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University of Pittsburgh

A Grammar of Kadiwéu

Submitted to the Department of Linguistics in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Maria Filomena Sandalo

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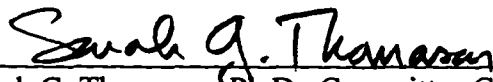
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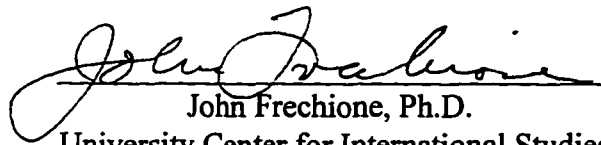
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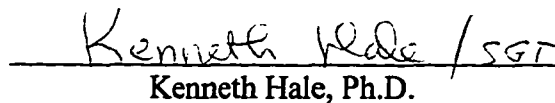
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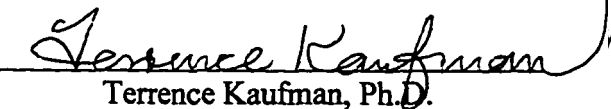
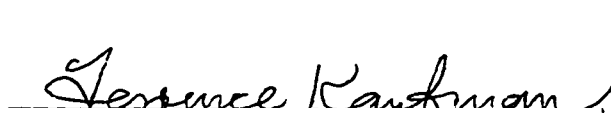
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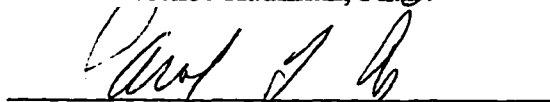
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Abstract:

This dissertation provides a general description and a dictionary of Kadiwéu, a Waikurúan language spoken by about 1,500 Indians distributed over an area of 538,000 hectares in the State of Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil. The Kadiwéus are the only surviving descendants of the Mbayá people, who in the 18th century dominated a large extension of the Brazilian and Paraguayan Chaco area. The data for this study is comprised primarily of material collected in fieldwork with native speakers of Kadiwéu in Serra da Bodoquena, Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil.

I provide a detailed description of Kadiwéu phonology and morphology. I offer a description of the Kadiwéu phonology, on synchronic and diachronic grounds, taking dialect differences into consideration. Kadiwéu has two dialects which reflect gender and social status. Moreover, I provide a detailed description of the verb and noun morphology. The verb is marked for subject and object in person and number. Kadiwéu marks subject person with prefixes, but number (pl) is marked with a suffix immediately following the root. Aspect and mood, but not tense, are marked on the verb. There are seven aspect markers - completive/incompletive/durative, telic/atelic, repetitive, and intensive - and two mood markers, conditional and desiderative. There are also three negation markers and a set of directional enclitics. Among the Waikurúan languages, only Kadiwéu has a set of semantic role markers. The structure of the Kadiwéu noun resembles noun structure in other Waikurúan languages as well as in most western South American languages. The presence of classifiers/nominalizers marking inalienable possession seems to be an areal feature of the languages of western lowland South America.

Several aspects of the Kadiwéu syntax, which bear on theoretical issues, are discussed. Kadiwéu has the classical properties of a nonconfigurational language: any nominal phrase can be omitted, nominal phrases are freely ordered with respect to each other and the verb, and some discontinuous nominal expressions are allowed. Jelinek 1984 explains the properties of nonconfigurational languages by proposing that languages set the elements which can be verbal arguments. According to Jelinek, pronominal clitics and affixes are the arguments in nonconfigurational languages; nominal phrases are adjuncts and therefore they can assume free order or be omitted. This proposal has not been universally accepted, however. For instance, Baker 1994 argues that nominal phrases are adjuncts in Mohawk, but he denies that pronominals are arguments in this language. According to Baker, the arguments are an empty category *pro* that occupies the projections of the verb. Kadiwéu offers evidence supporting Jelinek's

hypothesis that pronominals can indeed be arguments in some languages. First, pronominal clitics and affixes co-occur with elements which are roughly like English prepositions in that they assign semantic roles: *-d*: 'theme', *-wa ~ -ma* 'dative', *-dom ~ -ma* 'benefactive', *-g* 'goal', *-lokom* 'adessive', *-k* 'allative'. Nouns can never co-occur with such semantic role assigners. The fact that bound pronominals, rather than nouns, are governed by semantic role assigners suggests that Kadiwéu is a pronominal argument language of the Jelinek rather than the Baker type. In addition, the results of several syntactic tests support the analysis — passivization, recursivity, coreference, anaphora, quantifiers, and the behavior of *WH*-interrogatives — support the analysis.

This dissertation also shows that the major lexical categories present in Kadiwéu are nouns and verbs. Kadiwéu lacks prepositions entirely. I show that structures previously analyzed as containing prepositional phrases are in fact serial verb constructions.

Finally, I present the criteria I used to classify the Kadiwéu roots as nouns or verbs. Verbs are those elements which are valent; that is, that have an argument structure. Valency representation contains information about the number of arguments a verb requires and the semantic nature of those arguments. I determine the valency of a Kadiwéu root according to (i) the meaning of a bare root and (ii) the meaning of a stem consisting of the root plus a valency suffix. Although Kadiwéu has valent roots, it has no transitive roots. I understand transitivity as the capacity of assigning theta-roles to complements. Transitivity is assigned syntactically via verb movement. This dissertation has implications for language typology and linguistic parameters. Jelinek & Demers' 1994 prediction that transitivity is assigned at the syntactic level in all languages whose arguments are pronominals, rather than nominal phrases or an empty *pro*, is borne out by Kadiwéu. I propose a parametric variation based on an insight in Fukui & Speas 1986 to account for pronominal argument languages. I argue that in these languages verbs do not project. On this hypothesis, clauses in pronominal argument languages are formed by raising of a valent lexical item to adjoin a light verb, which is a functional category able to theta-assign.

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My thesis committee members Sarah G. Thomason, Terrence Kaufman, Carol Tenny, Kenneth Hale, and John Frechione are the first that I would like to thank.

Sally's influence in this thesis is quite obvious. This project was first inspired by Sally's seminar on Montana Salish, a language which share several typological features with Kadiwéu. Her comments were always very constructive, so that I was always sure that subsequent versions of each chapter would be considerably improved. Her input, guidance, and demand for precision throughout this project were fundamental in the development of this study; without her this thesis would not have been written.

Terry was the first to encourage field work with Kadiwéu and the Waikurián languages. I owe Terry my interest in the history of South American languages and cultures.

With Carol I learned what I know on theoretical syntax. Carol has been guiding her students to understand what a theory is and what a linguistic theory has to account for.

I met Ken at the Linguistic Society of America Annual Meeting in January 1995 and since then he has represented important encouragement. The fact that Ken found the same kind of phenomena that I discuss here in the nonconfigurational languages he studied gave me confidence that what I was doing was not off the mark.

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Finally, my special thanks to Hilário, Reinaldo, Martina, Dora, Graciana, Maria, and Francisco for all the data in this dissertation, and to Euzébio and Cleuza who always had a room reserved for me.

natigide	jatemati	ika	jotigide	ejewajegi.
<i>natigide</i>	<i>j-atemati</i>	<i>i-ka</i>	<i>jotigide</i>	<i>ejewajegi</i>
now	1sg.SUBJ-tell	masc-DEM	old	Kadiwéu

'I am going to talk about the ancient Kadiwéus,

nGika	jotigidi	God:oygi	aGika,
<i>nG-i-ka</i>	<i>jotigide</i>	<i>God:-oygi</i>	<i>aG-i-ka</i>
close-masc-DEM	old	1pl.POSS-nation	negative-masc-locative

'Our ancient nation does not exist anymore,

daGa	likyagi	in:owa	noqododi.
<i>daGa</i>	<i>likyagi</i>	<i>i-n:a-wa</i>	<i>noqo-dodi</i>
negative	same	masc-coming-pl	day-pl

today is different.'

natigide	jiGini	ika	ane	di:d.iqo.
<i>natigide</i>	<i>jG-i-n:i</i>	<i>i-ka</i>	<i>ane</i>	<i>y-d:-i:d:i-qon</i>
now	compl-masc-sitting	masc-DEM	relative	3sg.SUBJ-theme-write-[-become]

'Currently there are people who can write.'

oda	niGika	jotigide	niGika	oqo	el:yodi
<i>oda</i>	<i>nG-i-ka</i>	<i>jotigide</i>	<i>nG-i-ka</i>	<i>oqom</i>	<i>el:yodi</i>
and	close-masc-DEM	old	close-masc-DEM	people	lot

'And those ancients who were many...

me	neledide:Ga	aGoyema:	eledi	oqo	anenoti.w.
<i>me</i>	<i>neledide:-Ga</i>	<i>aG+o-y-ema:n:</i>	<i>eledi</i>	<i>oqom</i>	<i>ane+n-o-t+w</i>
COMP	white.people-pl	neg + pl-3pl.SUBJ-want	another	people	relative + 3pl.SUBJ-come-rel + inward

did not like white people coming over.

oda	niGika	jotigide	ane	eledi	latopagi	oqo	oyel:wadi
<i>oda</i>	<i>nG-i-ka</i>	<i>jotigide</i>	<i>ane</i>	<i>eledi</i>	<i>l-atopagi</i>	<i>oqom</i>	<i>o-y-el:wadi</i>
and	close-masc-DEM	old	relative	another	3POSS-race	people	pl-3pl.SUBJ-kill

And those ancient who killed people of other races,

natigide	ja	dinige	ane	jinaGa,
<i>natigide</i>	<i>jaG</i>	<i>y-d:-i:nige</i>	<i>ane</i>	<i>jinaGa</i>
now	completive	3sg.SUBJ-theme-change	relative	way of being

they have now changed ,

le:Godi	joGonotoGowa	ekalaye.
<i>le:Godi</i>	<i>jaG+o-n-o-t+Go-wa</i>	<i>ekalaye</i>
because	completive + pl-3pl.SUBJ-come-rel + 1pl.CL-dative	white foreigner

because now white foreigners can come to us.'

Ejewajegi: inyota:godí, inyota:god:o.
To the Kadiwéu Indians, thanks for having accepted me.

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1. Introduction

"La Nacion, de cuyo Idioma es la presente Gramatica, era conocida bajo tres nombres siguientes. Primero: Guaicurus; Segundo: Mbayas; Tercero: Eyiguayegis. Los dos primeros lo pusieron los Españoles, tomados de la Lengua Guarani; el tercero es el proprio de toda la Nacion, y significa los pertenecientes al Paiz en que se cria una especie de Palma llamada eyigua, en su natural lenguaje" (Sanchez Labrador 1760)ⁱ

This dissertation provides a linguistic description, based on original field research, of Kadiwéu, a Waikurúan language spoken by about 1.500 Indians distributed over an area of 538.000 hectares in the State of Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil. The Waikurúan language family has two branches: (a) the Waikurúan Branch, which includes Mbayá and its descendent Kadiwéu; and (b) the Southern Branch, which comprises four other languages: Toba, Pilagá, Mocoví, and Apibón. Toba is spoken in the eastern part of the Chaco and Formosa provinces of Argentina, in southern Paraguay, and in the eastern part of Bolivia; there are approximately 25.000 speakers. Pilagá, with about 4.000 speakers, is spoken in the northeastern part of Chaco province, and in eastern Formosa, Argentina; and Mocoví, with about 7.000 speakers, is spoken in Argentina in the northern part of Santa Fe and southern Chaco provinces. Abipón, which was spoken in the eastern part of Chaco province, Argentina, is now extinct and was very closely related to the other languages in this branch. All the languages of the Waikurúan family remain incompletely documented, and some are hardly documented at all.¹

1.1. Research goals

The main goal of this study is to provide a general description of Kadiwéu using typological checklists as guides. The *South American Indian Languages Documentation Project Questionnaire* (Kaufman & Berlin 1987) is a blueprint for the data collection, but I also use selected portions of the 1977 *Lingua* checklist for more detailed study of especially important and interesting features. Although these checklists do not provide for a complete

ⁱ "The Nation, whose language is this grammar, was known by the following three names. First Waikurú; second Mbayá; third Ejiwajegi. The two first names were used by the Spanish people, and were taken from Guarani; the third name is the Nation's own name, and it refers to the ones who inhabit the country where the eyiwa palm grows."

description of a language, they identify the issues that are crucial to a general description. In addition to the grammatical study, I have included a Kadiwéu-English-Portuguese dictionary. The dictionary contains roots as main entries, each one with examples of usage (mainly phrases).

This dissertation is organized as follows. In chapter 2 I present a description of Kadiwéu phonology and in chapter 3 I present a detailed description of the verb and noun morphology. Chapter 4 is divided into four sections that cover aspects of Kadiwéu (morpho)syntax: constituent order and sentence types, pronominals, serial verbs, and valency/transitivity.

1.1.1. Methodology of Obtaining the Database. The data for this study is comprised primarily of material collected in fieldwork between 1993 and 1995 with native speakers of Kadiwéu in Serra da Bodoquena, Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil. The data presented in previous studies of Kadiwéu (Griffiths & Griffiths 1976, Braggio 1981, Griffiths 1973, 1987, 1991) served as a guide for hypothesis formation at different stages of data collection.

In the first part of the research (1993), I concentrated on the collection of words for a formal description of the phonology and morphology and for the development of a dictionary. I first collected basic words, guided by Kaufman & Berlin's lexical checklist (around 2,000 words); I also used books containing pictures of plants, animals, and birds from western lowland South America (Magalhaes 1992, Bertelli 1984) and a dictionary of verbs containing 4,500 entries (Noble & Lacasa 1992) for more specific lexical elicitation in those domains.

I concentrated on the analysis of the morphosyntax in the second part of the research (1994-1995). I have collected an extensive set of sentences and texts. Elicitation of isolated sentences was crucial to fill gaps in morphological paradigms and to apply syntactic tests to test my hypotheses. I also collected historical narratives and folk tales from some of the village storytellers, since I wanted my work to contribute some information about the Kadiwéu culture.

1.1.2. Special Topics to be Explored Theoretically as well as Descriptively. In addition to the basic descriptive study, I have investigated selected topics that bear on theoretical issues. In particular, I provide evidence that pronominal clitics and affixes are arguments in Kadiwéu and that nominal phrases are optionally adjoined to the sentence. Here I will briefly explain the significance of my results.

Kadiwéu has the classical properties of a nonconfigurational language: any nominal phrase can be omitted, nominal phrases are freely ordered with respect to each other and the verb, and some discontinuous nominal expressions are allowed. Jelinek 1984 explains the properties of nonconfigurational languages by proposing that languages set the elements which can work as verbal arguments. According to Jelinek, pronominal clitics and affixes are the arguments in nonconfigurational languages; nominal phrases are adjuncts, and therefore they can assume free order or be omitted. This proposal has not been universally accepted, however. For instance, Baker (1994) argues that nominal phrases are adjuncts in Mohawk, but he denies that pronominals are arguments in this language. According to Baker, the arguments are an empty category *pro* that occupies the projections of the verb.

Kadiwéu offers evidence supporting Jelinek's hypothesis that pronominals can indeed be arguments in some languages. First, pronominal clitics and affixes co-occur with elements which are roughly like English prepositions in that they assign semantic roles: *-d* 'theme', *-wa* ~ *-ma* 'dative', *-dom* ~ *-lo* ~ *-ma* 'benefactive', *-g* 'goal', *-lokom* 'adessive', and *-k* 'allative'. Nouns never co-occur with such semantic role assigners. The fact that bound pronominals, rather than nouns, are governed by semantic role assigners suggests that Kadiwéu is a pronominal argument language of the Jelinek rather than the Baker type. In addition, the results of several syntactic tests, for instance passivization — which affects pronominals but not nominal phrases — support the hypothesis.

This work has implications for studies of language typology and linguistic parameters. Jelinek & Demers' 1994 prediction that transitivity is assigned at the syntactic level in all languages whose arguments are pronominals, rather than nominal phrases or an empty *pro*, is borne out by Kadiwéu. Kadiwéu roots resemble nouns of better-known languages in that they are not transitive; that is, they cannot assign theta-roles to complements. Thomason et al. 1994 argue that transitivity and valency must be distinguished. The facts of Kadiwéu support this proposal. Although Kadiwéu has valent roots, it has no transitive roots. Transitivity is introduced via morphemes that function as light verbs (Grimshaw & Mester 1988).

1.2. Previous Analyses of Kadiwéu

The Kadiwéus are the only surviving descendants of the Mbayá people, who in the 18th century dominated a large extension of the Brazilian and Paraguayan Chaco area (23.5° to 19° degrees of Latitude South, Sanchez Labrador, 1760). A short sketch in a 1760 grammar and dictionary by Sanchez Labrador (published in Susnik 1971) is the only material available on Mbayá. Sanchez Labrador collected his data near Asunción, Paraguay, so his data represent a dialect that presumably already differed from the immediate ancestor of Kadiwéu. Documentation of Kadiwéu proper has been only very fragmentary.

1.2.1. Griffiths & Griffiths 1976. Griffiths & Griffiths 1976 consists of a vocabulary list with some nouns and phrases, a brief description of the phonology, and a collection of preliminary papers describing aspects of verb and noun morphology. In general, taxonomic lists of morpheme clusters are provided and no generalizations are made. The authors do not attempt to discriminate clitics from affixes. It is crucial, however, to discriminate clitics from affixes, since an adequate theory of morphology cannot be constructed on the basis of language descriptions in which inflection is confused with cliticization, or in which important types of inflectional systems are mislabeled as clitic systems. Moreover, Griffiths & Griffiths' phonetic transcription is not completely systematic. First, they do not consistently distinguish velar from uvular consonants; second, they do not register long consonants; and third, although they point out that stress may be predictable in Kadiwéu, stress is never marked in their data and they do not provide any rule to account for stress assignment.

1.2.2. Braggio 1981. Braggio 1981 is a description of Kadiwéu phonology, including a discussion of some morphophonemic rules which affect subject and object prefixes. This work is based solely on 23 verbal paradigms, and therefore several aspects of the language's phonology and morphology were misanalyzed. The author presents a systematic transcription of Kadiwéu, clearly distinguishing long and short consonants; however, she postulates that long consonants occur in stressed syllables only, and are therefore predictable. This rule does not hold: in

Kadiwéu long and short consonants are phonemically distinct. Braggio observes that subject and object prefixes do not co-occur, and she tries to account for this complementary distribution of subject and object markers via phonological rules. My data shows, however, that there is no plausible phonological basis for the complementarity of subject and object prefixes in Kadiwéu. Moreover, Braggio complicates the Kadiwéu pronominal system by postulating two sets of distinct subject prefixes. Kadiwéu has only one set of subject prefixes: these undergo regular phonological alternations according to the semantic case suffix that follows them.

1.2.3. Griffiths 1973, 1987, 1991. Griffiths 1973 describes demonstratives and numerals. Griffiths shows that the Kadiwéu demonstrative system is quite complex, encoding gender (m/f), number (sg/pl), and position (static/moving). His description of the Kadiwéu demonstrative system is not complete, however. He does not report some morphemes which are obligatorily present in Kadiwéu demonstratives; for instance, the demonstrative system encodes a distinction between present and absent, which he does not discuss.

Griffiths 1987 and Griffiths 1991 are descriptions of Kadiwéu relative clauses and whinterrogatives, respectively, including a discussion of constituent order and constituent movement. The author points out that the constituent order of Kadiwéu main clauses varies freely between VSO and SVO, while the constituent order of subordinate clauses is always VSO. My data shows that the constituent order of Kadiwéu main clauses is much freer than Griffiths reports. Possible orders are OVS, VOS, SOV, OSV, VSO, and SVO. The high frequency of SVO order in Griffiths' publications seems to be biased by elicitation technique: I have found that Kadiwéu speakers tend to translate Portuguese sentences with SVO order. The problem is that, although one can translate Portuguese sentences word-by-word into Kadiwéu, the resulting set of Kadiwéu sentences reflects a small proportion of the constituent order of Kadiwéu, which has much freer order. Griffiths never mentions that (semantic) case is morphologically marked in Kadiwéu, and free constituent order is not unusual among languages which mark case morphologically.

In sum, although there are several linguistic studies of aspects of Kadiwéu structure, they are limited in scope and, for a variety of reasons, they present an incomplete (and in some instances flawed) picture of the structures they cover. There is therefore a clear need for a full-scale grammatical description of the language.

1.3. Use of the Results of this Study

Aside from the value of having a grammar of a little-studied language in a little-studied family, the results of this research should serve broader purposes as well.

Neither the history of South American languages nor, in general, the languages themselves are well known. The hope for a solid understanding of South American linguistic history depends on adequate descriptions of these languages.

My research documents a little-known language of the Waikurúan family and thus contributes to the understanding of South American linguistic history. Another linguist at the University of Pittsburgh, Veronica Ceria, has begun research on a second Waikurúan language, Mocoví. My description of Kadiwéu places University of Pittsburgh researchers in a unique position to carry out the reconstruction of Proto-Waikurúan: for a preliminary study, see Ceria & Sandalo 1995.

My research also contributes to the maintenance of Kadiwéu. Bilingual education is crucial for the maintenance of languages whose speakers have been in contact with speakers of dominant languages for years. The Kadiwéu Indians have been interested in bilingual education, but there is almost no specialized work on this language which could help in the preparation of pedagogical materials. The grammar and dictionary that I have prepared could be used by the Indians and by Brazilian scholars engaged in bilingual education.

1.4. Ethnography

The remainder of this introductory chapter provides some background to Kadiwéu history and culture.

1.4.1. History. Although the Mbayá Indians were first contacted in 1548. Sanchez Labrador in 1760 was the first to present an estimate of the land occupied by them. According to Sanchez Labrador (1760:7):

"La Nacion está muy estendida, y poblada de gente. Se há enseñoreado de la tierra por centenares de leguas. Desde el Tropico de Capricornio, es decir, desde los 23° grados, y medio de latitud Austral, hasta los 19° grados de la misma hacia el Ecuador, llenan la tierra por la orilla oriental, y parte por la occidental del famoso rio Paraguay."ⁱⁱ

It is possible that the land occupied by Mbayá in the pre-Columbian times was even larger, since by 1760 a considerably part of the Mbayá people had been already killed by colonizers and explorers. Asunción (Paraguay) was founded in 1536 as a convenient base for the exploration of the Chaco. The Chaco area itself was not economically important to the Spanish and Portuguese explorers, but it was a possible gateway to the Inca empire. The main events in the Chaco which directly affected the Mbayás Indians in the 16th century were (a) the expedition of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca in 1542, (b) the raid of Nufrio de Chavez on the territory of the Mbayás in 1545, and (c) the march of Domingo Martínez de Irala in 1548-49. But the greatest hostilities between the Mbayá Indians and the Spaniards of Paraguay started only toward the end of the 16th century. Métraux (1945:201) points out that,

"By the end of the 16th century, Spanish settlements surrounded the Chaco area, and the Spaniards recognized that it would be advantageous, for economic and political reasons, to pacify the Indians and to establish a shorter route between Paraguay and Peru. Nevertheless, fear of this "green hell" and of its inhabitants prevented an extensive conquest. White penetration was accomplished slowly by the establishment of precarious military posts and a few towns, whose settlers exterminated the Indians or reduced them to serfdom."

The Mbayás were the first lowland South American Indians to react against European domination. In 1661 the Mbayás attacked the Province of Itati and destroyed the mission of Santa María de Fé (20,5° Latitude South); and many Mbayás remained in the acquired areas. From there they threatened Assunción, the capital city of the Spanish settlers, several times. In 1751 the Mbayás destroyed the town of Curuquati, killing a large part of its

ⁱⁱ "The Nation is very large and populated, comprising hundred of miles from the Tropic of Capricorn (23° degrees and a half of latitude South) to the 19° degrees towards the Equator, filling the land to the eastern and part to the western shores of the famous Paraguay River."

population. In the beginning of the 18th century, allied to the Payawá Indians, they destroyed farms near Vila Maria (16° South) and killed colonists coming from Sao Paulo, Brazil (*Bandeirantes*).

When the missionaries guided by Sanchez Labrador contacted the Mbayá in 1760, the Indians were already reduced in number and addicted to alcohol (Sanchez Labrador 1770, vol. II), and by the end of the 18th century the Mbayás were almost extinct. Ribeiro (1950:20) observes that,

"Em luta contra os *Mbayá-Guaikuru*, os colonizadores espanhóis e portugueses usaram de todos os recursos, desde as expedições de extermínio até o comércio de aguardante, a contaminação através de presentes de roupas de variolosos, as alianças de paz, o suborno e as traições. A catequese jesuítica, principal recurso de arsenal de pacificação dos tempos coloniais, não foi negligenciada. E nem poderiam ser, já que a Companhia de Jesus era a maior interessada nessa obra, pois suas reduções, como os mais avançados estabelecimentos europeus no Chaco, eram os objetivos de saque preferidos dos *Guaikuru*."ⁱⁱⁱ

In the 19th century the Kadiwéus were already the only living descendents of the Mbayás. Apparently they survived because the land they occupied was not easily accessible by Europeans due to the swamps and mountains that surround it (Ribeiro 1950).

At the end of the 19th century the Kadiwéus allied with the Brazilian government against Paraguay in the Paraguayan war (1865-70). By the end of the Paraguayan war, the Kadiwéu Nation numbered only 150 Indians (Métraux 1945).

The Brazilian government granted the Kadiwéu survivors full possession of their territory as a reward for their significant contribution to the victory in the Paraguayan war. The Kadiwéu's reservation is bounded on the north by the Nabileque River, on the west by the Paraguay River, on the South by the Aquidauana River, and on the east by the Bodoquena Mountains and the Niutaque River, a tributary of the Nabileque River. The possession of this reservation certainly contributed to the preservation of this Indian community.

ⁱⁱⁱ "In fighting the *Mbayá-Guaikuru*, the Spanish and Portuguese colonists used all possible resources, from the extermination expeditions to the alcohol trades, gifts of clothes contaminated by smallpox, peace coalition, bribery, and treachery. The Jesuit missions, the main resource of pacification from the colonial times, were not disregarded. And they could not be disregarded, because the *Compania de Jesus* was the main party interested in this action, since their reductions [of people to Christianity], as well as the more developed European settlement in the Chaco, were the preferred goals of the *Guaikuru* sacking."

1.4.2. Prehistory. Boggiani 1842 [1975] suggests that a major civilization was being developed by the Waikurúans in pre-Columbian times. However, the prehistory of the Waikurúans as well as of the whole Chaco is still an incognita. Boggiani mentions shell mounds at Puerto 14 de Mayo and at several other points along the upper Paraguay River. These mounds contained potsherds with decoration similar to that of modern Kadiwéus. Vellard (1934, cited in Métraux 1945) reports that funeral urns were found in large quantities in a cemetery near Puerto Guarani, Paraguay.

According to Boggiani, the Kadiwéu Indians used to mark their wood tools and animal skins with symbols which resemble a writing system. Currently the Kadiwéus use the Portuguese writing system, so the hypothesis that they developed a writing system cannot be systematically tested because the evidence was lost.

1.4.3. Social Organization. In spite of the fact that Mbayá society was highly stratified, they resembled Amazonian groups in that they used to be organized into bands. Each area dominated by the Mbayá bands gave origin to a new subtribe with its own chiefs (Métraux 1945). The Kadiwéus correspond to one subtribe, the one that occupied the east shore of the Paraguay River (Ribeiro 1950).

Although rapidly changing, the original Mbayá traditions apparently still survive among the Kadiwéus. This society differs from most of the Indians of Lowland South America in that it is stratified into social classes, with chiefs and nobles at one extreme and serfs and slaves at the other. According to Métraux (1945:304),

"In contrast to the democratic organization of the Pilcomayo River tribes, Mbayá society was rigorously stratified. The adoption of the horse gave this tribe a decided advantage over its neighbors, which contributed to the formation of a system of classes and even of casts. Unable to absorb its countless prisoners, as most Chaco Indians do, each group maintained its individuality and hegemony by stressing blood purity and the privileges of the conquerors. The subjugated tribes were reduced to the condition of serfs and slaves, and the heads of the extended Mbayá families constituted a new aristocracy."

(a) *Nobles and Chiefs*. Two different types of leaders exist among the Kadiwéus: those who inherited their status (nobles) and those on whom the title was bestowed (chiefs). Although the latter type are the main people responsible for management and foreign relations, they do not transmit their rank to their children and they have to obey the nobles' decisions. Nevertheless, the exalted position of the nobles does not give them absolute power. Their decision has to be approved by the council of former chiefs, elders, and distinguished warriors.

(b) *Warriors*. The most numerous social class among the Mbayás consisted of warriors. Since warfare practices have been forbidden by the Brazilian Indian Organization (FUNAI), the Kadiwéu warriors are now without an occupation. Ribeiro (1950:65) reports the following speech from a warrior:

"Ejiwajeg antigo era a nação mais poderosa, este mundo todo foi nosso, terreno, xamacoco, brasileiro, paraguaio, todos foram nossos cativos, hoje estamos assim".^{iv}

The Mbayá were known as the most dangerous of all Chaco tribes (Sanchez Labrador 1760, 1770, Boggiani 1842 [1975], Métraux 1945, Ribeiro 1950). The goal of the wars and sackings was expansion of land holdings as well as the capture of slaves. According to a Kadiwéu informant, only children were captured; adults were killed. Boggiani observes that many women were also kept alive to be sold to Portuguese and Spanish slave traders in Paraguay.

(c) *Serfs*. According to Métraux, several neighbor tribes subjugated themselves to the Mbayás in pre-Columbian times as a result of marriage policies. Sanchez Labrador points out that the Guanás Indians considered themselves subordinate to the Mbayá nobles, whom they called "our lords".

Although it is not clear whether the same marriage policies still subsist among the Kadiwéus, there are several Terena women married to Kadiwéu nobles, and indeed there are several Terena serfs among the Kadiwéus.

(d) *Slaves*. Although both serfs and slaves work in agriculture and house keeping, their social states are different. The slaves are the war captives and their descendants. The possession of slaves is a symbol of prestige.

1.4.4. Subsistence. The Mbayás were known to be hunters and gatherers. Their area was covered by innumerable palm and jatai trees which provided abundant food in season, the forest yielded considerable game, and the rivers yielded many fish. The irregular distribution of certain plants, animal, and water, however, led to a

^{iv} "In past times the Ejiwajeg was the most powerful nation, all this world was ours: terenan, xamacocan, brazilian, paraguayan, all of them were our captives; today we are powerless".

limited nomadism, which did not involve the migration of bands, but rather the dispersal of small family groups to gather food (Métraux 1945). Honey and eggs were also important in their subsistence.

Boggiani 1842 [1975] reports the existence of plantations (family gardens) among the Kadiwéus. According to him, they planted beans, corn, manioc, sugar cane, rice, pumpkins, melons, bananas, and papayas, but he does not describe the agricultural techniques they used in the past hundred years.

Nowadays, since the Kadiwéus are forbidden to practice war and expand their land, they have become sedentary. More recently, many roads were constructed as farmers came to live in nearby areas. The Chaco is a very dry area, except during the rainy season when most of it is turned into swamps and water holes. These water holes may dry up suddenly, however. In many parts of the Chaco, especially in dried-up lagoons and marshes, the ground is covered by a crust of salt. The rainy and dry seasons last six months each. In the winter (June-August), the temperature may fall several degrees below the freezing point, while the highest temperatures in South America (46° C) have been registered during the summer. Although this is a dry area, technology has turned the Chaco and pampas of Brazil into the most important agricultural and cattle-ranch area of the country. As the area has become less isolated and game more scarce, the Kadiwéus have been undergoing a transition from being mainly dependent upon hunting and fishing to cattle-farming and crop-growing. The land is equally divided among families and each family is responsible for the productivity of its own piece of land. Although many Kadiwéus support themselves by renting part of their land to local farmers, they are increasingly taking over the management of their own land, helped by an economic development project supported by the Inter American Development Bank. The success of this project is very desirable since it provides a new occupation for the former class of warriors.

Another source of income is the sale of ceramics, for which the Kadiwéus are quite known in Brazil. Moreover, metal ornaments, belts, bags, and baskets are also traded.

According to Métraux, all Chaco Indians have pottery. The Kadiwéus, however, are distinguished from the other Indians from the Chaco in their pottery is among the finest in lowland South America. The Mbayá-Kadiwéu, Guaná, and Kashihá are the only lowland South American Indians who decorate their pottery by pressing cords into the wet clay. The Kadiwéu pottery decoration is quite elaborated, consisting of Greek frets and geometric patterns. According to Boggiani, this decoration resembles Andean motifs.

Metallurgy was practiced in the Chaco only by the Mbayás. They worked on silver and brass to make ornaments for horses and for themselves, such as belts, earrings, and necklaces. Metal seems to have been used among the Mbayás long before the European arrived. When they were first contacted (1548) they had silver frontlets and silver plates 3.5 inches long and 0.5 inch wide, which they wore on their foreheads (Métraux 1945).

2. Phonology

As mentioned above, the Kadiwéu society differs from that of most Indians of lowland South America in that it is stratified into social classes. It is very common to find linguistic variation reflecting different social classes in societies with a stratified political organization. Kadiwéu is no exception to this generalization. The objective of this chapter is to offer a description of the Kadiwéu phonology taking dialectal differences into consideration.

Sanchez Labrador was the first to observe the existence of linguistic diversity among the Mbayá Indians. Sanchez Labrador (1770, vol. 2: 114-115) registered such diversity as a gender distinction:

"Costó indecible trabajo hacer entender los significados á la intérprete, que estaba ya poco menos bárbara que los mismos infieles. Uno de los mayores cuidados consistió en que nos diese las palabras con que hablan en muchas cosas los hombres, y son distintas de las que usan las mujeres. Como lo era la interprete, nos decía los vocablos que á las de su sexo eran familiares. Hablábamos con tales palabras á los hombres, y éstos con gracia nos preguntaban si nosotros éramos mujeres: y al mismo tiempo corregían la voz y ponían la que ellos usaban."^v

Kadiwéu maintains the gender distinctions mentioned by Sanchez Labrador. Kadiwéu has two main dialects, one spoken by women who are descendants of Kadiwéu women. The other dialect is spoken by the rest of the Kadiwéu speakers, including men and women. The fact that the former dialect is spoken by women descended from Kadiwéu women, and not by any other women, suggests that the dialect differences mentioned above reflect social positions rather than gender alone. Given the high status of these women, I will call this dialect Noble Kadiwéu. I refer to the more general dialect as Non-noble Kadiwéu, although the speakers of this linguistic variety do include noble men.

Although I have found no morphological or syntactic differences, upper- and lower-class Kadiwéu differ considerably at the phonological level.² In § 2.1 I offer a description of Kadiwéu segmental phonology. In § 2.2 I examine segmental diachronic changes. Section 2.3 is a description of Kadiwéu suprasegmental phonology. Prosodic features have frequently been seen to be especially stable, but when languages remain in contact for several centuries and a shift process toward the dominant language is slow, the opposite pattern has been attested

^v It took us incredible work to understand our female interpreter, who was a little less barbarian than many of the other infidels. One of the major difficulties was to convince the interpreter to say the words spoken by the men, which are different from the ones spoken by the women. Since our interpreter was a woman, she gave us the words proper to her gender. Later we used those words to talk to the men and they ironically asked us whether we were women: and then they corrected the voice and told us the words proper to their gender.

(Thomason & Kaufman 1988:42). In § 2.4 I suggest that a Waikurian stress pattern has been maintained in Noble Kadiwéu, but that Non-noble Kadiwéu has been changing towards the Portuguese/Spanish prosody.

Since errors can easily creep into transcription of material collected in fieldwork by just one person, all the data analyzed below were checked by means of the CECIL speech analysis system. The CECIL system was specially helpful in the transcription of suprasegmental aspects of the language, e.g. length, stress, and tone. The phonetic transcription is based on the International Phonetic Alphabet.

2.1. Segmental Phonology

The Kadiwéu consonant phonemes are /p, b, b:, t, d, d:, j, c, k, g, g:, q, G, m, m:, n, n:, l, l:, w, w:, y, y:/, and the eight vowel phonemes are /a, a:, e, e:, i, i:, o, o:/. Table 1 shows the consonant inventory of Kadiwéu, and Table 2 shows Kadiwéu vowels.

	labial	dental	alveo- palatal	palatal	velar	post- velar
stops & affricates	p b b:	t d d:	c j		k g g:	q G
nasals	m m:	n n:				
laterals		l l:				
semivowels	w w:			y y:		

Table 1: Consonants

	front		central		back	
	short	long	short	long	short	long
high	i	i:				
mid	e	e:			o	o:
low			a	a:		

Table 2: Vowels

Notice that long consonants are listed as phonemes of Kadiwéu. This differs from previous analyses of this language, in which long consonants were predictable, occurring only in stressed syllables (Griffiths & Griffiths 1976, Braggio 1981). Figure 1, a CECIL acoustic wave, confirms the existence of long consonants in unstressed syllables. There is no phonological rule able to capture the occurrence of long voiced consonants, and I therefore analyze voiced long as single phonemes. Voiceless consonants, by contrast, are always long phonetically, and therefore length is not a distinctive feature for these segments.

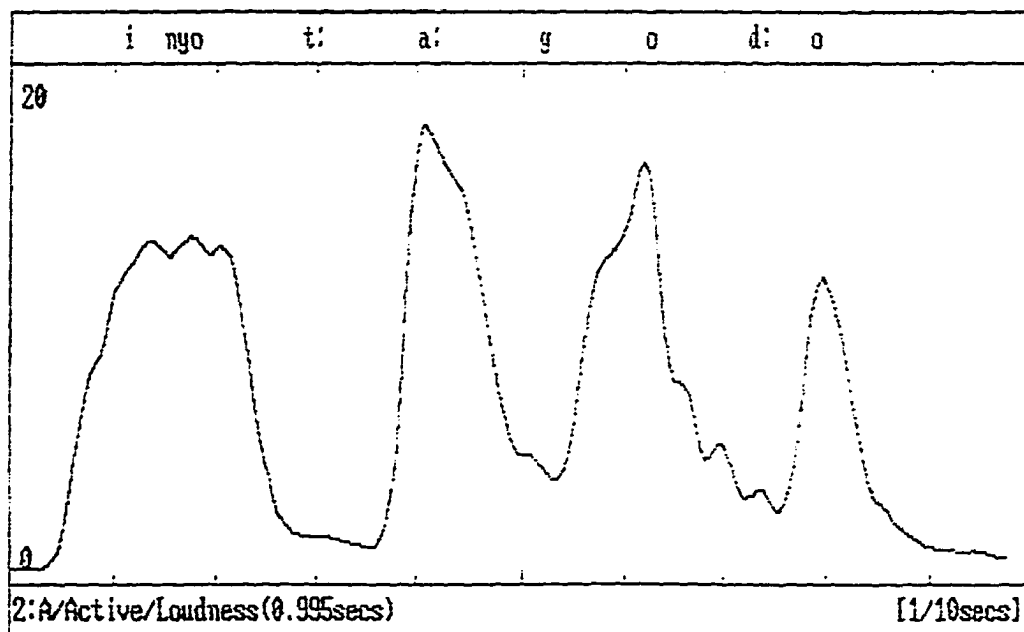


Figure 1: [inyot:á:god:o] 'my female lord'

Noble and Non-noble Kadiwéu differ in that Noble Kadiwéu lacks long semivowels. Long semivowels correspond to /iy/ and /wV/ in Noble Kadiwéu, where V is a mid vowel:

(1)	Noble Kadiwéu	Non-noble Kadiwéu	Gloss
	i-weel:ate-di	i-w:el:ate-di	'my shoes'
	niiyal:e	niiyal:e	'tree'

One could postulate that the segments /y:/ and /w:/ are underlyingly /iy/ and /wV/ in Non-noble Kadiwéu and that these sequences undergo an obligatory phonological that turns them into long semivowels. However, I avoid a rule of obligatory neutralization, since cases of /iy/ and /wV/ do occur in Non-noble Kadiwéu:

(2)	Noble Kadiwéu	Gloss
	iy:onig:i	'my son'
	liwel:e	'its thorn'

A glottal stop occurs in word-final position after all vowels in both Noble and Non-noble Kadiwéu. Since this is completely predictable, I have not analyzed glottal stop as a phoneme or as an allophone of some phoneme.

2.1.1. Phonological Alternations. All the processes described in this section affect both dialects, except as indicated otherwise. First, the consonant /j/ is normally realized as an affricate [tʃ], but it can be optionally realized as an alveopalatal fricative, [ʃ], by the speakers on Non-noble Kadiwéu.

(3) /jil:ajikanGa/ [jil:ajik:anɣʌʔ] ~ [ʃil:aʒik:anɣʌʔ] 'we laugh'.

The uvular /G/ is normally realized as a voiced uvular fricative [ɣ], but is optionally realized as a stop in word-initial position. The phonemes /G/, /d/ and /d:/ are deleted before a consonant across a clitic boundary.

- (4) /God:+b:a:Gad/ [ɣob:a:ɣadiʔ] ~ [Gob:a:ɣadiʔ] 'our hand'.
 (5) /jaG+j-opil/ [jaʔopiʔ] 'I have gone'
 (6) /jaG+a-opil/ [jaʔopiʔ] 'You have gone'

The voiced stop /d/ is realized as a sonorant tap [ɾ] between vowels in fast speech (except in final syllables, where /d/ is optionally realized as [t]).

- (7) /jiciditike/ [jičidit:ik:eʔ] ~ [jičirit:ik:eʔ] 'I swing it'.

Sonorant consonants (except vocoids) are deleted in word-final position and before a clitic boundary. However, the lateral sonorants /l/ and /l:/ are not deleted in Noble Kadiwéu.

- (8) /jicom/ [jičoʔ] 'I put it' ([jičomɣa 'we put it').
 (9) /jopil/ [jop:iʔ] 'I go away' ([jop:ilɣaʔ] 'we go away').
 (10) /joil/ [joil] 'I go away' (Noble Kadiwéu)

The mid front vowels /e/ and /e:/ are normally realized as [ɛ] and [ɛ:], but they are obligatorily realized as [e] and [e:] after a nasal consonant and optionally realized as [e] in word-final position:

- (11) /witel:o/ [wit:ɛl:oʔ] 'wasp'.
 (12) /nekenigo/ [nek:ɛn:igoʔ] 'dog'.
 (13) /ny:al:e/ [ny:al:e] ~ [ny:al:ɛ] 'tree'.

I have found some instances of the vowel [æ:]. Since in very careful speech [æ:] is pronounced as [æ:] ([laqæ:di] ~ [laqæ:di] 'snake'), I have not analyzed this vowel as a phoneme of Kadiwéu. I have analyzed [æ:] as the sequence /æ:/.

The mid back vowels /o/ and /o:/ are realized as [u] and [u:] before dental consonants:

(14) /icag:odi/ [ičag:udiʔ] 'red'.

The low central vowel /a/ is realized as mid back unrounded [ʌ] before or after a postvelar consonant:

(15) /jal:aqa/ [jal:ʌq:ʌʔ] 'I hit him'.

(16) /apolikGanGa/ [ap:ulik:γʌŋγʌʔ] 'horse'.

Long vowels are optionally reduced to short vowels when they precede a voiceless stop:

(17) /jowo:kon/ [jowokoʔ] 'I think'.

2.1.2. Phonotactics & Phonotactically Motivated Adjustments. The Kadiwéu syllable types are V, CV, and CGV, where C represents any consonant, G represents a voiced uvular obstruent, and V is a short vowel, a long vowel, or a diphthong. All permitted consonant clusters contain /G/; all other consonant clusters that would result from morphological processes have an epenthetic vowel [i] inserted.³

(18) /j-al:okon/ [ja\$1:o\$ko] 'I run away'.

(19) /j-b:a:qen/ [ji\$b:a:\$qe] 'I use it'.

(20) /nGidda apolikGanGa/ [nyi\$d:a a\$po\$li\$ko:γʌŋγʌ] 'this horse'.

Although the syllable type CGV is allowed, an epenthetic vowel can optionally be inserted between a stop and a uvular fricative. In this case, the vowel assimilates in all features to the vowel preceding the fricative ([a\$po\$li\$sk:γA\$ɱγA] ~ [a\$po\$li\$sk:a\$γA\$na\$γA]).

Long consonants are neutralized in word-initial position and after a stressed syllable. Voiced consonants are always long after a stressed syllable. Voiced obstruents are always short in word-initial position. The underlying form of an obstruent in word-initial position can generally be determined when a prefix is added: however, the underlying form of a voiced consonant after a stressed syllable cannot be determined. I have represented all the voiced consonants as long in this environment, although some are likely to be short underlyingly.

(21) /b:eg:i/ [bé:g:i?] 'hole' but [lib:é:g:i?] 'his grave'

(22) /b:ol:aGa/ [ból:aGa?] 'soccer' but [jinib:ól:aGa?] 'I play soccer'

Short voiced obstruents are optionally devoiced when occurring in the last syllable of the word; neutralization between voiceless and voiced obstruents does not occur, however, because underlyingly voiceless segments are always phonetically long and are therefore phonetically distinct from devoiced obstruents, which are never long.

(23) /Gatodi/ [Gat:udi?] ~ [gat:uti?] 'toucan'

Very few words begin with voiceless consonants. I have found only two words beginning with a voiceless consonant — *pida* 'but' and the locative root *ka-* — in a corpus of more than 4,000 words and phrases. I believe that *pida* comes from Spanish *pero* 'but'.

Vowel-cluster reduction rules apply whenever a prefix ending in a vowel is added to a stem beginning with a vowel. The following vowel reductions were observed:

(a) A non-high vowel is deleted before another non-high vowel.

- (24) /a-el:igo/ [el:igo] 'you eat it.'
 (25) /e-atobi/ [at:obi] 'face'

(b) The high vowel /i/ becomes a vocoid consonant when preceding another vowel:

- (26) /i-akilo/ [yak:ilo] 'my head'.
 (27) /i-em:i/ [yem:i] 'my grandmother'

(c) The semivowel /y/ and the vowel /a/ are conflated into [e].

- (28) /y-al:okon/ [el:ok:o] 'he runs.'

2.1.3. Morphophonemic Alternation. Voiced obstruents are devoiced when preceding /G/ across a morphological boundary:

- (29) √**bey:agi** 'bad'
libey:akGegi
 /l- bey:ag-Gegi/
 3POSS-bad -valency
 'his ugliness'

- (30) √**api-d** 'clean'
Gad:apitGati
 /Ga- d:- api -d -Gad -i/
 2pl.OBJ-theme-clean-*atel*-valency-pl
 'you are cleaned'

Voiced obstruents are devoiced when preceding plural markers, and the vowel of a suffix is deleted whenever this suffix is attached to a stem ending in a vowel (see further discussion under 2.2.d):

- (31) [la:p:idi] /l-ab:i-adi/ 'His plates'

2.1.4. **Borrowed Words.** Kadiwéu has many words borrowed from Portuguese, which are phonologically adapted.⁴ Alveolar fricatives are replaced by voiced affricates; voiceless labial fricatives by stops, and voiced labial fricatives by [w]. Voiceless obstruents are voiced in word-initial position. The tap [r] and the glottal vocoid [h] are replaced by [l]. The stress patterns of the source language are not maintained in Noble Kadiwéu, but they are maintained in Non-noble Kadiwéu. Stressed vowels of paroxytones are lengthened in Non-noble Kadiwéu.

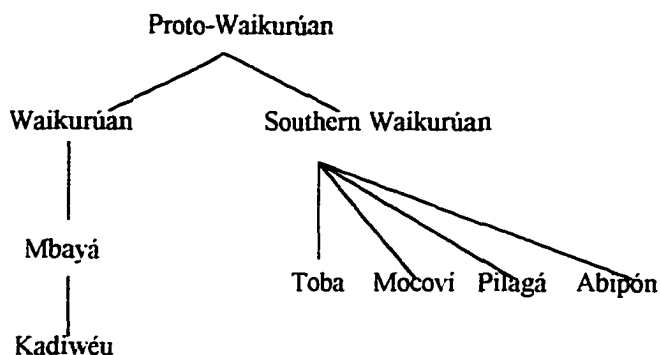
(32)	Portuguese	Non-noble Kadiwéu	Gloss
	mesa [méza]	[namé:jaʔ]	table
	garrafa [gaháfa]	[galá:paʔ]	bottle
	quatro [kwátro]	[gwátoloʔ]	four
	xicara [ʃikara]	[jik:alaʔ]	cup
	vaca [váka]	[wá:k:aʔ]	cow

The word *pida* 'but', which is likely to have been borrowed from Spanish rather than Portuguese, follows a different pattern. The voiceless /p/ is maintained and the tap /r/ is replaced by [d]. Recall that in Kadiwéu /d/ is optionally pronounced as a tap between vowels.

2.2. Diachronic Changes

Although the hypothesis of a genetic relationship among the Waikurúan languages was first suggested in the 19th century (Martius 1867, cited in Colini's introduction in Boggiani 1975:253), the first systematic reconstruction of Proto-Waikurúan was presented in Ceria & Sandalo 1995. Ceria & I establish the relationship of the Waikurúan languages by providing a reconstruction of the phonology, pronominals, and demonstratives of Proto-Waikurúan. In this section I will summarize the findings presented in Ceria & Sandalo 1995 regarding the phonological reconstruction.

Ceria & Sandalo (1995) propose that Mbayá-Kadiwéu and Toba-Mocoví-Abipón-Pilagá constitute two branches of one family, Waikurúan:



We presented the following phonological reconstruction of Proto-Waikurúan based on 130 cognate sets of lexical and grammatical items found in Non-noble Kadiwéu, Toba, and Mocoví. This reconstruction is based on Terrence Kaufman's reconstruction (personal communication, 1992), elaborated and somewhat altered by us.⁵

P-Wkr	Kdw	Tb	Mcv
*p	p	w. ?	w. ?
*p:	p	p	p
*b	b	p	(p)
*b:	b:	w	w
*b ^y	b	s	s
*t	t, ∅	? t	?
*t:	t	t, c	t, c
*t ^y	c	t, c, s	
*d	d	t, č, ?, ∅	t
*d:	d:	d, w, j	d, j
*d ^y	j	s, š, c	s, š

*k	k, Ø	w	(w)
*k:	k	k, q	k, q
*k ^y	c	G, (k), q, c	(k), q
*g	g	k, (q), w, ?	k, q, (?)
*g:	g:	g	g, ?g
*q	q	g	(g)
*q:	q	k, q	k, q
*G	G	k, q, w	k, q, w
*G:	G	G	G
*h	?	h	h
*m	m	m, Ø, ?	m, Ø, (?)
*m:	m:	m	m
*n	n	n, d	n, d
*n:	n:	n, ñ	n, ñ
*ŋ	w	n	(n)
*l	l, Ø	l	l
*l:	l:	l, lʸ, lʀ, d	l, lʸ, ?l
*l ^y	l	s	s
*y	y, Ø	y, Ø	y, Ø, ?
*y:	y:	s, y	j
*w	w	w, ?	w, ?
*w:	w:	p	p
*i(:)	i	i, e	i
*e(:)	e	e	e, i
*æ(:)	a, e	a, e	a, e
*a(:)	a	a	a

*o(:)	o. a	o. a	o. a
*u(:)	o	o	o
*æ	o	e	c
*ū	o	i	i

Table 3: Sound Correspondences
(Ceria & Sandalo 1995:172)

Some comments on these reconstructions are needed here:

(a) *q, *q:, *G, *G:, *g, *g:, *k, *k:

Ceria & Sandalo reconstructed uvular *q, *q:, *G, *G: and velar *g, *g:, *k, *k: for Proto-Waikurúan. In Toba and Mocovi *k: and *g changed to q and G respectively before or after back vowels, and *q: and *G changed to k and g respectively before or after front vowels. There are, however, some instances of k and q before a. This can be explained as a merger of *æ and *a into a after the backing of *k:, and fronting of *q:. Kadiwéu reflects the Proto-Waikurúan system, since velars and uvulars occur with front and back vowels (cf. *an:eGeya* 'tomorrow', *eGiadi* 'monkey').

		*q, *G:				
(33)	P-Wkr	Kdw	Tb	Mcv	Gloss	
	* <i>(i)miq:(o)</i>	√ <i>miqo</i>	√ <i>mik</i>	√ <i>(i)mik</i>	'nose'	q : k : k
	* <i>am:uG:u</i>	<i>am:OGO</i>	<i>amOGO-yaGa</i>	<i>amOGO-yaGa</i>	'dust'	G : G : G

(b) *kʲ, *k, *k:

Ceria & Sandalo reconstructed *kʲ, *k, and *k: based on the following sound correspondences: Kdw c : Tb G, k, q, c : Mcv k, q; Kdw k : Tb w : Mcv w; and Kdw k : Tb k, q : Mcv k, q. The first set of correspondences, Kdw c : Tb G, k, q, c : Mcv k, q can be accounted for by reconstructing a palatalized velar consonant *kʲ. The second set, Kdw k : Tb w : Mcv w, can be accounted for by reconstructing a plain velar consonant *k. The third set, Kdw k : Tb k, q : Mcv k, q can be accounted for by reconstructing a long velar consonant *k:.

*kʷ, *k, *k:

(34)	P-Wkr	Kdw	Tb	Mcv	Gloss	
	*akʷa	√aca	√ʔaGa		'claw'	c : G : -
	*okʷü	√oci-Ga-te	√aco-do	√aqa-ro	'mother-in-law'	c : c : q
	*y:ukʷua	√y:ocwa	√oq		'brother'	c : q : -
	*adʷik:e	√ajike	√ašik	√ašik	'face'	k : k : k
	*gukum	√gokom		√qoqo	'snore'	k : - : q

(c) *tʷ, *t, *t:

Ceria & Sandalo reconstructed *tʷ, *t, and *t:. Proto-Waikurúan *tʷ corresponds to Kdw *c*: Tb *t, c, s*: Mcv *t, c, s*. In Toba and Mocovi *tʷ* changed to *c* before high vowels, *s* before non-high front vowels, and *t* elsewhere. Proto-Waikurúan *t corresponds to Kdw *t, ʔ*: Tb *ʔ, w*: Mcv *ʔ, n*. Proto-Waikurúan *t: corresponds to Kdw *t*: Tb *t, c*: Mcv *t, c*. In Toba and Mocovi *t: turned into *c* before *i*.

(d) *h

It is not clear whether Proto-Waikurúan actually had an **h*. Toba and Mocovi seem to have an *h* phoneme, which usually occurs word-initially but occasionally occurs in the middle of the word (e.g. Toba *soholek* 'he is leaning over'). Although Kadiwéu does not have an *h*, some evidence suggests that it used to have one. In Kadiwéu, voiced consonants are devoiced when certain pluralizer morphemes are added. Since the element which triggers this phonological process only occurs with certain suffixes, for instance plural markers, **h* might have been (part of) those morphemes. It does occur with 2sg. too, but its occurrence here seems to be due to an extension of the use of 2pl. (Rodrigues 1983).

Kadiwéu:

√a:b:id 'stand up'

ad:a:b:iti

/a-d:- a:b:id -i/

2pl-theme-STAND.UP-pl

'you stand up'

Further support for postulating an original **h* in these Kadiwéu morphemes is found in Guató, an apparent genetic isolate whose speakers live in the same area as the Kadiwéus. Part of the Guató pronominal system is borrowed from Mbayá (Rodrigues 1983). Where Kadiwéu currently has a devoicing rule, Guató does have an *h*. Guató marks the 2pl by a prefix *g^wa-* and a pluralizing suffix *-hi*. The proto-segment **h* has been lost in Kadiwéu, but it seems to have been conserved in Guató.

(e) **ŋ*

Ceria & Sandalo reconstructed a velar nasal **ŋ*, which turned into *w* in Kadiwéu and *n* in Toba and Mocoví (e.g. **ŋo:*, Kdw √wo: 'lie down': Tb √naʔa 'lie down'). There are also some instances of Kdw *n* : Tb *n* : Mcv *n*; these correspond to **n*.

(f) **æ*, **a*

Toba and Mocoví provide evidence for both **æ* and **a* in Proto-Waikurúan. In Toba and Mocoví, *k* can occur before or after any vowel, but *q* seems to occur only next to back vowels. There are, however, some instances of both *k*, *g* and *q*, *G* before *a*. This can be explained by a merging of **æ* and **a* into *a* after the phonological process discussed in (a) above.

		*æ, *a				
(35)	P-Wkr	Kdw	Tb	Mcv	Gloss	
	*æt:aGam	√otagam	√taqa	√etaq	'speak'	a : a : a
	*æko	√ako	√aka		'bed'	a : a : -

(g) *u, *o

Proto-Waikurúan probably had *u and *o, judging by evidence from the sound correspondences in Kadiwéu, Toba and Mocoví. The correspondences Kdw *o, a* : Tb *o, a* : Mcv *o, a* Ceria & Sandalo reconstruct as *o, and Kdw *o* : Tb *o* : Mcv *o* as *u. Since there seems to be no evidence of conditioning environments to explain the two sets of correspondences, the only plausible explanation is reconstructing both *o and *u.

		*u, *o				
(36)	P-Wkr	Kdw	Tb	Mcv	Gloss	
	*iwog:o	√iwogo	√waga		'stick'	o : a : -
	*(a)b:a:q	√b:a:-Gad	√waq	(a)wa?	'hand'	a : a : a
	*q:ut:e	√qote	√qote		'knot'	o : o : -
	*æwudi	√awodi		√ewot	'blood'	o : - : o

(h) *æ, *ū

Proto-Waikurúan probably had both *æ and *ū. Proto-Waikurúan *æ changed to *o* in Kadiwéu and to *e* in Toba and Mocoví. Proto-Waikurúan *ū changed to *o* in Kadiwéu, and to *i* in Toba and Mocoví.

2.2.1. Noble Kadiwéu Diphthongs. The reconstruction by Ceria & Sandalo is based on the comparison of Non-noble Kadiwéu, Toba, and Mocoví. The correspondences Non-noble Kdw *y* : Tb *s* : Mcv *j* and Non-noble Kdw *w* : Tb *p* : Mcv *p* suggest the reconstruction of *y: and *w:. Non-noble Kadiwéu maintained long semivowels, but in Toba and Mocoví they have become strengthened into true consonants.

						*y:, *w:
(37)	P-Wkr	Kdw	Tb	Mcv	Gloss	
	*ay:u	y:o	aso-ši		nephew	y: : s : -
	*nay:igi	nay:igi		najik	way/road	y: : - : j
	*aw:yadi	w:yadi	apya	pya?	foot	w: : p : p
	*aw:el:adi	w:el:adi	apela?		shoe	w: : p : -

Recall that Noble Kadiwéu does not have long semivowels as phonemes (2.1). While the original long semivowels were strengthened into true consonants in Toba and Mocoví, they were broken up into diphthongs in Noble Kadiwéu (*y: > y: (Non-noble Kadiwéu) ~ iy (Noble Kadiwéu), *w: > w: (Non-noble Kadiwéu) ~ wI' (Noble Kadiwéu)).⁶

						*iy, *wV
P-Wkr	Noble Kdw	Non-noble Kdw	Tb	Mcv	Gloss	
*ay:u	iyó	y:o	aso-ši		nephew	iy : y: : s : -
*nay:igi	naaiygi	nay:igi		najik	way/road	iy : y: : - : j
*aw:el:adi	aweel:adi	w:el:adi	apela?		shoe	we : w: : p : -

2.3. Suprasegmental Phonology

Although a reconstruction of the Proto-Waikurián suprasegmental phonology cannot be provided yet, I will present some notes about the diachronic development of the Kadiwéu prosody. Noble Kadiwéu appears to be more archaic than Non-noble Kadiwéu. The framework for this discussion is metrical phonology (see e.g. Halle & Vergnaud 1987 and Hayes 1995, among others).

2.3.1. Metrical Phonology. Metrical phonology, in recent phonological theory, refers to an approach in which segments are arranged in a phonological hierarchy. The smallest metric constituent is the foot. A notion that has been crucial to metrical studies is the idea of parameters. In a parametric theory, a rule system is regarded as a particular choice from a limited list of options, or parameters. A foot is constructed according to the following parameters (Halle & Vergnaud 1987, Hayes 1995):

- a. Foot type
 - i. Size
 - Unbounded: stress follows at either the rightmost or leftmost syllable.
 - Bounded: -Binary: stress falls in alternate syllables or moras.
 - Ternary: stress falls every three syllables
 - ii. Quantity Sensitivity
 - Syllabic: the foot template simply counts syllables, ignoring their internal structure.
 - Moraic: the foot template counts moras.
 - iii. Labeling
 - Trochee: left-headed (i.e. binary feet with initial prominence).
 - Iambic: right-headed (i.e. binary feet with final prominence).
- b. Direction of parsing
 - Left to right or right to left.
- c. Iterativity
 - Foot construction is iterative or non-iterative (i.e. applies only once).

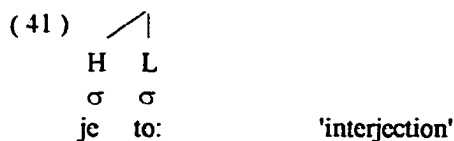
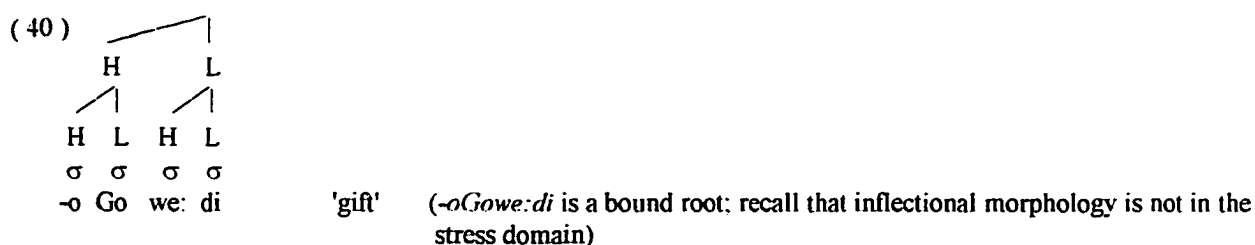
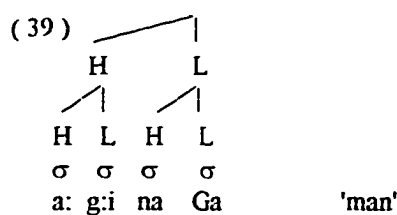
The construction of foot templates is established over certain domains which are language-specific. The segment which follows outside the foot template is called extrametrical. Although extrametrical material is determined in a language specific-way, only material at the edges of a word can be extrametrical.

2.3.2. Noble Kadiwéu. Noble Kadiwéu metrical template parses the stem into iterative syllabic trochees from right to left. Iterative syllabic trochee systems are characterized by the construction of iterative left-headed binary feet over syllables, ignoring whether such syllables contain long vowels. The principles of foot construction and stress placement of Noble Kadiwéu are shown in 38; 39-41 present some examples. These examples show that

Noble Kadiwéu is quantity-insensitive: as can be observed, long vowels are completely disregarded for foot construction.

One of the dichotomies drawn in studies of prominence is that between pitch-accent languages and stress-accent languages (Trubetzkoy 1939). Some phoneticians maintain that there is a distinction to be made between linguistic contrasts involving loudness and those involving pitch. In pitch-accent languages a prominent syllable bears a high tone; in stress-accent languages a prominent syllable is pronounced with a greater amount of energy. Noble Kadiwéu is a pitch-accent language — that is, contrast in pitch variation, rather than loudness, is involved (H stands for high tone and L for low tone). The metrical domain includes the stem only (i.e. the root and derivational morphology): inflectional morphology falls outside the metrical domain.

- (38) a. Foot Construction: Parse words into syllabic trochees from right to left.
 b. Word Layer Construction: End rule left.



The metrical template in Noble Kadiwéu creates binary feet over syllables. However, an exclusive parsing into binary feet is impossible in stems containing an odd number of syllables; in such a stem, a syllable would be left over. A foot formed by a single syllable is called a degenerate foot. According to Hayes 1995, there are two types of languages concerning degenerate feet: (i) those which severely ban degenerate feet, and (ii) those which tolerate degenerate feet. I argue that Noble Kadiwéu, unlike Non-noble Kadiwéu, bans degenerate feet.

A severe ban on degenerate feet makes predictions about possible word shapes. If a quantity-insensitive language allow no degenerate feet at all, then there can be no monosyllables in this language. Therefore, monosyllables are predicted to be non-existent in Noble Kadiwéu, which is quantity-insensitive. This is indeed the case: monosyllabic words must be expanded into disyllables, as represented in 42.

$$(42) \quad \begin{array}{c} \diagup \\ \text{H} \quad \text{L} \\ \sigma \quad \sigma \\ \text{la} \Rightarrow \quad \text{la} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{'his toy'} \end{array}$$

Observe in 42 that the vowel is not merely lengthened: instead it is reduplicated into a new syllable. The syllabic trochee languages which ban degenerate feet studied by Hayes allow no words consisting of a single light syllable; however, they do allow monosyllabic words consisting of a heavy syllable. Hayes thus proposes that syllabic-trochee languages characteristically employ a minimal-word constraint which takes heavy syllables as proper feet. Kadiwéu counterexamples Hayes' generalization, since all stems containing an odd number of syllables, even those which contain a long vowel, must be expanded in order to be well-formed. The wave forms in Figure 2 illustrates the analysis with the monosyllables *ye*: 'he died' and *ye* 'my belly', which show the same reduplication pattern. Each peak in the wave represents one independent vowel. Long vowels appear as long peaks. Examples 43 and 44 show the metrical representations of the words in Figure 2.

$$(43) \quad \begin{array}{c} \diagup \\ \text{H} \quad \text{L} \\ \sigma \quad \sigma \\ \text{ye:} \Rightarrow \quad \text{y e:} \quad \text{e:} \quad \text{'he died'} \end{array}$$

(44)

	/	
	H L	
	σ σ	
ye =>	y e	'my belly'

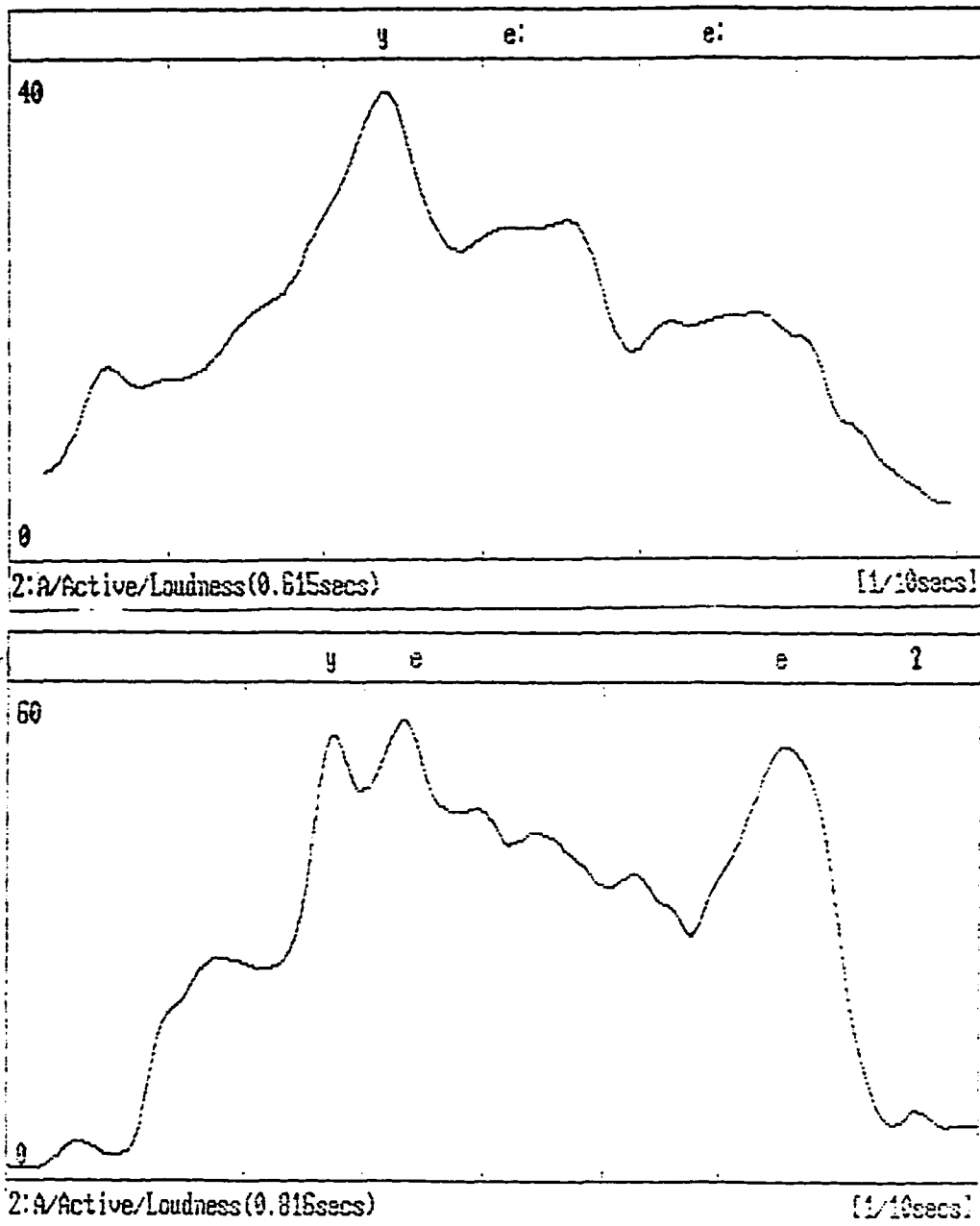
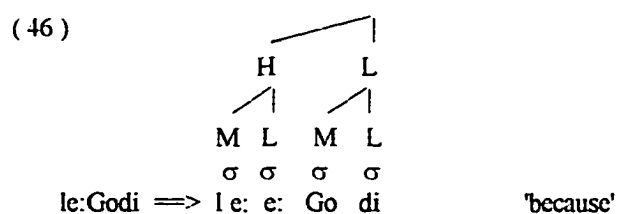
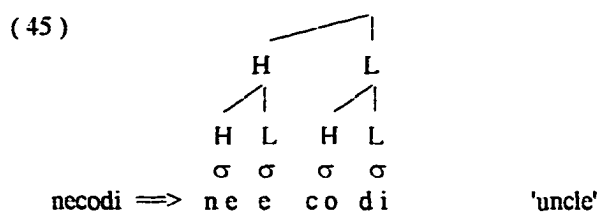


Figure 2: [ye^H:e^L] 'he died'. [ye^He^L] 'my belly'

In Noble Kadiwéu monosyllables are treated like any stem containing an odd number of syllables. Any such stem must be expanded, regardless of whether the stem contains a long vowel or not. The last parsed foot is expanded if this is a prospective degenerate foot:



Examples 45 and 46 show that words containing light and heavy syllables are treated identically. Because Noble Kadiwéu is quantity-insensitive, light and heavy syllables are parsed identically. The wave forms in Figure 3 confirm the analysis.

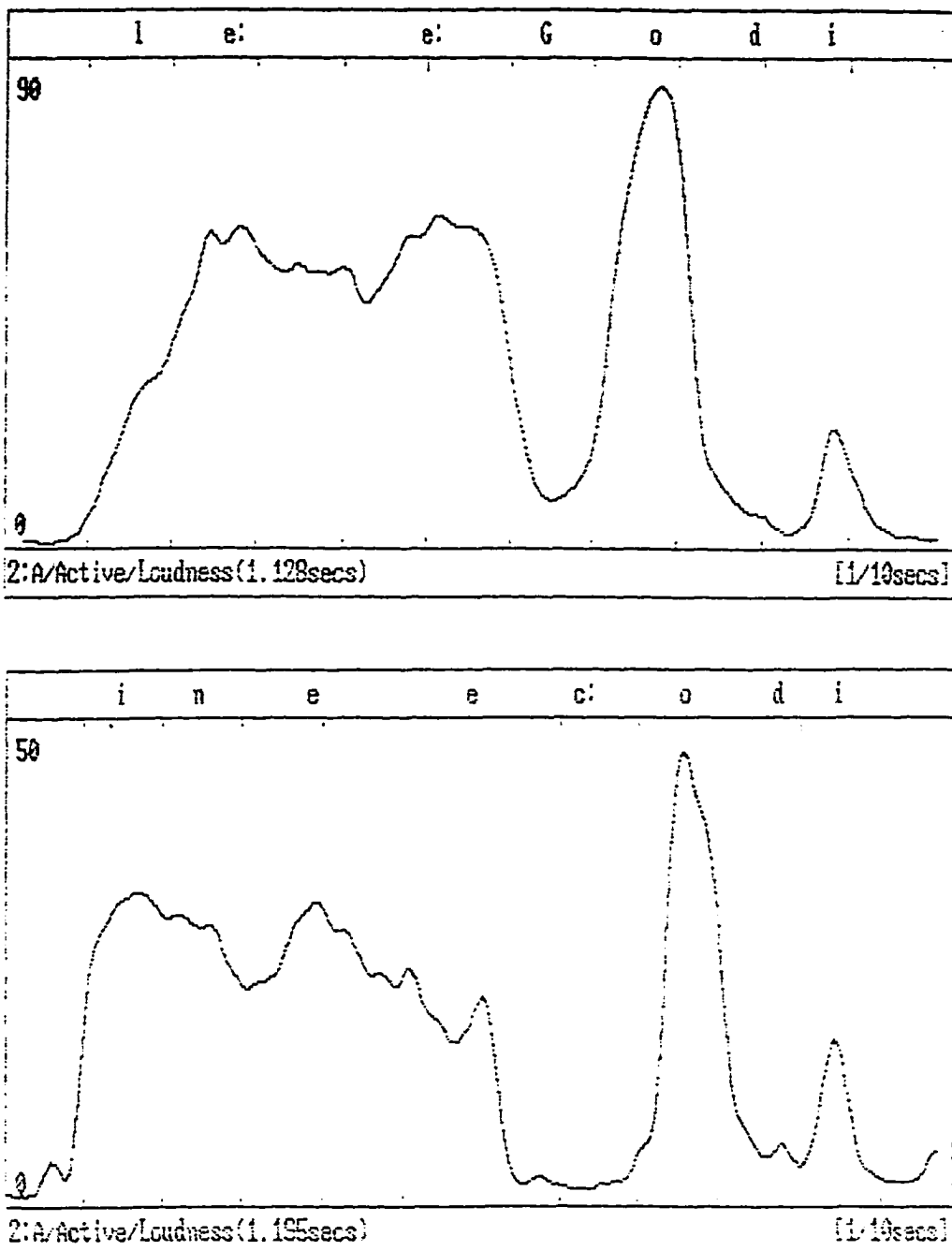


Figure 3: [le:^H e:^L Go^H di^L] 'because'. [ine^H e:^L co^H di^L] 'my uncle'

One of the most salient features of Noble Kadiwéu is the fact that there are no stems with an odd number of syllables. Table 4 shows that stems which contain an odd number of syllables in Non-noble Kadiwéu correspond to words whose first vowel is reduplicated in Noble Kadiwéu, forming a new syllable.

Non-noble Kadiwéu	Noble Kadiwéu	
1. [-b:á:Gad:i]	[-b:a: ^H a: ^L Ga ^H d:i ^L]	catch
2. [lé:Godi]	[le: ^H e: ^L Go ^M dí ^L]	because
3. [-g:á:]	[-g:a: ^H a: ^L]	child
4. [nóole]	[no ^H o ^L o ^M le ^L]	pan
5. [lá]	[la ^H a ^L]	his toy
6. [-á: b:i di]	[-a: ^H a: ^L b:i ^H dí ^L]	stand up
7. [yé:ew]	[ye: ^H e: ^L]	he died
8. [y:é]	[ye ^H e ^L]	my belly

Table 4: Noble & Non-Noble Kadiwéu Prosody

2.3.3. Non-noble Kadiwéu. The fact that Noble Kadiwéu bans degenerate feet while Non-noble Kadiwéu does not is not the only difference between the two dialects. Non-noble Kadiwéu is a stress-accent language, and the metrical template constructs ternary-quantity sensitive feet, that is, each a foot has three moras:

- (47) a. Stress the antepenult if the penult is light.
 b. Stress the penult if it is heavy, and in disyllables.
 c. Foot construction is iterative.
 d. End rule right.

Examples 48 - 56 summarize the stress pattern in Non-noble Kadiwéu, showing the stress in words of one to eleven syllables. The underlined vowel bears primary stress.

- (48) [lá] 'his toy'
 (49) [náy:gi] 'way'
 (50) [jad:é:gi] 'I bring'
 (51) [i wá: l:ol] 'woman'
 (52) [Gókidi] 'afternoon'
 (53) [iní:GacínGod:i] 'my teacher'
 (54) [yotá: g:o d:i] 'my lord'
 (55) [inyotá:gotá:owá:nig:i] 'my child female lord'
 (56) [inyotá:god:óawá:na] 'my child female lord'

Iterative ternary feet are rare cross-linguistically, being attested in only a few languages. For instance, Cayuvava, which is spoken in Bolivia, shows iterative quantity-insensitive ternary feet (see e.g. Halle & Vergnaud 1987). Non-iterative ternary feet are attested in Latin, and vestiges of such a system are still present in several of the Romance languages.

2.3.4. Diachronic Considerations. The stress system of Non-noble Kadiwéu is strikingly similar to Portuguese and Spanish stress. The main difference arises from the fact that Non-noble Kadiwéu ternary feet are iterative. Although the stress pattern is not completely predictable in Spanish and Portuguese, these languages retain the following residual effects of the Latin stress rule:

(57) Latin prosodic features (Harris 1983)

(a) Stress must fall on one of the last three syllables.

(b) Antepenultimate stress is impossible if the penultimate syllable is heavy.

It has been sometimes claimed that a particular linguistic change cannot be due to foreign interference because the source language does not have exactly the same structure that has been innovated. However, as Alleyne points out (quoted from Thomason & Kaufman 1988:62), "... in dealing with the input source for creolization, we have to make allowances for plausible processes of change analogous to what in anthropology are called reinterpretation..."

As mentioned in § 1, Kadiwéu warriors allied with the Brazilian army in the 19th-century Paraguayan war. This war had a major impact on Kadiwéu society (Colini, in Boggiani 1975:267). It is likely that the Latin rule was borrowed during this close association with Portuguese and Spanish-speaking soldiers, and possibly the new pattern spread among all non-nobles later. The Latin pattern could have been introduced as a symbol of prestige via Portuguese, or via shift-induced interference if Spanish-speaking slaves were captured.

My hypothesis is that, although the Portuguese and/or Spanish pattern was borrowed by the Kadiwéu warriors, the borrowers failed to master the Portuguese/Spanish prosody completely; instead, they assumed that stress is predictable in Portuguese/Spanish, as it is in Kadiwéu. They learned the regularities of Portuguese/Spanish prosody and reinterpreted them as a completely regular iterative stress pattern.

This hypothesis can be tested by comparing Noble Kadiwéu with the languages of the Southern Waikurúan branch. If Noble Kadiwéu, but not Non-noble Kadiwéu, shows a Waikurúan stress system, we would expect the stress pattern of the Southern Waikurúan languages to resemble the stress pattern of Noble Kadiwéu. Although no work has been published on the prosody of the Southern Waikurúan languages, Veronica Ceria (personal communication, 1995) and Alejandra Vidal (personal communication, 1995) report that preliminary analysis of Mocoví and Pilagá, respectively, indicates that these languages have a binary trochee system. The only difference from Noble Kadiwéu is that at the word level the rule ends at the right edge, rather than at the left edge. Vidal says that Toba also seem to follow the same stress pattern observed for Mocoví and Pilagá. Therefore, the ternary stress pattern of Non-noble Kadiwéu seems indeed to be innovative.⁷

2.4. Summary

This chapter has offered a description of the Kadiwéu phonology, on synchronic and diachronic grounds, taking dialect differences into consideration. Kadiwéu has two dialects which reflect gender and social status. Noble and Non-noble Kadiwéu differ in that only Non-noble Kadiwéu has long semivowels.

The most salient differences between Noble and Non-noble Kadiwéu are at the level of suprasegmental phonology. Noble Kadiwéu shows a pitch-accent system which parses the word into binary trochees; degenerate feet are repaired into binary feet through reduplication. Noble Kadiwéu is quantity-insensitive, and therefore any monosyllable is expanded into a disyllable. Non-noble Kadiwéu not only tolerates degenerate feet but also has a different stress system. Non-noble Kadiwéu is a stress-accent language which parses the word into iterative ternary feet. Moreover, Non-noble Kadiwéu is quantity-sensitive. Comparison of the Kadiwéu prosody with the prosody of the other Waikurúian languages suggests that Non-noble Kadiwéu stress patterns were introduced through interference from Portuguese and/or Spanish. See Appendix 1 for further examples of comparative Waikurúian vocabulary (with reconstructions), and Appendix 2 for a comparison of Noble and Non-noble Kadiwéu lexicon.

3. Verb and Noun Morphology

The structure of the verb seems to be similar in all the Waikurúan languages.⁸ The verb agrees with the subject and object in person and number (sg/pl). Kadiwéu, Toba, and Mocoví mark subject person with prefixes, but number (pl) is marked with a suffix immediately following the root, although in Kadiwéu the pluralizing morpheme for the third-person subject of transitive and unaccusative verbs is a prefix. All Waikurúan languages have a directional prefix *n-* 'hither' which is added to a verb stem. They also have a set of enclitics which mark direction and motion. Aspect and mood, but not tense, are marked on the verb in Waikurúan languages. Kadiwéu has seven aspect markers — completive/incompletive/durative, telic/atelic, repetitive, and intensive — and two mood markers, conditional and desiderative. There are also three negation markers. Among the Waikurúan languages, only Kadiwéu has a set of semantic role markers.

The structure of the Kadiwéu noun resembles noun structure in other Waikurúan languages as well as in most western South American languages. The presence of classifiers/nominalizers marking inalienable possession seems to be an areal feature of the languages of western lowland South America. According to Payne 1990, classifiers marking inalienably possessed nouns are present in Maipuran, Cariban, Arauán, and Candoshi languages: Facundes 1995 shows that genitive classifiers marking inalienable possession are also present in Apurinã, an Arawakan language spoken in the western Amazonian area. There are three types of possessed nouns in the Waikurúan languages: Class I, nouns that must be possessed and do not take a prefix *n-*; Class II, nouns that can be possessed and that take the prefix *n-*; Class III, nouns that are never possessed, and refer to things from nature, e.g. storm, rain, and river. The prefix *n-* is a classifier that marks alienably possessed nouns. Kadiwéu nouns are further organized into subclasses marked by classifier suffixes. Kadiwéu, like Toba and Mocoví, has a diminutive suffix added to nouns which encodes gender distinction (m/f).

In § 3.1 I describe verb morphology, and in § 3.2 I discuss the noun. Table 5 presents a schematic representation of the verb and Table 6 presents a schematic representation of the noun:

Table 5: Kadiwéu verb Structure

-7	-6	-5	-4	-3		-2	-1	0	+1	+2	-3	+4			+5			+6		+7			
				person	pron aff							CLITIC string	CLITIC string	CLITIC string	CLITIC string	CLITIC string	CLITIC string	CLITIC string	CLITIC string				
asp	neg	mood	number	sem- role	h i i h e f	re n e v i h e f	n- n-	R O T	va len ce	asp	number	rel	re peti live	person (+e) 3sg/pl CL	rel	dir I	dir II	pron clitic	sem-role	rel	number	rel	number
jak ⁺ cimpl	nGa ⁺	domGa ⁺ des	o- 3pl SUB	-d- theme					=kon -kam	-d atcl	-Ga 1pl	t-	nk-		t-	+jo going	+ke outward	+i 1sg CL	-wa dative	t-	*niwak plural	t-	*waji plural
bu ⁺ naGa ⁺ dur	daGa ⁺	daGa ⁺ cond	ci- imprs (gt-) pl						=ken	-g tic	-i 2pl 1pl/2pl					+ku going straight	+bigim upward	+Ga 2sg/pl CL	-dom benefactive				
									=qen							+wa going together	+w- +ngi inward	+e 3sg/pl CL	-k allative				
									-Qen -Qan -Qad							+n going inside	+gi- toward	+Go 1pl CL	-lokom adessive				
									-Qod -Qod -Qod							+get going against	+we backward		-d theme				
									-Qegj							+b- +bi- interns	+nigi- +n- downward		-gi goal				
																+Kwak apart	+ka absent						

-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
possessive	alienable	ROOT	classifier	diminutive	number	nominalizer
i+ 1sg/pl.POSS	n-		-nigo ~ -co animal/plant	-nig:i masculine	-adi	-jegi
Gad:+ 2sg/pl.POSS			-GanGa instrument	-na feminine	-pi	-Gaci
l+ 3sg/pl.POSS			-ija cultivated plants		-Ga	-awa:
God:+ 1pl.POSS			-Gikajo: actor		-al:i	

Table 6: Kadiwéu noun structure

3.1. The verb

3.1.1. Tense, Aspect, Mood, and Negation. Bybee (1985) points out that there is an overwhelming cross-linguistic tendency for person/number markers to be more peripheral than tense, mood, and aspect markers. This is not the case in Kadiwéu: mood and aspect markers precede subject and object markers. Mood and certain aspect markers are simple proclitics (Zwicky 1977) which can occur as independent words (58), or attach to either a the verbal stem (59) or a complementizer (60):⁹

- (58) ja wajipata.
 jaG w-awajipa-t+e-wa
 compl 3sg.SUBJ-listen-rel + 3sg.CL-dative

'He has listened to it.'

- (59) jawajipata.
 jaG+w-awajipa-t+e-wa
 compl + 3sg.SUBJ-listen-rel + 3sg.CL-dative

'He has listened to it.'

- (60) yema: jame yel:wadi eGyadi.
 y-ema: jaG+me y-el:wad eGyadi
 3sg.SUBJ-want compl + COMP 3sg.SUBJ-kill monkey

'He wishes that he had killed a monkey.'

Kadiwéu has no tense markers, but aspect — that is, the way the grammar marks the duration or type of temporal activity denoted by the verb — is marked on the verb. These are seven aspectual markers: completive/incompletive/durative, telic/atelic, repetitive, and intensive.

The verb is marked with the completive aspectual marker, *jaG+*, when the event is seen as complete as in 61. The incompletive aspect marker, *bGa+*, is added when the event is not complete or when the event has not yet taken place (62). The marker *banaGa+* 'durative' emphasizes the fact that the event is occurring, regardless of when or if it will be completed (63).

- | | | | | | | |
|--------|-------------|-----------------------------|--------|---------------|------------|--------------------------|
| (61) | nige | an:ati | | Gatodi | oda | jajopi. |
| | <i>nige</i> | <i>a-n-na-d-i</i> | | <i>Gatodi</i> | <i>oda</i> | <i>jaG+j-opil</i> |
| | COMP | 2sg.SUBJ-hither-see-atel-pl | toucan | then | | compl + 1sg.SUBJ-go.away |

'When you see a toucan, I will have gone away'.

- | | | | | | | |
|--------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------|
| (62) | nige | daGa | enagi | dom:ojya | natigi | nigoy. |
| | <i>nige</i> | <i>daGa</i> | <i>y-ane-g</i> | <i>dom:ojya</i> | <i>natigi</i> | <i>nigoy</i> |
| | COMP | negative | 3sg.SUBJ-come-tlc | car | next | morning |

bGajawaligi.
bGa+j-awaligi
 incompl + 1sg.SUBJ-walk

'If the car does not come tomorrow, I will walk away'.

- | | | |
|--------|---------------|--------------------------|
| (63) | banaGa | datyodi. |
| | <i>banaGa</i> | <i>y-d:-atyo-d</i> |
| | durative | 3sg.SUBJ-theme-rain-atel |

'It is raining.'

In telic events the activity has a clear terminal point, while atelic events have no natural end point. In languages like English, aspectual properties such as telic and atelic are lexicalized with the verbal roots. There is nothing in the morphology of English which indicates, for instance, that the event described in *fall* is telic while the event described in *see* is atelic. In Kadiwéu such aspectual properties are marked by suffixes that immediately follow the verbal root. The verb has a telic reading if the suffix *-g* is present (64), but an atelic reading if it is not

present (65). Verbs which allow an atelic interpretation only (e.g. 'look', 'play', etc.) must always co-occur with the atelic aspectual marker *-d*.

- (64) *jicigitike.*
j-ici-g-t+ke
 1 sg.SUBJ-pull-tlc-rel + outward
 'I pulled it away.'
- (65) *id:icitike.*
i-d:-ici-t+ke
 1 sg.OBJ-theme-pull-rel + outward
 'I was pulled back and forth.'
- (66) *id:a:bidi.* (**id:abi*)
j-d:-a:bi-d
 1 sg.SUBJ-theme-stand.up-tlc
 'I am standing up.'
- (67) *n:adi.* (**n:a*)
y-a-d
 3sg.SUBJ-hither-see/look
 'He see it/looks at it.'

Repetitive and intensive aspects are marked by enclitics that immediately follows the verbal stem. *+ak* and *+bigi*, respectively. I have analyzed these elements as clitics, rather than as an affixes, because sonorants are deleted before a repetitive/intensive aspect marker, as they are before word boundary. Compare 68 with 69 and 70 with 71.

- (68) *apwaqe* *i:w:oGo*
a-apwa-qen *i:w:oGo*
 2sg.SUBJ-pierce-valency wood
 'You pierce the wood.'

The third negative marker, *nG+*, is attached to imperative and conditional clauses and is a combined negation/mood marker. Observe in 79 that both *aG+* and *nG+* must be used to negate a conditional clause and a main clause.

(78) *naGalokoti!*
nG+a-alokon-d-i
 imp.neg + 2sg.SUBJ-run-atel-pl

'Don't run!'

(79) *aGejigo* *jawi:* *nGidGajaqadi* *yatopenig:i.*
aG+ej-go *j-awi:* *nG+dGa+j-aqad* *i-atope-nig:i*
 neg + 1sg.AUX-go 1sg.SUBJ-hunt neg + cond + 1sg.SUBJ-find 1POSS-gun-m.dim

'I don't hunt if I don't find my gun.'

3.1.2. Pronominals. The Kadiwéu verb is marked for its subject, direct object, and indirect object. Subject and object markers are prefixes and indirect object markers are enclitics. I analyze indirect object markers as clitics because clitics, as opposed to suffixes, trigger the deletion of sonorant consonants. Although Kadiwéu has both subject and object prefixes, they never co-occur. Griffiths & Griffiths (1976) provide a list of transitive verbs in which some verbs are marked by subject agreement and others are marked by object agreement, but they provide no systematic account for this fact. Braggio (1981) tries to account for the complementary distribution of subject and object prefixes in Kadiwéu via phonological rules; unfortunately, though, there is no phonological basis for the complementary distribution of subject and object prefixes. Intransitive verbs are marked by subject prefixes and transitive verbs are marked by object prefixes (except for the third-person direct object, when the object is third-person, the verb is marked by a subject prefix). The Kadiwéu pronominal affixes and enclitics are shown in Table 7:

	Subject	Direct Object	Enclitics
1sg	j-	i-	+i
2sg	a-...-i	Ga-	+Ga
3pl	y- ~ -w	∅	+e
1pl	j-...-Ga	Go-	+Go
2pl	a-...-i	Ga-...-i	+Ga...i
3pl	y-...Ga ~ o-y-	∅	+e

Table 7: Pronominals

Kadiwéu distinguishes 3pl subjects of unaccusative and unergative verbs: *n-* is only used with unergative verbs, together with the pluralizer suffix *-Ga*: with unaccusative and transitive constructions, the verb takes the same prefix as the 3sg, *y-*, together with a pluralizing prefix *o-* (see 4.4 for definition of unergative and unaccusative verbs).¹⁰ The 3sg prefix has four allomorphs, \emptyset before anterior consonants (except *n-* 'hither'), as *w-* before *a*, as *a-* before *n-* 'hither', and as *y-* elsewhere. Kadiwéu 1sg and 1pl subject prefixes have two allomorphs, *i-* before coronal consonants and *j-* elsewhere. Pronominal affixes and enclitics are followed by semantic role suffixes in Kadiwéu (see § 4 for discussion on semantic role markers).

(80) Unergative Verb

jal:okonGa.
j-al:okon-Ga
 1pl.SUBJ-run-pl

'We run away.'

(81) Unaccusative Verb

id:a:b:idi.
j-d:-a:b:id
 1sg.SUBJ-theme-sit.down-pl

'I sit down.'

(82) Transitive Verb

Gad:ema:n:i.
Ga-d:-ema:n:-i
 2pl.OBJ-theme-want-pl

'He loves you.'

(83) Transitive Verb

jal:aqa.
j-al:aqa
 1sg.SUBJ-hit

'I hit him.'

(84) Ditransitive Verb

<i>icomitiweki</i>	<i>nigitikonGadi</i>	<i>etakad:o.</i>
<i>y-icom-t+w+e-k</i>	<i>n-gitikon-Gad</i>	<i>etakado</i>
3sg.SUBJ-put-rel + inward + 3sg.CL-allative	alnbl-thread-valency	niddle

'She puts the thread in the needle.'

(85) Unaccusative Verb with an Indirect Object

id:owetGatGaloko.
j-d:-owe-d-Ga-t+Ga-lokom
 1pl.SUBJ-theme-take.care-atlc-pl-rel + 2sg.CL-adessive

'We are taking care of you.'

(86) Reflexive

id:inal:ekaGa.
j-d:-n-al:eka-Ga
 1pl.SUBJ-theme-refl-shave-pl

'We shave ourselves.'

Person and number are not grammaticalized together in Kadiwéu (except for 1pl direct and indirect objects). person markers are prefixes and number markers are suffixes. The suffix *-Ga* pluralizes the first and third-person person subjects. The suffix *-i* pluralizes the second-person of transitive and intransitive verbs as well as second person indirect objects. The pluralizer *-i* occurs with 2sg subjects too; its occurrence here seems to be due to an extension of the use of second-person plural (Rodrigues 1983).

(87) -ad:on 'marry'

jad:o 'I marry'
ad:oni 'You (sg/pl) marry'
wad:o 'He marries'
jad:onGa 'We marry'
nadonGa 'They marry'

(88) -owag 'bite'

jowag 'I bite (it)
owaki 'You (sg/pl) bite (it)
yowagi: 'He bites (it)
jowakGa 'We bite (it)
oyowagi 'They bite (it)

(89) -ema:n: 'want, love'

id:ema: 'I am loved'
Gad:ema:n:i 'You (pl) are loved'
God:ema: 'We are loved'

(90) -ajigo 'give'

ajigotiwa 'You (sg/pl) give (it) to me'
jajigotGawa 'I give (it) to you (sg)'
jajigota 'I give (it) to him'
ajigotGowa 'You (sg/pl) give it to us'

Kadiwéu has also two number markers which are optional. The pluralizing suffix *-gi* marks the presence of a plural subject:

(91) -ad:e:g 'bring'

Gad:ad:e:gigi 'You are brought by us'
God:ad:e:gigi 'We are brought by you'

The enclitic *+e* marks the presence of a third-person singular participant:

(92) -ema:n: 'love'

jema:te 'I love him'
God:ema:te 'He loves us'

An unmarked participant can be determined by a person hierarchy. Person markers respect the following hierarchy in Kadiwéu:

(93) 1pl.OBJ > 2sg./pl.SUBJ > 1sg.OBJ > 1sg./pl.SUBJ > 3sg./pl.SUBJ > 3sg./pl. OBJ.

Although transitive verbs normally contain object markers, a third-person object is usually not marked, because this is the lowest in the hierarchy. Therefore, when a transitive verb has a subject marker rather than an object marker, one understands that the object is a third-person.

Since second person is higher than first person, a transitive verb whose subject is second person and whose object is 1sg can also be marked by a subject prefix rather than an object prefix. In this case, the subject marker must be followed by the semantic case marker *-d*: 'theme'.

(94) ad:ad:e:gi.

a-d:-ad:e:g
2sg.SUBJ-theme-bring
 'You bring/guide me'

There is also an optional prefix, *eti-* that indicates the presence of an impersonal subject:

(95) etiGad:ad:egi.

'Some people/someone brought you.'

Kadiwéu has two pluralizing enclitics, *+niwak* and *+waji*. The pluralizer *+waji* has different scope according to the transitivity of the verb. The enclitic *+waji* has scope over the subject if the verb is intransitive (96), but over the object if there is one (97). The pluralizers *+niwak* and *+waji* can co-occur for emphasis, pluralizing the subject of intransitive clauses or the object of transitive clauses (98-99):

- (96) *jol:okodGatiwaji.*
 j-olokon-d-Ga-t+waji
 1sg.SUBJ-run-atel-pl-rel + pl

 'We all run.'
- (97) *analiqitibiGogitiwaji!*
 a-n-al:a-qen-i-t+b+Go-gi-t+waji
 2pl.SUBJ-remember-valency-pl-rel + inten-1pl.CL-goal-rel + pl

 'Remember all of us!'
- (98) *ad:a:bitiniwakitiwaji!*
 a-d:-a:bid-i-t+niwaci-t+waji
 2sg.SUBJ-theme-stand.up-pl-rel + pl-rel + pl

 'You all stand up!'
- (99) *Gad:ed:yanitiniwakitiwaji.*
 Ga-d:-ed:yan-t+niwak-t+waji
 2pl.OBJ-theme-pay-rel + pl-rel + pl

 'Somebody will pay you all.'

Auxiliary verbs must also be inflected for person and number. They have, however, a different inflectional pattern. Example 100 illustrates the inflectional pattern of auxiliary verbs. Observe that auxiliary verb inflection involves suppletion.

- (100) -*go* 'go'
 ejigo 'I go'
 igo 'He goes'
 eniGa 'We go'
 emi 'You (sg/pl) go'

Although *-me:n* 'say' is not an auxiliary verb, it also has an irregular inflection. The verb *-me:n* triggers the metathesis of person markers:

- (101) **-me:n** 'say'
meji 'I say'
me: 'He says'
mejinaGa 'We go'
me:ni 'You (sg/pl) say'

3.1.2. Motion and Direction. Most Kadiwéu verbs are not lexically specified for direction. The direction of the action is expressed by means of a prefix and a set of derivational enclitics. Another set of derivational enclitics, which must precede the directional clitics, can be used to create motion verbs. I classify these morphemes as derivational because they can change the meaning of the verbal stem (note the meaning shift in 108). Like any other enclitic in Kadiwéu, they trigger deletion of sonorant consonants. Table 8 presents the motion and direction enclitics and prefix and 102-112 present some examples.

MOTION	DIRECTION
+jo 'going'	+ke 'outward'
+ko 'going straight'	+bigim 'upward'
+wag 'going together'	+w ~ +wgi 'inward'
+n 'going inside'	+gi: 'toward'
+get 'going against'	+we 'backward'
	+nigi ~ +n: 'downward'
	+ka 'absent'
	+kwak 'apart'
	n- 'hither'

Table 8: Motion & Direction

- (102) **+jo** 'going': **jigowiwetijo.**
j-gowiwe-t+jo
 1sg.SUBJ-smile-rel + going
 I go smiling.
- (103) **n-** 'hither', **+jo** 'going': **jinigowiwetijo.**
j-n-gowiwe-t+jo
 1sg.SUBJ-hither-smile-rel + going
 I come smiling.
- (104) **+co** 'going straight', **+gi** 'toward': **jad:e:giticogi** **en:ewigigi.**
j-ad:e:gi+t+co+gi *en:ewigig:i*
 1sg.SUBJ-take-rel + going.straight + toward **manioc**
 'I take manioc straight toward my village.'
- (105) **+wa** 'going together', **+gi** 'toward': **inapadenGatiwagi** **bojikite:lo.**
j-n-apaden-Ga-t+wa+gi: *bojikite:lo*
 1sg.SUBJ-hither-repair-pl-rel + going.together + toward **net**
 'I sew the mosquito net.'
- (106) **+n** 'going inside': **dinotete** **katined:i**
y-d:-n-otete *ka-t+n+e-d:*
 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-store **locative-rel + going.inside + 3sg.CL-theme**
etakanig:i.
etaka-nig:i
basket-m.dim
 'It is stored inside a basket.'
- (107) **+get** 'going againt': **di:m:aGa** **od:ipegitigeti.** **wetiGa.**
di:m:igi-Ga *o-y-d:-peg-t+get* *wetiGa*
house-pl **pl-3sg.SUBJ-theme-be.close-rel + going.against** **stone**
 'The houses are geting close against the hills'.
- (108) **n-** 'hither', **+kwak** 'apart': **jinawaligitikawak.**
j-n-awali-g-t+kwak
 1sg.SUBJ-hither-walk-tlc-rel + apart
 'I got divorced.'

- (109) +ke 'outward': jicikGatike.
j-ici-g-Ga-t+ke
 1sg.SUBJ-pull-tlc-pl-rel + outward

'We pull it outwards.'

- (110) +bigem 'upward': nekenigo walokoditibigimed:i nalaGate.
neke-nigo *w-alokon-d-t+bigim+e-d:* *nalaGate*
 dog-classifier 3sg.SUBJ-run-atel-rel + upward + 3sg.CL-theme mountain

'The dog ran up the mountain.'

- (111) +w 'inward': nopilGaditetiw naqakodiwaGa liGeladi.
n-opil-Ga-d-t+e-t+w *n-aqakodiwa-Ga* *l-Geladi*
 3pl.SUBJ-go.away-pl-atel-rel + 3CL-rel + inward alnbl-rice-pl 3POSS-village

'They bring rice to the village.'

- (112) +we 'backward': ejigotiwe nGan:i nigotGa.
ej-go-t+we *nG-a-n:i* *n-gotGa*
 1sg.SUBJ-go-rel + backward DEM alnl-city

'I will go back to that pretty city.'

As illustrated in 110, which contains an intransitive verb, some of the directional enclitics can license a bare nominal adjunct. Kadiwéu complements and adjuncts are easily distinguished, because the presence of a complement is marked by a pronominal in the verb:

- (113) icomitiweki nigitikonGadi etakad:o.
y-icom-t+w+e-k *n-gitikon-Gad* *etakado*
 3sg.SUBJ-put-rel-inward + 3sg.CL-allative alnbl-thread-valency niddle

'She puts the thread in the needle.'

3.2. The Noun and the Nominal Phrase

3.2.1. Possessives and Genitives. Inalienably possessed nouns (Class I) must be preceded by a possessive marker. Table 9 presents the Kadiwéu possessives, and examples are provided in 114 and 116. The prefix *l-* is deleted before an alveolar consonant, and *Gad:-* and *God:-* are realized as *Ga-* and *Go-* respectively before any consonant. I use the label 'indefinite' here for indefinite possession. Observe that the Kadiwéu possessives are significantly similar to object markers. The similarities were even more striking in Mbayá (see Ceria & Sandalo 1995).

1sg	i-
2sg/pl	Gad:-
3sg/pl	l-
1pl	God:-
indefinite	e-

Table 9: Possessives

(114) liGeladi
l-Geladi
 3POSS-house

'his house'

(115) Gad:akilo
Gad:-akilo
 2POSS-head

'your head'

(116) ejike
e-ajike
 IND-face/chin

'somebody's face/chin'

Class II nouns, the alienably-possessed nouns, can be preceded by a possessive, but the possessive must also be preceded by either a noun classifier or the classifier prefix *n-* 'alienable'. Kadiwéu has three noun classifiers: two are used with domestic animals (*wiGadi* 'non-female animal class' and *wiqate* 'female animal class') and the other is used with other nouns (*neb:i* 'generic class.'). It is possible that the prefix *n-* is a reduced form of *neb:i*: compare 119 and 120, which show *n-* and *neb:i* in complementary distribution.

(117) *liwiGadi* *apolikGanGa*
l-wiGadi *apolokGanGa*
 3POSS-animal horse

'his horse'

(118) *liwiqate* *apolikGanGa*
l-wiqate *apolokGanGa*
 3POSS-female.animal horse

'his female horse'

(119) *Ganeb:i* *aqi:di*
Gad:-neb:i *aqi:di*
 2POSS-classifier river

'your (sg/pl) river'

(120) *Ganaqi:di*
Gad:-n-aqi:di
 2POSS-alnbl-river

'your (sg/pl) river.'

The occurrence of more than one classifier is allowed for emphasis. Both classifiers must be inflected for possessive pronominals:

(121) *iwiGadi* *ineb:i* *apolikGanGa* *wakipe* *ni y: Godi.*
i-wiGadi *i-néb:i* *apolokGanGa* *w-akipe* *niy:Godi*
 1POSS-animal 1POSS-classifier horse 3sg.SUBJ-drink water

'The horse of mine drinks water.'

The classifier *neb:i* can occur with inalienably possessed nouns too, but then the possessive markers must occur on both the classifier and the noun. Since *neb:i* indicates alienable possession, its use with inalienably possessed nouns entails separation from the possessor, as can be seen clearly in 122. The classifier tends to follow the noun in such constructions.

- (122) *Ganebi* *libol:e*
 Gad:-neb:i *l-bol:e*
 2POSS-classifier 3POSS-meat
- 'your meat of something (e.g. your meat of a cow)'

There are also some nouns which cannot be possessed. If they do occur with possessive markers, the meaning changes:

- (123) *epenay*
 'moon'
- (124) *inepenay.*
 i-n-epenay
 1POSS-alnbi-moon
- 'my month (i.e. the month in which I was born)'

Genitive constructions are formed by juxtaposing nouns; the head of the genitive phrase must be preceded by a possessive proclitic and the classifier *n-* if the head is an alienably possessed noun. The nouns composing a genitive construction can follow any order in relation to each other:

- (125) *Gonel:e:giwa* *liGeladi*
 Gonel:e:giwa *l-Geladi*
 man 3POSS-house
- 'the man's house'

- (126) *lakilo* *Maria*
 l-akilo *Maria*
 3POSS-head *Mary*

'Mary's head'

- (127) *Pedro* *naqi:di*
 Pedro *l-n-aqi:di*
 Peter 3POSS-alnbl-river

'Peter's river'

Recursion is common in genitive constructions:

- (128) *Ganeb:i* *wa:ka* *libol:e* *libinyenig:i*
 Gad:-neb:i *wa:ka* *l-bol:e* *l-binye-nig:i*
 2POSS-classifier cow 3POSS-meat 3POSS-beauty-m.dim

'your beautiful cow's meat' (Lit.: your cow its meat its beauty')

3.2.2. Classifier Suffixes. Nouns are further organized into five subclasses marked by different suffixes. The classifier *-nigo/-co* occurs on noun referring to names of animals and plants. The suffix *-nigo* occurs with singular nouns (*nekenigo* 'dog'), while *-co* occurs with plural nouns and is followed by the pluralizing suffix *-(a)di* (*nekecodi* 'dogs'). The suffix *-ija* 'cultivated plants' also occurs with plural nouns (*naqakodiwaGaijadi* 'a lot of rice'). The classifier *-GanGa* shows that the noun refers to an instrument (*noolenGanGa* 'stove'), and *-Gikajo:* occurs with some verbs nominalized by the prefix *n-* and refers to the actor of an action (*notaGamGikajo:* 'speaker').

3.2.3. Diminutive. Kadiwéu has two diminutive suffixes that encode gender: *-nig:i* 'masculine diminutive' and *-na* 'feminine diminutive'. The diminutive suffixes are very productive in that they can co-occur with any nominal root. Voiced short obstruents are devoiced before a diminutive suffix:

(129) *nig:a:nig:i*
 n-ig:a:-nig:i
 alnbl-child-m.dim

'boy'

(130) *nig:a:na*
 n-ig:a:-na
 alnbl-child-f.dim

'girl'

3.2.4. Number. Kadiwéu has five plural suffixes *-(a)di*, *-pi*, *-Ga*, *-dodi*, and *-al:i*. The suffix *-al:i* is a plural suffix used exclusively with nouns that refer to objects that have an elongated form (*nod:a:jol:i* 'knives'). The choice among all the other plural suffixes seem to be lexically determined. The suffixes *-adi* and *-al:i* are realized as *-di* and *-l:i*, respectively, when they attach to a stem ending in a vowel. All the elements in a noun phrase must agree in number:

(131)	<i>nGidiwa</i> <i>nG-i-di-wa</i> close-masc-DEM-pl	<i>nekecodi</i> <i>n-eke-co-adi</i> alnbl-dog-animal-pl	<i>nabidaGaGa</i> <i>n-abidaGa-Ga</i> alnbl-black-pl
---------	--	---	--

'these black dogs'

(132)	<i>nig:anig:ipi</i> <i>n-ig:a-nig:i-pi</i> alnbl-child-m.dim-pl	<i>libinyenGa</i> <i>l-binyen-Ga</i> 3POSS-beauty-pl
---------	---	--

'these pretty boys'

Mass nouns must be always followed by the plural suffix:

(133) *inajidi*
 i-n-aji-adi
 1POSS-alnbl-pl

'my fat'

3.2.5. Noun to Noun Derivation and Nominalizers. The suffix *-jegi* 'source' is used to derive nouns from other nouns. The suffix *-jegi* causes the devoicing of the last voiced stop of a root (*nigotaGa* 'city', *nigotaqajegi* 'citizen'). Kadiwéu has a suffix *-awa* 'like' which is used to derive nouns from nouns that contain a diminutive suffix. Some of these constructions involve reduplication of the last phonological foot (recall that feet are formed from right to left in Kadiwéu):

- (134) *nig:anig:awa:nigi*
 RED-n-ig:a-awa:-nig:i
 RED-alnbl-child-like-m.dim

 'baby boy'

The suffix *-Gaci* is a nominalizer:

- (135) *ojeteGaci*
 ojete-Gaci
 buy-NOM

 'Market'

3.2.6. Demonstratives. The demonstrative system in Waikurúan languages is quite complex, encoding gender, number, absence/presence, and position (static/moving). Such a system is rare in the world's languages. The masculine prefix *i-* or the feminine prefix *a-* immediately precedes the demonstrative forms in the singular. There is only one form for the plural demonstrative, *id:iwa*. The plural marker *-wa* can also be used to mean 'Kadiwéu nationality' or 'pertaining to the Kadiwéus' (e.g. *ad:iwa iwal:o* 'that Kadiwéu woman sitting' vs. *ad:i iwal:o* 'that woman sitting'). Absence is always marked by the morpheme **k:æ*; when the object or person is present, however, the form varies according to position (static/moving). Table 10 shows the Waikurúan demonstrative system.

Num	Gen	Waikurúian			Southern	
		P-Wkr	Kdw	Tb	Mcv	Abp
Singular						
M	<i>absent</i>	*k:æ	i-ka	ka	ka	<ekaha>
	<i>standing</i>	*(e)-d:a	i-d:a	da	da	<heraha>
	<i>sitting</i>	*(e)-n:i	i-n:i	ñi	ñi	<hiñiha>
	<i>present lying</i>	*(e)-d:i	i-d:i	ji	ji	<hiriha>
	<i>coming</i>	*(e)-n:a	i-n:a	na	na	<enaha>
	<i>going</i>	*(e)-dʲu	i-jo	so	so	<chaha>
F	<i>absent</i>	*a-k:æ	a-ka	a-ka	(a-)ka	<akaha>
	<i>standing</i>	*a-d:a	a-d:a	a-da	(a-)da	<haraha>
	<i>sitting</i>	*a-n:i	a-n:i	a-ñi	(a-)ñi	<hañiha>
	<i>present lying</i>	*a-d:i	a-d:i	a-ji	(a-)ji	<hariha>
	<i>coming</i>	*a-n:a	a-n:a	a-na	(a-)na	<anaha>
	<i>going</i>	*a-dʲu	a-jo	a-so	(a-)so	<ahaha>
Plural						
	<i>absent</i>	*k:æ-wa	i-d:i-wa	ka:-/ka-wa	ka-wa	?
	<i>standing</i>	*d:a-wa	i-d:i-wa	da:-/da-wa	da-wa	<herooha>
	<i>sitting</i>	*n:i-wa	i-d:i-wa	ñi:-/ñi-wa	ña-wa	?
	<i>present lying</i>	*d:i-wa	i-d:i-wa	ji:-/ji-wa	ja-wa	?
	<i>coming</i>	*n:a-wa	i-d:i-wa	na:-/na-wa	na-wa	<henooaha>
	<i>going</i>	*dʲu-wa	i-d:i-wa	so:-/so-wa	sa-wa	?

Table 10: Demonstratives (Ceria & Sandalo 1995)

Alejandra Vidal (personal communication, 1995) argues that the demonstratives of the Waikurúan languages are derived from verbs. Indeed in Kadiwéu the same roots that appear as demonstratives also function as existential/locative verbs and as serial verbs (see § 4). In fact, at least in Kadiwéu, any construction containing one of the roots used in demonstratives can be interpreted as a clause:

- (136) *ika* *Gonel:e:giwa.*
 i-ka *Gonel:e:giwa*
 masc-absent man

'This absent man/There exists a man.'

- (137) *in:a* *Gonel:e:giwa.*
 i-n:a *Gonel:e:giwa*
 masc-coming man

'This man coming/There is a man going.'

- (138) *ad:i* *iwa:lo.*
 a-d:i *iwa:lo*
 fem-lying woman

'This woman lying/There is a woman lying.'

- (139) *adiwa* *iwa:lo*
 a-d:i-wa *iwa:lo*
 fem-lying-kadiwéu woman

'This Kadiwéu woman lying/There is a Kadiwéu woman lying.'

3.3. Summary

In this chapter I have given a detailed description of the grammatical morphemes found in the noun and in the verb. The verb structure is very complex, encoding person and number, directionals, mood, negation, and aspect. The noun encodes possessives, classifiers, diminutive, and number.

4. Morphosyntax

4.1. Constituent Order and Clause Types

In this section I present an overview of Kadiwéu syntax. This serves as an introduction to more specific questions that bear on theoretical issues, which are presented in § 4.2-4.4. In § 4.1.1 I discuss constituent order and § 4.1.2 lists the sentence types that I have found.

4.1.1. Constituent Order. One striking feature of Kadiwéu syntax is its nonconfigurational properties. It has all the classical properties of a nonconfigurational language: free ordering of nominal phrases with respect to each other and the verb, pervasive dropping of nominal phrases, and the existence of discontinuous expressions.

Griffiths (1987, 1991) presents a discussion of constituent order in Kadiwéu. He points out that the constituent order of Kadiwéu main clauses varies freely between VSO and SVO, but is predominantly SVO. My data shows that the constituent order of Kadiwéu main clauses is much freer than Griffiths reports. Possible orders for main clauses are OVS, VOS, SOV, OSV, SVO, and VSO:¹¹

(140)	Maria <i>Maria</i> Mary	n:adi <i>y-n-na-d</i> 3sg.SUBJ-hither-see-atel	Gatodi. <i>Gatodi</i> toucan	SVO
(141)	n:adi <i>y-n-na-d</i> 3sg.SUBJ-hither-see-atel	Gatodi <i>Gatodi</i> toucan	Maria. <i>Maria</i> Mary	VOS
(142)	Maria <i>Maria</i> Mary	Gatodi <i>Gatodi</i> toucan	n:adi. <i>y-n-na-d</i> 3sg.SUBJ-hither-see-atel	SOV
(143)	Gatodi <i>Gatodi</i> toucan	Maria <i>Maria</i> Mary	n:adi. <i>y-n-na-d</i> 3sg.SUBJ-hither-see-atel	OSV

(144) Gatodi n:adi Maria. OVS
 Gatodi y-n-na-d Maria
 toucan 3sg.SUBJ- hither-see-atel Mary

(145) n:adi Maria Gatodi. VSO
 y-n-na-d Maria Gatodi
 3sg.SUBJ-hither-see-atel Mary toucan

‘Mary sees a toucan.’

Griffiths says that the constituent order of subordinate clauses is always VSO, but I have found alternative constituent orders in subordinate clauses as well. In 146 and 147 the subject of the subordinate clause precedes the verb, while in 148 the object precedes the verb:

(146) jowo:GotaGa me el:yodi oqo oyowo:Godi
 j-owo:-God-Ga me el:yo-di oqo o-y-owo:-God
 1pl.SUBJ-think-valency-pl COMP another-pl people pl-3pl.SUBJ-think-valency

natematiqu.
 n-atemati-qon
 alnbl-tell-valency

‘We know that people understand/know narratives/stories.’

(147) dapa:we le:Godi Maria ipod:i Joao.
 y-d:-apa:we le:Godi Maria y-po-d Joao
 3sg.SUBJ-theme-screan because Mary 3sg.SUBJ-kick-atel John

‘He screamed because Mary was kicking John.’

(148) ejigo id:alita le:Godi Joao jiyadi.
 ej-g:o j-d:-ali-t+e-wa le:Godi Joao j-ya-d
 1sg.AUX-go 1sg.SUBJ-theme-visit-rel + 3sg.CL-dative because John 1g.SUBJ-miss-atel

‘I went to visit him because I have missed John.’

Baker 1994 observes that, although Mohawk has a quite free constituent order, one nominal phrase in a given clause cannot refer to a pronominal belonging to another clause. This is also true for Kadiwéu:

- (161) *dinom:oqe.*
y-d:-n-om:o-qen:
 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-open-valency

'It opens itself.'

Second, only transitive clauses undergo passivization. Kadiwéu does not have any passive morpheme. Passives are distinguished from active sentences solely in that the subject of a passive is marked as the subject of an unaccusative clause:

- (162) *yajigota.*
y-ajigo-t+e-wa
 3sg.SUBJ-give-rel + 3sg.CL-dative

'He gives it to him.'

- (163) *dajigota.*
y-d:-ajigo-t+e-wa
 3sg.SUBJ-theme-give-rel + 3sg.CL-dative

'It was given to him.'

Third, ditransitive clauses are distinguished by the obligatory presence of an enclitic marking the indirect object:

- | | | |
|---------|---|--|
| (164) | <i>jajigotGawa</i>
<i>j-ajigo-t+Ga-wa</i>
1sg.SUBJ-give-rel + 2sg.CL-dative | <i>apolikGanGa.</i>
<i>apolik-GanGa</i>
horse-classifier |
|---------|---|--|

'I give a horse to you.'

- | | | | |
|---------|--|---|--|
| (165) | <i>jipeqeteloko</i>
<i>j-pe-qen-t+e-lokom</i>
1sg.SUBJ-put-valency-rel + 3sg.CL-adessive | <i>nalaGan:aGaci</i>
<i>n-ala-Gan:-Gaci</i>
anbl-recall-valency-NOM | <i>name:ja.</i>
<i>name:ja</i>
table |
|---------|--|---|--|

'I put the book on the table.'

Kadiwéu formally distinguishes copular clauses from existential and locative clauses. There is no overt copular.

- (166) Existential: ijo Gonel:e:giwa.
i-jo *Gonel:egiwa*
 masc-going man
 'There is a man going.'
- (167) Locative: Gon:el:egiwa tika nigotGa
Gon:l:egiwa *t-ka* *n-gotGa*
 man ?-absent alnbl-city
 'The man is in the city.'
- (168) Copular: e: ni:GacinaGanaGa.
e:m: *n-i:Gacin-GanGa*
 1PRONOUN alnbl-teach-classifier
 'I am a teacher.'
- (169) Copular Maria libinyen:a.
Maria *l-binyen-na*
 Mary 3POSS-beauty-f.dim
 'Mary is pretty.'

The complement of copular clauses in Kadiwéu is always a noun phrase. Kadiwéu does not have adjectives: all non-verbal roots have identical syntactic properties. Elements which are expressed by adjectives in languages like English are expressed by nouns (168-169) or intransitive verbs (170-171) in Kadiwéu (see 4.4 for criteria for lexical category classification).

- (170) e: jelotiqa.
e:m *j-eloti-qan*
 1PRONOUN 1sg.SUBJ-sick-valency
 'I am sick.'

Note that the complementizer *me* can be preceded by a noun phrase referring either to the subject of the subordinate clause (172) or to the object of the main clause (174). There is no ambiguity, however, since, when the nominal phrase preceding the complementizer refers to the object of the main clause, it will trigger agreement in the main verb (174).

Adverbial clauses are introduced by *nige*, *naGa*, and *noaGa*. The complementizer *nige* can be glossed as 'when (fut)', *naGa* as 'when (non-fut)', and *noaGa* as 'where':

- (175) *meji* *Maria* *naGa* *dabaqenaGa*.
 j-me:n *Maria* *naGa* *y-d:-baqen-Gan*
 1sg.SUBJ-say *Mary* when (non-fut) 3sg.SUBJ-theme-wash-valency

'I said [the date] when Mary did the laundry.'

- (176) *Maria* *yatemati* *Pedro* *naGa* *yoc* *di:m:igi*.
 Maria *y-atemati* *Pedro* *naGa* *y-oen* *di:m:igi*
 Mary 3sg.SUBJ-tell/say *Peter* when (fut) 3sg.SUBJ-make house

'Mary said [the date] when Peter built the house.'

- (177) *Maria* *yatemati* *nige* *yoc* *Pedro* *di:m:igi*
 Maria *y-atemati* *nige* *y-oen* *Pedro* *di:m:igi*
 Mary 3sg.SUBJ-tell/say when (non-fut) 3sg.SUBJ-make *Peter* house

'Mary said [the date] when Peter will build the house'

- (178) *Joao* *eyati* *en:ewigig:i* *noaGa* *eyati* *Pedro* *etakol:igi*.
 Joao *y-ayati* *en:ewigig:i* *noaGa* *y-ayati* *Pedro* *etakol:igi*
 John 3sg.SUBJ-plant manioc where 3sg.SUBJ-plant *Peter* corn

'John plants manioc where Peter plants corn.'

Relative clauses are introduced by the relative pronoun *ane*:

(186)	Maria	adawe		alikyagi	nGijo	lyone:Ga.
	<i>Maria</i>	<i>aG+y-d:-awe</i>		<i>alikyagi</i>	<i>nGijo</i>	<i>lyone:Ga</i>
	Mary	neg + 3sg.SUBJ-theme-be.fast	like	DEM		young.man

'Mary is less fast than this boy.' (Lit.: Mary is not fast like this boy.)

Coordinate clauses are marked by overt coordinators such as *pida* 'but' and *koda/oda* 'and/also/and also'.

(187)	Maria	dawe		pida	Pedro	badaGa	dawe.
	<i>Maria</i>	<i>y-d:-awe</i>		<i>pida</i>	<i>Pedro</i>	<i>bGa-daGa</i>	<i>y-d:-awe</i>
	Mary	3sg.SUBJ-theme-be.fast	but	Peter	incompl-neg		3sg.SUBJ-theme-be.fast

'Mary is fast but Peter is not fast.'

(188)	Maria	dawe		koda	Pedro	dawe.
	<i>Maria</i>	<i>y-d:-awe</i>		<i>koda</i>	<i>Pedro</i>	<i>y-d:-awe</i>
	Mary	3sg.SUBJ-theme-be.fast	and/also	Peter		3sg.SUB -theme-be.fast

'Mary is fast and Peter is also fast.'

Kadiwéu has two types of interrogative constructions. Complements are questioned by means of the incorporation of the interrogative *ame* in a locative/existential predicate:

(189)	ami:n:a		ika	ane	enagi?
	<i>ame-i-n:a</i>		<i>ika</i>	<i>ane</i>	<i>y-ana-g</i>
	interrogative-masc-coming		DEM	relative	3sg.SUBJ-come-tlc

'Who/what is this who/that is coming?'

Adjuncts are questioned through movement to [SPEC, COMP] of the interrogative *ame* and addition of the prefix *ig-* 'wh':

(190)	igame	le:Godi	Pedro	me	yoé	ika	di:m:igi?
	<i>ig-ame</i>	<i>le:Godi</i>	<i>Pedro</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>y-oen</i>	<i>ika</i>	<i>di:m:igi</i>
	wh-int	because	Peter	COMP	3sg.SUBJ-make	DEM	house

'Why did Peter build the house?'

- (191) *igame* *oda:Ge:* *Pedro* *me* *yoe* *ika* *di:m:igi?*
ig-ame *oda:Ge:* *Pedro* *me* *y-oen* *ika* *dim:i:gi*
 wh-int how Peter COMP 3sg.SUBJ-make DEM house

'How did Peter make a house?'

- (192) *igamei* *Pedro* *me* *yoe* *ika* *di:m:igi?*
ig-ame+i *Pedro* *me* *y-oen* *ika* *dim:i:gi*
 wh-int + place Peter COMP 3sg.SUBJ-make DEM house

'Where did Peter make a house?'

I analyze examples 190-192 as *wh*-movement cases since the interrogative phrase must appear before the complementizer *me*. Moreover, a *wh*-interrogative is ungrammatical if a lower COMP is filled by a relative pronoun, blocking COMP to COMP movement (193). Example 194 shows that long-distance movement is allowed.

- (193) **igamei* *me* *eni* *Joao* *ane* *me:*
ig-ame+i *me* *y-ani* *Joao* *ane* *y-me:n*
 wh-int + place COMP 3sg.SUBJ-think John relative 3sg.SUBJ-say
- Maria* *me* *yaqadi* *napalwaGa?*
Maria *me* *y-aqad* *n-apolwa-Ga*
Mary COMP 3sg.SUBJ-find *alnbl-clay-pl*

*'Where do think that John that said that Mary found clay?'

- (194) *igamei* *me* *eni* *Joao* *me:* *me* *yaqadi*
ig-ame+i *me* *y-ani* *Joao* *y-me:n* *me* *y-aqad*
 wh-int + place COMP 3sg.SUBJ-think John 3sg.SUBJ-say *me* 3sg.SUBJ-find
- Maria* *napalwaGa?*
Maria *n-apolwa-Ga*
Mary *alnbl-clay-pl*

'Where do you think John said that Mary found clay?'

I could not find any simple yes-no questions in Kadiwéu. When I tried to elicit questions such as *Did you find clay?/Have you found clay?*, they gave me sentences such as *When did you find clay?*.

4.1.3. Summary. In this section I have shown that Kadiwéu is a nonconfigurational language. Nonconfigurational languages pose well-known problems for linguistic theory. The existence of free word order and discontinuous expressions challenges the idea underlying X-bar Theory of a fixed phrase structure over which syntactic relationships such as subject and object can be defined.

4.2. Kadiwéu as a Pronominal Argument Language

Jelinek 1984 explains the properties of nonconfigurational languages by proposing that languages set the elements which can work as verbal arguments. According to Jelinek, pronominal clitics and affixes are the arguments in nonconfigurational languages; nominal phrases are adjuncts, and therefore they can assume free order or be omitted. This proposal has not been universally accepted, however. The existence of inflectional morphemes functioning as arguments challenges the idea of a fixed phrase structure over which syntactic relationships such as subject and object can be defined. An alternative analysis would be to say that the morphemes on the verb do not replace conventional argument phrases, but that nonconfigurational languages are nothing more than cases of obligatory pro-drop languages. Baker 1984, for instance, argues that nominal phrases are adjuncts in Mohawk, but he denies that Mohawk pronominals are arguments. According to Baker, the verbal arguments are an empty category *pro* that occupies the projections of the verb. Kadiwéu offers evidence supporting Jelinek's hypothesis that inflectional morphemes can indeed be arguments in some languages. Arguments are understood in this work as elements that (i) are in A-position (adjuncts are in A-bar position), (ii) are subject to the Theta-criterion, and (iii) are subject to special kinds of syntactic operations (i.e. passivization, which affects arguments but not adjuncts).

In 4.2.1 I show that pronominal clitics and affixes co-occur with elements that assign semantic roles. The fact that pronominal clitics and affixes, rather than nouns, are governed by semantic role assigners suggests that Kadiwéu is a pronominal argument language of the Jelinek type rather than of the Baker type. In 4.2.2 a variety of syntactic tests, for instance passivization — which affects pronominals but not nominal phrases — will be applied

to Kadiwéu. The results of these tests also support the claim that pronominals are arguments, and nominal phrases adjuncts, in Kadiwéu.

4.2.1. Kadiwéu Semantic Role Markers. Many languages that have a free constituent order also have morphologically marked case. In such languages case markers are like English prepositions in that they assign semantic roles. Thus, several authors prefer to label these elements as semantic role markers or semantic case markers (e.g. Simpson 1983). Kadiwéu fits this pattern, except that it is the pronominal clitics and affixes, rather than nouns, that co-occur with semantic case morphology. Kadiwéu has six semantic role markers: *-d:* 'theme'. *-gi* 'goal', *-wa ~ -ma* 'dative', *-dom ~ -ma ~ -lo* 'benefactive', *-k* 'allative', and *lokom* 'adessive'. Subject markers must be followed by either \emptyset (agent subjects) or *-d:* 'theme'. Direct object markers must be followed by *-d:* 'theme'. Indirect object enclitics must be followed by one of the following morphemes: *-wa ~ -ma* 'dative', *-dom ~ -ma* 'benefactive', *-k* 'allative', *-g* 'goal', *lokom* 'adessive'.¹⁴

- (195) *id:a:b:idi.*
 j-d:-a:b:id
 1sg.SUBJ-theme-sit.down-pl

 'I sit down.'
- (196) *Gad:ema:n:i.*
 Ga-d:-ema:n:i
 2pl.OBJ-theme-want-pl

 'He loves you.'
- (197) *jaqapetegi.*
 j-aqape-t+e-gi
 1sg.SUBJ-meet-rel + 3sg.CL-goal

 'I meet him.'
- (198) *jajigotGawa* *lib:ol:e.*
 j-ajigo-t+Ga-wa *l-b:ol:e*
 1sg.SUBJ-give-rel + 2sg.CL-dative 3POSS-meat

 'I give the meat to you.'

- (199) *icomitiweki*
y-icom-t-w+e-k
 3sg.SUBJ-put-rel-inward + 3sg.CL-allative *nigitikonGadi*
n-gitikon-Gad
 alnbl-thread-valency *etakad:o.*
etakado
 niddle
 'She puts the thread in the needle.'
- (200) *el:etGadomi.*
el:e-t+Ga-dom-i
 good-rel + 2pl.CL-benefactive-pl
 'It is good for you.'
- (201) *id:owetGatGaloko.*
j-d:-owe-d-Ga-t+Ga-lokom
 1pl.SUBJ-theme-take.care-ate1-pl-rel + 2sg.CL-adessive
 'We are taking care of you.'

A single pronominal affix or clitic co-occurs with several different semantic case markers. Conversely, a particular semantic case marker can co-occur with more than one pronominal prefix or enclitic. For instance, the enclitic *+Ga* co-occurs with *-wa* 'dative' in 198, with *-dom* 'benefactive' in 200, and with *-lokom* 'adessive' in 201. Conversely, the semantic role marker *-d:* 'theme' co-occurs with the subject prefix *j-* in 195 and the object prefix *Ga-* in 196. These facts constitute evidence that the semantic role markers and the pronominal markers are separate morphemes.

Bresnan & Mchombo (1987) discuss the fact that Chichewa has an optional object marker on the verb, and when the object marker occurs, word order is free, while word order is rigid when the object marker is absent. On the basis of these facts, they claim that the object marker and nominal phrases share argument properties. Thus, when the object marker appears, the overt nominal associated with it is not in argument position and hence is not subject to ordering conditions. In contrast, when the object marker is not present, the nominal phrase is an argument and therefore follows a rigid order. Their analysis cannot be extended to Kadiwéu, however, because

Kadiwéu nominal phrases are always ungoverned and never respect any ordering restriction. In contrast, pronominal clitics and affixes must always co-occur with semantic role markers.

Jelinek claims that the Theta-Criterion applies verb-internally in pronominal argument languages. The fact that pronominal clitics and affixes, rather than nouns, co-occur with semantic role markers in Kadiwéu suggests that the Theta-Criterion must indeed be applied verb-internally in some languages. One could question whether the semantic role markers are attached to pronominals at the phonological level. If this were the case, Baker's approach still could be maintained. If the argument phrases are an empty *pro*, the logical possibility is to cliticize them to the verb at the phonological level. There is, however, evidence suggesting that the phenomenon is truly morphological. Table 5 (repeated here as Table 11 for convenience), a schematic representation of Kadiwéu verb structure, shows that the pronominal-semantic role assigner clusters occur deeply embedded in the verb morphology. Pronominal clitics and affixes are further inside the verb structure than inflectional morphemes such as aspect, mood, directionals, and plural markers. The pluralizer *-waji* has different semantic scope according to the verbal valency: it pluralizes the subject prefix if the clause is intransitive (202), but it pluralizes an internal argument if the verb has one (203). The fact that *-waji* accesses the internal morphological boundaries of the verbal stem to establish its semantic scope indicates that this morpheme cannot be attached to the verb at the phonological level. A morpheme which is attached to the verb at the phonological level (simple clitic) cannot access the lexical properties of its host. The fact that Kadiwéu semantic role morphemes are inside *-waji* in the verb structure indicates that those morphemes also cannot attach to the verb at the level of phonological form.

(202) *jal:okodGatiwaji.*
 j-alokon-d+Ga-t+waji
 1pl.SUBJ-run-atel-pl-rel + pl

'We all run.'

(203) *anal:aqetibiGogitiwaji!*
 a-n-al:a-qen-i-t+b+Go-gi-t+waji
 2pl.SUBJ-remember-valency-pl-rel + inten-1pl.CL-goal-rel + pl

'Remember all of us!'

4.2.2. Syntactic Tests. In this section I show, by means of a variety of syntactic tests, that all the available evidence indicates that Kadiwéu is indeed a pronominal argument language.

The first syntactic test is passivization. In most languages that have passivization, a noun-phrase complement can be passivized, whereas an adjunct cannot be:

(204) a. He laughed at the clown.

b. The clown was laughed at by him.

(205) a. He laughed at ten o'clock

b. *Ten o'clock was laughed at by him.

Since, according to my hypothesis, pronominal clitics and affixes are arguments in Kadiwéu and nominal phrases are adjoined to the sentence, I expect that passivization will affect pronominal clitics and affixes, while nominal phrases will always remain unaffected by this transitivity alternation. The examples below show that this prediction holds. The pronominal affixes are affected by passivization, but nominal phrases are not:¹⁵

(206)	yajigota	wa:ka	Paulo.
	<i>y-ajigo-t+e-wa</i>	<i>wa:ka</i>	<i>Paulo</i>
	3sg.SUBJ-give-rel + 3CL-dative	cow	Paul

‘He gives the cow to Paul.’

(207)	dinajigota	wa:ka	Paulo.
	<i>y-d-ajigo-t+e-wa</i>	<i>wa:ka</i>	<i>Paulo</i>
	3sg.SUBJ-theme-give-rel + 3CL-dative	cow	Paul

‘The cow was given to Paul.’

However, as mentioned by Baker (1994:34), if *pro* is omitted in 210 then the representation does not violate Condition C of the Binding Theory. If pronominal clitics and affixes are arguments in Kadiwéu. I expect that an argument in the main clause can be coreferential with a nominal phrase inside a complement clause. In order to test coreference, I elicited ambiguous stories:

- (211) *ika noqo ika Paulo yawaligeGe aka dom:o:jya.*
ika noqo ika Paulo y-awaligi-Gen: aka dom:o:jya
 DEM day DEM Paul 3sg.SUBJ-walk-valency DEM car

'One day Paul was driving a car.'

niGin:a naGa n:adi Jose me
nGin:a naGa y-n-na-d Jose me
 DEM when 3sg.SUBJ-hither-see-atel Joseph COMP

icomaGatike ika lad:igod:i.
y-icom-Gan-t+ke ika lad:igod:i
 3sg.SUBJ-put-valency-rel + outward DEM street/stream

'when he saw Joseph crossing the street.'

nGaka laqata oda Paulo ja niqoGeti nidom:o:jya.
nG-aka laqata oda Paulo jaG y-n-qoGe-ti n-dom:o:jya
 DEM hour then Paul completive 3sg.SUBJ-stop-valency alnbl-car

'At this moment, Paul stopped the car.'

Jose enitini.
Jose y-ani-t+ni
 Joseph 3sg.SUBJ-drop-downward

'Joseph fell.'

- (212) *elyodo Joao ovidi libaqetedi.*
elyodo Joao ovidi l-ba:-qen-edi-edi
 mother John lot 3POSS-work-valency-pl-pl

'John's mother had a lot of work.'

oda domaGa yema: Joao iwilegi lanodi.
oda domaGa y-ema:n: Joao y-wilegi l-ano-adi
 then desiderative 3sg.SUBJ-want John 3sg.SUBJ-wash 3POSS-plate-pl

'She wanted to ask John to do the dishes.'

oda	me:ta			Joao	iwilegi	GoniGinodi.
oda	y-me:n-t+e-wa			Joao	y-wilegi	God:-n-Gino-adi
then	3sg.SUBJ-say-rel + 3sg.CL-dative			John	3sg.SUBJ-wash	1pl.POSS-alnbl-dish

'Then she said: John, wash our dishes.'

niGidiaGidi	oda	nGajo	elyodo	Joao	jGigo	iwi
niGidiaGidi	oda	nGajo	elyodo	Joao	jG-y-go	y-iwin
later	then	DEM	mother	John	compl-3sg.AUX-go	3sg.SUBJ-see
dantaGa	igodi	me	iwilegi		Ginodi	
dantaGa	igodi	me	y-wilegi		Gino-adi	
if	already	COMP	3sg.SUBJ-wash		dish-pl	

'Later John's mother came to see whether he had already washed the dishes.'

Then I elicited some interpretative sentences:

(213)	me:	Joao	me	iwilegi	Ginodi.
	y-me:n	Joao	me	y-wilegi	Gino-adi
	3sg.SUBJ-say	John	COMP	3sg.SUBJ-wash	plate-pl

'S/he said that the John washed the dishes.'

(214)	me:	me	yamaGati	dom:o:jya	Jose.
	y-me:n	me	y-amaGa-ti	dom:o:jya	Jose
	3sg.SUBJ-say	COMP	3sg.SUBJ-step-valency	car	Joseph

'S/he said that the car hit Joseph.'

I asked who said that the car hit Joseph and who said that John washed the dishes. Fifty speakers of Kadiwéu, including adults and children over six years old, were tested. Some speakers answered that the subject of *-me:n* 'say' could be either of the participants of the stories, but the majority answered *Joseph* and *John* respectively. Some children answered *Paul* and *John's mother* respectively; these children's first language was Portuguese, however, and they learned Portuguese outside the village. Children who learned Portuguese in the village answered *Joseph* and *Joao*, respectively, even when the test was applied in Portuguese, that is, when the stories and questions were conducted in Portuguese.¹⁷

Additional examples are shown in 215-218. All the available evidence shows that a pronominal in a Kadiwéu main clause can be coreferential with a nominal phrase in a complement clause. The data on coreference constitutes strong evidence that pronominals, rather than *pro*, are arguments in Kadiwéu.¹⁸

- (215) yema: me din:ojeteta
 y-ema:n: *me* *y-d:-n:-ojete-t+e-wa*
 3sg.SUBJ-want COMP 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-buy-rel + 3sg.CL-dative

Joao dom:o:jya.
 Joao *dom:o:jya*
 John car

'He_i wants the car to be bought to John_i.'

- (216) yowo:Godi me yema: Joao.
 y-owo:-God *me* *y-ema:n:* *Joao*
 3sg.SUBJ-think-valency COMP 3sg.SUBJ-want John

'He_i knows that she loves John_i.'

- (217) jatematitalo Maria me yema: Joao.
 j-atemati-t+e-lo *Maria* *me* *y-ema:n:* *Joao*
 1SUBJ-tell-rel + 3sg.CL-benefactive Mary me 3sg.SUBJ-want John

'I told him_i that Mary loves John_i.'

- (218) me: me din:ojeteta
 y-me:n *me* *y-d:-n:-ojete-t+e-wa*
 3sg.SUBJ-say COMP 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-buy-rel + 3sg.CL-dative

Joao dom:o:jya.
 Joao *dom:o:jya*
 John car

'He_i said that this car was bought by John_i.'

A well-known property of adjuncts is that they allow recursivity. If nominal phrases are indeed adjuncts in Kadiwéu, therefore, they should be recursive. There are many examples which come both from texts and from elicited sentences that show that nominal phrases are indeed recursive. Observe in 219 that there are three nominal phrases referring to the object, and in 220 there are two nominal phrases referring

markers that license empty pros, and each of one of the empty pros will license one dislocated nominal phrase. Therefore, according to Baker's analysis, nominal phrases in pronominal argument languages should differ from regular adjuncts, which are recursive. Kadiwéu falsifies Baker's proposal since the occurrence of more than one nominal phrase for each argument is very productive.

The hypothesis that nominal phrases are adjuncts predicts that anaphoric expressions such as *himself/herself/themselves* and referential quantifiers such as *each other* will be nonexistent in pronominal argument languages, since their presence would lead to a violation of Condition A of the Binding Theory. The coindexation of an anaphoric element to an adjunct nominal phrase would lead to a violation of Condition A of the Binding Theory, which states that an anaphoric element must be bound by a c-commanding antecedent in argument position.^{19, 20}

Since reflexives and reciprocals are expressed by verbal morphology in Kadiwéu, this prediction also holds here:

(223) id:inal:ekaGa.
j-d:-n-al:eka-Ga
 1pl.SUBJ-theme-refl-shave-pl
 'We shave ourselves/We shave each other'

(224) ad:iniloiqati
a-d:-n-loiqa-d-i
 2pl.SUBJ-theme-refl-torture-atel-pl
 'You torture yourself.'

Although anaphors are predicted to be nonexistent in pronominal argument languages, logophoric or emphatic pronouns are possible. Such pronominals are elements in A-bar positions, which do not require a structurally defined antecedent (Reinhart & Reuland 1991). Kadiwéu does not have anaphoric elements, but it does have emphatic pronouns. These emphatic pronouns, like other Kadiwéu nominal phrases, are recursive.

1sg	e:m:	~	e:m:Ga	(e:m:-Ga)
2sg/2pl	aqɑ:m:i	~	aqɑ:m:iGa:qɑ:m:i	(aqɑ:m:i-Ga-RED)
1pl	oqom:	~	oqom:Go:qo	(oqo-Ga-RED)

Table 12: Emphatic Pronouns

(225)	e:	e:m:Ga	jotiqotGawa.
	<i>e:m</i>	<i>e:m:-Ga</i>	<i>j-otiqo-t+Ga-wa</i>
	1sg.PRONOUN	1sg.PRONOUN-emphasis	1sg.SUBJ-whistle-rel + 2sg.CL-dative

'I myself will whistle to you.'

(226)	em:Ga	jo:l:aGa.
	<i>em:-Ga</i>	<i>j-o:l:a-Ga</i>
	1sg.PRONOUN-emphasis	1sg.SUBJ-cook-pl

'I myself cook.'

(227)	e:	e:m:Ga	id:inema:.
	<i>e:m:</i>	<i>e:m:-Ga</i>	<i>j-d:-n-ema:n:</i>
	1sg.PRONOUN	1sg.PRONOUN-emphasis	1sg.SUBJ-theme-reflexive-want

'I love myself.'

Pronominal argument languages have neither quantifiers nor *WH*-words that can occupy argument positions. These typological features constitute important evidence for the nature of argument structure in these languages. Quantifiers and *WH*-complements appear as affixes added to locative predicates in Kadiwéu. Table 13 shows the Kadiwéu locative roots.

'standing'	-d:a
'sitting'	-n:i
'lying'	-d:i
'coming'	-n:a
'going'	-jo
'absent'	-ka

Table 13: LocativeRoots

Rizzi 1986 observes that a clitic cannot be bound by a bare quantifier in adjunct position (228). When an adjoined nominal phrase receives an indefinite interpretation, the clitic is treated as a variable and the sentence is ruled out as an instance of vacuous quantification. Since, according to my hypothesis, every nominal phrase is in an adjoined position, it follows that bare quantifier nominal phrases must be impossible in Kadiwéu. Quantificational notions appear as suffixes added to locative predicates as in 229 and 230. Example 231 shows that the Kadiwéu quantifier suffixes have unselective scope. Such constructions are similar to the ones described in Jelinek & Demers 1994 for Straits Salish.

(228) *Nessuno, lo conosco in questa città.

'Nobody, I know him in this city'.

(229)	onin:itekibeke <i>on-i-n:i-t+e-k-beke</i> one-masc-locative-rel + 3sg.CL-allative-separately	Gonel:e:giwa <i>Gonel:e:giwa</i> man	yema: <i>y-ema:n:</i> 3sg.SUBJ-theme-want
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lyonig:i.
l-yo-nig:i
3POSS-son-m.dim

'Each man loves his son.' (Lit.: 'There is one man each, he loves his son.')

(230)	iwilegi <i>y-wilegi</i> 3sg.SUBJ-wash	idiataweke <i>i-d:i-wa-taweke</i> masc-locative-pl-collective	dom:o:jyatedi. <i>dom:o:jya-te-edi</i> car-classifier-pl
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'He washed the wholecar/all the cars'. (Lit.: 'He washed them, there are cars.')

(231)	aGika <i>aG+i-ka</i> negative + masc-locative	dom:o:jya. <i>dom:o:jya</i> car
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'There is no car.'

Clitics can be bound neither by a quantifier in an adjunct position nor by a WH-word in [SPEC, COMP]. WH-words, like quantifiers, must bind a variable in order to be properly interpreted; but clitics cannot be treated as variables. Baker (1994) shows that Mohawk does have WH-movement, and he takes this fact as

an argument for the claim that *pro* and traces are allowed to occupy an A-position in pronominal argument languages. In Kadiwéu, only *wh*-adjuncts (i.e. *how*, *why*, *where*, *when*, and *how*) move to [SPEC, COMP] (232). Complements can be questioned by incorporating the interrogative *ame* in a locative verb (233-234). The absence of *wh*-complements in [SPEC, COMP] provides important support for the claim that only pronominal clitics and affixes are arguments in Kadiwéu.

(232)	igame	me	en:i	Joao	me:	me
	<i>ig-ame</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>y-an:i</i>	<i>Joao</i>	<i>y-me:n</i>	<i>me</i>
	<i>wh</i> -interrogative	COMP	3sg.SUBJ-think	John	3sg.SUBJ-say	COMP
	yaqadi	Maria	napalwaGa?			
	<i>y-aqad</i>	<i>Maria</i>	<i>n-apalwa-Ga</i>			
	3sg.SUBJ-find	Mary	alnbl-pottery-pl			

'Where does he thinks that John said that Mary found the clay?'

(233)	ami:n:i	ika	Joao	ane	ib:inye?
	<i>ame-i-n:i</i>	<i>ika</i>	<i>Joao</i>	<i>ane</i>	<i>y-b:inyen</i>
	interrogative-masc-locative	DEM	John	relative	3sg.SUBJ-clean

What did John clean? (Lit.: What is this that John cleaned?)

(234)	ami:jo	ika	ane	din:ojete:ta	id:a?
	<i>ame-i-jo</i>	<i>ika</i>	<i>ane</i>	<i>y-d:-n:-ojete:-t+e-wa</i>	<i>id:a</i>
	interrogative-masc-locative	DEM	relative	3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-buy-rel + 3CL-dative	DEM

'Who is buying it?' (Lit.: who is he/this who buys it?)

Saito 1985 and Speas 1991 have pointed out that the proposal that nominals are adjuncts, i.e. that they are not properly governed by the verb, predicts that multiple questions (e.g. *where did you see what?*) should be ungrammatical, since it would leave behind two adjunct traces. If neither of the nominals is properly governed by the verb, then both would have to be antecedent-governed in order to satisfy the ECP. This prediction also holds, since only one nominal phrase can be questioned in a Kadiwéu clause:²¹

(235)	*igame	me	Joao	yaqadi	ame?
	<i>ig-ame</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>Joao</i>	<i>y-aqad</i>	<i>ame</i>
	WH -interrogative	COMP	John	3sg.SUBJ-find	interrogative

'Where did John find what?'

4.2.3. Summary and Implications. In this section I have presented evidence that pronominal clitics and affixes are arguments in Kadiwéu, and that nominal phrases are optionally adjoined to the sentence. First, pronominal clitics and affixes co-occur with elements that assign semantic roles: *-d*: 'theme', *-wa* ~ *-ma* 'dative', *-dom* ~ *-ma* ~ *-lo* 'benefactive', *-gi* 'goal', *-lokom* 'adessive', *-k* 'allative'. In addition, the results of several syntactic tests support the hypothesis: passivization, recursivity, coreference, anaphora, lack of quantifiers, and the behavior of WH -interrogatives.

These results have important implications for theoretical linguistics. The boundary between syntax and morphology is a topic of much linguistic debate. In the 1970s a rigid separation between syntax and morphology was established, so that words were to be treated as indivisible units by the syntax (see Chomsky 1970). In the 1980s this rigid separation was abandoned, and morphological phenomena started to be analyzed on the basis of syntactic principles alone (e.g. in Baker 1988). More recently, doubts regarding the reduction of inflectional morphology to syntax have been raised (e.g. in Anderson 1992). The fact that morphemes embedded in the verb structure function as arguments in Kadiwéu supports the claim that syntactic principles, such as the Theta-Criterion, must have access to inflectional morphology. Furthermore, this result indicates that morphological phenomena cannot be reduced to syntactic principles alone, since the elements that receive theta-roles in this language cannot be analyzed as morphemes attached to the verb at the level of phonological form.

4.3. Serial Verbs

From a descriptive and theoretical point of view, it is important to ask whether prepositional phrases can function as verbal arguments in pronominal argument languages. Baker 1994 argues that in Mohawk neither nominal phrases nor prepositional phrases can function as verbal arguments. This is also true for Kadiwéu, since it does not have adpositions at all. In this section I argue that the structures analyzed by Griffiths (1987, 1991) as prepositional phrases are in fact serial verb constructions (SVC).

The phenomenon of verb serialization was first described as follows (Westermann 1930:126, cited in Awóyalé 1988):

"A row of verbs one after another...[in which] the verbs stand next to each other without being connected."

The first problem with SVCs is their definition. Although the phenomenon of verb serialization has often discussed by many linguists, SVCs do not have a clear definition within any theory of grammar. As a result, different linguists assign different structures to what they see as a SVC. In this study I label as SVCs certain structures which have both monoclausal and biclausal properties. As will be pointed out below, the monoclausal properties that characterize the Kadiwéu structures studied are found cross-linguistically in most serializing structures — hence the label SVC.

In 4.3.1 I show that the Kadiwéu constructions that I label as SVCs have several characteristic of biclausal constructions. I will provide evidence for the claim that these Kadiwéu constructions involve two verbs rather than a verb and a preposition. One might think at first glance that SVCs are not so different from analogous constructions in European languages. In § 4.3.2 I compare SVCs with biclausal structures such as coordination and control. Although SVCs share some properties with coordinated clauses and control structures, the SVCs differ considerably from the other two construction types in that

they also have several monoclausal properties (§ 4.3.2). In § 4.3.5 I present a short summary of Baker's account of SVCs and suggest that the facts of Kadiwéu cannot be straightforwardly explained in that way.

4.3.1. Biclausal Properties. Griffiths (1991:20) observes that,

“There are at least two verbs which have preposition-like properties. They both may be roughly glossed 'employ, use'. Verb sequences in general require complementizers linking the verbs, but these verbs do not...They appear to occupy a position where we might expect a preposition”.

In fact, Kadiwéu has seven roots that have "preposition-like properties" — that is, roots which, in my analysis, can function as serial verbs. The root *-ati* 'take' express instrumental notions, the roots *d:i-* 'lying', *n:i-* 'sitting', *da-* 'standing', *jo-* 'coming', *na-* 'coming', and *ka-* 'being absent' express locational notions. Each Kadiwéu SVC contains one of these roots and also an open-class verb:

(236)	Maria	yel:wadi	oqoqo:di	yatita	nod:a:jo.
	Maria	y-el:wad	oqoqo:di	y-ati-t+e-wa	n-od:a:jo
	Mary	3sg.SUBJ-kill	chicken	3sg.SUBJ-take-rel + 3sg.CL-dative	alnbl-knife

'Mary killed the chicken with a knife.'

(237)	Maria	yaqadi	nekenigo	katiwed:i	nam:e:ja.
	Maria	y-aqad	n-eke-nigo	ka-t-w+e-d:	n-am:e:ja
	Mary	3sg.SUBJ-find	alnbl-dog-animal	locative-rel-inward + 3sg.CL-theme	alnbl-table

'Mary found the dog under the table.'

(238)	dinotete		katined:i	etakanig:i.
	y-d:-n-otete		ka-t+n+e-d:	etaka-nig:i
	3sg.SUBJ -theme-hither-store		locative-rel + going.inside + 3sg.CL-theme	basket-m.dim

'It is stored inside a basket.'

(239)	ipeqeni <i>a-ipe-qen-i</i> 2sg.SUBJ-put-valency -pl	nod:a:jo <i>n-od:a:jo</i> alnbl-knife	d:itibig:im:ed:i <i>d:i-t-big:im:-e-d:</i> locative-rel-upward + 3sg.CL-theme	nam:e:ja. <i>n-ame:ja</i> alnbl-table
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'Put the knife on the table.'

Note in examples 236-239 that the second element taking an internal argument has been translated into English as a preposition. One might argue that Kadiwéu does not have two verbs in the sentences above, but a verb and a preposition. Indeed, Griffiths 1991 analyzes examples 237-239 as containing prepositional phrases, rather than verbs with "preposition-like properties". However, the fact that a word can be translated as a preposition does not mean that that word is a preposition. The first problem that we face in analyzing roots like *-ati*, *ka-*, and *d:i-* as prepositions is that we will have to postulate that Kadiwéu has homophonous verbs and prepositions, because 240 and 241 show that such roots can function as main verbs. Example 240 differs from example 236 in that 240 has a main and a subordinate clause, as indicated by the presence of the complementizer *me*.

(240)	Gon:el:e:giwa <i>Gon:el:e:giwa</i> man	yati <i>y-ati</i> 3sg.SUBJ-take	lod:a:jo <i>l-od:a:jo</i> 3POSS-knife	me <i>me</i> COMP	yel:wadi <i>y-el:wad</i> 3sg.SUBJ-kill	oqoqo:dodi. <i>oqoqo:-do-di</i> chicken-classifier-pl
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'The man took his knife to kill chickens.'

(241)	Gon:el:egiwa <i>Gon:l:egiwa</i> man	tika <i>t-ka</i> ?-locative	nigotGa <i>n-gotGa</i> alnbl-city
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'The man is in the city.'

Although the postulation of homophonous verbal and prepositional roots would increase the size of the lexicon, there is nothing that prevents a language for having phonologically identical verbs and prepositions. Syntactic tests must therefore decide whether we are dealing with verbs or prepositions.

First, consider adverbial modification. The adjunction of certain adverbs to biclausal structures leads to ambiguous interpretations, since the adverb can be interpreted as being associated with either the main or the subordinate verb (Shibatani 1976). Thus, for instance, in Kadiwéu, as in English, in one of the interpretations of the biclausal structure in 242 *silently* modifies the verb *make* and the sentence means that John was silent when he made Mary come into the room. In the other interpretation the adverb modifies *come* and the sentence means that Mary came into the room silently.²²

(242)	Joao	ewo		Maria	me	igo		nolanaGaci
	<i>Joao</i>	<i>y-awo</i>		<i>Maria</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>y-igo</i>		<i>n-olan-Gaci</i>
	John	3sg.SUBJ-make		Mary	COMP	3sg.SUBJ-go		alnbl-cook-NOM
	medaGa	ika		lig:eg:i.				
	<i>me+daGa</i>	<i>ika</i>		<i>l-g:eg:i</i>				
	COMP + neg	DEM		3POSS-sound				

'John made Mary come into the kitchen silently.'

The sentences in 243 and 244 behave like biclausal structures with respect to adverbial modification. In 243 the adverb can be understood as modifying either *-ba* 'find' or *ka-* 'locative'. When it modifies *-ba*, the sentence means that the act of Mary finding the dog was silent. In the other interpretation the adverb modifies *ka-* 'locative' and the sentence means that the dog was silent under the table. In 244 the adverb *inoqa* 'always' can modify either *-el:wadi* 'kill' or *-ati* 'take'. In the first interpretation Mary always kills chickens, and in the second interpretation Mary always uses a knife when she kills chickens.

(243)	me	notoko	Maria	dibateloko		ijo	nekenigo
	<i>me</i>	<i>notoko</i>	<i>Maria</i>	<i>y-d:-ba-t+e-lokom</i>		<i>ijo</i>	<i>n-ekenigo</i>
	COMP	quiet	Mary	3sg.SUBJ -theme-find-rel + 3sg.CL-adessive		DEM	alnbl-dog
	katiwed:i					name:ja.	
	<i>ka-t-w+e-d:</i>					<i>n-ame:ja</i>	
	locative-rel-inward + 3sg.CL-theme					alnbl-table	

'Mary silently found the dog under the table.'

'Mary found a dog silent under the table.'

(244)	Maria	yel:wadi	oqoqo:di	inoqa	yatita	nod:a:jo.
	Maria	y-el:wad	oqoqo:di	inoqa	y-ati-t+e-wa	n-od:a:jo
	Mary	3sg.SUBJ-kill	chicken	always	3sg.SUBJ-take-rel + 3sg.CL-dative	alnbl-knife

'Mary always kills chicken with a knife.'

'Mary kills chicken always with a knife.'

The fact that adverbs can modify either one of the lexical heads in 243 and 244 indicates that we are dealing with two verbs, rather than with one verb and a preposition.

Second, consider the facts of Kadiwéu relativization. In most languages, the object of a preposition can be relativized:

(245) Mary killed a chicken with a knife

(246) The knife with which Mary killed the chicken

The nominal phrase referring to the object of *-ati*, *nod:a:jo* 'knife', cannot be relativized in 247 however, and this suggests that we are not dealing with prepositional phrases. If *-ati* were a preposition, the relativization of *nod:a:jo* 'knife' should be possible, as it is in 248. One possible explanation for the ungrammaticality of 247 would be to say that Kadiwéu might not accept preposition stranding. But example 248 shows that this is not the case; in fact, 248 shows that the object of *-ati* can be relativized if *-ati* functions as a main verb:

(247)	*ika	nod:a:jo	ane	Maria	yel:wadi
	ika	n-od:a:jo	ane	Maria	y-el:wadi
	DEM	alnbl-knife	relative	Mary	3sg.SUBJ-kill
	oqoqo:di	yatita			
	oqoqo:di	y-ati-t+c-wa			
	chicken	3sg.SUBJ-take-rel + 3sg.CL-dative			

'the knife with which Mary killed the chicken'

(248)	ika	nod:a:jo	anc	datiqata		Maria
	<i>ika</i>	<i>n-od:a:jo</i>	<i>anc</i>	<i>y-d:-ati-qan-t+e-wa</i>		<i>Maria</i>
	DEM	alnb1-knife	relative	3sg.SUBJ -theme-take-valency-rel + 3sg.CL-dative		Mary
	me	yel:wadi		oqoqo:di		
	<i>me</i>	<i>y-el:wadi</i>		<i>oqoqo:di</i>		
	COMP	3sg.SUBJ-kill		chicken		

'the knife with which Mary killed the chicken'

4.3.2. Monoclausal Properties. Although the facts above indicate that we are dealing with biclausal structures, many differences emerge when we compare the sentences in 236-239 with biclausal structures such as coordination and control.

First consider an analysis of the sentences in 236-239 as instances of clause coordination. There are at least four pieces of evidence that coordination structures and the sentences in 236-239 are different:

(i) Coordinated sentences allow ordering reversal without making the sentence ungrammatical:

(249)	Maria	yaqadi		lod:a:jo	koda	iwilegi		Ginodi.
	<i>Maria</i>	<i>y-aqad</i>		<i>l-od:a:jo</i>	<i>koda</i>	<i>y-wilegi</i>		<i>Gino-adi</i>
	Mary	3sg.SUBJ-find		3POSS-knife	also	3sg.SUBJ-wash		dish-pl

'Mary found her knife and washed the dishes.'

(250)	Maria	iwilegi		Ginodi.	koda	yaqadi		lod:a:jo.
	<i>Maria</i>	<i>y-wilegi</i>		<i>Gino-adi</i>	<i>koda</i>	<i>y-aqad</i>		<i>l-od:a:jo</i>
	Mary	3sg.SUBJ-wash		dish-pl	also	3sg.SUBJ-find		3POSS-knife

'Mary washed the dishes and found her knife.'

The first difference between coordination and the sentences in 236-239 is that, unlike coordinated sentences, the order of the sentences in 236-239 cannot be reversed:

- (251) Maria yaqadi nekenigo katiwed:i nam:e:ja.
Maria y-aqad n-eke-nigo ka-t-w+e-d: n-am:e:ja
 Mary 3sg.SUBJ-find alnbl-dog-animal locative-rel-inward + 3sg.CL-theme alnbl-table

'Mary found the dog under the table.'

- (252) *n:atin:ed:i nam:e:ja Maria yaqadi nekenigo.

'Under the table Mary found the dog.'

- (253) Maria yel:wadi oqoqo:di yatita
Maria y-el:wadi oqoqo:di y-ati-t+e-wa
 Mary 3sg.SUBJ-kill chicken 3sg.SUBJ-take-rel + 3sg.CL-dative

nod:a:jo.
n-od:a:jo
 alnbl-knife

'Mary killed a chicken with a knife.'

- (254) *Maria yatita nod:a:jo yel:wadi oqoqo:di

'With a knife Mary killed a chicken.'

(ii) Coordinated clauses in Kadiwéu must be separated by a conjunction such as *koda* 'also', while the components of an SVC cannot be separated by any kind of conjunction:

- (255) *Maria yaqadi lod:a:jo koda katiwed:i
Maria y-aqad l-od:a:jo koda ka-t-w+e-d:
 Mary 3sg.SUBJ-find 3POSS-knife also locative-rel-inward + 3sg.CL-theme

name:ja.
n-ame:ja
 alnbl-table

'Mary found her knife and (it) was under the table.'

(iii) Coordinate structures do not allow the relativization of either of their objects. But as we have seen, SVCs allow the relativization of the first-occurring verb (V1).

- (259) Coordination: Maria yaqadi lod:a:jo koda Maria iwilegi
 Maria y-aqad l-od:a:jo koda Maria y-wilegi
 Mary 3sg.SUBJ-find 3POSS-knife also Mary 3sg.SUBJ-wash
- Ginodi.
 Gino-adi
 dish-pl

'Mary found her knife and/also Mary washed the dishes.'

- (260) SVC: *Maria yel:wadi oqoqo:di Maria yatita
 Maria y-el:wad oqoqo:di Maria y-ati-t+e-wa
 Mary 3sg.SUBJ-kill chicken Mary 3sg.SUBJ-take-rel + 3sg.CL-dative
- lod:a:jo.
 l-od:a:jo
 3POSS-knife

'Mary killed a chicken with her knife.'

Much of the work on SVCs is concerned with the fact that the constituent verbs of a SVC must share a subject, but several authors have pointed out that the constituent verbs of a SVC must also share the theme argument. As observed in Baker 1989, the theme argument of the first verb in a SVC is understood also as the theme argument of the second verb, and when V2 take an object, this object must be marked as an indirect object. This is the case with Kadiwéu SVCs. In 261 and 263 *-ati* and *ka-* normally take a direct internal argument, but their object must be marked as an indirect object (i.e. an enclitic followed by a semantic role marker) when they are part of a SVC, as in 262 and 264.²³

- (261) Maria yati lod:a:jo.
 Maria y-ati l-od:a:jo
 Mary 3sg.SUBJ-take 3POSS-knife

'Mary took her knife.'

- (262) Maria yel:wadi oqoqo:di yatita lod:a:jo.
 Maria y-el:wad oqoqo:di y-ati-t+e-wa l-od:a:jo
 Mary 3sg.SUBJ-kill chicken 3sg.SUBJ-take-rel + 3sg.CL-dative 3POSS-knife

'Mary killed a chicken with her knife.' (Lit.: 'Mary killed a chicken taking the chicken to the knife.')

(263)	Gonel:e:giwa	tika	nigotaGa.
	<i>Gonel:e:giwa</i>	<i>t-i-ka</i>	<i>n-gotGa</i>
	man	?-masc-locative	alnbl-city

'The man is in the city.'

(264)	Maria	yaqadi	nekenigo	katiwed:i	name:ja.
	<i>Maria</i>	<i>y-aqad</i>	<i>n-eke-nigo</i>	<i>ka-t-w+e-d:</i>	<i>n-ame:ja</i>
	Mary	3sg.SUBJ-find	alnbl-dog-animal	locative-rel-inward + <u>3sg.CL-theme</u>	alnbl-table

'Mary found the dog under the table.' (Lit.: 'Mary found the dog being the dog inward to the table.')

If we are dealing with conjoined clauses, we cannot explain why each of these verbs cannot have its own direct internal argument. However, it is a primary characteristic of SVCs to share objects (Baker 1989).

One could also wonder whether the Kadiwéu sentences I am treating as SVCs are instead instances of control structures, because arguments are shared in a control structure. Thus, the subject of the first verb is also the semantic subject of the second verb in the control structure in 265 and the object of the first verb is the subject of the second verb in 266.

(265)	Maria	meta		Joao	me	igo	liGeladi.
	<i>Maria</i>	<i>y-me:n-t+e-wa</i>		<i>Joao</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>y-go</i>	<i>l-Geladi</i>
	Mary	3sg.SUBJ-say-rel + 3sg.CL-dative		John	COMP	3sg.SUBJ-go	3POSS-village

'Mary told/promised John to go to the village.'

(266)	Maria	imoya	Joao	me	igo	liGeladi.
	<i>Maria</i>	<i>y-force</i>	<i>Joao</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>y-go</i>	<i>l-Geladi</i>
	Mary	3sg.SUBJ-force	John	COMP	3sg.SUBJ-go	3POSS-village

'Mary forced John to go to the village.'

Again, there is enough evidence to show that SVC and control are different phenomena. First, a main verb and any subordinated verb in Kadiwéu must be separated by the complementizer *me*. The verbs composing a SVC cannot be separated by a complementizer.

(267) Control: Joao yema: Pedro me yel:wadi Maria.
Joao y-ema:n: Pedro me y-el:wadi Maria
 John 3sg.SUBJ-want Peter COMP 3sg.SUBJ -kill Mary

'John wants Peter to kill Mary.'

(268) SVC: *ipeqeni nod:a:jo me d:itibig:im:ed:i
a-ipe-qen-i n-od:a:jo me d:i-t-big:im:-e-d:
 2sg.SUBJ-put-valency -pl alnbl-knife COMP locative-rel-upward + 3sg.CL-theme

nam:e:ja.
n-am:e:ja
 alnbl-table

'Put the knife on the table.'

Moreover, observe that in a control structure like the one in 267 both verbs must be morphologically marked by a subject prefix: there is no subordinate verb in Kadiwéu which is not marked by a subject prefix. SVCs have a different agreement pattern — a serial verb is not morphologically marked by a subject prefix if the subject of the closed-class verb and the object of the open-class verb are semantically the same:

(269) Maria yaqadi nekenigo katiwed:i nam:e:ja.
Maria y-aqad n-eke-nigo ka-t-w-e-d: n-am:e:ja
 Mary 3sg.SUBJ-find alnbl-dog-animal locative-rel-inward + 3sg.CL-theme alnbl-table

'Mary found the dog under the table.'

A third difference between SVCs and control structures concerns relativization. Kadiwéu control structures allow relativization of any of the objects; for instance, as can be seen in 270, the object of V2 can be relativized in a control structure. As we have already seen, this is not the case of a SVC.

- (270) Control: oqoqo:di ane Maria ibaqe nod:a:jo
 oqoqo:di ane Maria y-ba:-qen n-od:a:jo
 chicken relative Mary 3sg.SUBJ- handle-valency alnbl-knife
- me yel:wadi.
 me y-el:wadi
 COMP 3sg.SUBJ-kill

'The chicken that Mary used a knife to kill.'

Control structures and SVCs differ significantly in a fourth way. Control structures allow independent negation, as any biclausal structure does (271). SVCs by contrast, function as monoclausal structures in that they do not allow independent negation (272). Only the first verb can be modified by a negative morpheme, as in 273, and that morpheme implies the negation of the whole string.

- (271) Control: Pedro i:Ge iwal:o me daGa yad:e:gi
 Pedro y-i:Ge iwal:o me daGa y-ad:e:g
 Peter 3sg.SUBJ-order woman COMP negative 3sg.SUBJ-bring

naqakodiwaGa.
 n-aqakodiwa-Ga
 alnbl-rice-pl

'Peter ordered the woman not to take away the rice.'

- (272) SVC: *Maria yel:wadi oqoqo:di daGa yatita
 Maria y-el:wadi oqoqo:di daGa y-ati-t+e-wa
 Mary 3sg.SUBJ-kill chicken neg 3sg.SUBJ-take-rel + 3sg.CL-dative

lod:a:jo.
 l-od:a:jo
 3POSS-knife

'Mary killed the chicken not with her knife.'

- (273) SVC: Maria ayel:wadi oqoqo:di yatita
 Maria aG+y-el:wadi oqoqo:di y-ati-t+e-wa
 Mary neg + 3sg.SUBJ -kill chicken 3sg.SUBJ-take-rel + 3sg.CL-dative

lod:a:jo.
 l-od:a:jo
 3POSS-knife

'Mary did not kill the chicken with her knife.'

In order to translate sentence like *Mary killed a chicken not with a knife*. one must modify the verb *-ati* with a valency suffix (see 4.4 for a discussion of valency markers) and thus create a subordinate clause:

(274)	Maria	adatiqata		nod:a:jo	oqoqo:di
	<i>Maria</i>	<i>aG+y-d:-ati-qan-t+e-wa</i>		<i>n-od:a:jo</i>	<i>oqoqo:di</i>
	Mary	neg + 3sg.SUBJ-theme-take-valency-rel + 3sg.CL-dative		alnbl-knife	chicken
	me	yel:wadi	oqoqo:di.		
	<i>me</i>	<i>y-el:wadi</i>	<i>oqoqo:di</i>		
	COMP	3sg.SUBJ-kill	chicken		

'Mary killed the chicken not with her knife.'

If we were dealing with control clauses, we could not explain why each clause cannot have independent negation. However, it is a characteristic of SVCs that the negation of one verb implies in the negation of the whole string (Sebba 1987).

There is still another difference between SVCs and any kind of biclausal structure. Biclausal structures admit actions occurring at different times:²⁴

(275)	Maria	yel:wadi	oqoqo:di	nGina	noqo	me
	<i>Maria</i>	<i>y-el:wadi</i>	<i>oqoqo:di</i>	<i>nGina</i>	<i>noqo</i>	<i>me</i>
	Mary	3sg.SUBJ-kill	chicken	DEM	day	COMP
	ibaqe		lod:a:jo	natigi		nigoi.
	<i>y-ba:-qen</i>		<i>l-od:a:jo</i>	<i>natigi</i>		<i>nigoi</i>
	2sg.SUBJ-work-valency		3POSS-knife	future/next		morning

'Mary killed a chicken today to use her knife tomorrow.'

By contrast, the actions expressed by verbs in a SVC are simultaneous, they express only one event and all verbs must be interpreted as having the same tense/aspect. The same pattern has been observed in other serializing languages (Sebba 1987).

4.3.3. Serial verbs in Principles & Parameters Theory. One of the most challenging aspects of SVCs is that arguments must be shared by the two verbs. In order to account for this property of SVCs, Baker 1989 proposed the following parameter:

(276) Generalized Serialization Parameter

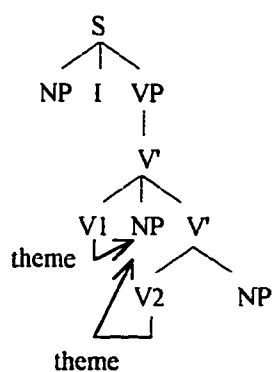
VPs {can/cannot} count as the projection of more than one distinct head.

CAN: Yoruba, Srana, Ijo...

CANNOT: English, French...

This parameter makes it possible for some languages to have a verbal phrase headed by two verbs. It is meant to capture the fact that a SVC must have only one direct internal argument: the second internal argument, as note above, must be an indirect object. According to this proposal, object-sharing takes place in a SVC because more than one verb assigns an internal theta-role to the same VP-internal NP position:

(277)



This proposal can account for the fact that the the object of V2 must be marked as an indirect internal argument in a SVC: since the direct internal argument of V1 is also the direct internal argument of V2, if V2 takes a second internal argument this argument must be marked as an indirect complement.

This proposal, however, relies on the assumption that theta-roles are assigned to noun phrases. But we saw in § 4.2 above that there is good reason to believe that pronominals, rather than nominal phrases, are verbal arguments in Kadiwéú; that is, theta-roles are assigned verb-internally. This entails that an element

cannot receive theta-roles from two independent verbs in Kadiwéu. Further fieldwork will be necessary to test whether pronominals can also be considered arguments in SVCs. In any case, the patterns of SVCs probably still need to be sorted out in theoretical linguistics.

4.3.4. Summary and Implications. In this section I have shown that Kadiwéu lacks prepositions entirely. I have shown that the structures analyzed by Griffiths as containing prepositional phrases are actually biclausal. The fact that adverbs can modify either of the lexical heads comprising those structures indicates that we are dealing with two verbs rather than with a verb and a preposition. Moreover, relativization also indicates that we are dealing with biclausal structures. The structures discussed in this paper have many of the properties attributed to SVCs across languages: arguments must be shared, the negation of one head implies the negation of the whole string, and the actions expressed by serial verbs are simultaneous.

Several linguists have pointed out that SVCs are typologically rare: for instance Sebba 1987 says that SVCs are documented solely in Africa, China, and Southeast Asia, and in creole languages. Moreover, SVCs have been associated with languages with minimal verbal morphological machinery. For instance, Nagarajan 1990 (cited in McWhorter 1993) proposes that Tamil's INFL assigns no morphology to verbs, and suggests that this may be a feature common to serializing languages. I expect my results to show that these statements needs revision. Kadiwéu, a polysynthetic American Indian language, has SVCs.

4.4. Lexical Categories, Valency, and Transitivity

Linguists working with Salishan languages have wondered if the distinction between nouns and verbs is indeed a universal. Kadiwéu raises the same question regarding categorical distinctions as do the Salishan languages. In Kadiwéu, as in Salishan languages, any root can function as a predicate.

Questions regarding categorical distinctions have occupied a central place in linguistics. Chomsky (1986b and later works) makes a distinction between lexical categories, which are defined over the features [+/-noun, +/-verb], and functional categories, which include the following grammatical elements: complementizer, determiner, tense, and light verbs. According to Chomsky, cross-linguistic differences are not random, but they are confined to a specific component of grammar. The parametric variation across languages lies in inflectional categories rather than in lexical categories. Therefore, the proposal that Salishan languages lack a lexical contrast between nouns and verbs is incompatible with Chomsky's proposal.

Thomason et al. 1994 show that the facts of at least one Salishan language can be better understood if valency and transitivity are distinguished. Thomason et al. maintain that verbs are associated with two representations: a representation that encodes the number of arguments a verb requires, given its meaning, and a second representation that encodes the syntactically relevant argument-taking properties of a verb. According to Thomason et al.'s proposal, Montana Salish differs from better-known languages in that only valency is a lexical property that is inherent to Salishan verbs; transitivity is assigned in syntax via transitivity morphemes.

Valency in Thomason et al.'s terminology corresponds to the lexical semantics of a predicate in generative grammar. Generative grammarians have been trying to capture the lexical properties of predicates in formal representations since Chomsky 1965. The context-sensitive subcategorization rules of Chomsky 1965 were the first attempt to represent the semantics of a verb. More recently, lexical semantic representations have taken the form of predicate decomposition (Carter 1976, Dowty 1976, Jackendoff 1976, 1987, 1990), Hale & Keyser 1987, Rappaport & Levin 1988, Zubizarreta 1985). These representations are generally termed Conceptual Structures or Lexical Conceptual Structures (LCS) and

are primarily focused on representing the syntactically relevant parts of verb meaning. Grimshaw 1990 presents further development in the understanding of the lexical semantics of predicates. According to Grimshaw, nouns and verbs have a lexico-semantic representation (LCS), but verbs and eventive nominals are distinct from regular nouns in that only the former include an aspectual dimension in addition to a LCS (a-structure). Thus, according to Grimshaw, verbs and eventive nominals have an a-structure, while nouns lack an a-structure. A complete understanding of the semantics of a predicate is still subject of research. Tenny 1994 and Levin & Rappaport 1995, for instance, present further articulation of Grimshaw's a-structure.

What transitivity means in terms of generative grammar is controversial. Jelinek (1994, 1995) interprets transitivity as the ability to assign theta-roles. Baker (1991, 1994) takes a different perspective: according to Baker, verbs in pronominal argument languages have no case to assign to complements.

This section is an attempt to understand transitivity and to establish the grounds for classifying Kadiwéu roots as either nouns or verbs. In § 4.4.1 I determine the valency of a Kadiwéu root according to (i) the meaning of a bare root and (ii) the meaning of a stem consisting of the root plus a valency suffix. I will classify elements lexically specified for valency as verbs. In § 4.4.2 I discuss transitivity. In § 4.4.3 I attempt a preliminary explanation for the existence of pronominal argument languages.

4.4.1. Valency. The term valency is derived from chemistry and is often used in linguistics to refer to the number and type of bonds which the verb may form with a number of dependent elements referred to as arguments (Crystal 1985). This definition, however, is ambiguous, because transitivity can be defined in the same way. In this work, I use valency to refer exclusively to the syntactically relevant components of meaning specified in the Lexicon of a language.

I will represent valency using predicate decomposition of a traditional LCS, although valency as meant by Thomason et. al is probably more complex than a LCS. I frame valency using LCSs because they can capture the facts that I discuss here. Thus, rather than attempting to develop a theory of the lexical representations, I make only those assumptions that are necessary for the issues under investigation.

I assume that a lexical representation of a verb must encode a representation of the element of meaning that sets the state or event expressed by that verb (represented here simply as STATE and LOCATION) and a set of primitive predicates that represent syntactic generalizations of the meaning of a verb (I will use the predicates *cause* and *become* to represent these primitive predicates). A LCS encodes also information about the semantic participants of an event which can be filled or satisfied in syntax: external argument, represented as the subject of *cause* (*x*); internal direct argument, represented as the subject of *become* (*y*); and indirect external argument, represented as *z*.

I make a distinction between semantic participants and grammatical arguments. Semantic participants are the arguments present in a LCS. Grammatical arguments are those which actually appear in syntax. This allows for an lexical entry to have semantic arguments appearing in their LCS which are not mapped in syntax. Thus, for instance, the verb *eat* is bivalent; that is, it requires two semantic arguments — the one who causes the action of eating (*x*) and the one which becomes eaten (*y*). In syntax, however, *eat* sometimes have only one grammatical argument (e.g. *John ate*). Although semantically *eat* has two arguments (we understand that John (*x*) ate something (*y*)), syntactically *eat* may have only one argument (*x*). The distinction between semantic participants and grammatical arguments is fundamental for a language as Kadiwéu because in Kadiwéu there is a frequent mismatch between semantic participants and grammatical arguments, as will be seen in 4.4.2.

In Kadiwéu any root can appear in a predicate. But certain roots must be modified by the suffixes glossed in Table 14 as [+cause] and as [+become] in order to appear in a predicate. Compare examples 278 and 279, the root in 279 must be followed the suffix *-ti*. I assume that *cause* and *become* are a fundamental part of the meaning of a verb and I propose that the suffixes in Table 14 operate on the LCS of an lexical entry, adding or deleting *cause* and *become*. On this hypothesis, the root in 278 is a verb and the root in 279 is a noun. The addition of *-ti* introduces *cause* and an external argument licensing a noun to occur as the head of a predicate.

<i>-Gad, -ti</i>	+cause (add the feature cause)
<i>-Gan: ~ -Gen: ~ -qen ~ -God</i>	+become (add the feature become)
<i>-Gegi</i>	-cause (delete the feature cause)
<i>-kan ~ -qan ~ -kon ~ -qon</i>	-become (delete the feature become)

Table 14: Valency Suffixes

(278) *jajipa.*
j-ajipa
 1sg.SUBJ-listen

'I listen.'

(279) *jataqatidi.*
j-ataGa-ti-d
 1sg.SUBJ-bamboo-[+cause]-atel

'I do bamboo searching.'

Note that, although the suffixes *-Gan: ~ -Gen: ~ -qen* and *-kan ~ -kon ~ qan ~ qon* are phonetically similar, I do not know of any phonological rule able to predict their occurrence. The suffixes *-kon* and *-qon* tend to occur after a round vowel and *-kan ~ -qan* elsewhere, however there are many counterexamples (see dictionary). I consider, therefore, all these elements as different morphemes rather than different allomorphs of specific morphemes. At least the suffix *-Gan:* was present in Proto-Waikurian, **-Gæn:* (Ceria & Sandalo 1995). It is possible that Proto-Waikurian had phonological rules accounting for allomorphic variation, but that those rules were lost after the vowel mergers discussed in § 2. The fact that different roots take different suffixes, and the occurrence of each suffix cannot be predicted, supports an analysis that takes the addition of these elements as a lexical phenomenon.

According to my analysis, verbs are lexically specified for cause and become. I propose the following LCS for the following classes of verbs in Kadiwéu:

(a) Monovalent. Monovalent verbs are those which have only one semantic argument in their LCS. I assume the Unaccusative Hypothesis, i.e. the hypothesis that there are two classes of monovalent verbs in the lexicon of a language. The Unaccusative hypothesis was first formulated by Perlmutter (1978) within the context of Relational Grammar and was later adopted by Burzio 1986 within Government & Binding Theory. According to this hypothesis, unergative verbs have only an external argument and unaccusative verbs have only an internal argument. I capture these facts by means of two LCSs for monovalent verbs:

(i) *x* cause STATE

(ii) *y* become STATE

Verbs which have the structure in (i) are unergative verbs — that is, verbs that include in their semantics the notion that *x* is causing the state expressed. Thus, *-apawa*, for instance, includes in its meaning that there is an element *x* causing yelling:

(280) *japawa*
 j-apawa
 1sg.SUBJ-yell

'I yell.' [I cause yelling]

Verbs which have structure (ii) are unaccusative verbs — that is, verbs whose semantics includes reference to an argument which undergoes a change of state. For instance, the verb *-al:epe* implies that an element *y* has undergone sharpening:

(281) *dal:epe* *lod:a:jo.*
 y-d:-al:epe *l-od:a:jo*
 3sg.SUBJ -theme-sharp 3POSS-knife

'His knife is sharp.' [His knife becomes sharpened]

(b) Bivalent. Bivalent verbs are those which make obligatory reference to the subject of cause and become:

x cause y become STATE

Thus, the root *-eligo* implies that there is one element causing eating and another element which becomes eaten:

(282)	e:	jeligo	wayaba.
	<i>e:m</i>	<i>j-eligo</i>	<i>wayaba</i>
	1PRONOUN	1sg.SUBJ-eat	guava

'I eat guava' [I cause guava (to) become eaten]

(c) Trivalent. Trivalent verbs make obligatory reference to a third argument:

x cause y become LOCATION z

For instance, *ajigo* includes in its meaning that y was transferred from y to z . Specifically, *-ajigo* implies that x causes transferring of y to z :

(283)	aqa:m:i	jajigotGawa	Gatodi
	<i>aqa:m:i</i>	<i>j-ajigo-t+Ga-wa</i>	<i>Gatodi</i>
	2PRONOUN	1sg.SUBJ-give-rel + 2sg.CL-dative	toucan

'I give the toucan to you.' [I cause toucan become transferred to you]

Evidence that we are dealing with valency suffixes in Table 14 has to do with the effects of these suffixes on verbs. Although verbs can appear in a predicate without the presence of any of the suffixes in Table 14, those suffixes can be added to verbs as well. Those suffixes cause a change in a verbal LCS. The

suffix *-Gad* adds the feature cause. If attached to an unaccusative verb, it creates a bivalent verb.

Example 284 shows a bare root and 285 shows the same root modified by *-Gad*:

- (284) lod:a:jo dal:epe.
 l-od:a:jo *y-d:-al:epe*
 3POSS-knife 3sg.SUBJ -theme-sharp
- 'His knife is sharp.' [His knife becomes sharpened]

- (285) jal:epeGadi lod:a:jo.
 j-al:epe-Gad *l-od:a:jo*
 1sg.SUBJ-sharp-[+ cause] 3POSS-knife
- 'I sharpen his knife.' [I cause his knife (to) become sharpened]

The addition of *-Gad* to a verb already specified for cause derives a causative verb. Example 286 shows a bare bivalent verb and 287 shows the same bivalent root modified by *-Gad*.

- (286) nadila.
 y-n-adila
 3sg.SUBJ-hither-borrow
- 'He borrows it.' [He causes it (to) become borrowed]

- (287) nadilaGadi.
 y-n-adila-Gad
 3sg.SUBJ-hither-borrow-[+ cause]
- 'He makes (one) borrow it.' [He causes him to cause it (to) become borrowed]

Example 279 above suggests that *-ti* adds the feature cause. This analysis finds further support in 288 and 289. Example 288 shows the unergative verb *-ikon* 'sit down'. Sentence 289 shows the effects of the addition of *-ti* to *ikon*:

- (288) jiniko
 j-n-ikon
 1sg.SUBJ-hither-sit.down

'I sit down.' [I cause sitting]

- (289) id:ikoti
 j-d:-ikon-ti
 1sg.SUBJ-theme-sit.down

'I sit myself down.' [I cause myself (to) cause sitting]

The suffixes *-Gan:* ~ *-Gen:*, *-qen*, and *-God* add the feature become. Examples 290, 292 and 293 show bare unergative verbs, and examples 291, 293, and 295 show that the addition of *-Gan:* and *-qen*, and *-Gen:* respectively, derives a bivalent verb:

- (290) jokolenaGa.
 j-okolen-Ga
 1pl.SUBJ-bet-pl

'We gamble.' [We cause betting]

- (291) jokolenaGanaGa
 j-okolen-Gan:-Ga
 1pl.SUBJ-bet-[+ become]-pl

'We bet it.' [We cause it (to) become bet]

- (292) jib:a:
 j-b:a:
 1sg.SUBJ-work

'I work' [I cause working]

- (293) jib:a:qe.
 j-b:a:-qen
 1sg.SUBJ- work-[+ become]

'I work/use it'. [I cause it to become worked]

- (294) *jiniko*
 j-n-ikon
 1sg.SUBJ-hither-sit.down

 'I sit down.' [I cause sitting]

- (295) *inikonGen:ti*
 j-n-ikon-Gen:-d
 1sg.SUBJ-hither-sit.down-[+ become]-atel

 'I sit him.' [I cause him become seated]

The addition of *-Gan:* to a bivalent verb introduces a second internal argument:

- | | | |
|---------|--|-------------------|
| (296) | <i>ji:Gaci</i> | <i>ejiwajegi.</i> |
| | <i>j-i:Gacin</i> | <i>ejiwajegi</i> |
| | 1sg.SUBJ-teach/learn-[+ become] | Kadiwéu |
| | 'I teach Kadiwéu.' [I cause Kadiwéu to become learned] | |

- | | | |
|---------|---|-------------------|
| (297) | <i>ji:GacinGateki</i> | <i>ejiwajegi.</i> |
| | <i>j-i:Gacin-Gan:-t+e-k</i> | <i>ejiwajegi</i> |
| | 1sg.SUBJ-teach-[+ become]-rel + 3sg.CL-allative | Kadiwéu |
| | 'I teach him Kadiwéu.' [I cause Kadiwéu to become transferred to him] | |

The same phenomenon is attested with *-God:*

- (298) *dinowo:Godi*
 y-d:-n-owo:-God
 3sg.SUBJ -theme-refl-think-[+ become]

 'He understands something about himself' [He causes understanding of himself to become transferred to himself]

The features *cause* and *become* can be deleted as well as inserted. The suffixes *-kan* and *-kon* delete the feature *become*. Thus, adding this suffix to a bivalent verb derives an unergative verb. Example 299 and 301 show bivalent verbs and 300 and 302 show derived unergative verbs.

(299) *jilaji.*
 j-laji
 1sg.SUBJ-laugh

 'I laugh at it.' [I cause it to become laughed at]

(300) *jilajika.*
 j-laji-kan
 1sg.SUBJ-laugh-[-become]

 'I laugh.' [I cause laughing]

(301) *jowo:.*
 j-owo:
 1sg.SUBJ-think

 'I think it'. [I cause it to become thought]

(302) *jowokon.*
 j-owo:-kon
 1sg.SUBJ- think-[-become]

 'I think'. [I cause thinking]

Deverbal nouns offer further support. In order to derive avalent deverbal nouns, it is necessary to delete all the valency features. To derive an avalent noun from a bivalent verb, both *cause* and *become* must be deleted. Observe in 303 that the verb and the noun contain the same root. The suffixes *-kan* '[-become]' and *-Gegi* '[-cause]' must be added to the bivalent root *-g:i* 'ask/answer' in order to derive an avalent noun:

(303)	<i>jig:idi</i>	<i>lig:ikanGegi.</i>
	<i>j-g:i-d</i>	<i>l-g:i-kan-Gegi</i>
	1sg.SUBJ-ask/answer-ate!	3POSS-ask/answer-[-become]-[-cause]
	'I answer his question.'	

Derived bivalent verbs can also be turned into avalent nouns. For instance, the unaccusative verb -*Gol:a* 'blind' can be turned into a bivalent verb by adding -*Gad* (304). The derived bivalent verb can then be turned into an avalent noun by attaching both -*kan* and -*Gegi* (305). Note that -*Gad* remains in the derived form.

(304) *joGol:aGadi.*
 j-Gola-Gad
 1 sg.SUBJ-blind-[+ cause]

'I betray him.'

(305) *noGolaGatakaneGegi*
 n-Gola-Gad-kan-Gegi
 alnl-blind-[+ cause]-[-become]-[-cause]

'Adultery'

To sum up, I argued that the suffixes in Table 14 operate on LCS adding or deleting the primitive predicates cause and become and, consequently, introducing or deleting semantic arguments. Cause and become are part of a LCS of a verb and can be added to a noun via valency suffixes.

4.4.2. Transitivity. In 4.4.1 I presented evidence that the suffixes -*Gen:* and -*Gan:* add the feature become and, consequently, an internal argument. The presence of -*Gen:* and -*Gan:*, however, does not entail that we have a grammatical internal argument (i.e. a transitive predicate). The addition of [+become] does not allow automatically a noun to appear as the head of a transitive clause. Note that the examples 306 and 307 show nouns in spite of the fact that -*Gen:* '[+become]' is present.

(306) *lapwaGen:ig:i.*
 l:-apwa-Gen:-nig:i
 3POSS-hole-[+ become]-m.dim

'His bodyguard.'

- (307) yema:n:aGan:Gegi.
i-ema:n:-Gan:-Gegi
 1POSS-want-[+become]-[-cause]

'My way of loving'

In order to license grammatical internal arguments (i.e. transitive, ditransitive, and unaccusative clauses), we must add role suffixes. Example 308 and 309 show that a stem functions as a noun or a transitive verb depending on whether the semantic role markers are present or not. In 308 they are not present and the stems function as a noun; that is, syntactic arguments cannot be added in spite of the fact that the valency suffix *-Gen: '[+become]'* is present and in spite of the fact that a Kadiwéu speaker understands that somebody is pierced. In 309, however, the semantic role *-d: 'theme'* is present and the stems function as a transitive clause; that is, there is a grammatical internal argument, *Go-* '1pl.OBJ':

- (308) lapwaGen:ig:i.
l:-apwa-Gen:-nig:i
 3POSS-hole-[+become]-m.dim

'His bodyguard.' (the one who becomes pierced)

- (309) God:apwaGe
Go-d:-apwa-Gen:
 1pl.OBJ-theme-hole-[+become]

'We are challenged.'

In section 4.3 the morphemes *-d: 'theme'*, *-gi 'goal'*, *-wa ~ -ma 'dative'*, *-dom ~ -lo ~ -ma 'benefactive'*, *-k 'allative'*, and *-lokom 'adessive'* were introduced as semantic case suffixes, marking the roles of arguments. The function of these morphemes, however, is actually more complex. They license the grammatical internal arguments.

What is the mechanism within grammar that licenses grammatical arguments? One possible answer that can be found within Government & Binding theory is that case licenses the presence of grammatical arguments. Thus, the function of those morphemes could be assignment of structural case. But Kadiwéu presents evidence against this interpretation. A morpheme such as *-d:* can occur with a subject pronoun (nominative) in unaccusative clauses (310) or object pronoun (accusative) in transitive clauses (311). All subjects (i.e. subjects of transitive clauses (which only appear if the object is third-person), unergative subjects, unaccusative subjects, and subjects of passives and reflexives) are in the nominative case in Kadiwéu. Objects are marked by a different set of pronominals. If we were dealing with case, I would expect pronominals co-occurring with *-d:* to belong to a same structural class (i.e. nominative, accusative, or ergative). This is not the case — there is one form that indicates that the pronominal is in the nominative case and another that indicates accusative case and *-d:* co-occurs with both. The morpheme *-d:* indicates the semantic role of a pronominal, theme, not its case. This fact indicates to me that the transitivity morphemes are operating on theta role assignment — hence the label semantic role morphemes.

(310) *ad:ib:od:ey*
a-d:-b:od:e-i
 2pl.SUBJ-theme-bid.farewell-pl

'You bid farewell.'

(311) *Gad:ema:n:i.*
Ga-d:-ema:n:-i
 1pl.SUBJ-theme-want-pl

'He loves you!'

According to Grimshaw (1990:71), "theta-marking requires two things: an a-structure and a theta marker". Indeed, transitivizing suffixes cannot be added to aivalent stems; nominal roots must be modified by valency increasers before a semantic role marker can be added. Thus, the root in (309) could not form a

predicate if *-Gen:* were not present. Adding semantic role suffixes to nominal roots that have not been modified by valency suffixes lead to ungrammaticality:

- (312) * *God:apwa.*
Go-d:-apwa
 1pl.OBJ-theme-hole
 'We are challenged.'

Since verbs are lexically specified for valency, they do not need to be modified by valency suffixes in order to take arguments. Even verbs, however, must receive transitivity suffixes if they have an internal argument (313).²⁵ The absence of theta-markers in a sentence leads to ungrammaticality as shown in (314).

- | | | |
|-------|----------------|--|
| (313) | <i>aqa:m:i</i> | <i>Gad:ajigotGowa.</i> |
| | <i>aqa:m:i</i> | <i>Ga-d:-ajigo-t+Go-wa</i> |
| | 2PRONOUN | 2sg.OBJ-theme-give-rel + 1pl.CL-dative |
- 'You were given to us'.

- (314) *aqa:m:i* **GajigotGa.*

Grimshaw proposes that verbs in English have an a-structure and are theta-markers. Eventive nominals in English have an a-structure as well, but they cannot assign theta-role. Therefore, in order to have grammatical arguments, eventive nouns need a theta-assigner. Thus, eventive nouns appear with a preposition in English (e.g. donation of money to hospitals) and with a light verb in some constructions of Japanese. My proposal is that Kadiwéu does not have any lexical category that is able to theta-assign. The elements that I classify as verbs in Kadiwéu are similar to eventive nominals of better known languages: they are valent (i.e. have an argument structure in Grimshaw's terminology) but they are not

able to license grammatical arguments. In order to take grammatical arguments they need the mediation of elements able to assign theta-roles.

Additional evidence that semantic role morphemes license grammatical arguments comes from nominalization. Verbs can be nominalized by attaching the classifier *n-* 'alienable'. Nominalization via the attachment of *n-* does not affect the valency of the stem, and so eventive nouns are derived. The verb *i:Gacin* 'teach' includes the features cause and became, that is, it takes two arguments. The attachment of *-God* makes a trivalent verb (315). After the nominalization, the stem still has three semantic arguments, but syntactically it has none. Nominalization causes the erasure of transitivity suffixes. Valency remains. Evidence that the noun has three semantic arguments comes from the comparison of 316 and 317. According to my informant 316 means 'teacher of a specific subject to someone', while 317 means merely teacher of something. Structurally, 316 differs from 317 in that the former contains the valency increaser *-God* and the latter contains the classifier *-GanGa*.

- (315) *dini:GacinoGodi*
y-d:-n-i:Gacin-God
 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-teach-[+ become]

'He teaches it to himself.'

- (316) *ni:GacinGodi.*
n-i:Gacin-God
 alnbl-teach-[+ become]

'Teacher of something to somebody.'

- (317) *ni:GacinGanGa*
n-i:Gacin-GanGa
 alnbl-teach-instrument

'Teacher of something.'

4.4.3. **Clause Structure.** The nature and extent of differences across languages is one of the most controversial questions in theoretical linguistics. I assume the view of cross-linguistic variation proposed in the Principles & Parameters theory (Chomsky 1981 and later works). According to Chomsky (1987:68),

" The initial state of the language faculty consists of a collection of subsystems, or modules as they are called, each of which is based on certain very general principles. Each of these principles admits of a certain very limited possibility of variation. We may think of the system as a complex network, associated with a switch box that contains a finite number of switches. The network is invariant, but each switch can be set in one of two positions, on and off. Unless the switches are set, nothing happens. But when the switches are set in one of the permissible ways, the system functions, yielding the entire infinite array of interpretation for linguistic expressions. A slight change in switch settings can yield complex and varied phenomenal consequences as its effects filter through the network."

To account for pronominal argument languages, I propose a parametric variation in which lexical and functional categories are able or not to project. This hypothesis allows for four types of languages:

- A. Languages in which both functional and lexical categories project.
- B. Languages in which functional categories do not project.
- C. Languages in which lexical categories do not project.
- D. Languages in which neither project.

Chomsky 1986 proposes two levels of projections and the following category-neutral phrase structure rules:

(318) $X'' \rightarrow YP X'$

$X' \rightarrow X ZP^*$

where YP is the specifier position, and ZP the complement position

In more recent work Chomsky's uniform bar-level hypothesis, according to which the number of bars for maximal projection is uniform across categories, has been questioned. For instance, Fukui & Speas (1986) argue that functional categories are limited to a single specifier position and a single complement position. By contrast, lexical categories project recursively as long as they have theta-roles to assign. In other words, the projection of lexical categories has been assumed to correlate with their capacity to assign theta-roles. Now, there are several pieces of evidence that verbs cannot assign theta-roles in Kadiwéu. If the projection of lexical categories is indeed tied to their ability to assign theta-roles, that entails that Kadiwéu verbs do not project.

My proposal is an extended version of Fukui & Speas' 1986 proposal. Fukui & Speas base their parametric variation on the presence vs. absence of functional categories (FC). They argue that Japanese lacks functional categories except for a defective INFL, which is defective in that it is not able to project. Since functional categories do not project in Japanese, nominal phrase arguments project freely.

FC

+	-
A. English	B. Japanese

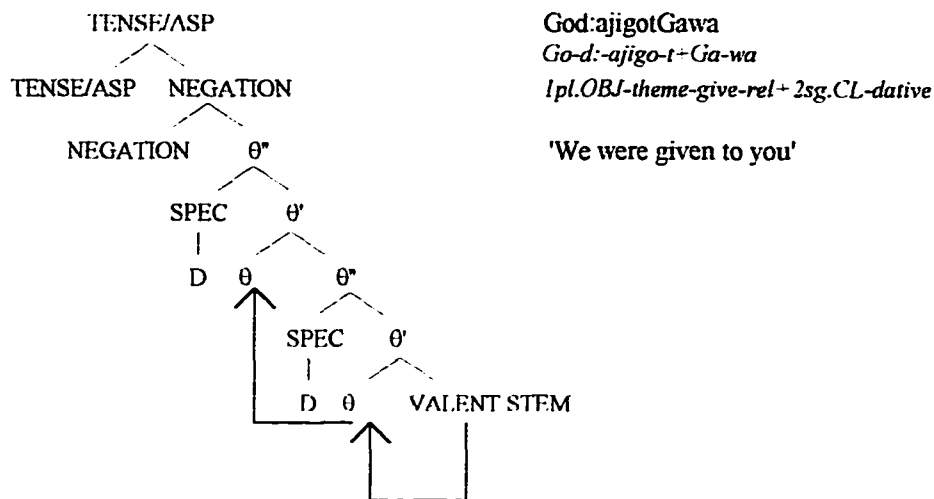
Although defective, Japanese does have functional categories: tense (see Fukui 1986:207-217) and the light verb *suru* (see Grimshaw & Mester 1988). Fukui & Speas' claim does not seem to be on the right track. I assume that all languages have both functional and lexical categories. Doing so, I must redefine the nature of Fukui & Speas' parametric variation. My proposal differs from those of Fukui & Speas 1986 and Fukui 1986 in that I claim that the parametric variation does not consist in whether functional categories are present or not, but in whether functional (FC) and lexical categories (LC) are able or not able to project:

		FC	
		+	-
LC	+	A.English	B.Japanese
	-	C.Kadiwéu	D. ∅

According to my proposal, in languages like English (type A) recursive nominal phrase arguments are not allowed due to the projection of functional categories. In languages like Japanese (type B) recursion of nominal phrase arguments is not blocked, because only lexical categories project. In pronominal argument languages (type C) nominal phrase arguments do not exist, because lexical categories do not project. No Type D languages are attested.

If lexical categories do not project in pronominal argument languages, what is the clausal structures of these languages? Chomsky 1995 proposes that functional heads vary across languages in that they carry strong features in some languages and weak features in others. Since strong features must be discharged, functional categories carrying strong features trigger movement. Thus, according to this proposal, English differs from languages without (overt) *WH*-movement in that complementizers carry strong features in English, and therefore they trigger movement. Chomsky 1995 proposes that transitivity morphemes are functional categories that function as light verbs. Jelinek 1995 assumes this analysis and proposes that transitivity morphemes are functional heads that carry strong features in some languages, triggering verb movement. I adopt this proposal and assume that the Kadiwéu semantic role markers, represented in 319 as θ , are functional categories which must discharge their strong features and therefore trigger movement.²⁶

(319)



On this hypothesis, the Kadiwéu semantic role suffixes are like light verbs. Grimshaw & Mester (1988) argue that light verbs are functional categories that must be in a symbiotic relationship with lexical categories that are valent but unable to assign theta-roles to complements. Whereas the verb is valent but unable to assign theta-roles, a light verb is a valent but able to assign theta-roles: that is, able to license grammatical arguments. Working on the Minimalism framework, I propose that a valent stem is attracted to adjoin θ , the light verb. As a result theta-assigning takes place. This proposal explains why D nodes function as arguments. Theta-roles are discharged at the SPEC position of θ to D nodes: there is no other nominal element in the structure. Note in 319 that the order of the Kadiwéu morphemes is captured by this proposal.²⁷

4.4.4. Summary and Implications. In this section I proposed that lexical categories are divided in the Kadiwéu lexicon into valent and a valent roots, and I believe that this provides enough evidence to classify them as either verbs or nouns. Although Kadiwéu has valent roots, it has no transitive roots. Transitivity is assigned syntactically via movement of elements which either start out with valency or gain valency in the course of the derivation. I proposed that Kadiwéu has a set of suffixes that license semantic arguments (valency suffixes) and another set of suffixes that license grammatical arguments (transitivity

morphemes). Valency suffixes license semantic arguments and they are probably added in the lexicon of Kadiwéu. The transitivity morphemes *-d*: 'theme', *-gi* 'goal', *-wa ~ -ma* 'dative', *-dom ~ -lo ~ -ma* 'benefactive', *-k* 'allative', and *lokom* 'adessive' license grammatical arguments.

This result has implications for language typology and linguistic parameters. Jelinek & Demers' 1994 prediction that transitivity is assigned at the syntactic level in all languages whose arguments are pronominals, rather than nominal phrases or an empty *pro*, is borne out by Kadiwéu. I have proposed a parametric variation based on an insight in Fukui & Speas 1986 to account for pronominal argument languages. I argued that these languages are languages in which lexical categories do not project. On this hypothesis, clauses in pronominal argument languages are formed by raising of a valent lexical item to adjoin a functional category that functions as a light verb. Light verbs enable valent elements to theta-assign.

Parameters place limits on the ways in which languages may differ, thereby reducing the number of grammatical hypotheses a child might consider in the course of language acquisition. Thus, the hypothesis developed in this chapter has implications for language acquisition. According to Radford (1990:199), "the earliest grammars developed by young children are purely lexical in nature". That is, according to Radford, child language is purely a projection of lexical categories. If this is true, we might expect children to first assume that there are no pronominal argument languages. A question for further research concerns the extent to which the grammatical development of children acquiring Kadiwéu is parallel to that of children acquiring (for instance) European languages.

5. Conclusion

In this dissertation I have provided a grammar of a little-known language of the Waikurúan family. Chapter 2 offers a description of the Kadiwéu phonology, from both synchronic and diachronic grounds. Kadiwéu has two dialects which reflect gender and social status; the most salient differences between Noble and Non-noble Kadiwéu are at the level of suprasegmental phonology. Noble Kadiwéu parses the word into binary trochees. Non-noble Kadiwéu presents a rare stress system; it parses the word into iterative ternary feet. Comparison of Kadiwéu prosody with the prosody of the other Waikurúan languages suggests that Non-noble Kadiwéu stress patterns were introduced through interference from Portuguese and/or Spanish. Chapter 3 comprises a detailed description of the grammatical morphemes found in the noun and in the verb.

In chapter 4 I discuss aspects of Kadiwéu morphosyntax. I present evidence that pronominal clitics and affixes are arguments in Kadiwéu, and that nominal phrases are optionally adjoined to the sentence. The results of several syntactic tests support the hypothesis: passivization, recursivity, coreference, anaphora, lack of quantifiers, and the behavior of *wh*-interrogatives. Furthermore, my results indicate that morphological phenomena cannot be reduced to syntactic principles alone, since the elements that receive theta-roles in this language cannot be analyzed as morphemes attached to the verb at the level of phonological form. These results have important implications for theoretical linguistics. The fact that morphemes embedded in the verb structure function as arguments in Kadiwéu supports the claim that the Theta-Criterion must have access to inflectional morphology.

In recent work Chomsky adopts the view that morphology and syntax are not independent. According to the Minimalism program, syntactic differences across languages are morphologically driven. I offer an analysis of Kadiwéu that supports the Minimalism program. I argue that transitivity is not a lexical feature of verbs in this language; transitivity is introduced by morphemes that function as light verbs. On this hypothesis, clauses in pronominal argument languages are formed by raising a valent lexical item to adjoin a light verb morpheme.

This dissertation has also shown that Kadiwéu lacks prepositions entirely, and that the structures analyzed by Griffiths as containing prepositional phrases are actually biclausal. The fact that adverbs can modify either of the lexical heads comprising those structures indicates that we are dealing with two verbs rather than with a verb and a preposition. Moreover, relativization also indicates that we are dealing with biclausal structures. The structures discussed in this paper have many of the properties attributed to SVCs across languages: arguments must be shared, the negation of one head implies the negation of the whole string, and the actions expressed by serial verbs are simultaneous. Further fieldwork will be necessary to test whether pronominals can also be considered arguments in SVCs. In any case, this dissertation suggests that the patterns of SVCs still need to be sorted out in theoretical linguistics.

Notes:

¹ Loukotka (1968:51) assigns two other languages to the Waikurúan family, both extinct: Wachí and Payawá. Wachí was spoken in Brazil, near Kadiwéu territory, and Payawá was spoken in Paraguay. The hypothesis of a possible genetic relationship between these two languages and the Waikurúan languages, however, cannot be tested since Wachí and Payawá were never systematically studied. Loukotka's only information about these languages comes mainly from word lists in Castelnau (1850-1859, vol.5:278), Sanchez Labrador (1910-1917, vol.2:135), Boggiani 1901; Cerviño ms.; Demersay (1860-1864, vol.1:370-72); Fontana ms.; Cerviño in Lafone Quevedo 1910b; Paradi in Loukotka (1949a:68-69); Mansfield (1856:496); Paradi ms.; Aguirre in M. Peña (1898:490, 494, 498, 502, 503); Schmidt (1949:255-64).

² No morphological and syntactic differences between Noble and Non-noble Kadiwéu have been found. Most of the work on these areas, however, has been conducted with speakers of Non-noble Kadiwéu.

³ The insertion of the epenthetic /i/ is optional in word-final position.

⁴ Code-switching is very common among bilingual Kadiwéus (in this dissertation, it can be observed in the frequent usage of Portuguese proper names). It differs from borrowing in that the Portuguese phonology is generally maintained. Moreover, borrowed words, since they have been adapted into Kadiwéu phonology, are not always recognized as foreign words by native speakers of Kadiwéu.

⁵ Notice that the reconstruction of **bʷ* and **bʷʰ* is based on only one correspondence set each. We understand that the postulation of these proto-segments is questionable, as pointed out by one anonymous reviewer for *Anthropological Linguistics*, particularly the correspondence between *b* and *s*. However, we

decided to include these reconstructions pending future research. We also realize that the vowel system reconstructed for Proto-Waikurúan is rather unusual for South American languages and much more complex than those in the daughter languages. However, the number of correspondences, even for the more marked vowels **æ* and **û*, is too significant to ignore. See 2.2d for further discussion of **h*.

⁶ An alternative hypothesis is to say that the reconstruction proposed by Ceria & Sandalo reflects Non-noble Proto-Waikurúan, rather than Proto-Waikurúan. According to this hypothesis, Noble Kadiwéu descends from Noble Proto-Waikurúan and maintains *iy* and *wV*. The Proto-Waikurúan sequences **iy* and **wV* were reanalyzed as **y:* and **w:* in Non-noble Proto-Waikurúan. On this hypothesis, the languages from the Southern branch and Non-noble Kadiwéu derive from the same Proto-dialect, Non-noble Proto-Waikurúan. Non-noble Proto-Waikurúan gave rise to two branches. In one branch long semivowels were maintained, and in the other branch long semivowels were reinterpreted as true consonants. A problem would be to explain why Non-noble Kadiwéu is much more similar to Noble Kadiwéu than to its sister languages. Although these differences could be accounted for by the claim that Non-noble Kadiwéu is spoken by warriors, serfs, and slaves who are still in contact with their lords, while the languages of the Southern branch could be assumed to be spoken by warriors and slaves who have been isolated from their Waikurúan masters as well as from Non-noble Kadiwéu for centuries, I avoid proposing such an explanation since this claim has no sociolinguistic support.

⁷ The patterns concerning degenerate feet have not been analyzed yet for the Southern Waikurúan languages.

⁸ The statements here about Waikurúan verbs and nouns are based on a comparison between Kadiwéu, Toba (Buckwalter 1980), and Mocovi (Ceria, personal communication, 1993).

⁹ The following abbreviations are used in Kadiwéu examples in this work: 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, alnbl = alienable possession, atel= atelic, AUX = auxiliary verb, CL = clitic, COMP = complementizer, cond = conditional, compl = completive, DEM = demonstrative, des = desiderative, dur = durative, f. dim = feminine diminutive, fem = feminine, fut = future, imprs = impersonal, incompl = incompletive, IND = indefinite, intens = intensive, intr = intransitive, m.dim = masculine diminutive, masc = masculine, neg = negative, neg.cond = negative conditional, neg.imp = negative imperative, NOM = nominalizer, OBJ = object, pl = plural, POSS = possessive, pun = punctual, RED = reduplication, refl = reflexive, rel = relational, sg = singular, SUBJ = subject, tlc = tclitic. **Symbols:** XX+ = proclitic; +XX = enclitic; XX- = prefix; -XX = suffix, \$ = syllabic boundary; † = extinct language.

Proper names are presented in the Portuguese orthography, rather than in phonological transcription. This is because all the proper names used in the body of this dissertation come from Portuguese and the pronunciation of this words varies from speaker to speaker according to their knowledge of Portuguese. It is impossible, therefore, to propose a unique phonological representation for these words.

¹⁰ In active systems the agent argument of a transitive verb is marked like the sole argument of an unergative verb, which is also an agent semantically. Nonagent arguments (and also possessives) are marked by a different set of prefixes. In this system agent arguments form a natural class, distinct from nonagents. Vestiges of an active system are found in all the Waikurúan languages, and has been reconstructed for Proto-Waikurúan (Ceria & Sandalo 1995). Although Kadiwéu marks 1sg, 1pl, 2sg/pl, and 3sg subjects of unergative and unaccusative verbs by the same set of prefixes, there are some unaccusative verbs that must be marked by an object prefix instead of a subject prefix (see dictionary):

- (i) God:awela
Go-d:-awela
1pl.OBJ-theme-scared
 'We are scared.'

¹⁵ Recall that the subject of transitive clauses is marked when the object is third-person: when the object is first- or second-person, the verb is marked by an object pronoun. Since passivization demotes the subject of transitive clauses, passivization occurs exclusively when the verb has a third-person object — that is, when a transitive clause has an overt subject. In this respect, passivization in Kadiwéu is similar to passivization with the clitic *se* in Romance languages, which only occurs with third-person objects.

Observe that passive clauses with a nominal phrase referring to the agent is also possible, although less frequent:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|--|--|-------------|-----------------|
| (i) | Pedro | da:biteGetini | | ika | di:mi:gi. |
| | <i>Pedro</i> | <i>v-d:-a:bi-d-Gen:-t+ni</i> | | <i>i-ka</i> | <i>di:m:igi</i> |
| | Peter | 3sg.SUBJ-theme-sit-atel-[+ become]-tel + going.inside | | masc-DEM | house |

'This house was built by Pedro.'

¹⁶ Although nominal phrases cannot function as arguments in pronominal argument languages, clauses can (see Baker 1994 for further discussion).

¹⁷ A reading in which a pronominal in the main clause is not coreferential with a nominal phrase inside a complement clause is also possible. This is not the preferred interpretation, however. One of my informants provided a sentence to force the interpretation in which they are not coreferential:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|-----------|-----------------|--------------|-------------|
| (i) | yowo:Godi | me | yema: | Maria | John. |
| | <i>y-owo:-God</i> | <i>me</i> | <i>y-ema:n:</i> | <i>Maria</i> | <i>John</i> |
| | 3sg.SUBJ-think-valency | COMP | 3sg.SUBJ-want | Mary | John |

'He_i knows that Mary loves John_i.'

(ii)	yo:Godi	me	yem:a	Maria	John.
	<i>y-o:Go-d</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>y-em:an:</i>	<i>Maria</i>	<i>John</i>
	<i>3sg.SUBJ-know-atlc</i>	<i>COMP</i>	<i>3sg.SUBJ- love</i>	<i>Mary</i>	<i>John</i>
	José	libo:nGadi.			
	José	l-bo:nGad			
	Joseph	3POSS-name			

'He_i knows that Mary loves John_k. His_i name is Joseph_i.

¹⁸ See Gordon & Sandalo (forthcoming) for further discussion of coreference acquisition in Kadiwéu.

¹⁹ Baker 1994 observes that the existence of anaphoric expressions in polysynthetic languages violates both Condition A and B of Binding Theory. Condition A is violated since the anaphoric expression is not c-commanded by a nominal phrase in argument position. If Binding reconstruction applies, a pronominal object would be coindexed with a pronominal subject violating Condition B, which states that a pronominal cannot be bound by a c-commanding antecedent within the same clause. Thus, there is no way to satisfy the properties of the pronominal arguments and of anaphoric expressions in pronominal argument languages. Baker's argument can be probably extended to Kadiwéu; but since subject and object pronominals do not overtly co-occur in Kadiwéu, specific syntactic tests are necessary to test whether Binding reconstruction applies in this language and to embase the postulation of covert pronominal arguments.

²⁰ The claim that nominal phrases in Kadiwéu are adjuncts predicts that the coindexation of a pronominal subject and a noun inside a nominal phrase referring to the object is allowed because the pronominal subject will not c-command the nominal phrase referring to the object. Note, however, that sentences such as (i) are ungrammatical. A pronominal cannot be coreferent with a noun inside a possessive phrase. The same phenomenon is attested in other nonconfigurational languages such as Navajo, Warlpiri, and Arandic languages (Ken Hale, personal communication, 1995). The only language that allows coreference between a pronominal and a noun in a possessive clause is Mohawk (Baker 1994).

²⁴ The sentence in 275 was provided in the following elicitation context: Mary has a new knife and she wants to use it. Thus, Mary kills a chicken today, so that she can use her new knife tomorrow to cut and prepare the chicken to be eaten.

²⁵ Note, however, that transitivizing suffixes are not present when the object is third person. It seems that constructions whose object is understood as third person are in fact like such English sentences as *John ate*: that is, semantically there are two arguments (we know that John ate some food), but syntactically the construction is intransitive.

²⁶ I assume that pronominals are elements of a non-projecting D(eterminer) category: that is, a functional category that bears person and number features. The claim that D does not project is supported by the fact that quantifiers appear incorporated to locative predicates in Kadiwéu. Moreover, demonstratives are likely to be verbs and there is no articles. Kadiwéu is not the only nonconfigurational language to lack determiner projections. Bittner & Hale 1995 argue that Walpiri has no items of the syntactic category D.

²⁷ The parametric variation proposed here is substantially different the one in Baker 1994. My proposal can account for the existence of languages in which pronominals, rather than nominal phrases, are verbal arguments. It does not mean that languages in which a small *pro* is an argument do not exist. But if they do, they cannot be derived from the same parametric variation. Baker (personal communication, 1995) mentions that there are at least two types of nonconfigurational languages: (a) languages which have empty categories *pro* as arguments and whose verbs are overtly marked by agreement (Mohawk), and (b) languages whose verbal arguments are *pro*, but whose verbs are not marked by agreement morphemes (Jiwarli). Jiwarli does not have bound pronominals, but it shares a remarkable number of features with languages as Mohawk. Kadiwéu presents evidence for a third class of nonconfigurational languages: languages in which bound pronominals are arguments.

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Appendices

Appendix 1.

Comparative Waikurúan lexicon. The Table below is from Ceria & Sandalo 1995.

Gloss	Non-noble/ Noble Kadiwéu	Toba	Mocoví	Waikurúan
1. absent	√ka	ka	ka	*k:æ
2. against	-g:et	-get		*g:et:
3. arrow	√opi-te-na	wik	owik	*upik
4. aunt	√ejyod:o	asodo	asodo	*ædʲyudu
5. back	√el:aGa		lʼako	*el:æGo
6. belly, stomach	√waqom:		(a)kom	*wæq:um:
7. bite	√owag	nak	ewag	*æŋæg
8. blind	gol:aGa		qae/laq	*Go(e)l:aGa
9. blood	√awodi		ewot	*æwudi
10. body	√bata	apat		*abat:a
11. bone, skeleton	√bita-qa	piʔi-nek	pi/-nek	*bitV
12. bring	√ad:e:g	awek		*ade(:)g
13. brother	√y:ocwa	oq		*ukʲua
14. chest	√ateq-God	toge		*at:æqe
15. child	√ig:a:	ogot-lek		* ũg:at
16. chin	√aqad	qaʔ	(a)qa/	* (a)q:ad
17. claw	√aca	ʔaGa		*akʲa
18. cloud(s)	lol:a-di	lʔok		*lol:ok (?)
19. coming	√n:a	na		*n:a

20. corn	ctakol:i	?awqala		*ætok:ol:a
21. cry(v)	√noe:n:	noyin		*nuyen:
22. day	no:qo	na?aq		*no:q:o
23. die (v)	√el:ew	-ilew		*el:ew
24. dirty	√apyoy		apyo/	*ap:yoy
25. downward	-n:	ñi	ñi	*n:i
26. dream (v)	√g:em		e/gemat	*eg:em:(at)
27. dust	am:OGO	amoGo-yaGa	amoGo-yaGa	*am:uG:u
28. earth,soil,pottery	apalwa-Ga	?alwa	?lawa	*apalwa
29. eye	√gek:o:Ge	?aylko?owe? (eyeball)		*gaylk:o:Ge
30. face	√ajike (jaw)	ašik	ašik	*adʸik:e
31. fat (n)	√aji-adi	ci-ta		*adʸi
32. father	ata:	ta?a	ta?a	*at:a:
33. fire	√ol:e-di	odek	odek	*ul:ek
34. fish	niy:OGO-jegi	nyaq		*niy:OGO
35. flower	√awOGO	awOGO		*awuG:u
36. foot	√w:ya-adi	apya	pya?	*aw:yad
37. fruit	el:a	ala	la	*æl:a
38. get married	√ad:on	adon	(w)adon	*(w)ad:on
39. get.close (v)	√peg:i	pogi		*p:æg:i
40. go (v)	√go	ke		*gæ
41. going	√jo	so	so	*dʸu
42. grandmother	√em:i	kome	komena	*kæm:e
43. grass	ad:eg:o	?awaq-pi		*ad:æg:o
44. hand	√b:a:-Gadi	waq	(a)wa/	*ab:aq
45. head	√akilo	qayk	qaik	*ak
46. help (v)	√acaw:a	-etawna-Gan		*ætʸawŋa

47. hit (v)	√acakon	asakan-(a)Gan		*atʰæk:on
48. hither	n:-	n-	n-	*n:
49. hole	b:e:gi	awak	awak	*ab:æ(:)gi
50. honey	napigo	dapik	dapik	*dap:igo
51. house	di:m:igi		(i)mek	*m:egi
52. hunting	√awi:	awa:-tak		*awū:
53. husband	√od:awa	wa		*wa
54. I	ae:m:/eyom:	ayem	yim	*æyæ m:
55. ice	el:on:i	aloñi		*æl:un:i
56. inside	-nig:	-ngi		*ng:i
57. inward	-w	-wo		*wu
58. jaguar	√gedyogo	kiyok		*gedyugo
59. jaw	√ajike	anok (?)	asok	*adʰik:e
60. kill (vt)	√el:owad	lawat	alawat	*æl:owad
61. knot	√qote	qote		*q:ut:e
62. laugh (v)	√l:aji	laši	laši	*l:adʰi
63. leg	√ti (shinbone)	ci	ici	*t:i
64. lice	√apa:Gate (ear)	alaGat	apaGat	*apa(:)G:at:e
65. lie (v)	√aten:ati (tell stories)	atenat		*at:en:at:i
66. lie down	√wo:	naʔa		*ŋo:
67. look for (vt)	√ol:e		edan-ake	*æl:æn
68. lying	√d:i	ji	ji	*d:i
69. make	√oen	ʔon		*u(e)n
70. man	√el:e:giwa	ale	ale	*æl:e(:)
71. milk	√otidi	ciʔ	oʔiʔ	*ot:id
72. moon	epenay	šiday-go	šiday-go	*epʰenay
73. mother	cdc:-dc	ateʔe	ateʔe	*ædc:

74. mother-in-law	√oci-Ga-te	aco-do	oqo-do	*okʸü
75. mouth	√ol:a-di	alap	lap	*ol:ap
76. name	√bo:n:aGad	lonagat	denagat	*Co(:)n:aG:ad
77. nephew	√y:o	aso-ši		*ay:u
78. nose	√miqo	mik	(i)mik	*imiq:
79. place	yigo	yigo		*yig:u
80. play	√al:o:	alʸit		*al:üt
81. push (vt)	√am:aGa	amaq		*am:aGa
82. put (vt)	√icom	coʔ(-ot)		*itʸum
83. river	ladig:o-di (stream)	laciwge	lacewge	*ladig:æ
84. road.way.path	nay:igi		najik	*nay:igi
85. saliva	√awal:en	ʔalʸi	aʔle	*awal:en
86. salt	yoki	yawet		*yoket
87. sand	dotiwa-di		loʔwa-Ganaga	*Cutiwa
88. see	√l:o:	ilaʔa		*il:o:
89. seed	√ol:ag	ala	la	*ol:a(g)
90. shoe	√w:el:adi	apelaʔ		*aw:el:adi
91. sing (vi)	√ga:n:	oʔon		*go:n:
92. sister	n-iwal:o		owalʸa (sister in law)	*üwal:o
93. sitting	√n:i	ñi	ñi	*n:i
94. sky	√di-t-big:im:-e-d:	pigem	pig:im	*big:im:
95. sleep (vi)	yo:te	oʔoci		*yu:t:e
96. snake	l-aqac:di		qaeʔ-walji	*aqac(:)di
97. snore (vi)	√gokom	qolo (?)	qoqo	*guk:um
98. speak (vi)	√otaGAm	taq	etaq	*æt:aGAm
99. standing	√d:a	da	da	*d:a
100.star	yote-di	yoʔo-Goñi lalaqte		*yutæ

101.stick	iwoGo	waGa		*iwoG:o
102.suck (vi)	√l:ib	lip		*l:ib
103.tapir	liw:aGa	šipegaq-alo	šipGyaq (horse)	*lʷiw:æGa(q)
104.think	√owo:	owe:		*owæ
105.tooth	√owe	we	owe	*uwe
106.valency suffix	-Gen:	-(a)Gan	-(a)Gan	*-(a)G:æn:
107.upward	-big:im:	-šigem		*bʷig:im
108.wait	√b:ato:n	wat	wat	*b:at:(o:n)
109.wake.up (vi)	√ewika	owek		*æwik:a
110.want (vt)	√em:an:	-aman		*æm:an:
111.wasp	witelowaga		lawoyk	*lowoyGa
112.we	oqom:	qomi	qomi	*(o)q:um:
113.wing	√ab:a	awa		*ab:a
114.winter, cold	√wetam:	atom		*wæt:om:
115.woman, wife	iwa:l:o	wa	owa	*ūwa
		?alo	alo (woman, female)	*al:o
116.womb	√gel:e	awel		*agel:e
117.you (sg)	aqa:m:i		qamid	*aq:a(:)m:i
118.you (pl)	aqa:m:i	qami	qamidi	*aq:a(:)m:i-i

Personal Markers

				Proto-
Gloss	Kadiwéu	Toba	Mocoví	Waikurúan
119. 1sg active	j- '1sg agent subject'	s- '1sg agent subject'	s- '1sg agent subject'	*dʷ-
120. 2sg active	a-...-i '2sg agent subject'	ʔa(w)- '2sg agent subject'		*a- (or *æ)
121. 3sg active	y- '3sg agent subject'	i- ~ d- '3sg agent subject'	i- ~ d- '3sg agent subject'	*i- ~ *d:-
122. 1pl active	j-...-Ga '1pl agent subject'	s-...-G '1pl agent subject'	s-...-aG '1pl agent subject'	*dʷ-...-aG:a
123. 2pl active	a-...-i '2pl agent subject'	qa(w)-...-i '2pl agent subject'	∅-...-(i)i '2pl agent subject'	*a-...-i
124. 3pl active	o-y- '3pl agent subject'	i- ~ d-...-d '3pl agent subject'	i- ~ d-...-ed '3pl agent subject'	*i- ~ d:-...-ed:
125. 1sg inactive	i-d:- '1sg object'	j- (<id-) '1sg nonagent subject, 1sg object'	j- (<id-) '1sg nonagent subject, 1sg object'	*id:-
126. 2sg inactive	a-d:- '2sg object'	ʔad- '2sg nonagent subject, 2sg object, 2sg possessive'		*ad:-
127. 3sg inactive		n- '3sg nonagent subject'	n- '3sg nonagent subject'	*l- ~ *n-
	l- '3sg possessive'	l- '3sg possessive'	l- '3sg possessive'	
128. 1pl inactive	Go-d:- '1pl object'	qad- '1pl possessive'	qad-...(-aG) '1pl nonagent subject'	*God:-
	Go(d):- '1pl possessive'		qad- '1pl object'	
			qo- '1pl possessive'	
129. 2pl inactive	Ga-d:- '2pl object'	qad- '2pl nonagent subject, 2pl possessive'	qad- '2pl nonagent subject'	*Gad:-
			qa- '2pl possessive'	
130. 3pl inactive	l- '3pl possessive'	n-...-d '3pl nonagent subject'	n-...-ed '3pl nonagent subject'	*l- ~ *n-...-ed:
		l-...-d '3pl possessive'	l-...-ed '3pl possessive'	

Appendix 2

Comparative lexicon of Noble and Non-noble Kadiwéu. Table 1 shows 44 words and sentences phonetically transcribed illustrating the differences between Noble and Non-noble Kadiwéu.

Table 1

Gloss	Non-noble Kadiwéu	Noble Kadiwéu
1. man	Gonel:é: giwa?	a: ^H gi ^L na ^M Ga ^L ?
2. my hand	i-b:á:Gadi?	i-b:a ^H a: ^L Ga ^M di ^L ?
3. my eye	i-gék:o+Gé? (compound)	i-ge ^H k:o ^L +Ge ^M e? ^L (compound)
4. my shoes	i-wé l:at:e-di?	i-we ^H e ^L la ^M t:e ^L -di?
5. my job	?i-b:á q:edi?	i-ba ^H a ^L q:e ^M di ^L ?
6. water	n i y: Godi	n i ^H iy ^L Go ^M di ^L
7. because	lé:Godi?	le: ^H e: ^L Go ^M di ^L ?
8. tree	ny:ál:e?	ni ^H i ^L ya ^M le? ^L
9. boy	ni-g:á:nig:i?	ni-g:a: ^H a: ^L ni ^M g:i? ^L
10. earrings	ni-g:é:g:i?	ni-g:e ^H e ^L -g:i
11. my bracelet	Gat:éjg:i?	ib:a ^H a: ^L Ga ^M t:e ^L je ^M g:i? ^L
12. good afternoon	é:l:é Gók:idi?	é: ^H l: e ^L a ^H o ^L wi ^M i? ^L
13. greeting to a man	i-n-yot:á:god:i?	i-ni-wa: ^H a: ^L go ^M d:i? ^L
14. greeting to a woman	i-n-yot:á:god:o?	i-ni-wa: ^H a: ^L go ^M d:o? ^L
15. greeting to a girl	i-n-yo t:á:god:oá:o wá: na?	i-ni-wa: ^H a: ^L go ^M d:o ^L a: ^M o ^L wa: ^M na? ^L
16. greting to a boy	i-n-yo:tá:got:á:owá:nig:i?	i-ni-wa: ^H a: ^L go ^M d:a ^L o ^M wa: ^L ni ^M g:i? ^L
17. leaves (the tree's hair)	ny:ál:e lám:odi?	ni ^H i ^L ya ^M l:e ^L la ^H a ^L m:o ^M di ^L ?
18. sugar cane	náyog:o?	na ^H a ^L yo ^M g:o? ^L
19. way	náy:g:i?	na ^H a ^L i y ^M g:i? ^L

20. my mouth	i-ny:ól:adi?	i-ni ^H yo ^L l:a ^M di? ^L
21. pan	nóol:e?	no ^H o ^L o ^M l:e? ^L
22. my son	i-y:ó:nig:i?	i-iy ^H o ^L ni ^M g:i? ^L
23. my uncle	i-n-éc:odi	i-n-e ^H e ^L c:o ^M di? ^L
24. my brother	i-n-y:óc:ua	a: ^H gi ^L na ^M Ga? ^L
25. my sister	i-n-iwá:l:o	i-n-iy ^H o ^L c:u ^M a? ^L
26. my house/my village	i-Géladi?	i-Ge ^H e ^L la ^M di? ^L
27. roof (my house's hair)	i-Géladi lám:odi?	iGe ^H e ^L ladi ^L la ^H a ^L m:o ^M di? ^L
28. my son's toy	i-y:ónig:i l:á?	i-iy ^H o ^L ni ^M gi ^L la ^H a? ^L
29. my teacher (man)	i-n-i:Gac:ínGodi?	i-n-i ^H i ^L Ga ^M c:r ^L nGo ^M di? ^L
30. my teacher (woman)	i-n-i:Gac:ínGod:o?	i-n-i ^H i ^L Ga ^M c:r ^L nGo ^M d:o? ^L
31. my belt	i-ni-gw:énGadi	i-ni-go ^H we ^L nGa ^H di? ^L
32. I will take him back	eǰ-igo i-nop:ilGadit:éd:iǰo	eǰ-igo i-nu ^H e ^L la ^H Ga ^L ri ^H t:e ^L d:i ^H jo ^L
33. I will drink	eǰ-igo ják:ip:e?	eǰ-i ^H go ^L ja ^H a ^L q:a ^M a ^L ?
34. I	é:?	e ^H y:o ^L ?
35. you	áq:a:m:-i	a ^H a ^L m:-i
36. Oh boy! Don't go way!	ǰét:ey! nGóp:il-i!	ǰe ^H t:o ^L ! nGo: ^H il ^L !
37. Work!	a-b:á:?!	a-b:a: ^H a: ^L ?!
38. I will cook	eǰ-igo ǰ-Gó:l:aGa	eǰigo ǰ-Go ^H o ^L l:a ^M Ga ^L
39. I order it	-y:iGe?	ǰ-i ^H i ^L yi ^M Ge? ^L
40. I will kill	-él:owadi	ǰ-e ^H e ^L ma ^M di? ^L
41. I die	-él:ew	ǰ-e: ^H ε: ^L
42. my belly	i-y:é?	i-e ^H ε? ^L
43. He died	y-él:ew	y-e: ^H ε: ^L
44. my gift	i-n-oGé:di	i-n-o ^H Go ^L we: ^M di? ^L

Appendix 3.

DICTIONARY: KADIWEU-ENGLISH-PORTUGUESE

Ve -ab:a

\en clean dust
 \po tirar o pó
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex Gad:ab:aqeni
 \mr Ga-d:-ab:a-qen-i
 \gl 2pl.OBJ-theme-clean- [+become]-pl
 \en I take out the dust from you
 \po eu limpo o pó de você
 \ex ab:akGegi
 \mr ab:a-g-Gegi
 \gl clean-tel-[-cause]
 \en Lazy
 \po Preguiçoso

Ve -ab:a

\en wing
 \po asa
 \ps noun
 \ex lab:adi
 \mr l-ab:a-adi
 \gl 3POSS-wing-pl
 \en Its wings
 \po Suas asas

Ve -ab:al:e

\en loose
 \po perder
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex dab:al:e latobi
 \mr y-d:-ab:al:e l-atobi
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-loose 3POSS-face
 \en His face was lost (expression to mean stupid)
 \po rosto perdido/estúpido

Ve -ab:i

\en clean
 \po limpar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex yab:idi
 \mr y-ab:i-d
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-clean-atel
 \en he does cleaning
 \po ele limpa
 \ex Gad:apitGati

\mr Ga-d:-ab:i-d-Gad-i
 \gl 2pl.OBJ-theme-clean-atel-[+become]-pl
 \en he makes you clean
 \po ele limpa você

\le -ab:o
 \en fit
 \po caber
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex ab:otiweki
 \mr a-ab:o-t-w+c-k
 \gl 2sg.SUBJ-fit-rel-inward+3sg.CL-allative
 \en You fit it in it
 \po você encaixa isso aí

\le -ab:oGota
 \en magnify
 \po aumentar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex ab:oGotakanGegi
 \mr ab:oGota-kan-Gegi
 \gl magnify-[-become]-[-cause]
 \en baking powder
 \po fermento

\le -acab:o
 \en dive
 \po mergulhar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex dacab:oqetinig:i
 \mr y-d:-acab:o-qen-t+nigi:
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-dive-[+become]-rel+going.inside+toward
 \en It was dived in
 \po Foi mergulhado

\le -acaki
 \en leg
 \po perna
 \ps noun
 \ex yacaki
 \mr i-acaki
 \gl IPOSS-leg
 \en my leg
 \po minha perna

\le -acakon
 \en pound/hit with something hard
 \po socar/bater com algo sólido
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex nacakonqatedi

\mr n-acakon-Gad-adi
 \gl alnbl-pound-[+cause]-pl
 \en thunders (the one which makes pound something)
 \po trovoes
 \ex Maria yacako Pedro
 \mr Mary y-acakon Peter
 \gl Mary 3sg.SUBJ-pound Peter
 \en Mary hit Peter
 \po Maria socou Pedro
 \ex lam:oGo dinacakota napalite
 \mr I-am:o-Ga y-d:-acakon-t+e-wa n-apalite
 \gl 3POSS-dust-pl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-pound-rel+3sg.CL-dative alnbl-machete
 \en the flour was crushed by a machete
 \po A farinha foi socada por um machado
 \ex jacakota napalite lam:oGo
 \mr j-acakon-t+e-wa n-apalite I-am:o-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-pound-intr-rel+3sg.CL-dative alnbl-machete 3POSS-dusty-pl
 \en I will crush flour with a machete
 \po eu vou socar a farinha com um machado

\le -acapo

\en nail
 \po unha
 \ps noun
 \ex inacapo
 \mr i-n-acapo
 \gl 1POSS-alnbl-nail
 \en my nail
 \po minha unha

\le -acaqawa

\en enemy
 \po inimigo
 \ps noun
 \ex God:acaqawa
 \mr God:-acaqawa
 \gl 1pl.POSS-enemy
 \en our enemy
 \po nosso inimigo

\le -acaw:a

\en help
 \po ajudar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex dinacaw:a
 \mr y-d:-n-acaw:a
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-help
 \en he helps himself
 \po ele se ajuda

\le -aciGa
 \en axilla
 \po sovaco
 \ps noun
 \ex eciGataki
 \mr e-aciGa-taki
 \gl IND-axilla-pl
 \en axillas
 \po axilas

\le -aciGamin
 \en chew
 \po mastigar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex jaciGaminaGa
 \mr j-aciGamin-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-chew-pl
 \en we chew it
 \po nós o mastigamos

\le -aco
 \en go down
 \po descer
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex id:acotGa
 \mr j-d:-aco-d-Ga
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-theme-go.down-ate1-pl
 \en we go down
 \po nós descemos
 \ex id:acoditi
 \mr j-d:-aco-d-ti
 \gl 1s-theme-go.down-ate1-[+cause]
 \en I go down the stairs
 \po eu desço a escada

\le -aco
 \en go up
 \po subir
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jacoditibigi
 \mr j-aco-d-t+bigim
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-go.up-ate1-rel+upward
 \en I go up
 \po Eu subo
 \ex jacoditeloko
 \mr j-acodi-t+e-lokom
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-go.up-rel+3sg.CL-allative
 \en I bestride the horse
 \po Eu monto no cavalo

eskada
 eskada
 stairs

apolikGanGa
 apolik-GanGa
 horse-classifier

\le -acopan
 \en kidney
 \po rim
 \ps noun
 \ex God:acopani
 \mr God:-acopan-i
 \gl 1pl.POSS-kidney-pl
 \en our kidneys
 \po nossos rims

\le -ad:ego
 \en grass
 \po grama/capim
 \ps nominal root
 \ex yel:igo nad:egog:o
 \mr y-el:igo n-ad:ego-g:o
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-eat alnbl-grass-pl
 \en He is eating grass
 \po Ele está comendo capim

\le -ad:e:
 \en swell
 \po inchar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex iGon:agi nad:e:di le:Godi nel:otagi
 \mr i-Gon:agi y-n-ad:e:-d le:Godi n-el:ot-agin
 \gl 3POSS-foot 3sg.SUBJ-hither-swell-atel because alnb-sick+person
 \en My foot is swelling because of sickness
 \po Meu pé está inchando por causa de doença

\le -ad:e:g
 \en bring
 \po trazer
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex nad:e:gi
 \mr y-n-ad:e:g
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-hither-bring
 \en He brings it
 \po Ele o traz
 \ex dinad:e:gi
 \mr y-d:-ad:e:g
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-bring
 \en He is guided
 \po Ele é guiado

\le -ad:ilon
 \en dry
 \po secar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex id:inad:ilonaGa
 \mr j-d:-n-a:dilon-Ga

\gl 1pl.SUBJ-theme-dry-pl
 \en we dry ourselves
 \po nós nos secamos

\le -ad:il:a
 \en borrow
 \po emprestar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex onad:il:a latopenig:i
 \mr o-y-n-ad:il:a l-atope-nig:i
 \gl pl-3pl.SUBJ-hither-borrow 3POSS-gun-m.dim
 \en They borrowed a gun
 \po Eles emprestaram uma arma

\le -ad:inana
 \en start
 \po principiar
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex id:ad:inana
 \mr j-d:-ad:inana
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-start
 \en I start
 \po eu começo

\le -ad:o
 \en spill
 \po derramar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex jad:otineki niy:oGodi gopa
 \mr j-ad:o-t-n+e-k n-iyGo-adi gopa
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-spill-rel-downward+3sg.CL-allative alnbl-water-pl cup
 \en I spill water in the cup
 \po I derramo água no copo

\le -ad:on
 \en marry
 \po casar-se
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jad:onaGa
 \mr j-ad:on-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-marry-pl
 \en we marry
 \po nós nos casamos

\le -ael:e
 \en be good/adequate
 \po ser bom/adequado
 \ps verb
 \ge unergative
 \ex ael:etGadomi

\mr y-ael:e-t+Ga-dom-i
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-good-rel+2csg.CL-benefactive-pl
 \en It is good for you
 \po Isso é bom você

Ve -aGae
 \en happen
 \po acontecer
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex id:aGae:
 \mr j-d:-aGae:
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-happen
 \en It happened to me
 \po Aconteceu

Ve -aGel:egi
 \en haul
 \po arrastar-se/engatinhar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex Tiago ja aneGel:egi
 \mr Tiago ja ane+y-aGel:egi
 \gl Tiago compl relative+3sg.SUBJ-haul
 \en Tiago is already hauling
 \po Tiago já está engatinhando

Ve -agGi
 \en forget
 \po esquecer
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex oyagGitibig
 \mr o-y-agGi-t+big
 \gl pl-3pl.SUBJ-forget-rel+intensive
 \en they forgot it a lot
 \po eles se esqueceram disto bastante
 \ex dinagGidi
 \mr y-d:-n-agGi-d
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-forget-atel
 \en it was forgotten
 \po isso foi esquecido

Ve -agin
 \en person
 \po pessoa
 \ps noun
 \gr aginaGa
 \ex agin-Ga
 \mr person-pl
 \gl man
 \q only used by women

\le aGokidi

\en afternoon

\po tarde

\ps noun

\gr free form

\va awii

\q used only by women

\ex jGawii

\mr jG+awii

\gl compl-afternoon

\en It is already afternoon

\po Já é de tarde

\le ajaG-

\en third-person pronoun

\po pronome pessoal de terceira pessoa

\ex Gonel:e:giwa ajaGajo nGajo iwal:o jGopitibeki

\mr Gonel:e:giwa ajaG-a-jo nGajo iwal:o jG+opil-t+e-k

\gl man 3PRONOUN-fem-going DEM woman compl+go-rel-3sg.CL-allative

\en the man went away with this woman herself

\po este homem foi embora com esta mulher mesmo

\le -aji

\en fat

\po gordura

\ps noun

\ex aiyakal:o

\mr aji-akal:o

\gl fat-person

\en Pessoa Gorda

\po Fat person

\ex inajidi

\mr i-n-aji-adi

\gl IPOSS-1nbl-fat-pl

\en My fat

\po Minha gordura

\le -ajigo

\en give

\po dar

\ps verb

\gr bivalent

\ex jajigota lib:l:e Joao

\mr j-ajigo-t+e-wa l-b:ole John

\gl 1sg.SUBJ-give-rel+3sg.CL-dative 3POSS-meat John

\en I give the meat to John

\po Eu dou a carne para o Joao

\ex Paulo jajigota wa:ka

\mr Paulo j-ajigo-t+e-wa wa:ka

\gl Paulo 1sg.SUBJgive-rel+3sg.CL-dative cow

\en I give the cow to Paulo

\po Eu entrego a vaca para o Paulo

\ex wa:ka dinajigota Paulo
 \mr wa:ka y-d:-n-ajigo-t+e-wa Paulo
 \gl cow 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-give-rel+3sg.CL-dative Paulo
 \en the cow was given to Paulo
 \po a vaca foi entregue para Paulo
 \ex Paulo eo Joao me yajigota wa:ka
 \mr Paulo y-aon John me y-ajigo-t+e-wa wa:ka
 \gl Paulo 3sg.SUBJ-make John COMP 3sg.SUBJ-give-rel+3sg.CL-dative cow
 \en Paulo made John give him the cow
 \po Paulo fez Joao entregar a vaca para ele
 \ex najigotGowa
 \mr n-ajigo-t+Go-wa
 \gl 3pl.SUBJ-give-rel+1pl.CL-dative
 \en they give it to us
 \po eles nos dao isso

\e -ajike
 \en chin
 \po queixo
 \ps nominal root
 \ex ejike
 \mr e-ajike
 \gl IND-chin
 \en Chin
 \po Queixo

\e -ajim
 \en ash
 \po cinzas
 \ps nominal root
 \ex lajimaGa
 \mr l-ajim-Ga
 \gl 3POSS-ash-pl
 \en ashes
 \po cinzas

\e -ajipa
 \en hear
 \po ouvir
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex wajipa
 \mr w-ajipa
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-hear
 \en He hears
 \po Ele ouve
 \ex jajipata nayagGegi
 \mr j-ajipa+t-e-wa n-ayag-Gegi
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-rel+3sg.CL-dative alnbl-make.noise-[-cause]
 \en I listens to a noise
 \po Eu escuto um barulho

\le -ajo
 \en tool
 \po ferramenta/instrumento
 \ps noun
 \ex najol:i miw:i:Ga
 \mr n-ajo-l:i me+i-w:i:-Ga
 \gl alnbl-tool-pl COMP+IPOSS-hunt-pl
 \en hunt tools
 \po instrumentos de caça

\le -ajoy
 \en advice
 \po aconselhar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex dinajoy
 \mr y-d:-n-ajoy
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-advice
 \en he advices himself
 \po ele se aconselha

\le -aka
 \en move
 \po mover-se
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jakaGatiw
 \mr j-aka-Ga-t+w
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-move-pl-rel+inward
 \en We move/go into
 \po Entramos
 \ex jakatiweki di:m:igi
 \mr j-aka+t-w-e-k di:m:igi
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-move-rel+inward+3sg.CL-allative house
 \en I go into the house
 \po eu entro na casa

\le -akacin
 \en sneeze
 \po espirrar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jakacinGa
 \mr j-akacin-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-sneeze-pl
 \en we sneeze
 \po nós espirramos

\le -akakodiwa
 \en rice
 \po arroz
 \ps noun
 \ex inakakodiwaGa

\mr i-n-akakodiwa-Ga
 \gl IPOSS-1nbl-rice-pl
 \en my rice
 \po meu arroz

\le akaligita
 \en rubber
 \po borracha
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -akib
 \en thirsty
 \po sede
 \ps noun
 \ex id:el:owadi ekibi
 \mr j-d:-el:owad e-akib
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-kill IND-thirsty
 \en I am thirsty
 \po eu estou com sede
 \ex God:el:owadi ekibi
 \mr Go-d:-el:owadi e-akib
 \gl 1pl.OBJ-theme-kill IND-thirsty
 \en we are thirsty
 \po nós estamos com sede
 \ex God:akipGadi
 \mr God:-akib-Gad
 \gl 1pl.POSS-thirsty- [+cause]
 \en our drink
 \po nossa bebida

\le -akilo
 \en head
 \po cabeça
 \ps nominal root
 \ex ekilo
 \mr e-akilo
 \gl IND-head
 \en Somebody's head
 \po Cabeça de alguém
 \ex bey:agi lakilo
 \mr beyagi l-akilo
 \gl bad 3POSS-head
 \en His head is bad
 \po Sua cabeça está ruim/ Transtornado

\le -akipe
 \en drink
 \po beber
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jakipe
 \mr j-akipe
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-drink

\en I drink
 \po Eu bebo

\le aki:l:igi
 \en miserly
 \po avarento
 \ps noun
 \gr free form

\le -ako
 \en groin
 \po virilha
 \ps nominal root
 \ex lakol:i
 \mr l-ako-li
 \gl 3POSS-groin-pl
 \en His groin
 \po A virilhas dele
 \ex icagodi nakol:i
 \mr icagodi n-ako-l:i
 \gl red alnbl-GROIN-pl
 \en sp. frog

\le -alaGate
 \en climb up
 \po escalar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jal:aGateGa
 \mr j-alaGate-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-climb-pl
 \en We climb up
 \po Nós escalamos/subimos
 \ex nal:aGate
 \mr n-alaGate
 \gl alnbl-clim
 \en Mountain/Hills
 \po Montanha/Serra/Morro

\le -aleka
 \en shave
 \po barbear-se
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex id:inal:ekaGa
 \mr j-d:-n-aleka-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-shave-pl
 \en We shave ourselves
 \po Nós nos barbeamos

\le -alen:a
 \en cheat
 \po enganar
 \ps verbal root
 \gr bivalent
 \ex jalen:aGa
 \mr j-alen:a-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-cheat-pl
 \en We cheat him
 \po Nós o enganamos

\le -alig
 \en dig
 \po cavar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex anal:ikitomi
 \mr a-n-alig-i-t+i-dom
 \gl 2sg.SUBJ-hither-dig-pl-rel+1sg.CL-benefactive
 \en You dig for me
 \po Você cava para mim

\le -aliGo
 \en hit
 \po atingir
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex yopitena nal:iGo niged:yo:go
 \mr i-opite-na y-n-aliGo n-ged:yog:o
 \gl IPOSS-arrow-f.dim 3sg.SUBJ-hither-hit alnbl-jaguar
 \en My arrow hit a jaguar
 \po Minha flecha atingiu a onça

\le -alodGa:
 \en tobacco
 \po tabaco
 \ps noun
 \ex nalodGa:di
 \mr n-alodGa:-adi
 \gl alnbl-tobacco-pl

\le -alokon
 \en swim
 \po nadar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jalokonGa
 \mr j-alokon-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-swin-pl
 \en we swin
 \po nós nadamos

\le -alomae

\en read

\po ler

\ps verb

\gr bivalent

\lex yalomaeteloko

liwaqate

\mr y-alom:e-t+e-lokom

liwaqate

\gl 3sg.SUBJ-read-rel+3sg.CL-allative 3POSS-letter

\en He read his letter

\po Ele leu a sua carta

\lex yalomaetema

Joao nGajo latanaGaci

\mr y-alomae-t+e-ma

John nGajo lotanGaci

\gl 3sg.SUBJ-read-rel+3sg.CL-benefactive John DEM 3POSS-book-classifier

\en He read this book for John

\po Ele leu esta livro para Joao

\le -alweciw

\en insist

\po insistir

\ps verb

\gr unaccusative

\lex id:alweciwtibige

\mr j-d:-alweciw-t+bige

\gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-insist-rel+intensive

\en I insist

\po Eu insisto

\le -al:a

\en recall

\po lembrar

\ps verb

\gr unergative

\lex anal:akitibiGogitiwaji

\mr a-n-al:a-g-i+t-b-Go-gi-t-waji

\gl 2sg.SUBJ-hither-recall-tel-pl+rel-intensive-1pl.CL-goal-rel+pl

\en Remember us always you all

\po Sempre lembre-se de nós

\lex Gad:alae

\mr Ga-d:-al:a-qen

\gl 2pl.OBJ-theme-recall-[+become]

\en He remembers you

\po Ele se lembra de você

\le -al:aqa

\en hit with something flexible

\po bater com alguma coisa flexível

\ps verb

\gr bivalent

\lex jal:aqa

\mr j-al:aqa

\gl 1sg.SUBJ-hit

\en I hit him

\po Eu bato nele

\lex dinal:aqa

\mr y-d:-n-al:aqa
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-hit
 \en He hits himself
 \po Ele se bate
 \lex id:al:aqa
 \mr i-d:-al:aqa
 \gl 1sg.OBJ-theme-hit
 \en I was hit
 \po Bateram-me

\le -al:e
 \en burn
 \po queimar
 \ps verbal root
 \gr bivalent
 \lex dinal:egi
 \mr y-d:-n-al:e-g
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-burn-atel
 \en It burns itself
 \po Isto se queima sozinho
 \lex aqa:m:i jGal:eki
 \mr aqa:m:i jG-a-al:e-g-i
 \gl 2PRONOUN compl-2pl.SUBJ-burn-atel-pl
 \en You burn it
 \po Você o queima
 \lex anal:ekGegi
 \mr ane+ale-g-Gegi
 \gl relative+burn-atel-[-cause]
 \en sp. ant (burnee)
 \po Formiga correção

\le -al:en
 \en heart
 \po coração
 \ps noun
 \lex God:al:enGa
 \mr God:-al:en-Ga
 \gl 1pl.POSS-heart-pl
 \en Our hearts
 \po Nossos corações

\le -al:epe
 \en sharp
 \po afiar
 \ps verbal root
 \gr unaccusative
 \lex dal:epe lim:igo
 \mr y-d:-alepe l-m:igo
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-sharp 3POSS-blade
 \en Its blade is sharp
 \po Sua ponta está afiada
 \lex yal:epeGadi lod:a:jo
 \mr y-alepe-Gad l-oda:jo
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-sharp- [+cause] 3POSS-knife

\en He sharpened his knife
 \po Ele afiou a sua faca
 \ex lat:epeGigo
 \mr l-alepe-Gigo
 \gl 3POSS-sharp-[-become]
 \en cactus
 \po cactus

\le al:ige
 \en sun
 \po sol
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -al:ike
 \en well
 \po poço
 \ps noun
 \ex ya:l:ike
 \mr i-al:ike
 \gl 1pl.POSS-well
 \en my well
 \po meu poço

\le -al:i:
 \en wait
 \po esperar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex ja:l:i:Ga
 \mr j-al:i:-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-wait-pl
 \en We wait
 \po Nós esperamos
 \ex al:yodi me ja:l:ita
 \mr el:yodi me j-al:i:-t+e-wa
 \gl lot COMP 1sg.SUBJ-wait-rel+3sg.CL-dative
 \en I have been waiting for him a lot
 \po Tenho esperado muito por ele
 \ex owa:l:i:
 \mr o-w-al:i:
 \gl pl-3sg.SUBJ-wait
 \en They wait
 \po Eles esperam

\le -al:o
 \en run away
 \po correr
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex el:oditibigimeki nalaGate
 \mr y-alo-d-t+bigim+e-k n-alaGate
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-run-atel-rel+3sg.CL-inessive alnbl-mountain
 \en He ran him away to the mountain

\po Ele o tocou para a montanha
 \ex wal:oqoditibigimeki nalaGate
 \mr w-al:o-qon-d-t+bigim+e-k n-alaGate
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-[-become]-atel-rel+upwards+3sg.CL-inessive alnbl-mountain
 \en He runs up the mountain
 \po Elesobe na montanha

\le -al:o:

\en play around
 \po brincar/festejar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jal:o:Go
 \mr j-al:o:-Ga
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-play-pl
 \en They play around
 \po Eles brincam/festejam
 \ex nal:o:Gegi
 \mr n-al:o:-Gegi
 \gl alnbl-play.around-[-cause]
 \en Party
 \po Festa
 \en nal:o:Go
 \mr l-n-al:o:-Ga
 \gl 3POSS-alnbl-play-pl
 \en Their playing around/Party
 \po Festa

\le al:o:lanGa

\en bull
 \po touro
 \ps noun

\le -al:yo

\en finish
 \po completar/acabar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex jal:yokodi
 \mr j-al:yo-kon-d
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-finish-[-become]-atel
 \en I finished
 \po acabei

\le -am

\en toy
 \po brinquedo
 \ps noun
 \ex na
 \mr n-am
 \gl alnbl-yoy
 \en toy
 \po brinquedo
 \ex nam:idi

\mr n-am-di
 \gl alnbl-toy-pl
 \en toys
 \po brinquedos

\le -ama
 \en finish
 \po acabar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex jam:a
 \mr j-ama
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-finnish
 \en I am finishing it
 \po Estou terminando isso

\le -amaGa
 \en push
 \po empurrar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex jamaGateloko balo:te name:ja
 \mr j-amaGa-t+e-lokom balo:te name:ja
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-push-rel+3sg.CL-allative wall table
 \en I push the table against the wall
 \po Eu empurro a mesa em direção da parede

\le -am:aGa
 \en push
 \po empurrar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex jam:aGa
 \mr j-am:aGa
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-push
 \en I push it
 \po Eu o empurro

\le -am:e
 \en play
 \po brincar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex niga:nig:i yam:e la
 \mr n-iga:-nig:i y-am:e l-am
 \gl alnbl-child-m.dim 3sg.SUBJ-play 3POSS-toy
 \en The boy plays with the toy
 \po A criança brinca com o brinquedo

\le -am:i
 \en ancestor
 \po antepassado
 \ps noun
 \ex God:-ami-pi
 \mr God:-ami-pi
 \gl 1pl.POSS-ancestor-pl
 \en Our ancestors
 \po Nosso antepassados

\le -am:o
 \en hair
 \po cabelo
 \ps noun
 \ex em:odi
 \mr e-am:o-adi
 \gl IND-hair-pl
 \en Somebody's hair
 \po O cabelo de alguém
 \ex apaqa:n:igo lam:odi
 \mr apaqa-tigo l-am:o-adi
 \gl rhea-classifier 3POSS-hair-pl
 \en the rhea's feather
 \po pena de ema

\le am:oGo
 \en dust
 \po pó
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -ana
 \en sell
 \po vender
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex dinana
 \mr y-d:-n-ana
 \gl 3s-theme-refl-sell
 \en He sells himself
 \po Ele se vende

\le -ane
 \en come
 \po vir
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex janegaGa
 \mr j-ane-g-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-come-tel-pl
 \en we come
 \po nós viemos

Ve -ani
 \en fall
 \po cair
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex enitineki be:g:i
 \mr y-ani-t-n+e-k b:e:gi
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-fall-rel+downward+3sg.CL-inessive hole
 \en Paulo fell in a hole
 \po Paulo caiu em um buraco
 \ex enitini
 \mr y-ani-t-n
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-rel-downward
 \en He fell/He was born
 \po Ele caiu/Ele nasceu

Ve -aniGodi
 \en penis
 \po penis
 \ps noun
 \ex eniGodi
 \mr e-aniGodi
 \gl IND-penis
 \en Somebody's penis
 \po O penis de alguém

Ve -an:i
 \en smell
 \po cheiro
 \ps noun
 \ex lan:ig:i
 \mr l-an:ig:i
 \gl 3POSS-smell
 \en Its smell
 \po Seu cheiro
 \ex dan:ike
 \mr y-d:-an:i-ken
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-smell-[+become]
 \en It is smelling
 \po Feder/Fedido

Ve -an:o:
 \en arrive here
 \po chegar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex en:o:
 \mr y-ano:
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-arrive
 \en he is arriving
 \po ele está chegando
 \ex jan:o:Gotiw
 \mr j-an:o:-Ga-t+w
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-arrive-pl-rel+inward

\en we arrive
 \po nós chegamos

\le -aon

\en make

\po fazer

\ps verb

\gr bivalent

\ex jaotGadomi

Gawateke

\mr j-aon-t+Ga-dom-i

Gad:-wateke

\gl 1s-MAKE+rel-2cl-benefactive 2POSS-boat

\en I made a boat for you

\po Eu fiz uma canoa para você

\ex jaotema

liwateke

\mr j-aon-t+e-ma

l-wateke

\gl 1sg.SUBJ-make-rel+3sg.CL-benefactive 3POSS-boat 3POSS-boat

\en I made a boat for him

\po Eu fiz uma canoa para ele

\le -apa

\en beeswax

\po cera de abelha

\ps noun

\ex lapa

\mr l-apa

\gl 3POSS-beewax

\en its beeswax

\po sua cera

\le -apal:ite

\en machete

\po machado

\ps noun

\ex napal:ite

\mr n-apal:ite

\gl alnbl-machete

\en machete

\po machado

\le -apal:wa

\en mud

\po barro

\ps noun

\ex napal:waGa

\mr n-apal:wa-Ga

\gl alnbl-mud-pl

\en pottery

\po cerâmica

\le apaqa
 \en rhea
 \po ema
 \ps noun
 \ex apaqan:igo
 \mr apaqa-nigo
 \gl rhea-animal
 \en rhea
 \po ema

\le -apawa
 \en yell
 \po gritar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex japawaGa
 \mr j-apawa-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-yell-pl
 \en we yell
 \po nós gritamos
 \ex napawaGa
 \mr n-apawa-Ga
 \gl 3pl.SUBk-yell-pl
 \en they yell
 \po eles gritam

\le -apa:Gate
 \en lice/ear
 \po piolho/orelha
 \ps noun
 \ex i-napaGa:te
 \mr i-n-apaGa:te
 \gl IPOSS-alnbl-lice
 \en My lice/ear
 \po Meu piolho/orelha

\le -api
 \en smoke
 \po fumar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex japikonGa
 \mr j-api-kon-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-smoke-[become]-pl
 \en We smoke
 \po Nós fumamos
 \ex japi jig:a:lo
 \mr j-api jiga:l:o
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-smoke cigarette
 \en I smoke cigarette
 \po Eu fumo cigarro

\le -apiko
 \en kiss
 \po beijar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex japikoGo
 \mr j-apiko-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-kiss-pl
 \en we kiss her
 \po nós a beijamos

\le -apiqo
 \en be warm
 \po estar quente
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex dapiqo
 \mr y-d:-apiqo
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-warm
 \en It is warm
 \po Está quente
 \ex waw:il:e jabey:agi le:Godi dapiqo al:ige
 \mr waw:il:e jG+bey:ag le:Godi y-d:-apiqo al:ige
 \gl guavira compl+bad because 3sg.SUBJ-theme-warm sun
 \en The guavira fruit is spoiled because the sun is hot
 \po A guavira já estragou porque o sol está quente
 \ex dapiqo God:ol:adi
 \mr y-d:-apiqo God:-ol:a:-adi
 \gl 3s-theme-WARM 1pl.POSS-body-pl
 \en Fiver
 \po Febre

\le -api:
 \en honey
 \po mel
 \ps noun
 \ex napi:go
 \mr n-api:-g:o
 \gl alnbl-honey-pl

\le api:Go
 \en cemetery
 \po cemitério
 \ps noun
 \gr free form
 \ex low:og:o migo api:Go
 \mr l-ow:o-g:o me+y-go api:Go
 \gl 3p-think-pl COMP+3sg.SUBJ-go cemetery
 \en His thoughts were to go to the cemetery
 \po Seus pensamentos eram de ir ao cemitério
 \ex api:Gojegi
 \mr api:Go-jegi
 \gl cemetery-source

\en sweet potato
 \po batata doce

\le -apo
 \en group
 \po grupo
 \ps noun
 \ex lapog:o
 \mr l-*apo-g*:o
 \gl 3POSS-group-pl
 \en His group/class
 \po Seu grupo/class

\le apopa
 \sc sp.fish
 \po dourado
 \ps noun
 \sc *Salminus maxillosus*
 \gr free form

\le -apwa
 \en hole
 \po furo
 \ps noun
 \ex japwaqe i:woGo
 \mr j-*apwa-qen* i:woGo
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-hole-[+become] wood
 \en I pierce the wood
 \po Eu estou furando a madeira
 \ex God:*apwaGen:ig:i*
 \mr God:-*apwa-Gen:-nig:i*
 \gl 1pl.POSS-hole-[+become]-m.dim
 \en our bodyguard
 \po nosso guarda-costas

\le -apyoy
 \en dirty
 \po sujeira
 \ps noun
 \ex napyoy
 \mr n-*apyoy*
 \gl alnbl-dirty
 \en dirty
 \po sujeira

\le -aqa
 \en find
 \po encontrar/achar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex dinaqadi
 \mr y-d-*n-aqa-d*
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-find-atei
 \en It was found

\po Isso foi achado
 \ex jaqataGa
 \mr j-aqa-d-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-find-atel-pl
 \en we find it
 \po nós o achamos
 \ex jaqadi loGo:jen:igo
 \mr j-aqa-d lGo:je-nigo
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ -find-atel jabuti-classifier
 \en I found a jabuti
 \po Eu achei um jaboti
 \ex dinaqadi loGo:jen:igo
 \mr y-d:-n-aqa-d lGo:je-nigo
 \en 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-find-atel jabuti-classifier
 \po O jaboti foi achado
 \ex jaqatGa ditibigimed:i di:m:igi
 \mr j-aqa-d-Ga d:i-t+bigim+e-d: di:m:igi
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-find-atel-pl locative-rel+upward+3sg.CL-theme house
 \en I found it on the top of the house
 \po Eu o achei em cima da casa

\le -aqad
 \en chin
 \po queixo
 \ps nominal root
 \ex God:aqadi
 \mr God:-aqad
 \gl 1pl.POSS-chin
 \en Our chin
 \po Nosso queixo

\le -aqag
 \en squat
 \po abaixar-se
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex id:aqakGa
 \mr j-d:-aqag-Ga
 \gl 1s-theme-LOWER-pl
 \en We squat
 \po Nós nos abaixamos

\le -aqage
 \en cut
 \po cortar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex dinaqagetaGa
 \mr y-d:-n-aqage-d-Ga
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-cut-atel-pl
 \en They cut themselves
 \po Eles se cortam
 \ex oyaqagedi
 \mr o-y-aqage-d

\gl plural-3sg.SUBJ-cut-atel
 \en They cut it
 \po Eles o cortam
 \lex oyakagedi la:d:i
 \mr o-y-akage-d l-a:d:i
 \gl pl-3sg.SUBJ-cut-atel 3POSS-breathe
 \en He cuts his breathe
 \po Ele corta a respiracao

\le -aqape
 \en meet
 \po encontrar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \lex jaqapetGagi
 \mr j-aqape-t-Ga-gi
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-meet-rel+2sg.CL-goal
 \en I meet you
 \po Eu encontro com você
 \lex jaqapeGategi
 \mr j-aqape-Ga-t+e-gi
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-meet-pl-rel+3sg.CL-goal
 \en We meet him
 \po Nós encontramos com ele

\le -aqaqe
 \en be hard/expensive
 \po custar caro/estar duro
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \lex daqaqe
 \mr y-d:-aqaqe
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hard
 \en It is expensive/hard
 \po Custa caro/É duro

\le -aqata
 \en time/hour/culture/tradition
 \po hora/tempo/cultura
 \ps noun
 \lex jajiqanGa God:aqataGa jotigide
 \mr jaG+j-qan-Ga God:-aqata-Ga jotigide
 \gl compl+1sg.SUBJ-abandon-pl 1pl.POSS-time-pl old
 \en We have abandoned our old traditions
 \po Já deixamos de lado nossos costumes antigos

\le aqa:m:i
 \en second-person pronoun
 \po pronome pessoal de segunda pessoa
 \lex aqa:m:i icitike
 \mr aqa:m:i a-ici-t+ke
 \gl 2PRONOUN 2sg.SUBJ-swing-rel+outward
 \en You swing him
 \po Você o balança

\ex aqa:m:i Gad:ma:n:i
 \mr aqa:m:i Ga-d:-ema:n:-i
 \gl 2PRONOUN 2sg.OBJ-theme-want-pl
 \en He loves you
 \po Ele ama você

\le -aqe:
 \en louse
 \po piolho
 \ps noun
 \ex God:aqe:di
 \mr God:-aqe:-adi
 \gl 1pl.POSS-louse-pl
 \en Our lice
 \po Nossos piolhos

\le aqi:di
 \en river
 \po rio
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -atal:e
 \en shine
 \po brilhar
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex data:l:e
 \mr y-d:-atal:
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-shine
 \en It is shining
 \po Brilhante

\le -ata:
 \en daddy
 \po papai
 \ps noun
 \ex yata:
 \mr i-ata:
 \gl 1sg.POSS-daddy
 \en My daddy
 \po Meu papai

\le -atemati
 \en tell story
 \po contar estória
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex jatemati natematiqo
 \mr j-atemati n-atemati-qon
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-tell alnbi-tell-[-become]
 \en I tell a story
 \po Eu conto uma estória

\le -aten:an

\en play music/tell story

\po tocar música/contar estória

\ps verb

\gr unergative

\ex inaten:a

\mr i-n-aten:an

\gl IPOSS-alnbl-play

\en My flaut (music player)

\po Minha flauta

\ex jaten:ati

naten:anGegi

\mr j-aten:an-ti

n-aten:an-Gegi

\gl Isg.SUBJ-play- [+cause] alnbl-play-[-cause]

\en I play music

\po Eu toco música

\le -ateqGod

\en chest

\po peito

\ps noun

\ex yateqGodi

\mr i-ateqGod

\gl IPOSS-chest

\en My chest

\po Meu peito

\le -ati

\en use

\po usar

\ps verb

\gr unergative

\ex jatit

napalite

me

jaqagedi

\mr j-ati

n-apalite

me

j-aqage-d

\gl Isg.SUBJ-use alnbl-machete COMP Isg.SUBJ-cut-atef

\en I use a machete to cut it

\po Eu uso um machado para cortá-lo

\le -atipa

\en drink

\po beber

\ps verb

\gr unergative

\ex jatipaGa

\mr j-atipa-Ga

\gl Isg.SUBJ-drink-pl

\en We drink

\po Nós bebemos

\le -ato:

\en yawn
 \po bocejar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \lex jato:Ga
 \mr j-ato:-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-yawn-pl
 \en We yawn
 \po Nós bocemos

\le -atyam

\en boil
 \po ferver
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \lex dinatyamGadi
 \mr y-d:-atyam-Gad
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-boil-[+cause]
 \en It was boiled
 \po Foi fervido

\le -atyo

\en rain
 \po chover
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \lex datyodi
 \mr y-d:-atyo-d
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-rain-atef
 \en It is raining
 \po Está chovendo
 \lex jGel.yodi med:atyodi
 \mr jG-el.yodi me+y-d:-atyo-d
 \gl compl-lot COMP+3sg.SUBJ-theme-rain-atef
 \en It has been raining a lot
 \po Tem chovido muito

\le -awa

\en raise
 \po suspender
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \lex dinawaketibigi
 \mr y-d:-n-awa-ken-t-bigim
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-[+become]-rel+upward
 \en It was raised
 \po Isso foi suspenido

\le -awala
 \en split
 \po quebrar/partir
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jawalaqe
 \mr j-aw:ala-qen
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-break- [+become]
 \en I break it
 \po Eu o quebro

\le -awaligi
 \en walk
 \po andar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jawaligi
 \mr j-awaligi
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-walk
 \en I walk
 \po Eu ando

\le awalwagi
 \en slug
 \po lesma
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -awal:en
 \en spit
 \po cuspir
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jawal:enGa
 \mr j-wal:en-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-spit-pl
 \en We spit
 \po Nós cuspiamos
 \ex ewal:e
 \mr e-awal:en
 \gl IND-spit
 \en Somebody's saliva
 \po Saliva de alguém

\le awal:wa
 \sc Aorocromia sclerocarpa
 \po bocaiuva
 \ps noun
 \gr free form

\le -awan
 \en mix
 \po misturar
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex dinawanaGaditegi
 \mr y-d:-n-awan-Gad-t+e-gi
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-mix-[+cause]-rel+3sg.CL-goal
 \en It was mixed with something
 \po Misturado

\le -awaqe
 \en broom
 \po florecer
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex dawaqe lawoGo
 \mr y-d:-awaqe l-awoGo
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-broom 3POSS-flower
 \en The flower is brooming
 \po a flor floreceu/desabrochou

\le -aweko
 \en rib
 \po costela
 \ps noun
 \ex God:aweko
 \mr God:-aweko
 \gl 1pl.POSS-rib
 \en Our rib
 \po Nossa costela

\le -awela
 \en scare
 \po assustar
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex God:awela
 \mr Go-d:-awela
 \gl 1pl.OBJ-theme-scare
 \en We are scared
 \po Estamos assustados
 \ex jawelaGadi
 \mr j-awela-Gad
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-scare-[+cause]
 \en I scare him
 \po Eu o assusto

\le -awen
 \en blow
 \po soprar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jawenGa
 \mr j-awen-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-blow-pl
 \en We blow
 \po Nós sopramos

\le -awiGo
 \en buttock
 \po nádega/pilao de arroz
 \ps noun
 \ex lawiGo
 \mr l-awiGo
 \gl 3POSS-buttock
 \en His buttock
 \po Sua nádega

\le -awikije
 \en young woman
 \po moça
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \ex dinil: o me dinicitedike awikije
 \mr slow me y-d:-n-ici-t+e-t+ke awikije
 \gl slow COMP 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-swing-rel+3sg.CL+outward young woman
 \en The young woman swings herself slowly

\le -awi:
 \en hunt
 \po caçar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jawi:
 \mr j-awi:
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-hunt
 \en I hunt
 \po Eu caço

\le -awi:gi
 \en dance
 \po dançar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex nawi:gi
 \mr n-awi:gi
 \gl 3pl.SUBJ-dance
 \en They dance
 \po Eles dançam

\le -awodi
 \en blood
 \po sangue
 \ps noun
 \ex ewodi
 \mr e-awodi
 \gl IND-blood
 \en Blood
 \po Sangue

\le -awoGo
 \en flower
 \po flor
 \ps noun
 \ex lawoGo
 \mr l-awoGo
 \gl 3POSS-flower
 \en Its flower
 \po Sua flor

\le -awonoa
 \en raise
 \po levantar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex inawonoake etakani
 \mr j-awonoa-ken etakani
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-raise-[+become] basket
 \en I raise the basket
 \po Eu levanto o cesto

\le aw:el:a
 \en shoe
 \po sapato
 \ps noun
 \ex aw:el:adi
 \mr awel:a-adi
 \gl shoe-pl
 \en Shoes
 \po Sapatos
 \va bal:ol:e

\le -ayag
 \en produce sound
 \po produzir som
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex God:ayagGegi
 \mr God:-ayag-Gegi
 \gl 1pl.POSS-sound-[-cause]
 \en Our voice
 \po Nossa voz
 \ex aGika layagGegi
 \mr aG-i-ka l-ayag-Gegi

\gl neg-masc-loc 3POSS-sound-[-cause]
 \en Silent/No noise
 \po Silencioso/Sem barulho

\le -ayakan:e
 \en be interested
 \po interessar-se
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex id:ayakan:e
 \mr j-d:-ayakan:e
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-interest
 \en I am interested
 \po Eu estou interessada

\le ayla
 \en raw
 \po cru
 \ps noun
 \gr free form
 \lc ayla

\le -ay:o
 \en fly
 \po voar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex way:o
 \mr w-ay:o
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-fly
 \en He flies
 \po Ele voa
 \ex jay:oGo
 \mr j-ay:o-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-fly-pl
 \en We fly
 \po Nós voamos

\le -a:bi
 \en stand up
 \po levantar-se
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex id:a:bi-d
 \mr j-d:-a:bi-d
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-stand.up-atef
 \en I am standing up
 \po Eu estou me levanto
 \ex ad:a:bititiniwakitowaji!
 \mr a-d:-a:bi-d-i-t-niwaki-t+waji
 \gl 2sg.SUBJ-theme-stand.up-atef-pl-rel+pl-rel+plural
 \en You all sit down!
 \po Vocês todos se levantem!

\le -a:d:i
 \en breathe
 \po respiraçao
 \ps noun
 \ex God:a:d:i
 \mr God:-a:d:i
 \gl 1pl.POSS-breathe
 \en Our breathe
 \po Nossa respiraçao

\le -a:le
 \en breathe
 \po respirar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex ja:l:aGa
 \mr j-a:l:e-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-breathe-pl
 \en We breathe
 \po Nós respiramos
 \ex a:l:etiwaji
 \mr a-a:le-t+waji
 \gl 2sg.SUBJ-breathe-ret+pl
 \en You all breathe
 \po Vocês todos respiram

\le -a:lGe
 \en kidnap
 \po raptar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex oya:lGe
 \mr o-y-a:lGe
 \gl pl-3pl.SUBJ-kidnap
 \en They kidnap him
 \po Eles o raptam

\le -a:lo
 \en flee
 \po pulga
 \ps noun
 \lc na:loGo
 \mr n-a:lo-Ga
 \gl alnbl-flee-pl
 \en Flee
 \po Pulga

\le -a:loGon
 \en light
 \po refletir
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex na:loGo
 \mr y-n-a:loGon

\gl 3sg.SUBJ-hither-reflect
 \en It lights
 \po Isso reflete
 \ex ya:loGonGadi
 \mr y-a:loGon-Gad
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-reflect-[+cause]
 \en He set fire
 \po Ele pôs fogo

\le -a:w:i
 \en doubt
 \po duvidar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex oya:w:i
 \mr o-y-a:w:i
 \gl pl-3pl.SUBJ-doubt
 \en He doubts it
 \po Ele duvida disso

\le balo:te
 \en wall
 \po parede
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \dn Portuguese

\le bale:ka
 \en horce race
 \po corrida de cavalos
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le bal:ol:e
 \en shoe
 \po sapato
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \wa aw:el:a

\le -bata
 \en body
 \po corpo
 \ps noun
 \ex God:ibata
 \mr God:-bata
 \gl 1pl.POSS-body
 \en Nosso body
 \po Our body
 \ex Gonibata
 \mr God:-n-bata
 \gl 1pl.POSS-ainbl-body
 \en Our cigar
 \po Nossa pituca de cigarro

\le -bayla

\en dance foreign music

\po dançar música de estrangeiro

\ps verb

\gr unergative

\dn Spanish

\ex jinibayla

\mr j-n-bayla

\gl 1sg.SUBJ-hither-dance

\en We dance

\po Nós dançmos

\ex baylaGegi

\mr bayla-Gegi

\gl dance-[-cause]

\en Dance

\po Dança

\le bayodi

\en pepper

\po pimenta

\ps noun

\gr free form

\le -ba:

\en make a mistake

\po errar

\ps verb

\gr unergative

\ex niba:

\mr n-ba:

\gl 3pl.SUBJ-mistake

\en He made a mistake

\po Ele errou

\le beyag

\en bad

\po mau

\ps noun

\gr free form

\ex wawil:e jabeyagi

\mr wawil:e jGa+beyag

\gl guavira compl+bad

\en The guavira fruit is bad

\po A guavira já está velha/estragada

\ex libeyakGegi

\mr l-beyag-Gegi

\gl 3POSS-bad-[-cause]

\en Ugliness

\po Feiura

\ex abeyakGegi

\mr ane+beyag-Gegi

\gl relative+bad-[-cause]

\en furious/bad behaved
 \po furioso/mau comportado

\le beyjaw

\en bean
 \po feijao
 \ps noun
 \dn Portuguese
 \free form

\le be:co

\en silver/currency
 \po prata/moeda
 \ps noun
 \gr free form

\le bigicena

\en cat
 \po gato
 \ps noun
 \fre form

\le big:o:d:o

\en mustache
 \po bigode
 \ps noun
 \gr free form
 \dn Portuguese

\le -bikotan

\en measure
 \po medir
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex God:ibikota
 \mr Go-d:-bikotan
 \gl 1pl.OBJ-theme-measure
 \en We are measured
 \po Somos medidod
 \ex nibikotanGanGate
 \mr n-ibikotan-GanGa-te
 \gl alnbl-measure-instr-?
 \en Scale
 \po Balança

\le -binyen

\en beauty
 \po beleza
 \ps noun
 \ex nig:a:nig:i libinyenig:i
 \mr n-ig:a:-nig:i l-binye-nig:i
 \gl alnbl-m.dim 3POSS-beaty-m.dim
 \en Pretty boy
 \po Menininho bonitinho

\le -bitaqa
 \en skeleton
 \po esqueleto
 \ps noun
 \ex libitaqa
 \mr I-bitaga
 \gl 3POSS-skeleton
 \en His skeleton
 \po Seu esqueleto

\le -b:od:e
 \en bid farewell
 \po despedir-se
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex id:ib:od:e
 \mr j-d:-b:od:e
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-bid.farewell
 \en I bid farewell
 \po Eu me despeço

\le boliko
 \en donkey
 \po asno
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \dn Portuguese
 \va em:adi

\le -boloyte
 \en enjoy
 \po aproveitar/desfrutar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex dinib:oloyte
 \mr y-d:-n-boloyte
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-enjoy
 \en He enjoys himself
 \po Eles se apreciam
 \ex oqo oniboloyte nal:o:Gegi
 \mr oqo o-y-n-boloyte n-al:o:-Gegi
 \gl people pl-3sg.SUBJ-hither-enjoy alnbl-play.around-[-cause]
 \en We enjoyed the party

\le -bo:la
 \en soccer
 \po jogar futebol
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \dn Portuguese
 \ex jinibo:laGa
 \mr j-n-bo:la-Ga
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ- hither-play.soccer-pl

\en We play soccer
 \po Nós jogamos futebol
 \lex bo:laGa
 \mr bo:la-Ga
 \gl play.soccer-pl
 \en Soccer game
 \po Jogo de futebol

\le -bo:n:aGad
 \en name
 \po chamar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \lex ibo:n:aGadi wed:e:y:e
 \mr i-bo:n:aGadi wed:e:y:e
 \gl IPOSS-name proper.name
 \en My name is Wed:e:y:e
 \po Meu nome é Wed:e:y:e

\le -b:ato:n
 \en wait
 \po esperar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \lex inib:ato:nGa
 \mr j-n-b:ato:n-Ga
 \gl 1spl.SUBJ-hither-wait-pl
 \en We wait him
 \po Nós o esperamos

\le -b:a:
 \en snatch/work
 \po pegar/trabalhar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \lex jib:a:Ga
 \mr j-b:a:-Ga
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-snatch-pl
 \en We work
 \po Nós trabalhamos
 \lex od:ibata
 \mr o-y-d:-b:a:-t+e-wa
 \gl pl-3pl.SUBJ-theme-snatch-rel+3sg.CL-dative
 \en They grabbed it
 \po Eles o pegaram
 \lex Gad:opitena dib:ata
 \mr Gad:-opite-na y-d:-b:a:-t+e-wa
 \gl 2POSS-arrow-f.dim 3sg.SUBJ-theme-snatch-rel+3sg.CL-dative
 \en Your arrow hit it
 \po Sua flecha o pegou
 \lex nig:a:nipawa:nig:i od:ib:a:tiwgi
 \mr n-iga:-nipa-wa:-nig:i o-y-d:-b:a:-t-w-g
 \gl alnbi-child-pl-like-m.dim pl-3pl.SUBJ-theme-snatch-rel+inward
 \en The children were captured

\po As crianças foram capturadas
 \lex jib:a:Gategi
 \mr j-ba:-Ga-t+e-g
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-snatch-pl-rel+3sg.CL-goal
 \en We received it
 \po Nós o recebemos
 \lex jibaq:enaGa
 \mr j-b:a:-qen-Ga
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-snatch-[+become]-pl
 \en We use it
 \po Nós o usamos
 \lex ib:aqedi
 \mr i-b:a:-qen-adi
 \gl 1POSS-snatch-[+become]-pl
 \en My work
 \po Meu trabalho
 \lex lib:a:Gad
 \mr l-b:a:-Gad
 \gl 3POSS-snatch-[+cause]
 \en His hand (Lit.: what makes one snatches)
 \po Sua mao
 \lex nib:a:Gatejegi
 \mr n-b:a:-Gad-ejegi
 \gl alnbl-snatch-[+cause]-source
 \en Bracelet
 \po Pulseira
 \lex nib:a:Gateje
 \mr n-b:a:-Gad-eje
 \gl alnbl-grasp-[+cause]-noun
 \en Ring
 \po Anel

 \le -b:egway
 \en grab
 \po agarrar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \lex jib:egwaytatiloko
 \mr j-b:egway-t+e-wa-t-loko
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-grab-rel+3sg.CL-dative-rel-allative
 \en I grabbed the boy
 \po Eu agarrei o menino

 \le b:e:g:i
 \en hole
 \po buraco
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \lex wetiGa lib:e:g:i
 \mr wetiGa l-b:e:g:i
 \gl stone 3POSS-hole
 \en cavern
 \po caverna
 \lex Gob:e:g:i

\mr God:-b:e:g:i
 \gl 1pl.POSS-hole
 \en Our grave
 \po Nossa sepultura

\le -b:iwe
 \en branch
 \po galho
 \ps noun
 \ex ny:a:l:e lib:iwe
 \mr n-y:a:l:e l-b:iwe
 \gl alnbl-tree 3p-BRANCH
 \en The tree's branch
 \po O galho da árvore
 \ex wa:ka lib:iwe
 \mr wa:ka l-b:iwe
 \gl cow 3POSS-branch
 \en The cow's hornes
 \po O chifre da vaca

\le -b:o
 \en offer
 \po presentear/oferecer
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex dinib:ota
 \mr y-d:-n-b:o-t+e-wa
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-offer-rel+3sg.CL-dative
 \en It was offered to him
 \po Isso foi presenteado para ele
 \ex ib:onig:i
 \mr i-b:o-nig:i
 \gl 1POSS-offer-m.dim
 \en My gift
 \po Meu presente

\le -b:ole
 \en meat
 \po carne
 \ps noun
 \ex lib:ol:e
 \mr l-b:ol:e
 \gl 3POSS-meat
 \en Its meat
 \po Sua carne

\le -b:olya
 \en be ashamed
 \po envergonhar-se
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex God:ib:olyaGa
 \mr Go-d:-bolya-Ga
 \gl 1pl.OBJ-theme-shame-pl

\en We are ashamed
 \po Nós nos envergonhamos
 \ex libolyaGa
 \mr l-bolya-Ga
 \gl 3POSS-shame-pl
 \en His shame
 \po Sua vergonha

\le -b:otogo
 \en beehive
 \po colmeia
 \ps noun
 \ex lib:otogo
 \mr l-b:otogo
 \gl 3POSS-behive
 \en Its beehive
 \po Sua colmeia

\le -b:yag:o
 \en lady
 \po dama
 \ps nominal root
 \ex al:ige lib:yag:o
 \mr al:ige l-b:yag:o
 \gl sun 3POSS-lady
 \en Sunflower
 \po Girassol

\le -dad:e
 \en eyelash
 \po cílio
 \ps noun
 \ex dad:e
 \mr l-dad:e
 \gl 3POSS-eyelash
 \en His eyelash
 \po Seu cílio

\le dawalol:o
 \en leaf-cutting ant
 \po formiga-carregadeira
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le del:el:e
 \en mate
 \po tereré
 \ps noun
 \dn Spanish
 \free form

\le -dGa
 \en elder brother
 \po irmao mais velho
 \ps noun
 \ex lidGa
 \mr l-dGa
 \gl 3POSS-elder.brother
 \en His elder brothet
 \po Seu irmao mais velho

\le -di
 \en call
 \po chamar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex jiniditGawa
 \mr j-n-di-t+Ga-wa
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-hither-call-rel+2sg.CL-dative
 \en I call you
 \po Eu chamo você
 \ex anidita
 \mr a-n-di-t+e-wa
 \gl 2sg.SUBJ-hither-call-rel+3sg.CL-dative
 \en You call him
 \po Você chama ele
 \ex nidikonGa
 \mr n-di-kon-Ga
 \gl alnbl-call-[-become]-pl
 \en secretary
 \po secretário

\le dibico
 \en ant
 \po formiga
 \ps noun
 \lc dibicoGo
 \mr dibico-Ga
 \gl ant-pl

\le -dig:ite
 \en eyebrow
 \po sombrancelha
 \ps noun
 \ex dig:ite
 \mr l-dig:ite
 \gl 3POSS-eyebrow
 \en his eyebrow
 \po sua sombrancelha

\le dinye:lo

\en money
 \po dinheiro
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \dn Portuguese

\le ditigedi

\en far
 \po longe
 \ps adverb
 \ex igotibeki ditigedi
 \mr y-go-t-b+e-k ditigedi
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-go-rel+intensive+3sg.CL-inessive far
 \en He goes far
 \po Ele vai longe
 \ex jiwitikugi: ditigedi
 \mr j-iwin-t-kogi: ditigedi
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-watch-rel+going.straight far
 \en I look far
 \po Eu olho para longe

\le diwelekGoni

\en wolf
 \po lobo
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le diwikigi

\en dragonfly
 \po libélula
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le di:m:igi

\en house
 \po casa
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le dokya

\en guinea hen
 \po galinha de angola
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le dotiwa-

\en sand
 \po areia
 \ps noun
 \lc dotiwadi
 \mr dotiwa-adi
 \gl sand-pl

\le dyokoloGoloGo

\en butterfly

\po borboleta

\ps noun

\free from

\le -d:ela

\en fight

\po brigar/guerrear

\ps verb

\gr unergative

\ex jid:elaGa

\mr j-d:ela-Ga

\gl 1sg.SUBJ-fight-pl

\en We fight

\po Nós guerreamos

\ex nid:elaGegi

\mr n-d:ela-Gegi

\gl alnbl-fight-[-cause]

\en War

\po Guerra

\ex nid:elaqadi

\mr n-d:ela-Gad-adi

\gl alnbl-fight-[-cause]-pl

\en Wars

\po Guerras

\ex God:id:elaGadi

\mr God:-d:ela-Gad

\gl 1pl.POSS-fight-[+cause]

\en Our enemy

\po Nosso inimigo

\ex nid:elaykajo

\mr n-d:ela-ikajo

\gl alnbl-fight-noun

\en Warrior

\po Guerreiro

\le ebiki

\en rain

\po chuva

\ps noun

\free form

\ex ebikitedi

\mr ebiki-adi-adi

\gl rain-pl-pl

\en Rain season

\po Estação das chuvas

\le ecate

\en coconut sp.

\po bacuri, vacuri, acuri

\sc attalea princeps

\ps noun

\lex ecate lam:odi
 \mr ecate l-am:o-adi
 \gl acuri 3POSS-hair-pl
 \en The cocunt tree's leaves
 \po Folha de acuri

\le -ece
 \en scrape
 \po raspar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \lex dinecegi
 \mr y-d:-n-ece-g
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-scrape-tel
 \en It was scraped
 \po Foi raspado

\le ecel:o
 \en pirana
 \po piranha
 \ps noun
 \sc Pygocentrus
 \free form

\le eci:ji
 \en cricket
 \po grilo
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -ecodi
 \en uncle
 \po tio
 \ps noun
 \lex inecodi
 \mr i-n-ecodi
 \gl IPOSS-1nbl-uncle
 \en My uncle
 \po Meu tio

\le econa
 \en savanna
 \po cerrado
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le ede:de
 \en mother
 \po mae
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -edyan
 \en feed
 \po alimentar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex jedyanGa
 \mr j-edyan-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-feed-pl
 \en We feed him
 \po Nós o alimentamos
 \ex dinedyá
 \mr y-d:-n-edyan
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-feed
 \en He is paid
 \po Ele foi pago

\le -ed:i:
 \en hurry
 \po apressar-se
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex God:ed:i:Ga
 \mr Go-d:-ed:i:-Ga
 \gl 1pl.OBJ-hurry-pl
 \en We are in a hurry
 \po Nós estamos com pressa

\le eGyadi
 \en sp. monkey
 \po macaco bugio
 \ps noun
 \sc allouatta caraya
 \free form

\le ejaki
 \en bat
 \po morcego
 \ps noun
 \ex ejakidi
 \mr ejaki-adi
 \gl bat-pl
 \en Bat
 \po Morcego

\le -ejan
 \en let fall
 \po deixar cair
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex id:ejanGa ma:te katined:i lotani
 \mr j-d:-ejan-Ga ma:te ka-t-n+e-d: l-otani
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-put-pl mate loc-rel+downward-3sg.SUBJ-theme 3POSS-bowl
 \en We put the mate in the bowl

\po Nós colocamos o chimarrao dentro da cuia

\lex id:eja

\en I let fall

\lex ad:eamí

\en You let fall

\lex od:eya

\en They let fall

\le eje-

\en cougar

\po onça parda

\ps noun

\lex ejen:igo

\mr eje-nigo

\gl cougar-animal

\le ejoli-

\en sp. bird

\po sabiá

\ps noun

\lex ejolijegi

\sc any of several thrushes of the turdoid family

\le ejyodó

\en aunt

\po tia

\ps noun

\free form

\le ekalaye

\en order

\po ordenar

\ps verb

\gr unergative

\lex GonekalayeGegi

\mr God:-n-ekalaye-Gegi

\gl 1pl.POSS-alienable-order-[-cause]

\en Our master

\po Nosso patrao

\le -eke

\en dog

\po cachorro

\ps noun

\lex neken:igo

\mr n-eke-nigo

\gl alnbl-dog-animal

\lex nekeniki-wa:

\mr n-eke-nig:i-wa:

\gl albl-dog-m.dim-like

\en wild dog

\po cachorro do mato

\le -eleGid:e
\en offend
\po ofender
\ps verb
\gr unaccusative
\lex yatematig:o Joao eo me deleGid:e
\mr i-atemati-g:o John y-aon me y-d:-eleGid:e
\gl IPOSS-tell-pl John 3sg.SUBJ-make COMP 1sg.SUBJ-theme-offend
\en My story about John made him to be offended
\po Minha história do Joao o fez ficar ofendido

\le -elew
\en die
\po morrer
\ps verb
\gr unergative
\lex yelewtedGod:omi
\mr y-elew-t+e-t+Go-dom-i
\gl 3sg.SUBJ-die-rel+3sg.CL-rel+1pl.CL-benefactive-pl
\en He died for us
\po Ele morreu por nós

\le -eligo
\en eat
\po comer
\ps verb
\gr bivalent
\lex jeligo wayaba
\mr j-eligo wayaba
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-eat guava
\en I eat guava
\po Eu como goiaba
\lex jelikaGa
\mr j-eligo-Ga
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-eat-pl
\en We eat it
\po Nós o comemos

\le elog:o
\en heart of the palm
\po palmito
\ps noun
\free form

\le -eloko
\en grandparent
\po avós
\ps noun
\lex inelokodi
\mr i-n-eloko-adi
\gl IPOSS-1nbl-grandparent-pl
\en My grandparents
\po Meus avós

\le -elotyó
 \en light
 \po acender
 \ps verb
 \tr bivalent
 \ex dinelotyógi
 \mr y-d:-n-elotyó-g
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-light-tel
 \en It lights itself
 \po Isto se acende sozinho

\le -elyó
 \en rot
 \po estragar/apodrecer
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex dinelyó
 \mr y-d:-n-elyó
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-rot
 \en It is rot
 \po Isso se estragou

\le el:a
 \en fruit
 \po fruta
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -el:a
 \en hate
 \po ter raiva/odiar
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex id:el:atGawa
 \mr j-d:-el:a-t+Ga-wa
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-hate-rel+2sg.CL-dative
 \en I hate you
 \po Eu odeio você
 \ex God:el:aGegi
 \mr God:-el:a-Gegi
 \gl 1pl.POSS-hate-[-cause]
 \en Hate
 \po Nosso ódio

\le el:adi
 \en hammock
 \po rede
 \ps noun
 \ex nel:adi
 \mr n-el:adi
 \mr alnbl-hammock
 \en Hammock
 \po Rede

\le -el:aGa
 \en back
 \po costas
 \ps noun
 \ex God:el:aGa
 \mr God:-el:aGa
 \gl 1pl.POSS-back
 \en Our back
 \po Nossas costas

\le -el:e:giwa
 \en man
 \po homem
 \ps noun
 \lc Gonel:e:giwa
 \mr God:-n-el:e:giwa
 \gl 1pl.POSS-ainbl-man
 \en Man
 \po Homem
 \q used by men only

\le el:odo
 \en large/big
 \po grande
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -el:oGo
 \en tell
 \po contar/informar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex jel:oGotaGa
 \mr j-el:oGo-d-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-tell-atel-pl
 \en We tell it
 \po Nós contamos
 \ex oyel:oGodita
 \mr o-y-eloGo-d+t-e-wa
 \gl pl-3sg.SUBJ-tell-atel-rel+3sg.CL-dative
 \en They tell it to him
 \po Eles os informam sobre isso
 \ex yel:oGodite natematig:o
 \mr y-el:oGo-d-t-e n-atemati-g:o
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-tell-atel-rel+3sg.CL ainbl-tell-pl
 \en He tells him a story
 \po Ele conta-lhe uma estória

\le el:on:i
 \en ice
 \po gelo
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -el:ot
 \en sicken
 \po adoecer
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex jel:otikanGa
 \mr j-elot-kan-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-sick-[-become]-pt
 \en We got sick
 \po Nós adoecemos
 \ex elotaginaGa
 \mr elot-agin-Ga
 \gl sick-person-pl
 \en Sick person
 \po Doente
 \ex elotaginadi
 \mr elot+agin-adi
 \gl sick+person-pl
 \en Sick people
 \po Doentes
 \ex nelotagi
 \mr n-elotagi
 \gl alnbl-sickness
 \en Sickness
 \po Doença

\le -el:owad
 \en kill
 \po matar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex oyel:owadi Maria
 \mr o-y-el:owad Mary
 \gl pl-3pl.SUBJ-kill Mary
 \en They killed Mary
 \po Eles mataram Maria

\le emadi
 \en donkey
 \po burro
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \va bul:iko

\le -ema:n:
 \en want/love/accept
 \po querer/gostar/aceitar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex Gad:ema:n:i
 \mr Ga-d:-ema:n-i
 \gl 2pl.OBJ-theme-want-pl
 \en I love you

\po Eu amo você
 \ex anedGayema:
 \mr ane+dGa+y-ema:n:
 \gl relative+negative+3sg.SUBJ-want
 \en disappointed
 \po decepcionado

\le emokaya
 \en sp.palm
 \po coquinho, baba-de-boi
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -em:a
 \en drink whisky
 \po embebedar-se
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex God:em:aGa
 \mr Go-d:-em:a-Ga
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-theme-drink-pl
 \en We got drunk
 \po Nós nos embebedamos
 \ex em:aGegi
 \mr ema-Gegi
 \gl drink-[-cause]
 \en Drunk/ Dead
 \po Bêbado/ Morto

\le -em:e
 \en grandfather
 \po avô
 \ps noun
 \ex yem:e
 \mr i-em:e
 \gl IPOSS-grandfather
 \en My grandfather
 \po Meu avô

\le -em:i
 \en grandmother
 \po avó
 \ps noun
 \ex yem:mi
 \mr i-emi
 \gl IPOSS-grandmother
 \en My grandmother
 \po Minha avó

\le enew:igig:i

\len manioc

\po mandioca

\ps noun

\ free form

\lex enew:igig:i lib:onGadi epan:a

\mr enew:igig:i l-bonGadi epan:a

\gl mandioc 3POSS-name epan:a

\len Mandioc used to be called epana

\po A mandioca era chamada de epana

\va epan:a (used by old people only)

\le -entigi

\len load

\po carregar/encher

\ps verb

\gr bivalent

\lex yentigi caminhao

\mr y-entigi caminhao

\gl 3sg.SUBJ-load truck

\len You load the truck

\po Você enche o caminhao

\le enwal:e

\len night

\po noite

\ps noun

\lex nGijo el:edi enwal:e

\mr DEM another night

\len Last night

\po Noite passada

\le epenay

\len moon

\po lua

\ps noun

\free form

\lex ge:l:a epenay

\mr ge:l:a epenay

\gl new moon

\len new moon

\po lua nova

\lex inepenay

\mr i-n-epenay

\gl IPOSS-alnbl-moon

\len My (birthday) month

\po meu mês (de aniversário)

\le epi:bi

\en sp. woodpecker
 \po pica-pau-de-topete-loiro
 \ps noun
 \gr free form
 \sc Celeus flavescens

\le epwagi

\en door
 \po porta
 \ps noun
 \ free form

\le -etaka

\en basket
 \po cesto
 \ps noun
 \ex etakana
 \mr etaka-na
 \gl basket-f.dim
 \en Basket
 \po Cesto

\le etakad:o

\en niddle
 \po agulha
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le etakemGa

\en rabbit
 \po coelho
 \ps noun
 \ex etakemaGadi liwe:na
 \mr etakemGa-adi l-we:na
 \gl rabbit-pl 3POSS-food
 \en The rabbit's food/Carrot
 \po Comida de coelho/Cenoura

\le etakol:i

\en corn
 \po milho
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \ex etakol:i
 \ex jinetakol:igaGa
 \mr j-n-etako-l:i-gi-Ga
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-hither-corn-pl-verb-pl
 \en We dance the corn dance
 \po Nós dançamos a dança do milho
 \ex etakol:igeGegi
 \mr etako-l:i-gi-Gegi
 \gl corn-pl-verb-[-cause]

\en Corn dance
 \po Dança do milho

\le etapini
 \en periwinkle
 \po caramujo
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -etece
 \en nephew/niece
 \po sobrinho/sobrinha
 \ps noun
 \lex netece
 \mr n-etece
 \gl alnbl-nephew
 \lex netecegi
 \mr n-etece-g
 \gl alnbl-nephew-augmentative
 \en Big nephew/ Piaba (sp. fish)
 \po Sobrinhao. Nome dado ao peixe piaba

\le etGadi
 \en bamboo
 \po bambu
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le etog:o
 \en ship
 \po navio
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -etopila
 \en drown
 \po afogar, engasgar com líquido
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \lex God:etopila
 \mr Go-d:-etopila
 \gl 1pl.OBJ-theme-drown
 \en We drown
 \po Nós afogamos

\le ewaGaco
 \en capybara
 \po capivara
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -ewagi
 \en shoulder
 \po ombro
 \ps noun
 \ex lewagi
 \mr l-ewagi
 \gl 3POSS-shoulder
 \en His sholders
 \po O ombro dele

\le ewalal:ite
 \en spider
 \po aranha
 \ps noun
 \ex ewalal:itenig:i
 \mr ewalal:ite-nig:i
 \gl spider-m.dim

\le ewalayle
 \en ox
 \po boi de carreta
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le ewal:oGonGa
 \en mute
 \po mudo
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le ewiGa
 \en life
 \po vida
 \ps noun
 \ex nGin:a epo:twe lewiGa Gonel:e:giwa
 \mr nGin:a epo:twe l-ewiGa God:-n-el:e:giwa
 \gl DEM Brazil 3POSS-life 1pl.POSS-alnbl-man
 \en As for Brazil, man has a short life-span
 \ex yewiGa
 \mr y-ewiGa
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-life
 \en He is alive
 \po Ele está vivo

\le -ewika
 \en wake up
 \po despertar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex id:inewikatitaGa
 \mr j-d:-n-ewika-ti-d-Ga
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-theme-refl-wake.up-[+cause]-atcl-pl
 \en We wake up
 \po Nós nos despertamos

\le ew:i
 \en truth
 \po verdade
 \ps noun
 \ex ew:i mejigo nigotGa
 \mr ew:i me+ej-go n-gotGa
 \gl truth COMP+1AUX-go alnbl-city
 \en I trully go to the city
 \po Eu vou para a cidade de verdade

\le eyo:d
 \en parent
 \po pai/mae
 \ps nominal root
 \ex ey:o:di
 \en father
 \mr parent
 \po pai
 \ex ey:o:do
 \en mother
 \po mae

\le e:i:
 \en ripe
 \po madura
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \ex ny:a:ke el:a jGe:i:
 \mr n-y:a:ke el:a jG+e:i:
 \gl alnbl-tree fruit compl+ripe
 \en The tree's fruit is ripe already
 \po A fruta da árvore já está madura

\le -e:l:a
 \en choke
 \po engasgar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex God:e:l:a
 \mr Go-d:-e:l:a
 \gl 1pl.OBJ-theme-choke
 \en I choke on something
 \po Nós engasgamos

\le -e:l:aGa
 \en back
 \po costas
 \ps noun
 \ex le:l:aGa
 \mr I-e:l:aGa
 \gl 3POSS-back
 \en His back
 \po As costas dele

\le e:m:/æ:m:
 \en Ipronoun
 \po Ipronome
 \ex e: jicitike
 \mr e:m: j-ici-t-ke
 \gl IPRONOUN 1sg.SUBJ-swing-rel+outwards
 \en I swing him
 \po Eu o balanço
 \ex e: id:icitike
 \mr e:m: i-d:-ici-t+ke
 \gl IPRONOUN 1sg.SUBJ-theme-swing-rel+outwards
 \en He swings me
 \po Ele me balança

\le gaci:mbo
 \en pipe
 \po cachimbo
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \dn Portuguese

\le Gacoke
 \en sp. wild dog
 \po lobinho
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \sc Speothos venaticus

\le gacyana
 \en paraguayan
 \po paraguaio
 \ps noun
 \ free form
 \ex gacyanece
 \mr gacyana-ece
 \gl paraguayan-fem
 \en female paraguayan
 \po paraguaia

\le -gaje
 \en give birth
 \po dar a luz
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccustative
 \ex dinigaje
 \mr y-d:-n-gaje
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-give.birth
 \en She gave birth
 \po Ela deu a luz

\le -gala
 \en hunt down
 \po perseguir com má intenção
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jigal:aGatib:eki
 \mr j-gal:a-Ga-t+b:+e-k
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-hunt.down-pl-rel+intensive+2sg.CL-inessive
 \en We hunt it down.
 \po Nós o perseguimos.

\le Galekan:i
 \en deer/male homosexual
 \po veado/homossexual
 \ps noun
 \sc Blastocerus dichotomus

\le Gape-
 \en sp. tree, Bignoniaceous family
 \po ipê
 \ps noun
 \ex Gapen:igo
 \mr Gape-nigo
 \gl ipe-classifier

\le -gaqala
 \en peel
 \po descascar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \dn Portuguese

\e dinigaqala
 \mr y-d:-n-gaqala
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-peel
 \en He peels it.
 \po Ele a descasca

\e Gatepa
 \en sp. fish
 \po peixe pacu
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \sc Mylossoma paraguayensis

\e Gatika
 \en mouse
 \po rato
 \ps noun
 \e GatikaGa
 \mr Gatika-Ga
 \gl mouse-pl
 \en mouse
 \po rato
 \e Gatikadi
 \mr Gatika-adi
 \gl mouse-pl
 \en Mice
 \po Ratos

\e Gatodi
 \en toucan
 \po tucano
 \ps noun
 \free form

\e gatoje
 \en bullet
 \po muniçao
 \ps noun
 \free form

\e ga:ju
 \en cashew fruit
 \po cajú
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \dn Portuguese

\e -ga:n:
 \en sing
 \po cantar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \e jigatema
 \mr j-ga.n:-t+e-ma

\gl 1sg.SUBJ-sing-rel+3sg.CL-benefactive
 \en I sing for him
 \po Eu canto para ele
 \ex jiga:n:aGan:aGa
 \mr j-g:an-Gan:-Ga
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-sing-[+become]-pl
 \en We sing it
 \po Nós cantamos (esta canção)

\le ga:pe
 \en coffee
 \po café
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \dn Portuguese

\le -gedyogo
 \en jaguar
 \po onça
 \ps noun
 \ex nigedyogo
 \mr n-gedyogo
 \gl alnbl-jaguar
 \en Jaguar
 \po Onça

\le -GeGati
 \en cross
 \po atravessar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jiGeGatita aqi:di
 \mr j-GeGati-t+e-wa aqi:di
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-cross-rel+3sg.CL-dative river
 \en I cross the river
 \po Eu cruzo o rio

\le -Gegi
 \en [-cause]
 \ps derivational suffix
 \ex God:owo:Gegi
 \mr Go-d:-owo:-Gegi
 \gl 1pl.OBJ-theme-think-[-cause]
 \en He thinks on you
 \po Ele pensa em nós
 \ex libeyakGegi
 \mr l-beyag-Gegi
 \gl 3POSS-bad-[-cause]
 \en Ugliness
 \po Feiura
 \ex God:el:aGegi
 \mr God:-ela-Gegi
 \gl 1pl.POSS-hate-[-cause]
 \en Our hate

\po Nosso ódio
 \ex lig:ikanGegi
 \mr l-g:i-kan-Gegi
 \gl 3POSS-answer-[-become]-[-cause]
 \en His answer
 \po Sua resposta
 \ex niwitaqeGegi
 \mr n-witaq-Gegi
 \gl alnbl-lie-[-cause]
 \en Lie
 \po mentira
 \ex inig:okomGegi
 \mr i-n-g:okom-Gegi
 \gl 1POSS-alnbl-snore-[-cause]
 \en My snore
 \po Meu ronco
 \ex nal:o:Gegi
 \mr n-al:o:-Gegi
 \gl alnbl-play.around-[-cause]
 \en Party
 \po Festa
 \ex anal:ekGegi
 \mr ane+al:e-g-Gegi
 \gl relative+burn-tel-[-cause]
 \en sp. ant
 \po Formiga correção

\le -gekGale
 \en worry
 \po preocupar-se
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex id:igekGaleGe
 \mr j-d:-gekGale-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-worry-pl
 \en We are worried
 \po Nós estamos preocupados
 \ex agekGale ~ agekGalo
 \mr ane+gekGale
 \gl relative+worry
 \en upset
 \po triste

\le -geko:Ge
 \en eye
 \po olho
 \ps noun
 \ex nigeko:Gel:i
 \mr l-n-geko:Ge-l:i
 \gl 3POSS-alnbl-eye-pl
 \en his eyes
 \po seus olhos
 \ob compound in noble Kadiwéu: geko+Ge

\le -Geladi
 \en village
 \po aldeia
 \ps noun
 \ex GoGeladi
 \mr God:-Geladi
 \gl 1pl.POSS-village
 \en Our village
 \po Nossa aldeia

\le -gel:e
 \en belly
 \po barriga
 \ps noun
 \va -y:e
 \ex ligele
 \mr I-gel:e
 \gl 3POSS-belly
 \en His belly
 \po Sua barriga
 \ex ly:e yoGonagi
 \mr ly:e i-Gona-gi
 \gl 3POSS-belly IPOSS-track-augm
 \en my foot's sole
 \po Sola do meu pé

\le -Gen:
 \en [+become]
 \ps derivational suffix
 \va Gen:
 \ex jotaGamGen:aGa
 \mr j-otaGam-Gen:-Ga
 \gl 2sg.SUBJ-speak-[+become]-pl
 \en We talk to him
 \po Nós conversamos com ele
 \ex God:apwaGen:ig:i
 \mr God:-apwa-Gen:-nig:i
 \gl 1pl.POSS-pierce-[+become]-m.dim
 \en Our bodyguard
 \po Nosso guarda-costas
 \ex jig:anGan:Ga
 \mr j-g:an-Gan:-Ga
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-sing-[+become]-pl
 \en We sing it
 \po Nós cantamos (essa canção)

\le -ge:ca
 \en be broad
 \po der largo
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex nige:caka
 \mr n-ge:ca-kan
 \gl alnbl-broad-[-become]

\en Broad
 \po Largo

\le ge:jo
 \en cheese
 \po queijo
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \dn Portuguese

\le ge:l:a
 \en new
 \po nova
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -gici
 \en grind
 \po moer
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex dinigicidi
 \mr y-d:-n-gici-d
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-grind-atel
 \en It was grinded
 \po Foi moido

\le -gidagi
 \en wild boar
 \po porco do mato/javali
 \ps noun
 \sc Tayassu family
 \free form
 \ex nigidagiwa:Ga
 \mr n-gidagi-wa:-Ga
 \gl alnbl-boar-like-pl
 \en Pig
 \po Porco

\le -gidini
 \en paca
 \po paca
 \ps noun
 \ex nigidini
 \mr n-gidini
 \gl alnbl-paca

\le -Gigo
 \en nominalizer
 \ps derivational suffix
 \ex lalepeGigo
 \mr l-al:epe-Gigo
 \gl 3POSS-sharp-noun
 \en cactus
 \po cactus

\le -Gil:a
 \en throat
 \po garganta
 \ps noun
 \ex GoGil:a
 \mr God:-Gil:a
 \gl 1POSS-throat
 \ex lGil:agi
 \mr l-Gila-gi
 \gl 3POSS-throat-augm
 \en Her necklace
 \po Seu colar

\le -giti
 \en sew
 \po costurar
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex nigitikonGadi
 \mr n-giti-kon-Gad
 \gl alnbl-sew-[-become]-[+cause]
 \en thread
 \po Linha de costura

\le -Giwo:l:a
 \en strangle
 \po estrangular, enforçar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex oyGiwo:l:a
 \mr o-y-Giwo:l:a
 \gl pl-3pl.SUBJ-strangle
 \en They strangled him
 \po Eles o enforcam

\le -go
 \en go
 \po ir
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent/auxiliary
 \ex ejigo aqi:di
 \mr ej-go aqi:di
 \gl 1AUX-go river
 \en I go to the river

\po Eu vou para o rio
 \ex ejigo jawaligi
 \mr ej-go j-awalig
 \gl laux-go 1sg.SUBJ-walk
 \en I am going to walk
 \po Eu estou andando/Eu vou andando
 \ex emye
 \en you go
 \ex igo
 \en he goes
 \ex eniGa
 \gl We go

\le GociGa

\en sp.macaco
 \po macaco bugio
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -God

\en [+become]
 \ps derivational suffix
 \ex dinowo:Godi
 \mr y-d:-n-owo:-God
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-think-[+become]
 \en He learns/understands something bout himself
 \po Ele aprende sobre si mesmo
 \ex mi:GacinGodi
 \mr n-i:Gacin-God
 \gl alnbl-teach.[+become]
 \en Teacher (of someting to somebody)
 \po Professor

\le GodinGa

\en ox/bachelor/homossexual
 \po boi/solteiro/homossexual
 \ps noun
 \gr free form

\le GodiqokoloGodi

\en sp. lizard
 \po calango-verde
 \ps noun
 \sc Ameiva ameiva
 \free form

\le God:ami

\en sp. woodpecker
 \po pica-pau-chorao
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \sc Picoides mixtus

\le gog:e
 \en drum
 \po bumbo
 \ps noun
 \gr free form
 \lex gog:edi
 \mr gog:e-adi
 \gl drum-pl
 \en drums
 \po Bateria

\le gojo:
 \en worm
 \po verme
 \ps noun
 \lex nigojo:Go
 \mr n-gojo:-Ga
 \gl alnbl-worm-pl

\le -gokom
 \en snore
 \po roncar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \lex jinigokomGa
 \mr j-n-gokom-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-hither-snore-pl
 \en We snore
 \po Nós roncamos
 \lex inigokomGegi
 \mr i-n-gokom-Gegi
 \gl IPOSS-alnbl-snore-[-cause]
 \en My snore
 \po Meu ronco

\le -Golo:
 \en disgate
 \po ter nojo
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \lex id:GolotGawa
 \mr j-d:-Golo:-t-Ga-wa
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-disgate-rel+2sg.CL-dative
 \en You disgate me
 \po Eu tenho nojo de você
 \lex God:Golo:Go
 \mr God:-Golo:-Ga
 \gl 1pl.POSS-disgate-pl
 \en Disgusting
 \po Nojento/Nosso nojo

\le -Gol:a
 \en blind
 \po cego
 \ps noun
 \ex Gol:aGa
 \mr Gol:a-Ga
 \gl blind-pl
 \en Blind person
 \po Pessoa cega
 \ex iGol:aGadi
 \mr y-Gol:a-Gad
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-blind-[+cause]
 \en He betrays him
 \po Ele o trai
 \ex nGol:aGatGakanGegi
 \mr n-Gol:a-Gad-Ga-kan-Gegi
 \gl ahnl-blind-[+cause]-pl-[-become]-[-cause]
 \en adultery
 \po adultério
 \ex aGol:aGatGakanGegi
 \mr ane+Gol:a-Gad-Ga-kan-Gegi
 \gl relative+blind-[+cause]-pl-[-become]-[-cause]
 \en adulterous
 \po adúltero

\le GomGal:a
 \en sp. pirana
 \po piranhao
 \ps noun
 \sc Serrassalmus
 \lc GomaGal:adi
 \mr GomGal:a-adi
 \gl pirana-pl

\le -Gona
 \en track
 \po rastro
 \ps noun
 \ex loGona
 \mr l-Gona
 \gl 3POSS-track
 \en His track
 \po Seu rastro
 \ex God:oGonagi
 \mr God:-Gona-gi
 \gl 1pl.POSS-track-[+cause]
 \en Our foot
 \po Nosso pé

\le Gonem:edi
 \en owl
 \po coruja
 \ps noun
 \gr free form

\le gono:do
 \en mosquito
 \po mosquito
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le gotamo
 \en cotton
 \po algodao
 \ps noun
 \lc gotamoGo
 \mr gotamo-Ga
 \gl cotton-pl

\le -gotGa
 \en city
 \po cidade
 \ps noun
 \ex nigotGa
 \mr n-gotGa
 \gl alnbl-city

\le -gowiwa
 \en smile
 \po sorrir
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jigowiwa
 \mr j-gowiwa
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-smile
 \en I am laughing
 \po Eu estou rindo
 \ex jigowiwaGa
 \mr j-gowiwa-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-smile-pl
 \en We smile
 \po Nós sorrimos
 \ex igowiwaGete
 \mr y-gowiwa-Gen:-t+e
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-asmile-[+become]-rel+3sg.CL
 \en He smiles to the young woman
 \po Ele sorri para a moça bonita

awikije
 awikije
 young.woman

\le -Go:l:a
 \en cook
 \po cozinhar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex dinoGo:l:a
 \mr y-d:-n-Go:la
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-cook
 \en It was cooked
 \po Cozido
 \ex jajinoGo:l:a
 \mr jaG+j-Go:l:a
 \gl compl+1sg.SUBJ-cook
 \en I have cooked
 \po Eu já cozinhei

\le go:pa
 \en cup
 \po copo
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \dn Portuguese

\le gwaya:wa
 \en guava
 \po goiaba
 \ps noun
 \gr free form
 \dn Portuguese

\le Gwetadi
 \en medicine
 \po remédio
 \ps noun
 \gr free form

\le -gw:en
 \en tie
 \po prender
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex jig:w:etini apolikGanGa
 \mr j-gw:en-t+n apolik-GanGa
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-tie-rel+inside horse-instrument
 \en I will tie the horse
 \po Eu vou prender o cavalo
 \ex inigw:enGadi
 \mr i-n-gw:en-Gad
 \gl 1POSS-1nbl-tie- [+cause]
 \en Belt (the one which ties)
 \po Cinto
 \ex logw:epodi
 \mr l-og:w:en-po-adi

\gl 3POSS-tie-classifier-pl
 \en His relatives
 \po Seus familiares

\le -g:a:ce
 \en get tired
 \po cansar-se
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \lex nig:a:caGa
 \mr n-g:a:ce-Ga
 \gl 3pl.SUBJ-get.tyred-pl
 \en They got tired
 \po Eles se cansaram

\le -g:a:nya
 \en win
 \po ganhar/vencer
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \dn Portuguese
 \lex nige id:onikiwadi oda ja inig:a:nya
 \mr nige j-d:-onikiwadi oda jaG j-n-g:a:nya
 \gl when 1sg.SUBJ-theme-strong then compl 1sg.SUBJ-hither-win
 \en Quando eu for forte, entao vencerei
 \po When I get strong, I will have won

\le -g:eg:i
 \en earring
 \po brinco
 \ps noun
 \lex nig:eg:i
 \mr n-g:eg:i
 \gl alnbl-earring
 \en Earring
 \po Brinco

\le -g:em
 \en dream
 \po sonhar
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \lex dig:e
 \mr y-d:-g:em
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-dream
 \en He is dreaming
 \po Ele está sonhando
 \lex oyg:emGadi
 \mr o-y-g:em-Gad
 \gl pl-3sg.SUBJ-dream-[+cause]
 \en He imitates him
 \po Ele o imita

\le -g:et
 \en egg/nut
 \po ovo/castanha
 \ps noun
 \ex lig:etedi
 \mr l-g:e-te-adi
 \gl 3POSS-egg-nature-pl
 \en Her eggs
 \po Seus ovos

\le -g:i
 \en answer
 \po responder
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex jig:idi lig:ikanGegi
 \mr j-g:i-d l-g:i-kan-Gegi
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-answer-atel 3POSS-answer-[-become]-[-cause]
 \en I answer his question
 \po Eu respondo a sua pergunta

\le -g:ikile
 \en be hungry
 \po estar com fome
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccustative
 \ex id:ig:ikile le:Godi ajinyodi
 \mr j-d:-g:ikile le:Godi aG+j-inyodi
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-hungry because neg+1sg.SUBJ-eat
 \en I am hungry because I have not eaten
 \po Eu estou com fome porque ainda nao comi
 \ex ayd:ig:ikile otweca:Ga id:el:owadi ekibi
 \mr aG+j-d:-g:ikile otweca:Ga j-d:-el:wadi e-akibi
 \gl neg+1sg.SUBJ-theme-hungry nor 1sg.SUBJ-theme-kill IND-thirst
 \en I am not hungry nor thirsty
 \po Eu nao estou com fome nem com sede
 \ex God:ig:ikile
 \en We are hungry
 \po Nós estamos com fome

\le -g:ipo
 \en molar tooth
 \po dente molar
 \ps noun
 \ex ig:ipo
 \mr i-g:ipo
 \gl 1POSS-molar
 \en My molar tooth
 \po Meu dente molar

\le -g:ol:adi
 \en inferior lip
 \po lábio inferior
 \ps noun
 \ex ig:ol:adi
 \mr i-g:ol:adi
 \gl 1POSS-inferior.lip
 \en My inferior lip
 \po Meu lábio inferior

\le -icagodi
 \en red
 \po vermelho
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -ici
 \en pull/swing
 \po puxar/balançar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex jicikGatike
 \mr j-ici-g-Ga-t+ke
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-pull-tel-pt-rel+outwards
 \en We pull it
 \po Nós o puxamos
 \ex Paulo id:icitike
 \mr Paulo i-d:-ici-t+ke
 \gl Paul 1sg.OBJ-theme-pull-rel+outwards
 \en Paulo swings me
 \po Paulo me balança
 \ex nig:a:nig:i icigiteloko la
 \mr n-ig:a:-nig:i y-ici-g-t+e-lokom l-am
 \gl alnbl-child-m.dim 3sg.SUBJ-pull-tel-rel+3sg.CL-allative 3POSS-toy
 \en The boy pulled the toy over himself
 \po O menino puxou o brinquedo para cima de si

\le -icom
 \en put
 \po colocar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex jicomGa
 \mr j-icom-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-agnet-put-pl
 \en We put it
 \po Nós o colocamos
 \ex od:onicotinigel:o
 \mr o-y-d:-n-icom-t-nig+e-l:o
 \gl pl-3pl.SUBJ-theme-refl-put-rel+inside+3sg.CL-ablative
 \en They dress themselves
 \po Eles se vestem
 \ex id:incomaGatini

\gl alnbl-child-f dim-like-f dim
 \en girl
 \po menina
 \lex nig:a.nig:a.wa:nig:i
 \mr n-ig:a:-RED-wa:-nig:i
 \gl alnbl-child-RED-like-m.dim
 \en baby boy
 \po bebê menino
 \lex nig:a.naGegi
 \mr n-ig:a:-na-Gegi
 \gl alnbl-child-f-[-cause]
 \en Menstruation
 \po Menstruação

\le -ijay
 \en dress
 \po vestido
 \ps noun
 \lex ad:a inijay
 \mr ad:a i-n-ijay
 \gl DEM 1POSS-alnbl-dress
 \en I have a dress
 \po Eu tenho um vestido

\le ijeGadi
 \en wild animal
 \po animal selvagem
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -ikajo
 \en actor
 \lex nid:etaikajo
 \mr n-d:ela-ikajo
 \gl alnbl-war-actor
 \en Warrior
 \po Guerreiro

\le -ike
 \en smell
 \po cheirar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \lex nekenigo dininike
 \mr n-eke-nigo y-d:-n-n-ike
 \gl alnbl-dog-animal 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-hither-smell
 \en The dog smells itself
 \po O cachorro se cheira

\le -iki
 \en heal
 \po sarar
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex God:iki
 \mr Go-d:-iki
 \gl 1pl.OBJ-theme-heal
 \en We got cured
 \po Nós saramos

\le -ikin
 \en gulp down
 \po tragar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jikinaGa
 \mr j-ikin-Ga
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-gulp.down-pl
 \en We gulp down
 \po Nós tragamos

\le -ikoce:
 \en nickname
 \po apelido
 \ps noun
 \ex Gonikoce:di
 \mr Go:d-n-ikoce:-adi
 \gl 1pl.POSS-1nbl-nicknamr-pl
 \en Our nicknames
 \po Nossos apelidos

\le -ikon
 \en sit
 \po sentar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jiniko
 \mr j-n-ikon
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-hither-sit
 \en I sit down
 \po Eu sento
 \ex id:ikoti
 \mr j-d:-ikon-ti
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-sit-[+cause]
 \en I sit myself
 \po Eu me sento
 \ex Go:dikoti
 \mr Go-d:-ikon-ti
 \gl 1pl.OBJ-theme-sit-[+cause]
 \en We sit down
 \po Nós sentamos
 \ex inikonGenti
 \mr j-n-ikon-Gen-d

\gl 1sg.SUBJ-hither-sit-[+become]
 \en I sit him
 \po Eu sento ele
 \ex God:ikonGadi
 \mr God:-ikon-Gad
 \gl 1pl.POSS-sit-[+cause]
 \en Our plaza
 \po Nossa praça

\le -iko:
 \en arrive
 \po chegar lá
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex ejotiw
 \en I arrive
 \ex iko:tiw
 \en You arrive
 \ex ikotediw
 \en He arrives
 \ex ejoGotiw
 \en We arrive
 \ex iko:tiwb:ekitiwaji
 \en They arrive

\le -ilaGa
 \en heat
 \po calor
 \ps noun
 \ex nil:aGa
 \mr n-il:aGa
 \gl alnbl-heat

\le ila:Gagi
 \en bird
 \po pássaro
 \ps noun
 \va ila:Gaco
 \ex ila:Gagi lam:odi
 \mr ila:Gagi l-amo-adi
 \gl bird 3POSS-hair-pl
 \en The bird's feather
 \po Pena de pássaro

\le ileg:eGe
 \en watermelon
 \po melancia
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -ilen
 \en hurt
 \po doer
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jilenaGa
 \mr j-ilen-Ga
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-hurt-pl
 \en We feel pain
 \po Nós sentimos dor
 \ex iGonagi jaGile
 \mr i-Gona-gi jaG-y-ilen
 \gl 1POSS-track-augm compl-3sg.SUBJ-hurt
 \en My foot hurts
 \po Meu pé doi
 \ex God:ilen:ig:i
 \mr God:-ilen-nig:i
 \gl 1pl.POSS-hurt-m.dim
 \en Pain
 \po Dor

\le -ili
 \en press
 \po apertar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex diniligiketiwek
 \mr y-d:-n-ili-g-ken-t+w+e-k
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-press-tel-[+become]-rel+inward+3sg.CL-inessive
 \en I press it through a hole
 \po Apertando por um buraco
 \ex diniligiketibigi
 \mr y-d:-n-ili-g-ken-t+bigim
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-press-tel-[+become]-rel+upward
 \en I press it upward
 \po Apertando para cima

\le ilikaGa
 \en diarrhea
 \po diarréia
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le ilipGe
 \en jabuticaba, sp. fruit
 \po jabuticaba
 \ps noun
 \gr free form

Ve -ili:
 \en grow
 \po crescer
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex God:ili:
 \mr Go-d:-ili:
 \gl 1pl.OBJ-theme-grow
 \en We grow
 \po Nós crescemos

Ve -il:a
 \en take a bath
 \po tomar banho
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jini:l:aGa
 \mr j-il:a-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-bath-pl
 \en We take a bath
 \po Nós tomamos banho
 \ex anil:a
 \mr y-n-il:a
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-bath
 \en He takes a bath
 \po Ele toma banho

Ve imakatGal:i
 \en blue
 \po azul
 \ps noun
 \gr free form

Ve -inwiki
 \en juncture
 \po junta
 \ps noun
 \ex linwikidi inib:ed:ona
 \mr l-inwik-adi i-nib:ed:ona
 \gl 3POSS-juncture IPOSS-embrace
 \en My finger's junctures
 \po As juntas do meu dedo

Ve -in:i
 \en have fun
 \po divertir-se
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex nin:i
 \mr n-ini
 \gl alnbl-fun
 \en Funny
 \po Engraçado
 \ex nin:itib:ek

\le ipilGe
 \en pregnant
 \po grávida
 \ps noun
 \gr free form
 \free form

\le -itewe
 \en sleepless
 \po ter insônia
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex ditewe
 \mr y-d:-itewe
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-sleepless
 \en He is sleepless
 \po Ele está com insônia

\le iti:mi
 \en wet
 \po molhado
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -ito
 \en root
 \po raiz
 \ps noun
 \ex litodi ny:al:e
 \mr l-ito-adi n-ya:le
 \gl 3POSS-root-pl alnbl-tree
 \en The tree's roots
 \po Raiz de árvore
 \ex e: itodi
 \mr e: i-ito-adi
 \gl 1PRONOUN IPOSS-root-pl
 \en My nerves
 \po Meus nervos

\le iwal:o
 \en sister
 \po irma
 \ps noun
 \ex niwal:o
 \mr n-iwal:o
 \gl alnbl-woman
 \en Woman
 \po Irma

\e iwa:l:o
 \en woman
 \po mulher
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \ex iwa:l:o lam:odi
 \mr iwa:l:o l-am:o-adi
 \gl woman 3POSS-hair-pl
 \en the woman's hair
 \po o cabelo da mulher

\e -iwegi
 \en tail
 \po rabo
 \ps noun
 \ex liwegi
 \mr l-iwegi
 \gl 3POSS-tail
 \en His tail
 \po Rabo dele

\e -iwekala
 \en bridge
 \po ponte
 \ps noun
 \ex niwekaladi
 \mr n-iwekala-adi
 \gl alnbl-bridge-pl
 \en Bridge
 \po Ponte

\e -iwin
 \en watch/look at
 \po ver/olhar para/assistir
 \ps verb
 \gr transitive
 \ex jiwinaGa
 \mr j-iwin-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-look-pl
 \en We look at it
 \po Nós o olhamos
 \ex diniwi
 \mr y-d:-n-iwin
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-see
 \en He looks at himself
 \po Ele se olha
 \ex jiwitikogi: ditigedi
 \mr j-iwin-t+kogi: ditigedi
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ -see-rel+straight far
 \en I look it straight far
 \po Eu olho para longe

\le iwoGo

\en stick
 \po pau
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -i:d:i

\en write
 \po escrever
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex dini:d:i
 \mr y-d:-n-i:d:i
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-write
 \en It was written
 \po Isso foi escrito
 \ex i:d:ig:o
 \mr i:d:i-g:o
 \gl write-pl
 \en writing
 \po escrita
 \ex el:yodi me ji:d:i nGid:i i:d:ig:o
 \mr el:yodi me j-i:d:i nGidi i:d:i-g:o
 \gl lot COMP 1sg.SUBJ-write DEM write-pl
 \en I wrote over and over this lesson
 \po Eu escrevi muito esta lição
 \ex ji:d:iko
 \mr j-i:d:i-kon
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-write-[-become]
 \en I study
 \po Eu estudo
 \ex ji:d:ikonaGa
 \mr j-i:d:i-kon-Ga
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-write-[-become]-pl
 \en We study
 \po Nós estudamos

\le -i:Gacin

\en teach/learn
 \po ensinar/aprender
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex dini:Gaci
 \mr y-d:-n-i:Gacin
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-teach
 \en He teaches it to himself
 \po Ele se ensina
 \ex ni:GacinGodi
 \mr n-i:Gacin-God
 \gl alnbl-teach-[-become]
 \en Teacher (of something to somebody)
 \po Professor (de alguma coisa para alguém)
 \ex ni:GacinGanGa
 \mr n-i:Gacin-GanGa

\gl ainbl-teach-instrument
 \en Teacher (of someting)
 \po Professor (de alguma coisa)

\le -i:Gad
 \en brother in law
 \po cunhado
 \ps noun
 \ex ni:Gad
 \mr n-i:Gad
 \gl ainbl-brother.in.law
 \en brother in law
 \ex ni:Gate
 \mr n-i:Gad-te
 \gl ainbl-brother.in.law-fem
 \en sister in law
 \po cunhada

\le -i:ge
 \en ask
 \po perguntar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex dini:g:e
 \mr y-d:-n-i:g:e
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-ask
 \en He asks himself
 \po Ele se pergunta

\le -i:wi:
 \en soul
 \po espirito/alma
 \ps noun
 \ex God:i:wi:g:o
 \mr God:-i:wi:-g:o
 \gl 1pl.POSS-soul-pl
 \en Our soul
 \po Nossa alma

\le -i:woGo
 \en wood/stick
 \po madeira/pau
 \free form
 \ex Goni:woGo
 \mr God:-n-i:woGo
 \gl 1pl.POSS-ainbl-stick
 \en Our spine
 \po Nossa espinha

\le ja:lampo
 \en measles
 \po sarampo
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \dn Portuguese

\le -je
 \en witch
 \po bruxa
 \ps noun
 \ex nijena
 \mr n-je-na
 \gl alnbl-witch-f.dim
 \en witch
 \po bruxa
 \po Bruxa
 \ex nijen:ig:i
 \mr n-je-nig:i
 \gl alnbl-witch-m.dim
 \en Medicine man
 \po Curandeiro

\le -jegi
 \en source
 \ps derivational suffix
 \ex nya:l:egipijegi
 \mr n-ya:l:e-gi-pi-jegi
 \gl alnbl-tree-?-pl-source
 \en Wild
 \po Selvagem

\le -jeke
 \en hips
 \po bacia
 \ps noun
 \ex injeke
 \mr i-n-jeke
 \gl IPOSS-alnbl-hips
 \en My hips
 \po Minha bacia

\le jigiti
 \en sp. owl
 \po sp. coruja
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le jipa
 \en sp. bee
 \po abelha caxopa
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le jotigide

\en old
 \po antigo
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le ka-

\en locative
 \ex igo katiwed:i
 \mr y-go ka-t-w+e-d:
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-go locative-rel-inward+3sg.CL-theme
 \en I go in
 \po Eu vou para dentro
 \ex dinotete katined:i etakana
 \mr y-d:-otete ka-t-n+e-d: etaka-na
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-store locative-rel-downward-3sg.CL-theme basket-f-dim
 \en It is stored in a basket
 \po Está guardado em um cesto

\le -kaci

\en nominalizer
 \ps derivational suffix
 \ex ojetekaci
 \mr ojete-kaci
 \gl buy-noun
 \en Market
 \po Mercado/Loja

\le kay:a

\en sp. fruit
 \po seriguela
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -kila

\en cure
 \po curar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex doto ikilated:i el:otaginaGa
 \mr doto y-kila-t+e-d: elot+agin-Ga
 \gl doctor 3sg.SUBJ-cure-rel+3sg.CL-theme sick+person-pl
 \en The doctor cured the sick person
 \po O médico curou o doente

\e ladig:o-
 \en stream/street
 \po vazante/rua
 \ps noun
 \ex ladig:odi
 \mr ladig:o-adi
 \gl stream-pl
 \en Stream/street
 \po Vazante/rua

\e lanagije
 \en coati
 \po quati
 \ps noun
 \sc Nasua nasua
 \free form

\e lapakaGa
 \en white
 \po branco
 \ps noun
 \free form

\e laqae:di
 \en snake
 \po cobra
 \ps noun
 \free form

\e -la:dye
 \en put together
 \po amontoar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex jinila:dye beyjaw lol:agi
 \mr j-n-la:dye beyjaw l-ol:agi
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-hither-put.together bean 3POSS-seed
 \en I put the bean seeds together
 \po Eu amontoo os graos de feijao

\e leye:ma
 \en wheat
 \po trigo
 \ps noun
 \free form

\e le:gi
 \en dense/heavy
 \po senso/pesado
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le le:Godi

\en because

\po porque/por causa de

\ps conjunction

\le lged:em-

\en frog

\po sapo

\ps noun

\ex lged:emaGa liGeladi

\mr lgedem-Ga l-Geladi

\gl frog-pl 3POSS-village

\en The frog's house. Also used to refer to mushrooms

\po A casa do sapo. Também usado para cogumelo

\le lGito

\en rat

\po ratazana

\ps noun

\free form

\le lGo:je-

\en sp. land turtle

\po jabuti

\ps noun

\sc Geochelone

\lc loGo:jenigo

\mr lGo:je-nigo

\gl jabuti-animal

\en Jabuti

\po Jabuti

\le -lidGatadi

\en orphan

\po órfao

\ps noun

\lc nilidGatadi

\mr n-lidGatadi

\gl alnbl-orphan

\ex nilidGatajegi

\mr n-lidGata-jegi

\gl alnbl-orphan-source

\en Maid/slave

\po Criado

\le liwaGa

\en tapir

\po anta

\ps noun

\free form

\e -lokaGa
 \en crag
 \po penhasco
 \ps noun
 \ex lilokaGa
 \mr l-lokaGa
 \gl 3POSS-crag
 \en Its crag
 \po Seu penhasco

\e lol:a-
 \en cloud
 \po nuvem
 \ps noun
 \ex lol:adi
 \mr cloud-pl
 \en Cloud
 \po Nuvem

\e -l:a
 \en daughter in law
 \po nora
 \ps noun
 \ex Gol:a
 \mr God:-l:a
 \gl 1pl.POSS-daughter in law
 \en Our daughter in law
 \po Nossa nora

\e -l:aji
 \en laugh
 \po rir
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex il:aji ane nin:i
 \mr y-l:aji ane n-in:i
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-laugh relative alnbl-fun
 \en He laughs at the joke
 \po Ele ri do que é engraçado
 \ex jil:ajikanGa
 \mr j-l:aji-kan-Ga
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-laugh-[-become]-pl
 \en We laugh
 \po Nós rimos

\e -l:a:yqe
 \en grey hair
 \po cabelo branco
 \ps noun
 \ex nil:a:yqe
 \mr n-l:a:yqe
 \gl alnbl-grey.hair
 \en grey hair
 \po cabelo branco

\le -l:ela
 \en holly
 \po sacro
 \ps noun
 \ex nil:ela
 \mr n-l:ela
 \gl alnbl-holly
 \en Holly thing
 \po Coisa santa

\le -l:ib
 \en suck
 \po chupar/mamar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jilipGateki
 \mr j-l:ib-Ga-t+e-k
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-suck-pl-rel+3sg.CL-inessive
 \en We suck it
 \po Nós chupamos isso
 \ex il:ipGegi
 \mr il:ib-Gegi
 \gl suck-[-cause]
 \en sp. fish
 \po Piau/Chupao

\le -l:id:i
 \en umbilical cord
 \po cordao umbilical
 \ps noun
 \lc el:id:i
 \mr e-l:id:i
 \gl IND-umbilical.cord
 \en Umbilical cord
 \po Cordao umbilical

\le -l:o
 \en look
 \po olhar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jil:oketibige
 \mr j-l:o-ken-t-bigem
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-look-[+become]-rel+upward
 \en I look up at something
 \po Eu olhando para cima para algo

\le mafekoka
 \en debut
 \po debut
 \ps noun
 \free form

We mankowa

\en paraguayan family

\po família paraguaia

\ps noun

\dn Guarani (?)

We mate

\en mate

\po chimarrao

\ps noun

\free from

\dn Spanish

We -me:n

\en say

\po dizer

\ps verb

\gr bivalent

\ex me:tGawa migo

\mr y-me:n-t+Ga-wa me y-go aqi:di

\gl 3s.SUBJ-say-rel+2sg.CL-dative COMP 3sg.AUX-go river

\en He said to you that he goes to the river

\po Ele disse para você que vai ao rio

We -m:iqo

\en nose

\po nariz

\ps noun

\ex lim:iqo

\mr l-m:iqo

\gl 3POSS-nose

\en His nose

\po Seu nariz

We n-

\en hither

\po para cá

\ps derivational prefix

\ex jinigowiwetijo

\mr j-n-gowiwe-t+jo

\gl 1sg.SUBJ-hither-laugh-rel+going

\en I come laughing

\po Eu venho rindo

\ex jinotiqotijo

\mr j-n-otiqo-t+jo

\gl 1sg.SUBJ-hither-wistle-rel+going

\en I come wistling

\po Eu venho assobiando

\le -na
 \en see
 \po ver
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex jin:atGa
 \mr j-n-na-d-Ga
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-hither-see-ate1-pl
 \en We see
 \po Nós vemos
 \ex din:adi
 \mr y-d:-n-na-d
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-see-ate1
 \en He sees himself/He takes care of himself
 \po Ele se vê/Ele se poupa
 \ex ane daGa n:adi el:e-adi
 \mr ane daGa y-n-na-d el:e-adi
 \gl relative neg 3sg.SUBJ -hither-see-ate1 other-pl
 \en individualist (the one who does not see the others)
 \po Egoista/Individualista (aquele que nao vê os outros)

\le nabíaw
 \en hyla
 \po perereca
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le naca-
 \en sp. fruit
 \po ata
 \ps noun
 \lc nacaGa
 \mr naca-Ga
 \gl ata-pl
 \po Ata
 \en Ata

\le -nacibi
 \en superior lip
 \po lábio superior
 \ps noun
 \ex nacibi
 \mr l-nacibi
 \gl 3POSS-lip
 \en His superior lip
 \po O lábio de cima dele

\le nacone:gi
 \en sp. wasp
 \po marimbondo marrom
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -nakiledi
 \en accident
 \po acidente
 \ps noun
 \lc enakiledi
 \mr e-nakiledi
 \gl IND-accident
 \en Accident
 \po Acidente

\le nako:Ga
 \en sp. woodpecker
 \po pica-pau-do-campo
 \ps noun
 \sc colaptes campestris
 \free form

\le nalebepa
 \en lightening
 \po raio
 \ps noun
 \lex nal:ebepaGa
 \mr nal:ebepa-Ga
 \gl lightening-pl

\le -napa:Gate
 \en ear
 \po orelha
 \ps noun
 \lex GonapaGate
 \mr God:-napa:Gate
 \gl 1pl.POSS-ear
 \en our ear
 \po nossa orelha

\le napigico
 \en sp. woodpecker
 \po pica-pau-de-topete-vermelho
 \ps noun
 \gr free form
 \sc Campephilus sp.
 \lex napigico

\le napigo
 \en honey
 \po mel
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le napikGal-
 \en white deer
 \po veado branco
 \ps noun
 \sc Ozotocerus bezoarticus
 \ex napikGaligo
 \mr napikGal-nigo
 \gl deer-animal
 \en White deer
 \po Veado branco

\le natamenan-
 \en beetle
 \po besouro
 \ps noun
 \ex natamenanGa
 \mr natamenan-Ga
 \gl beetle-pl
 \en Beetle
 \po Besouro

\le nayog:o
 \en sugar cane
 \po cana de açúcar
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \va etaGadi (used by old people only)

\le nay:gi
 \en way/road/path
 \po caminho
 \ps noun
 \ex nGijo nay:gi
 \mr nG-i-jo nay:gi
 \gl close-masc-going way
 \en This way
 \po Este caminho

\le na:bid:i
 \en black
 \po preto
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \ex na:bid:iwa:Ga
 \mr na:bid:i-wa:-Ga
 \gl na:bid:i-like-pl
 \en Dark
 \po Escuro

\le -na:Ga
 \en hide
 \po esconder-se
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex id:ina:Gaditineki be:g:i
 \mr j-d:-na:Ga-d-t-n+e-k be:g:i
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-hide-rel+downward+3sg.CL-inessive hole
 \en I hidden myself in the hole
 \po Eu me escondi no buraco
 \ex dina:Gaditi
 \mr y-d:-na:Ga-d-ti
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-hide-[+cause]
 \en It was hidden
 \po escondido

\le na:jaw
 \en snail
 \po caracol
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le neb:i
 \en owner
 \po dono
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le necoka
 \en darkness
 \po escuridao
 \ps noun
 \lc necokaGa
 \mr necoka-Ga
 \gl dark-pl

\le -ney:eGa
 \en quit
 \po partir
 \ps verb
 \ps unergative
 \ex Joao ney:eGaditi liGel:adi
 \mr John y-ney:eGa-d-ti l-Gel:adi
 \gl John 3sg.SUBJ-quit-atel-[+cause] 3POSS-village
 \en John abandoned the Indian village (the village caused John cause quitting)
 \po Joao deixou sua aldeia

\le ne:l:a
 \en scorpion/ray
 \po escorpiao/arraia
 \ps noun
 \gr free form

Ve nGom:i-
 \en centipede
 \po centopéia/piolho de cobra
 \ps noun
 \lc noGom:idi
 \mr nGom:-idi
 \gl centipede-pl
 \en Centipede
 \po Centopéia
 \lex noGom:idiwa:Ga
 \mr nGoma-adi-wa:-Ga
 \gl centipede-pl-like-pl
 \en worm
 \po larva

Ve -ni
 \en smell
 \po cheirar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \lex ininikenGa
 \mr j-n-ni-ken-Ga
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-hither-smell-[+become]-pl
 \en We smell it
 \po Nós o cheiramos

Ve -nib:ed:ona
 \en embrace
 \po abraçar
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \lex id:inib:ed:onaGa
 \mr j-d:-nib:ed:ona-Ga
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-theme-embrace-pl
 \en We embrace
 \po Abraçamos
 \lex inib:ed:ona
 \mr i-nib:ed:ona
 \gl 1POSS-embrace
 \en My finger
 \po Meu dedo
 \lex nib:ed:onoGodi
 \mr nib:ed:ona-God
 \gl embrace-[+become]
 \en Godfather
 \po Padrinho
 \lex nib:ed:onoGodo
 \mr nib:ed:ona-God-o
 \gl finger-[+become]-feminine
 \en Godmother
 \po Madrinha

\le nib:eta
 \en pleiades
 \po pleiades
 \ps noun
 \ex nib:etadi
 \mr nib:eta-adi
 \gl pleiades-pl
 \en pleiades
 \po pleiades

\le nigedyog:o
 \en jaguar
 \po onça
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le nigoi
 \en tomorrow
 \po amanhã
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le nikaGa:bi
 \en year
 \po ano
 \ps noun
 \gr free form

\le nita:-
 \en eagle
 \po águia
 \ps noun
 \ex nita:nigo
 \mr nita:-nigo
 \gl eagle-animal

\le niy:oGo
 \en water
 \po água
 \ps noun
 \ex niy:oGodi
 \mr niy:oGo-adi
 \gl water-pl
 \en water
 \po água
 \ex niy:oGojegi
 \mr niy:oGo-jegi
 \gl water-source
 \en Fish
 \po Peixe
 \ex niy:oGocegi
 \mr niy:oGo-cegi

\gl water-?
 \en aligator
 \po jacaré
 \ex ny.oGotipijegi
 \mr n-y.oGo-ti-pi-jegi
 \gl alnbi-water-?-pl-source
 \en water turtle
 \po cágado
 \sc Phrynops geoffroanus

\le -noe:n:
 \en cry
 \po chorar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jinoe:
 \mr j-noe:n:
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-cry
 \en I cry
 \po Eu choro

\le nokodigi
 \en sp. fish
 \po lambari
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le noqo
 \en day
 \po dia
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -notike
 \en genipap
 \po jenipapo
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \sc Genipa americana

\le notoko
 \en quiet
 \po calado
 \ps adverb
 \gr free form

\le nowake
 \en sp. fruit
 \po fruta do veado
 \ps noun
 \ free form

\le -nwela
 \en guess
 \po adivinhar
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex diniwel:a
 \mr y-d-n-wel:a
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-guess
 \en Ele advinhou
 \po He guessed

\le -nweta
 \en coldness
 \po friagem
 \ps noun
 \ex niwetaGa
 \mr n-nweta-Ga
 \gl alnbl-coldness-pl
 \en Cold
 \po Frio

\le -nwo
 \en wake up
 \po levantar-se
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex niwodi
 \mr y-nwo-d
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-wake.up-ate1
 \en He wakes up
 \po Ele se levanta

\le -nyaya
 \en defecate
 \po defecar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex ninyayaGa
 \mr n-nyaya-Ga
 \gl 3pl.SUBJ-defecate-pl
 \en They defecate
 \po Eles defecam

\le -nyodi
 \en son in law
 \po genro
 \ps noun
 \ex Ganyodi
 \mr Gad:-nyodi
 \gl 2POSS-son.in.law
 \en Your son in law
 \po Seu genro

\le -o
 \en leave
 \po sair
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \lex i:doditike
 \mr j-d:-o-d-t+ke
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-leave-atel-rel+outwards
 \en I leave
 \po Eu saio
 \lex oqo Gonel:e:giwa bGaGod:oditike
 \mr oqo Gonel:e:giwa bGa+Go-d:-o-d-t+ke
 \gl 1pl.PRONOUN man incompl+1pl.OBJ-theme-LEAVE-atel+rel-outwards
 \en We man will leave
 \po Nós os homens vamos sair

\le oca:g:o
 \en rainbow
 \po arco-íris
 \ps noun
 \gr free form

\le -oci
 \en bewitch
 \po enfeitiçar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \lex nocikonGegi
 \mr n-oci-kon-Gegi
 \gl alnbl-bewitch-[+become]-[-cause]
 \en sorcery
 \po Bruxaria
 \lex ocikonGegi
 \mr oci-kon-Gegi
 \gl bewitch-[+become]-[-cause]
 \en Witch
 \po Bruxa

\le -ociGate
 \en mother in law
 \po sogra
 \ps noun
 \lex nociGate
 \mr n-ociGa-te
 \gl alnbl-mother.in.law

\le -ocike
 \en fast
 \po ser arisco
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \lex docike
 \mr y-d:-ocike
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-be.fast

\en He is fast
 \po Ele é arisco

\le -ocokoce

\en screw
 \po parafuso
 \ps noun
 \ex locokoce
 \mr 1-ocokoce
 \gl 3POSS-screw
 \en Its screw
 \po Seu parafuso

\le -ocoqon

\en close
 \po fechar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex anocoqoni epwagi
 \mr a-n-ocoqon-i epwag
 \gl 2pl.SUBJ-hither-close-pl door
 \en Close the door
 \po Feche a porta
 \ex dinocoqo epwagi
 \mr y-d:-n-ocoqon epwag
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-close door
 \en The door was closed
 \po A porta foi fechada

\le -ocotegi

\en younger brother
 \po irmao mais novo
 \ps noun
 \ex locotegi
 \mr 1-ocotegi
 \gl 3POSS-younger.brother
 \en His younger brother
 \po Seu irmao mais novo

\le -oden

\en invite
 \po convidar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex inodenGa
 \mr j-n-oden-Ga
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-hither-invite-pl
 \en We invite him
 \po Nós o convidamos
 \ex anodenitiwaji
 \mr a-n-oden-i-t+waji
 \gl 2pl.SUBJ-hither-invite-pl-rel+pl
 \en You all invite him
 \po Vocês os convidem.

\lex inode migo
 \mr j-n-oden me+y-go
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-hither-invite COMP+3sg.SUBJ-go
 \en I invite Mary to go to the party
 \po Eu convido him to go.
 \lex onodeta nal:o:Go
 \mr o-y-n-oden-t+e-wa n-alo:-Ga
 \gl pl-3sg.SUBJ- hither-invite-rel+3sg.CL-dative alnbl-play-pl
 \en He was invited to the party
 \po Ele foi convidado para a festa/ Convidaram-no para a festa

\le odiGa

\en large drum
 \po tambor
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le odwe

\en front/prow
 \po frente/próa
 \ps noun
 \lex igo odwe
 \mr y-go odwe
 \gl 3sg.SUBJgo front
 \en He goes first
 \po Ele vai na frente
 \lex odwejegi
 \mr odwe-jegi
 \gl front-source
 \en The first one
 \po Primeiro
 \lex niwa:teki lodwe
 \mr n-wa:teki l-odwe
 \gl alabl-boat 3POSS-front
 \en The boat's prow
 \po A proa da canoa

\le -od:agi

\en sugar cane brandy
 \po pinga
 \ps noun
 \lex nod:agi
 \mr n-od:agi
 \gl alnbl-brandy
 \va bol:a (used by old people only)

\le -od:awa

\en spouse
 \po cônjuge
 \ps noun
 \lex lod:awa
 \mr l-od:awa
 \gl 3POSS-spouse
 \en His spouse

\po Seu cōnjuge

\le -od:a:jo

\en knife

\po faca

\ps noun

\ex nod:a:jo

\mr n-od:a:jo

\gl alnbl-knife

\le -od:ol:o

\en belly button

\po botao/umbigo

\ps noun

\ex lod:ol:o

\mr l-od:ol:o

\gl 3POSS-button

\en His belly button

\po Seu umbigo

\le -oen

\en prepar

\po preparar

\ps verb

\gr bivalent

\ex dinoe

\mr y-d:-n-oen

\gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-make

\en It is made

\po Foi feito

\ex joe

\mr j-oen

\gl 1sg.SUBJ-make

\en I make it

\po Eu faço

\ex weni

\mr a-oen-i

\gl 2pl.SUBJ -make-pl

\en You make it

\en Você faz

\ex dinoe la:m:oGo

\mr y-d:-n-oen l-a:mo-Ga

\gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-make 3POSS-dust-pl

\en The flour was made

\po Fazer farinha

\le -oGa

\en take out

\po tirar

\ps verb

\gr bivalent

\ex jinoGaGatike

\mr j-n-oGa-Ga-t+ke

\gl 1sg.SUBJ-hither-take-pl-rel+outward

\po Nós compramos
 lex od:inojeteta
 \mr o-y-d:-n-ojete-t+e-wa
 \gl pl-3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-buy-rel+3sg.CL-dative
 \en It was bought to him
 \po Ele o compra para ele
 lex ojeteGaci
 \mr ojete-Gaci
 \gl buy-noun
 \en Market
 \po Mercado
 lex dinojetetiwa
 \mr y-d:-n-ojete-t+i-wa
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-buy-rel+1sg.CL-dative
 \en This coat was bought for me
 \po Este casaco foi comprado para mim
 nGajo
 bal:eto
 nG-a-jo
 bal:eto
 close-fem-DEM
 coat

\le -ojigo
 \en pierce
 \po espetar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 lex yojigo
 \mr y-ojigo
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-pierce
 \en He pierced the boy
 \po Ele espetou o menino
 nig:a:nig:i
 nig:a:nig:i
 alnbl-child-m.dim

\le ojoy
 \en boa constrictor
 \po jibóia
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -okel:i
 \en tongue
 \po língua
 \ps noun
 lex God:okel:i
 \mr God:-okel:i
 \gl 1pl.POSS-tongue
 \en Our tongue
 \po Nossa língua

\le -oko
 \en get used
 \po acostumar-se
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 lex yokoteki
 \mr y-oko-t+e-k
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-get.used-rel+3sg.CL-allative
 \en He is getting used to it
 \po Ele está se acostumando com ele

\le -okol:e
 \en throw
 \po jogar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex oyokol:etini wetiGa aqi:di
 \mr o-y-okol:e-t+n wetiGa aqi:di
 \gl pl-3pl.SUBJ-throw-rel+going.inside stone river
 \en He throws the stone in the river
 \po Ele joga a pedra no rio

\le -okom
 \en vomit
 \po vomitar
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex God:oko
 \mr Go-d:-okom
 \gl 1pl.OBJ-theme-vomit
 \en We vomit
 \po Nós vomitamos
 \ex God:okomGa
 \mr Go-d:-okom-Ga
 \gl 1pl.OBJ-theme-vomit-pl
 \en Our vomit
 \po Nosso vômito

\le oko:
 \en green
 \po verde
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -ol:a:
 \en body
 \po corpo
 \ps noun
 \ex God:ol:a:tedi
 \mr God:-ol:a:-adi-adi
 \gl 1pl.POSS-body-pl-pl
 \en Our bodies
 \po Nossos corpos

\le -olad:og:o
 \en skin
 \po pele/casca
 \ps noun
 \ex lolad:og:o
 \mr l-olad:og:o
 \gl 3POSS-skin
 \en His skin
 \po Sua Pele/Casca

\mr y-ol:a-t+e-d:+ke
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-choose-rel+3sg.CL-theme+outward
 \en He chooses her
 \po Ele o escolheu/escolhido
 \ex oyol:atikwaki
 \mr o-y-ol:a-t+kwaki
 \gl pl-3pl.SUBJ-choose-rel+going.apart
 \en They choose it
 \po Eles o escolheram

\le -ol:agi
 \en seed/munition
 \po semente/muniçao
 \ps noun
 \ex ny:al:e lol:agi
 \mr n-y:al:e l-olag
 \gl alnbl-tree 3POSS-seed
 \en Seed
 \po Semente

\le -ol:e
 \en fire
 \po fogo
 \ps noun
 \lc nol:edi
 \mr n-ol:e-adi
 \gl alnbl-fire-pl
 \en Fire
 \po Fogo
 \ex yol:etedi
 \mr i-ole-adi-adi
 \gl 1POSS-fire-pl-pl
 \en My matches
 \po Meus fósforos

\le -ol:e
 \en look for/search
 \po procurar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex od:ol:etibigi
 \mr o-y-d:-ol:e-t+bigim
 \gl pl-3pl.SUBJ-theme-search-rel+upward
 \en They were looked for
 \po Eles foram procurados

\le -ol:idi
 \en liver
 \po figado
 \ps noun
 \ex nol:idi
 \mr n-ol:idi
 \gl alnbl-liver

\le -ol:ya
 \en vulva
 \po vagina
 \ps noun
 \ex lol:yana
 \mr l-ol:ya-na
 \gl 3POSS-vulva-f.dim
 \en His vulva
 \po Sua vagina

\le -om
 \en select
 \po seleccionar
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex oyomGadi
 \mr o-y-om-Gadi
 \gl pl-3pl.SUBJ-select-[+cause]
 \en They selected it
 \po Eles o seleccionaram

\le -omakajo
 \en thigh
 \po coxa
 \ps noun
 \ex lomakajo
 \mr l-omakajo
 \gl 3POSS-thigh
 \en His thigh
 \po Sua coxa

\le omGad:otadi
 \en hawk
 \po gaviao
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -om:o
 \en open
 \po abrir
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex dinom:oque
 \mr y-d:-n-om:o-qen
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-open-[+become]
 \en It opens itself
 \po Isso se abre sozinho

\le -onikiwa
 \en be strong
 \po fortalecer
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex id:onikiwadi

\mr j-d:-onikiwa-d
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-strong-ate1
 \en I am strong.
 \po Eu sou forte.
 \ex ad:i nonikiwaGati
 \mr ad:i n-onikiwa-Gad-i
 \gl DEM alnbl-strong-[+cause]-pl
 \en This strength (Lit.: This something strengthening something)
 \po Esta força
 \ex jeGe: IonikiweGeni
 \mr jG+e: I-onikiwa-Gen-i
 \gl compl+IPRONOUN 3POSS-strong-[+become]-pl
 \en I have been strong
 \po Estou sendo forte

\le -on:ib:i
 \en sweat
 \po suor
 \ps noun
 \ex lon:ib:i
 \mr l-on:ib:i
 \gl 3POSS-sweat
 \en His sweat
 \po Seu suor

\le -ool:e
 \en pan
 \po panela
 \ps noun
 \ex nool:e
 \mr n-ool:e
 \gl alnbl-pan
 \en Pan
 \po Panela
 \ex nooleGanGa
 \mr n-ool-e-GanGa
 \gl alnbl-pan-instr
 \en Stove
 \po Fogao

\le opaque
 \en old woman
 \po ancia
 \ps noun
 \free form

Ve -opigo

\en human fat
 \po gordura
 \ps noun
 \ex lopigo
 \mr l-opigo
 \gl 3POSS-fat
 \en His fat
 \po Sua gordura

Ve -opil

\en go away
 \po ir embora
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jopilGa
 \mr j-opil-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-go.away-pl
 \en We go away
 \po Nós vamos embora
 \ex Joao yopilGadi Maria
 \mr John y-opil-Gad Maria
 \gl John 3sg.SUBJ-go.away-[+cause] Mary
 \en John is taking Mary away (Lit.: John makes Mary go away)
 \po Joao está levando Maria embora
 \ex Joao nopilGadi Maria
 \mr John y-n-opil-Gad Maria
 \gl John 3sg.SUBJ-hither-go.away- [+cause] Mary
 \ex John is bringing Mary back (Lit.: John makes Mary come back)
 \po Joao está trazendo Maria de volta

Ve -opil

\en come back
 \po voltar
 \ps verbal root
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex id:opilaGa
 \mr j-d:-opil-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-come.back-pl
 \en We come back
 \po Nós voltamos
 \ex id:opilaGatijo
 \mr j-d:-opil-Ga-t+jo
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-come.back-pl-rel+going
 \en We come back
 \po Nós voltamos

Ve -opite

\en arrow
 \po flecha
 \ps noun
 \ex lopitena
 \mr l-opite-na

\gl 3POSS-arrow-f.dim
 \en His arrow
 \po Sua flecha

\le -opo
 \en need
 \po precisar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex ane yopotibigi
 \mr ane y-opo-t+bigim
 \gl relative 3sg.SUBJ-need-rel+upward
 \en The one who needs something
 \po Necessitado

\le opon-
 \en sp. fish resembling the mullet
 \po traíra
 \ps noun
 \sc Hoplias Malabaricus
 \ex oponaGa
 \mr opon-Ga
 \gl traíra-pl
 \en Traíra
 \po Traíra

\le opwe
 \en black vulture
 \po urubu
 \ps noun
 \sc Cathartidae family
 \free form

\le -oqa:Gedi
 \en friend
 \po amigo
 \ps noun
 \ex loqa:Gedi
 \mr I-oqa:Gedi
 \gl 3POSS-friend
 \en His friend
 \po Seu amigo

\le oqGatGa
 \en tall/long
 \po alto/comprido
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \ex Gonel:e:giwa oqGatGa
 \mr God:-n-el:e:giwa oqGatGa
 \gl Ipl.POSS-ainbl-man long
 \en Tall man
 \po Homem alto
 \ex nod:a:jo oqGatGa

\mr n-od:a:jo oqGatGa
 \gl alnbl-knife long
 \en Sword
 \po Espada

\le -oqodi
 \en knee
 \po joelho
 \ps noun
 \ex loqodi
 \mr l-oqodi
 \gl 3POSS-knee
 \en His knee
 \po O joelho dele

\le -oqoloGo
 \en budding
 \po broto
 \ps noun
 \ex loqoloGol:i
 \mr l-oqoloGo-l:i
 \gl 3POSS-budding-pl
 \en Buddings
 \po Brotos

\le oqom:
 \en people/we
 \po gente/nós
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \ex oqo jig:anGa
 \mr oqom: j-g:an-Ga
 \gl people 1sg.SUBJ-sing-pl
 \en We sing
 \po Nós cantamos
 \lc eqoqojegi
 \mr e-oqom:-RED-jegi
 \gl IND-people-RED-source
 \en Mucus
 \po Muco

\le -oqoqe
 \en light
 \po luz
 \ps noun
 \ex loqoqe
 \mr l-oqoqe
 \gl 3POSS-light
 \en Its light
 \po Sua luz

\le otakig:o
 \en sp. tree
 \po paratudo, ipê amarelo
 \ps noun
 \sc Tabebuia caraiba
 \free form

\le -otan:i
 \en bowl
 \po cuia
 \ps noun
 \ex mate lotan:i
 \mr mate l-otan:i
 \mr mate 3POSS-bowl
 \en Mate's bowl
 \po Cuia de chimarrao

\le -otete
 \en store
 \po guardar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex dinotete katined:i etakanig:i
 \mr y-d:-n-otete ka-t-n+e-d: etaka-nig:i
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-store loc-rel-downward+3sg.CL-theme basket-m.dim
 \en It is stored in a basket
 \po guardado dentro do cesto

\le otGacaGa
 \en talkative
 \po tagarela
 \noun
 \free form

\le -oti
 \en milk
 \po leite
 \ps noun
 \ex wa:ka lotidi
 \mr wa:ka l-oti-adi
 \gl cow 3POSS-milk-pl
 \en The cow's milk
 \po Leite de vaca

\le -otigima
 \en argue
 \po discutir
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex dinotigimadi
 \mr y-d:-n-otigima-d
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-argue-atel
 \en It was discussed
 \po Isso foi discutido

\le otikGa-

\en sp. deer

\po cervo

\ps noun

\sc Mazana americana

\ex otikGanigo

\mr otikGa-nigo

\gl deer-animal

\le -otiqon

\en whistle/aqueeze

\po assobiar/espremer

\ps verb

\gr unergative

\ex jotiqotijo

\mr j-otiqo-t+jo

\gl 1sg.SUBJ-whistle-rel+going

\en I go whistling

\po Eu vou assobiando

\le oti:na-

\en sp.bee

\po abelha carnicreira

\ps noun

\ex oti:naGa

\mr oti:naGa

\gl sp.bee-pl

\en Sp. bee

\po Abelha carnicreira

\le -otom

\en sob

\po soluçar

\ps verb

\gr unaccusative

\ex God:ototib:i

\mr Go-d:-otom+t-b:

\gl 1pl.OBJ-theme-sob-rel+intensive

\en We sob a lot

\po Nós soluçamos muito

\ex God:otomGa

\mr God:-otom-Ga

\gl 1pl.OBJ-sob-pl

\en Our sobbing

\po Nosso soluço

\le otweca:Ga

\en nor

\po nem

\ps conjunction

\ex aid:ig:ikile otweca:Ga id:el:owadi ekibi

\mr aG+j-d:-g:ikile otweca:ga j-d:el:owadi ekibi

\gl neg+1sg.SUBJ-theme-hungry nor 1sg.SUBJ-theme-kill thirst

\en I am neither hungry nor thirsty

\po Eu nao estou com fome nem com sede

\le -otwinGa

\en neck

\po pescoço

\ps noun

\ex notwinGadi

\mr n-otwinGa-adi

\gl alnbl-neck-pl

\en Neck

\po Pescoço

\le -owag

\en bite

\po morder

\ps verb

\gr bivalent

\ex jowakGa

\mr j-owag-Ga

\gl 1pl.SUBJ-bite-pl

\en We bite it

\po Nós o mordemos

\le -owe

\en tooth

\po dente

\ps noun

\ex lowe

\mr l-owe

\gl 3POSS-tooth

\en His tooth

\po Dente dele

\le owe:

\en outside

\po fora

\ps noun

\free form

\ex ejigo owe:

\mr ej-go owe:

\gl 1AUX-go OUTSIDE

\en I am going out

\po Eu vou para fora

\ex owe:tike GoGel:adi

\mr owe:-t+ke God:-Geladi

\gl outside-rel+outward 1pl.POSS-village
 \en Outside the village
 \po Fora da aldeia

\le -owidi
 \en back of a boat
 \po convés da canoa
 \ps noun
 \lex niwa:tedi lowidi
 \mr n-wa:tedi l-owidi
 \gl alnbl-boat 3POSS-deck
 \en The boat's deck
 \po O convés da canoa

\le -owo:
 \en think
 \po pensar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \lex jowo:konaGa
 \mr j-owo:-kon-Ga
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-think-[-become]-pl
 \en We think
 \po Nós pensamos
 \lex God:owo:Gegi
 \mr Go-d:-owo:-Gegi
 \gl 1pl.OBJ-theme-think-[-cause]
 \en He thinks on us (Lit.: We are thoughts)
 \po Ele pensa em nós
 \lex oyowo:Godi
 \mr o-y-owo:-God
 \gl pl-3pl.SUBJ-think-[+become]
 \en They understand/learn it
 \po Eles entenderam/aprendem isso
 \lex dinowo:Godi
 \mr y-d:-n-owo:-God
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-think-[+become]
 \en He understands/learns about himself
 \po Ele entende/aprende sobre si mesmo

\le -owo:g:o
 \en thought
 \po pensamento
 \ps noun
 \lex lowo:g:o
 \mr l-owo:g:o
 \gl 3POSS-thought
 \en His thought
 \po Seu pensamento

\le -owyen
 \en take care
 \po cuidar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex God:owyeditelokom
 \mr Go-d:-owyen-d-t+e-lokom
 \gl Ipl.OBJ-theme-take.care-atef-rel+3sg.CL-adessive
 \en He takes care of us
 \po Ele cuida de nós
 \ex dinowedi
 \mr y-d:-n-owyen-d
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-take.care-atef
 \en He takes care of himself
 \po Ele se cuida
 \ex jowyenaGa
 \mr j-owyen-Ga
 \gl Ipl.SUBJ-take.care-pl
 \en We take care of him
 \po Nós tomamos conta dele

\le -owyodGay
 \en dressing/fashion
 \po maneira de vestir/moda
 \ps noun
 \ex lowyodGay
 \mr l-owyodGay
 \gl 3POO-dressing
 \en His way to dress
 \po Sua maneira de vestir-se

\le ow:i:di
 \en lot
 \po grupo/feiche/monte/maço
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \ex ow:i:di etakol:i
 \mr ow:i:di etakol:i
 \gl lot corn
 \en a lot of corn beans
 \po Muitos graos de milho
 \ex aGow:i:di etakol:i
 \me aG+ow:i:di etakil:i
 \gl neg+lot corn
 \en Some corn beans
 \po Poucos graos de milho

\le -ow:i:gi
 \en tribe
 \po tribo
 \ps noun
 \ex now:i:gi
 \mr n-ow:i:gi
 \gl alnbl-tribe
 \en Tribe
 \po Tribo

\le oyakewaGa
 \en anaconda
 \po sucuri
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -oydiwa
 \en relative
 \po parente
 \ps noun
 \ex loydiwa
 \mr l-oydiwa
 \gl 3POSS-relative
 \en His relative
 \po O parente dele

\le -o:Ga
 \en believe
 \po acreditar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex oyo:Gadi
 \mr o-y-o:Ga-d
 \gl pl-3pl.SUBJ-believe
 \en They believe it
 \po Eles acreditam nisso

\le -o:i:
 \en be afraid
 \po temer
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex id:o:i:Ga
 \mr j-d:-o:i:-Ga
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-afraid-pl
 \en We are afraid
 \po Nós temos medo
 \ex id:o:ita
 \mr i-d:-o:i-t+e-wa
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-afraid-rel+3sg.CL-dative snake
 \en I am afraid of snakes
 \po Eu tenho medo de cobra

\le -o:jo
 \en pus
 \po pus
 \ps noun
 \ex lo:jo
 \mr l-ojo
 \gl 3POSS-pus
 \en Its pus
 \po Sua pus

\le -o:l oka
 \en cough
 \po tossir
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jo:l okaGa
 \mr j-o:l oka-Ga
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-cough-pl
 \en We cough
 \po Nós tossimos

\le o:l: o
 \en gold
 \po ouro
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \dn Portuguese

\le o:wo
 \en string
 \po linha
 \ps noun
 \ex no:wonig:i
 \mr n-o:wo-ni:gi
 \gl alnbl-string-m.dim
 \en String
 \po Linha/Barbante

\le -peg:i
 \en stay
 \po ficar/estar
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex di:m:aGa od:ipeg:itigeti
 \mr di:migi-Ga o-y-d:-peg:i-t+get
 \gl house-pl pl-3pl.SUBJ-theme-stay-rel+going.against
 \en The houses are close to the mountain
 \po As casa ficam perto do morro

\le -peg:i
 \en approach
 \po aproximar-se
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex ipeg:itiwagi
 \mr y-peg:i-t+wag
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-stay-rel+going.together
 \en He is getting close
 \po Ele se aproxima

\le pida
 \en but
 \po mas
 \ps conjunction
 \ex id:ig:ikile pida aid:el:owadi ekibi
 \mr j-d:-g:ikile pida aG+j-d:-el:owadi ekibi
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-hungry but neg+1sg.SUBJ-theme-kill thirst
 \en I'm am hungry but I am not thirsty
 \po Eu estou com fome mas nao estou com sede

\le -poko
 \en ask for
 \po pedir
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex dinipokota
 \mr y-d:-n-poko-t+e-wa
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-ask-rel+3sg.CL-dative
 \en It was asked to him
 \po Isso lhe foi perguntado

\le -pokolo
 \en step son
 \po enteado
 \ps noun
 \ex lopokolo
 \mr l-pokolo
 \gl 3POSS-step.son
 \en His son in law
 \po Seu enteado

\le -poy
 \en step
 \po pisar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex ipoyteloko
 \mr i-poy-t+e-lokom
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-step-rel+3sg.CL-adessive
 \en He stepped on him
 \po Ele pisou nele

\le -qan
 \en quit
 \po abandonar/deixar de lado
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex jaiqanGa God:aqataGa
 \mr jaG+j-qan-Ga God:-aqata-Ga
 \gl compl+1pl.SUBJ-quit-pl 1pl.POSS-time-pl
 \en We have quit our traditions
 \po Já abandonamos nossas tradições
 \ex iqated:ike apolikGa:nGa
 \mr y-qan-t+e-t+ke apoligGa:nGa
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-abandon+rel-3ci+rel-outward horse
 \en I abandoned the horse
 \po Eu soltei o cavalo

\le -qan
 \en climb down
 \po descer
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex id:iniqanGati nalaGate
 \mr j-d:-qan-Ga-ti n-alaGate
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-climb.down-pl-[+cause] alnbl-mountain
 \en We climb down the hills
 \po Nós descemos o morro

\le -qe:n
 \en introduce/show
 \po apresentar/mostrar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex oyqe:
 \mr o-y-qe:n
 \gl pl-3pl.SUBJ-introduce
 \en They introduce him
 \po Eles o apresentam
 \ex Joao aja Maria diniqe:
 \mr Joao aja Mary y-d:-n-qe:n
 \gl John and Mary 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-introduce
 \en John and Mary introduce each other
 \po Joao e Maria se apresentam/se cumprimentam
 \ex jiqe:nGa
 \mr j-qe:n-Ga
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-introduce-pl
 \en We show it
 \po Nós o mostramos

\le -qote
 \en knot
 \po nó
 \ps noun
 \ex liqote
 \mr I-qote
 \gl 3POSS-knot
 \en Knot
 \po Nó

\le -ti
 \en shinbone
 \po canela da perna
 \ps noun
 \ex iti
 \mr i-ti
 \gl 1POSS-ti
 \en My shinbone
 \po Minha canela

\le -ti
 \en [+cause]
 \ps derivational suffix
 \ex id:ikoti
 \mr j-d:-ikon-ti
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-sit-[+cause]
 \en I sit myself
 \po Eu me sento (I cause myself (to) cause sitting)

\le -w
 \en eat lunch/dinner
 \po almoçar/jantar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jinyodGa
 \mr j-n-w-d-Ga
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-hither-lunch-atel-pl
 \en We have lunch
 \po Nós almoçamos

\le wacakoko
 \en lamb
 \po carneiro
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le wacigid-
 \en goat
 \po cabra
 \ps noun
 \ex wacigidi
 \en female goat
 \po cabra
 \ex wacigida

\en goat
 \po bode

\e waja-
 \en widowed
 \po viúva
 \ps noun
 \ex wajaikal:o 1Gilagi
 \mr waja-ikal:o 1-Gilagi
 \gl widowed-noun 3POSS-throat
 \en Coral snake (lit. widowed's necklace)
 \po Cobra coral (lit: colar de viúva)

\e wa:ka
 \en cow
 \po vaca
 \ps noun
 \gr free form
 \dn Portuguese
 \ex wa:kawa:na
 \gl wa:ka-wa:-na
 \en cow-like-f.dim
 \ex female calf
 \po Novilha
 \ex wa:ka:wa:nig:i
 \mr wa:ka-wa:-nig:i
 \gl cow-like-m.dim
 \en male calf
 \po Bezerra

\e -wakog:o
 \en leather
 \po couro
 \ps noun
 \ex ewakog:o
 \mr e-wakog:o
 \gl IND-leather
 \en Leather
 \po Couro

\e waleta
 \en ollympic games
 \po olimpíadas
 \ps noun
 \ex waleta-Ga
 \mr waleta-Ga
 \ge game-pl
 \en Ollympic games
 \po Olimpíadas

\le walokeni
 \en catfish
 \po bagre
 \ps noun
 \sc Rhamdia pubescens
 \free form

\le -wal:odi
 \en grandson
 \po neto
 \ps noun
 \ex ewal:odi
 \mr e-wal:odi
 \gl IND-grandson
 \en Grandson
 \po Neto

\le wam:a
 \en sp. locust tree
 \po jatobá
 \ps noun
 \gr free form
 \sc Hymenaea

\le -waqate
 \en message/letter
 \po mensagem/carta
 \ps noun
 \ex liwaqate
 \mr l-waqate
 \gl 3POSS-message
 \en His letter/message
 \po Sua mensagem/carta

\le waqa:di
 \en family
 \po familia
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -waqom
 \en stomach
 \po estomago
 \ps noun
 \ex liwoqomGa
 \mr l-waqom-Ga
 \gl 3POSS-stomack-pl
 \en His stomach
 \po Estômago dele

\le -wate
 \en granddaughter
 \po neta
 \ps noun
 \ex iwate
 \mr i-wate
 \gl 1POSS-granddaughter
 \en My granddaughter
 \po Minha neta

\le wawil:e
 \en sp. fruit
 \po guavira
 \ps noun
 \gr free form

\le -waydi
 \en piece
 \po pedaço
 \ps noun
 \ex liwaydidi
 \mr l-waydi-adi
 \gl 3POSS-pierce-pl
 \en Its pieces
 \po Seus pedaços

\le wayodaGa
 \en crippled person
 \po manco
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le -wa:joi
 \en small fan
 \po abanico
 \ps noun
 \ex iwa:joidi
 \mr i-wa:joi-adi
 \gl 1POSS-fan-pl
 \en My small fan
 \po Meu abanico

\le -wa:teke
 \en boat
 \po canoa
 \ps noun
 \ex liwa:teke
 \mr l-wa:teke
 \gl 3POSS-boat
 \en His boat
 \po Sua canoa

\le wedel:e
 \en tick
 \po carrapato
 \ps noun
 \gr free form

\le wed:e:y:e
 \ps proper name

\le -weka
 \en shirt
 \po camisa
 \ps noun
 \ex inwekaGaci
 \mr i-n-weka-Gaci
 \gl IPOSS-alnbl-shirt-noun
 \en My shirt
 \po Minha camisa

\le -wel:e
 \en thorn
 \po espinho
 \ps noun
 \ex liwel:e
 \mr l-wel:e
 \gl 3POSS-thorn
 \en His thorn
 \po Seu espinho

\le wel:ete
 \en breast
 \po seio
 \ps noun
 \ex iwel:ete
 \mr i-welete
 \gl IPOSS-breast
 \en My breast
 \po Meu seio

\le wen:en:e
 \en poison
 \po veneno
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \dn Portuguese
 \ex diniwen:en:e
 \mr y-d:-n-wen:en:e
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-poison
 \en He poisoned himself
 \po Ele se envenenou

\le -wetam:

\en be cold

\po estar frio

\ps verb

\gr unaccusative .

\lc diweta

\mr y-d:-wetam:

\gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-be.cold

\en It is cold/ Winter

\po Está frio /Inverno

\lc iwe:tam:Gadi

niwe:n:g:i

\mr i-we:tam:-Gad

n-we:n-nig:i

\gl 3sg.SUBJ-be.cold- [+cause]

alnbl-food-m.dim

\en She chills it

\po Ela o esfria

\le wetiGa

\en stone

\po pedra

\ps noun

\free form

\le -we:n

\en food

\po comida

\ps noun

\ex niwe:n:ig:i

\mr n-we:n-nig:i

\gl alnbl-food-m.dim

\ex niwe:nig:i dapiqo

\mr n-we:n-nig:i y-d:-apiqo

\gl alnbl-food-m.dim 3sg.SUBJ-theme-warm

\en The food is warm

\po A comida está quente

\ex niwe:nGa

\mr n-we:n-Ga

\gl alnbl-food-pl

\en Intestine

\po Intestino

\ex oqo niwe:nGodi

\mr oqo n-we:n-God

\gl people alnbl-food-[+become]

\en People eater

\po Comedor de gente

\le -wid:a
 \en feces
 \po fezes
 \ps noun
 \ex liwid:aGa
 \mr i-wid:a-Ga
 \gl 3POSS-fece-pt
 \en His feces
 \po Suas fezes

\le -wiGadi
 \en pet
 \po animal doméstico
 \ps noun
 \ex Gowiqatedi
 \mr God:-wiGadi-edi
 \gl 1pl.POSS-pet-pl
 \en Our pets
 \po Nossos animais domésticos

\le -wigoti
 \en center
 \po centro
 \ps noun
 \ex ib:a:Gadi liwigoti
 \mr i-b:a:Gad I-wigoti
 \gl 1POSS-hand 3POSS-center
 \en The palm of my hand
 \po A palma da minha mao

\le -wila
 \en clay/pottery
 \po argila/cerâmica
 \ps noun
 \ex iwil:ana
 \mr i-wila-na
 \gl 1POSS-clay.f.dim
 \ex My clay/My pottery
 \po Minha argila/Minha cerâmica

\le -witaq
 \en lie
 \po mentir
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jiwitaqGa
 \mr j-witaq-Ga
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-lie-pl
 \en We lie
 \po Nós mentimos
 \ex niwitaqGegi
 \mr n-witaq-Gegi
 \gl alnbl-lie-[-cause]
 \en Lie

\po Mentira

\le witel:o

\en wasp

\po marimbondo

\ps noun

\gr free form

\witel:o

\lex witel:owa:Ga

\mr witel:o-wa:-Ga

\gl wasp-like-pl

\en Hornet

\po Vespa

\le -woladi

\en mouth/language

\po boca/lingua

\ps noun

\lex ewladi

\mr e-woladi

\gl IND-mouth

\en Mouth

\po Boca

\lex ditubigimed:i

iniwoladi

\mr di-t-bigim+e-d:

i-n-woladi

\gl loc-rel-upwards+3sg.CL-theme IPOSS-alnbl-mouth

\en roof of mouth

\po céu da boca

\lex Goniwoladi

ejiwajegi

\mr God:-n-woladi

ejywa-jegi

\gl Ipl.POSS-alnbl-mouth palm-source

\en Our Kadiwéu language

\po Nossa língua Kadiwéu

\le -wol:oqa

\en phlegm

\po catarro

\ps noun

\lex Gowol:oqa

\mr God:-wol:oqa

\gl Ipl.POSS-phlegm

\en Our phlegm

\po Nosso catarro

\le -woti

\en lay down

\po deitar-se

\ps verb

\gr unergative

\lex iwoti

\mr i-woti

\gl 3POSS-lay.down

\en He lays down

\po Ele se deitou

\le -wo:
\en lie down
\po deitar-se
\ps verb
\gr umergative
\ex jiwo:
\mr j-wo:
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-lie.down
\en I lie down
\po Eu me deito

\le -w:a
\en shadow
\po sombra
\ps noun
\ex Gow:a
\mr God-w:a
\gl 1pl.POSS-shadow
\en Our shadow
\po Nossa sombra

\le -w:aya
\en ankle
\po tornozelo
\ps noun
\ex iw:aya
\mr i-w:aya
\gl 1POSS-ankle
\en My ankle
\po Meu tornozelo
\va liw:ayaGaci
\mr I-w:aya-Gaci
\gl 3POSS-ankle-noun
\en My ankle
\po Seu tornozelo

\le -w:el:adi
\en shoe
\po sapato
\ps noun
\ex iw:el:adi
\mr i-w:el:adi
\gl 1POSS-shoe
\en My shoe
\po Meu sapato

\le yecogo
 \en rugous
 \po rugoso/pegajoso
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le yekwan
 \en exchange
 \po trocar
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex dinyekwaGe
 \mr y-d:-n-yekwa-Gen:
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-exchange-[+become]
 \en It was exchanged
 \po Trocado
 \ex nyekwanatakanGegi
 \mr n-yekwan-t+e-wa-kan-Gegi
 \gl alnbl-exchange-rel+3sg.CL-dative-[-become]-[-cause]
 \en Exchange
 \po Troca

\en crazy
 \po louco
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le yiGo
 \en soil/place
 \po terra/lugar
 \ps noun
 \free form
 \ex inyiGo
 \mr i-n-yiGo
 \gl IPOSS-alnbl-soil
 \en My land/country
 \po Minha terra/país

\le -yo
 \en follow
 \po seguir
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex jyoGateki
 \mr j-yo-Ga-t+e-k
 \gl 1pl.SUBJ-follow-pl-rel+3sg.CL-adessive
 \en We follow it
 \po Nós o seguimos

\le yodGawa:-
 \en soldier
 \po soldado
 \ps noun
 \lex yodGawa:di
 \mr yodGawa:-adi
 \gl soldier-pl
 \en Soldier
 \po Soldado

\le -yodi
 \en eat
 \po comer
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \lex jinyodi
 \mr j-n-yodi
 \gl 1sg-hither-eat
 \en I eat
 \po Eu como
 \lex anyodi
 \mr a-nyodi-i
 \gl 2sg.SUBJ-eat-pl
 \en You eat
 \po Você come

\le yoki
 \en salt
 \po sal
 \ps noun
 \free form

\le yoko-
 \en wind
 \po vento
 \ps noun
 \lex yokodi
 \mr yoko-adi
 \gl wind-pl
 \lex inyokodi
 \mr i-n-yoko-adi
 \gl 1POSS-almbl-wind-pl
 \en My fan
 \po Meu ventilador

\le -yol:oqa
 \en cough
 \po tosse
 \ps nominal root
 \lex nyol:oqa
 \mr n-yol:oqa
 \gl almbl-cough
 \en Cough
 \po Tosse

\le -yone:

\en youth
 \po juventude
 \ps noun
 \ex lyone:Ga
 \mr l-yone:-Ga
 \gl 3POSS-youth-pl
 \en Young person
 \po Jovem
 \ex oqo:qodi lyone:qi
 \mr oqo:qodi l-yone:-qi
 \gl chicken 3POSS-youth-?
 \mr Chick
 \gl Pintinho

\le yopa:

\en mill
 \po triturar
 \ps verb
 \gr unaccusative
 \ex dinyopa:Gadi
 \mr y-d:-n-yopa:-Gad
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-mill-[+cause]
 \en It was milled
 \po Triturado

\le -yotage

\en slave
 \po escravizar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex oy:otag
 \mr o-y-yotage
 \gl pl-3pl.SUBJ-slave
 \en They slave him
 \po Ele o escraviza

\le -yota:god:-

\en lord
 \po senhor
 \ps noun
 \ex inyota:god:i
 \mr i-n-yota:god:
 \gl IPOSS-ainbl-lord
 \en My lord
 \po Meu senhor
 \ex inyota:god:o
 \mr i-n-yota:god:-o
 \gl IPOSS-ainbl-lord-female
 \en My female lord
 \po Minha senhora

\le yote-

\en star
 \po estrela
 \ps noun
 \ex yotedi
 \mr yote-adi
 \gl star-pl
 \en Star
 \po Estrela

\le -yo:te
 \en dormir
 \po sleep
 \ps verb
 \gr unergative
 \ex yo:te
 \mr y-yo:te
 \gl 3sg.SUBJ-sleep
 \en He sleeps
 \po Ele dorme
 \ex jyo:tetinig nel:adi
 \mr j-yo:te-t+nig nel:adi
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-sleep-rel+going.inside hammock
 \en I will sleep in the hammock

\le -y:al:e
 \en tree
 \po árvore
 \ps noun
 \ex ny:al:e
 \mr n-y:al:e
 \gl alnbl-tree
 \ex ny:al:egipijegi
 \mr n-y:al:e-gi-pi-jegi
 \gl alnbl-tree-classifier-pl-source
 \en Wild
 \po Selvagem
 \ex ny:al:ejadi
 \mr n-y:a:le-jadi
 \gl alnbl-tree-classifier
 \en savanna/field
 \po cerrado

\le -y:iGen
 \en order
 \po mandar
 \ps verb
 \gr bivalent
 \ex jy:iGe
 \mr j-y:iGe
 \gl 1sg.SUBJ-order
 \en I order it
 \po Eu o mando
 \ex ny:iGenatakanGegi
 \mr n-y:iGen-t+e-wa-kan-Gegi

\gl alienable-ORDER+rel-3cl-dative-intr-noun
 \en Order
 \po Ordem

\le -y:o
 \en nephew
 \po sobrinho
 \ps noun
 \ex iy:o
 \mr i-y:o
 \gl IPOSS-nephew
 \en My nephew
 \po Meu sobrinho
 \ex iy:onig:i
 \mr i-y:o-nig:i
 \gl IPOSS-nephew-m.dim
 \en My son
 \po Meu filho

\le -y:ocwa
 \en brother/cousin
 \po irmao/primo
 \ps noun
 \ex iy:ocwa
 \mr i-y:ocwa
 \gl IPOSS-broter
 \en My brother
 \po Meu irmao