jaĵorčə</i> ‘hanger (generic)’ See <i>ajet.</i>
<i>ĵo</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> hand; cover with leaves.
<i>ĵo</i>	<i>v.intr.estv.</i> be(come) empty. Ex. <i>na pa iĵĵō</i> ‘I am empty (weak; thin)’, <i>pa na pa pəl ti ɔ ĵō</i> ‘I emptied the ball (i.e. now it is soft)’.
<i>ĵoj</i>	<i>n.al.</i> bird (sp.), Port.: urubu. Alternate form: <i>ĵoj^o.</i>
<i>ĵopĵop</i>	<i>v.intr.estv</i> itchy. Ex. <i>na pa iĵĵopĵop</i> ‘I’m itchy; itching’
<i>ĵopeĵi</i>	<i>n.al.der.</i> a hard-working person. (<i>j-ɔpej-ĵi</i> ‘RP-work.NF-AG.NMLZ’)
<i>ĵət</i>	<i>n.al.</i> 1. sweet potato (sp.). 2. Proper noun. Alternate form: <i>ĵət^o.</i>
<i>ĵət čo</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.</i> papaya (sp.).
<i>ĵət kro</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.</i> potato vine.
<i>ĵa</i>	<i>art.def.</i> 1. the. 2. <i>pro.dem.</i> this. Grammar: Plurality is expressed either by reduplication of this form or by the use of the collective marker <i>je..</i>
<i>ja kamā</i>	<i>cnj.idiom.</i> for that reason, Lit.: “within this”. (<i>ja=kamā</i> ‘DEF.ART=LOC.INSV’)
<i>jae</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> 1. scare off; send away. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>jae</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex. <i>Pani jaja na tɛ akunī pok ne kag ɔ jae kačw</i> ‘The pani set the grass on fire to scare the snakes away.’ 2. <i>n.inal.</i> nest. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>jae</i> ; no relational prefix. 3. <i>v.dscr.</i> bushy (of hair, etc.). Inflectional pattern: S= <i>jae</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same.
<i>jakəp</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> smell something
<i>jaka</i>	<i>v.dscr.</i> white. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>S-jaka</i> (not sure whether /j/ is part of the root or the relational prefix). Nonfinite form: same.
<i>jakrɛĵ</i>	<i>v.intr.dscr.</i> comparative of superiority.
<i>jakrān</i>	<i>n.</i> kinship term
<i>jaok</i>	<i>v.dscr.</i> watery (of feces typical of gastrointestinal distress or disorder). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S= <i>j-aok</i> . Morphology: It is possible that the palatal glide in initial position is part of the root, rather than a relational prefix. Ex.: <i>Pa na pa iĵōu čə ne iĵ jaok ɔ itkwə.</i> ‘I have diarrhea and am defecating with watery feces.’
<i>jar ɔ ʔə</i>	<i>advl.cmp.</i> today. (<i>ja=r ɔ ʔə</i> ‘DEM=time=LOC’)
<i>jarəp</i>	<i>n.inal.</i> phlegm
<i>jara</i>	<i>adv. der.</i> today

<i>jara kre</i>	<u>n.cmp.inal.</u> armpit
<i>jara kre ʔo</i>	<u>n.cmp.inal.</u> armpit hair
<i>jari</i>	<u>adv.cmp.</u> here. Alternate form, <i>jar</i> .
<i>jarĩ</i>	<u>v.intr.evnt.</u> jump; hop. Nonfinite form, <i>jarĩ</i> .
<i>jate</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> push
<i>je</i>	<u>Art.def.cllct.</u> the <pl>.
<i>jetčə</i>	<u>n.al.der.</u> place where something hangs; place above the ground where something lies. (<i>jet=čə</i> ‘hang.NF=LOC.NMLZ’)
<i>jip ti</i>	<u>n.al.loan.</u> large vehicle (e.g. truck). (Port.: jipe).
<i>juměnrɛ</i>	<u>n.al.dim.loan.</u> donkey (Port.: jumento)
<i>kə</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> 1. skin; bark. 2. body. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>kə</i> .
<i>kə</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> breast. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>kə</i> .
<i>kə</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> mix. Nonfinite form, <i>kəŋ</i>
<i>kə</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> mature; grow into adulthood. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>kə</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Na ka ra akə beč nē</i> . ‘You are all grown up now.’ <i>Na pa ra ickə beč nē</i> . ‘I’m well matured.’
<i>kʌr</i>	<u>n.</u> wistle
<i>kə kago</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> breast milk. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>kə kago</i> . (<i>kə=kago</i> ‘breast=fluid’)
<i>kə kagrɔ</i>	<u>v.dscr.cmp.</u> have a fever. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>kə kagrɔ</i> . (<i>kə=kagrɔ</i> ‘body=hot’). Grammar: This predicator composed of a noun root plus a descriptive root. Ex.: <i>Na ka vɛ akə kagrɔ</i> ‘It seems you have a fever.’
<i>kəč</i>	<u>n.al.</u> 1. jar; glass container; 2. frame.
<i>kəč</i>	<u>advl.</u> lightly; gently. Ex.: <i>Kəč pe tak</i> ‘Tap gently.’
<i>kič</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> tear.
<i>kəčət</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> hurt; wound
<i>kəčkapěr</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> radio; cassette player. (<i>kəč=kapěr</i> ‘frame=talk’). Phonology: [kəjč]
<i>kəɔč</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> take out.
<i>kij</i>	<u>intrj.</u> hortative particle.
<i>kəji</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> wound.
<i>kəjn bri kete</i>	<u>n.cmp.neg.</u> bad hunter
<i>kəkɔ</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> 1. sound; make noise (of water, maracá, stalk, wings); flap one’s wings (of birds). Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S= <i>kəkɔ</i> . 2. <u>v.tr.</u> play an instrument, especially percussion; make an object sound. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kəkɔ</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Na gɛpəčwəjn kutəč kəkɔ ɔ ča</i> ‘The singer is playing the maracá.’ <i>Na pa kutəč kəkɔ ba</i> . ‘I heard the sound of the maracá.’
<i>kəkəji</i>	<u>n.al.der.</u> noisy. (<i>kəkɔ=ji</i> ‘make.noise=AG.NMLZ’) Ex.: <i>Kutəč kəkəji</i> . ‘The maracá is noisy.’
<i>kəkwe</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> shallow (of a body of water). Inflectional pattern: S= <i>kəkwe</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Marĩ re dɔ ickəkweɛ</i> . ‘You may cross, I’m shallow (of a creek saying it).’ <i>Go ja kəkweɛ kete</i> . ‘The creek is not shallow.’ <i>Kaj ari go kəkwe kamə ča</i> . ‘You stand up on this shallow area.’ Grammar: This verb has a causative version, <i>ɔ kəkwe</i> . See <i>ɔ kəkwe</i> .
<i>kəm</i>	<u>psp.</u> Third person form of the dative postposition <i>mə</i> .
<i>kən kro</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> sugar cane shrub.

<i>kəp</i>	<u>n.al.loan.</u> cup; glass (Port.: copo).
<i>kəp</i>	<u>prt.mod.</u> aparently; not for sure. Ex. <i>kəp ma</i> ‘Not sure if they’re going...’
<i>kər</i>	<u>v.intr.evnt.</u> wistle; sing like a bird. Nonfinite form, <i>kaɾ</i> .
<i>kərər</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> spread.
<i>kərēnti</i>	<u>n.al.aug.</u> wasp (sp.), Port.: marimbondo (sp.).
<i>kət</i>	<u>cl.</u> 1. clause initial clitic index of irrealis mood. 2. index of third person agent which occupies initial position in subordinated clauses. See <i>te</i> .
<i>kət</i>	<u>v.intr.evnt.</u> swell. Ex. <i>na pa ra iɲĩ kət</i> ‘My flesh has swollen large.’
<i>kətm̃</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> vertical position; the upper surface. (<i>kət=m̃</i> ‘upright?=DAT’) Phonology: forms alternate between <i>kətm̃</i> and <i>kəɟm̃</i> . There is nasalization of the alveolar stop immediately preceding the bilabial nasal consonant.
<i>kətm̃</i>	<u>adv.cmp.</u> still (<i>kət=m̃</i> ‘IRLS=LOC’). Phonology: [kə:m̃]
<i>ka</i>	<u>pro.pers.</u> second person independent pronoun, realis form. Grammar: Pronouns from this set indicate a different subject in a clause chain. See <i>kaj</i> .
<i>kai</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> sew.
<i>kaʔe</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> confine; dam; obstruct. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kaʔe</i> ; no relational prefix.
<i>kaʔeč</i>	<u>n.</u> amidst; around
<i>kaʔeč</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> surround O.
<i>kaʔek</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> 1. chop. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kaʔek</i> ; no relational prefix. Ex. <i>Pĩ kaʔek</i> ‘chop wood.’ 2. <u>v.intr.</u> break. <i>Na ra kaʔek</i> . ‘It broke already.’
<i>kaʔi</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> 1. thin due to loss (of feathers or hair). 2. fall (of palm leaves, hair, long fibers that constitute part of a whole). Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kaʔi</i> ; no relational prefix.
<i>kajĩn</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> 1. marrow. 2. slime; drool. 3. the forming flesh of young coconut fruit. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>kajĩ</i> . Ex.: <i>Kr̃đ kajĩn</i> ‘Brains (lit.: head marrow)’; <i>Bri kajĩn</i> ‘Bone marrow (here, lit.: game marrow). * <i>Pĩ čo kajĩn</i> ‘flesh of fruit’. See <i>do kajĩ</i> .
<i>kaʔõ</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> wash soft or granulated objects, e.g. clothes, rice. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kaʔõ</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: O= <i>kaʔõn</i> . Alternating form: <i>kaʔũ</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa ra iɲõ kupěce kaʔõ</i> . ‘I’ve washed my clothes.’
<i>kaʔõn</i>	<u>n.al.</u> washing.
<i>kaʔtwə</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> pound on inside a specialized container.
<i>kaʔuk^u</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> pound; grind. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kaʔuk</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Alternating forms: <i>kaʔuk</i> , <i>kaʔu</i> .
<i>kabĩ</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> kinship relation term.
<i>kabɫ</i>	<u>n.al.</u> 1. night; darkness. 2. <u>v.intr.</u> become night; get dark.
<i>kabɫ ko</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> night time; patch of darkness.
<i>Kabekre</i>	<u>n.al.dim.</u> fruit (sp.), Port.: jussara. Phonology: [kambe:rɛ]
<i>Kabekre ko</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> jussara patch
<i>kabekti</i>	<u>n.al.aug.</u> fruit (sp.), Port.: bacaba. Phonology: [kambe:di]
<i>kabekti ko</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> bacaba patch
<i>Kabrek</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> red. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>kabrek</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Pa na icče kabrekti ne icče tiktĩ</i> . ‘I have a red dress and a black dress.’ <i>Pa na icče kabrek kəm tik</i> . ‘I have a black-and-red dress.’ <i>Iceče kr̃đ kr̃đ jakət kabrekre na icpe akudək</i> . ‘My dotted red dress has disappeared.’
<i>Kabro</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> 1. blood. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>kabro</i> . 2. <u>v.dscr.</u> menstruate. Inflectional

pattern: S=*kabro*; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: *Ma, ja na ickabro. Pa na pa amyĩ jaik jum ickabro atkapĩ.* ‘Well, this is my blood. I cut myself and my blood spilled.’ *Pa na pa ickabro.* ‘I am menstruating.’ Grammar: the use of this word with the sense of *bleed* is also possible, but the construction is grammatically nominal, in that the word *kabro* operates as a plain noun, rather than presenting verbal properties. Ex.: *Pa na pre gɔ əbri jum kabro grə t̃ə akupim kabro prõt.* ‘I wet (the wound) and the bleeding stopped, then the blood started running again.’ *Pa na ickabro rač ñ.* ‘I bled a lot.’ This is a nominal predicate construction; if *pa* were the subject, it would reappear after the modality marker. But: *Na ipikrkr̃ kabro ɔ m̃.* ‘I go with my finger bleeding./My finger goes bleeding.’ *Ijukra kr̃ kabro.* ‘My finger is bleeding.’

<i>kabu</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> not find; look for among many
<i>kačər</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> pull out from the ground. Ex. <i>na pa ictɛ pĩ ja kačə kačřw</i> ‘I’m trying to pull out this piece of wood.’
<i>kačət</i>	<u>n.</u> cotton (sp)
<i>kačřw</i>	<u>adv.</u> 1. purpose; 2. inchoative. 3. <u>qtf.</u> additional thing in a sequence.
<i>kačo</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> tear; rip. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kačo</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Usage: There is an idiomatic expression with this verb that refers to the rape of young girls: <i>gre kačo</i> ‘vagina ripping.’ Ex.: <i>Na ka icpe ip̃o čak re kačo</i> ‘You tore my little bag.’ <i>Na pa ape aq̃o čakre kačo ketñ.</i> ‘I didn’t tear your little bag.’ See <i>atkačo</i> ; <i>pikačoq̃n</i> .
<i>kačoq̃n</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> tear while pulling. Alternate form: <i>kačwəq̃n</i> .
<i>kačũ</i>	<u>v.intr.evnt.</u> poke.
<i>kačwa</i>	<u>n.al.</u> salt. Alternate form: <i>kačwar</i> ¹ .
<i>kade</i>	<u>n.al.</u> 1. contrast. 2. counterpoint. 3. opponent; aggressor.
<i>kadɛčə</i>	<u>n.al.der.</u> antidote; medicine. (<i>kade</i> =čə ‘contrast=INSTR.NMLZ’)
<i>Kadej</i>	<u>n.al.loan.</u> oil lantern (Port.: candeia)
<i>kagə čə</i>	<u>n.al.der.</u> medicine. Phonology: [ka.gə ¹ čə]
<i>kagə čə</i>	<u>n.al.der.</u> writing instrument. (<i>kagə</i> =čə ‘mark=nmlzr.instr.’) Phonology: [ˌkagə ¹ čə]
<i>kagə</i>	<u>n.</u> snake
<i>kagə grə re</i>	<u>n.cmp.dim.</u> snake (sp.); not poisonous, small, may be green and black or blue and yellow; solid colors. (<i>kagə</i> =grə=re ‘snake=dry?=dim’)
<i>kagə jaji ti</i>	<u>n.cmp.aug.</u> snake (sp.), Port. Cascavel. (<i>kagə</i> =j-aji=ti ‘snake=RP-rattle=AUG’)
<i>kagə? pɔ</i>	<u>n.cmp.</u> snake (sp.), Port.: jararaca. <i>kagə? pɔ? ti.</i>
<i>kagə? to</i>	<u>n.cmp.</u> snake (sp.). Poisonous, brown back and white belly, from the woods, eats rats, and it is sticky. (<i>kagə</i> =to ‘snake=sticky’) <i>kagə? to? re</i>
<i>kagər</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> salt, cure meat.
<i>kaga</i>	<u>v.tr.cmpl.noncan.</u> 1. give up; 2. refuse. Inflectional pattern: A= <i>m̃</i> O= <i>kaga</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same.
<i>kaga</i>	<u>v.intr.noncan.</u> be or feel lazy. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>m̃ kaga</i> ; no relational prefixes. Nonfinite form: same. Ex. <i>Na pa jara ɔ ip̃m̃ kaga t̃əjč</i> ‘I feel very lazy today.’.
<i>kago</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> 1. fluid. 2. juice (e.g. of a fruit or plant leaves). Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>kago</i> . Grammar: a. Apparently there is a nonfinite form of this noun, <i>kagor</i> . b. This noun may be derived from <i>go</i> ‘water’.
<i>kagō</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> squeeze with the aim of extracting juice (e.g. from a fruit or the leaves of a plant). Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kagō</i> . Nonfinite form: <i>kagōr</i> .

<i>kago čə</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> alcoholic beverage. Also referred to as <i>kago čə? ti</i> . (<i>kago</i> =čə=ti ‘juice=RP-spicy=AUG’)
<i>kago jakrɨ</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> frozen beverage served in a cilindric plastic bag, Port.: geladinho. (<i>kago</i> =j-akri ‘juice=RP-cold’)
<i>kago tɨk rɛ</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> coffee (<i>kago</i> =tɨk=rɛ ‘juice=black=DIM’)
<i>kagrɔ</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> 1. be hot; become hot. 2. <u>v.tr.</u> heat. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>kagrɔ</i> ; O= <i>kagrɔ</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: <i>kagrɔ</i> . Phonology: if occurring before a vowel ɔ, there may be the epenthesis of [r]. Ex.: <i>kagrɔ[r] ɔ mō</i> . <i>Na pa ickagrɔ rač nē ictō go rač nē</i> . ‘I was too hot and sweaty.’ <i>Na pa ickra mō anē jum go kagrɔ</i> . ‘I told my child to heat the water.’ <i>Na pa go kagrɔ</i> . ‘I heated the water.’
<i>kagrɔ</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> heat. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>kagrɔ</i> . Ex.: <i>Ickagrɔ kɔt ja akagrɔ</i> . ‘My (body-) heat will keep you warm.’ See <i>ā go</i> .
<i>kaĩ tɛ čě</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> adornment for the legs (<i>kaĩ</i> =tɛ=čě ‘?=calf=cloth’)
<i>kaj</i>	<u>pro.pers.</u> second person independent pronoun, irrealis form. See <i>ka</i> .
<i>kaj ti</i>	<u>n.al.aug.</u> rabbit (sp.). Also <i>kajrɛ</i> .
<i>kaĵe</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> 1. capture by using a trap (e.g. fish). 2. entwine; entangle. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kaĵe</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: <i>kaĵer</i> . Related form: <i>tep kaĵe</i> ‘catch fish; [go] fishing.’
<i>kaĵe</i>	<u>n.al.</u> star. Also <i>kaĵerɛ</i> , <i>kaĵeti</i> .
<i>kaĵor</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> 1. sting; pierce. 2. give an injection. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kaĵor</i> ; alternate form: <i>kaĵor^o</i> . Nonfinite form: <i>kaĵor</i> . Ex.: <i>Čo, ɔ mrumti ja tē apĩ dɔ kɔt pa kaĵoro</i> ‘Kill this ant or else it will sting the both of us.’ <i>Kɔt ja ma vər tē, kaĵoro</i> . ‘He goes there (at the patient’s home) and gives the injection.’
<i>kak</i>	<u>v.intr.dscr.</u> cough. Nonfinite form, <i>kak</i> .
<i>kake</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> pinch. Nonfinite form, <i>kaken</i> .
<i>kaki</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> taste.
<i>kakje</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> 1. scratch with a knife or some cutting instrument. 2. mark with fine lines. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kakje</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Na pa tɛ kakje</i> . ‘I marked her legs.’ <i>Ka na atɛ kakje beči</i> . ‘You make marks well.’
<i>kakrā</i>	<u>n.cmp.</u> cloud
<i>kakre</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> scratch with claws or nails. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kakre</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>ɛ rɔpkrɔrɛ na kəm mɛ kakre prəmā. ɔ beč ne kɔt ja akakre</i> ‘Êta! This kitten likes to scratch. Be careful or it will scratch you.’
<i>kakwə</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> 1. dig; poke. 2. scratch the surface of something. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kakwə</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: <i>kakwəp</i> . Ex.: <i>Da na prɛ pĩka ja kakwəp ɔ mō</i> ‘The rain went on poking into the dirt.’ <i>Na da ipi wri ajte kakwə ɔ upəm</i> . ‘The rain falls into the hole, digs and deepens it.’
<i>kakwrə</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> break; mince. Nonfinite form, <i>katwrə</i>
<i>kamā</i>	<u>psp.</u> 1. incessive marker. 2. because of.
<i>kao¹</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> cooked; done (of food); ready to eat. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>kao</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Phonology: [‘kao]. Ex.: <i>Kɔt paj amyĩ mō kuwi kamā meō čəm, jum ɔrɔt, jum kao pa kukrē</i> . ‘I’m going to put my food on the fire, then it will boil and get ready for me to eat.’ <i>Na ra meō kao</i> . ‘The food is ready.’ See <i>ɔrɔt</i> ; <i>ər</i> .
<i>kao²</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> suck the juice out of a fruit. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>ka?o</i> . Nonfinite form: same.

	Phonology: [ka'o]. Ex.: <i>Rərəŋ kaʔo</i> . 'Suck oranges.' See <i>ʔo</i> ; <i>piao</i> .
<i>kapε</i>	<u>n.al.</u> path; circular path between the line of houses and the central plaza of the village.
<i>kapεm^ε</i>	<u>n.al.loc.</u> on the path. See <i>kapε</i> .
<i>kapēr</i>	<u>v.dtr.noncan.</u> talk to someone; Nonfinite form, <i>-kapēr</i> ; Alternate form, <i>-kapēre</i>
<i>kapi</i>	<u>v.intr.evnt.</u> align.
<i>kapi</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> pour or spill some liquid deliberately; throw away the contents of a recipient (esp. food). Ex. <i>na pa rəp ja kuʔō jum amni kapī</i> 'I washed the dog and it shook itself (so as to spill away the water from its hair).'
<i>kapi</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> choose; select. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kapi</i> . Ex. <i>Amjīm kapi</i> 'Choose for oneself.' <i>Na pa pər i kapi</i> . 'I'm choosing some peppers.' <i>Na pa pəri krē rīj kapi</i> . 'I'm selecting the larger peppers.' See <i>ukapi</i> , <i>aʔkapi</i> .
<i>kapī</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> spread; throw away; spill. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kapī</i> . Ex.: <i>Pa na pa krēʔire kabro kapī</i> . 'I bled the chicken (Lit.: I spilled the chicken's blood).'
<i>kapō</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> sweep. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kapō</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: <i>kapōŋ</i> .
<i>kapōŋ</i>	<u>v.prtcpl.</u> swept. Grammar: the nonfinite form of the verb <i>kapō</i> ; in this case it has a participial resultative meaning.
<i>kapōčə</i>	<u>n.al.der.</u> broom (<i>kapō=čə</i> 'sweep=INSTR.NMLZ')
<i>kapot</i>	<u>n.al.</u> the outdoors; the outside. 2. chapada. Grammar: Usually comes accompanied by the locative postposition <i>ə</i> .
<i>kaprə</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> 1. be or become empty. 2. be or become thin, skinny. 3. devoid of apparent or real reason. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>kaprə</i> . Nonfinite form: same. 3. <u>v.tr.</u> empty. 4. <u>idiom.</u> being a person with no family. Ex.: <i>Ma, amrakati. Na pa əbuŋ ketnē jum jetčə kaprə</i> . 'No, there's nothing there. I searched and the place where it was hanging is empty.' <i>Na pa ra ickaprə ə mō</i> . 'I'm getting thin.' <i>Na pa ra ickaprīre</i> . 'I'm all skinny already.' <i>Na pa ijōpatpat kaprə</i> . 'I'm feeling nauseous (for no apparent reason).' <i>Ka na ka aŋō krε kaprə ə akak ə jī</i> . 'You are forcing yourself to cough.'
<i>Kaprə</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> fire ember.
<i>Kaprən</i>	<u>n.al.</u> chelonian (sp.), Port.: jaboti. Also <i>kaprənre</i> [ka'prəle]
<i>kapreprek</i>	<u>v.tr.rdpl.</u> spank. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kapreprek</i> . Nonfinite form: same. See <i>tak</i> .
<i>kaprī</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> 1. sad; mourning. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>kaprī</i> . 2. <u>v.tr.</u> take pity on someone. Inflectional pattern. Nonfinite form: same.
<i>Karə</i>	<u>n.al.</u> deer (sp.)
<i>Karə</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> relax; soothe; soften. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>karə</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Kət paj amni but karə</i> . 'I will soothe my neck.'
<i>karər</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> blond. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>karər</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. See <i>rərər</i> .
<i>karēŋ</i>	<u>n.al.</u> tobacco. Alternate form: <i>karēn</i> .
<i>karēŋ pə</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> marijuana. Also <i>karēŋ pə? ti</i> (<i>karēŋ=pə=ti</i> 'tobacco=flat=AUG'). Alternate form: <i>karēn pə</i> .
<i>karō</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> 1. spirit. 2. image; model; replica. 3. photograph. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>karō</i> .
<i>karōrōr</i>	<u>v.intr.evnt.</u> snore (of pigs).
<i>karot</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> tightly curled; frizzly. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>karot</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Finite form possibly includes and echo-vowel.
<i>karot</i>	<u>v.intr.dscr.</u> 1. push (of woman's labor)

<i>karpē</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> try; test, e.g. a gun.
<i>kati</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> cover. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kati</i> ; no relational prefix.
<i>katɔ</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> 1. a. leave; depart; exit; b. arrive somewhere (when the deictic center is a third person, usu. marked with the postposition <i>wər</i>). Inflectional pattern: S= <i>katɔ</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: <i>katɔr</i> . 2. <u>v.tr.noncan.</u> find something (sg). Inflectional pattern: O= <i>mā</i> A= <i>katɔ</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: <i>mā katɔr</i> . Semantics: The semantic contrast between this verb and <i>apoj</i> apparently has to do with the number of participants, <i>katɔ</i> being the singular and <i>apoj</i> the plural counterpart. Grammar: a. In the compound verb ‘wake up’, the verb roots alternate according to the number of the absolutive argument, thus: <i>krēkatɔ</i> ‘wake up (sg.)’ and <i>krēapoj</i> ‘wake up (pl)’. b. The same is true when the root is used with directional postpositions such as <i>wər</i> ‘ALLT’ and <i>mā</i> ‘DAT’. Ex.: <i>Na pa ickatɔ</i> . ‘I left (the premises).’ <i>Na pa uī jipok ri kəm ickatɔ</i> . ‘I found it out in the woods.’ <i>Na pa kəm ickatɔ</i> . ‘I found this thing.’
<i>katε</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> 1. break into pieces; shatter. 2. break something open with a hard blow (e.g. a fruit with a hard shell, as a coconut or cupuaçú). Inflectional pattern: O= <i>katε</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Kɔp ja na mε p̄r̄re jaja icpe katε</i> . ‘The boys broke the glass (to my detriment).’ <i>Na mε icpe ijō kɔp katε</i> . ‘They broke my glass.’
<i>katɔrc̄ə</i>	<u>n.inal.der.</u> mother. (<i>katɔr</i> = <i>č-ə</i> ‘get.out.of.NF=INSTR.NMLZ’)
<i>katət</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> straight. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>katət</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Finite form possibly includes an echo-vowel.
<i>katēre</i>	<u>n.inal.dim.</u> squash (sp.), Port.: abóbora de pescoço comprido.
<i>katerē kro</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> squash vine.
<i>kati</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> waist. Inflectional pattern: pssr= <i>kati</i> ; no relational prefix. Ex.: <i>Ickati</i> ‘my waist’ <i>Ickati ɔ da ketmē</i> . ‘I won’t fit me in the waist [nb: <i>da</i> from Port. “dar”].’
<i>katkrit</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> light. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>katkrit</i> ; no relational prefix.
<i>katkwa</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> sky. Ex.: <i>Katkwa beči</i> ‘clear sky’; <i>katkwa rərər</i> ‘rainbow’
<i>katō</i>	<u>v.intr.evnt.</u> pop; spill.
<i>katōk</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> roast. Nonfinite form, <i>katōk</i>
<i>katpɔʔre</i>	<u>n.amb.cmp.dim.</u> money (<i>kat</i> = <i>pɔʔre</i> ‘?=flat=DIM’). Phonology: <i>katʔpɔʔre</i>
<i>katpar</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> back
<i>katpre</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> tie; fasten. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>katpre</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: a. This verb is related to <i>pre</i> , which seems to be a participial form of it. b. There are examples in which the form <i>pre</i> seems to occur as a nonfinite counterpart of <i>katpre</i> ; in such cases, <i>pre</i> takes person inflection for object, and that contrasts with its use as a participial/resultative form.
<i>katut</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> back
<i>katut i</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> backbone.
<i>katwə</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> thresh; pound; crush. Nonfinite form, <i>katwər</i> .
<i>kaur^u</i>	<u>n.amb.der.</u> object used for pounding or crushing grains in. (<i>der. ka ŋu</i>)
<i>kava</i>	<u>adv.</u> more or less.
<i>kawə</i>	<u>n.amb.</u> basket; one of the traditional designs of Apinajé basketry. Alternate form: <i>kawər</i> .
<i>kawəjipeč̄</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> basket-weaver.

<i>čwəŋ</i>	
<i>kawə nipečji</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> basket-weaver.
<i>kawar</i>	<u>n.al.loan.</u> horse (Port.: cavalo)
<i>kawrə</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> gather; harvest. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kawrə</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Na pa pəri krə rŷi kawrə rač nē.</i> ‘I harvested a lot of large peppers.’ <i>Na pa tɛ pŕin kawrə rāʔə nē.</i> ‘I gather pequis all the time.’
<i>ke</i>	<u>cnj.</u> deliberately.
<i>ke</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> grind. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>ke</i> . Nonfinite form: <i>ken</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa kətmə ken ket nē</i> ‘I haven’t grated them (the yucca roots) yet.’ Phonology: The vowel of the nonfinite form is not nasal; compare with the vowel of the word <i>kēn</i> ‘pebble’, which does have a nasal vowel in this position.
<i>kēn</i>	<u>n.al.</u> rock; pebble.
<i>kēn ə go</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> waterfall. (<i>kēn=ə=go</i> ‘rock=LOC=water’)
<i>kēn krə ti</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.aug</u> hill; butte. (<i>kēn=krə=ti</i> ‘rock=head=aug’)
<i>ken təj re</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.dim.</u> bird (sp.), Port.: galinha d’água.
<i>kenə</i>	<u>adv.</u> indeed; really. Alternate forms: <i>kɪnə, kɪrə.</i>
<i>kengrə</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> tired. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>kengrə</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Na pa ra ickengrə ə mō.</i> ‘I’m getting tired.’ <i>Na pa ra ickengrə.</i> ‘I’m already tired.’ <i>Bi ra kengrə čwəŋ ja na greŋdčwəŋ ja.</i> ‘This man who is tired is the singer.’
<i>kengrəji</i>	<u>n.al.der.</u> person who is characterized by getting tired easily. Ex.: <i>Na pa ra ickengrəji təč kumreč</i> ‘I’ve been easily tiring, lately.’
<i>kep</i>	<u>psp.</u> third person form of the detrimental postposition <i>pe</i> . <u>cop.</u> be; become.
<i>kep</i>	<u>cop.</u> third person form of the copula <i>pe</i> ‘be; become’. Grammar: The copula <i>pe</i> is used in nominal predicate constructions, especially those expressing equative predicates and true nominal predicates. It is not used in locative or possessive predicates.
<i>ket</i>	<u>cl.</u> negative marker; negative existential marker. Alternate form: <i>kete</i> . Grammar: a. This form is often used in nominal predicate constructions, although it is not restricted to it. b. This negative marker is used in clauses that indicate a habitual negative, or in a noun phrase that describes a negative property or habit of the head noun referent. Ex.: <i>Ja na kom kete.</i> ‘This person doesn’t drink.’ <i>Ja na kət gwra kago ə kom kete.</i> ‘This person won’t drink buriti juice.’ See <i>ketnē</i> .
<i>ketnē</i>	<u>cl.cmp.</u> negative marker; factual negative marker. Grammar: a. This form is often used in verbal predicate constructions, although it is not restricted to it. b. This form is used in certain clauses expressing a nonhabitual negative. It contrasts with <i>kete</i> , in this respect. See <i>ket</i> .
<i>kī</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> cheerful; happy; content. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>kī</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Alternate form: <i>kīni</i> .
<i>kī</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> hair. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>kī</i> .
<i>kīji</i>	<u>v.tr.noncan.</u> like someone; have affection for someone; be fond of someone. Inflectional pattern: E _A = <i>mə</i> O= <i>kīji</i> . Nonfinite form: <i>kīji</i> . Alternate finite forms: <i>kīji.</i> ; <i>kīni</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa pre ijmə kīni, tə jum ijmə ūre.</i> ‘I liked him, but then he left me.’
<i>kir</i>	<u>n.</u> moquia, place where the food is roasted or baked (underground). Alternate forms, <i>kiə, kiri</i> .
<i>kje</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> thigh.

<i>kje</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> drag; pull. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kje</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: <i>kjen</i> . Grammar: Like other transitive verbs, this predicator may take the second person subject prefix in imperative clauses. However, this inflected form is not to be confused with the verb <i>akje</i> ‘open’. Ex.: <i>Krī pičī kamā go kjen čā</i> ‘Only one of the villages has water pipes (água encanada).’ <i>Amne akje!</i> ‘Pull it over here.’ <i>Kjen ketně.</i> ‘Don’t pull it!’
<i>kje krač</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> part of the thigh that meets the pelvic bones; the articulation of the thigh.
<i>kjerkunō</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> kinship relation term. Term used by the mother of a man to refer to his wife.
<i>ko</i>	<u>n.amb.</u> a traditional weapon of the Apinajé, it is a heavy bat made of hard wood. Port.: borduna.
<i>ko</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> patch of trees. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>ko</i> .
<i>ko</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> back (body part)
<i>ko</i>	<u>v.intr.noncan.</u> thirsty. Inflectional pattern: E _S = <i>mā ko</i> . Alternate form: <i>kor. mā ko</i>
<i>ko i</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> backbone.
<i>ko krač</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> intestine.
<i>kōnōko</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> fruit (sp.), Port.: ingá.
<i>kōk</i>	<u>n.al.</u> lizard (sp.), Port.: camaleão.
<i>kok ujaper</i>	<u>n.cmp.</u> wind
<i>kokje</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> pick; choose; lift.
<i>kokoj kī ti</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.aug.</u> caterpillar (sp.), Port.: taturana (sp.)
<i>kokojti</i>	<u>n.aug.</u> hawk (sp). Alternate form, <i>kokəjti</i> .
<i>kokot</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> rest. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>kokot</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Na pa me ickokot.</i> ‘We are resting.’ <i>Na pa ickokot ɔ jī.</i> ‘I am resting.’
<i>kokrā</i>	<u>n.amb.cmp.</u> a traditional weapon of the Apinajé, it is a heavy bat made of hard wood with a slightly rounded design. Alternate form: <i>kokrəj</i> . Port.: borduna.
<i>kōn</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> knee. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>kōn</i> .
<i>konēn</i>	<u>intrj.neg.</u> not know; ignore. No inflection. Grammar: Apparently it is used only in the context of first person, in response to information questions.
<i>kop rereŋ ti</i>	<u>n.cmp.</u> fly (sp), Port: mosca de berne.
<i>kopti</i>	<u>n.al.aug.</u> fly (sp.)
<i>kot</i>	<u>psp.</u> after; behind; along with. Ex.: <i>Na kəm ikot mō kaga.</i> ‘He doesn’t want to come with us.’
<i>kot apu</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> the youngest of a group (e.g. the youngest child of a parent/family).
<i>kri</i>	<u>n.al.</u> cold. Ex.: <i>Na kri ictō ne pa iñōt ket nē.</i> ‘I couldn’t sleep because of the cold.’ <i>Kri na te go ɔ grə ne go ɔ tājč.</i> ‘The cold dries the water and makes it hard (i.e. freezes the water).’
<i>kre</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> 1. orifice. 2. hole. 3. burrow. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>kre</i> .
<i>krə</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> make a decision; take a stand. Ex. <i>na bjen ja əbri ma mō kacšw krə</i> ‘Her husband decided to go.’
<i>krē</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> plant. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>krē</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Na pa kwərčā krē</i> ‘I’ve planted the manioc starters.’ <i>Na pa ra krē pa</i> ‘I’ve planted it all.’ <i>Na pa pika kamā krē.</i> ‘I’ve planted it in the gound.’ Grammar: This verb has the intransitive counterpart <i>əkre</i> . See <i>əkre; awjačə; krē¹</i> .
<i>krō</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> spoiled; rotten; putrid. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>krō</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: As a predicator, is used with the clause-final particle <i>nē</i> . May occur as a modifier within the noun phrase. Ex.: <i>Na ra bri krō nē.</i> ‘The meat

is already spoiled.’ *Mūj na bri krɔ ɔ mō.* ‘That one is bringing some spoiled meat.’
Restrictions: **Bri ja na ra krɔ ɔ tē.* ✓*Bri ja na ra krɔ ɔ mō.* See *rere.*

<i>krɛ</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> pass straight by someone or something; ignore..
<i>krɛ</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> canal vaginal.
<i>krí</i>	<u>v.intr.noncan.</u> feel cold. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>mā kri</i> . Nonfinite form: same. See <i>akri. mā kri</i>
<i>krǎ</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> 1. head. 2. any object that is distinguishable by its spherical shape. 3. any fruit of distinguishably spherical shape. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>krǎ</i> .
<i>krǎ kī katpre čǎ</i>	<u>n.amb.cmp.</u> any object used for tying one’s hair (e.g. elastic). (<i>krǎ=kī=katpre=čǎ</i> ‘head=hair=tie.up=INSTR.NMLZ’)
<i>krǎ krat</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> back of the neck. (<i>krǎ=krat</i> ‘head=tendon’)
<i>krǎ pe ta</i>	<u>n.cmp.</u> trap for mammals that walk on the ground, rather than dig holes or climb trees, such as the <i>jūti</i> , <i>amčo</i> , and <i>jūdǎkjere</i> . (<i>krǎ=pe=ta</i> ‘head=DTR=chop.off’)
<i>krǎ? kī</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> hair.
<i>krǎ?ir</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> cut; trim. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>krǎ?i</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Akrǎ?kī grǎ?ir ti.</i> ‘Your hair is all trimmed/cut.’ <i>Akrǎ?kī krǎ?ir ja butre.</i> ‘Your hair cut is pretty.’
<i>krǎ?ire</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.dim.</u> hen, chicken. (<i>krǎ=?i=re</i> ‘head=seed?=dim’)
<i>krǎjti</i>	<u>n.al.aug.</u> fish (sp.), Port.: cará.
<i>krǎapoj</i>	<u>v.dscr.cmp.</u> wake up (pl). Inflectional pattern: S= <i>krǎapoj</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: This verb contrasts with <i>krǎkatɔ</i> in number. (<i>krǎ=apoj</i> ‘head=stick.out.PL’). Ex.: <i>Na pa me ra ickrǎapoj.</i> ‘We have woken up.’ See <i>krǎkatɔ</i> .
<i>krǎkatɔ</i>	<u>v.dscr.cmp.</u> wake up (sg). Inflectional pattern: S= <i>krǎkatɔ</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: <i>krǎkatɔr</i> . Grammar: This verb contrasts with <i>krǎapoj</i> in number. Ex.: <i>Na pa ra ickrǎkatɔ.</i> ‘I’ve woken up.’ See <i>krǎapoj</i> . (<i>krǎ=katɔ</i> ‘head=stick.out.SG’).
<i>krǎm</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> kinship relation term.
<i>krǎmčwǎ</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> friend; companion; buddy.
<i>krǎmget</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> kinship relation term.
<i>krǎn</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> short in length (of things such as hair, tail, pants). Inflectional pattern: S= <i>krǎn</i> ; no relational prefix. See <i>akɔt</i> .
<i>krǎpipǎj</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.der.</u> an insane person; a drunk person; someone who is psychologically unbalanced. (<i>krǎ=pipǎj</i> ‘head=insane.NF’) Phonology: [krǎbipǎj]
<i>krǎta</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> cut off; chop off. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>krǎ?ta</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Kɔt paj amǎ akrǎ?kī krǎ?ta.</i> ‘I will cut your hair for you.’ <i>Ma tē ke me amǎ akrǎ?kī krǎ?ta.</i> ‘Go there for them to cut your hair for you.’ <i>Ma tē ne amyīm akrǎ?kī krǎ?ta.</i> ‘Go there to get your hair cut.’ See <i>ta</i> , <i>krǎ?i</i> .
<i>krǎkrǎ tu re</i>	<u>n.cmp.</u> girino.
<i>krǎr</i>	<u>v. dscr.</u> 1. Dotted. 2. Flowery. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>krǎr</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: used as a predicator. May occur as a modifier within the noun phrase. Ex. <i>Iččē krǎr krǎ ja kɔt kabrek rɛ na icpe akudǎk</i> ‘My red dotted dress has disappeared.’
<i>krǎt</i>	<u>n.al.</u> kind of stone that gives off sparks as a result of friction.

<i>krít</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> attack
<i>krít ti</i>	<u>n.aug.</u> trap
<i>kra</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> one's child, either by blood or by formal relations.
<i>kra</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> armpit.
<i>kra ja bəɲi čwəɲi</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.der.</u> midwife (<i>kra=ja=bəɲi=čwəɲi</i> 'child=ART=clasp=AG.NMLZ')
<i>krač</i>	<u>n.al.</u> wall.
<i>krač</i>	<u>n.al.</u> stem; stalk.
<i>krač ǝ ʔi</i>	<u>n.cmp.</u> small lead sphere tied on a fishing line.
<i>kračǝ</i>	<u>n.inal.der.</u> afterbirth; placenta. (<i>kra=čǝ</i> 'one's.child=LOC.NMLZ')
<i>krak</i>	<u>v.dtr.noncan.</u> shoot (a gun). Inflectional pattern: E _O = <i>kamǝ</i> [<i>kučǝ</i>] _O = <i>krak</i> . Lexicon: This verb is inherently transitive, but with an invariable O, the noun <i>kučǝ</i> 'weapon'. This noun is often omitted in clauses containing this verb, whereas the target is often overtly expressed, thus giving the impression that this is one of the many noncanonical verbs of Apinajé.
<i>krakra</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> shatter; break into pieces (of things that are not necessarily long); smash. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>krakra</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Na icpe ickukre krakra pa</i> 'Ele quebrou todas as minhas coisas (to my detriment).' <i>Na ictǝ akwakre krakra pa</i> . 'He smashed the door onto me.' See <i>atkra</i> ; <i>pikra</i> .
<i>krapurǝ</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> someone who is treated by one as one's own child, although not related by blood or any formal kinship relation. (<i>kra=purǝ</i> 'one's child=alike') Grammar: The form <i>purǝ</i> is related to the verb <i>urak</i> 'be similar; be alike'. See <i>kra</i> , <i>urak</i> .
<i>krar</i>	<u>n.</u> beginning; starting point; an end.
<i>krat</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> 1. waist; 2. medial part of a long object (e.g. squash vines); 3. beginning.
<i>kratǝ</i>	<u>n.amb.cmp.</u> pants (<i>krat=kǝ</i> 'leg=cover')
<i>kratǝri</i>	<u>n.amb.cmp.</u> long pants (<i>krat=kǝ=ri</i> 'leg=cover=long')
<i>krǝ</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> 1. eat food of one specific kind, regardless of the quantity. 2. swallow. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>krǝ</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: <i>krǝr</i> . Semantics: a. This verb contrasts with <i>ku</i> 'eat' in that the former refers to a single type of food, whereas the latter makes reference to a meal consisting of many different items. Thus, the notion of number plays a role in the contrast, although it is not controlled by the quantity of food as such but by the variety of the meal. Ex.: <i>Na pa ra aroj kwǝ krǝ</i> 'I've eaten some rice, already.' <i>Pa kukrǝ</i> . 'I've swallowed it (e.g. of a pill).' <i>Kupe pǝri krǝ čwəɲi ja na ickrəmčwǝ na</i> . 'This foreigner who ate pepper is my friend.' See <i>ku</i> .
<i>krǝ kǝ ti</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.aug.</u> caterpillar (sp.), Port. taturana. (<i>krǝ=kǝ=ti</i> '?=skin=AUG')
<i>krǝre</i>	<u>n.al.dim.</u> bird (sp.), Port.: periquito (sp.)
<i>krǝti</i>	<u>n.al.aug.</u> bird (sp.), Port.: periquito (sp.)
<i>krĩ</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> 1. be seated. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>krĩ</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: <i>krĩ</i> ; alternate form S= <i>krĩr</i> . Semantics: The semantic contrast between this verb and <i>jiĩ</i> appears to be that the latter indicates movement towards sitting position, whereas the former indicates being in sitting position. However, only <i>jiĩ</i> seems to occur in constructions that require position verbs, indicating, in this case, something already in sitting position. This hypothesis is at odds with the morphological class of each verb and their correlation with descriptive and eventive notions. Another hypothesis is that the contrast may have to do with the number of participants, <i>jiĩ</i> being the singular and <i>krĩ</i> the plural counterpart. A third hypothesis is that both verbs mean 'be sitting', but

	with the semantics of <i>krĩ</i> focusing on the resultative aspect of sitting down, and <i>jiĩ</i> not having such connotation. 2. <u>v.tr.</u> sit multiple people on a particular place. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>krĩ</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. 3. <u>n.al.</u> village. Grammar: The verbs <i>nō</i> ‘lie’ and <i>jiĩ</i> ‘sit’ contrast with their respective counterparts <i>ikwĩ</i> and <i>krĩ</i> in that the former seem to have a more flexible use, with respect to the number distinction of the absolutive, than the latter. It is possible to find examples of <i>me nō</i> and <i>me jiĩ</i> , even though these verbs refer basically to singular and dual absolutives; but <i>krĩ</i> and <i>ikwĩ</i> are often <u>not</u> found with singular absolutives. Ex.: <i>Na pa ickrĩ</i> . ‘I stay seated [in a particular place]; I live [in a particular place].’ <i>Pa na pa me kām anē jum pipō ã me me akrĩ pa ka me jiĩ</i> . ‘I told you guys to sit so you all be seated in the bench.’ <i>Pipō ã me akrĩ pa</i> . ‘Sit on the bench.’ <i>Me dokij me akrēapoĵ ne kajmā akrĩ</i> . ‘Wake up, already, and get up (in sitting position).’ <i>Nēĵ na te me kām akĵer ĵ krĩ ti</i> . ‘That one always argues with others.’ <i>Kij pu me mō kajmā me krĩ</i> . ‘Let’s lift them (such that they stay seated).’ See <i>jiĩ</i> ; <i>ĩr</i> .
<i>krĩčō</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> seat. (<i>krĩ=čō</i> ‘sit=INSTR.NMLZ’)
<i>krič</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> pet; livestock.
<i>krikrit</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> sound (esp. as an engine). Inflectional pattern: S= <i>krikrit</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Na pārti krikrit</i> . ‘The car sounded.’ <i>Akrikrit ketnē</i> . ‘Don’t make noise.’ See <i>ĵ krikrit</i> .
<i>krit</i>	<u>n.inal</u> pet.
<i>kro</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> vine; shrub; bush. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>kro</i> . See <i>akro?</i> .
<i>kruō</i>	<u>n.al.</u> arrow. Alternate form: <i>kru</i> .
<i>krwōti</i>	<u>n.aug.</u> fish (sp.), Port: traíra
<i>ku</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> eat, esp. a meal consisting of various kinds of food items. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>ku</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: <i>kur</i> . Semantics: This verb contrasts with <i>krē</i> ‘eat’ in that the latter refers to a single type of food, whereas the former makes reference to a meal consisting of various food items. Thus, the notion of number plays a role in the contrast, although it is not controlled by the quantity of food as such but by the variety of the meal. Grammar: a. This verb has an intransitive counterpart formed by the accretion of the detransitivizing prefix <i>aC-</i> . b. The nonfinite form of the verb does not allow for the use of the accusative third person prefix <i>ku-</i> . c. When used in the context of this verb, the particle <i>pa</i> apparently refers back to the direct object, i.e. ‘all of OBJ’, rather than to the event/action described by the verb itself. Ex.: <i>Kōt paj kur pa</i> . ‘I’ll eat all of it.’ <i>Ata kur ket nē</i> . ‘Don’t eat that.’ <i>Na pa ra kuku</i> . ‘I’ve already eaten it.’ <i>Kaj kur pa</i> . ‘Swallow them all (e.g. of various kinds of pills)’. See <i>apku</i> ; <i>krē</i> .
<i>ku-</i>	<u>Prfx.pron.</u> third person accusative marker. Grammar: a. This verb occurs overwhelmingly with monosyllabic verb roots. b. This prefix never occurs in nonfinite verb forms. c. It indexes the accusative argument of a finite transitive verb and the object of a postposition.
<i>ku?e</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> stand in vertical position (of multiple objects or people). Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S= <i>ku?e</i> ; no relational prefix. Semantics: The semantic contrast between this verb and <i>ča</i> appears to be that the latter indicates movement towards standing position, whereas the former indicates being in that position. However, only <i>ča</i> seems to occur in constructions that require position verbs, indicating, in this case, something already in standing position. This hypothesis is at odds with the

morphological class of each verb and their correlation with descriptive and eventive notions. Another hypothesis is that the contrast may have to do with the number of participants, *ča* being the singular and *ku?e* the plural counterpart. A third hypothesis is that both verbs mean ‘be standing’, but with the semantics of *ku?e* focusing on the resultative aspect of getting up, and *ča* not having such connotation. Ex.: *Pa na pa icku?e*. ‘I stood up.’ *Ka na amǎ kǎtmǎ aku?e prǎm* ‘You want to stand up.’ *Kǎtmǎ aku?e* ‘Stand up (many people)!’ See *ča*.

<i>kūmrǎ</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> bathe someone. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kūmrǎ</i> ; no relational prefix. Ex.: <i>Paj pam atǎmǎ ne akumrǎ</i> . ‘I myself will take you and bathe you.’
<i>ku?ǎ</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> wash a firm object (e.g. one’s body, a table, etc.). Inflectional pattern: O= <i>ku?ǎ</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Alternate form: <i>ku?ǎ</i> .
<i>kubǎ [kumbǎ]</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> roer. Nonfinite form, <i>kumpǎn</i> .
<i>kučǎ jae</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> instrument used for cleaning the longer part of a gun.
<i>kučǎ</i>	<u>n.amb.</u> weapon (bow or gun); firearm.
<i>kučǎ ?i</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> ammunition.
<i>kučǎ</i>	<u>n.</u> odor
<i>kučǎ</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> peel. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kučǎ</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: <i>kučǎj</i> .
<i>kučǎt</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> roast (of small food items, e.g. small fish). Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kučǎt</i> . Nonfinite form: <i>kučǎr</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa kǎtmǎ kučǎr ǎ ča</i> . ‘I’m still roasting (them).’ See <i>ǎr</i> .
<i>kučǎwar</i>	<u>p.sp.</u> similar to. Alternate form, <i>-kučǎwari</i>
<i>kučǎwari</i>	<u>v.intr.dscr</u> be scented; exhale an agreeable scent.
<i>kugǎ</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> burn the fur or skin of game. E.g. <i>na pa kǎtmǎ pǎt rǎ kugǎ; kǎt paj pǎj ma ǎ mǎ (nǎ) ǎ pok</i> ‘I’m still burning the mambira; then I’ll take it to rip and clean the inside.’
<i>kuk</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> 1. face. 2. front. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>kuk</i> ; no relational prefix. See <i>kuk kamǎ</i> .
<i>kuk kamǎ</i>	<u>idiom.</u> Ahead. Ex.: <i>Kuk kamǎ ma tǎ</i> . ‘She went ahead (of the others).’
<i>kukǎ</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> search; look for.
<i>kuke</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> remove scales or skin of fish. E.g. <i>ne tǎp kǎ kukej ǎ jǎ</i> ‘He’s removing the scales off the fish.’ Nonfinite form, <i>kuken</i>
<i>kukǎ</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> break into pieces (of long objects); break completely. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kukǎ</i> . Nonfinite form: <i>kukǎj</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa ipǎ pipǎ kukǎ</i> . ‘I broke my stool.’ <i>Na pa Ipǎ pipǎ kukǎj ket ne</i> . ‘I didn’t break my stool.’ See <i>atkukǎ; pikukǎj</i> .
<i>kukej</i>	<u>n.al.</u> mammal (sp.), Port.: <i>cotia</i> .
<i>kukja</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> ask; inquire. Nonfinite form, <i>-kukjer</i> . Ex. <i>pa na pa ra ictǎ akukjer kačǎw tǎ na ka ra tǎ ne poj</i> ‘I was about to ask from you when you arrived.’
<i>kuko</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> peel off (esp. squash).
<i>kukǎ</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> rub some substance on a surface; massage. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kukǎ</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: <i>kukǎj</i> .
<i>kukoj</i>	<u>n.al.</u> monkey (sp.).
<i>kukoj krǎ jakǎt rǎ</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> monkey (sp.), Port.: <i>macaco-da-noite</i> . (<i>kukoj=krǎ=j-akǎt=rǎ</i> ‘monkey=head=RP-short=DIM’)
<i>kukrǎ</i>	<u>n.al.</u> mammal (sp.), Port.: <i>anta</i> .
<i>kukracǎ</i>	<u>n.amb.</u> bowl; vessel.

<i>kukret</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> one's possessions; belongings.
<i>kukrit</i>	<u>n.al.</u> a virgin woman, usu. young.
<i>kumē</i>	<u>v.tr.dnml.</u> body-paint.
<i>kumrā</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> bathe X. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kumrā</i> ; no relational prefix.
<i>kumrec̣</i>	<u>adv.</u> 1. intensifier. 2. <u>adj.</u> marks a noun as the first item in a sequence. Grammar: As an intensifier, this word occurs postposed to the predicate. As a sequence marker, it occurs postposed to the noun it modifies.
<i>kunī</i>	<u>qtf</u> 1. all; 2. the population of a village, <i>me krī kunī</i> .
<i>kupəget</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> kinship relation term.
<i>kupit</i>	<u>n.al.</u> monkey (sp.), Port.: macaco guariba.
<i>kupa?ə</i>	<u>n.cmp.</u> louse; mosquito; insects that bother. Ex. <i>na ickre ja kupa ?ə krā́rε ɔʔo</i> 'There's plenty of lice/flies in other parts of the house.'
<i>kupaw</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> let go of the hands.
<i>kupe</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> touch; touch lightly; mess with. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kupe</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: <i>kupeŋ</i> . Ex.: <i>Pa na pa akupe ka atε karə pī kac̣'w</i> 'I touched on you so you would kill the deer.'
<i>kupē</i>	<u>n.al.</u> foreigner; stranger.
<i>kupēčē</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> cloth; cloth material used for enveloping one's body or body part.
<i>kupēče ka?əčə</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.der.</u> 1. place to do laundry. 2. brush for laundry. (<i>kupē=če=ka?u=čə</i> 'foreigner=cloth=wash=INSTR/LOC.NMLZ). Form in notebook: <i>ka?učə</i> .
<i>kupēčeka?əčwəŋ</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.der.</u> person who does the laundry. (<i>kupē=če=ka?ə=čwəŋ</i> 'foreigner=cloth=wash=AG.NMLZ).
<i>kupēkarō</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> television. (<i>kupē=karō</i> 'foreigner=image')
<i>kupīp</i>	<u>n.amb.</u> mat.
<i>kupīp jipeč̣ jī</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.der.</u> mat weaver; one who is recognizable by one's ability or pleasure in weaving [mats]. (<i>kupīp=j-ipeč̣=jī</i> 'mat=RP=make=AG.NMLZ')
<i>kuprə</i>	<u>n.al.</u> an unmarried or single woman, usu. mature adult.
<i>kupu</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> wrap; involve (usu. inanimate) in leaves, cloth, or paper. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kupu</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same.
<i>kuputi ko</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> cupú patch
<i>kur jipa</i>	<u>v.tr.cmp.</u> amontoar.
<i>kura</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> hit; batter; break. Nonfinite form, <i>kuran</i> . Ex. <i>na pa p̄rε jaja kuran pa</i> 'I beat up the kids.'
<i>kure</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> 1. restrain. Ex. <i>na pa de akure</i> 'I won't let you go there.' 2. deny; refuse.
<i>kure</i>	<u>v.tr.noncan.</u> 1. dislike someone. Inflectional pattern: E _S = <i>mā</i> O= <i>kure</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. 2. <u>v.tr.noncan.</u> be angry with someone; resent someone. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: E _O = <i>t-ə</i> <i>kure</i> . Ex.: <i>Nēŋ na kəm ickure</i> . 'That one doesn't like me.' <i>Nēŋ na, kət ictə kure čwəŋ</i> . 'That one is the one who is angry with me.' See <i>əkure</i> .
<i>kurē</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> be sexually aroused; horny. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>kurē</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: <i>kureŋ</i> . Ex.: <i>Bi kurēti [čwəŋ] ja na prō kete</i> . 'This horny man doesn't have a woman.' <i>Bi kurē kete ja na ra p̄igetre</i> . 'This man who won't get aroused is really old.'
<i>kureŋjī</i>	<u>n.al.der.</u> one who is recognizable by one's steady sexual appetite; a horny person.
<i>kuri</i>	<u>psp.</u> near; next to. Alternate form, <i>kure</i> .
<i>kurjī</i>	<u>n.al.der.</u> one who enjoys eating. Ex.: <i>Ate bri kurjī</i> . 'You are a meat eater.' See

	<i>apkurji.</i>
<i>kutε</i>	<u>n.</u> 1. color. Ex. <i>tanmε na aɲō Kamis kute?</i> ‘What color is your shirt?’ 2. price; value.
<i>kutɔ</i>	<u>v.intr.evnt.</u> Make fire.
<i>kutə</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> murky, dirty (of water). Inflectional pattern: <i>S-kutə</i> ; no relational prefix.
<i>kutə̃</i>	<u>psp.</u> (do something) along with (someone).
<i>kutəč</i>	<u>n.al.</u> traditional musical instrument of the Apinajé. Port.: maracá
<i>kutōj</i>	<u>n.al.</u> worm (gnr.)
<i>kutōj akutə̃ krə̃ ti</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> snake (sp.), Port.: cobra de duas cabeças.
<i>kuwi</i>	<u>n.al.</u> fire
<i>kuwi brɔ</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> ashes. (<i>kuwi=brɔ</i> ‘fire=ash’)
<i>kuwi jakrat</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> ember. (<i>kuwi=j-akrat</i> ‘fire=RP-ember’)
<i>kuwi kūm</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> smoke. Phonology: [kuwi kūmp]
<i>kuwi prə</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> coal. (<i>kuwi=prə</i> ‘fire=coal’)
<i>kuweɲ</i>	<u>n.al.</u> bird (gnr.)
<i>kuweɲ rε kaʔe</i>	<u>n.dim.cmp.</u> Bird trap, Lit. bird cage. It is set up high and is used for catching birds that move around by flying. See <i>atɔr kaʔe</i> .
<i>kwə</i>	<u>encl.</u> a bit; some. Grammar: This is a quantifier for noncount nouns, esp. food. Many verbs require its occurrence, and it occurs immediately preposed to the verb. It might be possible to analyse it as occurring within the noun phrase immediately after the noun. Nonetheless, it appears that it is the verb that requires this element, since <i>kwə</i> seems to occur most often in noun phrases in direct object position. Ex.: <i>Kɔ paj əbri me ʔō kwə krē</i> ‘Now I’m gonna have some food.’
<i>kwə</i>	<u>v.tr.der.</u> pull off the ground (of roots). Nonfinite form, <i>kwəɔ</i>
<i>kwə̃r</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> leave it be. Ex. <i>kwə̃r čă, pa pam kupi</i> ‘Leave it, I’ll take it myself,’ <i>kwə̃r nō, pa pam kubə</i> ‘Leave it on the floor, I’ll take it.’
<i>kwĩr</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> break partially; break a specific part, especially an extension or limb (of long objects, e.g. wood or bone). Inflectional pattern: O= <i>kwĩr</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Na pa pipɔ tε kwĩr</i> ‘I broke the table’s leg.’ <i>Na me ickwĩr</i> . ‘They broke me.’ <i>Na pa kukwĩr</i> . ‘I broke it.’ <i>Pa na pa mesti tε kwĩr</i> . ‘I broke the tables leg.’ <i>Pa na pa amyĩn tε/par kwĩr</i> . ‘I broke my leg/arm.’ <i>Na but kwĩr</i> . ‘She got a broken neck.’ <i>Na pĩrε nēɲ amyĩ but kwĩr</i> . ‘That child broke her [own] neck.’ <i>Na bi mĩj amyĩ par kwĩr</i> . ‘That man broke his arm.’ <i>Na boč amyĩ tε kwĩr</i> . ‘The cow/bull broke its leg.’ See <i>atkwĩr, pikwĩɲ</i> .
<i>kwə̃rĩ</i>	<u>adv.dsd.neg.</u> leave it be; no thanks; drop it (<i>kwə̃r=ri</i> ‘leave=LOC’)
<i>kwə̃tə̃</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> morning; early in the morning (<i>kwə̃t=ə̃</i> ‘?=LOC’ or <i>kwə̃t=ɔ̃</i> ‘?=RP=LOC’)
<i>kwəj</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> a group of friends; someone’s loved ones. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>kwəj</i> . Alternating form: <i>kwə</i> .
<i>kwəɔr</i>	<u>n.al.der.</u> manioc root. (<i>kwəɔr</i> ‘dig.NF’)
<i>kwəɔr čəɲ</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> manioc (sp.), Port.: macaxeira (<i>kwəɔr=čəɲ</i> ‘manioc=sweet’)
<i>kwəɔr čă</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> piece of manioc stem used for planting. Port.: maniva. (<i>kwəɔr=čă</i> ‘manioc=stand’)
<i>kwəɔr kaək</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> manioc (sp.), Port.: mandioca brava (<i>kwəɔr=kaək</i> ‘manioc=proper’)
<i>kwəɔr krɔ</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> manioc (sp.), Port.: puba, soaked in water and used for seasoning the farinha dough; (<i>kwəɔr=krɔ</i> ‘manioc=soft’)

<i>Kwərǰi</i>	<u>n.al.der.</u> one who is known for defecating constantly. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>kwərǰi</i> . (<i>kwər=ǰi</i> ‘defecate.NF=AG.NMLZ’) Ex.: <i>Bi mǰj na kwərǰi</i> . ‘That man is a defecating one.’
<i>kwərǰiti</i>	<u>n.al.aug.</u> bird (sp.), Port.: papagaio.
<i>kwərət</i>	<u>n.al.</u> fish (sp.). Port.: traíra.
<i>kwərət kə</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> lips. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>kwərət kə</i> . (<i>kwərət=kə</i> ‘?=skin’) Ex.: <i>Akwərət kə</i> ‘your lips’; <i>ickwərət kə</i> ‘my lips’.
<i>mǰ</i>	<u>psp.</u> 1. dative marker. 2. directional marker. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>mǰ</i> . Grammar: This postposition has its third person form in <i>kəm</i> (<i>kəm < kǰmǰ < ku-mǰ ?</i>). Ex.: <i>Kət paj Irε mǰ arē ke kuba</i> ‘I’ll tell Iré so she learns about it.’ <i>Go mǰ, go mǰ</i> ‘[Run] to the water, to the water!’
<i>mǰnēn</i>	<u>adv.</u> also. No inflection.
<i>mεǰǰ</i>	<u>pron.indf.cmp.</u> someone; one (<i>mε=ǰǰ</i> ‘INDF=one/other’). Alternate form: <i>mεǰǰ; mεǰǰj</i> . Ex.: <i>Mεǰǰ na wa?</i> ‘Who are those two?’ <i>Mεǰǰ na prε ipeč?</i> ‘Who made it?’ See <i>waǰǰ</i> .
<i>mǰr</i>	<u>adv.</u> maybe. No inflection. Clause-initial position.
<i>mǰti</i>	<u>n.al.aug.</u> bird (sp.), Port.: ema.
<i>mεĩ</i>	<u>n.al.col.</u> people.
<i>mεǰ</i>	<u>n.al.</u> food; meal.
<i>ma</i>	<u>cl.</u> centrifuge movement marker. No inflection. Grammar: This particle is used with movement verbs such as <i>mǰ, tē</i> and <i>bra</i> . It may also be used independently from those verbs in imperatives. Ex.: <i>Pa ra ma mǰ</i> ‘I’m going away.’ <i>Ma</i> ‘Go on!’
<i>ma</i>	<u>intrj.neg.fem.</u> no.
<i>makti</i>	<u>n.al.loan.aug.</u> mango, Port.: manga. Phonology: [mǰ:di]
<i>makti ko</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> mango patch
<i>marĩ</i>	<u>v.modal.</u> may. <i>Kawə dət ja kət ka marĩ ma ɔ mǰ</i> . ‘This basket that is full you may take.’ <i>Pa marĩ kawə pi?</i> ‘May I get the basket?’ <i>Mε kadečə duj ja marĩ amē</i> . ‘This spoiled medication you may throw away.’
<i>me</i>	<u>cl.</u> 1. plural; 2. indefinido. Pospōe-se ao pronome e precede o prefixo pronominal.
<i>me grer</i>	<u>n.devrbl.</u> festival
<i>me piničə ǰĩ</i>	<u>n.der.</u> nymphomaniac person.
<i>mē</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> 1. throw a single object or objects that form a pair (e.g. a pair of flipflops). 2. throw someone; cause someone to fall. 3. serve oneself to food of a single kind, usually presented in a single container (e.g. a stew). 4. throw away. 5. name someone. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>mē</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: The use of this verb with the sense of ‘serve food’ contrasts with the verb <i>rē</i> , with the same sense, in that the former requires the quantifier <i>kwə</i> to determine <i>mēǰ</i> , whereas the latter occurs without the quantifier. One could describe the distinction also in terms of mass versus count objects. Ex.: <i>Ka na ka iǰmē</i> ‘You threw me.’ <i>Tē ne amǰĩm mēǰ kwə mē</i> . ‘Go help yourself to the food.’ <i>Mē bra ne me amǰĩm mēǰ kwə mē</i> . ‘Go over there and help yourselves to some food.’ <i>Mε kadečə duj ja marĩ amē</i> . ‘This spoiled medication you may throw away.’ See <i>rē, gje, ə</i> .
<i>mē</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> tie. Ex. <i>me ickə me</i> ‘They tied me up.’
<i>mē</i>	<u>psp.</u> Associative
<i>mēgreri</i>	<u>n.al.der.</u> song; dance. (<i>mē=grer</i> ‘INDF=sing/dance.NF’) Ex.: <i>Pa na mēgrer ja kamǰ iǰgrer bečĩ</i> . ‘I can dance this dance well.’

<i>mebɔj</i>	<u>pron.int.cmp.</u> 1. what (<i>me=bɔj</i>); 2. <u>n.</u> thing
<i>meō gjejčə</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.der.</u> spoon; serving spoon. (<i>meō=gje=čə</i> ‘food=serve=INSTR.NMLZ’)
<i>meō kago jājčə</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.der.</u> ladle. (<i>meō=kago=j-āji=čə</i> ‘food=juice=RP-scoop=INSTR.NMLZ’)
<i>mevərčə</i>	<u>n.cmp.</u> place for bathing (<i>me=vər=čə</i> ‘INDF=bathe.NF=NMLZ.LOC/INSTR’)
<i>miti</i>	<u>n.</u> alligator (sp), jacaré
<i>mitrusti</i>	<u>n.aug. Port.</u> mastruz
<i>mō</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> come; go. Nonfinite form: S= <i>mō</i> ; alternate form: <i>mōr</i> . Semantics: The semantic contrast between this verb and <i>tē</i> apparently has to do with the number of participants, <i>mō</i> being the plural and <i>tē</i> the singular counterpart. Grammar: a. The root may cooccur with the directional/movement particle <i>ma</i> in the clause; the combination of particle and verb root means ‘go’. If the particle is absent in the clause, the verb root means ‘come’. See <i>tē, bra; ma</i> . b. This root may be used with the morpheme <i>ɔ</i> in what appears to be a transitive verb compound, ‘bring/take’. c. This root may be used in <i>Vɔ mō</i> (serial) constructions, basically expressing progressive or inchoative aspects; it contrasts with <i>tē</i> in this respect, in that the latter may not be used in many of these constructions. In such cases, <i>mō</i> appears to have acquired a more grammaticalized meaning, whereas <i>tē</i> is understood more literally, which makes its use inadequate.
<i>mrō</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> dive. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S= <i>mrō</i> . Grammar: This verb cannot take the derivational morpheme <i>-ji</i> (<i>*mrōmji</i>), unless it is used as a transitive verb: ✓ <i>krē mrōmji</i> ‘one how likes to sink her/his head’. Ex.: <i>Na pa mrō</i> . ‘I dove.’ <i>Na pa ijmro rač kūmreč</i> . ‘I dove for a long time.’ <i>Na pa ijmro tājč nē</i> . ‘I dove hard (e.g. jumping off from a high spot and splashing water all over when reaching the body of water.)’
<i>mrūmre</i>	<u>n.al.dim.</u> ant (sp.)
<i>mrūmti</i>	<u>n.al.aug.</u> ant (sp.)
<i>mū</i>	<u>pron.dem.</u> distal
<i>mūtar</i>	<u>pron.dem.prox.cmp.2^a</u> . distal
<i>mutū</i>	<u>pron.dem.dist.cmp</u> distal. Alternate form, <i>mutum</i>
<i>nē</i>	<u>n.</u> kinship term
<i>nē</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> return.
<i>na</i>	<u>cl.</u> realis
<i>nē</i>	<u>conj.</u> Same subject.
<i>-ni</i>	<u>suf.der.</u> nominalizer (of liking). Ex. <i>pa na ijmē bri čəni</i> ‘I like to eat meat;’ <i>kavəre ōkrepoj čwəjni</i> ‘Kavəre likes to sing.’
<i>nī</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> have sex with; sting
<i>nō</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> 1. lie down; lie in horizontal position (of one or a pair of objects or people). 2. lie at the bottom of a container (e.g. starch). Nonfinite form: S= <i>nōr</i> . Grammar: The verbs <i>nō</i> ‘lie’ and <i>nī</i> ‘sit’ contrast with their respective counterparts <i>ikwī</i> and <i>krī</i> in that the former seem to have a more flexible use, with respect to the number distinction of the absolutive, than the latter. It is possible to find examples of <i>mē nō</i> and <i>mē nī</i> , even though these verbs refer basically to singular and dual absolutives; but <i>krī</i> and <i>ikwī</i> are often <u>not</u> found with singular absolutives.
<i>o</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> 1. leaf. 2. bodily hair. Inflectional pattern: pssr= <i>o</i> ; no relational prefix. Exx: <i>kačət o</i> ‘leaf from the cotton plant’; <i>kabet o</i> ‘jussara leaf’; <i>ijūju o</i> ‘the hair of my nose’. Phonology: apparently no glottal stop before <i>o</i> . This is indicated especially because of the phonetics at the word boundaries: [ka ¹ čədo] and [ka ¹ bero]

<i>ō</i>	<u>psp. prtiv.</u> One; some; other. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: OBJ= <i>t=ō</i> . Alternate form: <i>ū</i> .
<i>ō</i>	<u>psp.gen.</u> 1. indicates the possessor in a genitive construction whose head is an alienable noun. 2. indicates a group of persons that have in common an activity (<i>meōkrepoj jō čwəjn</i>), or a location in time (<i>kambAt jō čwəjn</i>) or in space (<i>ipok jō čwəjn</i>). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-ō</i> .
<i>ō krē</i>	<u>n.cmp.inal.</u> forehead <i>jō krē</i>
<i>ō?i</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> belly. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-ō?i</i> . See <i>u</i> . Semantic note: As explained by speakers, the formative <i>ō</i> refers to inner body parts: the guts, the intestines, the throat (seen from within), etc. Grammar: This noun changes form somewhat when inflected for second person; in that case, the form is <i>atu</i> (<i>a-t-u</i> ‘2-RP-belly’, presumably). It is not yet clear why there is such variation. Ex.: <i>Di ata na kəm ō?i čə prəm</i> . ‘This woman over there always has intestinal problems.’
<i>ō?iji</i>	<u>n.der.act.</u> One who always has intestinal problems. Ex.: <i>Di ata na ō?iji</i> . ‘This woman over there always has intestinal problems.’ See <i>ō?i</i> .
<i>ō?tə</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> tongue. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-ō?tə</i> . Ex. <i>grōj jō?tə</i> ‘toucan tongue (plant name)’
<i>ōčwa</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> sleepy. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S= <i>j-ōčwa</i> . Nonfinite form: same.
<i>ōčwaji</i>	<u>n.al.der.</u> person who is sleepy all the time.
<i>ōjāri</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> vomit. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S= <i>j-ōjāri</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: This verb has a counterpart in E= <i>ɔ</i> S= <i>ōjāri</i> . The morpheme <i>ɔ</i> does not take a relational prefix. Ex.: <i>Na pa ijōjāri</i> . ‘I vomited.’ <i>Na me ōjāri pa</i> . ‘They threw up.’ <i>Na pa meɔ ja ɔ ijōjāri pa</i> ‘I threw up with everything (that was in my stomach).’ <i>Kukrit jabi ɔ ijōjāri</i> . ‘I threw up with the anta’s tail.’
<i>ok</i>	<u>n.al.</u> 1. plant from which red tincture is extracted for body painting, Port: urucum. 2. <u>v.tr.der.</u> paint one’s body with tinctures from this or other plant species. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>j=ok</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Alternate form: <i>ok^o</i> . Ex.: <i>Pa kət pa ajok^o</i> . ‘I will paint your body.’ <i>Na ka ra amjū jok^o?</i> ‘Have you painted yourself yet?’ <i>Ce! əm ajok ra butre!</i> ‘Wow! Your body painting is so pretty!’
<i>ōkot</i>	<u>n.cmp.?inal.</u> chest. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>j-ōkot</i>
<i>ōkre</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> throat; larynx (Adam’s apple). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-ōkre</i> .
<i>ōkre ri</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> 1. the inside of the larynx. 2. the esophagus.
<i>ōkrečē</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> necklace. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>j-ōkrečē</i> . (<i>ōkre=č-e</i> ‘throat=RP-fiber’)
<i>ōkrepoj</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> 1. voice. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: pssr= <i>j-ōkrepoj</i> . (<i>ōkre=poj</i> ‘throat=arrive’). 2. <u>v.dscr.der.</u> sing. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S= <i>j-ōkrepoj</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa ijōkrepoj ɔ ča</i> . ‘I’m singing.’ Phonology: The nonfinite form of the stem is realized as [ōkrepoj] if followed by a vowel, such as <i>ɔ</i> .
<i>ōkrepojcade</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> the performing partner of a (male) singer, usually a female. (<i>ōkre=poj=kade</i> ‘throat=arrive=counterpoint’)
<i>ōkwī</i>	<u>n.der.</u> home
<i>ōkwaje</i>	<u>n.</u> lumber
<i>ōpatpat</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> feel sick; nauseous. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S= <i>j-ōpatpat</i> .

	Nonfinite form: same. Phonology: [ōbatpat]. Ex.: <i>Na pa kukrīt jabī krē ne ɔ ijōjāiri. Ijōpatpat ne ijōjāiri.</i> ‘I ate the anta’s tail and threw up; I felt sick and threw up.’ <i>Na pa ijōpatpat kapri.</i> ‘I’m feeling nauseous (for no apparent reason).’
<i>ōpok</i>	<u>v.tr.cmp.</u> gut; rip. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>ɲ-ōpok</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Paj aɲōpok</i> ‘I’m going to gut you!’ <i>Na ka tepǎjōpok ɔ ɲǐ</i> ‘You are gutting the fish.’
<i>ōpti</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> tumble, roll end over end; throw oneself into the water or onto the ground. Nonfinite form: same.
<i>ōr ti</i>	<u>n.aug.</u> embira.
<i>ōtčā</i>	<u>n.al.der.</u> place of sleeping. (<i>ōt=čā</i> ‘sleep.NF=LOC.NMLZ’)
<i>ōtji</i>	<u>n.der.act.</u> one who is known for sleeping constantly. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>ōtji</i> . (<i>ōt=ji</i> ‘sleep.NF=AG.NMLZ’) Ex.: <i>Na əm ōtji.</i> ‘That one is a sleepy head.’ See <i>ōt</i> ; <i>prəm</i> .
<i>owvajnē</i>	<u>intrj.</u> puxa vida!
<i>pε</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> drink. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>pε</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: <i>pen</i> ; alternative form: <i>peɲ</i> . Grammar: The nonfinite form of this verb does not take the accusative third person prefix <i>ku-</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa ra kupe.</i> ‘I’ve already drunk it.’ <i>Na pa ickādečā pε.</i> ‘I’ve drunk my medicine.’ <i>Na paɲi mūj kagočəti pen rač ne atrǎ.</i> ‘That person drank a lot of alcohol, s/he is drunk.’ <i>Na pa kətmǎ aɛ aɲō go kagrɔ pεɲ čā ʔǎ ɲǐ.</i> ‘I’m still waiting for you to drink your tea.’
<i>pə</i>	<u>n.al.</u> forest; the wilderness.
<i>pí</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> pick; get; hold. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>pí</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same; alternate nonfinite form: <i>pir</i> . Alternate form: <i>pij</i> . Ex.: <i>Atpē kačiw pí ne kawrā ne aku ke ka ačətǎč.</i> ‘Pick them (pills) one by one in order to take them so you get better.’ <i>Na katpɔre pí rač kūmreč.</i> ‘S/he made a lot of money.’ <i>Pa marī kawə pí?</i> ‘May I get the basket?’ See <i>bi</i> .
<i>pɔ</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> 1. wreck; dent. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>pɔ</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: This verb is not related to the reciprocal intransitive verb <i>atrɔ</i> ‘be parallel to’. 2. <u>v.dscr.</u> flat and wide. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>pɔ</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Kareɲ pɔ</i> ‘marijuana (smoking.leave=flat.wide)’. <i>Na pa ijō pisikrete re pɔ</i> ‘I’ve dented my bike.’ <i>Na ijō pisikrete amɲi pɔ pa.</i> ‘My bike got all wrecked (i.e. it wasn’t me)!’ <i>Ce! Na icpe ijō pisikrete amɲi pɔ pa.</i> ‘My bike got all wrecked to my detriment (i.e. it wasn’t me)!’ * <i>Na ijō pisikrete atrɔ pa.</i> * <i>Na ijō pisikrete pipɔ kinǎ.</i>
<i>pǎ</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> smell; sniff at. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>pǎ</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: <i>pǎr</i> .
<i>paɲ^o</i>	<u>n.advl.</u> 1. after. 2. <u>psp.</u> location from where a first party comes and to where a second party goes, specifically, such that both parties cross ways. Inflectional pattern: OBJ= <i>pǎɲ</i> . Ex.: <i>Niʔim na ka tē? Apǎɲǎ na pa tē.</i> ‘Where are you going? I’m going to the place where you’re coming from.’
<i>pǎi</i>	<u>n.al.</u> corn. Alternating form: <i>pǎi</i>
<i>pǎiʔti</i>	<u>n.al.aug.</u> snake (sp.), Port.: caninana.
<i>pǎm</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> kinship relation term.
<i>pǎmget</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> kinship relation term. (<i>pǎm=get</i> ‘?=?’)

<i>pəmpurɔ</i>	<i>n.inal.cmp.</i> kinship relation term. (<i>pə̃m=purɔ</i> ‘p.=alike’)
<i>pə̃rɛrɛk</i>	<i>n.</i> fruit (sp.), Port.: cajazinho.
<i>piči</i>	<i>num.</i> One. Alternating form: <i>piči</i> .
<i>piđe</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> capture; arrest. Nonfinite form, <i>-piđen</i> ; non-contiguous form: <i>ude</i> .
<i>pika gɔ</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.</i> wet dirt.
<i>pika grʌ</i>	<i>n.cmp.</i> beach
<i>pika to</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.</i> mud of red dirt, from the woods area.
<i>pikap</i>	<i>n.</i> dirt; soil; ground. Alternate form, <i>pika</i> .
<i>pɛpɛk</i>	<i>v.dscr.</i> drip repeatedly on the same place. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>pɛpɛk</i> ; no relational prefix.
<i>pə̃r</i>	<i>n.al.</i> 1. tree trunk. 2. (the inside of a) canoe; car.
<i>pə̃r</i>	<i>n.inal.</i> plant; the plant of a particular fruit or flower.
<i>pə̃r</i>	<i>n.al.</i> canoe; car
<i>pə̃r jamo rɛ</i>	<i>n.cmp.dim.</i> shrimp (sp.) Alternates with <i>pə̃r jamurɛ</i> .
<i>pə̃r kati ti</i>	<i>n.cmp.aug.</i> fish (sp.), Port.: cari.
<i>pirʌk</i>	<i>v.tr.noncan.</i> See <i>urʌk</i> .
<i>pət</i>	<i>n.al.</i> mammal (sp.), Port.: mambira.
<i>pət kək</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.</i> mammal (sp.), Port.: macaco preguiça.
<i>pət kək ti</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.aug.</i> mammal (sp.), Port.: macaco guariba.
<i>pət kak rɛ</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.dim.</i> mammal (sp.), Port.: tamanduá. Not a target of hunting.
<i>pʌt rɛ</i>	<i>n.dim.</i> mambira (sp.)
<i>pʌt ti</i>	<i>n.aug.</i> mambira (sp.)
<i>pʌtʌ</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> See <i>utʌ</i> .
<i>pʌtʌ</i>	<i>v.dscr.</i> See <i>utʌ</i> .
<i>pə̃tiɡet</i>	<i>n.inal.</i> kinship term
<i>pa</i>	<i>pron.</i> 1.a. first person independent pronoun, realis form; 1.b. indicates different subjects in a sequence; 2. first person dual inclusive; 3. first person possessor.
<i>pa</i>	<i>cl.</i> 1. conclusive; completive; 2. all.
<i>pa</i>	<i>n.inal.</i> arm
<i>pa</i>	<i>v.intr.dscr.</i> 1. live; 2. walk. Nonfinite form, <i>pa</i> , alternates with <i>par</i> .
<i>pa ʔi</i>	<i>n.cmp.inal.</i> arm bone
<i>pa ʔō kwa</i>	<i>n.cmp.inal.</i> bottom of foot
<i>pa kə</i>	<i>n.inal.cpm.</i> sandals, flipflops, shoes (<i>pa=kə</i> ‘foot=cover’)
<i>pa katut</i>	<i>n.cmp.inal.</i> top of foot
<i>pa kōn</i>	<i>n.inal.cmp.</i> 1. elbow; 2. ankle. (<i>pa=kōn</i> ‘limb=juncture’)
<i>pa kōn krač</i>	<i>n.inal.cmp.</i> Achilles tendon. (<i>pa=kōn=krač</i> ‘limb=juncture=stem’)
<i>pa krə̃</i>	<i>n.cmp.inal.</i> toe
<i>pa krə̃ grirɛ</i>	<i>n.cmp.inal.</i> pinky toe
<i>pa krə̃ racĩ</i>	<i>n.cmp.inal.</i> big toe
<i>pa krač</i>	<i>n.cmp.inal.</i> heels
<i>pa krat</i>	<i>n.cmp.inal.</i> upper arm
<i>pa ʔi</i>	<i>n.</i> chief
<i>paj</i>	<i>pron.</i> First person independent pronoun, irrealis form; ex. <i>kʌ paj amə̃ me pa piə̃gri arə̃ ke kuba</i> ‘I will tell you about our labor so you learn’.

<i>pajamutti</i>	<i>n.cmp.aug.</i> shrimp
<i>pakrəm</i>	<i>n.inal.</i> kinship term
<i>pam</i>	<i>pron.pss.</i> first person emphatic
<i>papə̃ɲti</i>	<i>n.inal.aug.msc.</i> kinship relation term; used by a man to refer to a certain female kin. Phonology: [papə̃ɲdi]
<i>par</i>	<i>n.inal.</i> wall. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>par</i> ; no relational prefix.
<i>par</i>	<i>n.inal.</i> foot
<i>pari</i>	<i>n.</i> jirau. Alternate form, <i>par</i> .
<i>paro go ti</i>	<i>n.cmp.aug.</i> caterpillar (sp.) (Port. mandruvá)
<i>parpe</i>	<i>n.rel.cmp.</i> under (<i>par=pe</i>)
<i>partere</i>	<i>n.al.dim.loan</i> midwife, Port.: parteira.
<i>patiget</i>	<i>n.cmp.</i> kinship term.
<i>pe</i>	<i>psp.</i> 1. detrimental; 2. <i>cop.</i> be, become (used with nominal predicates). Third person suppletive form, <i>kep</i> (< <i>ke-pe</i> < <i>ku-pe</i>)
<i>pe</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> touch; disturb or move by handling. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>pe</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Na pa kupe</i> . 'I handled it.'
<i>pěb</i>	<i>n.al.</i> term used to refer to members of a certain category of the Apinajé society, usually males. See <i>pěb kaək</i> .
<i>peb kaək</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.</i> warrior. (<i>peb=kaək</i> 'S.R.=proper')
<i>penji</i>	<i>n.al.der.</i> one who farts constantly. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>penji</i> . (<i>pek=ji</i> 'fart.NF=AG.NMLZ') Ex.: <i>Bi mūj na penji</i> . 'That man is a flatulent one.'
<i>pĩ</i>	<i>n.al.</i> tree (generic); wood stick.
<i>pĩ</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> kill (sg). Inflectional pattern: O= <i>pĩ</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: <i>pĩr</i> . Grammar: a. This verb apparently contrasts in number with <i>ĩbeč</i> . b. The occurrence of the conclusive particle <i>pa</i> with this verb root indicates the end of the action; however, with its (presumably) plural counterpart <i>ĩbeč</i> , the construction seems to be point to the entirety of the group of objects (i.e. "all of them"), rather than the conclusion of the action. Ex.: <i>Na pa ra kupĩ</i> . 'I've killed it.' <i>Na pa kətmə pĩr ketmə</i> . 'I haven't killed it yet.' <i>Na kətmə icpĩr ketmə</i> . 'They haven't killed me yet.' <i>Na pa pĩr pa</i> . 'I've finished killing.' See <i>pĩ</i> .
<i>pĩ i</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.</i> seed (generic) used as material for body ornaments (e.g. necklaces, belts, etc.). Port.: mulungu. (<i>pĩ=i</i> 'tree(generic)=seed')
<i>pĩ ʔe</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.</i> stick; the branch of a tree. Ex. <i>pĩ ʔe ɔ kapreprek</i> 'hit (someone) with a stick.' (<i>pĩ=ʔe</i> 'tree=stick')
<i>pĩ jũgrə̃</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.</i> sprouts of plant coming out of a branch. See <i>pĩ jũgröt</i> . (<i>pĩ=j-ĩgrə̃</i> 'wood=RP-sprout')
<i>pĩ jũgröt</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.</i> sprouts of plant coming out of the soil. See <i>pĩ jũgrə̃</i> . (<i>pĩ=j-ĩgröt</i> 'wood=RP-sprout')
<i>pĩ čĩrɛ</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.dim.</i> termite. (<i>pĩ=čĩ=rɛ</i> 'wood=insect=DIM')
<i>pĩ grə</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.</i> dry wood (for burning).
<i>pĩ ko</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.</i> tree patch
<i>pĩget</i>	<i>adj.</i> elderly person.
<i>pĩgrə̃ɲ</i>	<i>v.intr.cll.</i> 1. scatter around, especially during a dance. 2. <i>v.dscr.</i> scattered.
<i>pĩmtirji</i>	<i>n.al.der.</i> dreamer (<i>pĩmtir=ji</i> 'dream.NF=AG.NMZL'). Grammar: forms ending in <i>-ji</i> carry adjectival meaning.
<i>pijə̃</i>	<i>n.inal.msc.</i> kinship relation term; used by a male to refer to a certain male kin.

<i>piaəm</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> shy, timid; embarrassed. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>piaəm</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Bi piaəm čwəŋ ja na ickre ja kamə pa</i> . ‘This man who is embarrassed lives in this house.’
<i>piagri</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> give birth. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>piagri</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: <i>piagrir</i> . Grammar: This verb has a bivalent counterpart in <i>ɔ piagri</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa icpiagri</i> . ‘I’m in labor.’ <i>Na pa icpiagri ketnē</i> . ‘I’m not giving birth.’ <i>Di piagri ɔ nō čwəŋ mīj na icprō na</i> . ‘That woman who is giving birth is my wife.’ <i>Di piagričwəŋ mīj na kra kə tik rē</i> . ‘The woman who has given birth, her child is black.’
<i>piao</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> nurse (on maternal breast). Nonfinite form: same; no inflection. Grammar: a. This verb has a bivalent counterpart in <i>ɔ piao</i> . b. Although this verb does not seem to take inflection in either form, it does require the occurrence of the ergative marker when in subordinate position. Compare with <i>piagri</i> , in that respect. Ex.: <i>Na pa piao</i> . ‘I’m nursing.’ <i>Na pa piao ketnē</i> . ‘I’m not nursing.’ <i>Prīre kət piao čwəŋ ja na ickra ne</i> . ‘This kid that’s nursing is my child.’ See <i>ʔo, kao; piagri</i> .
<i>pič</i>	<u>adv.</u> 1. only 2. <u>psp.</u> only, p.ex. <i>pa icpič kavrə</i> ‘só eu catei’
<i>pīčō</i>	<u>n.</u> fruit
<i>pičō</i>	<u>n.</u> banana
<i>pičō ko</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> banana patch.
<i>pičō rə kro</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> flower shrub.
<i>pikar</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> mixed up. Ex. <i>əm tanmə tɔ kutε pikar rəč</i> ‘They are all mixed, all of different colors.’
<i>pikaʔek</i>	<u>v.prtcpl.</u> broken into large pieces. Grammar: form related to the ambitransitive verb <i>kaʔek</i> . Similar to the nonfinite form of <i>aC-</i> verbs, although <i>atkaʔek</i> is a nonexistent verb in the language. The semantics and use of this form is adjectival, as in a resultative participial. Ex. <i>Kukrač pikaʔek ō čwəŋ ja na ka pre ijmə agō</i> ‘The broken bowl you gave to me.’
<i>pikačōŋ</i>	<u>v.prtcpl.</u> torn. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>pikačōŋ</i> . Grammar: related to the transitive verb <i>kačō</i> ‘tear; rip’ and the intransitive <i>atkačō</i> ‘tear, rip’. The semantics and use of this form is adjectival, as in a participial resultative. Ex.: <i>Na iʔō čak rε pikačōŋ kīnə</i> ‘My little bag is torn indeed.’
<i>pikaǰi</i>	<u>n.der.</u> smiling person.
<i>pikēŋǰi</i>	<u>n.al.der.</u> a conversationally playful person; chaffer. Ex. <i>Ka na ap#keŋǰi</i> ‘You’re a chaffer.’ (<i>pikēŋ=ǰi</i> ‘chaff.NF=NMLZ.AG’)
<i>pikrakrat</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> fall apart.
<i>pikukēŋ</i>	<u>v.prtcpl.</u> broken into pieces. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>pikukēŋ</i> . Grammar: Related to the transitive verb <i>kukē</i> ‘break into pieces’. Grammar: This is essentially a nonfinite form of the verb, even though it may occur in a regular finite position with no variation. The semantics and use of it is adjectival, as in a participial resultative. Ex.: <i>Pipɔ na ra pikukēŋ (ket nē)</i> ‘The bench is not broken.’ <i>Pa na ra icpikukēŋ</i> . ‘I’m already broken (of a table saying it).’ See <i>kukē, atkukē</i> .
<i>pikwǰiŋ</i>	<u>v.prtcpl.</u> broken (of long objects, e.g. wood or bones). Inflectional pattern: S= <i>pikwǰiŋ</i> . Grammar: This is essentially a nonfinite form of the verb, even though it may occur in a regular finite position with no variation. The semantics and use of this form is adjectival, as in a resultative participial. Ex.: <i>Icte na pikwǰiŋ</i> . ‘My leg is broken.’ <i>Pa na ra icpikwǰiŋ</i> . ‘I’m already broken (of a table saying it).’ <i>Pipɔ na ra pikwǰiŋ</i> ‘That

bench is already broken.’ *Ijō pipo na pikwijn kete.* ‘My stoo is not broken.’ *Ma, ijō pipo kot pa amā ōr ketnē, do a pikwiji kete; do pikwiji nipa amā kugō.* ‘No, I’m not giving my stool to you because it’s never been broken; if it had been broken, I’d give it to you.’ *Mesti ja na ra te pikwijn.* ‘The table’s leg is already broken.’ * *Boč ja na te pikwijn.* * *Bi ja na te pikwijn.* See *kwir, atkwir.*

pipo n.al.der. **1.** any piece of furniture with parallel legs (e.g. chair, bench, table). **2.** Nonfinite form of the intransitive verb *apo* ‘stand side by side’

pipučwəj n.al.der. one who fights (someone else) (*pipu=čwəj* ‘fight.NF=AG.NMLZ’). See *atpu.*

pipuji n.al.der. one who is prone to fighting (someone else). (*pipu=ji* ‘fight.NF=AG.NMLZ’) See *atpu.*

pitā qtf. every one; all.

pitəm v.intr.cll. come together, especially during a dance. See *pigrəjn.; atəm.*

piwkwa n. kinship term used by a brother to refer to his own sister.

po n. starw

pō v.tr. dust off.

pōi ko n.al.cmp. corn patch

poj v.intr.evnt. arrive. Nonfinite form, *-poj.*

pok v.intr. light up; catch on fire. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S=*pok.*

pok čā n.al.cmp. the explosive charge that is used as a propellant in firearms. (*pok=čā* ‘light.up=INSTR.NMLZ’)

pōm n.inal. placenta.

pōpō n.al. bird (sp.), Port.: garça

pōrε n.dim. short grass

pōti n.al.aug. tall grass

pre v.prtcpl. tied up. Inflectional pattern: S=*pre*; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: **a.** This form has the semantics of a participial resultative form, and follows a descriptive pattern of inflection. It is related to the verb *katpre*, which is a transitive counterpart it. **b.** There are examples in which the form *pre* seems to occur as a nonfinite counterpart of *katpre*. In such cases, *pre* takes person inflection for object, and that contrasts with its use as a participial/resultative form. Ex.: *Kot paj akatpre.* ‘I will tie you up.’ *Ijmā ickrekrač o tājč pa katpre.* ‘Keep it steady against the wall for me (so that) I tie it up.’ *Na pa me katpre pa.* ‘I tied them up.’ *Na me ra pittā pre pa.* ‘They are all tied up.’ *Na bi ra pre.* ‘The man is tied up.’ *Kot paj apre ketnē.* ‘I will not tie you up.’ *Kot kaj icpre ketnē.* ‘You will not tie me up.’ *Kot paj pre ketnē.* ‘I will not tie her/him up.’ *Icpre ketnē.* ‘Don’t tie me up.’ See *katpre; e.*

pre cl. past tense

pri n. **1.** road; **2.** footprints

pro v.tr. cover with leaves.

prı n.inal. feather. See *kə.*

prəre n.dim. pólvora

prā v.intr. remain; be left behind; be left over. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S=*prār*^o. Ex.: *Na pa prā.* ‘I was left behind.’ *Na pa icprār^o ketnē.* ‘I was not left behind.’ *Na ka prā.* ‘You were left behind.’ *Na ka aprār^o ketnē.* ‘You were not left behind.’ *Na əm prā.* ‘S/he was left behind.’ *Na prār^o ketnē.* ‘S/he was not left behind.’ *Na meō akreč prā.* ‘Some leftover food remained.’ *Na pī akreč prā.* ‘Some leftover

	wood remained.’ <i>Na pī ja prā.</i> ‘This wood remained.’ <i>Mε pa jaja na pa mε prā ne arīk jum mε kwār jaja na mī ire ne mε ma apeč.</i> ‘As for us, we were left behind and stayed, the others left us and went away.’ <i>Amnē ijmā akreč prārā ja gō.</i> ‘Give me that leftover here.’
<i>prām</i>	<u>v.intr.noncan.</u> 1. be hungry. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>mā prām</i> ; no relational prefix. 2. <u>v.tr.noncan.</u> want something; be eager for something. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>mā O=prām</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Alternate form: <i>prāmā</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa ijmā prām nē.</i> ‘I’m hungry.’ <i>Na pa ijmā krī rač mā ictem ne icte amjū mā ičujapro prām nē.</i> ‘I feel like going to town and do some shopping for myself.’ <i>Na kām ōt prām.</i> ‘That one loves to sleep.’ <i>Kām prōt prām.</i> ‘He enjoys running.’ <i>Di ata na kām ō?i čā prām.</i> ‘This woman over there always has intestinal problems.’ <i>Bi ti čwaj ja na pre kām apen prām?</i> ‘The man who died enjoyed working.’
<i>prεε</i>	<u>n.dim.</u> kinship term: used amongst sister to refer to one another.
<i>prek</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> tall. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>prek</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Phonology: The final consonant of this verb is realized as a compensatory lengthening of the root vowel when it is followed by another consonant. If that consonant happens to be the coronal stop /t/, another effect is that the coronal will be realized as voiced. Ex.: <i>Bi prekti mūj na ijbjen ja.</i> ‘That tall man is my husband.’ <i>Pa na pa te papji prek kot icpa kete.</i> ‘I don’t walk with tall people.’ <i>Na bi prek di.</i> ‘The man is tall.’
<i>preprek</i>	<u>adv.</u> fast; quickly; 2. <u>v.tr.</u> rush.
<i>pri kə?i ti</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> frog (sp.), Port.: sapo cururú. (<i>pri=kə=?i=ti</i> ‘frog=skin=pit=AUG’)
<i>prī</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> 1. short; 2. <u>adj.</u> short; 3. <u>n.</u> child; 4. <u>adv.</u> gently; slowly.
<i>prīn</i>	<u>n.al.</u> fructiferous plant (sp.), Port.: pequi. The fruit of this plant.
<i>prīn ko</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> pequi patch
<i>prīn kək ti</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.aug.</u> fructiferous plant (sp.), Port.: bacuri. The fruit of this plant.
<i>prīnrε</i>	<u>n.al.dim.</u> fructiferous plant (sp.), Port.: oiti. The fruit of this plant.
<i>prīnrε ko</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> oití patch
<i>prīte japje ti</i>	<u>n.cmp.aug.</u> frog (sp)
<i>prīti</i>	<u>n.aug.</u> poisonous frog (sp.)
<i>prō</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> wife. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>prō</i> .
<i>prōprōt</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> shiver. Ex. <i>Ijī kamā prōprōt kamā ijmā ba nē</i> ‘My body shivers and I feel fear.’
<i>prōt</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> run. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>prōt</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Alternate (finite) form: <i>prōto</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa icprōt.</i> ‘I’m running.’ <i>Na pa icprōt tājč.</i> ‘I run fast.’
<i>prōtji</i>	<u>n.der.act.</u> runner; someone who runs away. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>prōtji</i> . (<i>prōt=ji</i> ‘run.NF=AG.NMLZ’) Ex. <i>Na pa icprōtji</i> ‘I’m a runner.’ <i>Na əm prōtji.</i> ‘That one is a runaway.’ See <i>prōt</i> ; <i>prām</i> .
<i>pu</i>	<u>intrj.</u> indicates uncertainty.
<i>pu</i>	<u>pron.pss.</u> first person inclusive, realis. <i>Usu</i> hortative mode.
<i>puj</i>	<u>pron.pss.</u> first person inclusive, irrealis. <i>Usu</i> . Hortative mode.
<i>pulaš?ti</i>	<u>n.Port.</u> cookie [<i>bulaš?ti</i>]
<i>pulis ti</i>	<u>n.Port.</u> policeman
<i>punεk ti</i>	<u>n.Port.</u> doll [<i>bunε:di</i>]
<i>pur</i>	<u>n.</u> field; garden.
<i>purč</i>	<u>adj.der.</u> similar (<i>der. pīrak</i> ‘look.like’)

<i>pure</i>	<i>n.dim.</i> fly.
<i>putε japje ti</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.aug.</i> insect (sp.), Port.: morissoca. Phonology: [putε japzeʔ ti]
<i>putēti</i>	<i>n.al.aug.</i> bird (sp.), Port.: jacú. Also described as the jacú proper.
<i>puti</i>	<i>n.al.aug.</i> insect (sp.), Port.: mutuca
<i>rε</i>	<i>cl.</i> diminutive.
<i>ri</i>	<i>v.intr.dscr.</i> 1. be long; 2. <i>adj.</i> long.
<i>rε</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> 1. leave; abandon. 2. allow. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>rε</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Phonology: The initial consonant of the verb is realized as the lateral alveolar approximant [l] in the context of a preceding coronal. Thus, /it-rε/ is produced [ilε]. Notice that there is no vowel length, which suggests the alternative hypothesis that it is the coronal vowel itself which is conditioning the alternation. Ex.: <i>Mε pa jaja na pa mε prǎ ne arīk jum mε kwər jaja na m̃ ire ne mε ma apεč.</i> ‘As for us, we were left behind and stayed, the others left us and went away.’ <i>Kot ja ire.</i> ‘S/he will leave me.’ <i>Na ka ire.</i> ‘You left me.’ <i>Kot paj are.</i> ‘I will leave you.’
<i>rɔɲ</i>	<i>n.al.</i> fruticiferous palm tree, Port.: macaúba. The fruit of this tree. Also <i>rɔɲre</i> [rɔlε].
<i>rǎ</i>	<i>n.</i> flor.
<i>rɔɲ ko</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.</i> macaúba patch
<i>rɔɲ rε kro</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.</i> tucum shrub.
<i>rɔʔǎ</i>	<i>n.advl.</i> together; close. Ex.: <i>Mε rɔʔǎ</i> ‘Close to them’. Grammar: Possibly a compound expression consisting of a noun and the locative postposition <i>ǎ</i> .
<i>rǎʔǎ</i>	<i>n.advl.cmp.</i> always. Ex.: <i>Go ja na əm kɔkwe rǎʔǎ.</i> ‘The creek has always been shallow.’ (<i>rǎ=ʔǎ</i> ‘?=LOC’) See <i>a...ketmē</i> ‘never’
<i>rɔɲre</i>	<i>n.al.dim.</i> tucum.
<i>rɔʔti</i>	<i>n.al.aug.</i> snake (sp.), Port.: sucuri-jú.
<i>rəm</i>	<i>adv.</i> at a given moment; suddenly.
<i>rɔɲ</i>	<i>n.</i> dog
<i>rɔɲ di rε</i>	<i>n.cmp.dim.</i> bitch
<i>rɔɲ kabrek</i>	<i>n.cmp.</i> jaguar (sp.), Port: sussuarana (onça vermelha)
<i>rɔɲ krɔ</i>	<i>n.cmp.</i> jaguar (sp.), Port: onça pintada
<i>rɔɲgrɛti</i>	<i>n.aug. (cmp. rɔɲ=grε=ti)</i> a certain plant.
<i>rɔɲkrɔrε</i>	<i>n.cmp.</i> wild cat, Port. gato maracajá
<i>rere</i>	<i>v.dscr.</i> 1. Soft. 2. Spoiled. Inflectional pattern: <i>S-rεrε</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same (but one instance of <i>rεrεk</i> before /n/). Ex.: <i>Na ra bri ja rere par ɔ mō.</i> ‘This meat is going totally spoiled.’ See <i>krɔ</i> .
<i>rərǎɲ</i>	<i>n.al.ln.</i> orange, Port.: laranja.
<i>rərər</i>	<i>v.dscr.</i> yellow. Inflectional pattern: <i>S-rərər</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same.
<i>ra</i>	<i>cl.</i> perfective aspect; already.
<i>rač</i>	<i>adv.</i> 1. intensifier. 2. <i>adj.</i> large. 3. <i>qtf.</i> much. No inflection. Semantics: The use of <i>rač</i> , as well as <i>rūɲ</i> , seems to imply that the predicator being modified encodes a permanent property. Both these intensifiers contrast with <i>tǎjč</i> in this respect, which is used with predicators encoding transitional or temporary conditions/states. Phonology: This morpheme is realized as [lač] if following a coronal sound — vowel or consonant. Grammar: a. This morpheme is used to modify verbs and nouns. There is no evidence

that it follows the inflectional pattern of descriptives. **b.** It may, in turn, be modified as well (e.g. by the morpheme *kūmreč*). **c.** This intensifier is compatible with words derived by *-ji*, in contrast with the intensifier *rūjn*, which is not. **d.** There is evidence which indicates that, if used with a transitive verb, this morpheme may refer to the quantity of the direct object, rather than serve as an intensifier of the verb. *Ex.*: *Go rač* ‘river (water=large)’. *Na ra ijmā beč rač kumreč*. ‘(Things) are really good for me.’ *Ickengrāji rač nē*. ‘I’m really easy to get tired.’ *Na pa icpuduj rač nē*. ‘I’m really ugly.’ *Na bīm rač kūmreč*. ‘S/he carried lots of things.’ *Na katpore pi rač kūmreč*. ‘S/he made a lot of money.’ *Na pa jara?ā abīm rač nē*. ‘I carried you a lot.’ *Na pa pər i krā rūjn kawrə rač nē*. ‘I harvested a lot of large peppers.’ See *rūjn*, *tājč*, *beč*.

<i>ras ti</i>	<i>n.al.aug.loan.</i> radio, Port.: radio.
<i>re</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> extrair, tirar, colher. Nonfinite form, <i>-ren</i> . Forma alternativa, <i>rē</i> , <i>rēj</i> .
<i>re</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> 1. atravessar por dentro de um rio ou por uma superfície; 2. untar de ambos lados, p.ex. peixe na gordura. Nonfinite form, <i>ren/rej</i> . <i>Ex.</i> <i>ictā arej ket ne dō icūpəm rači</i> ‘Não atravessem em mim não porque eu sou muito fundo (o ribeirão falando)’.
<i>rē</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> 1. throw (a ball), as in a game. 2. throw multiple, scattered things, or two things which do not form a pair. 3. help oneself to foods of various kinds. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>rē</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: The use of this verb with the sense of ‘serve food’ contrasts with the verb <i>mē</i> , with the same sense, in that the latter requires the quantifier <i>kwā</i> to determine <i>meō</i> , whereas the former occurs without the quantifier. One could describe the distinction also in terms of mass versus count objects. <i>Ex.</i> : <i>Me ačwəj jaja apen krā ti rē</i> ‘They are also going to play (with the mangaba ball).’ <i>Ma tē ne amyūm meō rē</i> . ‘Go help yourself to the food.’ <i>Me ma bra ne amyūm meō rē</i> . ‘Go and help yourselves to the food.’ See <i>mē</i> , <i>gje</i> , <i>ə</i> .
<i>kurē</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> put away; release inside a closed area. <i>Ex.</i> <i>na tīti karΛ krare ja ə krā ne ka?e kamā kurē jum ku?e</i> ‘M. estava criando um filhote de veado, colocou ele dentro do cercado e lá ele ficava.’
<i>ri</i>	<i>cl.</i> demonstrativo temporal ou locativo.
<i>rī</i>	<i>v.intr.atv.</i> Ficar. Forma reduzida de <i>arīk</i> .
<i>rīt</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> see; visualize; look at. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>rīt</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Phonology: The verb root may be realized as [līt] if the previous segment (i.e. the last segment of the preceding word) is a coronal sound – vowel or consonant.
<i>rō</i>	<i>v.intr.evnt.</i> agarrar-se a alguma coisa com o corpo encolhido. Nonfinite form, <i>rōj</i>
<i>ror</i>	<i>n.</i> cupim
<i>ror</i>	<i>v.intr.evnt.</i> fall.
<i>rōr</i>	<i>n.</i> planta do babaçu; o coco desta palmeira
<i>rōr ko</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.</i> babaçu patch
<i>rōr re ko</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.</i> coconut patch
<i>rorok</i>	<i>v.dscr.</i> 1. erode; collapse. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>rorok</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. 2. <i>n.al.</i> large chunks of soil that collapse into a hole due to erosion. Grammar: Causative form, <i>ə rorok</i> . <i>Ex.</i> : <i>Da na pre pika ja ə rorok ə mō</i> . ‘The rain is eroding the earth.’
<i>rorokji</i>	<i>n.der.act.</i> thing that is known for collapsing easily. (<i>rorok=ji</i> ‘collapse=AG.NMLZ’)
<i>ru</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> despejar (de líquidos). Nonfinite form, <i>-run</i>
<i>rūjn</i>	<i>adv.</i> 1. intensively; repetitively. 2. <i>adj.</i> plenty. 3. grand. Phonology: This morpheme is realized as [lūjn] when the last segment of the preceding word is a coronal sound –

	vowel or consonant. Semantics: The use of <i>rŭjn</i> , as well as <i>rač</i> , seems to imply that the predicator being modified encodes a permanent property. Both these intensifiers contrast with <i>təjč</i> in this respect, which is used with predicators encoding transitional or temporary conditions/states. Grammar: This intensifier is not compatible with words derived by <i>-ji</i> , and thus it contrasts with the intensifiers <i>rač</i> and <i>təjč</i> , which are used in those cases. Ex.: <i>Meðkrepoj rŭjti</i> ‘name of a traditional festival’ (<i>mε=ðkrepoj=rŭjn=ti</i> ‘INDF=voice=grand=AUG’). <i>Na pa ra ickengrə rŭjn nē</i> . ‘I’m very tired.’ <i>Na ra ijmā bēč rŭjn kumrēč</i> . ‘(Things) are really good for me.’ <i>Na pa icpunduj rŭjn nē</i> . ‘I’m very ugly.’ <i>Na pa bŭjn rŭjn nē</i> . ‘I carry it all the time (i.e. frequently).’ <i>Na pa pər i krā rŭjn kawrə rač nē</i> . ‘I harvested a lot of large peppers.’ See <i>rač</i> , <i>təjč</i> , <i>bēč</i> .
<i>rŭm</i>	<i>psp.</i> Ablative
<i>sinrε</i>	<i>n.al.dim.loan.</i> armadillo (sp.), Port.: tatú-sino.
<i>sitat</i>	<i>n.al.loan</i> city, Port.: cidade
<i>ti</i>	<i>intrj.msc.</i> yes
<i>tε</i>	<i>cl.</i> 1. aspecto habitual; 2. marcador de caso agentivo (?) para primeira e segunda pessoas em orações dependentes; toma prefixos pronominais; 3. partícula associada lexicalmente a alguns verbos derivados, esp. de cognição, p.ex. <i>tε bar</i> ‘saber’, <i>tε pubu</i> ‘conhecer’, <i>tε pʔrak</i> ‘parecer-se com’.
<i>tí</i>	<i>v.intr.</i> die (of person; of fire). Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S= <i>ti</i> ; alternate form: <i>tik</i> . Ex.: <i>Na prε icpe ti</i> . ‘He died (to my dismay).’ <i>Bi ti čwəjn ja na prε kəm apen prəmʔ</i> . ‘The man who died enjoyed working.’
<i>tε</i>	<i>n.inal.</i> 1. leg. 2. part of the leg between the knee and the ankle. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>tε</i> .
<i>tε kə</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.</i> bean (sp.), Port.: vagem. Phonology: [<i>tεʔ kə</i>].
<i>tε kə</i>	<i>n.inal.cmp.</i> skin of the leg. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>tε kə</i> . Phonology: [<i>tεʔ kə</i>].
<i>tε jŭ</i>	<i>n.inal.cmp.</i> calf (of the leg). Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>tε jŭ</i> . (<i>tε=jŭ</i> ‘leg=flesh’)
<i>tε jōkrā</i>	<i>n.inal.cmp.</i> anterior part of the leg between the knee and the ankle. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>tε jōkrā</i> .
<i>tε i</i>	<i>n.inal.cmp.</i> bone of the leg. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>tε i</i> . Phonology: [<i>tεʔi</i>]
<i>tε pa</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> matar. Nonfinite form, <i>tε par</i> .
<i>tā</i>	<i>psp.loc.idiom.</i> assim mesmo
<i>tā žor</i>	<i>n.inal.cmp.</i> coração
<i>tεʔkə</i>	<i>n.cmp.</i> superfície da parte inferior da perna (<i>der. tεʔ=kə</i> ‘perna=superfície’)
<i>tātk</i>	<i>v.intr.evnt.</i> doer, latejar. Ex. <i>na pa iji tātk nē</i> ‘Meus ossos estão doendo.’
<i>tīčā</i>	<i>v.intr.dscr.?</i> estar ou ficar cansado. Ex. <i>pa na pa i tīčā</i> ‘Eu já estou cansada.’
<i>tīčā</i>	<i>n.inal.?</i> fôlego; respiração; suspiro.
<i>tij</i>	<i>n.</i> termo de parentesco
<i>təjč</i>	<i>adv.</i> 1. intensifier. 2. <i>adj.</i> hard; tense, stiff, rigid; robust. 3. fast. No evidence of inflection. Nonfinite form: <i>təjt</i> . Semantics: The use of <i>təjč</i> seems to imply that the predicator being modified encodes a transitional or temporary condition/state. This intensifier contrasts with <i>rŭjn</i> and <i>rač</i> in this respect, since these seem to be used with predicators encoding permanent properties. Grammar: a. This morpheme is used to modify predicates. In its turn, it may be modified by the intensifier <i>kumrēč</i> . b. This morpheme has a descriptive counterpart, <i>itəjč</i> . Ex.: <i>Ijnbut təjč</i> . ‘My neck is tense.’ <i>Na</i>

ra ijmã beč tǎjč kumreč. ‘This (fruit) is very good for me (to pick up).’ *Na ra kabekre beč tǎjč kumreč.* ‘The jussara is really good.’ *Na pa icpuduj tǎjč ně.* ‘I’m very ill/full of diseases.’ See *rač, rǔjn, beč.*

tík v.dscr. **1.** black. **2.** dirty. **3.** go off (of light). Inflectional pattern: S=*tík*; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. **3.** v.tr. dirty. Inflectional pattern: O=*tík*. Ex.: *Pa na pa ictík.* ‘I’m dirty.’ *Pa na icpe icče tík.* ‘My clothes are dirty (to my detriment).’ *Agro na gǎw amyĩ tík ne ri pa* ‘Pigs always dirty themselves in mud.’

tǎk v.tr. cutucar.

tǎm v.dscr. **1.** raw. **2.** saturated; soaked. Inflectional pattern: S=*tǎm*; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: *Na čwǎ tǎm.* ‘The yucca dough is raw.’ *Na go tǎm.* ‘The creek is saturated.’ *Na go tǎm rač ně.* ‘The river is totally saturated.’

tǎm pron.3^a.enf. **1.** por isso; **2.** assim mesmo

tǎmčwǎ n.inal. termo de parentesco

tǎp n.gen. peixe

tǎp ǎjaka n.al.cmp.aug. fish (sp.), Port.: pacú branco. Phonology: [tǎbǎja’ka]

tǎp ǎkrǎr ti n.al.cmp.aug. fish (sp.), Port.: pacú. Phonology: [tǎbokrǎr’di]

tǎp de čǎ n.cmp. armadilha para peixe

tǎp kǎr ti n.cmp.aug. piabanha

tǎp kaʔe n.al.cmp. fish trap. (*tǎp=kaʔe* ‘fish=cage’)

tǎp rǎre n.cmp.dim. piabinha

tǎp rě čǎ n.al.cmp.der. fishhook. (*tǎp=rě=čǎ* ‘fish=catch=INSTR.NMLZ’)

tǎrti n.al.aug. fructiferous plant (sp.), Port.: banana brava. The fruit of this plant.

tǎttet v.dscr. tremble; shake. Inflectional pattern: S=*tǎttet*; no relational prefix. Phonology: [tǎrtet], possibly from /tǎttet/. Ex.: *ǎbri pa ǎbuŋ ictǎttet rač ně.* ‘The I saw it and trembled a lot.’

ta v.tr. pick (of fruit) off of a tree; harvest. Inflectional pattern: O=*ta*; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: usually employs the quantifier *ǎ*. Ex.: *Rǎrǎŋ ǎ ta* ‘Pick an orange.’ Phonology: [rǎrǎŋ ǎʔ ta]. See *krǎta*.

tǎjmǎ inter. **1.** how. **2.** whatever.

tǎk v.tr. beat; abuse; beat up. Inflectional pattern: O=*tǎk*; no inflectional pattern. Nonfinite form: same. See *tatak*.

tar psp.dem. there. Grammar: May take second person prefix *a-* and may occur with the third person demonstrative *mũj*. In the first case, the resulting form is a proximal demonstrative with a second person as the deictic center, *atar* ‘over there (close to you)’. In the second case, the resulting form is a distal demonstrative, *mũjtar* ‘over there (far away from us)’. There are no examples available in which *tar* occurs with a first person prefix.

tatak v.tr.rdpl.cmp. **1.** hit repeatedly. **2.** sprinkle something on a surface by tapping on it repeatedly. Inflectional pattern: O=*tatak*. Nonfinite form: same.

te ti n.al.aug. insect (sp.), Port.: carrapato.

tě v.intr. come; go. Nonfinite form: S=*těm*. Semantics: The semantic contrast between this verb and *tě* apparently has to do with the number of participants, *mǎ* being the plural and *tě* the singular counterpart. Grammar: **a.** The root may cooccur with the directional/movement particle *ma* in the clause; the combination of particle and verb root means ‘go’. If the particle is absent in the clause, the verb root means ‘come’.

See *mō*, *bra*; *ma*. **b.** This root may be used with the causative (?) morpheme *ɔ* in what appears to be a transitive verb compound, ‘bring/take’. **c.** This root contrasts with *mō*, in that the latter may be used in *Vɔ mō* constructions, whereas the former has limited distribution in this respect. In such constructions, *mō* appears to have acquired a more grammaticalized meaning (progressive; inchoative), whereas *tē* is understood more literally, which makes its use inadequate.

<i>tēm</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> fall. Nonfinite form: S= <i>tēm</i> .
<i>tere ko</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> açai patch
<i>ti</i>	<u>cl.</u> 1. aumentativo; 2. derogatório; 3. <u>adv.snt.</u> indicativo de protesto, irritação ou reprimenda.
<i>tīrī</i>	<u>v.intr.dscr.</u> estar vivo; sobreviver
<i>tō</i>	<u>n.</u> irmão
<i>toε</i>	<u>intrj.excl.</u> huh?!
<i>toʔən</i>	<u>intrj.</u> Hein
<i>tōč</i>	<u>n.</u> irmã
<i>tōčpurɔ</i>	<u>n.cmp.</u> termo de parentesco (<i>tōč</i> = <i>purɔ</i> ‘t.=parecer’)
<i>ton</i>	<u>n.al.</u> armadillo (sp.). The female of the species typically has many offspring at a time.
<i>ton pidej čə</i>	<u>n.cmp.der.</u> trap for armadillos and other related species, especially animals that dig holes in the ground and stay inside it, rather than escaping through it, such as the <i>apčət</i> , <i>agreʔti</i> , and <i>kuken</i> . (<i>ton</i> = <i>pidej</i> = <i>čə</i> ‘armadillo=catch.NF=NMLZ.INSTR’)
<i>tu</i>	<u>v.intr.evnt.</u> aglomerar-se, <i>esp.</i> ao redor de
<i>tu</i>	<u>n.</u> mato, moita. ? Alternate form, <i>tuj</i>
<i>tu</i>	<u>v.intr.dscr.</u> cheio, redondo. (Confirmar glossa, transcr.)
<i>tu</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> carregar na cabeça ou nas costas, <i>esp.</i> algo dentro de um côfo.
<i>tu kə ti</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.aug.fem.</u> kinship relation term, spoken by a female referring to a male kin. Phonology: [tuʔkəʔti]
<i>tūmū</i>	<u>v.intr.dscr.</u> velho, antigo, ultrapassado. Ex. <i>katpəre ja na ra tūmū</i> ‘Esse dinheiro já está velho.’
<i>tujaro</i>	<u>v.intr.dscr.</u> estar grávida
<i>tukatij</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> kinship relation term.
<i>tum</i>	<u>adv</u> 3 ^a . pessoa, acolá.
<i>tum</i>	<u>v.intr.dscr.</u> inteligente. Ex. <i>ka na ka atumre</i> ‘Você é inteligente, pensa bem.’
<i>tum kete</i>	<u>expr.dscr.neg.der.</u> abobalhado; pouco inteligente. Ex <i>ka na atum kete</i> ‘Você é bestão.’
<i>turə ʔi</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> costela
<i>tut jaka re</i>	<u>n.al.dim.cmp.</u> white-feathered pigeon
<i>tut kabrek re</i>	<u>n.al.dim.cmp.</u> brown-feathered pigeon
<i>tut re</i>	<u>n.al.dim.</u> dove, smallish kind.
<i>tut ti</i>	<u>n.al.aug.</u> pigeon
<i>twəm</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> 1. fat. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>twəm</i> . 2. <u>v.dscr.</u> fat. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>twim</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: <i>twəm</i> . Alternations in finite form: <i>twəm</i> , <i>twəm</i> [?] .
<i>u</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> belly. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>t-u</i> . See <i>ōʔi</i> .
<i>u</i>	<u>n.</u> pus; corrimento vaginal; (<i>č</i>) <i>u</i>
<i>ūbregət</i>	<u>n.</u> termo de parentesco
<i>uʔčə</i>	<u>v. dscr.cmp.</u> be in labor; feel the pain of giving birth. Inflectional pattern: S= <i>uʔčə</i> . Nonfinite form: same. (<i>uʔ</i> = <i>č-ə</i> ‘belly=RP-hurt’)

<i>ūde</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> alcançar, pegar. Alternate form, <i>pīde</i> . Forma não final, (<i>p</i>)unden.
<i>ūrē</i>	<i>v.tr.noncan.</i> 1. cease consideration or treatment of something. 2. terminate an association or relationship with someone. 3. leave behind. 4. release; let go of something; drop. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>mā</i> A= <i>ŋ-īrē</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Phonology: a. In the context of a following vowel, an epenthetic flap [r] separates the two, as in <i>aŋīrēr ɔ mā</i> . b. There is root-initial vowel alternation between [u, i], such that [u] occurs in initial position (although it may fluctuate with [i], in this position) and [i] occurs systematically after the relational prefix. This process is observable in other verbs as well. Usage: This verb is used by older generation speakers with the sense described in 2 , whereas younger speakers tend to use the verb <i>kaga</i> , instead. Ex.: <i>Na ka ra iŋmā aŋīrēr ɔ mā</i> . ‘You’re already leaving me.’ <i>Na kəm ickīne tā iŋmā ūrē</i> . ‘He liked me but left me nonetheless.’ See <i>kaga</i> .
<i>Uba</i>	<i>v.dscr.der.</i> ponder; wonder. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>č-u-ba</i> . Grammar: Verb related to transitive <i>ba</i> .
<i>uba</i>	<i>v.tr.noncan.</i> fear. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: A= <i>mā</i> O= <i>p-uba</i> ; alternative form: <i>piba</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: This verb has an intransitive counterpart in <i>ba</i> . Ex.: <i>Pa na pa iŋmā amā kupē puba prəm kete</i> . ‘I don’t want you to be afraid of the foreigner.’ <i>Na pa iŋmā amā icpuba prəm kete</i> . ‘I don’t want you to be afraid of me.’ See <i>ba</i> .
<i>ubrē</i>	<i>n.inal.</i> termo de parentesco
<i>ubrēget</i>	<i>n.inal.</i> termo de parentesco
<i>učī</i>	<i>n.inal.</i> spell. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>PSSR=č-učī</i> .
<i>ūjo</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> cobrir (de folhar d palmeira). Comparar com – <i>žo</i> ‘cobrir’ e confirmar transcrição.
<i>ujəpe</i>	<i>n.?</i> o lado de fora (?), p.ex. <i>ickrē ujəpe</i> (Explorar)
<i>ūjwə</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> 1. place multiple objects right-side up on a surface (e.g. table, counter, or ground). 2. place multiple pots or pans of food on the fire so as to cook. 3. stick something into the ground, right-side up. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>č-ūjwə</i> . Nonfinite form: <i>ūjwəŋ</i> . Semantics: This verb (as well as its counterpart <i>əm</i>) is used with reference to objects shaped in such a way that allow the speaker to conceive of them as “standing up”, such as plates or cups. Its use would be more problematic with objects such as forks and knives, for instance, since these kinds of objects are typically laid in horizontal position. Ex.: <i>Kət paj aŋjūm meō kuwi kamā ūjwə</i> . ‘I’m going to put my foods on the fire.’ <i>Na pa ra aŋjūm iŋō prat ne iŋō kəpti čūjwə</i> . ‘I’ve already set my plates and cups.’ <i>Pa iŋō kəp čūjwə ketnē</i> . ‘I’m not going to set my cups (e.g. at the table).’ <i>Kij pu mō kəjūmā mē ūjwə</i> . ‘Let’s lift them (such that they stand right-side up).’ See <i>əm</i> , <i>ačwə</i> .
<i>ūjwəčə</i>	<i>n.al.der.</i> object on whose surface things are placed (standing up), e.g. a table or a counter. (<i>ūjwə=čə</i> ‘place.right-side.up=NMLZ.LOC’)
<i>ujakəp</i>	<i>n.</i> cheiro; fardo.
<i>ujako ži</i>	<i>n.der.</i> pessoa que gosta de fumar. Cf. <i>čīkar jako ži</i> ‘pessoa que gosta de fumar cigarro’
<i>ujakoži</i>	<i>n.der.act.</i> one who is known for smoking constantly. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S= <i>č-ujakoži</i> . (<i>u-j-ako=ži</i> ‘INTRZ-RP-sleep.NF=AG.NMLZ’) Grammar: This noun has a counterpart which is derived from the transitive counterpart of the verb. Ex.: <i>Di mūj ujakoži</i> . ‘That woman is a smoker.’
<i>ujapri</i>	<i>v.dscr.der.</i> slander. inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>č-u-j-apri</i> . nonfinite

	form: same. Grammar: a. Verb derived from the transitive base <i>apri</i> . b. * <i>awjapri</i> . Ex.: <i>Ka na ka ri ačujapri ɔ ri apa</i> . ‘You live for slandering.’ <i>Něj na pre ✓ujapri/*awjapri</i> . ‘That one gossips.’
<i>ujapere</i>	<i>Na pa ičujaper ɔ jĩ</i> ‘Eu estou balançando X’ * <i>Na pa awjape</i> . Also <i>apu japere</i> ‘conseguir’.
<i>ukapi</i>	<i>v.intr.</i> choose; select; meet for the first time. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: <i>S=(č)ukapi</i> . Related form: <i>kapi</i> . See <i>a?kapi, kapi</i> .
<i>ukrar krɔ</i>	<i>v.intr.dscr.</i> arrotar com mau cheiro. Forma contígua ao argumento, – <i>čukrar krɔ</i> .
<i>ukrar krɔ</i>	<i>v.intr.dscr.</i> arrotar. Forma contígua ao argumento, – <i>pikrar krɔ</i> .
<i>ukrarkrɔ</i>	<i>v.dscr.cmp.</i> belch (with an offensive odor). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>S=č-ukrarkrɔ</i> ; alternate form: <i>S=p-ikrarkrɔ</i> . Grammar: The inflected form of this verb alternates between <i>čukrarkrɔ</i> and <i>pikrarkrɔ</i> . This may be a case of innovation in the making from one pattern to the other. It is possible that, for the basic form of the verb, presumably <i>ukra</i> , the use of one of the relational prefixes is steady, with no alternations. But this hypothesis needs to be verified in future research, as there are no occurrences of the basic verb stem in the database as it is. Ex.: <i>Pa na pa ičukrarkrɔ</i> . ‘I’m burping.’ <i>Na ka ačukrarkrɔ</i> . ‘You are burping.’ <i>Něj na ukrarkrɔ</i> . ‘This one is burping.’ <i>Na pa icpikrarkrɔ</i> . ‘I am burping.’ <i>Na ka apikrarkrɔ</i> . ‘You are burping.’ (<i>ukrar=krɔ</i> ‘belch=putrid’)
<i>ukrat kuček</i>	<i>n.inal.cmp.</i> veia
<i>um</i>	<i>v.intr.evnt.</i> secar; endurecer (de mel).
<i>umčě</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> abraçar. Ex. <i>na va atpě čumčě</i> ‘Eles dois estão se abraçando.’ (<i>čumčě</i>).
<i>umčě</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> segurar pelas extremidades, p.ex. <i>me bjen miti ja čumčě ma vər ɔ mō</i> ‘Elas agarraram o jacaré pelas extremidades e o trouxeram até ela’. Forma contígua ao argumento, <i>čumčě</i> . Nonfinite form, (<i>čumčěn</i>).
<i>umĩ</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> enterrar para moquear. Forma contígua ao argumento, <i>čumi</i> . Nonfinite form, – (<i>čumĩr</i>).
<i>upim</i>	<i>v.dscr.</i> fundo. Ex.: <i>kət kaj go čupəm kəm mrō kət go apĩ</i> ‘se você mergulhar no fundo a água te leva’ <i>č-upim</i> .
<i>upəm</i>	<i>v.dscr.</i> deep. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>S=č-upəm</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: a. The transitive version of the verb is done by using the causative morpheme <i>ɔ</i> . b. The occurrence of the relational prefix in this descriptive does not seem to correspond to a difference between attributive and predicative positions, as is the case with <i>jakri</i> ‘cold’, for instance. Ex.: <i>Na pika kre čupəm</i> . ‘The whole on the ground is deep.’ <i>Ictə arej ket nē dɔ ičupəm račĩ</i> ‘Do not attempt to cross me because I’m really deep (of a creek speaking).’ <i>Da na pre go ja ɔ upəm</i> . ‘The rain made the creek get deep.’ <i>Na te da wri rūj nē dɔjum go ja a upəm ket nē</i> . ‘It rains a lot but even so this creek never gets deep enough.’
<i>uprərə</i>	<i>v.dscr.</i> stubborn; uptight. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>S=č-uprərə</i> . Nonfinite form: <i>uprər</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa ičuprərə</i> . ‘I’m stubborn.’
<i>urak</i>	<i>v.tr.noncan.</i> 1. look or act like X. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>A-te/kət O=p-irak</i> . Grammar: Requires ergative marking on A; initial vowel of stem alternates from <i>u</i> to <i>i</i> when the verb takes the relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. 2. similar to X. Grammar: This form commonly used as part of a compound noun or in a noun

phrase: *bjeŋ pirak* ‘so-called husband; one who behaves as such but is not formally so’. Ex.: *Prīre ja te kət ō papaj pirak čwəŋ ja Kare kra na*. ‘This girl who looks like her father is Kare’s daughter.’ *Prīre ja te kət nipeččə pirak čwəŋ ja na kəm kupě puba*. ‘This kid who looks like his father is terrified or foreigners.’

<i>utʌ</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> 1. help, assist. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>p-itʌ</i> . Phonology: root-initial vowel alternation in the context of relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Ja mūj ma tē kəm ijarē ke icvər tē ne icpʰʌ</i> ‘Go and tell that one to come here and help me.’ 2. <u>v.dtr.</u> take O away from E. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: E _{DTR} - <i>pe</i> O= <i>p-itʌ</i> ; root-initial vowel alternation in the context of relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same.
<i>utʌ</i>	<u>v.tr.noncan.</u> promise; agree; make arrangements. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: E _{RCP} = <i>t-ɔ</i> S= <i>p-itʌ</i> . Root-initial vowel alternation in the context of relational prefix. See <i>pitʌ</i> . Ex.: <i>Atpēn tɔ utʌ</i> ‘agree with one another’; <i>atpēn tɔ va icpitʌ</i> ‘(the two of us) agreed with one another’.
<i>uĩ</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> heavy. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S= <i>p-iĩ</i> ; root-initial vowel alternation in the context of relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Ijapeŋ pʰĩ</i> ‘My work is heavy.’
<i>uĩ</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> pesado; denso. Ex. <i>rōr i tvəm jakrĩ na uĩ</i> ‘A godura de coco quando esfria é muito grossa.’
<i>uĩ / uti</i>	<u>n.</u> mata fechada
<i>vɛ</i>	<u>cl.</u> hearsay
<i>vər</i>	<u>psp.</u> alativo, rumo a, em direção a.
<i>vevejao</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.</u> food, as spoken to young children or elderly people. See <i>meō</i> .
<i>va (ti)</i>	<u>n.</u> termo de parentesco: ‘minha esposa’, tratamento entre cônjuges.
<i>vo</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> chupar uma fruta; beber.
<i>vrə</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> Nonfinite form, <i>vrəm</i> .
<i>wɛwɛrɛ</i>	<u>n.al.rdpl.dim.</u> butterfly (sp.). Phonology: no glottal stop.
<i>wɛwɛti</i>	<u>n.al.rdpl.aug.</u> butterfly (sp.). Phonology: no glottal stop.
<i>wa</i>	<u>cl.</u> dual exclusive marker. Grammar: This clitic may refer to an independent pronoun, which it follows, or to a pronominal prefix, which it precedes.
<i>wa</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> tooth; teeth. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR- <i>č-wa</i> .
<i>wa</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> 1. sharp. 2. sour. <i>Kət ja wapɔ ja wa beč nē</i> . ‘This knife will get (sharpened) good.’
<i>wa jĩ</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> gums. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR- <i>č-wajĩ</i> . (<i>č-wa=jĩ</i> ‘RP-tooth=flesh’)
<i>wa krat</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> fangs. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>č-wa krat</i> . (<i>wa=krat</i> ‘tooth=stem, stalk?’). See <i>wa, krat</i> .
<i>wa ʔə</i>	<u>pron.pers.intrg.cmp.</u> who, whom. (<i>wa=ʔə</i> ‘DU=INDEF’). Ex.: <i>Waʔə na prɛ ipeč?</i> ‘Who made it?’
<i>wajrɔrɔti</i>	<u>n.al.cmp.aug.</u> onion. Ex.: <i>Pa na pa prɛ wajrɔrɔti jakər ɔ ča ne amjũ nikra krě jimōk krě ta</i> . ‘I was chopping onions, then I cut the tip of my finger.’
<i>wakerɛ</i>	<u>n.al.dim.loan.</u> cowboy, Port.: vaqueiro.
<i>wapɔ</i>	<u>n.amb.</u> knife.
<i>wapɔti</i>	<u>n.amb.aug.</u> machete
<i>wrə</i>	<u>v.intr.mov.</u> descend; get off (an automobile, e.g.). Nonfinite form and inflectional

	pattern: <i>S=wri</i> .
<i>wrəm</i>	<u><i>n.al.</i></u> hut; shack; an old and abandoned dwelling place.
<i>ə</i>	<u><i>v.dscr.</i></u> sick. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>S-č-ə</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Na pa bi ə čwəŋ ja krī rač kəm əbu</i> . 'I saw that sick man out downtown.' <i>Bi ja na ə</i> . 'This man is ill.' <i>Na ra ə ɔ mō</i> . 'S/he's getting sick.' <i>Paji ə čwəŋ ja na apen kete</i> . 'Sick people don't get to work.' <i>Di ə čwəŋ ja kət ja ma ispital wər mō</i> . 'This woman who's ill is going to the hospital.' <i>Rəp ə ri pa čwəŋ ja ata kət ja dəkij ti</i> . 'This dog that has been sick will die soon.'
<i>əŋ</i>	<u><i>v.dscr.</i></u> 1. sweet. 2. salty; seasoned. 3. tasty. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>S-č-əŋ</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: May take the clause-final clitic <i>ně</i> . Ex.: <i>Na meō əŋ ně</i> . 'This food is tasty.'
<i>əŋ</i>	<u><i>v.tr.noncan.</i></u> like, enjoy (of food). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>E_{EXPR}=mō O=č-əŋ</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: May take the clause-final clitic <i>ně</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa iŋmō pŕīnkəkti čəŋ ně</i> 'I like bacuri.' <i>Kupě kəm pəri čəŋ čwəŋ ja na ickrəmčwə na</i> . 'This foreigner who likes pepper is my friend.'
<i>ě</i>	<u><i>psp.</i></u> 1. locativa; 2. indica o assunto de uma conversa, p.ex., ou o motivo de uma risada, p.ex. <i>əbri kot inikra ɔ kubə ə pikuzjar ɔ mō</i> 'Então fui atrás carregando-os [o facão e a lenha] com as mãos, rindo [da situação]'. Forma contígua ao argumento, <i>tě</i> , p.ex. a. <i>na pa va mrūmti tě ickavə čəm</i> '...botamos nossos cestos em cima das formigas...' b. <i>ne va ri atpě mě ickapěr atpěn tě akuža</i> '...e ficamos conversando e rindo uma da outra.' 3. subordinador que introduz uma oração adverbial temporal, p.ex. <i>pa kra je mě ɔ aně ke pa kra jaja kat ɔ ə ri me ɔ? aně</i> '(eu fiz) assim para os nossos filhos, porque quando eles saírem eles farão da mesma forma.'
<i>ě a ʎwə</i>	<u><i>v.intr.noncan.</i></u> request. Inflection pattern: <i>E_O=ě a ʎwɪ</i> . Nonfinite form and relational prefix: <i>E_O=ě S-j-a ʎwɪr</i> . Grammar: This is a lexically bivalent verb. An additional participant is marked by the dative postposition <i>-mě</i> , and occurs preceding <i>E_O</i> . Ex. <i>Pa na pa pər i ə a ʎwɪ</i> 'I'm asking for some pepper.' <i>Pa na pa ri a ʎwɪr ket ně</i> . 'I'm not asking for anything.' <i>Na pa amě ə a ʎwɪ</i> . 'I'm requesting (it) for you.'
<i>ě go</i>	<u><i>v.dscr.cmp.</i></u> sweat; be warm. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>S=t-ě go</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: compound of locative postposition and noun. (<i>ě=go</i> 'loc=water'). Ex.: <i>Na pa ictě go rač ne iŋōt ket ně</i> . 'I was too hot (sweaty) and couldn't sleep.' <i>Na pa ra ictě go ɔ mō</i> . 'I'm already breaking a sweat.'
<i>ě go</i>	<u><i>n.inal.cmp.</i></u> sweat. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>pssr=t-ě go</i> . Grammar: compound of locative postposition and noun. (<i>ě=go</i> 'loc=water'). Ex.: <i>Ictě go kət ja akagr ɔ əbri pu atpěn kagr ɔ</i> . 'My (body-)heat will keep you warm, then we will keep each other warm.'
<i>ě gre rɛ</i>	<u><i>v.intr.evnt.</i></u> ser barato (<i>t</i>) <i>ě gre rɛ</i>
<i>ě ɔ ʎo</i>	<u><i>v.intr.event</i></u> ser caro, dispendioso. (<i>t</i>) <i>ě ɔ ʎo</i>
<i>t</i>	<u><i>v.dscr.</i></u> spicy, hot; bitter. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>S-č-t</i> . Nonfinite form: <i>tɪ</i> .
<i>-jŋ</i>	<u><i>suf.</i></u> movimento do ponto de vista de um participante de segunda ou terceira pessoa.
<i>ɔ</i>	<u><i>v.tr.</i></u> 1. do. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: <i>O=t-ɔ</i> . Nonfinite form: same. 2. <u><i>pstp.instr.</i></u> with. Inflectional pattern: <i>N=ɔ</i> ; relational prefix alternates between none and <i>t-</i> ; the former appears to be more common. 3. <u><i>encl.</i></u> causative marker. Inflectional

- pattern and relational prefix: $O_{CAUSEE}=t-\text{ɔ}=V$.
- $\text{ɔ } \text{ə} \text{ɲ}$ v.tr.der. **1.** sweeten; **2.** salt. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: $O=t-\text{ɔ}=\text{ə} \text{ɲ}$. ($\text{ɔ}=\text{ə} \text{ɲ}$ ‘CAUS=sweet/salty’)
- $\text{ɔ } \text{Ar}/\text{ər}$ v.tr.der. assar. Alternate form, $\text{ər} \text{ə}$. Nonfinite form, $\text{ɔ } \text{ər}/\text{Ar}$. Ex. *tē ne ijm̄jət ɔ ərə* ‘Vai e assa minha batata.’
- $\text{ɔ} \text{mduj}$ v.dscr. bad; ugly; badly. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: $S=p\text{-}u\text{duj}$. Alternate forms: *duj*. Nonfinite form: same. Alternate form: *puduju/ɔmduju*; this form does not occur in nonfinite position. Grammar: This verb may occur with the clause-final clitic *ně*, which expresses temporary state or condition, in this context. Ex.: *Ata na ɔmduju*. ‘This one (over there) is bad.’ *Ata na ɔm ɔmduj tājč kūmrēč*. ‘That one is really mean!’ *Na pa icpuduju*. ‘I’m ugly/mean/sickly.’ *Na pa icpuduj ně*. ‘I look ugly/am being mean/am sick.’ *Bi ɔmduj čwəp ja ata na prɛ mɛ ra ačə*. ‘This bad man over there, he’s been arrested before.’ See *duj*.
- $\text{ɔ} \text{mdu}$ v.dscr. **1.** go bad; get spoiled. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: no relational prefix in 3rd person. Nonfinite form: same. **2.** v.tr. spoil. Inflectional pattern: $O=\text{ɔ} \text{mdu}$. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: There is no evidence of a relational prefix with [third person] noun phrases. Ex.: *Meboj čo ɔmdu*. ‘The fruit got spoiled.’ *Na ka icpe ijō ɔmdu pa kumrēč*. ‘You ruined all my foods.’
- $\text{ɔ } \text{a} \text{ʔ} \text{kə}$ v.tr. misturar.
- $\text{ɔ } \text{aba}$ v.tr.noncan. miss someone; think about someone. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: $E_o=t-\text{ɔ } \text{aba}$. Nonfinite form: $E_o=t-\text{ɔ } \text{A}=j\text{-}aba$. Alternate form: *abak*.
- $\text{ɔ } \text{abaketkati}$ v.tr.noncan.cmp. Forget. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: $E_o=\text{ɔ } \text{S}-j\text{-}abaketkati$. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: negation is possible; done more often with *kete*, but also with *ketne*. Ex. *Na ka ijō kenrɛ ɔ abaketkati*. ‘You’ve forgotten my glassbeads.’ (*aba=ket=kati* ‘feel=neg.exst=recognize’)
- $\text{ɔ } \text{abakrɔ}$ v.tr.der. tease someone; annoy or mock someone playfully. Grammar: There is one example that suggests that this might be a valency-increased construction of the ɔ type. However, another example seems to suggest otherwise. Ex.: *Na pa tɛ icčwər ɔ ijabakrɔ tājč ně*. ‘I bathe and make a lot of fuss (with noise and excitement).’ *Na Dəkrɛti Pətrɛ ɔ abakrɔ tājč ně*. ‘Docré teased Pale a lot.’ But **Na mɛ ictə abakrɔ rŭj nə*. ‘They tease us a lot.’
- $\text{ɔ } \text{akar}$ v.tr.der. misturar. Ex.: *əw, na pa ɔm bənkvrətrɛ mē ɔ aka* ‘É, eu misturei com feijão.’ Nonfinite form, $\text{ɔ } \text{pik} \text{ɜr}$.
- $\text{ɔ } \text{akēč}$ v.tr.der. spin; turn around looking back. Inflectional pattern: $O=\text{ɔ } \text{A}=j\text{-}akēč$. Grammar: This verb is related to the descriptive *akēč*. Ex.: *Na pa ickra ɔ ijakēč* ‘I turned around with/spinned my baby.’ *Na pa ickra mē kət amjŭ kati čə kamō ɔ ijakēč*. ‘I spinned with my baby in the merry-go-round.’ See *akēč*.
- $\text{ɔ } \text{akri}$ v.tr.der. cool off. Inflectional pattern: $O=\text{ɔ } \text{akri}$; no relational prefixes in causative morpheme or verb root. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: This predicator is related to *akri*. Ex.: *Na pa rōr i twəm ɔ akri*. ‘I cooled off the babaçú fat.’
- $\text{ɔ } \text{akričə}$ n.al.der. refrigerator. ($\text{ɔ}=\text{akri}=\text{čə}$ ‘CAUS=ice=INSTR.NMLZ’)
- $\text{ɔ } \text{akudɔ}$ v.tr.cmp. lose something.
- $\text{ɔ } \text{akuprō}$ v.tr.cmp. gather something. ($\text{ɔ}=\text{akuprō}$ ‘CAUS=juntar-se’)
- $\text{ɔ } \text{apɔ}$ v.tr.der. put things in parallel position. Inflectional pattern: $O=\text{ɔ } \text{apɔ}$; no relational

	prefix. Nonfinite form: O=ɔ A= <i>pip</i> ɔ. <i>Ijipeččə na kade ɔ apɔ</i> . ‘My father arranged the candles in parallel position.’
ɔ <i>atkat</i> i	<u>v.tr.noncan.</u> cover (with leave or sheet).
ɔ <i>atkē</i>	<u>v.tr.der.</u> play with. Nonfinite form, –ɔ– <i>piken</i> . Ex.: <i>čē, amē ictɔ apiken prəm nē marī ictɔ atkē</i> ‘Êta, you may play with me if you feel like it.’
ɔ <i>atkje</i>	<u>v.tr.der.</u> 1. separate; cause to go apart from one another. 2. divide something into parts. Inflectional pattern: O=ɔ <i>atkje</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: O=ɔ A= <i>pi-kje</i> ; alternative form: <i>pi-kjer</i> . Grammar: this predicator derives from the intransitive verb <i>atkje</i> . Ex.: <i>Wa ɔ apikjer ket nē</i> ‘Don’t separate them!’ <i>Atē ijumē wa ɔ atkje</i> . ‘Separate them for me!’ <i>Kɔt puj atpē mē apčēt ɔ atkje</i> . ‘Let’s divide the peba for the two of us.’ ?* <i>Na bri atkje</i> . (Speaker’s comment: “nunca vi peba partir sozinho!”) <i>Na pa ra apčēt ɔ icpikje pa</i> . ‘I’ve already divided up the peba.’ * <i>Na apčēt ra pikje pa</i> . * <i>Na ra apčēt pikje pa</i> . See <i>atkje</i> ; <i>kje</i> ; <i>akje</i> .
ɔ <i>atkje</i>	<u>v.tr.der.</u> break off.
ɔ <i>bjen</i>	<u>v.tr.der.</u> get married (of woman). Ex. <i>pa na pa prɛ atɔ ijbjen</i> ‘I married you.’
ɔ <i>bo</i>	<u>v.tr.der.</u> survive; thrive.
ɔ <i>bra</i>	<u>v.tr.der.</u> wander; bring along (ɔ= <i>bra</i> ‘CAUS=wander’)
ɔ <i>dət</i>	<u>v.tr.der.</u> fill. Inflectional pattern: O=ɔ <i>dət</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: This predicator is related to the descriptive <i>dət</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa prīn ɔ kawrə ɔ dət tājč nē</i> . ‘I gathered the pequis and filled the baskets to the top.’ See <i>dət</i> .
ɔ <i>itkō</i>	<u>v.tr.der.</u> drink. Inflectional pattern: O=ɔ <i>itkō</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: ɔ <i>kōm</i> . Grammar: It is important to notice that this verb does <u>not</u> use the relational prefix on the morpheme ɔ. Ex.: <i>Na pa ickədəččə ɔ itkō</i> . ‘I’ve already taken my medicine.’ <i>Ja na kɔt gwra kago ɔ kom kete</i> . ‘That person does not drink buriti juice.’
ɔ <i>itkwə</i>	<u>v.tr.der.</u> defecate. Inflectional pattern: O=ɔ <i>itkwə</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: ɔ <i>kwɪr</i> . Grammar: This verb does not require the use of a relational prefix with the morpheme ɔ. Ex.: <i>Na Čučūti ij kabrek ɔ itkwə</i> . ‘Čučūti defecated (with) colorful feces.’ <i>Pa na pa iñōu čə ne ij jaok ɔ itkwə</i> . ‘I have diarrhea and am defecating with watery feces.’
ɔ <i>irɔt</i>	<u>v.tr.der.</u> exhaust; weaken; tire. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>t-ɔ=irɔt</i> . (ɔ= <i>irɔt</i> ‘do=tire’). Ex.: <i>Kɔt paj atɔ irɔt</i> . ‘I will weaken/exhaust you.’ * <i>Kɔt paj ajirɔt</i> .
ɔ <i>kəkwe</i>	<u>v.tr.der.</u> make (a body of water) shallow. Inflectional pattern: O=ɔ <i>kəkwe</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Na pre go ɔ kəkwe</i> . ‘She made the creek shallow (e.g. by draining, etc.)’ See <i>kəkwe</i> .
ɔ <i>kəkwečə</i>	<u>n.al.der.</u> object placed into a small body of water to make it shallow. (ɔ= <i>kəkwe=čə</i> ‘CAUS=shallow= INSTR.NMLZ’) Ex.: <i>əkəkwečə na kawar ?i</i> ‘The horse bone is for making the creek shallow.’ * <i>əkəkwečwəj</i> .
ɔ <i>krit</i>	<u>v.tr.der.</u> raise, care for a pet. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>t-ɔ=krit</i> . (ɔ= <i>krit</i> ‘CAUS=pet’)
ɔ <i>kučwa</i>	<u>v.tr.der.</u> season. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>t-ɔ=kučwari</i> . Nonfinite form: ɔ <i>kučwar</i> . (ɔ= <i>kučwa</i> ‘CAUS=scented’) Alternating form: ɔ <i>kučwari</i> .
ɔ <i>kurej</i> (ti)	<u>n.cmp.</u> argumentative person.
ɔ <i>piagri</i>	<u>v.tr.der.</u> give birth to someone. Inflectional pattern: O _E = <i>t-ɔ</i> A= <i>piagri</i> . Nonfinite form:

	<i>o piagri</i> ; alternative form: <i>piagrir</i> . Grammar: This verb has a descriptive counterpart in <i>piagri</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa atɔ icpiagri</i> . ‘I gave birth to you.’ <i>Na pa mɛ kra kə tik rɛ ɔ icpiagri</i> . ‘I gave birth to a black child.’ <i>Di kət kra kə tik rɛ ɔ piagri čwəŋ ja na prɛ bi kə tik ti ɔ beŋ</i> . ‘This woman who gave birth to a black child married a black man.’ See <i>piagri</i> .
<i>o poj</i>	<u>v.tr.der.</u> bring; take (<i>o=poj</i> ‘CAUS=chegar’)
<i>o pok</i>	<u>v.tr.der.</u> light up. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>t-o=pok</i> . Nonfinite form: same. (<i>o=pok</i> ‘CAUS=catch.on.fire’)
<i>o prō</i>	<u>v.tr.der.</u> 1. get married (generic), p.ex. <i>ŋum va ra atpē tɔ prō</i> ‘Then they got married.’ 2. get married (of man), p.ex. <i>pa na pa prɛ atɔ icprō</i> ‘I married you.’ (<i>o=prō</i> ‘CAUS=wife’)
<i>o rorok</i>	<u>v.tr.der.</u> erodir. Ex.: <i>da na prɛ pka ja ɔ rorok</i> ‘A chuva está erodindo a terra.’
<i>o tē</i>	<u>v.tr.der.</u> bring; take (<i>o=tē</i> ‘CAUS=go’)
<i>o upəm</i>	<u>v.trzd.</u> sink (by erosion)
<i>ŋī</i>	<u>v.intr.pos.</u> sit. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S- <i>ŋīr</i> . Grammar: In serial constructions (VɔV), indicates progressive or continuative aspect.
<i>ŋī</i>	<u>adv.</u> almost. Alternating forms: <i>ŋīr, ŋīj</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa ŋī itti</i> ‘I almost died.’ <i>Na pa atɔ ijaba čəj ŋīj ti</i> ‘I almost died of longing for you.’ <i>Na pa prɛ ŋīr ijapeč / ŋīr na pa prɛ ijapeč</i> ‘I was almost finished (i.e. died)!’
<i>ŋī̄</i>	<u>pron.int.</u> indefinite location. Indicates point of departure of centrifuge motion when it occurs with one of the movement suffixes <i>-im</i> ou <i>-ijr</i> : <i>ŋī̄im</i> ‘where to?’; <i>ŋī̄ijr</i> ‘where from?’. Indicates location when it occurs with the suffix <i>-rī</i> : <i>ŋī̄rī</i> ‘where is it?’
<i>ŋām</i>	<u>pron.indf.</u> another; some other. Ex. <i>Ka na ka prɛ ra ŋām ɔ aprō kīmō</i> ‘You have married another indeed.’ Alternation between <i>ŋām</i> and <i>ŋam</i> : the latter is used by speakers in their mid-twenties and younger.
<i>ŋīrkə</i>	<u>n.inal.cmp.</u> hive. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR= <i>ŋ-īrkə</i> . Ex.: <i>Amčī ŋīrkə</i> ‘wasp hive’; <i>rərčī ŋīrkə</i> ‘termite hive’; <i>beŋ ŋīrkə</i> ‘bee hive’. (<i>ŋ-īr=kə</i> ‘RP?-sit.NF=skin’)
<i>əŋčə</i>	<u>n.al.der.</u> sugar. (<i>əŋ=čə</i> ‘sweet=INSTR.NMLZ’)
<i>ə?kupīr</i>	<u>v.tr.cmp.</u> cast a spell on someone. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>č-ə=kupīr</i> .
<i>ŋəm</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> chin
<i>o?to</i>	<u>v.intr.evnt.</u> fly.
<i>o?to</i>	<u>v.dscr.</u> plenty (of countable nouns). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S= <i>o?to</i> . Nonfinite form: same.
<i>ətu</i>	<u>idiom.</u> So be it! Phonology: [ʔ̄:tu]
<i>əbri</i>	<u>adv.</u> 1. now; 2. then; 3. <u>v.intr.</u> be ready.
<i>əbu</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> 1. see. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>p-ubu</i> . Nonfinite form: <i>əbuŋ</i> . 2. <u>v.tr.noncan.</u> know; meet. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: E _A = <i>tɛ</i> O= <i>p-ubu</i> .
<i>ŋī</i>	<u>n.</u> flesh
<i>ŋī ačī ti</i>	<u>n.cmp.aug.</u> deer (sp). Port.: veado mateiro
<i>ŋī dɔ kje rɛ</i>	<u>n.cmp.dim.</u> mucura (sp.), smallish mammal with vertical stripes on the face, over the eyes. (<i>ŋī=dɔ=kje=rɛ</i> ‘mucura=eye=mark=dim’).
<i>ŋī ti</i>	<u>n.aug.</u> skunk (sp.)

<i>əkrɛ</i>	<i>v.dscr.</i> plant; sow. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S= <i>j-əkrɛ</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: This verb has the transitive counterpart <i>krɛ</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa ra ijəkrɛ pa</i> . ‘I’ve already finished planting.’ <i>Na ka ra ajəkrɛ pa</i> . ‘You’ve already finished planting.’ <i>Na ra mĩj əkrɛ pa</i> . ‘That one has finished planting.’ See <i>krɛ</i> .
<i>aklati/əkati</i>	<i>n.al.aug.</i> bird (sp.), Port.: pavão. Short legged bird that is predominantly black, colored in some places, with a little “hat” on top.
<i>əkaʔ ti</i>	<i>n.al.aug.</i> snake (sp.), Port.: Jibóia.
<i>akjətti</i>	<i>n.al.cmp.aug.</i> bird (sp.); hawk.
<i>akti</i>	<i>n.al.aug.</i> bird (sp.), Port.: mutum. Large bird, flies in bands.
<i>əm</i>	<i>pron.</i> third person pronoun.
<i>-im</i>	<i>suf.</i> centrifugal movement.
<i>ən</i>	<i>intrj.</i> Sim
<i>ʔo</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> 1. suck on a piece of fruit (e.g. mango); ingest juicy foods (e.g. honey). 2. drink the juice extracted from fruits or plants. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>ʔo</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: O= <i>ʔor</i> . Semantics: This verb contrasts with its counterpart <i>kaŋ</i> in that the latter refers specifically to the act of sucking the juice out of a fruit, e.g. an orange. Grammar: usually employs the quantifier <i>kwɪ</i> when O is a mass noun. Ex.: <i>Na pa manti ʔo</i> . ‘I ate the mangoes.’ <i>Ma:di ʔo təjč nē</i> . ‘I sucked the mango hard (until I got all the pulp off from it).’ See <i>kaŋ²</i> , <i>piao</i> .
<i>ʔok</i>	<i>n.inal.</i> sperm. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>ʔok</i> . Ex.: <i>Mɛ bi ʔok</i> ‘Men’s sperm.’
<i>ʔi</i>	<i>n.inal.</i> seed. Inflectional pattern: PSSR= <i>ʔi</i> ; no relational prefix.
<i>əpre</i>	<i>v.dscr.</i> 1. aggressive, belligerent. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S= <i>č-əpre</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Alternate form: <i>əprer</i> . 2. <i>v.tr.noncan.</i> be aggressive towards someone. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: E _O = <i>kamã</i> S= <i>č-əpre</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Pa na ičəpre</i> . ‘I’m aggressive.’ <i>Něj na tɛ əprer ɔ krĩ</i> . ‘The seated one is aggressive.’
<i>əprečwəj</i>	<i>n.al.der.</i> the irritable one.
<i>əpreji</i>	<i>n.al.der.</i> one who gets angry easily; irritable.
<i>əp</i>	<i>v.tr.</i> 1. roast; grill (of larger chunks of food, e.g. meat, potatoes). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= <i>č-əp</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Na pa ijñ bri čəp ɔ ča</i> . ‘I’m roasting my meat.’ <i>Na pa kətmã əp ɔ ča</i> . ‘I’m still roasting (it).’ <i>Na greri krəĩrɛ čəñ ne ɔ kučwa təjč kumrɛč</i> ‘Dada put the chicken to cook and now it smells good!’ Phonology: The basic form of the verb assimilates to the environment and is realized as [čəñ], as it precedes the conjunction <i>ně</i> . 2. <i>v.intr.</i> roast; cook; grill. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S= <i>č-əp</i> . Ex.: <i>əw, na ra əpə</i> ‘Yes, it is roasted.’ <i>Na kətmã əp ɔ ča</i> . ‘It’s still cooking.’ <i>Na kətmã meō əp ɔ ča</i> . ‘The food is still cooking.’ Alternate finite forms: <i>əp^p</i> . See <i>kučot</i> .
<i>ar</i>	<i>v.dscr.</i> enter. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S= <i>č-ar</i> ; alternate form: <i>ar^A</i> . Nonfinite form: same. Semantics: It appears this verb does not participate in the number opposition that characterizes the verb pair <i>ačə/agje</i> , in which the former is the singular counterpart and the latter the plural one. Ex.: <i>Na pa ra ičar</i> . ‘I went in.’ <i>Na tɛ ri akupim ar pirak</i> . ‘Looks like it went in again.’ <i>Ma, ata ra mɛ kapot ã ča tə na mɛ ra akupim ar pa</i> . ‘Well, they were all standing outside, but looks like they have all gone in now.’ See <i>ačə</i> , <i>agje</i> .

<i>ír</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> cut off; remove; pick (of fruit). Inflectional pattern: O= <i>ir</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: <i>Na pa ra ijō pičo ir</i> ‘I’ve already cut off my banana (bunch).’ <i>Na pa ijō pičo ir kačiw</i> ‘I’m about to get my bananas.’ <i>Na pa ijō pičo ir ɔ ča</i> ‘I’m getting my bananas.’
<i>ir</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> weave. Inflectional pattern: O= <i>i</i> ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: O= <i>ir</i> . Ex.: <i>Na pa itkupīp i</i> ‘I wove my mat.’ <i>Na pa itkupīp ir ɔ jī</i> ‘I’m weaving my mat.’
<i>ɔr ɔr</i>	<u>v.intr.evnt.</u> come to a boil. Ex.: <i>Kɔt paj amyī mē kuwi kamē meō čəm, jum ɔrɔt, jum kao pa kukrē.</i> ‘I’m going to put my food on the fire, it will come to a boil, then it will be ready for me to it.’
<i>ət</i>	<u>n.inal.</u> box. P.ex. <i>me prī mē ət aŋō me ɔ amnī kati</i> ‘Give the box to the children for them to play with.’
<i>jum</i>	<u>conj.</u> different subject, third person.
<i>əw</i>	<u>intrj.</u> yes
<i>ə</i>	<u>v.tr.</u> 1. place one object or a pair of objects of the same kind (e.g. a pair of sandals) into a deep recipient (e.g. a basket, a box, or a bag). 2. serve food (as a mass concept) in a deep container (e.g. a bowl). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=č-ə. Nonfinite form: <i>ər</i> . Semantics: This verb contrasts with such others as <i>mē</i> , <i>rē</i> and <i>gje</i> on the basis of the category of number, among other details. Morphology: The verb <i>ə</i> ‘serve’ is almost homophonous with the verb <i>ər</i> ‘cook’, except that the former has a different finite form and a relational prefix, and the latter has the same form in both finite and nonfinite positions, and it has no relational prefix. Ex.: <i>Na kɔtmē meō kwə čər ɔ ča.</i> ‘She is still serving herself to some food.’ <i>Tē ne amyīm meō kwə čə ne ipi amyīm mebɔ ata kwə rē.</i> ‘Go help yourself to some food, get yourself some of these things over there.’ <i>Pa ijō kɔp ičəm ketnē.</i> ‘I’m not going to set my cup (e.g. at the table).’ See <i>rē</i> , <i>mē</i> , <i>gje</i> .
<i>ɔ krikrit</i>	<u>v.tr.der.</u> 1. race someone. 2. run after someone. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=t-ɔ A=krikrit. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: In this form, the morpheme <i>ɔ</i> takes a relational prefix. Ex.: <i>Na pərti brekre ɔ krikrit jum ūbaj prōt.</i> ‘The truck raced after the seriema and it ran out of fear.’ <i>Ictɔ akrikrit ketnē.</i> ‘Don’t run after me.’ <i>Na wa atpēn tɔ krikrit.</i> ‘The two of them are racing each other.’ <i>Na ka wa atpēn tɔ akrikrit ketnē.</i> ‘The two of you are not racing one another.’ See <i>krikrit</i> .
<i>jī</i>	<u>v.intr.</u> sit. Nonfinite form: S= <i>jīr</i> . Semantics: The semantic contrast between this verb and <i>krī</i> appears to be that the former indicates movement towards sitting position, whereas the latter indicates being in sitting position. However, only <i>jī</i> seems to occur in constructions that require position verbs, indicating, in this case, something already in sitting position. This hypothesis is at odds with the morphological class of each verb and their correlation with descriptive and eventive notions. Another hypothesis is that the contrast may have to do with the number of participants, <i>jī</i> being the singular and <i>krī</i> the plural counterpart. A third hypothesis is that both verbs mean ‘be sitting’, but with the semantics of <i>krī</i> focusing on the resultative aspect of sitting down, and <i>jī</i> not having such connotation. Grammar: a. This verb is used in <i>VɔV</i> constructions, indicating progressive or continuative aspect. b. The verbs <i>nō</i> ‘lie’ and <i>jī</i> ‘sit’ contrast with their respective counterparts <i>ikwī</i> and <i>krī</i> in that the former seem to have a more flexible use, with respect to the number distinction of the absolutive, than the latter. It

is possible to find examples of *me nō* and *me jī*, even though these verbs refer basically to singular and dual absolutes; but *krī* and *ikwī* are often not found with singular absolutes. Ex.: *Pipɔ ð mūj ð jī*. ‘Sit on that bench.’ See *īr*, *krī*.

īr v.tr. sit one person or two people on a particular place. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=*ɲ-īr*. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: *Ja mū atō pipɔ ð īr*. ‘Sit your brother on that stool.’ *Pipɔ ata ð īr ketnē dɔ pipɔ ata əmduju, ra pikukēj*. ‘Don’t sit him on this bench [near you] because it is bad, it is broken.’ *Dλ, pa icte ð ajīr kete*. ‘No, it wasn’t me who sat you on it.’ *Kij pu me mō kəjum ð īr*. ‘Let’s go and lift her/the two of them (such that she/they stay seated).’ See *jī*, *krī*.

əkure v.dscr. **1.** intolerant; feisty; quarrelsome. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S=*č=əkure*. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: *Nēj na te əkure ɔ krī*. ‘That one is feisty.’ *Pa na ičəkure*. ‘I’m feisty.’ **2.** v.tr.noncan. resent someone; be upset with someone. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: E_O=*kam ð S=č-əkure*. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: *Na pa akam ð ičəkure*. ‘I’m upset with you.’ See *ɔ kure*; *kure*.

əm v.tr. **1.** place one or a pair of objects right-side up on a surface (e.g. table, counter or ground). **2.** place (a pot or pan of food) on the fire so as to cook. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=*č-əm*. Nonfinite form: same. Semantics: This verb (as well as its counterpart *ījwə*) is used with reference to objects shaped in such a way that allow the speaker to conceive of them as “standing up”, such as plates or cups. Its use would be more problematic with objects such as forks and knives, for instance, since these kinds of objects are typically laid in horizontal position. Ex.: *Kət paj amjū m ð kuwi kam ð me ð čəm, jum ɔrət, jum kao pa kukrē*. ‘I’m putting my food on the fire, then it will come to a boil and become ready for me to eat.’ *Paj kətm ð tē ne ri bra ne akupim tē ɔ: m ð amnīm goj kəm əm* ‘I’m going to go for a stroll, then I’ll come back and fix myself [some food] (lit.: “put something in the pan for myself”).’ *Ja na kəm əm kaga*. ‘That one refuses to set it up.’ *Kij pu kəjum ð əm*. ‘Let’s lift it (such that it stands right-side up).’ See *ījwə*, *i*.

APPENDIX D

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	- first person
2	- second person
3	- third person
ABL	- ablative
ACC	- accusative
ADJ.DESCR	- adjective
ALL	- allative
ALLT	- allative
ART	- article
ASP	- aspect
ASSC	- associative
AUG	- augmentative
CAUS	- causative
CNCL	- conclusive
CNJ	- conjunction
CNJ.DS	- conjunction.different subject
CNJ.SS	- conjunctcion.same subject
CNTRF	- centrigugal
CNTRP	- centripetal
COP	- copula
DAT	- dative
DEF	- definite
DEF.PL	- definite.plural
DEM	- demonstrative
DEM.DST	- demonstrative.distal
DEM.PRX	- demonstrative.proximal
DIM	- diminutive
DIR	- directional
DS	- different subject
DSCR	- same subject
DTR	- detrimental
DTRZ	- detransitivizer
DU	- dual
EMPH	- empatic
ERG	- ergative
EXCL	- exclamation
EXST	- existential
FCT	- factive
GEN	- genitive
H.T.	- honorific term
HAB	- habitual
HORT	- hortative

HORT.IRLS	- hortative.irrealis
HRS	- hearsay
IMM	- immediative
INCH	- inchoative
INCL	- inclusive
INDF	- indefinite
INSTR	- instrumental
INSV	- inessive
INTR	- intransitive
INTRJ	- interjection
INTS	- intensifier
IRLS	- irrealis
K.T.	- kinship term
LOC	- locative
MOV	- movement
N.	- proper noun
NEG	- negation
NEG.EXST	- negative existential
NF	- nonfinite
NMLZ	- nominalizer
NMLZ.AG	- nominalizer.agent
NMLZ.INSTR	- nominalizer.instrument
NMLZ.LOC	- nominalizer.locative
NMLZ.LOC/INSTR	- nominalizer.locative/instrument
NOM	- nominative
NONPL	- nonplural
PFV	- perfective
PL	- plural
PL.O	- plural O
PL.S	- plural S
PN	- proper noun
PRMS	- permission
PRT	- particle
PSSR	- possessor
PST	- past tense
PURP	- purpose
QTF	- quantifier
RCPR	- reciprocal
RDPL	- reduplication
RFLX	- reflexive
RLS	- realis
RLVZ	- relativizer
RP	- relational prefix
SG	- singular
SIMIL	- similitive
SS	- same.subject
TMP	- temporal

TMP.DEM
TR

- temporal demonstrative
- transitive

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