

**A GRAMMAR OF SABANÊ**  
A Nambikwaran Language

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VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT

**A GRAMMAR OF SABANÊ**  
A Nambikwaran Language

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door

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## List of Abbreviations

A, AGT	agent, agentive	N	noun
ACNNR	action nominalizer	NEG	negative
ADJ	verbal adjective	NEUT	neutral
ADV	adverb	NH	non-human
AN	animate	OBJ	object
ANAF	anaphora/anaphoric	PASS	past
ASSR	assertive	P, PAT	patient/patientive
ASP	aspect	PATNR	patient nominalizer
ATTR	attributive	PL	plural
AUGM	augmentative	POSS	possessive
CL	classifier	PRES	present
COM	comitative	PRET	preterit
CONC	concessive	PROG	progressive
CONJ	conjunction	QUOT	quotative
CONS	consecutive	QW	question word
CT	class term	RED	reduplication
DEM	demonstrative	REF	referential
DERIV	derivation	SG	singular
DES	desiderative	ST	strong
DIM	diminutive	SUBJ	subject
EV	evidential	SUPP	suppositive
EXCL	exclusive	VS	verbal suffix
EXHOR	exhortative	TAG	tag question
FLX	flexible (CL)	TEMP	temporal conjunction
FUT	future	V	verb
HEMI	hemispheric (CL)	1	first person
HORT	hortative	2	second person
INCL	inclusive	3	third person
INF	inferential	*	ungrammatical
INFL	inflection	–	morpheme boundary
IMIN	imminentive	.	internal structure of compounds
IMP	imperative		
INT	interrogative (suffix)		
ITER	iterative		
LINK	linker (consonant/vowel)		



# 1 Preliminaries

## 1.1 Introduction

The Nambikwara linguistic family includes more than fifteen languages and dialects, divided into three main branches (Southern Nambikwara, Northern Nambikwara, and Sabanê). The aim of this dissertation is to provide a linguistic description of Sabanê, an endangered language, based on original fieldwork. The Sabanê group inhabits two discontinuous villages near the town of Vilhena, in Rondônia State, Southern Amazon. Although the Sabanê Community has about one hundred and forty speakers, only three are native speakers and less than ten people (including Indians of other ethnic groups) master the language (in various degrees of proficiency).

The objective of this study is to offer a general description of the Sabanê language, based on word lists, paradigms, and sentences obtained through direct interaction with our informants. We were also able to collect a limited number of texts and furthermore used the usual elicitation procedures as described in studies such as Rowe-Swadesh, *Typological Forms of the National Museum UFRJ*, Comrie & Smith 1977, among others. We have also profited from the study of Payne (1997). The situation of obsolescence and the fact that this language is not effectively used anymore by the native speakers limited the possibility to collect texts and engage in real situations of language use.

The results of this research are supposed to meet a number of purposes. First, a grammar is offered of an undocumented language of an isolated family, as a contribution to our knowledge of the linguistic typology of the indigenous languages of Brazil. This *Grammar* intends to contribute to the understanding of South American linguistic history as well. The history of the peoples of South American, in general, and of its languages, in particular, is not well known. Thus, a broader understanding of South American (linguistic) history depends on the availability of descriptions of these languages. Finally, this research aims to help the maintenance/revitalization of the Sabanê language.

The thesis is organized in the following way: in Chapter 1, the Sabanê People and their ethno-history are introduced and previous work on the language is discussed. Chapter 2 presents the *Phonology* (vowels, consonants, syllabic structure, accent and morphophonological processes). Chapter 3 covers the *Nominal and Verbal Morphology*. The *Syntax* is presented in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 deals with *Adverbs*, while Chapter 6 describes *Interrogative Words*. Chapter 7 contains a conclusion of the foregoing chapters.

## 1.2 Notation

In this work, four different notations are used: orthographic, phonological, phonetic, and morphemic.

All data in orthographic notation is transcribed in boldface (Times New Roman). The orthographic notation is almost identical with the phonological notation. The correspondence between the symbols used in the phonology and the orthography is as follows /p/ p; /b/ b; /t/ t; /d/ d; /k/ k; /m/ m; /n/ n; /s/ s; /h/ h; /l/ l; /ʔ/ ʔ; /a/ a; /i/ i; /u/ u; /e/ e; /o/ o; and the glides /w/ w; /j/ y. The orthographic notation employs the following symbols:

<b>p b t d k m</b>	
<b>n s h l</b>	Consonants
<b>w y</b> <sup>1</sup>	Glides
<b>i u e o a</b>	Vowels
–	Morpheme or affix boundary
.	Compound boundary

The explanatory notation for morphemes and free translations are provided in English. Hence, the sentences in (01) and (02) have four morphemes each.

- (01) **towali**            **ay**            **–i**            **–telon**  
 1SUBJ            to go            –VS            –FUT EV  
 [to<sup>h</sup>wa:li<sup>h</sup>ʔajite<sub>r</sub>õ<sup>h</sup>]  
 ‘I am leaving.’
- (02) **amayl** **–i**            **–al**            **–i**  
 to rain    –VS            –PRES NEUT            –ASSR  
 [a<sup>h</sup>majri<sub>a</sub>li]  
 ‘It rains.’

The symbol . indicates that a word is a compound:

---

<sup>1</sup> In the orthographic notation, the glide [w] is kept as **w**. The coronal glide [j] is replaced by **y**. This substitution is due to the fact that Portuguese orthography uses **j** to refer to a voiced coronal fricative /ʒ/. Since the Sabanê orthographic notation is intended to be adopted as the official orthography and because Portuguese is the first language of literacy in the Sabanean Community, I have opted to avoid a possible conflict. Moreover, in order to simplify the orthographic notation the implosive consonants /d/ and /b/ are represented as **d** and **b**, respectively.

- (03) **nawa.inun**      **-mi**  
 manioc.CL: PD    -REF  
 [ˈna:ˀwaᵐnũˀmi]  
 ‘manioc meal’

The phonological and phonetic notations make use of the symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet of the International Phonetic Association (IPA). Feature notation is based on Chomsky & Halle (1968) and Clements & Halle (1983: 33).

The consonantal symbols, grouped by allophones, in this work are: [p p<sup>h</sup>], [t t<sup>h</sup> tʃ], [k k<sup>h</sup> g], [ʔ], [m], [n], [s ʃ ʒ h], [h], [ç], [β], [l ɾ]. The vowels, including their allophones are [a a: ã ã: ɒ ə], [e e: ẽ ẽ: æ], [i i: ĩ ĩ: ɪ], [o o: õ õ: ɣ] and [u u: ũ ỹ: ɣ]. The glides, underlyingly /u i/, are realized as [w w̃] and [j ỹ], respectively. Usually, syllables are separated by a point [.] in the phonetic notation.

The graphs or sequences of graphs used in this study, which refer to morphemes, are explained in the *List of Abbreviations*.

### 1.3 The Sabanê People

The Sabanê people inhabit two discontinuous areas in the state of Rondônia, southern Amazon. In *Posto Pyrineus de Souza*, locally known as *Aroeira*, there are about 300 people, one hundred of whom are identified as being Sabanê. Several ethnic groups (Manduca, Tawaindê, Mamaindê, and Sabanê) share *Aroeira*. In the *Sowaintê village*, officially known as *Área Indígena Roosevelt*, there are approximately forty Sabanê and three Tawaindê.

From one hundred and forty Sabanê individuals, only three are native speakers, while two learnt the language (as a second language) when children. Fewer than ten are able to communicate in Sabanê, having learnt isolated words and sentences. This group of ten people is formed by the first generation born in the *Aroeira* village (people who were born after 1960). Even so, they cannot be considered and they do not consider themselves as speakers<sup>2</sup>. The majority of Sabanês are monolingual in the local variety of Brazilian Portuguese.

<sup>2</sup> Linguists do not agree on an appropriate way of defining the proficiency of a speaker. In general, each case must be individually analyzed. In a broader sense, the term *Sabanê native speaker* will be applied to those who learnt Sabanê as their first language and are able to use it in a variety of contexts. Consider the situation of Jose Benedito Nambikwara (1912 - ). He was born and raised in a Sabanê village, and spoke only Sabanê until 1935. In that year, he was contacted by Brazilian pioneers and decided to move out of his village. After that, he managed to get a job at SPI, and afterwards in FUNAI. His long personal history of contact (he

Crystal (2000: 20) classifies the degree of endangerment of a language through the interaction of a number of factors, among which are the size of the population and the community of speakers, the community's internal organization, and the way it perceives its own language, the position of the language as an identity marker and the number of children who learn it as their first language.

Wurm (1998: 192) proposes a *typology of threat* which includes five levels: 1. *potentially endangered languages* are socially and economically disadvantaged, under heavy pressure from a larger language, and beginning to lose child speakers; 2. *endangered languages* have few or no children learning the language, and the youngest good speakers are young adults; 3. *seriously endangered languages* have youngest good speakers of age 50 or older; 4. *moribund languages* have only a handful of good speakers left, most of whom are very old; 5. *extinct languages* have no speakers left. Accordingly, endangered languages tend to be used by their communities only rarely, being substituted by the dominant external language in the majority of its social functions.

Based on these criteria, one can affirm that the Sabanê language is seriously threatened or moribund, because there are only three native speakers (all of whom older than fifty) who still command all the aspects of the language. Children do not have any contact with the language anymore and Brazilian Portuguese has become the prestige language inside the community. Actually, Sabanê and other indigenous languages in the region, particularly those of nearby towns, have become widely disfavoured and socially rejected.

In the Aroeira village, the Tawaindê group represents the majority in terms of population and native speakers, whereas, at least linguistically, the Sabanê represent a minority; the Manduca group, despite having the smallest population, controls the political arena, since their elders have great prestige in communal decisions. Compared to the others, the Sabanê group counts very few native speakers, which also contributes to their lack of prestige within the community. Additionally, Manduca and Tawaindê are intelligible among each

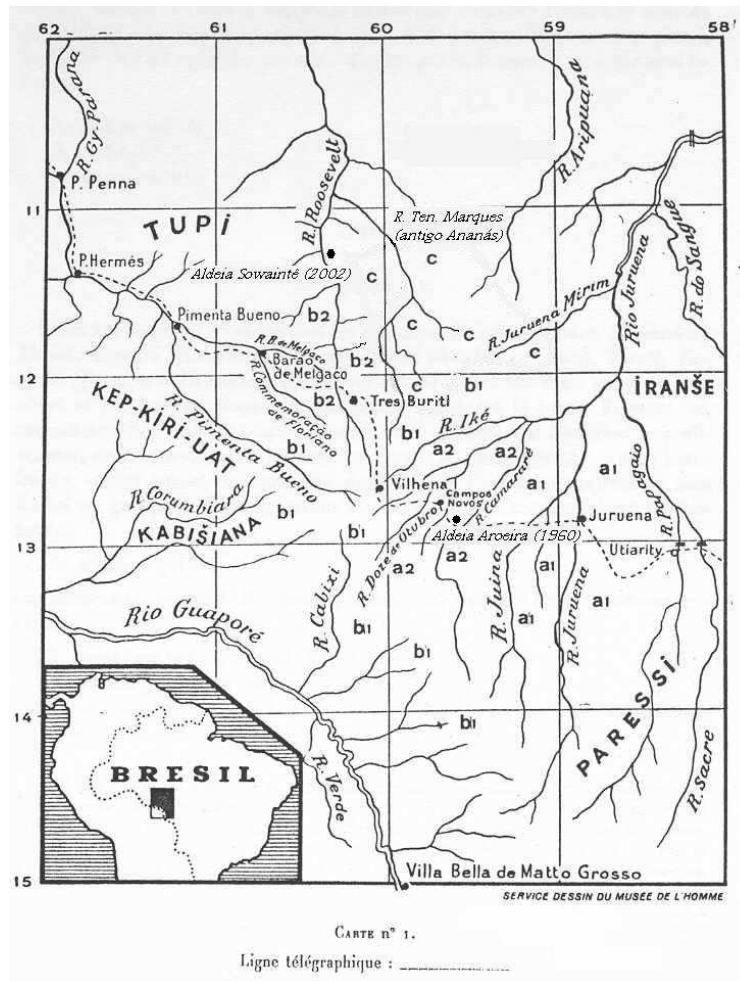
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stopped speaking Sabanê since he left his village) and health concerns (he had a stroke in the 1980's) led him to abandon his first language completely. Currently, J. B. N. speaks only Portuguese and does not seem able to speak Sabanê anymore. Apart from him, in 2004, there were three native speakers: Manoel Sabanê (1942- ), Filipe Sabanê (1940- ), and Avelina Sabanê (1938- ).

The Nambikwara area is well known for its multilingualism. In addition, some Nambikwaran people learnt Sabanê as a second language. Amongst them, one must mention Manoel Sabanê's wife, Ivone Sowaintê, and Jose Benedito's wife, Teresa Lakondê. Even though Ivone and Teresa are not native speakers, they form, aside from Manoel, the only group who speak Sabanê in a frequent way. Therefore, they are the last source for the Sabanê language.



other, while Mamaindê is the major second language. Sabanê is spoken only by Sabanê natives or by those who have learnt it as a second language. External factors, however, place all languages of Aroeira village at a disadvantage. The prestige of Brazilian Portuguese is increasing, which tends to suppress all the minority languages in the region.



Map 1 (Adapted from Lévi-Strauss 1948): Region inhabited currently by the Sabanê Indians: Aroeira (1960) and Sowaintê (2002) villages.

The creation of the Sowaintê village in 2002 provided a new stimulus for the Sabanê language. In this new village, the population is mainly Sabanê and its inhabitants are willing to revive their language. The community of the Sowaintê village has welcomed the project Grammar of Sabanê; it also has stimulated the beginning of an educational program in the area.

### 1.3.1 Ethno-history<sup>3</sup>

It was only at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century that Brazilian pioneers effectively explored the region that encloses the current southern parts of Rondônia State and centre-north of Mato Grosso State. After the Promulgation of the Republic (1889), the Military Government intended to ‘integrate’ the domestic territory, and started building a *Telegraphic Line*, connecting the towns of Mato Grosso Province to the town of Porto Velho (which is presently the capital of Rondônia State). Eventually, during the construction, the workers and the military personnel responsible for the work on the Line made contact with a large number of indigenous groups in the region. During the construction works, some of these groups kept a rudimentary contact with the Brazilians. With the advance of the construction, this contact became ampler and provoked deep changes in these societies.

The command of the works of the Telegraphic Line was in the hands of Colonel Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon. In the first years of the 20th century, the works on the *Line*, already with some outposts installed in the heart of the Nambikwara territory, started to attract the aboriginal groups currently known as Northern Nambikwara. In addition, the first reports appeared where the Sabanê people are mentioned as a particular cluster. The term ‘Sabanê’ appears for the first time in the literature in 1914, in a report of Rondon’s visit to the area known as Posto Três Buritis (see photo).

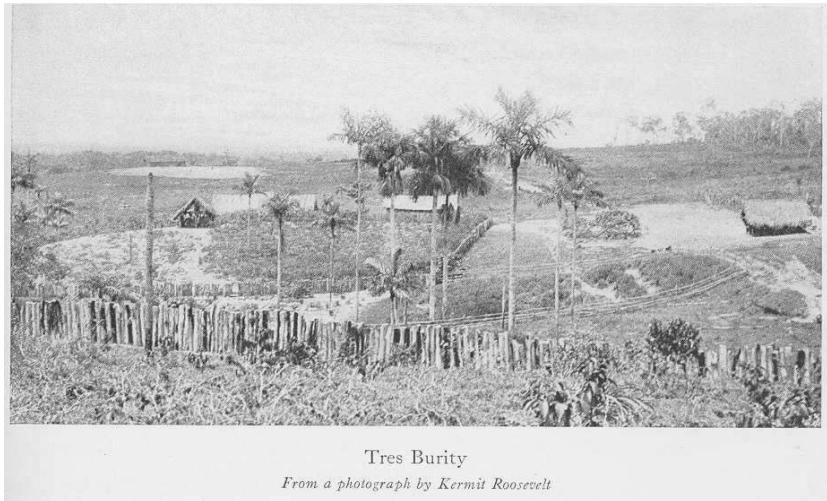
When Rondon visited the area of Três Buritis, tools and gifts were distributed to the Indians who approached the outpost. Rondon (1916: 149-150) reports:

*From this date on, the visits of the Indians to our camps never ceased and there were occasions at which they arrived in groups of 200 or more individuals. The word about such an extraordinary success spread to the backcountry, and soon other tribes, sometimes situated to the North at a distance of over twenty leagues [140 kms], started to join in. In this way, we*

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<sup>3</sup> Section 1.3.1 is based on Reesink (forthcoming), with the author’s permission.

*met the Sabanês, the Iaiás, the Xaodês, and the Teiobês, who are the most beautiful men of the whole region.*<sup>4</sup>



Tres Burity

*From a photograph by Kermít Roosevelt*

Posto Três Buritis, 1913. In Roosevelt 1914.

In the absence of any verifiable evidence, whether linguistic (word lists, etc.), archaeological (utensils, etc.), or derived from documents (photos, for example), it is not possible to establish beyond doubt if the band called Sabanê by Rondon is related to the current Sabanê group. Moreover, the proper names of these bands were confusing to the Brazilians themselves, especially in a time when Indians and white men did not understand each other and communication between them must have been rudimentary. In the published texts from Rondon (1916) or Roquette-Pinto (1919), there is also a great deal of uncertainty as far as the groups' names are concerned. In the first place, Nambikwaran clusters did not possess a specific name. Some of the names that the white men thought to be self-designation were actually kinship names. It is easy to imagine a soldier asking an Indian for the name of the group to which s/he belongs, and the Indian, struggling to understand the newcomer, giving an answer to a question he had misunderstood.

<sup>4</sup> The translation is from the Portuguese text, which is as follows: 'Dessa data em diante, nunca mais cessaram as visitas dos índios aos nossos acampamentos, e houve ocasiões em que elles chegavam aos grupos de 200 e mais indivíduos. A notícia de tão extraordinário successo, propagando-se rapidamente pelo sertão, deu lugar a que, ás primeiras tribus, se reunissem logo outras, situadas para o Norte, a mais de 20 léguas de distância. Assim, ficámos conhecendo os Sabanês, os Iaiás, os Xaodês e os Teiobês, que são os homens mais bonitos de toda esta região.'



position can be explained by analogy to the other names typically attributed to the Nambikwara bands, as for example, Latundê and Tawaindê. In a similar vein, the name of the group referred to by Rondon as ‘Iaiás’ (1916: 150, cited above) could be derived from the Sabanê word **yaya** [‘ja:ja] ‘sister’. Therefore, it is very well possible that a group called ‘Iaiás’ never existed. On the other hand, if this group has ever existed, it is probably now extinct. In the 1930s, the French anthropologist Lévi-Strauss visited the Nambikwara region, following the former Telegraphic Line and reports (1961:350-1):

*Je rencontrais là deux nouvelles bandes, dont l’une comprenait dix-huit personnes parlant un dialecte proche de ceux que je commençais à connaître, tandis que l’autre, forte de trente-quatre membres, faisait usage d’une langue inconnue; par la suite, il ne m’a pas été possible de l’identifier. Chacune était conduite par un chef, aux attributions purement profanes, semblait-il, dans le premier cas; mais le chef de la bande la plus importante allait bientôt se révéler comme une sorte de sorcier. Son groupe se désignait du nom de Sabané; les autres s’appelaient Tarundê.*

*A part la langue rien ne les distinguait: les indigènes avaient même apparence et même culture. C’était déjà le cas à Campos Novos; mais au lieu de se témoigner une hostilité réciproque les deux bandes de Villhena vivaient en bonne intelligence.*

Lévi-Strauss kept a prolonged contact with these groups and concluded that the language of the Sabanê people was unintelligible to the Northern Nambikwara clusters, although these Indians were supposed to be allies and lived close to each other. Inspired by this fact and based on his own comparative work, Lévi-Strauss (1948:10) prefers not to classify the Sabanê as a member of the Nambikwara family:

*Par ses caractères sémantiques et morphologiques, le dialecte c [Sabanê, GAA] s’éloigne nettement des précédents [Northern Nambikwara: Mamaindê, Tarundê, Halôtesu, etc. GAA]. Nous n’avons pas poussé suffisamment loin son étude linguistique pour décider s’il convient ou non de le rattacher à la famille Nambikwara.*

Additionally, Lévi-Strauss (1948) published a Sabanê word list that allows us to confirm, with precision, that he was indeed dealing with the language known today as Sabanê (cf. section 1.4). Therefore, it is possible to presume that the current Sabanê descend from the group contacted by Lévi-Strauss. At the same time, Lévi-Strauss presented a clear-cut demographic picture of the Sabanê. There are no other trustworthy statistics to determine the size of the

Sabanê population (or even the Nambikwara population) before or during the first years of contact. Rondon (quoted by Lévi-Strauss) estimated the Nambikwara population (including the Sabanê) at around twenty thousand people. Lévi-Strauss mentioned that, during his journeys along the former Telegraphic Line in the 1930s, the indigenous populations were facing high death rates, induced, generally, by illnesses. In his stay (around 1933) in the outpost of Vilhena, Lévi-Strauss (1961: 337) wrote:

*Au moins indirectement, je souhaitais me rendre compte du chiffre approximatif de la population nambikwara. En 1915, Rondon l'avait estimé à vingt mille, ce qui était probablement exagéré; mais à cette époque, les bandes atteignaient plusieurs centaines de membres et toutes les indications recueillies sur la ligne suggéraient un déclin rapide: il y a trente ans, la fraction connue du groupe Sabané comprenait plus de mille individus; quand le groupe visita la station téléphonique de Campos Novos en 1928, on recensa cent vingt-sept hommes, plus les femmes et les enfants. En novembre 1929 cependant, une épidémie de grippe se déclara alors que le groupe campait au lieu-dit Espirro<sup>6</sup>. La maladie évolua vers une forme d'œdème pulmonaire, et trois cents indigènes moururent en quarante-huit heures. Tout le groupe se débanda, laissant en arrière les malades et les mourants. Des mille Sabané jadis connus, dix-neuf hommes subsistaient seuls en 1938 avec leurs femmes et leurs enfants. A l'épidémie, il faut peut-être ajouter, pour expliquer ces chiffres, que les Sabané se mirent en guerre il y a quelques années contre certains voisins orientaux. Mais un large groupe installé non loin de Tres Buritis, fut liquidé par la grippe en 1927, sauf six ou sept personnes dont trois seulement étaient encore vivantes en 1938.*

After the abandonment of the Telegraphic Line, the Federal Government promoted efforts to colonize the region again in the end of the 1950s. Meanwhile, the remaining Sabanê engaged in the exploration of poaia<sup>7</sup> (*Cephaelis ipecacuanha*) and rubber, acting like rubber-tappers, many times reduced to being mere slaves owned by former employees of the Telegraphic Line. The proliferation of illnesses caused a drastic demographic reduction in all the indigenous populations of the current state of Rondônia. In this context, in the 1960s, in order to regroup the remaining Indians of nearly extinct or threatened groups, the SPI (*Serviço de Proteção aos Índios*, Brazilian Agency for

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<sup>6</sup> *Espirro* means *to sneeze*, which indicates the health conditions of those who inhabited that outpost.

<sup>7</sup> *Poaia* is a herb used as a traditional medicine.

Protection of the Indigenous Populations, nowadays FUNAI) invited unsettled Indians to form a new village.

The Aroeira reserve was installed in the State of Mato Grosso, approximately twenty kilometres from the town of Vilhena, which belongs to the state of Rondônia. Although the village of Aroeira is geographically located in Mato Grosso State, its population develops many of its activities, as for example trading, in Vilhena. As was already observed above, in this village, Indians of different backgrounds were grouped together, such as the Sabanê, the Tawaindê, the Manduca, and the Mamaindê.

The fact that these ethnic groups were traditionally enemies, or at least non-allies, as far as the relationship between Sabanê-Manduca and Tawaindê-Manduca is concerned, was ignored by the SPI. Furthermore, most of the languages spoken in the village are not mutually intelligible, although Tawaindê and Mamaindê are. These new conditions triggered deep modifications in the social structure of these bands. In the first place, many of their cultural traditions were abandoned. The lack of wedding partners (due to depopulation) forced inter-ethnic marriages. This promoted changes in their traditional rules of ethnic affiliation. Moreover, the concept of a homogeneous and definable ethnic group by kinship or through social rules was lost. It means that, due to a series of causes, the rules of ethnic nomination (for descent or adoption) are no longer used in the traditional sense between the Sabanê and among the members of other indigenous groups that share the Aroeira village. Additionally, the scarcity of arable lands, hunting, and fishing grounds resulted in total dependence from official agencies.

Finally, in the 1960s, Rondônia started to be in fact colonized by another wave of pioneers, and the towns grew. Later, the increasing prestige of Brazilian Portuguese and the linguistic barriers that existed between some groups in Aroeira stimulated the adoption of Portuguese as a lingua franca. This, in turn, promoted the abandonment of the native languages. In a dramatic way, as far as the Sabanê are concerned, the birth of the first generation in Aroeira village represents the abdication of the transmission of the Sabanê language to newborns, even though (very) few of them still possess some passive knowledge. Therefore, every Sabanê that was born in Aroeira is a monolingual speaker of Portuguese.

Aroeira is characterized by a transition between savannah and tropical forest, sandwiched between the Chapada dos Parecis area and the beginning of the Amazonian Forest. In this region, the vegetation varies between dense bushes in the valleys, and fields with shrubs and scarce vegetation. The Indigenous Reserve area has already suffered from human presence. The traditional agricultural technique consists of deforestation and posterior clearance of ground by fire. As an aside, the first descriptions of Northern

Nambikwara gardens at the beginning of contact reported extensive land use and a quite diverse number of cultivated crops. This situation is the opposite of today's gardening policy. Nowadays, gardens mainly produce corn, manioc, sweet potato, and banana. After the harvest, the surplus of production is traded in Vilhena, in order to allow the Indians to get 'new' products, such as rice, salt, soybean oil, and meat (currently the area is poor in hunting).

The centre of the Aroeira village has an infrastructure that enables ranching, and cattle are gradually abated during the year in order to provide meat to the community. However, this supply is insufficient to regularly feed more than 300 people. Moreover, it seems that the cattle are never used for milking. Recently some apicultural activity was initiated, but this is incipient, and so far, very few people seem to have profited from honey.

As a rule, in Aroeira, each family explores economic activities individually and the results are used for their own benefit. In addition, at the moment, pensions are the major source of income, paid monthly by the Government to every Indian older than 65 years old. This income is a Brazilian minimum wage (around R\$260,00, or US\$80.00 per month). Almost every family in the Community has pensioners. In addition, a small number of Indians work for FUNAI as nurse assistants or teachers (wages around R\$600,00, or US\$185.00 per month), which gives them a middle-class standard of living.

In brief, the economic picture presents serious difficulties for the local production and necessitates an influx of goods. Likewise, the fact that four different groups must share a village adds tensions to daily life. In addition, there are few ways of subsistence and the production of goods cannot guarantee enough income to supply the village's needs.

Due to the social tensions in Aroeira, a group of Sabanê Indians left the area and, in May 2002, established a new village. This village is called Sowaintê and it is located between the rivers Roosevelt and Tenente Marques (about seventy kilometres to the northeast of Vilhena). This village is supposedly located in the region inhabited by the Sabanê before contact with the white men was established. The population is expanding and already counts about forty Indians. This area is rich in hunting and fishing grounds, and has good land for farming. In this environment, the Sabanê people have hopes of rehabilitating their language. A school and an educational project in their own language have been set up and teachers are already being trained.

#### **1.4 Genetic Affiliation and Previous Works**

Traditionally, the Nambikwara family has been described either as isolated or as unaffiliated to any group or linguistic family. Many internal classifications have



been proposed and extended to incorporate newly contacted groups during the 20th century (Roquette-Pinto 1919, Lévi-Strauss 1948, Rondon & Faria 1948, Loukotka 1968, Price 1978, and Rodrigues 1986). Within the Nambikwara family three groups of languages are widely recognized: Southern Nambikwara (including Sararé, Kithãulhu, among others); b) Northern Nambikwara (including Mamaindê, Negarotê, Tawandê, Latundê, Lakondê, Sowaintê); and c) Sabanê.

#### 1.4.1 Lévi-Strauss 1948

Roquette-Pinto (1919), Rondon & Faria (1948), and Loukotka's (1968) classifications (the last one of which is based on the former ones) do not present any linguistic details, or discuss the bands' names of the groups involved. Lévi-Strauss' classification (1948) is the first to employ explicit rules. In doing so, Lévi-Strauss (1948:10) recognizes three dialectal groups (Sabanê, Northern, and Southern Nambikwara). However, he observes that:

*Par ses caractères sémantiques et morphologiques, le dialecte Sabanê s'éloigne nettement des précédents [Mamaindê, Tarundê, Halôtesu, etc. GAA]. Nous n'avons pas poussé suffisamment loin son étude linguistique pour décider s'il convient ou non de le rattacher à la famille Nambikwara.*

I tried to collect every Sabanê word published in Lévi-Strauss' work and compared them with my actual data. The Sabanê linguistics data is dispersed throughout Lévi-Strauss' text. Lévi-Strauss' Sabanean word list contains fifty-six words, mainly kinship terms, and names for colours, numerals, fruits, trees, and stars. Occasionally, it was not possible to recover the term originally transcribed by Lévi-Strauss, due to my lack of ability to collect anthropological oriented kinship or colours terms. In the following list, these missing words are followed by '?'. I present Lévi-Strauss' transcriptions (kept as in the original) with an extra column where I give my transcriptions.

Table 1: Lévi-Strauss' symbols (LS 1948:17)

LS <sup>8</sup>	IPA	LS' description
æ	æ	<i>silent e</i>
ã	ã	<i>nasalized a</i>
ẽ	ẽ	<i>nasalized e</i>
õ	õ	<i>nasalized o</i>
ĩ	j	<i>non-syllabic i</i>
ũ	w	<i>non-syllabic u</i>
ʃ	f	<i>voiceless post alveolar fricative (chuintante)</i>
ʒ	ʒ	<i>voiced post alveolar fricative</i>
ʧ	tʃ	<i>voiceless alveolo-palatal affricate</i>
ʎ	ɣ	<i>voiced velar fricative</i>
ʔ	ʔ	<i>glottal stop</i>
h	h	<i>velar fricative</i>
ˈ	ˈ	<i>stressed syllable</i>

## List

Page number	LS' transcription	Araujo's phonological transcription	Gloss
p. 31	uáinko	uaín-ko	father (related to <i>ego</i> )
	hími	?	father's brother
	náuko	nau-ko	mother
	asjátaba	?	father's daughter
	koóka	ko-ka	mother's brother, father's consort, father's father, father's mother
	ʃiíko	ti-ko	mother's brother's wife, consort's mother, mother's mother or mother's father
	taáta	tata	son, sister's son, wife's son
	taátero	?	daughter, sister's daughter, consort's daughter
	áiʃinu	? maisunon <sup>9</sup>	son or sister's son

<sup>8</sup> LS lists only these symbols and does not describe symbols such as /k/, /m/, etc.

<sup>9</sup> Nowadays **maysunon** means 'boy/male youngster'.

	taámero	?	brother's son or daughter
	jája	iaia	brother or older brother
	sabáni	sapane	youngest brother or sister
	iáta	iata	wife, father's sister's daughter or mother's sister's daughter
	tíimo	t-auimo	husband, father's sister's son, mother's sister's son
	íopa	iopa	sister's husband, wife's brother
	šiqítta	?	brother's/sister's wife husband (FP)
	šjaqítte	?	daughter's husband (FP), wife's husband (HP)
	šinaíšo	? cf. maisunon	brother's daughter (FP), sister's daughter (HP)
	šjúsi	?	daughter's children
	šoéšo	?	son's child
	zóa	?	sister's child
p. 55	?ola	? oia	buriti fruit
	taáki	?	a handful of insects
p.62	kašite	?	to sigh
	kasipe	kasip	to spit
p.65	toqi'iri	?	?a plant (not identified by LS)
p.76	kajrobotunibi	?	<i>jeu de griffes</i>
p.86	uelikápara	ulikapali	boss cf. p. 102 uelikábala 'boss'
p.96	iriuá	?	venom for arrows
	jakíuá	?	barrigudeira ( <i>Bombax ventriculosa</i> )
p.99	makalé	makali	javelin
p.102	ndáre	? tolun	thunder
p.104	jamaká	? iulina	flute
p.115	améro	? amulu	1 (numeral)
	baléne	? bala	2 (numeral)
	balaámero	? bala-amulu	3 (numeral)
	álele	? uola	a lot
p.117	páte	pante	white
	tapúte	tapunte	black

	šerešeraĩnte šeraĩnte	? ain	light red
	natope	? nutupi <sup>10</sup>	light red
	tikuálente tapũte	? cf. tapunte	cobalt blue
	tikuálente	?	light blue
	pasĩnte pasĩnte	?	green ( <i>véronèse</i> )
	kualénte	?	emerald green
	na topešeraĩnte	nutupiselainte <sup>11</sup>	
	kualénte	?	yellow ( <i>strontium</i> )
	šeraĩnte	selainte	ochre yellow
	na topešeraĩnte	nutupiselainte	brown
p.118	ióta	iuta	sun
	hĩta	? ela	moon
	ipájkolota	?	full moon
	ipájkolo	?	quarter moon (first or last quarter)

#### 1.4.2 Price 1978

Price 1978, based on the comparative method and phonological correspondences, offers a comparison of three languages: Kithãulhu (Southern Nambikwara), Mamaindê (Northern Nambikwara), and Sabanê, each representing a major Nambikwara group. Price proposes a Proto-Nambikwara Phonology, based on a list of about one hundred and eighty words. In order to do so, Price based himself on his own knowledge of the Kithãulhu language as well as on data collected by Kingston (on the Mamaindê language) during the 1970s. As far as Sabanê is concerned, Price (1978: 16) collected a Rowe-Swadesh-like list:

*(...) from Iracema, a woman married into the village of Camararé, on February 23 and 24, 1974. The transcription was double-checked, but no formal phonological analysis has been done.*

Price (1978: 18) employs a phonemic notation based on an orthography developed by Kindell et al. (1975) for the *Nambikwara Educational Program*.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. **nutupi** ‘urucu’ (*Bixa orellana*).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. **nutupi-selainte** ‘green urucu’.

The Sabanê data, as transcribed by Price, are presented in italics in the tables below. Elements that are not regular (named by Price as ‘Irregular reflexes’) in the three languages (Sabanê, Mamaindê, and Kithãulhu), are in parentheses. [ʔ] represents a glottal stop<sup>12</sup>; superscript numbers such as <sup>3</sup> indicates *low tone* and <sup>4</sup> stands for *high tone*. The first column follows Price’s original numbering, although in the original, glosses are bilingual Portuguese/English (I discarded the Portuguese translation). Beside Price’s list, I present my own phonological transcriptions<sup>13</sup>. The symbol ‘?’ stands for a term that was not found with the same meaning as that listed by Price. The symbol ‘?’, followed by a substantially different transcription, indicates that the cognate term was not found by myself.

*Cognates: (Price 1978: 23-27)*

	Price	Araujo	Gloss
2.	<i>hi<sup>3</sup>(l)</i>	? ileipelu <sup>14</sup>	now
3.	<i>n<sup>1</sup>(e<sup>3</sup>n<sup>2</sup>o<sup>3</sup>)pæ<sup>3</sup>l</i>	ninu-apilia?	water
5.	<i>h<sup>2</sup>ai<sup>3</sup></i>	ai	to walk
6.	<i>hã<sup>3</sup>lu:<sup>4</sup>m</i>	oluma	tapir
8.	<i>te<sup>4</sup>l</i>	tel	that
9.	<i>ti:<sup>3</sup></i>	ti	here
10.	<i>po:<sup>3</sup>k</i>	oto-poka	bow
11.	<i>n<sup>2</sup>ai:<sup>4</sup>(p)</i>	a-naipa-kata	wing
15.	<i>su:<sup>3</sup>l</i>	sul	hit
16.	<i>na:<sup>4</sup></i>	inai	drink
17.	<i>hã<sup>3</sup>no:<sup>3</sup>la<sup>3</sup></i>	anola	animal
19.	<i>(wæ<sup>3</sup>n<sup>2</sup>i:<sup>4</sup>)</i>	unin	good
21.	<i>pa:<sup>3</sup>n</i>	pan	white
25.	<i>n<sup>2</sup>a(∅):<sup>4</sup>(s)</i>	a-na-si	head
26.	<i>i:<sup>4</sup>s</i>	i-si	hair
27.	<i>wai:<sup>3</sup>ya<sup>3</sup>l</i>	uaiulu	dog
28.	<i>hi:<sup>4</sup></i>	inei	fall
29.	<i>hã<sup>3</sup>te<sup>3</sup>p</i>	atipa?	road
31.	<i>pãi:<sup>3</sup>n</i>	pain	sing
39.	<i>hæ(:)<sup>3</sup>pa<sup>4</sup>n</i>	? abunon	sky
41.	<i>(∅)hõ<sup>3</sup>n</i>	?	smell

<sup>12</sup> Price (1978) used [ʔ].

<sup>13</sup> Symbols and conventions are described in Chapter 2.

42.	$n^2 a^3 (sa^3 li^3)$	nasala	horn
43.	$ha^3 mai^3 (l)$	amail	rain
44.	$pa^3 no^3$	kapipa-non	ashes
45.	$te^3 p$	deipa	snake
46.	$ki^3 (\emptyset)$	ki	scratch
50.	$(y^2 \text{æ}^4 sa^3 la^3)$	i-esalal-isi	heart
51.	$nu^3$	? nutupi	string
52.	$hi^3 p$	ip	run
55.	$mai^3 s$	maisili	child
56.	$? o^3$	osa	give
57.	$sa^4$	?	lie
58.	$wi^3$	a-ui	tooth
60.	$p^2 a^3 li^4 n$	? bala	two
61.	$(ha^3 mu^3 n^2 i^4)$	amu	sleep
62a.	$pai^3$	?	he
62b.	$a^4$	a-	his
64.	$li^3 nu^3$	?	rub
65.	$? \text{ã}^3 n$	ainam	listen
68a.	$t^2 a^3 (w^2 a^4) l$	touali	I
68b.	$ta^4$	ta-	my
69.	$yu^3 l$	ioula	knife
70.	$si^{(4)}$	tisia	speak
71.	$ka^3 ma:t^3$	kamata	beans
72.	$(\emptyset) i^4 l$	i-li	liver
73.	$ho^3 t$	oto	arrow
75.	$y\text{ã}:(n)^3 t$	ianta	fire
76a.	$ha^4 s(i)$	asi	leaf
79.	$wi^3 (t) a^3$	ui	fog
80.	$hai^3 s$	also	tobacco
87.	$wa^4 ka^3 n$	uan	swell
90.	$ti^4 pa^3 t$	tipat	there
93.	$h\text{ã}^3 \text{æ}$	ani	firewood
95b.	$pa^3 n$	pan	clean (cf. white)
96.	$pai^{(4)} l$	iusupaila	tongue
98.	$y^2 o^3 y^2 o^3$	iulia	worm
99.	$u^3 l$	? ul-iapa	far
100.	$he^3 l\text{æ}^3$	ela	moon
102.	$na(u)^3$	nau-ko	mother
104.	$pi^{(4)} p$	a-pipa	hand
106.	$wa^{(4)} a^3 t$	?	left hand

107.	cf. note <sup>15</sup>		
108.	ha: <sup>3</sup> n	kan	kill
110.	k(i) <sup>3</sup> ya:t <sup>3</sup>	kiata	corn
112.	(m)i: <sup>3</sup> m	im	bite
115.	ha <sup>3</sup> te <sup>3</sup> (ta)p	atitapa	woman
117.	ha: <sup>4</sup> p	hap	swim
118.	a <sup>4</sup> mi: <sup>3</sup> s	i-amisu-non	nose
121.	?e: <sup>3</sup> p	ip	see
122.	(k <sub>λ</sub> ) <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>3</sup>	a-kuku-si	eye
124.	pai <sup>(4)</sup>	pai	where
125.	n <sup>2</sup> a <sup>4</sup>	a-nakapalo-non	ear
126.	so	i-su	bone
127.	no	inaina	egg
128a.	wāi <sup>3</sup> (k)	uain-ko	father
130.	ha <sup>3</sup> pi: <sup>3</sup>	-api	tree, stick
133.	t(æ) <sup>3</sup> pæ <sup>3</sup> l	tapul-isi	stone
134.	hi: <sup>3</sup>	?sa	hold
139.	(si <sup>3</sup> qi <sup>4</sup> hn)	sukuin	little
140.	nai <sup>(3)</sup>	inai	leg
146.	ta <sup>(4)</sup> (p)o: <sup>3</sup> n	tapun	black
147.	si: <sup>3</sup> n	sin	pull
148a.	na(t) <sup>3</sup>	nat	when
149.	(h)a <sup>4</sup> te: <sup>4</sup>	ate	what
156.	ma <sup>3</sup> tū: <sup>3</sup> ma <sup>3</sup> tū: <sup>3</sup> n	motu	round
158.	wai <sup>3</sup> n	uain	straight
162.	k(i) <sup>4</sup> si: <sup>3</sup> p	kasip	spit
164.	ka <sup>3</sup> mai <sup>3</sup> kæ <sup>3</sup> n	kamaik	dry season
165.	lo: <sup>3</sup> n	kolun	dry
166.	(?)i <sup>4</sup>	ai	seed
167.	yo: <sup>3</sup> (p)	iei	sit
171.	s(i) <sup>3</sup> p(a <sup>3</sup> )l	asipal	fear
172b.	nu	naisu-non	earth
173.	(p)a <sup>3</sup> k(o) <sup>3</sup> (p)a <sup>3</sup> k(o) <sup>3</sup> n	pako	crooked
175.	ka <sup>3</sup> n(λ) <sup>3</sup>	asai-kanu-pi	guts
177.	kai: <sup>3</sup> l	i-kaila	finger nail, claw
179.	to: <sup>3</sup> p	nutupi	urucu
180.	tī: <sup>3</sup> n	?denia	old

<sup>15</sup> Price lists data 107 as a cognate of K: we<sup>3</sup>sāi<sup>1</sup> and M: wi<sup>3</sup>tai:<sup>(3)</sup> ‘husband’, however, he did not include the Sabanê example.

182.	<i>s(i)<sup>3</sup>(l)ai<sup>3</sup>s(i)<sup>3</sup>(l)ai.<sup>3</sup>n</i>	?	green
183.	<i>hã<sup>3</sup>n</i>	ain	red
184.	<i>ma.<sup>3</sup></i>	mai	come
185.	<i>ka.<sup>3</sup>te<sup>3</sup>(l)</i>	?	live
186.	<i>h(ø)i.<sup>3</sup>n</i>	in	fly
187a.	<i>w<sup>?</sup>a<sup>4</sup>(l)</i>	ma-	you
187b.	<i>ma<sup>4</sup></i>	ma-	your
189.	<i>lo.<sup>3</sup>p</i>	ilup	vomit

(Price 1978: 27): *Secondary occurrences of items included in the vocabulary are listed below:*

22.	<i>su.<sup>3</sup>l</i> (cf. 15)	sul	fight
48.	<i>na.<sup>3</sup>t</i> (cf. 148a)	nat	how
155.	<i>nai<sup>4</sup></i> (cf. 140)	inai	root
157.	<i>yã.<sup>3</sup></i> (cf. 50)	?	breathe
159.	<i>pã.<sup>3</sup>l</i> (cf. 3a)	apilia	river

(Price 1978: 27): *Non-cognate items included in the vocabulary are<sup>16</sup>:*

1.	<i>?ã.<sup>3</sup>p</i>	ap	sharp
7.	<i>mã<sup>4</sup>mΛ:t</i>	? pita	squeeze
12.	<i>?ã.<sup>3</sup>pã<sup>3</sup>ka<sup>3</sup>t</i>	?saka	rough
13.	<i>mu.<sup>3</sup>l</i>	a-miti-non	stomach
14.	<i>si<sup>4</sup>kai.<sup>3</sup>li<sup>4</sup>yo.<sup>3</sup>p</i>	?amolanon	abdomen
20.	<i>m<sup>?</sup>ai.<sup>4</sup>pã<sup>3</sup>ka<sup>3</sup>t</i>	a-naipa-kata	arm
24.	<i>mo<sup>3</sup>to<sup>3</sup>k</i>	motoka	gourd
33.	<i>ha<sup>3</sup>to.<sup>3</sup>l</i>	atoia	yam
38.	<i>hã<sup>3</sup>nΛ<sup>3</sup>se<sup>4</sup></i>	?anose	basket
40.	<i>kã<sup>3</sup>mu.<sup>4</sup>n</i>	kamun	full
54.	<i>po.<sup>3</sup>kã<sup>3</sup>nΛ<sup>3</sup></i>	a-puku-non	back
66.	<i>to.<sup>3</sup>lã<sup>3</sup>pa<sup>3</sup>ta<sup>3</sup></i>	?	this
67.	<i>yü.<sup>3</sup>na<sup>3</sup>wã<sup>3</sup></i>	iunua	star
78.	<i>wĩ.<sup>3</sup>n</i>	uin	smoke
81.	<i>ha<sup>3</sup>t?e.<sup>4</sup>p<sup>4</sup></i>	atepa	person
83.	<i>hi<sup>3</sup>la.<sup>3</sup>m</i>	ilaun	big
84.	<i>ka<sup>3</sup>ti<sup>3</sup>la.<sup>3</sup>m</i>	katilam	thick

<sup>16</sup> These are non-cognate items, according to Price. They may be cognates according to our list.



86.	<i>ha<sup>?</sup>te:<sup>4</sup>la<sup>3</sup>ko<sup>4</sup></i>	? leto-ko	old man
91.	<i>ya<sup>3</sup>wi:<sup>3</sup>la:<sup>3</sup>m</i>	ilaun	wide
94.	<i>wæ<sup>3</sup>sa<sup>3</sup>wæ<sup>3</sup>sa:<sup>3</sup>n</i>	pasa-n	light
111.	<i>sa<sup>3</sup>wa:<sup>4</sup>n</i>	souan	wet
113.	<i>ka:<sup>4</sup>n</i>	kan	die
114.	<i>ha:<sup>4</sup>l</i>	uola	many
116.	<i>he<sup>?</sup>le:<sup>3</sup>ta<sup>3</sup>ko<sup>4</sup></i>	? leto-ko	old woman
120.	<i>hi<sup>3</sup>lai:<sup>3</sup>pa<sup>3</sup>m</i>	?	new
132.	<i>ha<sup>3</sup>pæi<sup>4</sup></i>	?	stand
137.	<i>?ya<sup>4</sup>ko:<sup>3</sup>si<sup>3</sup></i>	? ikaila	skin
142.	<i>?ya<sup>4</sup>kæ<sup>3</sup>læ<sup>4</sup>kæ<sup>3</sup>li:<sup>4</sup>ma<sup>3</sup>te<sup>3</sup></i>	?	neck
144.	<i>ti:<sup>3</sup>læ<sup>4</sup>mæ<sup>4</sup>l</i>	?	plant
145.	<i>hæ<sup>4</sup>te:<sup>4</sup>pa<sup>3</sup>ræ<sup>4</sup></i>	? ate	why
151.	<i>ha<sup>4</sup>te<sup>4</sup>li<sup>3</sup></i>	ate-l	who
153.	<i>sai<sup>3</sup></i>	i-sei	tail
154.	<i>pa<sup>3</sup>le:<sup>3</sup>t</i>	palit	split
161.	<i>ye<sup>3</sup>ni:<sup>4</sup>k<sup>?</sup>æ<sup>3</sup></i>	ianinka	garden
163.	<i>?ya:<sup>4</sup>mi<sup>3</sup>ya<sup>3</sup></i>	iama	blood
168.	<i>yo:<sup>3</sup>tæ<sup>3</sup></i>	iuta	sun
174.	<i>ha:<sup>3</sup>wa<sup>3</sup>kæ<sup>3</sup>ta<sup>3</sup>wa<sup>4</sup>hæi<sup>4</sup>t</i>	ilika	work
179.	<i>ma<sup>3</sup>ka<sup>3</sup>li:<sup>3</sup>ræ<sup>3</sup>m</i>	?	empty

Price was familiar with the Kithāulhu language (Southern Nambikwara), because of a fourteen months' stay in the Camararé village (Price 1972: 48-49). The influence of his Kithāulhu knowledge of Kithāulhu and his familiarity with the writing system proposed by the missionaries in the Nambikwara Area are reflected in his transcriptions and in the way he transcribes Sabanê as well. As far as Mamaindê data is concerned, Price was based on Kingston (1970, 1972).

Southern and Northern Nambikwara languages have, for example, a strong tendency to shorten diphthongs (cf. Kroeker 2001: 2, Telles 2002: 100), although this tendency does not apply to Sabanê. Therefore, the shift of [wə] to [u] in data 19 /unin/, and from [ow] to [u] in 69 /ioula/, transcribed by Price as /(wæ<sup>3</sup>n<sup>?</sup>i:<sup>4</sup>)/ and /yu<sup>3</sup>l/, respectively, reflects the Kithāulhu influence on the Sabanê notation. Kithāulhu has countless monosyllabic roots, while Sabanê has hardly any, as shown in Price's transcriptions (01). Based on this fact, one can assume that Price segmented Sabanê morphemes bearing in mind the hypothesis that many words would be monosyllabic, as shown in (01).

(01)	<i>Price</i>	Araujo	gloss
	<i>tɛ:<sup>3</sup>p</i>	deipa	snake
	<i>nai<sup>4</sup></i>	inai	root

In addition, the lack of a broader morphological analysis is evident in example 112 (*m*)*i:<sup>3</sup>m* ‘to bite’. In this case, Price integrates the morpheme **m-** ‘2OBJ’ into the word. Therefore, Price writes (*m-*)*i:<sup>3</sup>m* and supposes this form means ‘to bite’, while it actually means ‘s/he bites me’. Examples 102 *na(u)<sup>(3)</sup>* ‘mother’ and 128a *wãi<sup>3</sup>(k)* ‘father’ were not subjected to a detailed analysis, since the morpheme **-ko** ‘CLASS TERM’ is represented in both words, as in **naw-ko** ‘mother’ and **wajn-ko** ‘father’.

Given that Price collected the data with a female informant, the presence of an initial glottal fricative [h] in his transcriptions (cf. Price’s example 28.*hi:<sup>4</sup>*) can be attributed to a female vs. male variation: in word-initial onsetless syllables, exclusively in female speech, [h] is inserted as the default onset. (Cf. page 55 below).

(02)	<b>iney</b>	<b>-i</b>	<b>-al</b>	<b>-i</b>
	to fall	-VS	-PRES NEUT	-ASSR
	/inei-i-al-i/			
	[hi <sup>h</sup> næjiv <sub>l</sub> i]			
	‘S/he falls.’ (Female speech)			

cf. [i<sup>h</sup>næjiv<sub>l</sub>i]  
‘S/he falls.’ (Male speech)

The variation shown in (02) is sociolinguistically motivated. For this reason, in my list there are no glottal fricatives in the word-initial position in the examples 5, 6, 17, 28, 29, 33, 38, 39, 43, 52, 61, 73, 76a, 80, 81, 83, 93, 100, 114, 115, 116, 117, 130, 149, 183, and 186. Probably Price did not notice this sociolinguistic fact because he worked with one female speaker only.

There is an alternation between the phonemes /m/ and [w] in the beginning of Sabanê forms which occur in very few words, such as in [wi<sub>ɔ</sub>ka<sup>li</sup>]<sup>2</sup> ~ [mi<sub>ɔ</sub>ka<sup>li</sup>]<sup>2</sup> ‘cassava’ and [wi<sup>h</sup>a:la<sub>ɔ</sub>sa<sup>pa</sup>] ~ [mi<sup>h</sup>a:la<sub>ɔ</sub>sa<sup>pa</sup>] ‘jatoba fruit’. However, this alternation is common in some other Nambikwara languages (cf. Borella 2002, Telles 2002).

The alternation /m/ ~ [w] ~ /p/ is less robust in Nambikwara languages, although it also occurs. This may have been common to all Nambikwara languages but is not regular in Sabanê anymore. Nevertheless, such variations can be observed as in 187a *w<sup>2</sup>a<sup>4</sup>(l)* ‘you’, cf. **ma-**, and in 94 *wæ<sup>3</sup>sa<sup>3</sup>wæ<sup>3</sup>sa:<sup>3</sup>n* ‘light’, cf. **pasa-n**.

Price reviews the literature on Nambikwara languages and concludes that all Nambikwara dialects (at least those for which word lists are available) can be connected to any of those three major groups. Price (1978: 28) finalizes his work presenting the following ratios between the cognate items in the three languages (K-Kithãulhu, M-Mamaindê, and S-Sabanê):

Table 2: Percentage of cognates

	K-M	K-S	M-S
Cognates:	116	95	81
Cases:	164	190	165
Percentage:	71%	50%	49%

These ratios indicate the relationship among the Northern and Southern Nambikwara languages (even though these languages are unintelligible to each other), and the Sabanê. It also supports the hypothesis that all these languages belong to the same family.

Being based mainly on Price (1978), the classification proposed by Rodrigues (1986: 74-76) suggests the same division into three groups.

## 1.5 Methodology

This study is based on first-hand data collected in various field trips between 2000 and 2004. When this work started, the total number of Sabanê speakers was estimated at about fifteen (Wetzels 1999); however, the Sabanê Census (Araujo 2000) showed that in the year 2000 only eight native speakers were still alive. During the course of this study, the number of native speakers decreased to three.

When this work was initiated, the Aroeira village community appointed Manoel Sabanê as my ‘teacher’, because of his knowledge of Sabanê, his availability and, above all, his willingness to work as an informant. Consequently, Manoel Sabanê was the main informant for this study. In addition, Filipe Sabanê also contributed substantially as an informant. Only one female native speaker, Avelina Sabanê, contributed initially to the project. However, she abandoned her task as an informant for finding the work too hard. As a result of the difficulties of the informant work, Avelina abandoned the sessions completely.

Two non-native speakers have also been crucial for this work: Ivone Sowaintê, Manoel Sabanê’s wife (the last remaining Sowaintê), learnt Sabanê when she was a child and does speak Sabanê regularly with her husband. Teresa Lakondê (the last Lakondê speaker), Manoel and Ivone’s sister-in-law, who also

learnt Sabanê when she was young and frequently speaks Sabanê to Manoel and Ivone. Moreover, Teresa Lakondê's availability and proficiency together with her unique metalinguistic knowledge played a fundamental role in my own learning process of the language, as well as in the collection and confirmation of the data. To conclude, the collection work was carried out with three native informants (Manoel, Filipe, and Avelina) and two non-natives (Teresa and Ivone).

The proficiency levels in Brazilian Portuguese vary considerably among my informants. In this respect, Teresa, Manoel, Ivone, Filipe, and Avelina are on a decreasing scale, with Teresa possessing native-like abilities in Portuguese. Due to local constraints, I could never work with all of them together. When I started this project, Manoel and Ivone were about to leave Aroeira. Once they had left, they never returned to the village. Avelina does not leave Aroeira anymore, because she is too old and ill. Filipe was in a fragile relationship with Manoel and refused to meet him outside Aroeira. Manoel and Ivone are nowadays settled in the Sowaintê village, which is a no-go area for Aroeirans. Teresa lives in the town of Vilhena. Teresa, Manoel, and Ivone often meet each other.

The Project *The Grammar of Sabanê* is part of the research program 'The Nambikwara Indians: a Description of their Languages and their Cultural Identity', co-ordinated by Professor Dr. W. Leo Wetzels of the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. The program involves the study of three languages, each representing one of the major Nambikwara groups. Besides this *Grammar of Sabanê*, the research project involves four other researchers. Telles (2002) presented her work in a monograph entitled *Fonologia e Gramática Latundê/Lakondê* (Northern Nambikwara); Cristina Borella prepares a grammar on the Sararé/Katithãulhu language (Southern Nambikwara); Januacele Costa and Leo Wetzels are preparing a reconstruction of Proto-Nambikwara (Costa & Wetzels, in preparation), and Edwin Reesink has just finished his anthropological study *Nambikwara Ethno-histories* (Reesink, forthcoming).

Reesink and I visited the Aroeira village in the year 2000, when we were received by the Community. Although we were received politely, the community had decided in a meeting that we should not develop our work in the village. In the same meeting, it was decided that Filipe and Avelina could not help us outside the village. Anthropologist Edwin Reesink believes that the elders' council, controlled mainly by Manduca and Tawaindê, had felt threatened by the possibility of an increase of prestige of Sabanê, caused by the fact that the language was about to be documented and would, later, be part of a project of bilingual education.

The Sabanê language has no social usage in the Sabanê Community anymore. It is used in a spontaneous manner only in conversations between Manoel Sabanê and Ivone Sowaintê, and when Manoel and Ivone meet Teresa

Lakondê. As was observed before, for a number of political issues, Manoel, Ivone, and Teresa do not go to Aroeira village anymore and they are thus not able to meet other Sabanê speakers. In the face of the eminent extinction of the language, this *Grammar of Sabanê* had to be completed within the limits of the restricted availability of informants with native mastery of the language. Eventually, some real life material such as histories and myths were collected; however, it was not completely put to use.

The collected material was double-checked with at least two speakers, i.e., if collected with Filipe, it was checked with Manoel and Teresa; if collected with Manoel, it was checked with Teresa and Ivone, and so on. The non-native speakers did not work as primary sources for this study.

Since the year 2000, I have spent several seasons with the Sabanê; in total more than a year in the Sowaintê village or in the town of Vilhena. The recorded data was stored on mini-disc (MD) with a digital microphone.

The grammatical description that follows in the chapters below has benefited from many theoretical works, such as Clements & Keyser (1983), Hayes (1989), Goldsmith (1990), as well as Comrie (1976), Dixon (1979, 1994), Bybee (1985), Shopen (1985), Mithun (1991), Frawley (1992), Payne (1997), Aikhenvald (2001), Aikhenvald & Dixon (2003), etc.



## 2 Phonology

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter is organised in the following way: first, I describe the vocalic and consonantal phoneme charts, discussing them in depth. Second, I address syllable structure and syllable related processes, among which the stress rule is, that is partially sensitive to syllable weight. Finally, I present a number of morphophonological processes.

There are five phonemic vowels in Sabanê: /a e i o u/. Phonetically, there are also long and nasalized vowels, and glides. Vowels and glides may combine to form diphthongs. The consonantal phonemes are /p t k b d m n l s h ʔ/, which are common to all Nambikwara languages, except for the implosives /b d/.

In the section on *Syllable Structure*, I present the co-occurrence restrictions on segments within the syllable, and the processes of syllabification in general. It will be shown that Sabanê prevents, through deletion or resyllabification, a specific set of underlying segments to appear in the coda of the syllable.

In the section on *Stress*, I defend the view that stress is predictable in Sabanê, both in the verbal and in the nominal domains. All heavy syllables bear stress, and if there is no heavy syllable in a word, the penultimate syllable will be stressed. In Sabanê, heavy syllables are those that have a coda. The coda position can only be filled by glides, a coronal nasal consonant, or a glottal stop. A syllable with main stress will be indicated by ['] preceding the syllable, and rhythmic stress by [ᵛ] preceding the syllable with secondary or iterative stress; unstressed syllables are unmarked.

### 2.2 Vowels

#### 2.2.1 Introduction

In Sabanê there are five phonemic vowels /a i u e o/, phonetically realized as [ɑ i u æ ɔ] in stressed position, and as [ɛ ɪ u ə ɣ] in non-stressed position, respectively.

The underlying high oral vowels /i/ and /u/ are realized as [i, u] in stressed and as [ɪ, u/ɣ] in unstressed syllables, respectively. The mid vowels /e/ and /o/ are normally realized in stressed syllables as [æ/e] and [ɔ], respectively, but they become [ə] and [ɣ] in unstressed syllables. However, the phoneme /e/ is relatively rare. The low central vowel /a/ in stressed syllables is realized as [ɑ] and in unstressed syllables as [ɛ] or [ə].

Table 3: Phonemic vowels

	ORAL VOWELS		
	ANTERIOR	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i		u
MEDIUM	e		o
LOW		a	

In words with three or more syllables, in which there is a gap between a stressed and any other syllable, the syllable that receives iterative secondary prominence will be stressed. The vowel in this position (marked by [·]) will have a longer duration than an unstressed vowel, although it will be shorter than a primary stressed vowel (usually realized as a long vowel). In secondary stress position, four vowels have been found: /a i u o/, realized as [ə y ʌ ɔ]. The vowels /u o/ are neutralized and have the same phonetic output [ʌ]. The vowel /e/ was not found in this position.

Minimal pairs opposing short and long vowels have not been found. Therefore, the opposition between short and long vowels is a phonetic one for which we assume a complementary relationship. Short variants occur in unstressed syllables while the long ones occur in primary or rhythmically stressed syllables. As stated by the rule (01), every vowel will be long when stressed:

$$(01) \quad [+syl] \rightarrow [+long] / \left[ \begin{array}{c} - \\ +stress \end{array} \right]$$

The stress preference for bimoraic syllables is widely documented (cf. Pike 1947: 87).

In (02), there are examples opposing the vowels /a/, /e/, and /i/.

(02) **ala**  
 /ala/  
 [ʌ:·rə]  
 ‘to bake’

**ela**  
 /ela/  
 [æ:·rə]  
 ‘moon’



**ila**

/ila/

[ĩ:.rə]

'spider monkey' (*Ateles species*)

The following pairs contrast /o/ and /u/.

(03) **wayulu**

/uaiulu/

[wã<sup>1</sup>.jũ<sup>1</sup>.lũ<sup>1</sup>]

'dog'

**a<sup>?</sup>olu<sup>?</sup>**/a<sup>?</sup>olu<sup>?</sup>/[a:<sup>?</sup>.õ<sup>?</sup>.lũ<sup>?</sup>]'tatu-galinha, an armadillo species' (*Dasyus novemcinctus*)(04) **oluma**

/oluma/

[õ.<sup>1</sup>lũ<sup>1</sup>.ma]'tapir' (*Tapirus terrestris*)**kolowapi**

/koloua.api/

[kõ.<sup>1</sup>lõ<sup>w</sup>.wə̃<sup>1</sup>.pĩ<sup>1</sup>]

'string'

A nasalization process is active in vowels (phonemically oral). Phonetic nasalization happens before a nasal consonant, when the vowel is in primary or secondary stress position. For this reason, it is a phonetic phenomenon: nasality spreads to preceding vowels from a following nasal consonant if the preceding syllable is stressed.

(05) **pan**

[pã:]

'to be white'

**pan**

to be white

[pã.nĩ.ã.lĩ]

'It is white.'

-i

-VS

-al

-PRES NEUT

-i

-ASSR

- (06) **motu**            **-n**        **-al**            **-i**  
 to be round        -VS        -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 [mo<sup>l</sup>tũ:na<sub>l</sub>liː]  
 'It is round.'
- motu.motu**            **-n**        **-al**            **-i**  
 to be round.to be round -VS        -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 [mo<sub>l</sub>tũːmo<sup>l</sup>tũ:na<sub>l</sub>liː]  
 'It is perfectly round.'

When an unstressed syllable precedes a nasal consonant, spreading of nasality does not take place.

- (07) **apisapa**            **hala**            **-n**        **-al**            **-i**  
 fruit                to be rotten    -VS        -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 [aˈpi:sapaˈha:lanaːliː]  
 'The fruit is rotten.'

### 2.2.2 Vowel Phonemes and their Allophones

The unrounded high front vowel /i/ is realized as [i]. It occurs as nucleus, next to all consonants. It can also occur as the only element of the syllable.

- [i]
- (08) **api.anun**  
 /api.anun/  
 [a.ɸiː.nũ]  
 'saw dust'
- (09) **t-**        **im**        **-i**        **-al**            **-i**  
 IOBJ- to bite -VS        -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 /t-im-i-al-i/  
 [t̥iː.mi.ɸaːri]  
 'S/he bites me.'
- (10) **wila**  
 /uila/  
 [ˈwiː.re]  
 'chicken'

- (11) **win**            **-n**        **-al**            **-i**  
 to be foggy        -VS        -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 /uin-n-al-i/  
 [ˈwĩː.na.ɹliː]  
 ‘It is foggy.’
- (12) **iney**    **-i**        **-al**            **-i**  
 to fall    -VS        -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 /inei-i-al-i/  
 [iː.næː.ja.ɹliː]  
 ‘S/he falls.’
- [iː]
- (13) **d-**        **apipa**  
 1POSS- hand  
 /ɸ-apipa/  
 [ɸə.ˈpiː.pa]  
 ‘my hand’
- (14) **atitapa?**  
 /atitapa?/  
 [a.ˈtiː.ta.ˈpaːʔ] ~ [a.ˈtʃiː.ta.ˈpaːʔ]  
 ‘woman’
- (15) **takipa**  
 /takipa/  
 [ta.ˈkiː.pa]  
 ‘pygmy marmoset’ (*Cebuella pygmaea*)
- (16) **anina**  
 /anina/  
 [a.ˈniː.na]  
 ‘bat’
- (17) **asipa.inun**  
 /asipa.inun/  
 [a.ˈʃiː.pa.ɹnũː]  
 ‘salt’

- (18) **ulima**  
 /ulima/  
 [u.ʎi.ma]  
 ‘cerejeira tree’ (*Ficus anthelmintica*)
- (19) **win**            **-n**    **-ap**    **-al**            **-i**  
 to be foggy    -VS    -ITER    -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 /uin-n-ap-al-i/  
 [ʎi.na.pa.li]  
 ‘It is becoming foggy.’

The rounded high vowel [u] and its allophone [u:] occur in the syllable nucleus, next to all consonants. They can occur in onsetless and codaless syllables as well.

- [u]
- (20) **puwisa**  
 /puwisa/  
 [pu.ʎi.sa] ~ [pu.ʎi.fa]  
 ‘mutum bird’ (*Crax globulosa*)
- (21) **akuku?**  
 /akuku?/  
 [a.ku.ku:]  
 ‘wild dog’
- (22) **kiata**    **-inun**    **-mi**  
 corn    -CL: PD -REF  
 /kiata-inun-mi/  
 [ki.a.ta.nũ]  
 ‘maize flour’
- (23) **anolota** **-mi**    **ilul**    **-i**    **-al**            **-i**  
 meat    -REF    to eat    -VS    -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 /anolota-mi ilul-i-al-i/  
 [a.no.lo.ta.mi.ru.ri.a.ri]  
 ‘S/he eats meat.’

- (24) **ulumusu?**  
 /ulumusu?/  
 [u<sub>1</sub>lu<sub>1</sub>.mu<sub>1</sub>.su:]  
 ‘dove’ (*Columbina minuta*)
- (25) **wayulupi**  
 /uaiulupi/  
 [‘wa<sub>1</sub>.ju<sub>1</sub>.lu<sub>1</sub>pi:]  
 ‘guara wolf’ (*Chrysocyon brachyurus*)
- (26) **ulin**            **-n**        **-al**            **-i**  
 to be stinky    -VS        -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 [u<sub>1</sub>.rĩ<sub>1</sub>:na<sub>1</sub>.rĩ:]  
 ‘It stinks/It is dirty.’
- [u:]
- (27) **tutikali**  
 /tutikali/  
 [‘tu<sub>1</sub>:tʃi<sub>1</sub>.ka<sub>1</sub>.ri:]  
 ‘pigeon’ (*Columba civia domestica*)
- (28) **kut**    **-i**        **-al**            **-i**  
 to tie    -VS        -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 /kut-i-al-i/  
 [‘ku<sub>1</sub>:tʃi<sub>1</sub>.pa<sub>1</sub>.ri:]  
 ‘S/he is tied up.’
- (29) **olumata**  
 /olumata/  
 [o<sub>1</sub>.lũ<sub>1</sub>:ma<sub>1</sub>.ta:]  
 ‘cow’
- (30) **uma**  
 /uma/  
 [‘ũ<sub>1</sub>:ma]  
 ‘capybara’ (*Hydrochoerus capybara*)
- (31) **kapune**  
 /kapune/  
 [ka<sub>1</sub>.pũ<sub>1</sub>:nə]  
 ‘paca’ (*Cuniculus paca*)

The vowel /u/ may surface in the syllable margin, in which case it forms a diphthong with the syllable nucleus:

- (32) **da- tapawulu -mi**  
 1POSS- clay pot -REF  
 /da-tapauulu-mi/  
 [d̥aː.ta.p<sup>w</sup>u.lu.mi]  
 ‘my clay pot’

The mid-front vowel /e/ is relatively rare. It can also occur as the nucleus of an onsetless or codaless syllable.

- (33) [e]  
**deypa**  
 /deipa/  
 [d̥e.j.p<sup>h</sup>a]  
 ‘snake’
- (34) **bolowke**  
 /bolouke/  
 [boː.ɾow.k<sup>h</sup>e]  
 ‘parrot’
- (35) **bose**  
 /bose/  
 [boː.se]  
 ‘fish (generic)’
- (36) **iney**  
 /inei/  
 [iː.næj]  
 ‘root’
- (37) [eː]  
**kela**  
 /kela/  
 [keː.ra]  
 ‘blue and yellow macaw’ (*Ara ararauna*)

- (38) **ela**  
 /ela/  
 ['e:.ra]  
 'Moon'

In stressed syllables, /e/ can be also realized as [æ]:

- (39) **yey**  
 /iei/  
 ['jæj]  
 'to stay'
- (40) **kiylali**  
 /kiɛlali/  
 [ki.'æj.rə.li]  
 'peccary' (*Tayassu tajacu*)

The mid-back vowel /o/ and its allophones [o] and [o:] can occur as a syllable nucleus following any consonant. They can also form a syllable by themselves.

- (41) [o]  
**poputa**  
 /poputa/  
 [po.'pu:.ta]  
 'butterfly'
- (42) **m- oto.poka**  
 2POSS- shot-gun  
 /m-oto-poka/  
 ['mo:.to.po'.ka]  
 'your shot-gun'
- (43) **kolun -i -al -i**  
 to be dry -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 /kolun-i-al-i/  
 [ko.'lũ:.ni.ɾa'.ri]  
 'It is dry.'

- (44) **motu.motu**            **-n**        **-al**            **-i**  
 to be round.to be round    -VS        -PRES NEUT        -ASSR  
 /motu-motu-n-al-i/  
 [mo,tũ·mo,tũ:nə,li·]  
 ‘It is round.’
- (45) **kapipu.inun**  
 /kapipunon/  
 [k<sup>h</sup>a,p<sup>h</sup>i:pu,nõ·]  
 ‘ashes’
- (46) **anolo.ta**  
 /anolo.ta/  
 [a.no:lo,ta·]  
 ‘meat’
- (47) **nosodo?**  
 /nosodo/  
 [no:so,do·]  
 ‘to blow’
- (48) **okola**  
 /okola/  
 [o.ko:ra]  
 ‘yellow scorpion’
- (49) **sowa**            **-n**        **-al**            **-i**  
 to be wet            -VS        -PRES NEUT        -ASSR  
 /soua-n-al-i/  
 [so,wã:nə,li·]  
 ‘It is wet.’
- (50) **yowla ap**            **-i**        **-al**            **-i**  
 knife to sharpen        -VS        -PRES NEUT        -ASSR  
 /ioula ap-i-al-i/  
 [‘jow.la.ʔa:pi,a·ri]  
 ‘The knife is sharp.’



- (51) **oto.poka**  
 /oto.poka/  
 [oː.to.ɪpɔ̃.ka]  
 ‘shot-gun’
- (52) **totaliʔ**  
 /totaliʔ/  
 [tɔ̃.ta.liʔ]  
 ‘three-banded armadillo’ (*Tolypeutes tricinctus*)
- (53) **koka**  
 /koka/  
 [kɔ̃.ka]  
 ‘father-in-law’
- (54) **amoya**  
 /amoia/  
 [a.moː.ɪja]  
 ‘sweet potato’
- (55) **wilata**  
 /uilata/  
 [wiː.ra.ɪtaː]  
 ‘chicken’
- (56) **oya**  
 /oia/  
 [oː.ɪja]  
 ‘rat’
- (57) **anose**  
 /anose/  
 [a.noː.se]  
 ‘bowl’

The low central vowel /a/ is realized as [a] in unstressed syllables and as [aː] in stressed ones. It can be the nucleus in an onsetless syllable or be preceded by any consonant.

[a]:

- (58) **olali?**  
 /olali?/  
 [ɔ̄.ˈla.ˈli?]  
 ‘grass’

- [a:]  
 (59) **nasala**  
 /nasala/  
 [na.ˈsa:.la]  
 ‘horn’

In unstressed syllables, /a/ is realized as [ɔ̄] or [ə]:

- [ɔ̄]  
 (60) **yubana**  
 /iubana/  
 [ju.ˈb̄a:.nɔ̄]  
 ‘taro’ (*Colocasia esculenta*)
- (61) **hayla**  
 /haila/  
 [ˈh̄aj.rɔ̄]  
 ‘cashew fruit’
- (62) **kita**  
 /kita/  
 [ˈki:.tɔ̄] ~ [ˈki:.tʃɔ̄]  
 ‘rasp palm’ (*Iriarteia exorrhiza*)

- [ə]  
 (63) **-tapanal**  
 -FUT NEUT  
 /-tapanal/  
 [t̄ā.p̄ə.ˈna:.li]  
 ‘FUT NEUT’

- (64) **motu.motu**                    **-n**            **-al**            **-i**  
 to be round.to be round    -VS            -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 /motu-motu-n-al-i/  
 [mo.t̄ũ̄.mo.ˈt̄ũ̄.n̄ə.lī]  
 ‘It is perfectly round.’

### 2.2.3 Glides

The underlying high vowels can occupy both the onset and the coda position, where they are realized as glides.

The labio-velar glide [w] is realized as [w] in every position. It does not occur next to the vowel /u/.

- (65) **wayulu**  
 /uaiulu/  
 [ʷa<sup>h</sup>.ju.<sub>1</sub>luː]  
 ‘dog’
- (66) **nawaney**  
 /naua.inei/  
 [na<sup>w</sup>.wa.<sub>1</sub>næj]  
 ‘manioc root’
- (67) **yowikata**  
 /ioui-kata/  
 [jo<sup>w</sup>.wi.<sub>1</sub>kaː.ta]  
 ‘sugar cane’ (*Saccharum officinarum*)
- (68) **yowlata**  
 /ioula-ta/  
 [jo<sup>w</sup>.la.<sub>1</sub>taː]  
 ‘machete’
- (69) **wilata**  
 /uila-ta/  
 [wiː.ra.<sub>1</sub>taː]  
 ‘chicken’
- (70) **ilaw**            **-n**        **-al**            **-i**  
 to be big            -VS        -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 /ilau-n-al-i/  
 [i.lãw̃.na.<sub>1</sub>liː]  
 ‘It is big.’

The vowel /i/ is realized as [j] in onset and in coda position and can occur next to any vowel.

- (71) **yaya**  
/iaia/  
[jaː.ja]  
'brother'
- (72) **yanika**  
/ianika/  
[ja.ni.ka]  
'garden'
- (73) **yowla**  
/ioula/  
[jow.ra]  
'knife'
- (74) **yupanasato**  
/iupanasato/  
[juː.pa.na.sa.to]  
'straw mat'
- (75) **yuya**  
/iuia/  
[juː.ja]  
'earthworm'
- (76) **oya**  
/oia/  
[oː.ja]  
'rat'
- (77) **aypo**  
/aipɔ/  
[aj.pɔ]  
'axe'
- (78) **kanaysi**  
/kanaisi/  
[kə.naj.fi]  
'pepper'

- (79) **deypa**  
 /deipa/  
 [d̥ej.pa]  
 ‘snake’
- (80) **iney**  
 /inei/  
 [i.ˈnæj]  
 ‘ice (hailstone)’

Both glides are nasalized in stressed syllables when followed by nasals. Although, at the surface, only one tautosyllabic segment may follow the nucleus, I will assume that sequences of glide-nasal (GN) and glide-nasal-syllable (GN.σ) represent the underlying source for surface [ḡ] and [ḡ.σ], respectively.

- (81) **iteyn**  
 /itein/  
 [i.ˈtæ̃j]  
 ‘to defecate’
- (82) **waynko**  
 /uainko/  
 [ˈwãj.ko]  
 ‘father’

#### 2.2.4 Diphthongs

High vowels can be combined in diphthongs as offglides (VOWEL-GLIDE) or as onglides (GLIDE -VOWEL), as shown in Table 4. At the edge of a syllable, high vowels are realized as semivowels or glides. In both onset and coda positions they may combine with vowels to form rising (GLIDE -VOWEL) or falling (VOWEL-GLIDE) diphthongs, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Diphthongs

	OFFGLIDE		ONGLIDE	
	w	j	w	j
a	+	+	+	+
e	+	+	+	+
i	+	-	+	+
o	+	+	+	+
u	+	+	-	+

The offglide diphthongs formed by tautosyllabic sequences of VOWEL+GLIDE are very common, mainly because, phonetically, glides are the only elements allowed in coda position, together with the glottal consonant [ʔ] and the coronal nasal [n]. Since glides may occupy the onset and coda position at the same time tautosyllabic sequences of the type Glide-Vowel-Glide also occur.

- (83) **sowawsi**  
[so.<sup>h</sup>waw.si]  
'piapara fish.' (*Leporinus elongates*)
- (84) **api.kata.liawa**  
/api-kata-l-iaua/  
[a.<sup>h</sup>pi.<sup>h</sup>ka.<sup>h</sup>ta.<sup>h</sup>ri.<sup>h</sup>a<sup>w</sup>.wa]  
'spoon'
- (85) **ayowa**  
/ai.o.ua/  
[a<sup>h</sup>.jo.<sup>h</sup>wa:]  
'black fly'
- (86) **tapawulu**  
/ta.pa.uu.lu/  
[ta.<sup>h</sup>pa<sup>w</sup>.wu.<sup>h</sup>lu:]  
'clay pot'
- (87) **talawa**  
[ta.<sup>h</sup>la:<sup>w</sup>.wɔ]  
'red macaw' (*Ara chloroptera*)

Sequences of two high vowels are hetero-syllabic (88), except when one high vowel is in intervocalic position (89) or when the sequence is at the beginning of a word, as shown in (90).

- (88) **kolowlui?**  
/ko.lou.lu.i?/  
[kɤ.<sup>h</sup>low.lu.<sup>h</sup>i:]  
'(stone) knife'
- (89) **yowi**  
/io.ui/  
[ʔo<sup>w</sup>.wi] ~ [ʔo:<sup>h</sup>.wi]  
'honey'

- (90) **iwta**  
 /iu.ta/  
 [iʷ.ta]  
 ‘sun’

Gemination does not apply when the onset glide follows an unstressed syllable:

- (91) **owayli**  
 /o.uai.li/  
 [o.ʷaj.ri]      \*[ow.waj.ri]  
 ‘red deer’ (*Ozotoceros bezoarticus*)

- (92) **sowaw**  
 /so.waw/  
 [soʷwaw]  
 ‘rainbow fish’ (*Lebistes reticulatus*)

Sabanê lacks diphthong reduction processes such as documented in Latundê (Telles 2002: 100).

## 2.3 Consonants

### 2.3.1 Introduction

The Sabanê consonant phonemes are the voiceless stops /p t k ʔ/, the nasals /m n/, the implosives /ɓ ɗ/, the fricatives /s h/, and the lateral /l/. Each of these consonants has a number of different allophones<sup>1</sup>.

Table 5: Sabanê consonant phonemes

	LABIAL	CORONAL	DORSAL	GLOTTAL
STOP	p	t	k	ʔ
IMPLOSIVE	ɓ	ɗ		
NASAL	m	n		
FRICATIVE		s		h
LATERAL		l		

<sup>1</sup> This consonant chart is similar to the one established for the Northern Nambikwara languages, although Latundê lacks an implosive series (Telles 2002: 34). However, the Southern Nambikwara languages have different consonant phonemes. For Kithãulhu, Kroeker (2001: 79) reports glottalized and aspirated consonants as well as one implosive /ɗ/ and one affricate /tʃ/.

Table 6 presents the phonetic realizations of the phonemes in Table 5. Consonants in the same cell are allophones. Rare allophones are between parentheses.

Table 6: Sabanê consonant phonetics

	LABIAL	CORONAL	DORSAL	GLOTTAL
STOP	p (p <sup>h</sup> )	t (t <sup>h</sup> )	k (k <sup>h</sup> g)	ʔ
AFFRICATE		(tʃ)		
IMPLOSIVE	ɸ	ɗ		
NASAL	m	n		
FRICATIVE		s (ʃ) h (ç)		h
LATERAL		l (ɾ)		

### 2.3.2 Consonant Phonemes and their Allophones

The voiceless labial stop /p/ is realized as [p] in the beginning and in the middle of a word preceding any vowel. This consonant does not occur in coda position.

- (93) **payn -i -al -i**  
 to sing -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 /pain-i-al-i/  
 [p̣ã̃]:ni.ã̃.ri]  
 ‘S/he sings.’
- (94) **papa**  
 /papa/  
 [pa:.pa]  
 ‘gecko’
- (95) **poputa**  
 /poputa/  
 [po.ˈpu.ta]  
 ‘butterfly’
- (96) **tapulisi**  
 /tapuli.isi/  
 [ta:ˌpu.li.ɿi]  
 ‘stone’



- (97) **takipa**  
 /takipa/  
 [ta.<sup>h</sup>ki:.pa]  
 'pygmy marmoset'

In careful or emphatic speech, /p/ may be realized as [p<sup>h</sup>] in stressed syllables:

- (98) **kapi?**  
 /kapi?/  
 [ka.<sup>h</sup>p<sup>h</sup>i?]  
 'coati' (*Nasua nasua*)

The voiceless coronal stop /t/ is realized as [t], in the beginning as well as in the middle of a word, preceding any vowel, except /i/. This consonant, like any stop, does not occur in the coda.

- (99) **tutikali**  
 /tutikali/  
 [t<sup>h</sup>tu.<sup>h</sup>tʃi.<sup>h</sup>ka:.ri]  
 'pigeon'
- (100) **totali?**  
 /totali?/  
 [to.<sup>h</sup>ta.<sup>h</sup>li:]  
 'three-banded armadillo'
- (101) **kiata**  
 /kiata/  
 [ki.<sup>h</sup>ɑ:.ta]  
 'corn'
- (102) **motoka**  
 /motoka/  
 [mo.<sup>h</sup>to:.ka]  
 'calabash'

Optionally, /t/ is realized as [tʃ] preceding or following /i/, as stated in rule (103). Palatalization is very common, although in careful speech it may not occur.

$$(103) \begin{bmatrix} +cor \\ -cont \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -ant \\ +high. \end{bmatrix} \% \begin{bmatrix} +syl \\ +high \\ -back \end{bmatrix}$$

The following examples (104-107) in which /t/ precedes and/or follows /i/ show both possibilities. Stress may favour palatalization.

- (104) **ilita**  
 /ilita/  
 [i.<sup>1</sup>ri:.<sup>2</sup>tʃa] ~ [i.<sup>1</sup>ri:.<sup>2</sup>ta]  
 'breast'
- (105) **ilita.inun**  
 /ilita-inun/  
 [i.<sup>1</sup>ri:.<sup>2</sup>tʃa.<sup>3</sup>nũ] ~ [i.<sup>1</sup>ri:.<sup>2</sup>ta.<sup>3</sup>nũ]  
 'mother's milk'
- (106) **titunuli.isi**  
 /titunuli-isi/  
 [t̥i:.<sup>1</sup>tu.<sup>2</sup>nu:.<sup>3</sup>li.<sup>4</sup>si] ~ [tʃi:.<sup>1</sup>tu.<sup>2</sup>nu:.<sup>3</sup>li.<sup>4</sup>si]  
 'termite'
- (107) **tutikali**  
 /tutikali/  
 [tu:.<sup>1</sup>ti.<sup>2</sup>ka:.<sup>3</sup>ri] ~ [tu:.<sup>1</sup>tʃi.<sup>2</sup>ka:.<sup>3</sup>ri]  
 'pigeon'

The voiceless dorsal stop /k/ is realized as [k], following any vowel.

- (108) **kina**  
 /kina/  
 [k̥i:.<sup>1</sup>na]  
 'sand flea'
- (109) **kali**  
 /kali/  
 [k̥a:.<sup>1</sup>li]  
 'horned frog' (*Ceratophrys ornata*)

- (110) **akuku?**  
 /akuku?/  
 [a·.ku.ku:]  
 ‘wild dog’

Optionally, /k/ is realized as [k<sup>h</sup>] in careful speech:

- (111) **bolowke**  
 /bolouke/  
 [bo.lrow.k<sup>h</sup>e]  
 ‘parrot’

There is no opposition between the allophones [k] and [kw], in Sabanê. Januacele Costa (personal communication) points out that vowel deletion and further labialization in sequences like [k-v<sub>1</sub>-w-v<sub>2</sub>] is widespread in the Nambikwara languages, synchronically and diachronically. However, this generalization does not apply to Sabanê. Therefore, the structure [kw] is considered to derive from an underlying bi-segmental sequence /ku/.

- (112) **kokwayli**  
 /kokuaili/  
 [ko.kwaj.ri]  
 ‘horse/deer’ (*Mazama americana*)
- (113) **owayli**  
 /ouaili/  
 [o.kwaj.ri]  
 ‘red deer’
- (114) **sukwin**  
 /sukuin/  
 [su.kwĩ:]  
 ‘little’

Sabanê has a series of two voiced implosive consonants: the voiced implosive coronal /ɖ/ and the voiced implosive labial /ɓ/. These consonants occur mainly in initial position, even though they have also been found medially. Implosive consonants ‘are produced with a greater than average amount of lowering of the larynx during the time that the oral closure for the stop is maintained’ (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996:82). Sabanê has an implosive series and lacks a corresponding voiced stop series, as does Kithãulhu (Kroeker 2001). Consequently voiced stop consonants are not phonemes in

either of the two languages. In the absence of voiced stops, implosives are in opposition to voiceless stops. Implosives do not share allophones with voiceless stops either. Moreover, in medial position, implosives vary freely with normal voiced stops.

The voiced coronal implosive /ɗ/ occurs only in onset position (initial and medial). The sound occurs in very few morphemes, although the ones in which it is found are of very high frequency: the first person possessive pronoun, the evidential present tense and past tense suffixes.

- (115) **d-**      **oto**  
 1POSS- arrow  
 /ɗ-oto/  
 [ɗo:to]  
 ‘my arrow’

- (116) **doda**  
 /ɗoɗa/  
 [ɗo:ɗa]  
 ‘white-lipped peccary’ (*Tayassu pecari*)

The voiced labial implosive /ɓ/ is realized as [β] and occurs only as an initial or medial onset. It is a rare consonant.

- (117) **bose**  
 /βose/  
 [βo:se]  
 ‘fish’
- (118) **abo.anon**  
 /aβo.anon/  
 [a:βo₁nõ:]  
 ‘sky’
- (119) **yubana**  
 /iubana/  
 [ju.βǎ:nɔ]  
 ‘taro’

The voiceless coronal fricative /s/ is realized as [s] preceding all vowels except /e/ in the beginning of a word. In medial position, preceding and following any vowel, /s/ is also realized as [s].

- (120) **salaymulita**  
 /salaimulita/  
 [sa.laj.mu.ɾi.ta]  
 ‘curica bird’ (*Eucinetus barrabandi*)
- (121) **sopa**  
 /sopa/  
 [sɔ:p<sup>h</sup>a]  
 ‘baby carrier’
- (122) **sapa**            **-mi**  
 woody vine        -REF  
 /sapa-mi/  
 [sa:.pa.mi]  
 ‘woody vine, Jamaica dogwood’ (*Piscidia erythrina*)
- (123) **d-**        **iasalali -isi**  
 1POSS- heart    -CL: RDN  
 /ɸ-iasalali-isi/  
 [ɸi.a:.sa.la.li.ɸi]  
 ‘my heart’

When surrounded by the vowel /i/ or the coronal glide [j], /s/ is optionally realized as a voiceless post-alveolar fricative [ʃ]:

$$(124) \begin{bmatrix} -syl \\ +cor \\ +cont \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-anterior] \% \begin{bmatrix} +syl \\ +high \\ -back \end{bmatrix}$$

- (125) **ayso**  
 /aysɔ/  
 [aj.ʃɔ]  
 ‘tobacco’

- (126) **d-**        **isi**  
 1POSS- hair  
 /ɸ-isi/  
 [ɸi:.ʃi]  
 ‘my hair’

(127) **d- isu**  
 1POSS- bone  
 /d-i-su/  
 [d̥i.fu]  
 'my bone'

(128) **ulumusu?**  
 /ulumusu?/  
 [u.lu.mu.fu:]  
 'dove'

In medial unstressed position, in the vicinity of /i/, /s/ can be realized optionally as [ʒ]; however, this process is rare.

(129) **misa.sapa -mi**  
 inaja.nut -REF  
 [mi:.ʒa.sa.pɔ.mi] ~ [mi:.fa.sa.pɔ.mi]  
 'inaja palm nut' (*Maximiliana regia*).

(130) **misa.isi -mi**  
 inaja.seed -REF  
 [mi:.ʒa.si.mi] ~ [mi:.fa.ji.mi]  
 'inaja palm seed'

(131) **maysili -mi**  
 /maisili/ -REF  
 [maj.ʒi.ci.mi] ~ [maj.fi.ci.mi]  
 'children'

The lateral sonorant /l/ is realized as [l] and varies freely with the coronal *tap* [ɾ], as shown in (132). In fact, only three examples of /l/ were found in word-initial position.

(132) **leto.ko -mi**  
 grandfather -REF  
 /leto-ko-mi/  
 [re.to.ko.mi]  
 'old man/grandfather'

Usually, /l/ occupies the medial position:

- (133) **talawa**  
 /talaua/  
 [ta.<sup>l</sup>la:<sup>w</sup>.wa] ~ [ta.<sup>l</sup>ra:.wa]  
 ‘red macaw’
- (134) **kuli**  
 /kuli/  
 [ʔku:<sup>l</sup>li] ~ [ʔku:<sup>l</sup>ri]  
 ‘acuti’ (*Myoprocta acouchy*)
- (135) **ulila**  
 /ulila/  
 [u.<sup>l</sup>li:.ra] ~ [u.<sup>l</sup>ri:.ra]  
 ‘lesser ant-eater’ (*Tamandua tetradactyla*)
- (136) **ali**  
 /ali/  
 [a:<sup>l</sup>li] ~ [a:<sup>l</sup>ri]  
 ‘sloth’ (*Bradypus tridactylus*)
- (137) **walu**  
 /ualu/  
 [ʔwa:<sup>l</sup>lu] ~ [ʔwa:<sup>l</sup>ru]  
 ‘parrot’

The labial nasal /m/ is realized as [m] word-initially and intervocalically.

- (138) **mulula**  
 /mulula/  
 [mu.<sup>l</sup>lu:.la]  
 ‘giant armadillo’ (*Priodontes giganteus*)
- (139) **oluma**  
 tapir  
 /oluma/  
 [o.<sup>l</sup>lũ:<sup>ma</sup>]  
 ‘tapir’

- (140) **yama**  
/iama/  
[jã:.ma]  
'blood'
- (141) **aymoti**  
/aimoti/  
[aj.mo.ti]  
'louse'
- (142) **d- amola**  
IPOSS- belly  
/d-amola/  
[dã.'mo:.la]  
'my belly'
- (143) **talama**  
/talama/  
[ta.'lã:.ma]  
'teju' (*Tupinambis teguixim*)

The coronal nasal /n/ is realized as [n] in onset position.

- (144) **ninu?**  
/ninu?/  
[ni.'nu:]  
'water/juice'
- (145) **nutupi?**  
/nutupi?/  
[nu'.tu.'pi:]  
'urucu'

Optionally, a stressed vowel becomes nasalized if it is followed by any nasal consonant.

- (146)  $V \rightarrow [\text{nasal}] / \_ \_ N$  (where N is any nasal consonant)
- |
- [+stress]



- (147) **kapune**  
 /kapune/  
 [ka.ˈpũ:.n e]  
 ‘paca’ (*Cuniculus paca*)
- (148) **api.anun**  
 /api.anun/  
 [a.ˈpĩ:.nũ]  
 ‘saw dust’
- (149) **anina**  
 /anina/  
 [a.ˈnĩ:.na]  
 ‘bat’

Besides the glides and the velar stop, the coronal nasal consonant /n/ can also occupy the coda position. When this consonant is in coda position, leftward nasality spreading is triggered obligatorily. In the same process, /n/ itself is deleted. Since the absence of non-coronal nasal consonants in the coda is a structural fact about Sabanê syllable structure, the coronal point of articulation may be considered irrelevant to the spreading process. In Non-linear Phonology terms, the vowel nasalization described here may be seen as the effect of stability of the nasal feature under deletion of the consonant that bears this feature underlyingly. In (150), the symbol = marks the deletion of the coda nasal and the dotted association line indicates spreading of the nasal feature to the vowel.

- (150)  $\sigma$

- (151) **iteyn**  
 /itein/  
 [i.ˈtæ̃]  
 ‘to defecate’

- (152) **d-**     **isiawante**  
 1POSS- moustache  
 /ɸ-isi-auante/  
 [ɸi:.fi.a.wã̃.te]  
 ‘my moustache’

It is difficult to establish for a given word if the glottal fricative /h/ is underlying. Although there are some cut-clear oppositions between /h/ and /s/, as [haj] ‘already’ ≠ [saj] ‘PROG’, very often [h] is the optional reflex of underlying /s/, as in [toʰsã:] ~ [toʰhã:] **tosan** ‘give it to me.’ The fact that in some words [h] is stable and never alternates with /s/ suggests that the rule /s/ → [h] is a rule of neutralisation.

- (153) **hay**  
 /hai/  
 [ʰaj]  
 ‘already’

cf. **hay towali ay -i -telon**  
 already 1SUBJ to go -VS -FUT EV  
 ‘I am going now!’

- (154) **say**  
 /sai/  
 [saj]  
 ‘PROG’

cf. **wayulupi.mata -mi nan -i -say**  
 cat.DIM -REF to cry -VS -PROG  
**-al -i**  
 -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘The kitten is meowing.’

In (155), an opposition is presented between an onsetless word and an /h/-initial word.

- (155) **ay**  
 /ai/  
 [aj]  
 ‘to go’

**hay**  
 /hai/  
 [ˈhɑj]  
 ‘already’

Despite the avoidance of onsetless syllables, as shown in (156), [h] is frequent only in *female speech*, as an epenthetic element in word-initial onsetless syllables.

(156) **iney -i -al -i**  
 to fall -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 /inei-i-a-l-i/  
 [iˈnæjɪv.liː]  
 ‘S/he falls.’ (male speech)

**iney -i -al -i**  
 to fall -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 /inei-i-a-l-i/  
 [hɪˈnæjɪv.liː]  
 ‘S/he falls.’ (female speech)

As was already mentioned, the phoneme /s/ is optionally realized as [h]:

(157) **maysili**  
 /maisili/  
 [ˈmaj.ʃi.riː] ~ [ˈmaj.hi.riː]  
 ‘children’

(158) **t- osa -n**  
 1OBJ- to give -VS  
 /t-osan/  
 [tɔˈsɑː] ~ [tɔˈhɑː]  
 ‘Give it to me!’

The glottal stop /ʔ/ is realized as [ʔ] and occurs as a phoneme only in coda position. It is also relatively rare<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that the glottal consonant /ʔ/ occurs in coda position is unexpected because other consonants (all sonorants) which occur in the coda can also appear in onset position. Therefore, /ʔ/ differs from the group formed by [j w] /n/ because it is [-sonorant] and does not occur as an onset.

(159) **atipaʔ**  
 /atipaʔ/  
 [aːtiːpaʔ]  
 'road'

(160) **towakaliʔ**  
 /towakaliʔ/  
 [toːwaːkaːliʔ]  
 'caiman'

Although the glottal stop has a limited distribution, evidence for its underlying existence comes from stress assignment in the final syllable and from its behaviour in compound words. Stress assignment is sensitive to syllabic weight. If a word has no heavy syllables, the penultimate syllable of a word receives primary stress. However, words like **ninuʔ** 'water' have a final stressed syllable. There is no explanation for this fact unless we regard the last syllable as heavy. It must be closed by a consonant, in this case the glottal stop, since otherwise the stress would be on the penultimate syllable. Even though phonetically this glottal stop is often not audible, decisive evidence for its underlying presence comes from a compound like **ninuʔ.apilia** '(fresh) water'.

(161) **ninuʔ.apilia**  
 water.river  
 /ninuʔ.apilia/  
 [niːnuːə.pɾiːaʔ]      \*[ni.nu.pɾi.aː]  
 '(fresh) water'

When two vowels are adjacent across a morpheme boundary in a compound, the vowel of the morpheme in the non-head position is deleted. However, neither of the two vowels in (161) is deleted (i.e., **u** from **ninu** and **a** from **apilia**). This means that there is no case of vowel adjacency in (161), which can be explained if we assume that the last syllable in **ninu** is closed by a glottal stop.

As stated by the optional rule in (163), the glottal stop in coda position can also be deleted, which results in vowel lengthening.

(162) **ninuʔ**  
 /ninuʔ/  
 [niːnuː]  
 'water'

(163) ? → Ø / coda (optional)  
           ┆  
           ┆

In addition, the glottal stop occurs superficially at word boundaries to avoid vocalic clusters between different prosodic words (164). It fulfils what Trubetzkoy (1969) named a ‘demarcative function’. It is a predictable process, as shown below.

(164) Ø → ? / ...[+syll])<sub>ω</sub> \_\_\_<sub>ω</sub>([+syll]...

(165) **yowlata**        **ap**                **-i**        **-al**                **-i**  
 machete            to sharpen        -VS        -PRES NEUT        -ASSR  
 /ioula.ta ap-i-al-i/  
 [ˈjowla,ta<sup>h</sup>a:pi,ɑːri]  
 ‘The machete is sharp.’

### 2.3.3 Consonantal Oppositions

In this section, I present contrastive pairs for all consonants (which may have different allophones), mainly in identical but also in analogous (i.e. nearly identical) environments. Phonetically similar segments will be paired. In identical environments, the number of syllables and stress position are strictly identical. In analogous pairs, I tried to select the largest possible number of similar elements.

(166) p            m

**upa**  
 /upa/  
 [ˈu: p<sup>h</sup>a]  
 ‘macuca bird’

**uma**  
 /uma/  
 [ˈũ: .ma]  
 ‘capybara’

**kolowapi**  
 /koloua.ɸi/  
 [ko.ɸo<sup>w</sup>.wə,ɸiː]  
 ‘string’

**oluma –mi**

/oluma.mi/

tapir –REF

[o.lũ:.mø.ɿmi]

‘tapir’

(167) m [w]

**maysili**

/maisili/

[ˈmaj.fɪ.ɿri]

‘children’

**waysili**

/uaisili/

[ˈwaj.fɪ.ɿri]

‘(assai palm) straw’

**talama**

/talama/

[ta.lã:.ma]

‘teju’

**talawa**

/talaua/

[ta.la:ˀ.wa]

‘red macaw’

(168) p [w]

**kapi?**

/kapi?/

[ka.ᵐᵏi:]

‘coati’

**d- awi**

/d̪.ɔwi/

1POSS- tooth

[d̪ɔː.wi]

‘my tooth’

**tapayli**

/tapaili/

[ta.ᵐᵏaj.ri]

‘pacoba’ (*Renealmia exaltata*)

**yowayli**

/iouaili/

[jo.ᵐᵏaj.ri]

‘skunk’ (*Didelphis marsupialis*)

(169) p ɸ

**api.inun**

/api.inun/

[a.ᵐᵏiː.nũ]

‘saw dust’

**abo.anon**

/aɸo.anon/

[aː.bo.nõː]

‘sky’

**sapane**

/sapane/

[sa.ᵐᵏãː.ne]

‘sister/youngest sister’

**yubana**

/iubana/

[ju.ʔb̃ɔ̃ː.nɑ]

‘taro’

**palan**

to not have

-i

-VS

-al

-PRES NEUT

-i

-ASSR

[paʔlãːni.ɔ̃ːli]

‘S/he does not have anything.’

**bala**

DUAL -VS

-n

-al

-PRES NEUT

-i

-ASSR

[ʔbaːla.naːli]

‘There are two.’

(170) t n

**iteyn**

to defecate

-n

-VS

-al

-PRES NEUT

-i

-ASSR

[i.ʔt̃ɛ̃j̃na.riː]

‘S/he defecates.’

**inay**

to drink -VS

-n

-al

-PRES NEUT

-i

-ASSR

[i.ʔñɛ̃j̃na.riː]

‘S/he drinks.’

**milut**

to lighten

-i

-VS

-al

-PRES NEUT

-i

-ASSR

[mi.ʔruːti.ɔ̃ːri]

‘It is lightening.’

**tapun**

to be black

-i

-VS

-al

-PRES NEUT

-i

-ASSR

[ta.ʔp̃ũːni.ɔ̃ːri]

‘It is cloudy.’



(171) t l

**watati?**/uatati<sup>?</sup>/[waː.ta.tiː<sup>?</sup>]

'flower'

**walati?**/ualati<sup>?</sup>/[waː.ra.tiː<sup>?</sup>]

'wind'

**yatay**

-i

to be tied up -IMP

/iatay.i/

[ja.taj]

'Tied it up!'

**yalay**

/ialay/

[ja.laj]

'peludo armadillo' (*Euphractus sexcinctus*)

(172) t d

**talama**

/talama/

[ta<sup>h</sup>lã:ma]

'teju'

**dalama**

/dalama/

[dã<sup>h</sup>lã:ma]'patoa palm' (*Oenocarpus bataua*)**d- oto**

1POSS- arrow

/d-oto/

[d<sup>h</sup>o:to]

'my arrow'

**doda**

/doda/

[d̥oːda]

‘white-lipped peccary’

(173) n 1

**kina**

/kina/

[kiːna]

‘sand flea’

**ila**

/ila/

[iːra]

‘spider monkey’

**anina**

/anina/

[aːniːna]

‘bat’

**ulila**

/ulila/

[uːliːra]

‘lesser ant-eater’

(174) m n

**maysunon**

/maysunon/

[maj̥.fu.nõː]

‘boy’

**naysunun**

/naysunun/

[naj̥.fu.nũː]

‘sand’

**d- amola**

1POSS- belly  
 /d̪.amola/  
 [d̪a.ˈmoː.la]  
 ‘my belly’

**anola**

/anola/  
 [a.ˈnoː.la]  
 ‘animal’

(175) h s

**hay**

/hai/  
 [ˈhɑj]  
 ‘already’

**say**

/sai/  
 [ˈsɑj]  
 ‘PROG’

**hapa**

	<b>-n</b>	<b>-al</b>	<b>-i</b>
to be rotten	-VS	-PRES NEUT	-ASSR
[haˈpɑːnaˌliː]			
‘It is rotten.’			

**sapa**

	<b>-n</b>	<b>-al</b>	<b>-i</b>
to be flat	-VS	-PRES NEUT	-ASSR
[saˈpɑːnaˌliː]			
‘It is flat.’			

(176) n s

**iney**

/inei/  
 [i.ˈnæj]  
 ‘root’

**isey**

/isei/

[i.ɪ̯fæj]

'tail'

**ulununu?**

/ulununu?/

[u.ɫũ̯.nu.nu:]

'capuchin monkey' (*Cebus capucinus*)**ulumusu?**

/ulumusu?/

[u.ɫũ̯.mu.su:]

'dove'

(177) [w] [j]

**wakawlu**

/wakawlu/

[wa.ɫkaw.lu]

'heron' (*Casmerodius albus egretta*)**walayena**

/walaiena/

[wa.ɫaɫje.naː]

'toucan' (*Ramphastos toco*)**walu**

/walu/

[ɫwaː.ru]

'parrot'

**yaya**

/iaia/

[ɫjaː.ja]

'brother'

(178) [j] t

**yaya**  
/iaia/  
[ˈjaː.ja]  
‘brother’

**yata**  
/iata/  
[ˈjaː.ta]  
‘wife’

**yowla.ta**  
/ioula.ta/  
[ˈjow.ra.ta]  
‘machete’

**totali?**  
/totali?/  
[ˈtoː.ta.liː]  
‘three-banded armadillo’

## 2.4 Syllable Structure

In Sabanê all consonantal phonemes, except the glottal stop, can occupy the onset position, while the nuclear position is exclusive to vowels. Underlyingly, the coda position can be occupied by the consonants /p t k m n s l ?/. The possible syllables are /CV/ onset-nucleus, /VC/ nucleus-coda or /CVC/ onset-nucleus-coda.

Table 7: Syllable Structure (phonemes)

Onset	Rime	
	Nucleus	Coda
p t k	a e i o u	p t k
β ɖ		m n
m n		s
s h		l
l		?
u i		

As will be argued in the section 2.5, the first cycle where syllabification takes place is at the morpheme level.

As was observed before, at the surface level only a small class of sounds may appear in the coda position, as shown in Table 8:

Table 8: Syllable Structure (phonetics)

Onset	Rime	
	Nucleus	Coda
p t k	a e i o u	w j
β ɸ	a: e: i: o: u:	ɰ̃ ʝ
m n	ã ê ĩ õ ù	n
s h	ã: ê: ĩ: õ: ù:	?
l		
w j		

Vowel lengthening is triggered by stress or is compensatory, due to the loss of a nasal consonant in coda position:

- (179) **kolopanun –ki silu –n –dana**  
 meal –OBJ to be tasty –VS –PRES EV  
 /kolopanun-ki silu-n-dana/  
 [ko.lo.pa.nũ.ki.fi.rũ.ɸã.nɸ]  
 ‘The meal is salty.’
- (180) **d.ikuka.isi.awante**  
 /ɸ-ikuka-isi-auante/  
 [ɸi.ku.kə.si.a.ɰwã.te]  
 ‘my eyebrows’
- (181) **ay –i –telon**  
 to go –VS –FUT EV  
 /ai-i-telon/  
 [a.ji.te.rõ]  
 ‘S/he will go.’

As expected, when /n/ in coda position is followed by a vowel, the nasal consonant is syllabified as an onset instead of being deleted.

- (182) **kiatanun.awi**  
 corn flour.tooth  
 [ki'a:ta<sub>1</sub>nũ'na<sub>1</sub>wi'].  
 'corn flour flakes'
- (183) **t-**      **isun**              **-n**      **-al**              **-i**  
 IOBJ    to be angry      -VS      -PRES NEUT      -ASSR  
 /t-isun-n-al-i/  
 [ti.'sũ:.na.<sub>1</sub>li']  
 'I am furious.'

Overall, Sabanê favours CV syllables. In the following examples, syllabic patterns are shown. Nuclear vowels can be short (when unstressed) or long (when stressed)<sup>3</sup>:

- (184) **anaypa.kata**  
 /anaipa-kata/  
 [a.'naj.pə.<sub>1</sub>ka'.ta]  
 'arm/wing'
- (185) **ela**  
 /ela/  
 [e:'.ra]  
 'moon'
- (186) **itayla**  
 /itaila/  
 [i.'taj.ra]  
 'bark'
- (187) **ip**      **-i**              **-al**              **-i**  
 to run    -VS              -PRES NEUT      -ASSR  
 /ip-i-al-i/  
 [i'.pi.a'.ri]  
 'S/he runs.'

---

<sup>3</sup> Rhythmic stress is marked by a ['].

- (188) **okola**  
 /okola/  
 [o.ʔko.ra]  
 ‘yellow scorpion’
- (189) **oto**  
 /oto/  
 [ʔo.tʰo]  
 ‘arrow’
- (190) **ulupa**  
 /ulupa/  
 [u.ʔru:pʰa]  
 ‘vulture’
- (191) **uma**  
 /uma/  
 [ʔu.ma]  
 ‘capybara’

Nuclear vowels can be followed by glides. We have found no cases in which glides follow long vowels, probably because lengthening is a phonetic process that adds a mora position under stress in light syllables only.

- (192) **aymoti**  
 /aimoti/  
 [ʔa.mo.ʔti]  
 ‘louse’
- (193) **aypo**  
 /aipɔ/  
 [ʔa.po]  
 ‘axe’
- (194) **uykilapita**  
 /uikilapita/  
 [ʔuj.ki.rə.ʔpi.ta]  
 ‘big bellied woolly monkey’ (*Lagothrix lagotrica*)



- (195) **iwnuua**  
 /iunua/  
 [i<sup>h</sup>w.nu<sub>1</sub>.a<sup>h</sup>]  
 ‘star’

An epenthetic consonant, usually **t**, is inserted between prosodic words in order to prevent a vowel-vowel or glide-vowel sequence. The epenthetic consonant is found mainly in compounds that consist of the sequence NOUN + CLASSIFIER.

- (197) **tapay.tapay**    **-t-**    **-amoka**  
 pit viper            -LINK-    -CL: LONG FLX AN  
 /tapaitapai/ + /amoka/  
 [ta<sub>1</sub>.paj.ta<sub>1</sub>.paj.ta<sub>1</sub>.mo<sup>h</sup>.ka]  
 ‘emerald tree boa’ (*Corallus caninus*)

Stress triggers lengthening in resyllabification contexts:

- (198) **pan**            **-i**            **-al**            **-i**  
 to be white        -VS        -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 /paniali/  
 [pã<sup>h</sup>:ni<sub>1</sub>.a<sup>h</sup>.li]  
 ‘It is white.’
- (199) **t-**            **isun**            **-n**            **-al**            **-i**  
 IOBJ- to be angry    -VS        -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 /t-isun-n-al-i/  
 [ti<sup>h</sup>.sũ<sup>h</sup>:na<sub>1</sub>.li]  
 ‘I am furious.’

Nasality spreads within the syllable to vowels as well as to glides from a nasal coda.

- (200) **iteyn**            **-n**            **-al**            **-i**  
 to defecate        -VS        -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 /itein-n-al-i/  
 [i<sup>h</sup>.tã<sup>h</sup>̃.na<sub>1</sub>.li]  
 ‘S/he defecates.’

Equally, when an underlying glide is followed by a nasal consonant, nasality spreading will take place, as usual.

- (201) **ayn**            **-n**      **-al**            **-i**  
 to be red            -VS      -PRES NEUT      -ASSR  
 /ain-n-al-i/  
 [ã̃.na.lĩ]  
 'It is red.'

Vowels can be short (unstressed) or long (stressed).

- (202) **kiliwa**  
 /kiliua/  
 [ki.li<sup>w</sup>.wa]  
 'house'

- (203) **takipa**  
 /takipa/  
 [ta.ki.pa]  
 'pygmy marmoset'

- (204) **ilup**            **-i**      **-al**            **-i**  
 to vomit            -VS      -PRES NEUT      -ASSR  
 /ilup-i-al-i/  
 [i.ru.pi.ã.ri]  
 'S/he vomits.'

- (205) **ali**  
 /ali/  
 [a.li]  
 'sloth'

- (206) **ip**      **-i**      **-al**            **-i**  
 to see      -VS      -PRES NEUT      -ASSR  
 /ip-i-al-i/  
 [ĩ.pi.ã.ri]  
 'S/he stares.'

## 2.5 Stress

Nambikwara languages have been regarded as tonal languages (Kingston 1971, Price 1978, Kroeker 2001, *inter alia*). According to Welmers (1959:2), 'a tone language is a language in which both pitch phonemes and segmental phonemes

enter into the composition of at least some morphemes.’ Yip (2003:4, based on Hyman (forthcoming)) claims that ‘A language with tone is one in which an indication of pitch enters into the lexical realization of at least some morphemes.’ Thus, *tone* is a suprasegmental phenomenon in which pitch differences may correlate with lexical differences. In this vein, Price (1978) describes three tones in the Southern Nambikwara language Kithãulhu: *falling*, *raising*, and *low* (written as superscript <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup> and <sup>3</sup>, respectively). Kroeker (2001: 81) corroborates this analysis and gives the following examples:

- (207) [ʔwã<sup>3</sup>na<sup>1</sup>la<sup>2</sup>] ‘I came’ (recent past)  
 [ʔwã<sup>3</sup>na<sup>2</sup>la<sup>2</sup>] ‘He came’ (recent past)  
 [ʔwã<sup>2</sup>na<sup>3</sup>la<sup>2</sup>] ‘He is coming’ (present)

Price (1978) and Lévi-Strauss (1948) are the only works that contain transcriptions of Sabanê words, although Lévi-Strauss (1948) does not mention any tone opposition. Price (1978:18-9) observes ‘Sabanê tone has not been studied, but I have the impression that only high and low tones are distinctive.’ Price does not define any criteria for identifying Sabanê tones. I claim that there is no evidence to classify Sabanê as a genuine tone language. Instead, I argue that Sabanê has a predictable stress system in the noun domain as well as in the verbal domain that manifests itself phonetically mainly by pitch. In addition, I will show that the prosodic concept of *weight*, on the one hand, and the morphological entity *root*, on the other hand, is crucial for stress assignment.

In the literature that deals with the definition of prosodic domains (cf. Nespor & Vogel 1986, Hayes 1989, Inkelas 1990, etc.), it is observed that some prosodic domains are not present in all languages. Moreover, the absence of phonological rules that refer to a specific domain does not necessarily mean that this prosodic domain should not be set up as part of the prosodic structure of the language (Nespor & Vogel 1986: 12). The prosodic hierarchy is assumed to be universal and includes the following constituents (Nespor & Vogel 1986): syllable ( $\sigma$ ), foot ( $\Sigma$ ), prosodic word ( $\omega$ ), phonological phrase ( $\phi$ ), intonational phrase (I), and utterance (U). Selkirk’s (1984) *Strict Layer Hypothesis* (Nespor & Vogel 1986) requires that an upper category be formed uniquely by a (sequence of) lower and adjacent category(s) in the hierarchy. This implies that a Prosodic Word contains at least one foot. In Sabanê, the binary foot, in turn, forms a minimal word. In Sabanê, the prosodic word is a crucial prosodic domain. A prosodic word in Sabanê is a word that bears at least a primary stress.

The nominal prosodic word consists of the sequence (possessive pronoun) + root (+ classifier) (+ nominal suffixes) + referential suffix<sup>4</sup>. Verbal prosodic

<sup>4</sup> Parentheses indicate optional elements.

words include (pronoun) + root + the verbal suffix (+ other verbal suffixes, like imminentive, progressive, etc.) + tense and mood suffixes. The adverbial prosodic word is formed mostly by free forms with no suffixes at all.

Since the descriptions of accent, tone, and pitch in the Nambikwara languages are subject of debate, we will define what stress is in Sabanê, and to what extent it is related to pitch.

As it turns out, tonal differences are not used in Sabanê to differentiate lexical meaning. On the other hand, one does encounter predictable pitch movements on specific syllables, which fact is not used phonologically. We will therefore defend the position that Sabanê has a stress system. As Kager (1993: 367), among many others, states, such a system shows the following characteristics: culminativity: every word has at least one stressed syllable; hierarchy: there is a prominence scale in stressed words; the stress is restricted to certain limits; the system avoids clashes and alternates stressed with unstressed syllables and it does not allow stress assimilation<sup>5</sup>; stressed syllables maintain more vocalic distinctions, whereas unstressed syllables tend to be weakened by vocalic reduction. In the following sections, stress in nominal domains will be dealt with. After that, based on the principles proposed for nouns, the behaviour of stress in verbal domains will be discussed.

Stress is assigned to any heavy syllables in the nominal root. However, if there are no heavy syllables in the root, stress falls on the penultimate (light) syllable. The open stressed syllable will be lengthened (phonetically, vowels in stressed syllables are, on average, two times longer than in unstressed ones). If, by any chance, there is more than one heavy syllable in a root, the rightmost heavy syllable is stressed.

Vowels in stressed positions generally allow more phonetic distinctions than vowels in unstressed positions. For example, Brazilian Portuguese (Southern and South-eastern dialects) has seven vowels /i u æ e ɔ o a/ in stressed position and five /i u e o a/ in unstressed position. Russian has five stressed vowels /i u e o a/ and three unstressed ones /i u a/. Sabanê has five underlying vowels /i u e o a/ phonetically realized as [i u æ ɔ a] in stressed position, and five unstressed ones [ɪ u ə ʌ ə], respectively.

Vowels that occur in rhythmic stress positions (i.e. in words with three or more syllables) do not have the same duration as vowels that carry main stress. Vowels in iterative stress positions have a longer duration than unstressed vowels, but are shorter than stressed vowels. Moreover, in rhythmic stress position, there are five underlying vowels /i u e o a/, realized as [ə y e ʌ ə]. The vowels /u o/ are neutralized in this position.

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<sup>5</sup> Mamaindê, as described by Eberhard 2003, allows tone assimilation and sandhi.

Disregarding the referential suffixes **-mi** or **-mali** (which are irrelevant to the point below), nouns in Sabanê contain at least two and maximally four syllables<sup>6</sup>. Simple nouns possess the syllabic patterns described in Table 9, where L stands for a light syllable and H for a heavy one. The characters in bold indicate primary stress position and the asterisk (\*) indicates non-existent patterns. Table 9 shows that nominal words with two adjacent heavy syllables do not occur.

Table 9: Syllable weight

Nouns		
2 syllables	3 syllables	4 syllables
<b>LL</b> , <b>LH</b> , <b>HL</b>	<b>LL</b> L, <b>LHL</b> , <b>HLL</b> , <b>LLH</b>	<b>LLL</b> L, <b>LLHL</b> , <b>LLLH</b> , <b>LHLL</b> , <b>HLLL</b> , <b>LHLH</b>
*HH	*HLH, *HHH, *LHH, *HHL	*HLHL, *HHHL, *HHHH, *LHHH, *LHHL, *HHLH, *HHLL
Verbs		
1 syllable	2 syllables	3 syllables
<b>H</b>	<b>LL</b> , <b>LH</b> , <b>HH</b>	<b>LLL</b> , <b>LLH</b> , <b>HLH</b>
*L	*HL, *HH, *LH	* <b>LLL</b> , *LHL, * <b>HLH</b>

In words with more than three syllables, a rule for primary and rhythmic (iterative) stress is active.

Halle & Vergnaud (1987) suggest an autosegmental representation of stress involving a *stress plane*. In their proposal, ‘the placement of stress reflects an organization of the sequence of stressable elements that is not concerned with the phonological or phonetic substance of these elements’ (1987:46). In Halle & Vergnaud’s proposal, stress is represented in a grid delimited by curly brackets

<sup>6</sup> At least at the lexical level, there are few monosyllabic words in Sabanê. While in other Nambikwara languages, monosyllables are common, in Sabanê they hardly exist. The word **iwta** ‘sun’ seems to be a compound from **iw-** (cf. **iwnu**a ‘star’) and the augmentative suffix **-ta**. The class term **-ko** bares a similar relationship with kinship terms.

	<b>iwta</b>	‘sun’
cf.	<b>iwnu</b> a	‘star’
	<b>iwnu</b> a.ta	‘Morning star’
	<b>naw</b> .ko	‘mother’
	<b>wayn</b> .ko	‘father’
	<b>ti</b> .ko	‘mother-in-law’, ‘sister-in-law’
	<b>ko</b> .ko	‘father-in-law’, ‘brother-in-law’

that identify the relevant constituents. Therefore, a tier hierarchy is also assumed. The stressability of an element is either assigned by default, that is, all vowels can be stressed, or by rule: in the case of Sabanê, 1) heavy syllables are more prominent than light ones; 2) the penultimate syllable is stressed in case of a word with only light syllables; and 3) secondary stress is iterative and alternating. Furthermore, in compounds the primary stressed syllable of the root in head position is the most prominent of all. Halle & Vergnaud formalize these conditions through the attribution of asterisks (\*) on the grid lines and using the symbol ^ to mark the lexical stress of a morpheme, when such morphemes are present in the language<sup>7</sup>.

On line 0 all vowels receive an asterisk, on lines 1 and 2, each syllable stressed by rule receives an extra asterisk; if necessary, a third line is added to distinguish between primary and secondary stress and to mark the stress in compounds. In this theory, operations such as deletion or insertion of marks in the grid can be achieved by rule. Additionally, three parameters are recognized: boundedness (bounded, unbounded), headedness (left-headed, right-headed) and directionality (left-to-right, right-to-left). The rule that assigns an extra asterisk to heavy syllables is crucial to the analysis of Sabanê stress. Applying these parameters to the Sabanê data results in the following representations:

- |       |                                     |             |        |          |
|-------|-------------------------------------|-------------|--------|----------|
| (208) | <b>ali</b>                          | (* .)       | line 1 | (rule)   |
|       | /a.li/                              | (* *)       | line 0 | (vowels) |
|       | [ <sup>l</sup> ɑ:ɾi]                | <b>ali</b>  |        |          |
|       | ‘sloth’                             |             |        |          |
| (209) | <b>kali</b>                         | (* .)       | line 1 | (rule)   |
|       | /ka.li/                             | (* *)       | line 0 | (vowels) |
|       | [ <sup>l</sup> k <sup>h</sup> ɑ:ɾi] | <b>kali</b> |        |          |
|       | ‘horned frog’                       |             |        |          |
| (210) | <b>upa</b>                          | (* .)       | line 1 | (rule)   |
|       | /u.pa/                              | (* *)       | line 0 | (vowels) |
|       | [ <sup>l</sup> u:pə]                | <b>upa</b>  |        |          |
|       | ‘macuca bird’                       |             |        |          |

In the examples in (208-210), all syllables are light. Hence, stress is assigned to the penultimate syllable (from right to left).

In the following examples (211-214), stress is assigned to heavy syllables, even when these are word-final:

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<sup>7</sup> Sabanê lacks inherent stress.

- (211) **asay**                    (. \*) line 1 (weight)  
       /a.sai/                    (\* \*) line 0 (vowels)  
       [ɐ.ˈsɑj]  
       ‘faeces’                    **asay**
- (212) **ninu?**                    (. \*) line 1 (weight)  
       /ni.nu?/                    (\* \*) line 0 (vowels)  
       [ni.ˈnuːʔ]  
       ‘water/juice’                **ninu?**
- (213) **ayso**                    (\* .) line 1 (weight)  
       /ai.so/                    (\* \*) line 0 (vowels)  
       [ˈɑj.fʌ]  
       ‘tobacco’                    **ayso**
- (214) **iwta**                    (\* .) line 1 (weight)  
       /iu.ta/                    (\* \*) line 0 (vowels)  
       [ˈiʷ.te]  
       ‘sun’                        **iwta**

In the same way, stress is assigned to a heavy syllable in nominal roots of three syllables. In the absence of a heavy syllable, stress is assigned to the penultimate (light) syllable.

- (215) **kapila**                    (. \* .) line 1 (rule)  
       /ka.pi.la/                    (\* \* \*) line 0 (vowels)  
       [kɛ.ˈpiː.lɛ]  
       ‘bottle gourd/glass’        **kapila**
- (216) **talawa**                    (. \* .) line 1 (rule)  
       /ta.la.ua/                    (\* \* \*) line 0 (vowels)  
       [tɛ.ˈlɑːwɛ]  
       ‘red macaw’                    **talawa**
- (217) **owayli**                    (. \* .) line 1 (rule)  
       /o.uai.li/                    (\* \* \*) line 0 (vowels)  
       [ɔ.ˈwɑj.li]  
       ‘red deer’                    **owayli**

- (218) **walayna** ( . \* . ) line 1 (rule)  
 /ua.lai.na/ (\* \* \*) line 0 (vowels)  
 [we.laj.nə] **walayna**  
 ‘toucan’

When a heavy syllable occupies the final position in a trisyllabic word, a secondary stress is assigned to the antepenultimate vowel. This vowel is shorter than a fully stressed vowel and longer than an unstressed one. Therefore, in the grid’s representation an extra line is added to show that such a word has a primary stress and a secondary stress. The rhythmic stress rule (shown in italics) applies after the assignment of primary stress. Hence, in order to obtain the correct rhythmic output, (at least) two cycles are necessary.

- (219) **watati?** (\* . \*) *line 2 (secondary)*<sup>CYCLE 2</sup>  
 /uatai?/ (. . \*) line 1 (weight)<sup>CYCLE 1</sup>  
 [ɥwaː.te.ʔiʔ] (\* \* \*) line 0 (vowels)  
 ‘flower’ **watati?**
- (220) **totali?** (\* . \*) *line 2 (secondary)*<sup>CYCLE 2</sup>  
 /totali?/ (. . \*) line 1 (weight)<sup>CYCLE 1</sup>  
 [tʁː.te.ʔiʔ] (\* \* \*) line 0 (vowels)  
 ‘three-banded armadillo’ **totali?**

On the other hand, a trisyllabic word with a heavy antepenultimate syllable shows iterative stress on the final syllable (if light):

- (221) **waysili** (\* . \*) *line 2 (secondary)*<sup>CYCLE 2</sup>  
 /uai.si.li/ (\* . .) line 1 (weight)<sup>CYCLE 1</sup>  
 [ʰwaj.ʃi.ɿiʔ] (\* \* \*) line 0 (vowels)  
 ‘assai palm’ **waysili**
- (222) **aymoti** (\* . \*) *line 2 (secondary)*<sup>CYCLE 2</sup>  
 /aimoti/ (\* . .) line 1 (weight)<sup>CYCLE 1</sup>  
 [ʔaj.mʁ.ɿtyʔ] (\* \* \*) line 0 (vowels)  
 ‘louse’ **aymoti**

Although rare, there are some words with four syllables. Words with four light syllables were not found.



- (223) **kolowlui?** (. . . \*) line 2 (rightmost)  
 /ko.lou.lu.i<sup>?</sup>/ (. \* . \*) line 1 (weight)  
 [kʷ.ɿ.ɿow.lu.ɿi:] (\* \* \* \*) line 0 (vowels)  
 ‘(stone) knife’ **kolowlui?**
- (224) **towakali?** (. \* . \*) line 2 (*secondary*)<sup>CYCLE 2</sup>  
 /touakali<sup>?</sup>/ (. . . \*) line 1 (weight)<sup>CYCLE 1</sup>  
 [tʷ.ɿ.wɑ.ki.ɿi:<sup>?</sup>] (\* \* \* \*) line 0 (vowels)  
 ‘caiman’ **towakali?**

In (225), primary stress is assigned to the *rightmost* heavy syllable, whereas iterative (secondary) stress is assigned to every other heavy syllable.

- (225) **tapaytapay** (. \* . \*) line 2 (*secondary*)<sup>CYCLE 3</sup>  
 /tapaitapai/ (. . . \*) line 2 (rightmost)<sup>CYCLE 2</sup>  
 [tɛ.ɿpɑj.tɛ.ɿpɑj] (. \* . \*) line 1 (weight)<sup>CYCLE 1</sup>  
 ‘pit viper’ (\* \* \* \*) line 0 (vowels)  
**tapaytapay**

In nominal compounds that consist of a noun followed by another noun, stress is assigned following the general rule. This rule states that a heavy syllable in each root or, in the absence of a heavy syllable, the penultimate light syllable in each root is stressed. Compounds that consist of a noun followed by a classifier have the noun as their head. This implies a prosodic distinction between these structures and noun-noun compounds. The concept of *root* is crucial to stress assignment in any case.

Example (226) shows a nominal root **kolowa** ‘string’ followed by a classifier **-api** ‘CL: LONG FLX’. Stress is assigned to the penultimate syllable in the root, which in this case surfaces as heavy as a consequence of gemination. The classifier is invisible to primary stress assignment although it is visible to secondary stress.

- (226) **kolowapi** (. \* . \*) line 2 (*secondary*)<sup>CYCLE 2</sup>  
 /koloua/+/api/ (. \* . .) line 1 (rule)<sup>CYCLE 1</sup>  
 [kʷ.lo<sup>w</sup>.wa.ɿpy] (\* \* \* \*) line 0 (vowels)  
 ‘string’ **kolowapi**

In (227), the root **kolu?** ‘a pair of (wooden) scissors’ is reduplicated and followed by the classifier **-takata** ‘CL: LONG NON-FLX’. Primary stress is

assigned to the rightmost heavy syllable in the root, while secondary stress is assigned evenly to the leftmost heavy as well as to the classifier.

- (227) **kolu?kolu?takata**  
 /kolu?kolu?/ + /akata/  
 [kʷ.ɿluʔ.kʷ.ɿluʔ.te.ɿkaː.te]  
 ‘a pair of (wooden) scissors’

The same applies to **amoya** ‘potato’ and its classifier **-isi** ‘CL: RDN’:

- (228) **amoyasi**  
 /amoia/ + /isi/  
 [e.ɿmoː.je.ɿsyː]  
 ‘potato’

Nominal compounds formed by juxtaposition of two nouns have two stresses (one in each root); however, at the compound level, primary stress is assigned to the head of the compound. In the following representation (simplified), the steps to obtain this result include the assignment of asterisks to all vowels, followed by the attribution of stress on the basis of weight, assignment of secondary stress to each word and, finally, assignment of the primary stress based on compound headedness.

- |       |                      |                       |                                 |
|-------|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| (229) | <b>oluma.maysili</b> | (. * .)(. . .)        | line 3 (head)                   |
|       | tapir.younglings     | (. * .)(* . .)        | line 2 (word stress)            |
|       | /oluma/ + /maysili/  | (. * .)(* . *)        | line 1 (rule; weight+secondary) |
|       | [oɿlũːma.ɿmajɿiɿiː]  | (* * *)(* * *)        | line 0 (vowels)                 |
|       | ‘jaguar’             | <b>wayulu.tapayli</b> |                                 |
| (230) | <b>yotosapa</b>      | (* .)(. .)            | line 2 (head)                   |
|       | /ioto/ + /sapa/      | (* .)(* .)            | line 1 (rule)                   |
|       | [ɿjoː.tʷ.ɿsaː.pe]    | (* *)(* *)            | line 0 (vowels)                 |
|       | ‘tucum palm nut’     | <b>yota.sapa</b>      |                                 |

Words formed by derivational processes (noun+derivational suffix) such as for example diminutive suffixation, show that these suffixes are unstressed and do not have lexical stress. Hence, in the examples (232-233), primary stress is assigned to the root, while the secondary stress on the bound morpheme **-mata** ‘diminutive’, is assigned as a result of rhythm.

- (231) **heloy.mata**  
 watch.DIM  
 /heloi/ + /mata/  
 [hə.'loj.mə.tə']  
 'small watch'
- (232) **motoka.mata**  
 /motoka/ + /mata/  
 [mɔ.'to:.kə.mɑ:.tə]  
 'small calabash'

However, a small group of lexical items are exceptional to the rules of stress placement proposed above. All these words have a glide that occurs after the third vowel in the word, counting from right to left. In these words, exceptionally, the third vowel is accented, even if there is a heavy syllable to its right:

Phonology	Orthography	Accent	Expected:	Gloss
/a.io.ua/	<b>ayowa</b>	[a <sup>h</sup> jo <sub>1</sub> wa']	*[a. <sup>h</sup> jo <sup>w</sup> .wa]	'black fly'
/o.i.un.ta/	<b>oyunta</b>	[ <sup>h</sup> o.jũ.ta']	*[o. <sup>h</sup> jũ.ta]	'ghost of the flute'
/ua.la.ie.na/	<b>walayena</b>	[wa <sup>h</sup> la <sup>h</sup> je.na']	*[wa.la. <sup>h</sup> je.na]	'toucan'
/ua.ia.li/	<b>wayali</b>	[ <sup>h</sup> wa <sup>h</sup> ja.li']	*[wa. <sup>h</sup> ja:li]	'beetle'
/ɔa.li.uu.lu/	<b>daliwulu</b>	[ɔa <sup>h</sup> li <sup>w</sup> wu <sub>1</sub> lu']	*[ɔa.li <sup>w</sup> wu:lu]	'hat'
/ko.ua.ii.ti/	<b>kowayiti</b>	[ko <sup>h</sup> wa <sup>h</sup> ji.ti']	*[ko.wa. <sup>h</sup> ji.ti]	'swallow'
/na.na.ii.ku/	<b>nanayiku</b>	[na <sup>h</sup> na <sup>h</sup> ji.ku']	*[na.na. <sup>h</sup> ji.ku]	'mosquito'
/ta.pa.uu.lu/	<b>tapawulu</b>	[ta <sup>h</sup> pa: <sup>w</sup> wu <sub>1</sub> lu']	*[ta.pa. <sup>h</sup> wu:lu]	'clay pot'
/ua.i.u.lu/	<b>wayulu</b>	[ <sup>h</sup> wa <sup>h</sup> ju <sub>1</sub> lu']	*[wa. <sup>h</sup> ju:lu]	'dog; jaguar'

Maybe these words are old compounds that are no longer recognized as such, but which maintain synchronically the original compound stress. One interesting example is **wayulu**, which means 'dog' or 'jaguar' in Sabanê. In the Northern Nambikwara language Latundê (Telles 2002: 168, 170), these words are expressed by different roots: **!wajn-** for 'dog' and **loh-** for 'jaguar'. It is our guess that the Sabanê word combines both roots. This hypothesis gains even more plausibility when considering the fact that in most of the Nambikwara languages roots are usually monosyllabic, whereas such roots are very rare in Sabanê. Also, four of the words listed above (**daliwulu**, **kowayiti**, **nanayiku**,

and **tapawulu**) share an identical sound sequence with another word, suggesting the presence of some opaque internal morphological structure. The word **oyunta** may contain the augmentative suffix **-ta**, in which case its stress is regular. Finally, words like **aymoti** or **nanayiku** may contain a common morpheme **ay** for specific types of insects. However, in the absence of sufficient evidence, we will provisionally assume that stress in these words is marked in the lexicon.

Stress is also predictable in free morphemes like adverbs. In this category of words, the heavy syllable of the root is stressed or, in case there is none, the penultimate syllable is. In the following examples, curly brackets { } indicate independent stress domains.

(233) **wola**

/uola/

[<sup>h</sup>wɔ:lə]

'a lot'

<b>{wola}</b>	<b>{t-</b>	<b>am</b>	<b>-i</b>	<b>-al</b>	<b>-i}</b>
a lot	1OBJ-	to be hungry	-VS	-PRES NEUT	-ASSR

/uola t-am-i-al-i/  
[<sup>h</sup>wɔ:lə t̪ã:m̪i,a:l̪i]  
'I am starving.'

(234) **ileypelu**

/ileipelu/

[i.l̪æj.pə,ɾʷ]

'now/today'

<b>{ileypelu}</b>	<b>{ilup</b>	<b>-a</b>	<b>-dana}</b>
now	to vomit-	-VS	-PRES EV

/ileipelu ilup-i-dana/  
[i.l̪æj.pə,ɾʷ.ʔi.ru:p̪e,dã.nɛ]  
'Now s/he throws up.'

As far as the verbal domain is concerned, the sequence of a verbal root with its suffixes is regarded as one prosodic word. In section 3.3, all verbal suffixes, such as 'progressive', 'desiderative', 'quotative', etc., will be presented in detail.

In verbal domains, primary stress is assigned to the rightmost heavy syllable of the root or, in the absence of a heavy syllable, to the penultimate syllable, although roots that contain only light syllables are rare. In (235), the verbal root **ilul** 'to eat' is syllabified as **i.lul**; therefore, primary stress is assigned to the heavy syllable **lul**. Sabanê does not allow onsetless syllables, so the coda must

be syllabified immediately after stress assignment. The procedure shows that the first round of syllabification must happen at the level of the morpheme, because at the word level /l/ is no longer in coda position and, consequently, no longer adds weight to the preceding syllable.

- (235) **ilul -i -al -i**  
 to eat -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 /ilul-i-al-i/  
 [i.'lu:.li,a'.li]  
 'S/he eats.'

In the form **amaylitelon** 'It is going to rain' (236), there are two heavy syllables: **may** and **lon**. The first syllable **may** belongs to the root, and **lon** is part of the evidential future suffix. In this case, primary stress is assigned to the root and a secondary stress is assigned to the heavy syllable of the suffix.

- (236) **amayl -i -telon**  
 to rain -VS -FUT EV  
 /amayl-i-telon/  
 [e.'maj,rə.te,rõ']  
 'It is going to rain.'

In example (237), primary stress is assigned to the root. Then, in the absence of unstressed syllables, at the word level, rhythmic stress is assigned in such a way that an alternating pattern emerges.

- (237) **amayl -i -tapanal -i**  
 to rain -VS -FUT NEUT -ASSR  
 /amayl-i-tapanal-i/  
 [a.'maj,rə,ta'.pə,na'.li]  
 'It will rain.'

A prosodic word corresponding to a verb with only one heavy syllable is rare. When more than one heavy syllable occurs, rhythmic stresses are assigned to any heavy syllable outside the root.

- (238) **ayp -i -telon**  
 to dig -VS -FUT EV  
 /aip-i-telon/  
 [a<sub>1</sub>j.p<sub>1</sub>t̩.ɤ<sub>1</sub>r̩õː]  
 ‘S/he is going to dig.’
- (239) **ilul -i -tan -datinan**  
 to eat -VS -DES -PRET EV  
 /ilul-i-tan-datinan/  
 [i.<sup>l</sup>ruː.li.tãː.dɤ.ti.nãː]  
 ‘S/he wants to eat.’

In some words, two heavy syllables are adjacent. This situation would result in a stress clash, if primary stress were assigned to both syllables. Such a clash is avoided if primary stress is assigned to the heavy syllable in the root only. In the sentence in (240a), primary stress is assigned to the root **al** ‘to walk’. The secondary stress is assigned as in (237).

- (240a) **al -i -al -i**  
 to walk -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 /al-i-al-i/  
 [aː.li.aː.li]  
 ‘S/he walks.’

In addition, the syllable in the root will be more prominent in terms of duration and vowel quality when two heavy syllables are adjacent, one in the root and another one outside the root, as shown in (240b).

- (240b) **al -i -ntal -i**  
 to walk -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 /al-i-ntal-i/  
 [aː.<sup>l</sup>n̩.ta.liː]  
 ‘S/he walked.’

In the example sentence (240b), primary stress is also assigned to the verbal root. However, at least at the level of the prosodic word, the following syllable is also a heavy syllable, due to the fact that the nasal consonant in **-ntal** ‘PRET EV’ is at that level syllabified as a coda: [**ɲ̩n**]. Although adjacent to a stressed syllable, this newly formed heavy syllable creates the impression of being stressed, as a consequence of being phonetically marked with a higher pitch. The primary stressed vowel keeps its usual characteristics, such as longer duration,

vowel quality and the like. In the same way, a higher pitch is attributed to the final heavy syllable of **-telon** ‘FUT EV’, in a sequence like (241). Both facts lead to the assumption that the rise in pitch is associated with the presence of a heavy syllable outside the root and not to a specific morpheme. Eventually, every heavy syllable outside of the root is realized with prominence. In our view, Price (1978) misunderstood this type of occurrence (predictable high pitch) as phonological tone.

- (241) **amayl -i -telon**  
 to rain -VS -FUT EV  
 /amayl-i-telon/  
 [a.ˈmaj.rə.te.ɾõː]  
 ‘It is going to rain.’

Stress is assigned independently to each prosodic word in a sentence. In (242), for example, primary stress is assigned to the heavy syllable **way** in the nominal domain and rhythmically to **lu**. In the verbal domain, in turn, the heavy syllable **-nan** in the root receives primary stress and, as already discussed, the following heavy syllable receives pitch-accent and then stress is iteratively assigned.

- (242) {**wayulu -mi**} {**nan -i -ntal -i**}  
 dog -REF to shout -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 /uaiulu-mi nan-i-ntal-i/  
 [ˈwaːju.lu.mi ˈnãː.ɾã.ta.liː]  
 ‘The dog barked.’

When an adverb occurs in a verbal function, it is regarded as a verb for the sake of stress assignment. Verb domains are formed by verbal roots, verbal adjectives, or verbal adverbs followed by verbal suffixes. In (243), **amulu** ‘only’ is inflected as a verb. Stress is assigned in this form as it is in verbs.

- (243) {**da- sopa -tanon**} {**amulu -n**}  
 1POSS- baby carrier -CL: HEMI only -VS  
**-al -i**  
 -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 /da-sopa-anon-amulu-i-al-i/  
 [dɛ.ˈsoː.pɛ.tɛ.ɾõː.ʔɛ.ˈmuː.lu.ɾã.li]  
 ‘I have only one baby carrier.’

- cf. **amulu**  
 /amulu/  
 [e.'mu:.lu]  
 'only'

In (243), stress is assigned to the penultimate syllable because there are no heavy syllables in the verbal root.

From the foregoing discussion, we conclude that stress and rhythm in Sabanê is regulated by three mechanisms. One attributes stress to the root, taking syllable weight into account. Two other processes are active at the level of the prosodic word. Of these, one applies to heavy syllables, which are made phonetically prominent through the realization of a rise in pitch. The other one assigns rhythmic stresses to the remaining syllables in such a way that over the prosodic word domain an alternating pattern emerges of stressed and stressless syllables.

## 2.6 Phonological Processes

In this section, it will be shown that the prosodic domain functions as a conditioning category in the operation of a number of phonological rules.

Nominal compounds, must be regarded as two prosodic words, as can be concluded from the distribution of full and reduced vowels, which is readily explained under the assumption of compounds consisting of two independent prosodic words. Inside compounds, across word boundaries, vowel deletion may occur if the first component ends in a vowel and the second component begins with a vowel (as shown in 244), whether the latter are different from (cf. examples (245) or identical with the former (cf. examples in (246-247). (The symbol – stands for a morpheme boundary.)

$$(244) \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} \left[ \dots N [+syl] \right]_{\omega} - \left[ [+syl] \dots N \right]_{\omega} \\ \downarrow \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right]$$

- (245) **usikalita.isey**  
 giant ant-eater + tail  
 /usikali-ta/ + /isei/  
 [u'ʃi:ka<sub>1</sub>ri'ta<sub>2</sub>sæj]  
 'giant ant-eater tail' (*Myrmecophaga judata*)



(246) **sowawsi.isu**  
 piau fish + bone  
 /sowawsi/ + /isu/  
 [sɔ<sup>h</sup>waw<sub>1</sub>si<sub>2</sub>sɻ]  
 ‘piau fishbone’

(247) **dalama.awi**  
 patoa + seed  
 /ɖalama/ + /aui/  
 [ɖa<sup>h</sup>lā<sub>1</sub>ma<sub>2</sub>wi<sup>h</sup>]  
 ‘patoa seed’

Example (248a) illustrates the deletion of /a/ inside of the verbal domain, while example (248b) shows that /a/ is maintained after a non-identical vowel.

(248) (a) **ay -i -mina -al -i**  
 to go -VS -NEG -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 /ai-i-mina-al-i/  
 [ʰa<sup>h</sup>.ji.mi.na.li]  
 ‘S/he does not go.’

(b) **ay -i -al -a**  
 to go -VS -PRES NEUT -INT  
 /ai-i-al-a/  
 [ʰa<sup>h</sup>.ji.a.la]  
 ‘Does s/he go?’

When two vowels or a glide and a vowel that belong to different prosodic words are adjacent, a glottal stop [ʔ] is inserted between them. This process does not occur between the parts of a compound, where, as we have illustrated above, vowel deletion occurs.

(249)  $\emptyset \rightarrow ? / \dots \left( \begin{array}{c} [+syl] \\ -syl \\ -cons \end{array} \right) \omega \_ \omega[+syl]$

(250) **yowla ap -i -al -i**  
 knife to sharpen -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 [ʰiow.la.ʔa.pi.a.ri]  
 ‘The knife is sharp.’

cf. **yowla**

/ioula/  
[ˈjow.la]  
‘knife’

<b>ap</b>	<b>-i</b>	<b>-al</b>	<b>-i</b>
to sharpen	-VS	-PRES NEUT	-ASSR
/ap-i-al-i/			
[aː.pi.aː.ri]			
‘It is sharp.’			

- (251) **anose ileypa**                    **-n**    **-al**                    **-i**  
 bowl    to be new                    -VS    -PRES NEUT                    -ASSR  
 [ã.ˈnoː.se.ʔi.ˈræj.pə.naː.li]  
 ‘It is a new bowl.’

cf. **anose**

/anose/  
[a.ˈnoː.se]  
‘bowl’

<b>ileypa</b>	<b>-n</b>	<b>-al</b>	<b>-i</b>
to be new	-VS	-PRES NEUT	-ASSR
/ileipa-n-al-i/			
[i.ˈræj.pə.naː.li]			
‘It is new.’			

- (252) **yalay**                                    **amun -i**                    **-al**                    **-i**  
 peludo armadillo                    to sleep -VS                    -PRES NEUT                    -ASSR  
 [ja.ˈlaj.ʔe.ˈmũː.ni.aː.ri]  
 ‘The (peludo) armadillo sleeps.’

cf. **yalay**  
 /ialai/  
 [ja.'lai]  
 'peludo armadillo'

**amun -i -al -i**  
 to sleep -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 /amun-i-al-i/  
 [e.'mũ:ni.'a'.ri]  
 'S/he/it sleeps.'

As expected, glottal insertion does not occur if there is a vowel-consonant sequence at a prosodic domain boundary, as shown in (253). In summary, onsetless syllables, in general, and hiatuses, in particular, are avoided across different prosodic words in Sabanê.

(253) **maysili payn -i -al -i**  
 younglings to sing -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ['maj.fi.'ri.'pã̃.ni.'a'.li]  
 'Children are singing.'

cf. **maysili**  
 /maisili/  
 ['maj.fi.'ri]  
 'younglings'

**payn -i -al -i**  
 to sing -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 /pain-i-al-i/  
 ['pã̃.ni.'a'.li]  
 'S/he sings.'

The vowel /i/ is deleted in unstressed syllables followed by a syllable /li/, as stated in (254). This process occurs only with /i/.

(254) 
$$\begin{array}{c} \left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ syl} \\ + \text{ high} \\ - \text{ back} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \emptyset / \left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ cons} \\ + \text{ lateral} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ voc} \\ + \text{ high} \\ - \text{ back} \end{array} \right] \\ \downarrow \\ [-\text{stress}] \end{array}$$

In this case, a complex onset *consonant-lateral* is formed, as shown in (255-257):

- (255) **kiliwa**  
 /kiliwa/  
 [kri:<sup>w</sup>.wa]  
 ‘house’
- (256) **ninu<sup>?</sup>.apilia**  
 /ninu<sup>?</sup>-apilia/  
 [ni.nu:<sup>?</sup>ə.pri.a]  
 ‘(clean) water’
- (257) **apili –mi t– osa –n**  
 embira –REF 1OBJ– to give –VS  
 /apili-mi t-osan/  
 [a.pri.mi to.sã:]  
 ‘Give the (embira) string to me!’

### 3 Morphology

#### 3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to describe Sabanê Noun and Verb Morphology. I will start with exposing the morphology of the Noun. In the second part of this chapter, the verbal morphology will be discussed.

#### 3.2 Noun Morphology

##### 3.2.1 Introduction

Nouns are used to name entities, substances, individuals, and places. Formally, the nominal domain consists of optional and obligatory elements. Possessive pronouns, derivational suffixes, and classifiers are all optional components. The root is obligatory. Referential suffixes are obligatory when a word is pronounced out of context, but it is optional in sentences.

##### 3.2.2 Root and Morphological Word

Sabanê noun roots are bound morphemes and the noun root corresponds exactly to the lexical form. In isolation, the root is obligatory followed by a referential suffix. In context, roots can be followed by inflectional or derivational morphology (Table 10).

Table 10: The Noun

NOUN						
(INFL)–	ROOT	(ROOT)	(–DERIV)		–INFL	
POSS–		(ROOT)	(SIZE)		(CLASS)	–REF
		(ROOT)	{AUGM}	{DIM}	–anon	–mi/
		sukwin	–ta	–mata	–isi	–mali
		maysili			–amoka	
		maysunon			–akata	–OBJ
		maytelon			–api	–k
					–inun	
					–iawa	

According to Payne (1997: 26), ‘Inflectional operations are those which are required by the syntactic environment in which a root appears. Inflectional operations do not normally alter the basic meaning of the concept expressed;

rather, they ground the concept expressed by a root according to place, time, participant referent, etc.’ In Sabanê, possessive pronouns (prefixes), and referential suffixes are part of the inflectional operations. On the other hand, classification is part of derivation because it generates new lexical items through affixation of bound morphemes to the root. Apart from that, compounding combines two or more roots to create a new lexical item.

In the following examples, **kiliwa**, **tapawulu**, **ulununu**, **alowa** and **kiatatapuntawi** are nominal items followed by **-mi** ‘REF’.

- (01) **kiliwa** **-mi**  
house **-REF**  
‘house’
- (02) **tapawulu** **-mi**  
clay pot **-REF**  
‘clay pot’
- (03) **ulununu** **-mi**  
capuchin monkey **-REF**  
‘capuchin monkey’
- (04) **alowa** **-mi**  
jucum **-REF**  
‘jucum’ (*Bactris setosa*)
- (05) **kiata** **tapun** **-t** **-awi** **-mi**  
corn black **-LINK** **-seed** **-REF**  
‘black corn seed’

As expected, some compounds have become lexicalized roots, as for example, **apiawa** ‘wooden board/spoon’, which is a diachronically formed complex word. The word can be decomposed into two parts: **api** ‘wood’ plus **iawa** ‘bark’, resulting in ‘wooden bark’. However, the two formatives **api** and **iawa** are nowadays classifiers. Synchronically, **apiawa** behaves like a root: it has only one primary stress [aˈpiːaː<sup>w</sup>wa] and its internal structure is opaque to any morphophonemic rules.

- (06) **apiawa** **-mi**  
wooden bark **-REF**  
‘wooden board/spoon’

- (07) **kiliwa.apiawa**      **-tanon**      **-mi**  
 house.wooden bark      -CL:HEMI      -REF  
 ‘wooden house’

Nouns in Sabanê can be morphologically marked with **-k** ‘OBJ’, as shown in (10). Moreover, when one of the components of a compound is not individually recognized as a morpheme, even though one or more of its components is recognized as such, the compound is treated as a root. For example, in **oto.poka** ‘bow’, the first component **oto** ‘arrow’ was identified as a morpheme (08). However, **poka** does not occur as an independent morpheme. Supposedly, **poka** was an ancient root; however, currently, it occurs only in the word ‘bow’ (09).

- (08) **oto**      **-mi**  
 arrow      -REF  
 ‘arrow’

- (09) **otopoka**      **-mi**  
 bow      -REF  
 ‘bow’

- (10) **oto**      **-takata**      **-k**      **ip**      **-i**  
 arrow      -CL:LONG      -OBJ      to run      -VS  
**-al**      **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT      -ASSR  
 ‘It is a long arrow.’

- (11) **otopoka**      **-takata**      **-k**      **ip**      **-i**  
 bow      -CL: LONG      -OBJ      to run      -VS  
**-al**      **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT      -ASSR  
 ‘It is a long bow.’

In the same way, the component **pi**, as in **wayulupi** ‘guara wolf/cat’, was not documented elsewhere; for this reason, I will consider it as part of the root.

- (12) **wayulu** **-mi**  
 dog      -REF  
 ‘dog’

**wayulupi**    **-mi**  
 guara wolf/cat    -REF  
 ‘guara wolf/cat’

cf. **wayulupi**    **wila.maysili**    **-ka**    **sa**    **-n**  
 guara wolf    bird.DIM PL    -OBJ    to catch -VS  
**ntal**    **-i**  
 -PRET NEUT    -ASSR  
 ‘The guara wolf caught all the chicks.’

### 3.2.3 Referential Suffixes

When pronounced in isolation, a noun must be followed by a referential suffix **-mali** or **-mi** (a truncated form of **-mali**) The suffix **-mali** is used when the noun is pronounced in isolation, whereas **-mi** is found in isolated nouns as well as in sentences.

(13) **kiata**    **-mali**    **\*kiata**  
**kiata**    **-mi**    **\*kiata**  
 corn    -REF  
 ‘corn/a piece of corn/the corn’

**kiata**    **-mi**    **uni**    **-n**    **silu**  
 corn    -REF    to be good    -VS    to be tasty  
**-n**    **-dana**  
 -VS    -PRES EV  
 ‘The corn is delicious (is sweet)!’

(14) **kapune.mata**    **-mali**    **\*kapune.mata**  
**kapune.mata**    **-mi**    **\*kapune.mata**  
 paca.DIM    -REF  
 ‘small paca’

**kapune.mata**    **-mi**    **palan**    **-n**    **-dana**  
 paca.DIM    -REF    to not have    -VS    -PRES EV  
 ‘S/he does not have a small paca.’

(15) **anolota**    **-mi**  
 meat    -REF  
 ‘meat’



**anolota –mi**    **hala**    **–n**    **–al**            **–i**  
 meat    –REF    to stink –VS    –PRES NEUT    –ASSR  
 ‘The meat stinks.’

- (16)    **hala**    **–n**    **–mina**    **–dana**            **anolota –mi**  
 to stink –VS    –NEG    –PRES EV    meat    –REF  
 ‘The meat does not stink.’

The hypothesis according to which the particles **–mali** and **–mi** could be definite and indefinite articles is refuted below by an example with a possessive pronoun, because possessives and determiners exclude each other in Sabanê. Likewise, the construction in (17) with an indefinite interpretation of **–mi**, and a possessive pronoun is cross-linguistically not common.

- (17)    **d–**    **anase**    **–mi**  
 1POSS– head    –REF  
 ‘my head’  
 \*‘one my head’

Referential suffixes are also joined to classifiers, when the latter are used as anaphors.

- (18)    **{iawa}**            **–mi**    **san**            **t–**    **osa**    **–n**  
 CL:BARK            –REF    to catch            1OBJ–    to give    –VS  
 ‘Catch it (a ring) and give it to me.’

The Sabanean referential suffixes **–mali** and **–mi** have correlates in Sararé (Borella, p. c.) **–sa** and **–su** and in Latundê (Telles 2002), **–te** and **–tu**. In examples (19-21), the lexical item ‘butterfly’ has the same suffixal structure in these three languages:

- (19)    Sabanê  
       **poputa**            **–mali**  
       butterfly            –REF

- (20)    Sararé  
       **hãtẽfẽ**            **–sa**  
       butterfly            –REF

- (21) Latundê  
**ka**            **-ma<sup>h</sup>majn**    **-te**  
 butterfly      -soft hair       -REF

### 3.2.4 Lack of Gender

Corbett (1991 and references cited) states that the best way to show the existence of grammatical gender is to look for an agreement system outside the noun. That is, in a system where gender categories are in opposition, nouns must be in the same class of agreement (as expressed through morphological marking) under diverse conditions. In Sabanê, these agreement markers do not exist: there is no morphological opposition between feminine or masculine (or neuter), or between animate and inanimate.

Biological gender must be inferred from the context in which a sentence is used, if possible. Thus, a sentence such as **wolawayulu tipintali** means ‘I saw many male jaguars’, or ‘I saw many female jaguars’, or ‘I saw many jaguars’, the latter being the unmarked interpretation<sup>1</sup>.

- (22) **wola wayulu t- ip -i -ntal -i**  
 many jaguar 1OBJ- to see -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘I saw many jaguars (males and females).’

If it is necessary to distinguish between male and female, the speaker has a lexical option, which is to name them as **ati?** ‘male’ or **atitapa?** ‘female’<sup>2</sup>.

- (23) **t- ip -i -ntal -i**  
 1OBJ- to see -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
**totali ati? -isi -n**  
 three-banded armadillo male -CL:RDN -VS  
**-ntal -i**  
 -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘I saw a male three-banded armadillo.’  
 (Lit. I saw a three-banded armadillo, it was a male.)’

<sup>1</sup> Because gender is usually distinguished for animals in Brazilian Portuguese, Sabanê native speakers very often confuse female and male when they are speaking Portuguese.

<sup>2</sup> Since the suffix **-tapa** was not found elsewhere, I consider **atitapa?** as a single lexical item.



The morphemes **ano** and **wola/wolata** are used to express plurality, meaning ‘much/many/a lot’, whereas the litotic construction **ano-n-mina** expresses ‘few/some’. In the sentences (26-31), **ano** is a quantifier, while **wola(ta)** is an adverb. Both words are commonly employed in sentence-initial position.

- (26) **ano**            **-i**        **-al**            **-i**  
 much/many    -VS        -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 ‘There is plenty.’/‘It is a lot.’
- (27) **naysunun**    **-ka**    **ano**            **-i**  
 land            -OBJ    much/many    -VS  
**-al**            **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 ‘There is plenty of land.’
- (28) **ano**            **-n**        **-mina** **-al**            **-i**  
 much/many    -VS        -NEG    -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 ‘It is nothing.’/‘They are nothing.’
- (29) **iwnua** **-k**    **ano**            **-n**        **-mina**  
 star            -OBJ    much/many    -VS        -NEG  
**-al**            **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 ‘There are few stars.’
- (30) **wolata**        **amayl** **-i**        **-al**            **-i**  
 a lot more    to rain    -VS        -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 ‘It is raining very hard.’
- (31) **wola** **kali**            **-n**        **-al**            **-i**  
 a lot    to be warm    -VS        -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 ‘It is really warm.’/‘What a hot day!’

There is also a lack of ordinal and cardinal numerals. Native speakers make use of verbal adverbs, such as **amulu** ‘one/only/just’. Sometimes, **kata** is also used for the numeral ‘one’ (it can occur simultaneously with **amulu**). Moreover, there is a ‘DUAL’ form, **bala** (cf. 3.2.6). The numeral ‘three’ is the result of concatenation of **amulu** and **bala**. All numerals are predicative forms. Since there are no verbs referring to possession, Sabanê expresses possession by means of existential constructions.

- (32) **da-** **maytelon** **amulu** **kata** **-n**  
 1POSS- female youngling only one -VS  
**-al** **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'I have only one daughter.'

- (33) **amulu** **-n** **-al** **-i**  
 only -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'It is one.'/'There is only one.'

In (34), the adverb **amulu** 'only' behaves like the numeral 'one' (cf. section 5.3).

- (34) **d-** **anose** **-tiawa** **amulu** **-n**  
 1POSS- bowl -CL: BARK only -VS  
**-al** **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'I have only one bowl.'

The morpheme **bala** 'DUAL' is exemplified in (35-38).

- (35) **bala** **-n** **-al** **-i**  
 DUAL -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'Two.'/'We are a couple.'/'We are two.'
- (36) **da-** **maysili bala** **-n** **-al** **-i**  
 1POSS- childrenDUAL -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'I have two children.'
- (37) **d-** **anose.mata** **-tiawa** **bala** **-n**  
 1POSS- bowl.DIM -CL: BARK DUAL -VS  
**-ntal** **-i**  
 -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 'I have two small bowls.'
- (38) **atoya** **-tisi** **bala** **-n** **-al** **-i**  
 yam -CD: RND DUAL -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'There are two yams.'

The numeral ‘three’ is obtained by concatenating **kata** and **bala**; however, there is no strict order between these components, as shown in (39). In the former case, **kata** precedes **bala**, whereas in the latter the opposite order obtains.

- (39) **kolu?kolu?**                      **-takata**                      **kata.bala**                      **-n**  
 (a pair of) scissors                      -CL: LONG                      one.DUAL                      -VS  
 -al                      -i  
 -PRES NEUT                      -ASSR  
 ‘S/he has three (pairs of) scissors.’  
 or **kolu?kolu?takata balakatanali**

Another option to express ‘three’ is shown in (40):

- (40) **bala.amulu**                      **-n**                      **-al**                      **-i**  
 two.one                      -VS                      -PRES NEUT                      -ASSR  
 ‘It is three.’

The variation shown in (39-40) indicates just how artificial numeral constructions are. Preferably, Sabanê speakers make use of structures **ano-n-mina** ‘few’, or **ano/wola** ‘much/many’ when there is a need to specify quantities. Moreover, the elders are unfamiliar in general with numbers, even after almost fifty years of contact with non-Indians. The relationship with numbers, in general, and with arithmetic in particular is poor and it is limited to currency transactions.

Telles (2002) classifies numeral constructions as verbal numeral constructions in Latundê. The author claims that verbal numeral constructions and verbal adjective constructions are alike. The same generalization can be extended to Sabanê, as far as numerals are concerned.

### 3.2.6 Possessives

Possessive pronouns are not compulsory and their use depends on speakers’ intentions instead of structural restrictions. Possessive pronouns, except **bala-**, and object pronouns share the same form.

Table 11: Possessive pronouns

	1SG	1PL	DUAL	2	3
/_C	<b>da-</b>	<b>pi-</b>	<b>bala-</b>	<b>ma-</b>	<b>a-</b>
/_V	<b>d-</b>	<b>p-</b>	<b>bala-</b>	<b>m-</b>	<b>-</b>

Apart from **bala-**, possessive pronouns have two allomorphs: preceding vowels, these pronouns are realized as **d-** [d̥], **p-** [p], **m-** [m], and zero, whereas preceding consonants they are realized as **da-** [d̥ə], **pi-** [pi], **ma-** [mə], and **a-** [ə]. Below, the first person singular is exemplified in (41-42), and the first person plural is shown in (43-44).

- (41) **d-**      **apipa**    **-mi**  
 1POSS- hand    -REF  
 'my hand'
- (42) **da-**      **kiliwa**    **-mi**  
 1POSS- house -REF  
 'my house'
- (43) **p-**                      **apikata**              **-mali**  
 1POSS PL-              table                      -REF  
 'our table'
- (44) **pi-**                      **kiliwa**                      **-mali**  
 1POSS PL-              house                      -REF  
 'our home'

The DUAL form **bala-** ['b̥a:la] is used to refer to a dual possessive pronoun that simultaneously includes the first and the third person pronouns.

- (45) **bala-**    **kiliwa**    **-mali**  
 DUAL- house    -REF  
 'our (me + you) house'
- (46) **bala-**    **ani**                      **-mi**    **palit**                      **-i**  
 DUAL- firewood    -REF    to cleave wood    -VS  
**-al**                      **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 'S/he cleaves our firewood.'

The second person (singular or plural) possessive:

- (47) **m-**      **apipa**    **-mi**  
 2POSS- hand    -REF  
 'your hand', 'your (PL) hands'

- (48) **m- yowla -mi ta- taw -i**  
 2POSS- knife -REF 1OBJ- to cut -VS  
**-ntal -i**  
 -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘I was cut by your knife.’
- (49) **ma- kiliwa -mali**  
 2POSS- house -REF  
 ‘your house’, ‘your (PL) house(s)’
- (50) **ma- doda.mata -mi nan -i**  
 2POSS- white-lipped peccary.DIM -REF to cry -VS  
**-say -al -i**  
 -PROG -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘Your white-lipped peccary is grunting.’
- The third person (singular or plural) is realized as the vowel /a/ [ə], orthographically **a-** before a consonant; before a vowel or glide, this possessive pronoun is not realized phonetically.
- (51) **- apipa -mi**  
 3POSS- hand -REF  
 ‘her/his/its hand(s)’
- (52) **- wila.ta -ki kan -n -ntal -i**  
 3POSS- chicken -OBJ to die -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘Her/his chicken was killed.’
- (53) **a- kiliwa -mali**  
 3POSS- house -REF  
 ‘her/his house(s)’
- (54) **a- nawa -ki towali kal -i**  
 3POSS- beiju<sup>4</sup> -OBJ 1SUBJ to cut -VS  
**-tapanal -i**  
 -FUT NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘I will cut her/his beiju.’

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<sup>4</sup> A thin, rolled pancake made from manioc flour.



### 3.2.7 Further Issues on Possessiveness

There is no morphological marking in nominal compounds, as shown in (55-56). Instead, the relation between determiner and head is marked syntactically, such that the rightmost noun is interpreted as the head of the compound.

Compounded nouns may express possession, as in the following examples:

(55) **maysunon.wayulu**      **-mi**  
 boy.dog                      -REF  
 'boy's dog'

(56) **Gabriel.maliwunon**      **-mi**  
 Gabriel.bucket              -REF  
 'Gabriel's bucket'

Predicative sentences are also used to describe possession:

(57) **kapila.mata**              **-mi**      **ina**  
 bottle gourd.DIM              -REF      DEM  
**t-**      **-i**      **-al**              **-i**  
 1OBJ-      -VS      -PRES NEUT      -ASSR  
 'The bottle gourd is mine.'

(58) **kolu?kolu?**              **-mi**      **ina**  
 (a pair of) scissors              -REF      DEM  
**m-**      **-i**      **-al**              **-i**  
 2OBJ-      -VS      -PRES NEUT      -ASSR  
 'This (pair of) scissors is mine.'

Table 12: i/a variation

<b>i</b>	<i>gloss</i>	<b>a</b>	<i>gloss</i>
<b>iama</b>	blood	<b>akoli</b>	vagina
<b>iamisu.non</b> <sup>5</sup>	nostrils	<b>akokusi</b>	face
<b>iasalali.si</b>	heart	<b>amiti.non</b>	intestine
<b>ieku.si</b>	skin	<b>amola</b>	belly
<b>ieyle.si</b>	penis	<b>anakapalo.non</b>	ears
<b>ikayla</b>	nail	<b>ana.si</b>	head
<b>ikuku.si</b>	eye	<b>anay.pakata</b>	arm
<b>ili</b>	liver	<b>anaypanon</b>	axilla
<b>ilita</b>	breast	<b>anekelo.si</b>	nipple
<b>iney</b>	leg	<b>apipa</b>	hand
<b>inuma.kata.si</b>	knee	<b>apipa.ta</b>	thumb
<b>isey</b>	tail	<b>asipakala.takata</b>	ribs
<b>isi</b>	hair	<b>asisipawlo</b>	buttocks
<b>isi.awante</b>	moustache		
<b>isi.katowla</b>	chin		
<b>isisipi.si</b>	mouth		
<b>isu</b>	bone		
<b>iusu.payla</b>	tongue		
<b>iwkuli.kuli</b>	neck		
<b>iwsu.kowla</b>	elbow		
<b>iwsu.kutu</b>	forehead		

Alienability is not morphologically distinct in Sabanê, i.e., nouns can be alienable as well as inalienable. Therefore, a noun like ‘head’ does not necessarily have a possessive pronoun resulting in ‘my head’. This issue is important because compulsory inalienability is widespread in Nambikwaran languages. Inalienability is frequently marked in these languages by **a-**. Although the presence of an inalienability element is not explicit in Sabanê, the fact that all nouns referring to human body parts or animal parts begin with vowels (**i** or **a**, except in **owayna** ‘foot’) must be more than a mere coincidence (table 12).

In addition, the different initial vowels cannot be explained as the result of a phonological process of assimilation. Januacele Costa (personal communication) claims that the initial vowels in these words are vestiges of an inalienability morpheme in Proto-Nambikwara. Hein van der Voort (personal communication)

<sup>5</sup> Morpheme boundaries are marked by . .

links these vowels to an areal feature, because the same vowels are found as morphemes in the Tupian languages of Rondônia and Mato Grosso.

### 3.2.8 Derivation

According to Payne (1997:25), ‘Derivational operations are defined as operations which derive an inflectable stem from a root or an intermediate stem.’ Thus, in Sabanê, derivational processes include the formation of the diminutive and augmentative, presented in detail in the following sections.

#### 3.2.8.1 Diminutive

There are three ways to express the notion of diminutive in Sabanê: a) by a derivational suffix **-mata**; b) by predicative construction **ilaw-n-mina-al-i** ‘S/he/It is not big.’; and c) by a lexical compound involving the free forms **maysili**, **maysunon**, **maytelon** and **sukwin**.

The nominal suffix **-mata** expresses the general notion ‘diminutive’ and is very productive:

- (59) **wayulu -mi**  
 dog -REF  
 ‘dog’
- wayulu.mata -mi**  
 dog.DIM -REF  
 ‘small dog’
- (60) **yowla -mi**  
 knife -REF  
 ‘knife’
- yowla.mata -mi**  
 knife.DIM -REF  
 ‘small knife’

- (61) **kapila.mata -mi palan -i**  
 bottle gourd.DIM-REF to not have -VS  
**-al -i**  
 -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘S/he has not a small bottle gourd.’
- (62) **wayulupi.mata -mi nan -i -say**  
 cat.DIM -REF to cry -VS -PROG  
**-al -i**  
 -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘The small cat is meowing.’

Another way to express the diminutive is by a noun followed by **ilaw-n-mina-al-i** (lit.: ‘it is not big’). The classifier is optional in this construction:

- (63) **kolu?kolu? -k ilaw -n -mina**  
 (a pair of) scissors -OBJ to be big -VS -NEG  
**-al -i**  
 -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘The wooden scissors are small.’  
 (Lit. ‘The wooden scissors are not big’.)
- (64) **kolu?kolu? -takata -k ilaw -n**  
 (a pair of) scissors -CL:LONG -OBJ to be big -VS  
**-mina -al -i**  
 -NEG -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘The wooden scissors are small.’  
 (Lit. ‘The wooden scissors are not big’.)

The concept ‘small size’ can also be expressed through the lexical items **maysili**, **maysunon** and **maytelon** ‘younglings’, ‘male youngling’ and ‘female youngling’, in that order. Nonetheless, these three items often occur as free forms:

- (65) **maysunon -mi ilaw -n**  
 male youngling -REF to be big -VS  
**-al -i**  
 -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘The boy is fat.’

- (66) **maytelon**            **-k**    **yotop**            **-an**  
 female youngling        -OBJ    to know            -VS  
**-al**                    **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT            -ASSR  
 ‘The girl is smart.’
- (67) **maysili**            **-k**    **amun** **-n**        **-ntal**            **-i**  
 younglings            -OBJ    to sleep -VS        -PRET NEUT        -ASSR  
 ‘The children slept.’

However, these lexical items are frequently used in diminutive compounds:

- (68) **maysili** ‘younglings’ (generic)  
 cf. **olumata maysili**  
 ‘bull calves’
- (69) **maysunon** ‘male youngling’  
 cf. **olumata maysunon**  
 ‘male bull calf’
- (70) **maytelon** ‘female youngling’  
 cf. **olumata maytelon**  
 ‘female bull calf’

When it is used as a determiner, **maysili** ‘younglings’ refers to animate beings. However, its general use is not restricted to animate beings. It can be used for any element to which the diminutive plural notion can be applied. Therefore, **maysili** must be understood as a form of diminutive plural:

- (71) **kapila**            **-mi**  
 bottle gourd        -REF  
 ‘small bottle gourd’
- (72) **kapila.maysili**            **-mi**  
 bottle gourd.younglings -REF  
 ‘small bottle gourds’
- (73) **maliwu.anon**        **-mi**  
 bucket.CL: HEMI -REF  
 ‘bucket’

- (74) **maliwu.anon.maysili**      **–mi**  
 bucket.CL: HEMI.younglings      –REF  
 ‘small buckets’

On the other hand, the words **maysunon** or **maytelon** cannot be combined with terms related to inanimate beings or to individuals whose gender/sex distinction is not (clearly) defined, such as for example an *earthworm*. In this case, the suffix **–mata** is the appropriate diminutive form.

- (75) **yuya.mata**      **–mi**  
 earthworm.DIM      –REF  
 ‘small earthworm’

**yuya.maysili**      **–mi**  
 earthworm.younglings      –REF  
 ‘small earthworms’  
 \***yuya.maytelon–mi**  
 \***yuya.maysunon–mi**

- (76) **tapawulu.mata** **–mi**  
 clay pot.DIM      –REF  
 ‘small clay pot’

**tapawulu.maysili**      **–mi**  
 clay pot.younglings      –REF  
 ‘small clay pots’  
 \***tapawulu.maysunon**  
 \***tapawulu.maytelon**

Structures that involve the use of a lexical diminutive have some pragmatic complexities. For example, a compound like **dodamaysili** ‘white-lipped peccary piglets’, is accepted by all informants. However, when the lexical diminutive **maysili** is used for an animal that generally has only one youngling per pregnancy, as for example, a tapir, the form **olumamaysili** ‘tapir younglings’, although formally correct, is rejected by all informants. This plural meaning goes against their ‘cultural knowledge’ because Sabanê speakers know that an animal like a tapir can only give birth to a single young at the time.

The productivity of this way of expressing diminutive meaning can also be observed when the Sabanê use a Portuguese loanword representing a (relatively) small object, in which case they will always use **maysili**, as in **pilhamaysili** ‘baby batteries’, from Portuguese *pilha* ‘battery’.

The morpheme **sukwin** ‘small/few’ is less productive than **-mata**. Differently than the diminutive suffix, **sukwin** is usually followed by the classifier.

- (77) **kolu?kolu?**                      **sukwin**                      **-takata**                      **-mi**  
 (a pair of) scissors                      small/few                      -CL: LONG                      -REF  
 ‘small scissors’
- (78) **apiawa**                      **sukwin**                      **-tiawa**                      **-mi**  
 wooden bark                      small/few                      -CL: BARK                      -REF  
 ‘small wooden bark’

Moreover, the root **sukwin** also occurs as a free morpheme meaning ‘small/little’ or ‘few’.

- (79) **towali sukwin**                      **ilul**                      **-i**                      **-datinan**  
 ISUBJ little                      to eat                      -VS                      -PRET EV  
 ‘I ate just a little.’
- (80) **sukwin -mi**  
 little                      -REF  
 ‘little’

### 3.2.8.2 Augmentative

The augmentative meaning can be expressed by way of two strategies. The first of these involves a noun followed by a predicative construction (default), for example **ilawnali** ‘It is big.’.

- (81) **yowla -mi ilaw**                      **-n**                      **-al**                      **-i**  
 knife                      -REF                      to be big                      -VS                      -PRES NEUT                      -ASSR  
 ‘The knife is big.’
- (82) **yowla.ta**                      **-mi**                      **ilaw**                      **-n**  
 machete                      -REF                      to be big                      -VS  
**-al**                      **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT                      -ASSR  
 ‘The machete is big.’

- (83) **asasi -mi ilaw -n -al -i**  
 leaf -REF to be big -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘The leaf is big.’

The second strategy is the affixation of the augmentative suffix **-ta** to a noun. However, these structures may have two results: 1) simple augmentation, as shown in (84-85); and 2) species discrimination, as shown in (86-88).

- (84) **apiawa -mi**  
 wooden bark -REF  
 ‘wooden spoon’

**apiawa.ta -mi**  
 wooden bark.AUGM -REF  
 ‘huge wooden spoon’

- (85) **aypo -mi**  
 axe -REF  
 ‘axe’

**aypo.ta -mi**  
 axe.AUGM -REF  
 ‘big axe’

Sometimes, **-ta** can be incorporated into a lexical item and cause it to behave like a simple noun, i.e., being internally opaque to any morphophonemic rule. Discrimination among fauna and flora species usually is linguistically marked by **-ta**<sup>6</sup>.

- (86) **wani -mi**  
 turkey -REF  
 ‘turkey’

**wanita -mi**  
 rhea -REF  
 ‘rhea’ (*Rhea Americana*)

<sup>6</sup> In Sararé (Borella, personal communication) a similar process occurs, as exemplified by **hika-su** ‘tree (gen.)’ and **hika-eta-su** ‘Aroeira tree (*Schinus molle*)’, **kwikwik-su** ‘green lime’, and **kwikwik-eta-su** ‘orange’.



- (87) **koke** **-mi**  
hawk -REF  
‘hawk’
- koketa** **-mi**  
harpy eagle -REF  
‘harpy eagle’ (*Harpia haryja*)

When the suffix **-ta** is used to discriminate between species, the augmentation of the resulting noun can only be obtained using a predicative construction, as shown in (88)-(90).

- (88) **oluma** **-mi**  
tapir -REF  
‘tapir’
- olumata** **-mi**  
bull -REF  
‘bull’  
(Lit. ‘big tapir’)
- (89) **olumata** **-k** **ilaw** **-n**  
bull -OBJ to be big -VS  
**-al** **-i**  
-PRES NEUT -ASSR  
‘The bull is big.’  
\***olumata-ta** \*‘big bull’
- (90) **oluma** **-k** **ilaw** **-n** **-al** **-i**  
tapir -OBJ to be big -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
‘The tapir is big.’

As was already pointed out, Sabanê has very few monosyllabic words. However, the word for ‘sun’ seems to be a compound form that consists of the morphemes **iw-** + **-ta**, where **-ta** is the augmentative suffix, because the same sequence **iw-** occurs in the semantically related word **iwnuwa** ‘star’. Like all forms in which an augmentative is embedded, the speakers do not form augmentatives from words which already have this suffix, such as \***iwata** ‘big sun’. To express the notion of ‘big sun’, the predicative construction is used.

### 3.2.9 Compounds

Payne (1997: 92-3) states two basic criteria for defining a compound: first, semantic criteria imply that the ‘dominant semantic property of compounds is that the meaning of a compound is either more specific or entirely different than the combined meanings of the words that make up the compound.’ In the following example<sup>7</sup>, the compound that refers to the ‘spotted jaguar’ is composed of the words **wayulu** ‘jaguar’ and **tapayli** ‘pacoba tree’. In fact, in the eyes of the Sabanê the fur of the ‘spotted jaguar’ resembles the design typical of the pacoba tree and its fruits. Thus, the meaning of the compound **wayulutapaylimi** cannot be derived from the meaning of its formatives, **wayulu** and **tapayli**. Compound processes mainly serve to name animals and people. Compounding is very productive in Sabanê, in which language the default compound has the structure [NOUN+NOUN]. There are few compounds with the structure [NOUN+VERB] or [NOUN+IDEOPHONE].

- (91) **wayulu –mi**  
 jaguar –REF  
 ‘jaguar’
- tapayli –mi**  
 pacoba –REF  
 ‘pacoba’
- wayulu.tapayli –mi**  
 jaguar.pacoba –REF  
 ‘spotted jaguar’
- (92) **wayulu.wayulupi –mi**  
 dog.cat –REF  
 ‘cat dog’<sup>8</sup>
- (93) **ate.mitawkosi –mi**  
 man.spider –REF  
 ‘spiderman’

<sup>7</sup> One must bear in mind that there are many different kinds of jaguar in South America, such as the red jaguar, the spotted jaguar, etc.

<sup>8</sup> The first compound in (92) was created to name a cartoon character called ‘cat-dog’. The example in (93) refers to the action-hero ‘Spiderman’.

In Sabanê, compound structures can also be identified on the basis of the obligatory application of a number of phonological rules, which were discussed in the chapter on phonology. For example when the nouns /kiata/ + /isu/ are combined, as in (94), the initial vowel of the second component [i] is deleted: [ki'a:təʃuː].

(94) **kiata.isu**      **-mi**  
 corn.bone      -REF  
 'corncob'

cf. **kiata**    **-mi**  
 corn    -REF  
 'corn'

**isu**    **-mi**  
 bone    -REF  
 'bone'

The internal structure of a compound is opaque to morphology. Consequently, a referential suffix cannot be attached to the first component of a compound, because it would violate its integrity.

(95) **kiata.isu**      **-mi**  
 corn.bone      -REF  
 'corn cob'  
 \***kiata-mi.isu-mi**  
 \***kiata-mi.isu**  
 \***kiata.isu**

As far as derivational morphology is concerned, compounds behave like units; therefore, a derivational process like diminutive formation must be applied to the compound as a whole, as is illustrated in (96).

(96) [[[kiata]<sub>N</sub>+ [mata]<sub>DIM</sub>]+[mi]]] 'small corn'  
 [[[kiatasu]<sub>N</sub>+ [mata]<sub>DIM</sub>]+[mi]]] 'small corncob'  
 cf. \*[[kiatamatasu]+[mi]]  
 \*[[kiatamata][isu]]+[mi]]

In Nambikwara languages in general, verbal adjectives demand verbal morphology. In Sabanê, verbal adjectives may be used to form new nouns in [NOUN+VERBAL ADJECTIVE] compounds:

- (97) **kali tan -tisi -mi**  
 horned frog to be venomous -CD: RND-REF  
 ‘a poisonous frog’
- (98) **deypa tan -tamoka -mi**  
 snake to be venomous -CL: LONG FLX AN -REF  
 ‘a poisonous snake’
- (99) **kiata tapun -takata -mi**  
 corn to be black -CL: LONG -REF  
 ‘black corn’
- (100) **kiata tapun -t- awi -isi -mi**  
 corn to be black -LINK- tooth -CD: RND -REF  
 ‘black corn kernel’

Contrary to what we have seen in attributive compounds, the head is located in the rightmost position in genitive compounds. The resulting compound denotes a part or a subclass of the head noun (cf. 95).

- (101) **kokwayli isey -mi**  
 horse tail -REF  
 ‘horse tail’
- (102) **wayulu.pi isey -mi**  
 cat tail -REF  
 ‘cat tail’

In semantically less transparent structures, the genitive relation is not always evident. However, the class/subclass correlation remains.

- (103) **wayulu maysunon -mi**  
 jaguar male youngling -REF  
 ‘jaguar kitten’
- (104) **waysili sapa -mi**  
 assai palm nut -REF  
 ‘assai palm nut’

- (105) **misa**            **isi**            **-mi**  
 inaja palm        seed        -REF  
 ‘inaja palm seed’

Sequences consisting of NOUN + NOUN + CLASSIFIER are considered to be structured as [NOUN+NOUN][CLASSIFIER], where the classifier, despite having prosodic-word status, is a derivational suffix with phonological-word status. The scope of the classifier is not necessarily the head of the compound. This choice is based on pragmatics rather than on any formal criteria. In the examples (106) **kiliwa-apiawa-t-anon-mi** ‘wooden house’ and (107) **kiliwa-tapuli-t-anon-mi** ‘stone house’, the scope of the classifier is ‘house’ rather than ‘wooden bark’ or ‘stone’:

- (106) **kiliwa** **apiawa**            **-tanon**            **-mi**  
 house wooden bark        -CL: HEMI        -REF  
 ‘wooden house’

- (107) **kiliwa** **tapuli** **-tanon**            **-mi**  
 house stone        -CL:HEMI        -REF  
 ‘stone house’

In (108), however, the scope of the classifier is **takayli** ‘lid’ rather than the head **tapawulu**.

- (108) **tapawulu**            **takayli** **-iawa**            **-mi**  
 clay pot            lid        -CL: BARK        -REF  
 ‘clay pot’s lid’

One may conclude that Sabanê uses compounding to express attributive relations, in which structures the head is located at the right edge of the compound, and genitive relations, where the head is located at the left edge of the compound.

### 3.2.10 Classifiers

#### 3.2.10.1 Classifier Suffixes

There are seven classifier suffixes (henceforth classifiers) in Sabanê. A classifier denotes a physical property, like shape or consistency, of a noun. However, classifiers are not attributives and do not serve to discriminate among objects or

things. Classifiers are optional, although quite frequent. Despite the fact that in Sabanê classifiers are not so productive as in Latundê/Lakondê (Telles 2002) or Nambikwara do Sul (Lowe 1999), Sabanê speakers are able to identify them and even explain their semantic relevance.

In some circumstances, mainly to avoid hiatus, but also when the noun to which the classifier is added ends in /n/, epenthetic consonants **t** or **l** (the latter is rare) are (optionally) placed between nouns and classifiers.

- (109) **kiluma.ta**    **-l-**    **-iawa**    **-mi**  
 giant turtle    -LINK-    -CL: BARK    -REF  
 [ki<sup>l</sup>ri:ma<sub>1</sub>ta<sub>1</sub>li<sub>1</sub>a<sup>w</sup>wa<sub>1</sub>mi<sup>·</sup>]  
 ‘hoe’
- (110) **kiliwa tapuli**    **-t-**    **-anon**    **-mi**  
 house stone    -LINK-    -CL: HEMI    -REF  
 [ki<sup>l</sup>ri:wa<sub>1</sub>ta<sub>1</sub>pu<sub>1</sub>li<sub>1</sub>ta<sub>1</sub>nõ<sub>1</sub>mi]  
 ‘stone house’

However, when the initial vowel of the classifier is identical with the last vowel of the noun, a process of merger takes place, which bleeds consonant epenthesis.

- (111) **kiliwa apiawa**    **-anon**    **-mi**  
 house wooden bark    -CL: HEMI    -REF  
 [ki<sup>l</sup>ri:wa<sub>1</sub>pi<sub>1</sub>a<sup>w</sup>wa<sub>1</sub>nõ<sub>1</sub>mi]  
 ‘wooden house’

In Sabanê, nouns are classified in seven different classes, according to the shape or consistency of the concept to which a given noun refers. For example, the most frequent classifier is **-akata**, which refers to ‘long wooden-like objects’. The classifier **-isi** refers to objects whose shapes are round, oblong, or oval. The classifier **-iawa** is assigned to ‘bark-like’ shapes, while **-amoka** connects ‘larvae and snake-like’ elements. The classifier **-api** is assigned to ‘string-like’ objects, but, differently from all other classifiers, it is compulsory. The classifiers **-anon** referring to ‘hemispheric’ shapes and **-akata** referring to elongated three-dimensional objects were not found as independent single nouns. Below I list and illustrate these classifiers.

- (a)    **-anon** CL: HEMI: shallow or hemispheric objects, with a recipient hole, including clay pots, pans, calabashes, glass, rainbows, houses, cars, etc.;

(113) **maliwa**            **-anon**            **-mi**  
 bucket                -CL:HEMI            -REF  
 ‘bucket’

(114) **itatu**            **-anon**            **-mi**  
 rainbow               -CL:HEMI            -REF  
 ‘rainbow’

(115) **matowla**        **-anon**            **-mi**  
 mortar                -CL:HEMI            -REF  
 ‘mortar’

(b) **-akata** CL: LONG: elongated three-dimensional objects, like bones and wooden objects, including sticks, firewood, wooden scissors, bows, arrows; etc.;

(116) **katatali?.kolu?kolu?**            **-takata**            **-mi**  
 white man.(a pair of) scissors    -CL: LONG            -REF  
 ‘iron scissors’  
 (Lit. ‘white man’s scissors’)

(117) **anaypa -akata**            **-mi**  
 leg                    -CL: LONG            -REF  
 ‘leg’

(118) **waysili**            **-takata**            **-mi**  
 assai palm            -CL: LONG            -REF  
 ‘assai palm tree’

(c) **-api** CL: LONG FLEXIBLE: elongated and flexible string-like objects like string, fishing line, etc.;

(119) **kolowa -api**            **-mi**  
 cotton                -CL: LONG FLX        -REF  
 ‘cotton string/rope’

(120) **linhada**            **-api**                **-mi**  
 fishing line           -CL: LONG FLX        -REF  
 ‘fishing line’

- (121) **alowa –api –mi**  
 tucum –CL: LONG FLX –REF  
 ‘tucum string’
- (d) –**amoka** CL: LONG FLEXIBLE ANIMATE: larvae, vermiform and snake-like animate creatures like snakes, lizards, earthworms, millipedes, larvae, reptiles, etc.;
- (122) **waysili –tamoka –mi**  
 assai palm –CL: LONG FLX AN –REF  
 ‘assai palm larva’
- (123) **yuya.maysili –tamoka –mi**  
 earthworm.younglings –CL: LONG FLX AN –REF  
 ‘earthworm younglings’
- (124) **koluma –tamoka –mi**  
 caecilian –CL: LONG FLX AN –REF  
 ‘caecilian’
- (e) –**iawa** CL: BARK: bark-like objects, including spoons, canoes, earrings, rings, fruit peels, etc.;
- (125) **katatali? motoka –t– iawa –mi**  
 white man bottle gourd –LINK –CL: BARK –REF  
 ‘tin can’
- (126) **apiawa.mata –t– –iawa –mi**  
 wooden bark.DIM –LINK –CL: BARK –REF  
 ‘small wooden board’
- (127) **kupuli –iawa –mi**  
 earring –CL: BARK –REF  
 ‘earring’
- (f) –**isi** CL: RND: round, oval, or oblong-like objects, including seeds, spiders, insects, frogs, stars, etc.;



(128) **tapawulu**      **-isi**              **-mi**  
 clay pot            -CD: RND            -REF  
 'clay star'

(129) **kali**              **-isi**              **-mi**  
 horned frog        -CD: RND            -REF  
 'horned frog'

(130) **iwnuu** **-tisi**              **-mi**  
 star            -CD: RND            -REF  
 'star'

(g) **-inun** CL: PD: powder, mousse, or granulated-like substances  
 including powder, dust, flour, etc.;

(131) **kiata** **-inun** **-mi**  
 corn            -CL: PD -REF  
 'maize flour'

(132) **amoya** **-inun** **-mi**  
 potato        -CD: PD -REF  
 'mashed potato'

(133) **kanayki**                      **-inun** **-mi**  
 cake of manioc flour        -CD: PD -REF  
 'fine manioc flour'

Within the noun phrase, the classifier occupies the following positions:

a) immediately before the referential suffix:

(134) **tapawulu**              **sukwin** **-tanon**              **-mi**  
 clay pot            small    -CL:HEMI            -REF  
 'small clay pot'

(135) **kolowapi**              **sukwin** **-tapi**              **-mi**  
 cotton string        small    -CL: LONG FLX        -REF  
 'short string'

- (136) **oya**                    **-amoka**                    **-mi**  
 buriti palm                    -CL: LONG FLX AN                    -REF  
 ‘buriti palm (*Mauritia vinifera*) larva’
- (137) **kiata**    **-tinun**    **-mi**  
 corn                    -CD: PD -REF  
 ‘grated corn’
- b) immediately after a noun (in a sentence):
- (138) **kolu?kolu?**                    **-takata**                    **ilaw**                    **-n**  
 (a pair of) scissors                    -CL: LONG                    to be big                    -VS  
**-al**                    **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT                    -ASSR  
 ‘The (pair of) scissors is big.’
- (139) **deypa**    **-tamoka**                    **bala**    **-n**  
 snake                    -CL: LONG FLX AN                    DUAL                    -VS  
**-al**                    **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT                    -ASSR  
 ‘There are two snakes.’
- (140) **misa.sapa**                    **-tisi**                    **tapay**                    **-i**                    **-telon**  
 inaja palm.nut                    -CD: RND                    to be rotten                    -VS                    -FUT EV  
 ‘The inaja palm nut is going to be rotten.’

### 3.2.10.2 Anaphoric Use of Classifiers

Any classifier can be used anaphorically, replacing a noun already mentioned in the discourse. In the following example, the classifier **-anon** ‘CL: HEMI’ replaces the noun **a-motoka** ‘her/his calabash’.

- (141) **anon**                    **-mi**    **san**    **-n**    **t-**    **osa**    **-n**  
 CL: HEMI                    -REF    to catch -VS    1OBJ-    to give -VS  
 ‘Catch it (her/his calabash) and give it to me!’  
 (Context: the informant wants to show a calabash with an unusual form.)

In (142), the classifier **iawa** replaces the compound **d-api.kata.l.iawa**, ‘my boat’.

- (142) **iawa katatali? -mi yey -i**  
 CL:BARK white man -REF to stay -VS  
**-al -i**  
 -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'The white man stays on my boat.'  
 (Context: An Indian is asking somebody what is the best place (on several boats) for a white man.)

In these types of constructions, classifiers occupy the same syntactic position as their referents.

- (143) **isi -mi ii -i -al -i**  
 CD: RND-REF to be hot -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'It (pepper) is hot.'  
 (Context: in a conversation about peppers, the informant shows which one is the hottest.)

The classifier also occurs without any referential suffix:

- (144) **akata bala -n -al -i**  
 CL:LONG DUAL -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'There are two (arrowroots).' (*Maranta arundinacea*)  
 (Context: someone asks about how many types of arrowroot fruits there are in a basket.)
- (145) **isi bala -n -al -i**  
 CL: RDN DUAL -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'There are two (yams).'  
 (Context: someone asks about how many yams there are in the basket.)
- (146) **da- tiawa bala -n -al -i**  
 IPOSS- CL:BARK DUAL -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'I have two (baskets).'  
 (Context: the informant answers a question about how many baskets he owns.)

- (147) **isi bala -n -tiaka -ntal -i**  
 CL:RDN DUAL -VS -QUOT -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘It is said that she had twins.’  
 (Context: the informant talks about a relative who had twins although  
 the informant has never seen them.)

Sometimes, a head of a compound can be replaced by its classifier alone:

- (148) **katatali? tapuli -anon -mi**  
 white man stone -CL:HEMI -REF  
**yey -i -al -i**  
 to stay -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘The white man lives in the stone (house).’

When a classifier occurs after a free morpheme like **sukwin**, it has an anaphoric function and serves the purpose of specifying the part of the compound to which the diminutive word refers to, i.e., the head or the determiner. In (149) and (150) for example, the same compound has two different classifiers in anaphoric function: in (149) the classifier **-tanon** is linked to **tapawulu** ‘clay pot’, whereas the classifier **-tiawa** in (150) refers to **takayli** ‘lid’. Therefore, the choice of the anaphoric classifier resides with the speaker and his/her will to distinguish any component pragmatically.

- (149) **tapawulu takayli.iawa sukwin -tanon -mi**  
 clay pot lid.CL: BARK small -CL: HEMI -REF  
 ‘lid of a *small clay pot*’
- (150) **tapawulu takayli.iawa sukwin -tiawa -mi**  
 clay pot lid.CL: BARK small -CL: BARK -REF  
 ‘*small lid* of a clay pot.’

Although optional as a rule, some classifiers are compulsory in a few specific words when they function as simple nouns. In compounds, however, classifiers referring to a simple noun are optional. In (151), for example, **tapulisi** ‘stone’ contains a classifier for round-like shapes, **-isi**. When used as a simple noun, **tapuli** is ungrammatical. Nonetheless, in compounds, **tapuli** is acceptable. This is due to the fact that a classifier always refers to the head of a compound. Consequently, if **tapulisi** is used as the second member of the compound, **tapuli** is immediately interpreted as the head, in which case the attributive relation expressed by the compound in (152) is changed to a genitive interpretation in

(153), meaning ‘stone of a house’. In (152) the relation is attributive while in (153) it is genitive.

- (151) **tapuli.isi**      **-mi**  
 stone.CL: RDN    -REF  
 ‘stone’  
 \***tapuli** or \***tapuli-mi**
- (152) {**kiliwa tapuli**} **-anon**      **-mi**  
 house stone    -CL:HEMI      -REF  
 ‘stone house’
- (153) **kiliwa** {**tapuli -isi**}      **-mi**  
 house stone    -CD: RND      -REF  
 ‘stone of a house’  
 \***kiliwa-tapuli-isi-mi** (meaning ‘stone house’)

The same can be stated for the examples in (154-155). In (154), **apilapi** has an embedded classifier, while in (155) the classifier refers to the head of the compound.

- (154) **apili**    **-api**                    **-mi**    **t-**    **osa**    **-n**  
 embira    -CL: LONG FLX    -REF    1OBJ-    to give    -VS  
 ‘Give the embira-string to me!’
- (155) **anose** **apili**    **-tanon**                    **-mi**  
 bowl    embira    -CL:HEMI                    -REF  
 ‘embira-string bowl’

As is to be expected, words containing a classifier that is no longer interpreted as such synchronically, as in **kolowapi**, diachronically derived from **kolowa+api**, ‘string’, may receive a synchronically transparent classifier, as is shown below:

- (156) **kolowapi**      **-mi**                    (*diachronically: kolowa.api*)  
 cotton string      -REF  
 ‘(cotton) string’

**kolowapi.mata**      **-tapi**      **palan**      **-i**  
 cotton string.DIM      -CL: LONG FLX      to not have      -VS  
**-al**      **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT      -ASSR  
 ‘S/he does not have strings.’

(157) **anipi**    **-mi**    (**ani.api**)  
 liane    -REF  
 ‘liane’

**anipi**    **-isi**      **towali**    **a-**      **kal**    **-a**  
 liane    -CD: RND      1SUBJ    3OBJ-      to cut    -VS  
**san**    **-n**    **-ntal**      **-i**  
 to catch -VS      -PRET NEUT      -ASSR  
 ‘I caught his liane and cut it into small and round pieces.’

It is sometimes difficult to separate optional from compulsory classifiers in simple nouns. In this respect, derivational processes can be helpful. In (158), **kanaysi** ‘pepper’ seems to contain an opaque classifier **-isi**, as can be inferred by a derived word such as **kanaysi.ta** ‘sweet red pepper’.

(158) **?kanay.isi**      **-mi**  
 pepper.CL: RDN    -REF  
 ‘pepper’

or **?kanaysi**      **-mi**  
 pepper            -REF  
 ‘pepper’

(159) **kanaysi.ta**      **-mi**  
 pepper.AUGM      -REF  
 ‘sweet red pepper’

### 3.2.10.3 Classifier as a Derivational Suffix

Classifiers also occur in nouns formed by noun + verbal adjectives. The basic configuration is:

(160) NOUN-(VERBAL ADJECTIVE)-(LIG)-CLASSIFIER-REF

Formally, the classifier behaves like a derivational suffix, changing any verb or verbal adjective into a noun. The new noun can be subject or object in a sentence. Like any noun in isolation, it must be followed by a referential suffix.

- (161) **tapulisi minu**            **-tisi**            **-mi**  
 stone to be smooth    -CL: RND            -REF  
 'smooth stone'
- (162) **tapulisi ip**            **-isi**            **-mi**  
 stone to run    -CL: RND            -REF  
 'elongated stone'
- (163) **tapulisi minu.minu**                            **-tisi**            **-mi**  
 stone to be smooth.to be smooth    -CL: RND            -REF  
 'very smooth stone'
- (164) **apiawa**            **minu**            **-tiawa**            **-mi**  
 wooden bark to be smooth    -CL: BARK            -REF  
 'smooth wooden bark'
- (165) **apiawa**            **sowa**            **-tiawa**            **-mi**  
 wooden bark to be wet    -CL: BARK            -REF  
 'wet wooden bark'

The nominal status of the noun + verbal adjective structures is derived from the obligatory presence of the referential suffix when this sequence occurs in isolation:

- (166) **kiata.ayn.takata**            **-mi**  
 corn.red.CL: LONG            -REF  
 'red corn'
- (167) **kiata.pan.takata**            **-mi**  
 corn.white.CL: LONG            -REF  
 'white corn' (a species)

Nonetheless, classifiers are optional in noun + verbal adjectives constructions as well. In (168), for example, a noun plus a simple noun results in a compound.

- (168) **kiata.tapun.tisi**      **-mi**  
 corn.black.LIG.CL: RDN    -REF  
 'black corn seed'

Example (169) shows a simple noun and its classifier followed by a predicative sentence, whereas (170) shows a NOUN + VERBAL ADJECTIVE + CLASSIFIER construction in a predicative sentence.

- (169) **kiata**    **-takata**      **pan**      **-i**  
 corn    -CL: LONG      to be white    -VS  
**-al**                      **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT      -ASSR  
 'The corn is white.'

- (170) **kiata.pan.takata**      **pan**      **-i**      **-al**      **-i**  
 corn.white.CL: LONG      to be white    -VS    -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 'The white corn is white.'

### 3.2.10.4 Class Terms

A class term (CT) is a suffix that is attached only to a very specific class of words, viz. kinship terms. Although obsolescent, such a suffix is obligatory in every kinship term. The suffix often occurs reduplicated (as in 171-173).

- (171) **nawko** **-ko**    **-mi**                      or **nawko-mi**  
 mother -CT    -REF  
 'mother'
- (172) **waynko**-**ko**    **-mi**                      or **waynko-mi**  
 father -CT    -REF  
 'father'
- (173) **koko**            **-ko**    **-mi**    or **koko-mi**  
 grandmother -CT    -REF  
 'grandmother'



### 3.2.11 Action, Participant and Agent Nominalization

In Sabanê, action or participant nominalization is expressed through suffixation of **-ta** or **-bi**, respectively, to a verbal theme (root plus verbal suffix). Both nominalizations must be followed by the referential suffix, when used in isolation. The examples (174-175) illustrate action nominalization (ACNNR), whereas (176-177) exemplify participant nominalization (PATNR).

(174) **kan**    **-i**    **-ta**            **-mi**  
 to die    -VS    -ACNNR            -REF  
 ‘the dead/the death’

(175) **kal**    **-i**    **-ta**            **-mi**  
 to cut    -VS    -ACNNR            -REF  
 ‘the cut’

The suffix **-bi** forms a nominalization that refers to the participant of the nominalized verb (participant nominalization). Thus, the nominalized participant is the one who executes the action.

(176) **kan**    **-i**    **-bi**            **-ta**            **-mi**  
 to die    -VS    -PATNR            -ACNNR            -REF  
 ‘the killer’

(177) **kal**    **-i**    **-bi**            **-ta**            **-mi**  
 to cut    -VS    -PATNR            -ACNNR            -REF  
 ‘the cutter’

Nominalizations play a central role in subordinate clauses, as we will see in Chapter 4.

### 3.2.12 Comitative

The morpheme **koka** occurs between two subjects to express the notion of comitativity.

- (178) **towali koka ip -i -ap -a -ntal**  
 1SUBJ COM to see -VS -ITER -LINK -PRET NEUT  
**-i deypa -ki**  
 -ASSR snake -OBJ  
 ‘I and he gazed at a snake.’

- (179) **uli koka towali uni -n -datinan**  
 2SUBJ COM 1SUBJ to like -VS -PRET EV  
**bose -ki**  
 fish -OBJ  
 ‘You and I like fish.’

- (180) **Gabriel koka uli ilul -i -mina -datinan**  
 Gabriel COM 2SUBJ to eat -VS -NEG -PRET EV  
 ‘Gabriel and you did not eat.’

The comitative morpheme can be translated as ‘too’, as in:

- (181) **Teresa koka Gabriel isun -n -dana**  
 Teresa COM Gabriel to be angry -VS PRES EV  
 ‘Teresa is upset and Gabriel is too.’

### 3.2.13 Locative

The locative notion is expressed by the morpheme **-(i)na** attached to the noun; this morpheme expresses meanings such as ‘to’ and ‘from’ or ‘this’.

- (182) **da- kiliwa -na towali may -i -telon**  
 1POSS- house -LOC 1SUBJ to walk -VS -FUT ED  
 ‘I am going (to walk) home.’
- (183) **bolowke -k isa -na iney -i -tun**  
 parrot -OBJ tree -LOC to fall -VS -SUPP  
**-ntal -i**  
 -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘It seems that the parrot fell from the tree.’
- (183) **isa -na ay -i -palisin-al -i**  
 forest -LOC to go -VS -DES -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘S/he wants to go to the forest.’

- (184) **kapila.mata**            **-mi**    **ina**  
 bottle gourd.DIM            -REF    DEM  
**t-**    **-i**    **-al**            **-i**  
 1OBJ- -VS    -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 ‘This bottle gourd is mine.’

The morpheme **-un**, when attached to a noun, expresses the notion ‘through’, as shown in (185); when attached to an adverb, it expresses the notion ‘since’, as exemplified in (186):

- (185) **atipa?**    **-un**    **may**    **-i**    **-datinan**  
 road    -LOC    to walk -vs    -PRET EV  
 ‘S/he came through the road.’
- (186) **ileytika**            **-un**    **wayulu ili**            **-n**    **-datinan**  
 yesterday            -LOC    dog    to be sick            -vs    -PRET EV  
 ‘Since yesterday the dog has been sick.’

### 3.3 Verb Morphology

#### 3.3.1 Introduction

This section focuses on verb morphology. The verbal word is formed by possessive pronouns, the root, and verbal suffixes (for aspect, tense, and mood), as well as other suffixes, expressing semantic categories such as negative, suppositive, desiderative, reported speech, etc.

#### 3.3.2 Verbal Root

The verbal word is formed by the verbal root, prefixed by object and reflexive pronouns and followed by a verbal suffix (VS), formative suffixes, a negative particle, and aspect-tense and mood suffixes. The root plus the verbal suffix form the verbal theme in Sabanê. The verbal suffix permits to identify the verbal root, because every root needs its verbal suffix.

The number of syllables in a root varies from one to three. The syllable structure of a root defines the form of the verbal suffix: if the syllable is open, the VS is represented by a consonant, if it is closed, it shows up as a vowel, as will be discussed in section 3.3.3 below.

- (01) **yalakanin**    **may**    **-i**    **-dana**  
 slowly            to walk -VS    -PRES EV  
 ‘S/he walks slowly.’
- (02) **uli**    **wola**    **kiki**            **-n**    **-datinan**  
 2SUBJ a lot to scratch    -VS    -PRET EV  
 ‘You scratch it a lot.’
- (03) **towali** **-mi**    **m-**    **yotop** **-a**    **-dana**  
 1SUBJ -REF 2OBJ- to know-VS    -PRES EV  
 ‘I know you.’

#### 3.3.3 Verbal Theme

This verbal suffix is attached to roots, verbal adjectives, numerals and (some) adverbs. The verbal theme is composed by the root and the verbal suffix, which has three allomorphs **-i/-a/-n**. In a root that ends in a consonant the VS is **-i**,

phonetically [i], before the suffix **-al**<sup>9</sup> categorically. In a root that ends in vowel or glide, the VS is **-n** (or **-ni/-na**). Elsewhere, it appears as **-i** or **-a**, [ə]. This, however, is just a strong tendency, because, in some cases, the choice of **-i** or **-n** for the VS seems to escape the general rule:

- (04) [i'sũ:nia,laː]  
**isun**      **-i**      **-al**      **-a**  
 to be angry    -VS      -PRES NEUT    -INT  
 'Is s/he angry?'
- (05) **wal**    **-a**    **-ap**    **-al**      **-i**  
 to win    -VS    -ITER    -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 'The wind blows (incessantly).'
- (06) [i'sũ:na,laː]  
**isun**      **-n**      **-al**      **-a**  
 to be angry    -VS      -PRES NEUT    -INT  
 'Is s/he angry?'

In general, however, the variation is based on the generalizations stated above:

- (07) **towali** **d-**    **wayulu palan**      **-i**  
 1SUBJ 1POSS- dog    to not have    -VS  
**-al**            **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 'I have no dog.'
- (08) **ip**    **-a**    **-ntal**      **-i**    **a-**    **san**    **-i**  
 to see    -VS    -PRET NEUT    -ASSR 3OBJ- to catch -VS  
**-ntal**            **-i**  
 -PRET NEUT    -ASSR  
 'S/he saw it and caught it.'
- (09) **yowla** **-mi**    **ta-**    **taw**    **-i**    **-dana**  
 knife    -REF 1OBJ- to cut    -VS    -PRES EV  
 'I was cut by the knife.'

<sup>9</sup> This happens to avoid the sequence [ə-al], in which the verbal suffix would become invisible at the surface as a consequence of vowel merger.

- (10) **nawa a- kal -i -al -i**  
 beiju 3OBJ- to cut -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘S/he cuts her/his own beiju.’
- (11) **ninu? -k wola silu -n -dana**  
 liquid -OBJ much to taste -VS -PRES EV  
 ‘The drink is salty.’  
 (context: by mistake, someone added salt instead of sugar to a drink.)
- (12) **ninu? -k yalakanin inay -i -datinan**  
 liquid -OBJ slowly to drink -VS -PRET EV  
 ‘He drank the juice slowly.’
- (13) **anolota -mi hala -n -dana**  
 meat -REF to be rotten -VS -PRES NEUT  
 ‘The meat is rotten.’

Unexpectedly, a verb ending in a glide receives a suffix **-n**:

- (14) **maysunon -k ilaw -n -mina**  
 male youngling -OBJ to be big -VS -NEG  
**-al -i**  
 -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘The boy is not big.’

Each verb in a sequence of two is marked by the **VS**.

- (15) **ninu? -k uni -n silu -n -dana**  
 liquid -OBJ to be delicious -VS to taste -VS -PRES EV  
 ‘The juice is sweet.’

The verbal suffix can also act as a verb-forming suffix. It may be attached to adjectives, converting these into verbs. An adjective (or numeral) can act as a predicate. In fact, verbal adjectives can occur in both nominal and verbal structures. When they occur in verbal structures, they must be followed by a verbal suffix. When they occur in nominal structures, they undergo the usual nominal inflection. Thus, in (16), the root **ayn** ‘red’ is followed by a verbal suffix. In (17), the root **ayn** is part of a noun compound (notice that the meaning ‘(the) corn is red’ is not allowed for the structure given in (17)). Finally, in (18), there are two occurrences of **ayn**: one in the nominal domain and the other in the verbal domain.

- (16) **ayn**            **-i**            **-al**            **-i**  
to be red            -VS            -PRES NEUT            -ASSR  
‘It is red.’
- (17) **kiata ayn**            **-n**            **-ta**            **-akata**            **-mi**  
corn to be red            -VS            -ACNNR            -CL: LONG            -REF  
‘red corn’ (a species)
- (18) **kiata ayn**            **-n**            **-ta**            **-akata**            **-mi**  
corn to be red            -VS            -ACNNR            -CL: LONG            -REF  
**ayn**            **-i**            **-al**            **-i**  
to be red            -VS            -PRES NEUT            -ASSR  
‘The red corn is red.’

The verbal suffix can be attached to adverbs or to numerals:

- (19) **ano**            **-i**            **-al**            **-i**  
much/many            -VS            -PRES NEUT            -ASSR  
‘It is too much.’
- (20) **ano**            **-n**            **-mina** **-al**            **-i**  
much/many            -VS            -NEG            -PRES NEUT            -ASSR  
‘It is too little.’/ ‘Some’
- (21) **atoya -t-**            **-isi**            **bala**            **-n**  
yam            -LINK-            -CD: RND            DUAL            -VS  
**-al**            **-i**  
-PRES NEUT            -ASSR  
‘There are two yams.’

When a verbal adjective is reduplicated to express intensity or emphasis, only the root is copied. This also offers evidence for the productivity of the verbal suffix, since, had it been opaque, we would expect it to be reduplicated together with the root<sup>10</sup>.

- (22) **da-**            **towlanon**            **motu**            **-n** **-al**            **-i**  
1POSS- belly button            to be round            -VS            -PRES NEUT            -ASSR  
‘My belly button is round.’

<sup>10</sup> Partial reduplication is widespread in the world’s languages. However, in Sabanê, verbal reduplication always involves full reduplication.

- (23) **da-** **towlanon** **motu.motu** **-n**  
 1POSS- belly button to be round.to be round -VS  
**-al** **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘My belly button is perfectly round.’

### 3.3.4 Auxiliary Verbal Roots

Copular verbs do not exist in Sabanê as an independent category. The nominal predicative is built through concatenation of verb morphology with the noun. Therefore, in a sense, the verbal suffix acts as an auxiliary, in the absence of a verbal root.

- (24) **Lino** **maysunon** **-k** **-i** **-mina**  
 Lino male youngling -OBJ -VS -NEG  
**-al** **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘Lino is not a boy.’

- (25) **ulikapali** **-k** **-i** **-al** **-i**  
 boss -OBJ -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘S/he is the boss.’

- (26) **ulikapali** **-k** **-i** **-mina** **-ntal** **-i**  
 boss -OBJ -VS -NEG -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘S/he was not the boss.’

### 3.3.5 Negation

Negation is marked by the particle **-mi(si)na**. This particle is suffixed to the verbal theme. Generally **-mi(si)na** is realized as **-mina**, even though its long form **-misina** occurs unpredictably. When added to a morpheme starting with a vowel, **-mi(si)na** loses its final vowel.

- (27) **t-** **am** **-i** **-misina** **-al** **-i**  
 1OBJ- to be hungry -VS -NEG -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘I am not hungry.’



- (28) **t-**    **isun**                    **-i**    **-misina**  
 1OBJ- to be angry            -VS    -NEG  
**-al**                    **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT            -ASSR  
 'I am not angry.'
- (29) **d-**    **apipa.ta**                    **t-**    **ip**    **-i**    **-misina**  
 1POSS- thumb                    1OBJ- to run    -VS    -NEG  
**-al**                    **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT            -ASSR  
 'My thumb is short.'
- (30) **t-**    **ip**    **-i**    **-misina**                    **-al**                    **-i**  
 1OBJ- to run    -VS    -NEG                    -PRES NEUT            -ASSR  
 'I am not tall.'
- (31) **t-**    **inan**    **-a**    **-misina**                    **-dana**  
 1OBJ- to grow -VS    -NEG                    -PRES EV  
 'I do not grow.'

Evidence for the hypothesis that the form **-mi(si)na** ends in a vowel comes from verbal forms followed by future tense or negative imperative suffixes, in which the final vowel /a/ of **-mi(si)na** could not be independently motivated. Moreover, the form **misin-** would be subject to elision of the coda consonant /n/ (before a consonant) and further vowel nasalization, resulting in \*[…misitapanali] or \*[…mĩtapanali], which never happens.

- (32) **ay**    **-i**    **-tapanal**                    **-i**  
 to go    -VS                    -FUT NEUT                    -ASSR  
 'S/he goes.'
- (33) **ay**    **-i**    **-mina**    **-tapanal**                    **-i**  
 to go    -VS                    -NEG    -FUT NEUT                    -ASSR  
 'S/he does not go.'
- (34) **d-**    **apipa**    **sowa**                    **-n**    **-al**                    **-i**  
 1POSS- hand    to be wet                    -VS    -PRES NEUT                    -ASSR  
 'My hand is wet.'

- (35) **d-**     **apipa**   **sowa**             **-na**     **-mina**  
 1POSS- hand   to be wet             -VS     -NEG  
**-al**             **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT   -ASSR  
 'My hand is dry.'  
 (Lit. 'My hand is not wet.')

The reduction of **-misina** to **-mina** often occurs:

- (36) **tolun**             **-i**     **-ntal**             **-i**  
 to thunder         -VS     -PRET NEUT         -ASSR  
 'It thundered.'
- (37) **tolun**             **-i**     **-mina**   **-ntal**             **-i**  
 to thunder         -VS     -NEG   -PRET NEUT         -ASSR  
 'It was not thundering.'
- (38) **kanaysi-k**     **ii**                     **-n**     **-al**             **-i**  
 pepper -OBJ   to be hot             -VS     -PRES NEUT         -ASSR  
 'The pepper is hot.'
- (39) **kanaysi-k**     **ii**                     **-n**     **-mina**  
 pepper -OBJ   to be hot             -VS     -NEG  
**-al**             **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT   -ASSR  
 'The pepper is not hot.'

In (40) and (41), the final vowel of **-mi(si)na** and the first vowel of **-al** are fused.

- (40) [a'majrɪa'li]  
**amayl** **-i**     **-al**             **-i**  
 to rain -VS     -PRES NEUT         -ASSR  
 'It rains.'
- (41) [a'majrimi'na'li]  
**amayl** **-i**     **-mina** **-al**             **-i**  
 to rain -VS     -NEG   -PRES NEUT         -ASSR  
 'It does not rain.'

Although the canonical position of the negative particle is immediately after the VS, it can optionally occur after the progressive suffix **-say**, as shown in (42-43). When the suffixes **-mi(si)na** and **-say** occur together, native speakers often switch their positions without further implications.

- (42) **amayl -i -mina -say -al -i**  
 to rain -VS -NEG -PROG -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'It is not raining.'
- (43) **ani -n -say -mina -al -i**  
 to feel -VS -PROG -NEG -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'S/he is not pretending.'
- (44) **matal -i -say -al -i**  
 to lie -VS -PROG -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'S/he is not deceiving.'

Imperative mood is expressed by the verbal theme only.

- (45) **taw -i**  
 to cut -VS  
 'Cut!'

In the imperative mood, negation is obtained through suffixation of the negative particle to the verbal theme.

- (46) **taw -i -mina**  
 to cut -VS -NEG  
 'Do not cut!'
- (47) **osa -n**  
 to give -VS  
 'Give it!'
- (48) **osa -n -mina**  
 to give -VS -NEG  
 'Do not give it!'
- (49) **t- osa -n -misina**  
 IOBJ- to give -VS -NEG  
 'Do not give it to me!'

As far as negative imperative sentences are concerned, the difference between a polite request and a command is pragmatic, which is obtained through intonation adjustment (falling and rising, respectively).

(50) **t-      osa    -n      -mina** ↓  
 IOBJ- to give -VS      -NEG  
 ‘Do not give it to me!’ (request)

(51) **t-      osa    -n      -mina** ↑  
 IOBJ- to give -VS      -NEG  
 ‘Do not give it to me!’ (command)

In Sabanê, besides the negative particle, there is a lexical negative verb **palan** ‘to not have’.

(52) **towali kapila.mata    -mi    palan            -i      -dana**  
 ISUBJ bottle.gourd.DIM-REF to not have    -VS    -PRES EV  
 ‘I do not have a small bottle gourd.’

The verbal root **palan** ‘to not have’ contrasts with the verbal numeral root **-kata** ‘one’ in the following examples:

(53) **Gabriel maysili palan            -i      -al            -i**  
 Gabriel childrento not have    -VS    -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 ‘Gabriel has no children.’

(54) **Edson maysunon            amulu kata    -n**  
 Edson male youngling    only one    -VS  
**-al            -i**  
 -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 ‘Edson has only one boy.’

The negative particle **-misina** cannot be attached to the root **palan** ‘to not have’.

Finally, the way to answer a question negatively consists of constructing a complete sentence, with all the required elements. This means that an acceptable negative answer to a question like ‘*Did you see it?*’ is ‘*I did not see it.*’ Sentences formed by the negative particle alone are ungrammatical.

- (55) question:  
**isun**            **-i**        **-al**            **-a**  
 to be angry      -VS      -PRES NEUT    -INT  
 'Is s/he angry?'
- (56) grammatical answer:  
**isun**            **-i**        **-mina** **-al**            **-i**  
 to be angry      -VS      -NEG    -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 'S/he is not angry.'
- (57) ungrammatical answer:  
 \***Mina.**  
 \*'No.'

By definition **-mi(si)na** is a bound morpheme and cannot be realized as a free morpheme.

### 3.3.6 Aspect

There is no marked opposition between imperfective and perfective aspect. As far as aspect is concerned, only progressive and iterative morphemes were found in Sabanê.

The suffix **-say** expresses continuous activity or a continuous state. Use of this suffix implies continued activity in the present or at some point in the past.

- (58) **ilup**            **-i**        **-say** **-al**            **-i**  
 to vomit            -VS      -PROG   -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 'S/he is vomiting.'
- (59) **t-**        **isun**            **-i**        **-say** **-ntal**            **-i**  
 1OBJ- to be angry    -VS      -PROG   -PRET NEUT    -ASSR  
 'I was being upset.'

The morpheme **-ap** expresses the notion of iterativeness, i.e., it is characterized by repetition, recurrence, or reiteration.

- (60) **tolun**            **-n**        **-ap** **-al**            **-i**  
 to thunder        -VS      -ITER    -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 'It is thundering (constantly).'

- (61) **towali wola yatonu -n -ap -a -datinan**  
 1SUBJ a lot to cough -VS -ITER -LINK -PRET EV  
 ‘I coughed relentlessly.’
- (62) **wal -a -ap -al -i**  
 to blow -VS -ITER -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘The wind is blowing continuously.’
- (63) **pan -n -ap -al -i**  
 to be white -VS -ITER -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘The morning is breaking (continuous process).’

### 3.3.7 Tense and Evidentiality

In Sabanê, tense and evidentiality must be morphologically marked for every statement. Tense includes information about when an event took place (past, present, or future) and evidentiality states the existence of a source of evidence for some given information. It also refers to whether there is evidence for a statement and specifies what type of evidence there is (Aikhenvald 2003). In Sabanê, evidentiality must be regarded as a grammatical category because it cannot be omitted from the sentence. Moreover, lexical means to specify the source of knowledge, cf. English *I guess, they say*, etc., are avoided in Sabanê. The grammatical meanings of tense and evidentiality are combined in single (cumulative) morphemes in Sabanê, as will be illustrated below.

Within the evidentiality system, Sabanê distinguishes between evidential and non-evidential events. This distinction is made in the tense system. One of the evidential categories is used when the speaker has reliable information to believe that an event happened, is happening, or will happen. The source of information can be sensory, i.e., visual, auditory, etc., although, in Sabanê, the specific type of sensory evidence is not expressed grammatically. Evidence for some statement can sometimes be inferred, a fact which is expressed in Sabanê with a specific suffix. The inferred evidentiality can be related only to preterit events and must have some result in the present.

Table 13: Tense/Evidentiality markers

	SENSORY EV	INFERENCEAL EV
PRES	<b>-dana</b>	
PRET	<b>-datinan</b>	<b>-tika</b>
FUT	<b>-telon</b>	

Evidential events are opposed to non-evidential or neutral events. The latter have their own group of morphemes and are divided between neutral (non-evidentials) and inferred neutral. Different from inferred evidence which always presents the assertion as being true, when an inferred neutral morpheme is used, the speaker cannot resolutely confirm the event, but does not exclude the possibility that it has happened on the basis of some inferred evidence. Elicited data, because of their inherent unnatural status, are always marked as neutral, due to the fact that it is not possible to verify their trustworthiness. Neutral markers are associated with imagined, predictable, or non-factual event interpretations. Even in real speech situations, sentences may be marked as neutral. Tensed neutral-marked sentences must also express a mood morpheme, expression assertion, or interrogation. In evidential tenses, these categories may be lacking.

Table 14: Tense/Neutral markers

	NEUTRAL	INFERRED NEUTRAL
PRES	<b>-al</b>	
PRET	<b>-ntal</b>	<b>-np</b>
FUT	<b>-tapanal</b>	

Both sentences (64-65) are in the future tense. However, in (64) the speaker is certain about the event (because there is sensory evidence, for example) expressed by the use of the morpheme **-telon** 'FUT EV'. In (65), on the other hand, the speaker lacks any evidence for the assertion (perhaps because it is just a conceptual possibility) and specifies the form with a tense-neutral morpheme followed by an assertive suffix **-tapanal-i** 'FUT NEUT-ASSR'.

(64) **t- ilup -a -telon**  
 IOBJ- to vomit-VS -FUT EV  
 'I am going to vomit.'

(65) **t- ilup -a -tapanal -i**  
 IOBJ- to vomit-VS -FUT NEUT -ASSR  
 'I will vomit.'

Tense/Evidentiality morphemes are, by definition, assertive and cannot be morphologically questioned, as far as their truth-value is concerned. Consequently, assertions containing such morphemes are considered facts as a consequence of the availability of sensory or inferential evidence. However, Tense/Neutral markers do not have the same implications. Thus, the assertive **-i**

and interrogative **-a** particles can only be attached to verbs that carry markers of the Tense/Neutral system of morphemes.

- (66) {context: someone reports that a child cried throughout the night. Another person, just arriving, asks if the child did indeed cry the whole night. The former replies upset: ‘Are you deaf? I already mentioned it.’ (Meaning ‘I expressed this fact grammatically’).}

question:

<b>nan</b>	<b>-i</b>	<b>-ntal</b>	<b>-a</b>
to cry	-VS	-PRET NEUT	-INT

‘Did s/he cry?’

answer:

<b>nan</b>	<b>-i</b>	<b>-datinan</b>
to cry	-VS	-PRET EV

‘S/he cried (I saw/heard it).’

Likewise, the answer to the interrogative question ‘Did s/he cry?’ **nan-i-ntal-a** can be marked as evidential or neutral, depending on the source of evidence or the lack of it:

- (67) answer 1: evidential tense
- |            |           |                 |
|------------|-----------|-----------------|
| <b>nan</b> | <b>-i</b> | <b>-datinan</b> |
| to cry     | -VS       | -PRET EV        |
- ‘S/he cried.’

- (68) answer 2: neutral tense
- |            |           |              |           |
|------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| <b>nan</b> | <b>-i</b> | <b>-ntal</b> | <b>-i</b> |
| to cry     | -VS       | -PRET NEUT   | -ASSR     |
- ‘S/he cried.’

Apart from the systems layed out above and summarized in the tables (13-14), Sabanê also has a *hearsay* morpheme **-tiaka**. Although, from a semantic point of view, it is part of the evidentiality system, this morpheme is attached directly to the verbal theme and may be combined with other evidentiality suffixes. This morpheme is used in case of reported evidence and usually it is regarded as neutral (non-evidential from a speaker’s point of view).



### 3.3.7.1 Tense

Every sentence, except those in the *Imperative* mood, must have a tense morpheme. There are three tenses: preterit, present and future. Tense morphemes occur after the verbal theme and other verbal suffixes.

#### 3.3.7.1.1 Preterit

There are four morphologically marked preterit forms. This division is based on evidentiality (evidence and inferred evidence) and non-evidentiality (neutral and inferred neutral)<sup>11</sup>.

The preterit neutral tense is marked by the suffix **-ntal** ‘PRET NEUT’, followed by assertive **-i** or interrogative **-a**. This suffix involves neutrality towards the veracity of the assessment.

- (69) **Manoel a- kan -n -ntal -i**  
 Manoel 3OBJ- to kill -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘Manoel killed him.’
- (70) **ilup -i -ntal -i**  
 to vomit-VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘S/he vomited.’
- (71) **ilup -i -say -ntal -i**  
 to vomit-VS -PROG -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘S/he was vomiting.’
- (72) **hay ay -i -ntal -a**  
 already to go -VS -PRET NEUT -INT  
 ‘Did s/he already go?’

In (73), both sentences have preterit morphemes because there are two different subjects.

<sup>11</sup> The *neutral inferential* is deduced by judgment, although without sensory evidence.

- (73) **t-**    **ip**    **-i**    **-ntal**    **-i**  
 1OBJ- to see -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
**anin** **-i** **-ntal** **-i**  
 to fell -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 'I saw her/him pretending.'  
 (Lit. 'I saw her/him, s/he pretended.')

However, in a coordinate sentence with a single subject, the verbs in the past form will be concatenated and both will have the verbal suffix **-n**. Tense and mood suffixes, however, are attached to the end of the sentence to the last verb in the sentence. In (74), there are two pronoun types as a result of the structure of the verb. The first verb **alisin** 'to jump' requires a subject pronoun, while the second, **iney** 'to fall', requires an object pronoun.

- (74) **towali alisin -n t- inei -i**  
 1SUBJ to jump -VS 1OBJ- to fall -VS  
**-ntal -i**  
 -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 'I jumped and fell.'

In case there are two sentences, one in the past tense and the other in the present tense, both have their own tense and mood morphemes.

- (75) **ip -i -ntal -i**  
 to see -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
**tia -ni -al -i**  
 to speak-VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'S/he tells what s/he saw.'  
 (Lit. 'S/he saw, s/he tells.')

The suffix **-datinan** expresses the evidential past 'PRET EV'. When this suffix is used, the hearer assumes the factuality of the sentence because of the availability of sensory evidence on the part of the speaker. Assertive or interrogative particles cannot be attached to this suffix. In (76), for example, the speaker must have seen or heard the dog running, while in (77) the speaker states that he is sure about having given manioc to someone.

- (76) **wayulu -mi ip -i -datinan**  
 dog -REF to run -VS -PRET EV  
 'The dog ran.'

- (77) **towali miakali a- osa -n -datinan**  
 1SUBJ manioc 3OBJ- to give -VS -PRET EV  
 'I gave her/him manioc.'

A third past tense morpheme is **-np**, which expresses the preterit neutral inferential 'PRET NEUT INF'. In this case, the speaker is not able to resolutely confirm the event, but s/he believes that it could have happened based on inference. This suffix stands in a paradigmatic relationship with **-ntal**. It must be followed by a mood suffix.

- (78) **m- yotop -i -np -i**  
 2OBJ- to know -VS -PRET NEUT INF -ASSR  
 '(One infers that) you knew it.'
- (79) **m- yotop -i -np -a**  
 2OBJ- to know -VS -PRET NEUT INF -INT  
 'Did you know it (it seems you did)?'

In example (80), **Maria** must be marked as an object; otherwise, it could be interpreted as a subject.

- (80) **ilitika ip -I -np -i**  
 yesterday to see -VS -PRET NEUT INF -ASSR  
**malia -ki**  
 Maria -OBJ  
 '(One infers that) s/he saw Maria yesterday.'

The fourth preterit morpheme is **-tika**, which expresses *evidential and inferential past* 'PASS INF', and which occurs when the speaker assumes the event as a fact, based on hearsay evidence. This *evidential and inferential past* is found only in sentences preceding evidential sentences.

- (81) **kieylali -k kan -n -tika**  
 peccary -OBJ to die -VS -PASS INF  
**hala -n -dana**  
 to stink -VS -PRES EV  
 'The peccary died; (because) it stinks.'

- (82) **uli isi -k ip -i -tika**  
 2SUBJ CL. RDN- OBJ to see -VS -PASS INF  
**a- tia -n -datinan**  
 3OBJ- to speak-VS -PRET EV  
 ‘You saw (a dog) and told him.’
- (83) **may -i -mina -tika**  
 to walk -VS -NEG -PASS INF  
**towali ay -i -telon**  
 1SUBJ to go -VS -FUT EV  
 ‘He did not arrive (because of the fact that) I am leaving.’

The opposition between recent past (today) and less recent past (yesterday and beyond) is expressed lexically, by using the adverbs **ileypelu** ‘today’ and **ileytika** ‘yesterday’.

- (84) **ileypelu a- kalit -i -datinan**  
 today 3OBJ- to cook -VS -PRET EV  
 ‘S/he cooked it today.’
- (85) **ileytika a- kalit -i -ntal -i**  
 yesterday 3OBJ- to cook -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘S/he cooked it yesterday.’

### 3.3.7.1.2 Present

There are two morphemes to refer to the present tense: **-al** *present neutral* ‘PRES NEUT’ and **-dana** *present evidential* ‘PRES EV’. The mood suffixes **-i** and **-a** can be attached to tense-neutral forms only.

The present tense *neutral* suffix involves neutrality towards the veracity of the assessment.

- (86) **ilul -i -say -al -i**  
 to eat -VS -PROG -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘S/he is eating.’
- (87) **towali yey -i -al -i**  
 1SUBJ to stay -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘I wait (here).’

In contrast, the present tense *evidential* suffix **-dana** assumes factuality of the sentence and implies the availability of sensory evidence.

- (88) **asa**            **-mi**    **tapay**            **-n**    **-tika**  
 pineapple        -REF    to be putrid      -VS    -PASS INF  
**hapa**            **-n**    **-dana**  
 to be sour        -VS    -PRES EV  
 ‘The pineapple was putrid (because) it is sour.’
- (89) **kolopanun**    **-k**    **wola**    **silu**            **-n**    **-dana**  
 meal              -OBJ    a lot    to be tasty      -VS    -PRES EV  
 ‘The meal is too salty.’
- (90) **uni**              **-n**    **silu**              **-n**    **-mina**    **-dana**  
 to be good        -VS    to be tasty      -VS    -NEG    -PRES EV  
**kolopanun**    **-k**  
 meal              -OBJ  
 ‘The meal is sweet.’
- (91) **towali** **ilul**    **-i**    **-dana**  
 1SUBJ to eat    -VS    -PRES EV  
 ‘I eat.’

### 3.3.7.1.3 Future

Future tenses are expressed in two ways: by **-tapanal**, a *neutral* future and by **-telon**, an *evidential* future.

The suffix **-tapanal** ‘FUT NEUT’ is neutral towards the veracity of the assessment. It can be used in an elicited sentence or in any sentence not concerned with factuality.

- (92) **ilul**    **-i**    **-tapanal**        **-i**  
 to eat    -VS    -FUT NEUT      -ASSR  
 ‘S/he will eat.’
- (93) **towali** **apao**    **-i**    **-tapanal**        **-i**  
 1SUBJ to wait -VS    -FUT NEUT      -ASSR  
 ‘I will wait.’

- (94) **amayl -i -tapanal -i**  
 to rain -VS -FUT NEUT -ASSR  
 'It will rain.'

The evidential future tense suffix **-telon** (FUT EV) can only be added to a sentence in which the speaker is certain about its factuality, based on first-hand evidence.

- (95) **amayl -i -telon**  
 to rain -VS -FUT EV  
 'It is going to rain.'

- (96) **uli ay -i -mina -telon**  
 2SUBJ to go -VS -NEG -FUT EV  
 'You are not going anywhere.'

### 3.3.8 Mood and Modality

According to Frawley (1992: 388) 'Modality is an epistemic version of deixis, with the values for the deictic points rewritten in terms of speakers' state of belief and the relation between those points interpreted as degrees and likelihood of the actualization of a state of affairs'. In Sabanê, sentences can be assertive, interrogative, or imperative. Assertive and interrogative suffixes are attached to neutral tenses. Imperative is unmarked.

#### 3.3.8.1 Assertive and Interrogative

The assertive **-i** and interrogative **-a** suffix can only be attached to neutral tense forms such as **-np**, **-ntal**, **-al** and **-tapanal**. The majority of the world's languages do not morphologically express this opposition and in the few that do, the assertive is the category that remains unmarked. One could therefore ask the question why the assertive is phonologically marked in Sabanê. One reasonable guess is that this suffix is originally an epenthetic element introduced at the end of a sentence, because all neutral tense forms have a syllable closed by a consonant that is not allowed to occur in a coda in Sabanê. Therefore, the assertive suffix could be a morphologized epenthetic element in parallel to the interrogative suffix. Despite not being real modal marks, both assertive and interrogative suffixes will be treated under the heading Mood.

According to Payne <sup>12</sup> (1997:294), Tibetan is another language that expresses an opposition between assertion and interrogation by the use of two different suffixes, as is illustrated by the following examples:

- (97) Tibetan:  
**yoqöö** **mɔmɔ** **sææ** **-pə** **-ree**  
 servant dumplings to eat -PASS -ASSR  
 ‘The servant ate dumplings.’
- (98) **yoqöö** **mɔmɔ** **sææ** **-pə** **-repææ**  
 servant dumplings to eat -PASS -INT  
 ‘Did the servant eat dumplings?’

Both mood suffixes occupy the same syntactic slot and the use of one suffix excludes the use of the other, just like in Sabanê.

In Sabanê, the interrogative suffix **-a** occurs simultaneously with question words (*who, whom*, etc.) and cannot be replaced by intonation only.

- (99) **iney** **-i** **-ntal** **-i**  
 to fall -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘S/he fell.’
- (100) **iney** **-i** **-ntal** **-a**  
 to fall -VS -PRET NEUT -INT  
 ‘Did s/he fall?’  
 \***ineyntali** + interrogative intonation

### 3.3.8.2 Imperatives and other Commands

In Sabanê, the imperative mood expresses orders and commands, whereas non-imperative mood is represented by assertive and interrogative sentences. The imperative has a second person singular and a second person plural form, other than, for example, the Northern Nambikwara languages Latundê and Lakondê, where the imperative only involves the second person singular<sup>13</sup>. In Sabanê, the canonical form of the imperative mood is the bare verbal theme (root plus verbal suffix). Sometimes, intonation plays a role to enhance the imperative character of a sentence. Thus, a falling intonation indicates a polite order, whereas a rising

<sup>12</sup> Although Tibetan is not related to Sabanê, it shows that the system of Sabanê is not unique among the languages of the world.

<sup>13</sup> See Telles (2002) for Latundê/Lakondê. See also Palmer (1986).

intonation indicates a coercive order. Stative verbs cannot occur in the imperative mood.

- (101) **tosan** <sup>‡</sup>  
**t-**    **osa**    **-n**  
 1OBJ- to give -VS  
 ‘Give it to me, please.’

- (102) **tosan** <sup>†</sup>  
**t-**    **osa**    **-n**  
 1OBJ- to give -VS  
 ‘Give it to me, now!’

The second person imperative is phonologically unmarked, just like the third person of non-imperative moods.

Table 15: Pronouns

	2nd	(PP)
NON-IMPERATIVE	<b>uli, m-</b>	<b>pi-</b>
IMPERATIVE	–	<b>pi-</b>

- (103) **ilul**    **-i**  
 to eat    -VS  
 ‘Eat it (*2nd person singular*)’.

The prefix **pi-** marks the imperative plural, as it marks, in general, person plurality (first, second and third person) in the imperative as well as in the non-imperative moods.

- (104) **pi-**    **kal**    **-i**    **-tinopi**  
 PL-    to cut    -VS    -HORT INCL  
 ‘Let’s cut it!’

- (105) **\*kal**    **-i**    **-tinopi**  
 to cut    -VS    -HORT INCL  
 ‘Cut it!’ (plural)

A patientive prefix can co-occur with a plural marker **pi-**.



- (106) **pi- t- osa -n to**  
 PL- 1OBJ- to give -VS -HORT EXCL  
 ‘You (PL) give it to me!’

Tense, evidentiality, and aspect categories are not expressed in the imperative mood. Nonetheless, six types of imperatives can be distinguished in Sabanê:

Table 16: Imperatives and other commands

1. Weak Imperative	<b>verbal theme</b>
2. Strong Imperative	<b>verbal theme -n</b>
3. Hortative exclusive	<b>verbal theme -to</b>
4. Hort. exclusive plural	<b>pi- verbal theme -to</b>
5. Hort. inclusive	<b>pi- verbal theme -tinopi</b>
6. Prohibitive	<b>verbal theme -NEG</b> $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -n \\ -to \\ -tinopi \end{array} \right\}$

1. Weak imperative: *bare verbal theme*

The default imperative form is the weak imperative. Morphologically it is represented by the verbal theme. As mentioned above, intonational differences reflect different degrees of politeness.

- (107) **ilul -i**  
 to eat -VS  
 ‘Eat!’

Although formed by the verbal theme, the weak imperative can receive prefixes, like the object pronoun **t-**:

- (108) **tosan**<sup>3</sup>  
**t- osa -n**  
 1OBJ- to give -VS  
 ‘Give it to me, please.’

2. Strong imperative: *verbal theme* + *-n*

The strong imperative (admonitory) usually implies some type of reproof or reproach. Its goal is to make the addressee fulfil an action that s/he is not willing to fulfil.

- (109) **ilul -i -n**  
 to eat -VS -ST IMP  
 'Eat (it is an order)!'

The admonitory particle **-n** occurs only with the second person singular and plural (it excludes inclusive person).

- (110) **yey -i -n**  
 to stay -VS -ST IMP  
 'Stay!'
- (111) **pi- yey -i -n**  
 PL- to stay -VS -ST IMP  
 'Stay!' (plural)

The admonitory suffix **-n** follows the negative suffix.

- (112) **ay -i -mina -n**  
 to go -VS -NEG -ST IMP  
 'Do not go!'
- (113) **pi- wawul -i -mina -n**  
 PL- to shout -VS -NEG -ST IMP  
 'Do not shout, people!'

The hortative imperative is expressed through suffixation of **-to** to the (otherwise) verb-final element, which can be the verbal suffix or the negative suffix. There are two types of hortative imperatives: exclusive (plural and singular) and inclusive:

3. Hortative exclusive (the speaker is excluded): *verbal theme + -to*

- (114) **ilul -i -to**  
 to eat -VS -HORT  
 'Eat!' or 'You (SG) can eat!'

4. Hortative exclusive plural (the speaker is excluded):

*pi- + verbal theme + -to*

- (115) **pi- ilul -i -to**  
 PL- to eat -VS -HORT  
 'You (plural) eat!'

5. Hortative inclusive: *pi- + verbal theme + -tinopi*

The discontinuous particles **pi-...-tinopi** are used for the imperative inclusive plural, i.e., the first person is included along with the second person. The imperative inclusive plural suffix is **-tinopi**.

- (116) **pi- taw -i -tinopi**  
 PL- to cut -VS -HORT INCL  
 'Let's cut!'  
 \***taw -i -tinopi**

The suffix **-tinopi** must occur with the plural prefix **pi-**.

- (117) **pi- ilul -i -tinopi**  
 PL- to eat -VS -HORT INCL  
 'Let's eat!'  
 \***ilul -i -tinopi**

6. Prohibitive: the negative imperative prohibitive is formed by the postposition of **-mi(si)na** after the verbal suffix.

- (118) **taw -i -misina**  
 to cut -VS -NEG  
 'Do not cut!'

In the hortative and strong imperatives, the negative morpheme is also immediately after the verbal suffix:

- (119) **pi- amun -i -mina -tinopi**  
 PL- to sleep -VS -NEG -HORT EXCL  
 ‘Do not fall asleep, people!’

- (120) **pi- ilul -i -misina-tinopi**  
 PL- to eat -VS -NEG -HORT INCL  
 ‘Let’s not eat, people!’

- (121) **ilul -i -mina -n**  
 to eat -VS -NEG -ST IMP  
 ‘Do not eat (it is an order)!’

When two verbs in the imperative mood are concatenated, both keep their own inflexional categories.

- (122) **sa -n -n t- osa -n -n**  
 to catch -VS -ST IMP lOBJ- to give -VS -ST IMP  
 [sã·to'sã:]  
 ‘Catch (it) and give it to me.’

In (123), there is a coordinate sentence with the first verb in prohibitive form and the second verb in strong imperative form.

- (123) **yotono -n -mina -n kwina yey**  
 to cough -VS -NEG -ST IMP quiet to stay  
**-i -n**  
 -VS -ST IMP  
 ‘Stop coughing and be quiet.’

Imperative constructions allow the occurrence of adverbial modifiers in the first position of the sentence:

- (124) **yalakanin pi- ilul -i -to**  
 slowly PL- to eat -VS -IMP EXHOR EXCL  
 ‘You people: eat slowly!’

- (125) **hay pi- ilul -i -tinopi**  
 now PL- to eat -VS -IMP EXHOR INCL  
 ‘Let’s eat faster, folks!’

- (126) **kolowa aytami apio -n -n**  
 cotton red to spread -VS -ST IMP  
 ‘Spread red paint (use this piece of cotton to do it).’

### 3.3.9 Other Verbal Components

The following verbal components are affixed to the verbal theme or the negative particle (if it occurs): *suppositive*, *quotative*, *desiderative*, and *reflexive*. Tense and evidentiality suffixes are attached to those verbal components.

#### 3.3.9.1 Imminentive

In Sabanê, the morpheme **-tasa**, located before the present tense suffix, expresses the fact that an action is about to happen, as shown in (127-128). On the other hand, as shown in (129-130), the same morpheme indicates that an action *almost* happened, but not quite. This morpheme is labelled as *imminentive* (IMIN).

- (127) **kolopanun katal -i -tasa -dana**  
 meal to cook -VS -IMIN -PRES EV  
 ‘The meal is almost ready.’
- (128) **ta- taw -i -tasa -ntal -i**  
 1OBJ- to cut -VS -IMIN -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘S/he is almost cutting me.’
- (129) **wayulu -mi t- im -i -tasa -datinan**  
 dog -REF 1OBJ- to bite -VS -IMIN -PRET EV  
**towali ip -i -datinan**  
 1SUBJ to run -VS -PRET EV  
 ‘The dog almost bit me, (it failed do so because) I ran.’
- (130) **t- iney -i -tasa -ntal -i**  
 1OBJ- to fall -VS -IMIN -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘I almost fell.’

### 3.3.9.2 Suppositive

The suffix **-tun** expresses the notion of supposition; that is, the speaker believes in the feasibility of the action, although there is no concrete evidence for it. For this reason, **-tun** occurs exclusively with neutral tenses.

- (131) **amayl -i -tun -tapanal -i**  
 to rain -VS -SUPP -FUT NEUT -ASSR  
 'It seems it will rain.'
- (132) **ay -i -mina -tun -al -i**  
 to go -VS -NEG -SUPP -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'It seems that s/he is not leaving.'
- (133) **bolowke -k isa -na iney -i -tun**  
 parrot -OBJ tree -LOC to fall -VS -SUPP  
**-ntal -i**  
 -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 'It seems that the parrot fell from the tree.'
- (134) **anolota -ki katal -i -mina -tun**  
 meat -OBJ to cook -VS -NEG -SUPP  
**-al -i**  
 PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'It seems that the meat is cooking.'

### 3.3.9.3 Quotative/Hearsay

The suffix **-tiaka** (*hearsay*) indicates that the source of information comes from a quotation or other second-hand source. Usually, the source of this information is supplied and the use of evidential tenses reflects it.

- (135) **wayulupi.maysili -k kan -n -tiaka -dana**  
 cat.younglings -OBJ to die -VS -QUOT -PRES EV  
 'Somebody said that the kitten died.'
- (136) **m- ilup -i -tiaka -datinan**  
 2OBJ- to vomit-VS -QUOT -PRET EV  
 'You vomited, they said.'

- (137) **doda Lino -k im -i -tiaka -datinan**  
 white-lipped peccary Lino -OBJ to bite -VS -QUOT -PRET EV  
 ‘They said that the white-lipped peccary bit Lino.’

In a few cases, the suffix **-tiaka** is employed with neutral tenses as well. In these cases, the sentence cannot be confirmed as a fact, the source is not trustworthy, or the information is not feasible.

- (138) **Rondon kan -n -mina -tiaka -ntal -i**  
 Rondon to die -VS -NEG -QUOT -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘They said Colonel Rondon did not die.’<sup>14</sup>

### 3.3.9.4 Desiderative Morphology: **-tan** and **palisin**

There are two morphemes frequently associated with the notion of desire. The morpheme **-tan** functions as a suffix and is attached to the verb:

- (139) **nawko uli ilul -i -tan -al -a**  
 mother 2SUBJ to eat -VS -DES -PRES NEUT -INT  
 ‘Mother, do you want to eat?’
- (140) **towali ilul -i -tan -al -i**  
 1SUBJ to eat -VS -DES -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘I want to eat’.
- (141) **t- hamo -n -tan -ntal -i**  
 1OBJ- to push -VS -DES -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘S/he wanted to push me.’
- (142) **t- hamo -n -mina -tan -ntal -i**  
 1OBJ- to push -VS -NEG -DES -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
**t- hamo -n -datinan**  
 1OBJ- to push -VS -PRET EV  
 ‘S/he did not want to push me, (but) s/he did it.’

<sup>14</sup> Colonel Rondon is still nowadays part of the Sabané’s mythology.

- (143) **\*tan -i -al -i**  
 to want -VS PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'S/he wants.'

The verbal root **palisin** 'to want' can be employed as a root as well as a desiderative suffix, in which case it is attached to the verbal theme.

- (144) **palisin -i -misina -al -i**  
 to want -VS -NEG -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'S/he does not want.'
- (145) **towali ilul -i -palisin-al -i**  
 1SUBJ to eat -VS -DES -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'I want it.' (Answer to the question: 'Do you want to eat?')
- (146) **maysunon -mi yey -i -mina -palisin**  
 male youngling -REF to stay -VS -NEG -DES  
**-dana nan -i -dana**  
 -PRES EV to cry -VS -PRES EV  
 'The boy does not want to stay, he is crying.'
- (147) **isa -na ay -i -palisin-al -i**  
 forest -LOC to go -VS -DES -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'S/he wants to go to the forest.'
- (148) **huhup -i -mina -palisin -al -i**  
 to have sex -VS -NEG -DES -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'S/he does not want to have sex.'

### 3.3.9.5 Reflexive

In Sabanê, reflexive action is expressed through double subject-object marking, in which the object marker agrees in person with the subject marker.

- (149) **towali ta- taw -i -ntal -i**  
 1SUBJ 1OBJ- to cut -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 'I cut myself.'



- (150) **uli ma- kal -i -ntal -i**  
 2SUBJ 2OBJ- to cut -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘You cut yourself.’
- (151) **a- kal -i -ntal -i**  
 3OBJ- to cut -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘S/he cut her/himself.’
- (152) **Malia -mi a- kal -i -datinan**  
 Maria -REF 3OBJ- to cut -VS -PRET EV  
 ‘Maria cut herself.’

### 3.3.10 Weather Verbs

Weather or natural phenomena verbs like *to rain*, *to thunder*, *to lighten*, etc. do not have pronominal arguments. They are, just like regular roots, followed by verbal suffixes and tense-aspect-mood particles.

- (153) **amayl -i -datinan**  
 to rain -VS -PRES EV  
 ‘It rains.’
- (154) **tolun -n -ap -al -i**  
 to thunder -VS -ITER -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘It is thundering (regularly).’
- (155) **milut -i -al -i**  
 to lighten -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘There is lightening.’
- (156) **win -n -al -i**  
 to mist -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘There is mist.’
- (157) **kamayk -i -al -i**  
 to stop raining -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘The rain (season) stops.’

- (158) **wal**    **-a**    **-ap**    **-al**    **-i**  
to blow –VS    –ITER    –PRES NEUT    –ASSR  
‘The wind blows (incessantly).’
- (159) **kali**    **-n**    **-al**    **-i**  
to warn –VS    –PRES NEUT    –ASSR  
‘It is warm (this morning).’
- (160) **tapun**    **-i**    **-al**    **-i**  
to be black    –VS    –PRES NEUT    –ASSR  
‘It is overcast.’
- (161) **pan**    **-i**    **-al**    **-i**  
to be white    –VS    –PRES NEUT    –ASSR  
‘Morning is breaking.’

### 3.3.11 Verbal Adjectives

This section explores the status of verbal adjectives in Sabanê. I argue that verbal adjectives are verbs rather than nouns, and cannot be classified as an independent lexical class.

In the literature, the term adjective has been a source of controversy. Dixon (especially 1977 and 2003) claims that adjectives form a word class *per se* because they have a conceptual basis and prototypical grammatical functions. Schachter (1985), on the other hand, states that there are three different ways in which adjectives are classified in the world’s languages: (1) adjectives form an independent class (in parallel to nouns and verbs); (2) some concepts usually are expressed by adjectives and there is also a small group of nounlike or verblike adjectives; and (3) adjectives do not form a class *per se* and are a subclass of nouns or verbs. Wetzer (1992:231) reviews Schachter’s work and claims that, despite the fact that adjectives indeed share some properties with nouns and verbs, they have their own characteristics and they have properties not found in either nouns or verbs. Notwithstanding these theoretical viewpoints, the existence of an independent class of adjectives for a given language must be established on the basis of language-internal linguistic criteria.

Overall, the term adjective is prototypically associated with terms of dimension (*small, big, short*, etc.), age (*young, old*, etc.), human values (*good, bad*, etc.), and colour (*white, black*, etc.). Physical properties (*hard, soft*, etc.) and speed (*fast, slow*, etc.) are also often expressed by way of adjectives.

Nouns in Sabanê form the core of nominal phrases while verbs are the core of verbal phrases. Agentive and patientive suffixes cannot be attached to adjectives, unless they occur in a derived word as a nominal phrase (162) or nominalized word, as shown in (163).

- (162) **pan -n -ta -mi**  
 white -VS -ACNNR -REF  
 '(colour) white'
- (163) **{panta -mi} uni -n -dana**  
 white -REF to be good -VS -PRES EV  
 'S/he likes (the colour) white.'  
**\*pan -k uni -n -dana**

We have seen that nouns can receive possessive prefixes, as illustrated in (164a). The example in (164b) shows that adjectives may not be combined with such morphemes. On the other hand, when adjectives appear with nominal morphology, they take possessive prefixes, just like any other noun, as shown in (164c).

- (164) (a) **d- apipa -mi**  
 1POSS- hand -REF  
 'my hand'
- (b) **\*d- isun -mi**  
 1POSS- angry -REF  
 'my anger'
- (c) **d- isun -n -ta -mi**  
 1POSS- to be angry -VS -ACNNR -REF  
 'my anger'

Therefore, adjectives do not behave like nouns in Sabanê. In the following sentences one sees that adjectives have the structure of intransitive verbs.

- (165) **Manoel ilup -i -al -i**  
 Manoel to vomit -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'Manoel vomits.'

- (166) **nawa**        **is**                **-i**        **-al**                **-i**  
 manioc dough   to be hard        -VS       -PRES NEUT       -ASSR  
 'The dough is hard.'

In (165), the intransitive verb **ilup** 'to vomit' receives the verbal suffix, followed by the present tense neutral and the assertive particle. The subject is its only argument. The fact that both the verb and the adjective require a patientive argument makes the object mark **-k** optional (both sentences describe non-volitional acts). However, adjectives in intransitive sentences can also demand agentive subjects, as in:

- (167) **towali ilaw**                **-n**        **-al**                **-i**  
 1SUBJ to be big        -VS       -PRES NEUT       -ASSR  
 'I am fat.'

In (167), **ilaw** 'to be big' and by extension 'to be fat', requires an agentive-like argument because according to the Sabanê a person becomes fat by her/his own will.

Occasionally, adjectives only differ from verbs to the extent that one is agentive, the other patientive. In these cases, we assume the existence of two lexical entries, one for the verb and another for the (verbal)adjective, because the agentive status or patient status cannot be predicted.

- (168) **uli ip**        **-i**        **-al**                **-i**  
 2SUBJ to run        -VS       -PRES NEUT       -ASSR  
 'S/he runs.'

- (169) **m- ip**                **-i**        **-al**                **-i**  
 2OBJ- to be long        -VS       -PRES NEUT       -ASSR  
 'You are long.'

The notion of *control* is crucial for distinguishing between the verb and the adjective in (168-169). The use of pronouns indicates that the verb **ip** 'to run' requires an agentive-like subject, while the adjective **ip** 'to be long' requires a patient-like subject (an object form). In (170), the same criteria affect the distinction between the verb and the adjective.

- (170) **t- isayl**                **-i**        **-al**                **-i**  
 1OBJ- to be happy        -VS       -PRES NEUT       -ASSR  
 'I am happy.' (Non-volitional)

cf. **towali isayl**      **-i**      **-al**      **-i**  
 1SUBJ to be heavy    -VS    -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 'I am fat.' (Volitional)

Adjectives rarely show lexical opposite pairs like big vs. small, good vs. bad. This is usually expressed by litotic constructions.

(171) **t- ilaw**      **-n**      **-al**      **-i**  
 1OBJ- to be big    -VS    -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 'I am big.'

(172) **t- ilaw**      **-n**      **-mina** **-al**      **-i**  
 1OBJ- to be big    -VS    -NEG    -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 'I am small.'  
 (Lit.: 'I am not big.')

(173) **isayl**      **-i**      **-dana**  
 to be heavy    -VS    -PRES EV  
 'It is heavy.'

(174) **isayl**      **-i**      **-mina** **-dana**  
 to be heavy    -VS    -NEG    -PRES EV  
 'It is light.'  
 (Lit.: 'It is not heavy'.)

(175) **katal** **-i**      **-dana**  
 to cook -VS    -PRES EV  
 'It is cooking.'

(176) **katal** **-i**      **-mina** **-dana**  
 cook -VS    -NEG    -PRES EV  
 'It is raw.'  
 (Lit.: 'It does not cook.')

Like verbs, verbal adjectives can be modifiers within the noun phrase, but, in order to fulfil this function, they must be nominalized with the attributive suffix **-ta**:



- (182) {**kiata**} {-**takata**}     **pan**    **-i**    **-al**            **-i**  
 corn    -CL: LONG     white   -VS    -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 ‘The corn is white.’
- (183) {**kiatapantakata**}     **pan**    **-i**    **-al**            **-i**  
 white corn            white   -VS    -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 ‘The white corn is white.’
- (184) {**kiataayntakata**}     **pan**    **-i**    **-al**            **-i**  
 red corn            white   -VS    -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 ‘The red corn is white (i.e., the red corn seed is white).’

A verbal adjective has the potential to be the nucleus of a verbal domain as well as a modifier (within the nominal domain), just like an ordinary verb. This means that verbs and verbal adjectives share the same properties.

The only difference between verbs and verbal adjectives is related to the reduplication processes. Verb reduplication makes the action repetitive while verbal adjective reduplication intensifies the qualities expressed by the verbal adjective.

- (185) **da-**    **towlanon**        **motu**        **-n** **-al**            **-i**  
 1POSS- belly button    to be round -VS -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 ‘My belly button is round.’
- da-**    **towlanon**        **motu.motu**            **-n**  
 1POSS- belly button    to be round.to be round -VS  
**-al**            **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT    -ASSR  
 ‘My belly button is perfectly round.’
- sapa**            **-n**        **-dana**  
 to be flat        -VS        -PRES EV  
 ‘It is flat.’
- sapa.sapa**            **-n**        **-dana**  
 to be flat.to be flat    -VS        -PRES EV  
 ‘It is very flat.’
- (186) **ta-**    **siki**            **-n**        **-datinan**  
 1OBJ- to tickle        -VS        -PRET EV  
 ‘S/he tickled me.’

**ta-**    **siki.siki**                      **-n**    **-datinan**  
 IOBJ- to tickle.to tickle            -VS    -PRET EV  
 ‘S/he almost tickled me to death.’  
 (Lit. ‘S/he tickled me too much.’)

Sabanê has other means to express intensification in verbs, such as the use of the adverb **wola** (187), or the use of the aspectual morpheme **-ap** (188).

(187) **Manoel**            **wola**    **ilul**    **-i**        **-dana**  
 Manoel            a lot    to eat    -VS       -PRES EV  
 ‘Manoel eats a lot.’

(188) **Manoel**            **amu**    **-n**       **-ap**    **-a**       **-datinan**  
 Manoel            to sleep -VS    -ITER    -LINK    -PRES EV  
 ‘Manoel slept for hours and hours.’

Nominal predicative constructions have the same structure as verbal predicative constructions. Verbal adjectives are nominalized separately in each construction and both items are marked with the patientive suffix.

(189) **oto**    **pan**    **-n**       **-ta**                      **-akata**        **-ka**  
 arrow    white    -VS       -ACNNR                -CL: LONG    -OBJ  
**tapun**    **-n**       **-ta**       **-akata**                **-k**        **-i**  
 black    -VS       -ATTR    -CL: LONG              -OBJ       -VS  
**-in**                      **-al**  
 -PRES NEUT        -ASSR  
 ‘The arrow is black and white.’

The similarity between nominal predicative constructions and verbal predicative constructions is due to the lack of an overt copular verb. Therefore, both readings are possible in (190).

(190) a)    **kanin**                      **-i**        **-al**                      **-i**  
           to be tall                -VS       -PRES NEUT            -ASSR  
           ‘S/he is tall.’

b)    **kanin**                      **-i**        **-al**                      **-i**  
           to be tall                -VS       -PRES NEUT            -ASSR  
           ‘S/he is fat.’



Notice that in (191a) the subject **ulikapali** ‘boss’ carries the *object* marker **-k**, and in (191b), a predicative sentence, the subject **katatali?** ‘white man’ has the same marker.

- (191) a)     **ulikapali**     **-k**     **-i**     **-al**     **-i**  
               boss            -OBJ   -VS    -PRES NEUT   -ASSR  
               ‘S/he is the boss.’
- b)     **katatali?**     **-ka**     **kanin**     **-i**  
                   white man     -OBJ   to be tall     -VS  
                   **-al**            **-i**  
                   -PRES NEUT   -ASSR  
                   ‘The white man is tall.’

Therefore, based on structural resemblance, I claim that adjectives are verb-like in Sabanê and that they do not form an independent class. The studies published about the Nambikwara languages generally regard adjectives as part of the verbal class as well, being described as statives, descriptives, or verbal adjectives.



## 4 Syntax

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores some aspects of the syntax of Sabanê.

### 4.2 Personal Pronouns

Subject personal pronouns are obligatory in the absence of a nominal subject. There are, in Sabanê, two classes of personal pronouns. On the one hand, there is the class of subject pronouns, which are free morphemes except for **pi-** ‘1pl’. On the other hand, there is a class of object pronouns, which are bound morphemes.

Usually, subject pronouns occur in the first position of a sentence (SOV). The subject pronouns are given in table (17). As shown, the singular vs. plural distinction is only available in the first person category.

Table 17: Personal Pronouns Subject

1SUBJ	<b>towali</b>
1SUBJ PL	<b>pi-</b>
2SUBJ	<b>uli</b>
3SUBJ	–

The first person singular pronoun has the free form **towali**. Typically, this pronoun precedes the object, although its position may change because of topicalization or focus.

(01) **towali ilul –i –mina –tapanal –i**  
1SUBJ to eat –VS –NEG –FUT NEUT –ASSR  
‘I will not eat.’

(02) **towali wayulu –k ip –a –datinan**  
1SUBJ dog –OBJ to see –VS –PRET EV  
‘I saw the dog.’

(03) **uni –n –misina –al –i towali**  
to be good –VS –NEG –PRES NEUT –ASSR 1SUBJ  
‘I am not beautiful.’

The use of the first person pronoun is not the only way to express first person subjecthood in Sabanê. Sometimes, a possessive pronoun construction replaces the first person pronoun. For example, the respective subjects of the sentences in (04-05) are ‘my bowl’ and ‘my arrow’.

- (04) **d-**     **anose**    **-tanon**            **amulu**    **-n**  
 1POSS- bowl    -CL:HEMI            only    -VS  
**-al**                    **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT        -ASSR  
 ‘I have only one bowl.’

- (05) **d-**     **oto**     **-takata**            **bala**    **-n**  
 1POSS- arrow    -CL: LONG            DUAL    -VS  
**-al**                    **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT        -ASSR  
 ‘I have two arrows.’

Both pronouns, subject and possessive, can occur together:

- (06) **towali** **d-**     **wayulu palan**            **-i**  
 1SUBJ 1POSS- dog    not to have        -VS  
**-al**                    **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT        -ASSR  
 ‘I don’t have any dog.’

The second person subject pronoun is the free form **uli**, which behaves the same way as its first person counterpart.

- (07) **uli**     **wolata**            **wawal**    **-i**        **-dana**  
 2SUBJ a lot more        to shout -VS        -PRES EV  
 ‘You shout excessively.’
- (08) **uli**     **ay**     **-i**     **-al**            **-a**  
 2SUBJ to go    -VS        -PRES NEUT        -INT  
 ‘Do you go?’
- (09) **uli**     **m-**     **ilup**    **-a**     **-ntal**            **-i**  
 2SUBJ OBJ- to vomit-VS        -PRET NEUT        -ASSR  
 ‘You (pretended that you had) vomited.’

- (10) **uli ulikapali -k -i -al -a**  
 2SUBJ boss -OBJ -VS -PRES NEUT -INT  
 ‘Are you the boss?’

The pronoun **uli** also expresses the second person plural. The context will resolve any ambiguity.

- (11) **uli -mi t- ip -i -al -a**  
 2SUBJ -REF 1OBJ- to see -VS -PRES NEUT -INT  
 ‘Do you (PL) see me?’
- (12) **uli wola tapun -i -al -i**  
 2SUBJ a lot to be black -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘You (PL) are very dirty.’
- (13) **uli -mi ano ilul -i -dana**  
 2SUBJ -REF much/many to eat -VS -PRES EV  
 ‘You (PL) eat a lot!’

The third person subject pronoun is not expressed phonologically.

- (14) **ilul -i -al -i**  
 to eat -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘S/he eats.’
- (15) **ip -a -ntal -i**  
 to see -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
**sa -n -mina -ntal -i**  
 to catch -VS -NEG -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘S/he saw it (but) s/he did not catch it.’
- (16) **linhada.pi palan -i**  
 fishing line.CL: LONG FLX not to have -VS  
**-al -i**  
 -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘S/he hasn’t any fishing line.’
- (17) **otopoka -k yow -i -mina -telon**  
 bow -OBJ to make -VS -NEG -FUT EV  
 ‘S/he is not going to make a bow.’

- (18) **ip -i -al -a da- sapane**  
 to see -VS -PRES NEUT -INT 1POSS- little sister  
**-ka**  
 -OBJ  
 'Does s/he look at my little sister?'

When weather verbs are used, no subject is expressed.

- (19) **amayl -i -al -i**  
 to rain -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'It is raining.'
- (20) **amayl -i -mina -al -i**  
 to rain -VS -NEG -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'It does not rain.'
- (21) **milul -i -tapanal -i**  
 to lighten -VS -FUT NEUT -ASSR  
 'There will be lightening.'
- (22) **tolun -a -ntal -i**  
 to thunder -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 'It thundered.'

As expected, the third person subject pronoun is also not expressed in verbal adjective constructions.

- (23) **motu -n -al -i**  
 to be round -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'It is round.'
- (24) **ela -ko motu -n -al -i**  
 moon -OBJ to be round -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'The moon is round.'
- (25) **minu -n -al -i**  
 to be smooth -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'It is smooth.'

- (26) **ninu?** **-ki** **minu** **-n** **-al** **-i**  
 liquid -OBJ to be smooth -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘The lake is calm.’  
 (Lit. ‘The liquid is smooth.’)
- (27) **siki** **-n** **-dana**  
 to be sharp pointed -VS -PRES EV  
 ‘It has a sharp point.’
- (28) **tapawulu.isi** **-ki** **siki** **-n** **-dana**  
 clay star -OBJ to be sharp pointed -VS -PRES EV  
 ‘The clay star has sharp points.’

The pronoun **pi-** expresses the first person plural (inclusive or exclusive) in the non-imperative mood. In the imperative mood, **pi-** expresses the same notion, but then it needs two discontinuous complements (cf. section 3.3.8.2).

- (29) **pi-** **ilul** **-i** **-dana**  
 1SUBJ PL- to eat -VS -PRES EV  
 ‘We all eat.’
- (30) **kolowasi** **-mi** **pi-** **kut** **-i** **-datinan**  
 ball of yarn -REF 1SUBJ PL- to tie -VS -PRET EV  
 ‘We tied up the ball of yarn.’

Nonetheless, **pi-** is the only bound morpheme that acts as a subject pronoun. However, it can also function as the object pronoun, which fact makes it unique among the Sabanê pronouns.

- (31) **uli** **pi-** **kal** **-i** **-dana**  
 2SUBJ 1OBJ PL- to cut -VS -PRES EV  
 ‘You cut us.’

### 4.3 Agentive/Patientive Typology

Before considering argument and verb relations in Sabanê, let us briefly discuss the notions of ‘government’ and ‘transitivity’. One of the aspects of syntactic organization concerns the lexical properties of words that determine the kind of relations they establish as well as certain aspects of the syntactic structure in which they may appear. Thus, verbs can require certain arguments to be

expressed in a sentence. Traditionally, it is assumed that a verb is transitive, when it requires the presence of a direct object, such as the verb **yow** *to make*.

- (32) **uli matowla -k yow -a -datinan**  
 2SUBJ pestle -OBJ to make -VS -PRET EV  
 ‘You made the pestle.’

In turn, an intransitive verb like **kan** ‘to die’ does not require any object complement. Intransitive verbs are said to be monovalent, which means they have the subject as their only argument.

- (33) **kan -n -al -i**  
 to die -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘S/he dies.’

However, these definitions are not fully adequate as far as verbs like *to eat* are concerned, which can be used with either one or two arguments. As a result, *to eat* can be transitive or intransitive. Such verbs have two valencies and can lose one of their arguments (the internal one). Sabanê has verbs which can be transitive verbs (34), descriptive/stative verbs (35), and both transitive or intransitive (36).

- (34) **ta- kaymat -i -n**  
 1OBJ- to mix -VS -ST IMP  
 ‘Mix it up for me.’

- (35) **palin -n -al -i**  
 to be cold -VS -PRES -ASSR  
 ‘It is cold.’

- (36) **towali matowla -k m- yow -a -datinan**  
 1SUBJ pestle -OBJ 2OBJ- to make -VS -PRET EV  
 ‘I made the pestle for you.’

In Sabanê, patient-like elements of transitive sentences (37) and subjects of predicative sentences (38) receive the same suffix **-k**.

- (37) **Josi manala -k hop -a datinan**  
 Josi sieve -OBJ to weave -VS -PRET EV  
 ‘Josi made a sieve for me.’



- (38) **iwta -k motu -n -al -i**  
*sun -OBJ to be round -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR*  
 ‘The sun is round.’

The literature (Mithun 1991:511, and references there) refers to sentence structures like those mentioned above as *active*, *stative-active*, *agentive* or *agent-patientive*<sup>1</sup>. Dixon (1979) refers to such constructions as *split S*. Another well-known label is *split intransitivity* (Merlan 1985, Van Valin 1990, apud Mithun 1991).

Agentivity can be expressed in three different ways: a) with an intrinsically agentive (subject) pronoun; b) by the referential suffix **-mi**; and c) without any mark.

- (39) **towali wayulu -k ip -i -datinan**  
 1SUBJ dog -OBJ to see -VS -PRET EV  
 ‘I saw a dog.’

- (40) **wayulu -mi t- ip -i -datinan**  
 or **wayulu t- ip -i -datinan**  
 dog 1OBJ- to see -VS -PRET EV  
 ‘The dog saw me.’

In (41), the patient is marked by the particle **-k**, while the subject (agent) is marked by a personal (agent) pronoun **uli**.

The verb **kal** ‘to cut’ is transitive. Therefore, it requires two arguments: one agent, and one patient. The sentence in (41) is constructed with reversed arguments in (42): the agent of (41) is the patient of (42) and vice versa.

- (41) **uli kal -i -say -dana gabriel -ka**  
 2SUBJ to cut -VS -PROG -PRES EV Gabriel -OBJ  
 ‘You are cutting Gabriel.’

- (42) **Gabriel ma- kal -i -datinan**  
 Gabriel 2OBJ- to cut -VS -PRET EV  
 ‘Gabriel is cutting you.’

As was already shown, the third person pronoun is expressed as **a-** preceding a verb root that starts with a consonant, and as zero elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup> Alternatively, *active-neutral*, *active-inactive*, *active-static*.

- (43) **ileypelu a-      **taw**   **-i**      **-datinan****  
 today           3OBJ-   to cut   -VS    -PRET EV  
 ‘S/he cut it today.’
- (44) **towali a-      **kal**   **-i**      **-datinan****  
 1SUBJ 3OBJ-   to cut   -VS    -PRET EV  
 ‘I cut her/him.’
- (45) **doda                      **-k**   **kut**   **-i****  
 white-lipped peccary   -OBJ   to tie   -VS  
**-al                      **-i****  
 -PRES NEUT            -ASSR  
 ‘S/he tied the white-lipped peccary up.’

Likewise, intransitive clauses receive agentive markers, which can be expressed by agentive pronouns or be left unmarked.

- (46) **towali ay      **-i**      **-datinan****  
 1SUBJ to go   -VS    -PRET EV  
 ‘I left.’
- (47) **Gabriel ay      **-i**      **-datinan****  
 Gabriel to go   -VS    -PRET EV  
 ‘Gabriel left.’

When the object argument is overtly marked, e.g., with an object pronoun or with the patient marker **-k**, agent-like arguments can be optionally unmarked. However, in transitive sentences, it is usual to find double marking. In intransitive clauses, however, marking is essential to distinguish between analogous verb forms and is therefore obligatory.

- (48) **towali wawal -i      **-dana****  
 1SUBJ to shout -VS    -PRES EV  
 ‘I shout.’
- (49) **t-      wawal -i      **-dana****  
 1OBJ- to shout -VS    -PRES EV  
 ‘I was crying of pain.’

Some verbs, like **ilul** ‘to eat’, can be either transitive or intransitive:

- (50) **hay deypa ilul –a –ntal –i**  
 already snake to eat –VS –PRET NEUT –ASSR  
 ‘The snake already ate.’

In (50), **ilul** ‘to eat’ is intransitive, and therefore **deypa** ‘snake’ is agent. Moreover, the semantics of the verb requires an agent-like subject because **ilul** is a volitional verb and therefore an agent must control the action. In (51), on the other hand, the marking of the arguments is essential to categorize the subject and the object. While **kali** ‘horned frog’ is overtly marked, it is not necessary to mark the subject **deypa** ‘snake’. Although the basic word order is SOV, in (51) the object is dislocated to the first position.

- (51) **kali –ka deypa ilul –a**  
 horned frog –OBJ snake to eat –VS  
**–ntal –i**  
 –PRET NEUT –ASSR  
 ‘The snake ate the horned frog.’

In (52), **deypa** ‘snake’ is marked as an object and therefore undergoes the action undertaken by the agent **koketa** ‘harpy eagle’. In (53), the agent is **deypa** ‘snake’.

- (52) **deypa –k koketa –mi ilul –a**  
 snake –OBJ harpy eagle –REF to eat –VS  
**–ntal –i**  
 –PRET NEUT –ASSR  
 ‘The harpy eagle ate the snake.’

- (53) **koketamaysili –ka deypa ilul –i sa**  
 harpy eagle.younglings –OBJ snake to eat –VS to catch  
**–n –datinan**  
 –VS –PRET EV  
 ‘The snake caught and ate the harpy eagle chicks.’

In sentences (54) and (55), the verb **osa** ‘to give’ requires three arguments, a subject (the giver), an object (the given thing), and an indirect object (to whom the thing is given). The location of indirect object position varies in the sentence, without affecting its meaning: in (54) it occupies the final position, while in (55) it is placed immediately before the verb.

- (54) **Manoel t- osa -n -ntal -i**  
 Manoel 1OBJ- to give -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
**anose -mi**  
 bowl -REF  
 ‘Manoel gave me a bowl.’

- (55) **Manoel anose -mi t- osa -n**  
 Manoel bowl -REF 1OBJ- to give -VS  
**-ntal -i**  
 -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘Manoel gave me a bowl.’

In case a subject is expressed by a full noun (56-57), the object is marked by **-k**. The agent role in these sentences must be animate, which makes clear which element is the subject.

- (56) **Gabriel -mi pata -n -datinan**  
 Gabriel -REF to break -VS -PRET NEUT  
**kapila -k**  
 bottle gourd -OBJ  
 ‘Gabriel broke the bottle gourd.’

- (57) **kapila -k pata -n -ntal -i**  
 bottle gourd -OBJ to break -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
**Gabriel -mi**  
 Gabriel -REF  
 ‘Gabriel broke the bottle gourd.’

When, in a transitive sentence, the agent is expressed by a compound word, the suffix **-k** attaches to the right of the compound.

- (58) **Manoel Gabriel kapila -k pata -n**  
 Manoel Gabriel bottle gourd -OBJ to break -VS  
**-ntal -i**  
 -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘Manoel broke Gabriel’s bottle gourd.’

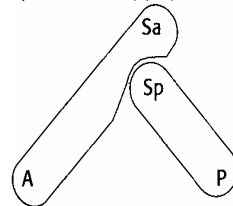
Predicative sentences are those which modify or extend the predicate of a sentence. The verbal adjective sentences describe a non-volitional property or a built-in attribute of the subject. Subjects are patient-like in verbal adjective

sentences. Therefore, such verbal structures demand a patient marker, i.e., a patient personal pronoun or a **-k** marked lexical item.

- (59) **ela -k motu.motu -n -al**  
 moon -OBJ to be round.to be round -VS -PRES NEUT  
**-i**  
 -ASSR  
 ‘The moon is perfectly round.’
- (60) **atipa? -k ilaw -n -al -i**  
 road -OBJ to be big -VS PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘The road is long.’
- (61) **wola t- isun -i -dana**  
 a lot 1OBJ- to be angry -VS -PRES EV  
 ‘I am furious.’
- (62) **m- isayl -i -dana**  
 2OBJ- to be happy -VS -PRES EV  
 ‘You are happy.’

To conclude, Sabanê has a system in which a patientive (**P**) argument of a sentence with multiple arguments and the argument of a predicative sentence are marked by an object-patientive particle **-k**, while a nominal argument of a one-argument sentence (subject - **S**) or sentences with intrinsically agentive pronouns are not overtly marked. This happens when a lexical pronoun or a patient-like argument is overtly marked with **-k**.

Split Intransitivity (Payne 1997)



Therefore, in the terminology of Payne (1997), Sabanê has a system of *Split Intransitivity*. Payne (1997: 144) states ‘The most common split intransitive systems express some **S** arguments in the same way as transitive **A** arguments and others in the same way as transitive **P** arguments’. In the Sabanê system, **S** arguments of certain intransitive verbs (in which **S** is patient) are expressed

(marked by **-k**) in the same way as **P** arguments of transitive sentences (in which **S** is an agent), while **A** arguments as well as **S** arguments of a transitive sentence are unmarked.

Mithun (1991: 512) claims that ‘Such case systems can be the products of successive developments over time, each individually motivated in one way or another. To explain why they show the patterns they do, we must understand not only their static forms but also the dynamic processes that shape them.’ However, the following description is limited to the Sabanê data as it is nowadays. Further research could shed light on the historical development of this system.

In the pronominal system of Sabanê there is an opposition between subject/agent and object/patient pronouns; that is, some pronouns are inherently ‘subject’ while others are intrinsically ‘object’. The only exception is the plural pronoun **pi-**, which can be either subject or object.

The subject/agent pronouns are used with volitional verbs, whereas object/patient pronouns occur with non-volitional verbs. The notion ‘volitional’ is not universal, because it varies from language to language. The pair ‘to eat’/‘to vomit’, for example, exemplifies this opposition. The ‘eating’ act as expressed by **ilul**, is a controlled action in Sabanê, and therefore it requires an agentive pronoun (63). The verb **ilul** ‘to eat’ is used transitively in (63) and intransitively in (64).

- (63) *towali ilul -i -dana*  
*ISUBJ to eat -VS -PRES EV*  
 ‘I eat.’  
 \***tilulidana**

- (64) *towali kiata -k ilul -i -datinan*  
*ISUBJ corn -OBJ to eat -VS -PRET EV*  
 ‘I ate corn.’

The act of ‘vomiting’, expressed by the verbal root **ilup**, in turn, expresses a non-volitional action. Therefore, it requires a patientive pronoun.

- (65) *t- ilup -i -dana*  
*IOBJ- to vomit -VS -PRES EV*  
 ‘I vomit.’  
 \***towali ilupidana**

- (66) **ninu'** **-ka** **t-** **ilup** **-i** **-dana**  
 juice -OBJ 1OBJ- to vomit -VS -PRES EV  
 'I vomited the juice.'  
 \***ninu'**ka towali ilupidana

In (63) and (65), a volitional action sentence with a patientive pronoun and a non-volitional action with an agentive pronoun are judged to be ungrammatical by the Sabanê speakers. Even in a situation in which the use of the verb **ilup** can be interpreted as volitional, for example when someone puts a finger down his throat in order to provoke vomiting, the Sabanê still refuse to use an agentive pronoun. The only accepted meaning for the sentence **towali ilupidana** in (65) is 'I pretend that I am vomiting'.

Table 18 presents the system of agentive and patientive pronouns.

Table 18: Agentive and Patientive Pronouns

	AGT/SUBJ	PAT/OBJ	
		/_V	/_C
1	<b>towali</b>	<b>t-</b>	<b>ta-</b>
PL	<b>pi-</b>	<b>p-</b>	<b>pi-</b>
2	<b>uli</b>	<b>m-</b>	<b>ma-</b>
3	-	-	<b>a-</b>

The first person *agentive* pronoun is **towali**. The first person *patientive* pronoun is realized as **t-** before vowels and glides, and as **ta-** before consonants. This variation suggests that the basic form is /ta-/ and that the vowel is elided before vowels and glides.

- (67) **t-** **osa** **-n**  
 1OBJ- to give -VS  
 'Give it to me.'
- (68) **wayulu -ko** **towali ip** **-i** **-ntal** **-i**  
 jaguar -OBJ 1SUBJ to see -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 'I saw the jaguar.'
- (69) **t-** **ip** **-i** **-ntal** **-a**  
 1OBJ- to see -VS -PRET NEUT -INT  
 'Did s/he see me?'

The second person *agentive* pronoun is **uli**. The second person *patientive* pronoun is realized as **m-** before vowels and glides, and as **ma-** before consonants.

- (70) **m-**    **osa**    **-n**  
 2OBJ- to give -VS  
 ‘Give it to you.’
- (71) **uli**    **a-**    **san**    **-n**    **-ntal**    **-a**  
 2SUBJ 3OBJ- to catch -VS    -PRET NEUT    -INT  
 ‘Did you catch her/him/it?’
- (72) **towali miakali m-**    **osa**    **-n**  
 1SUBJ manioc 2OBJ- to give -VS  
**-ntal**    **-i**  
 -PRET NEUT    -ASSR  
 ‘I gave manioc to you.’
- (73) **uli**    **m-**    **apipa.ta**    **taw**    **-i**    **-datinan**  
 2SUBJ 2POSS- thumb to cut -VS    -PRET EV  
 ‘You cut your (own) thumb.’

The third person agentive pronoun is unmarked, whereas its patientive counterpart is realized as **a-** before consonants and has no overt phonological representation before vowels and glides, as predicted by rule (66).

- (74) **ip**    **-a**    **-ntal**    **-i**  
 to see -VS    -PRET NEUT    -ASSR  
**a-**    **sa**    **-n**    **-ntal**    **-i**  
 3OBJ- to catch -VS    -PRET NEUT    -ASSR  
 ‘S/he saw it and caught it.’  
 (Lit. ‘S/he<sub>i</sub> saw it, s/he<sub>i</sub> caught it.’)
- (75) **osa**    **-n**  
 to give -VS  
 ‘Give it to her/him/it.’
- (76) **wayulu -mi**    **ip**    **-a**    **-ntal**    **-i**  
 jaguar -REF to see -VS    -PRET NEUT    -ASSR  
 ‘The jaguar saw her/him/it.’



- (77) **towali d- yaya isi kal -i**  
 1SUBJ 1POSS- brother hair to cut -VS  
**a- san -n -ntal -i**  
 3OBJ- to catch -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘I (held and) cut my brother’s hair.’

As was mentioned above, the plural pronoun **pi-** can function to mark both agents (78) and patients (79).

- (78) **pi- ma- taw -i -telon**  
 1SUBJ PL- 2OBJ- to cut -VS -FUT EV  
 ‘We are going to cut you.’
- (79) **deypa -mi pi- im -i -tasa -datinan**  
 snake -REF 1OBJ PL- to bite -VS -IMIN -PRET EV  
 ‘A snake almost bit us.’

In some cases the choice of an agentive or a patientive marker is responsible for the difference between a permanent state/characteristic and a temporary state, as for example, the state of being beautiful (non-volitional) and the controlled action of becoming beautiful (by dressing up). Table 19 presents some of these verbs.

Table 19: AGT/PAT

	pronoun AGT	pronoun PAT
<b>ip-</b>	to run ‘I run.’	to be long ‘It is long.’
<b>uni-</b>	be beautiful (volitional) ‘I am beautiful.’	to be beautiful (non-volitional) ‘I am beautiful.’
<b>isayl-</b>	to be heavy ‘I am heavy.’	to be happy ‘I am happy.’
<b>wawal-</b>	to shout ‘I shout.’	to cry (pain) ‘I cry.’
<b>nan-</b>	to meow ‘The cat meows.’	to cry (emotion) ‘I cry.’
<b>is-</b>	to be strong, to be erect ‘My penis is erect.’	to be hard (consistent) ‘The wood is hard.’
<b>yotop-</b>	to know ‘I do not know anything.’	to be smart ‘I am smart.’

Therefore, the Sabanê verbal system is divided into two groups: one which requires agentive arguments and another which requires patientive arguments.

Colloquial Guarani (Gregores & Suárez 1967) and Lakohta (Mithun 1991) have similar systems. In Guarani, there are two first person singular pronouns: a) the pronoun **a** represents an agentive argument in transitive verbs and in some intransitive sentences; and b) the pronoun **še** represents a patientive argument in transitive and some intransitive sentences.

- (80)    **a-xá**                    ‘I go.’  
           **a-gwerú aña**        ‘I am bringing them now.’  
           **še-rasĩ**                ‘I am sick.’  
           **še-reraha**            ‘It will carry me off.’

The choice of the pronoun in intransitive sentences is based on a semantic distinction regarding stativeness or activeness. Lakohta has a similar system, although *verbal prefix pronouns* make distinctions between the two types of case. The prefix **wa-**, for example, denotes agentiveness in transitive sentences while the prefix **ma-** occurs as patient. Many verbs denoting actions require **wa-**, whereas many verbs denoting states demand **ma-**. However, some stative verbs also occur with **wa-**:

- (81)    **wat<sup>h</sup>i**                    ‘I came.’  
           **ináwaxme**            ‘I am hiding.’

In addition, verbs denoting events occur with **ma-**:

- (82)    **mat’é**                    ‘I fainted, died.’  
           **mahíxpaye**            ‘I fell.’

Overall, the Lakohta system can be described as an agentive-patientive system because agentive actions (to dwell, to hide, etc.) require agentive pronouns and undergoer actions (to faint, to fall, etc.) require patient pronouns. Both systems help us to understand the Sabanê system.

#### 4.4 Word Order

In Sabanê, the basic word order of transitive sentences is SOV (SUBJECT-OBJECT-VERB) while in intransitive sentences the default order is SV (SUBJECT-VERB). SP (SUBJECT-PATIENTIVE) and OP (OBJECT-PATIENTIVE) are expressed by nouns

overtly marked by **-k** and lexically patientive pronouns, whilst SA (SUBJECT-AGENTIVE) and SP are either unmarked or expressed by agentive pronouns.

There are three syntactically distinct sentence types: intransitive, transitive, and stative.

#### 4.4.1 Intransitive Sentences

Intransitive sentences have only one argument: SUBJECT-AGENT (SA). In these sentences, the basic word order is SV. Adverbs are optional. In (83), the verb **kan** 'to die' is intransitive and therefore requires only one argument.

- (83) **João kan -n -ntal -i**  
 João to die -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 'João died.'

In (84), there is an adverb in the sentence, although its position is not fixed. The most common position is after the subject.

- (84) **Gabriel ikameyna ay -i -telon**  
 Gabriel tomorrow to go -VS FUT EV  
 'Gabriel is going out tomorrow.'  
 or: **ikameyna Gabriel ayitelon**  
 or: **Gabriel ayitelon ikameyna**

#### 4.4.2 Transitive Sentences

Transitive sentences have two obligatory arguments, one of which behaves like SA and the other like SP. In (85), the transitive verb **ip** 'to see' requires two arguments: an agentive pronoun and an object that is marked by **-k**.

- (85) **towali wayulu -k ip -a -datinan**  
 1SUBJ dog -OBJ to see -VS -PRET EV  
 'I saw a dog.'

Objects in transitive sentences, if expressed by a noun, must be marked with the particle **-k** (86). If the object is expressed by a pronoun, this pronoun must be patientive (87):

- (86) **deypa -k koketa -mi ilul -a**  
 snake -OBJ harpy eagle -REF to eat -VS  
**-ntal -i**  
 -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 'A harpy eagle ate the snake.'
- (87) **yowla -mi ta- taw -i -dana**  
 knife -REF I OBJ- to cut -VS -PRES EV  
 'A knife cut me.'

The subject and the object in a transitive sentence may be unmarked in two circumstances: a) a subject is unmarked when it is a proper noun and the object is marked by **-k** (80); b) the object is optionally unmarked when the sentence contains an inherently patientive pronoun); or (89) the agent is expressed by a proper noun in a non-ambiguous pragmatic context.

- (88) **Josi manala -k hop -a datinan**  
 Josi sieve -OBJ to weave -VS -PRET EV  
 'Josi made a sieve.'
- (89) **uli matowla -k yow -a -datinan**  
 2SUBJ pestle -OBJ to make -VS -PRET EV  
 'You made a pestle.'

Nominal agents are not marked with a suffix. Optionally, the referential suffix occurs to set the limits of the noun domain.

- (90) **Manoel -mi ilakan -i -dana**  
 Manoel -REF to work -VS -PRES EV  
 'Manoel works.'
- Manoel ilakan -i -dana**  
 Manoel to work -VS -PRES EV  
 'Manoel works.'

In the default order, objects precede the verbal phrase. Movement of the object to the end of the sentence is possible but rare.

- (91) **uli kal -i -say -dana gabriel -ka**  
 2SUBJ to cut -VS -PROG -PRES EV Gabriel -OBJ  
 'You are cutting Gabriel.'

In elicited data, objects sometimes occur in the first position, although this happens only rarely.

- (92) **kali**            **-ka**    **deypa** **ilul**    **-a**  
 horned frog    -OBJ    snake    to eat    -VS  
**-ntal**            **-i**  
 -PRET NEUT    -ASSR  
 'A snake ate a frog.'

In complex transitive sentences, one of the arguments can be omitted. In (93), the subject argument **towali** occurs in the first sentence and is omitted in the second one.

- (93) **towali** **d-**    **yaya** **isi**    **kal**    **-i**  
 1SUBJ 1POSS- brother hair    to cut    -VS  
**a-**    **san**    **-n**    **-ntal**            **-i**  
 3OBJ- to catch -VS    -PRET NEUT    -ASSR  
 'I (caught and) cut my brother's hair.'

Furthermore, the third person singular object pronoun argument is morphologically expressed if it precedes a consonant, as shown in the example (94), **a-sa**, or it is not morphologically expressed if it precedes a vowel as in **-ip**.

- (94) (**a-**) **ip**    **-a**    **-ntal**            **-i**  
 (3OBJ-) to see    -VS    -PRET NEUT    -ASSR  
**a-**    **sa**    **-n**    **-ntal**    **-i**  
 3OBJ- to catch -VS    -PRET NEUT    -ASSR  
 'S/he saw it and caught it.'  
 (Lit. 'S/he<sub>i</sub> saw it, s/he<sub>i</sub> caught it.')

The third person singular patientive pronoun can also be omitted, in which case it is also identified on the basis of the pragmatic context.

- (95) **wayulu** **-mi**    **ip**    **-a**    **-ntal**            **-i**  
 jaguar -REF to see -VS    -PRET NEUT    -ASSR  
 'A jaguar saw her/him/it.'

#### 4.4.3 Transitive and Intransitive Sentences

Some sentences require two obligatory patientive arguments, especially those sentences with verbs such as **osa** ‘to give’ and **tia** ‘to speak’.

- (96) **Manoel anose t- osa -n -ntal -i**  
 Manoel bowl 1OBJ- to give -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘Manoel gave me a bowl.’
- (97) **towali miakali m- osa -n -ntal -i**  
 1SUBJ manioc 2OBJ- to give -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘I gave you manioc.’
- (98) **Manoel Ivone -ka Gabriel.kiliwa -ka tia -na**  
 Manoel Ivone -OBJ Gabriel.house -OBJ to speak -VS  
**-datinan**  
 -PRET EV  
 ‘Manoel spoke to Ivone about Gabriel’s house.’

#### 4.4.4 Stative Sentences

Sentences with verbal adjectives, weather verbs, adverbs and numerals in a verbal function and auxiliary verbal roots form the group of stative sentences. In this group, the predicative or the patient-like argument is marked by the particle **-k**.

- (99) **Lino maysunon -k -i -mina -dana**  
 Lino male youngling -OBJ -VS -NEG -PRES EV  
 ‘Lino is not a child (anymore).’
- (100) **ulikapali -k -i -al -i**  
 boss -OBJ -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘S/he is (acts like) the boss.’
- (101) **ulikapali -k -i -mina -ntal -i**  
 boss -OBJ -VS -NEG -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘S/he wasn’t the boss.’

Aspect, tense, and mood particles are attached to the verbal suffix when there is no verbal root. In these cases, the verbal suffix acts as an auxiliary verbal root.

#### 4.4.5 Verbal Adjectives

Verbal adjectives describe some characteristic or property of an argument. Aspect, tense, and mood particles are attached to the verbal suffix, which itself is connected to the verbal adjective. The argument commonly presents a patientive marker.

- (102) **ela -ko motu -n -al -i**  
 moon -OBJ to be round -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘The moon is round.’
- (103) **tapawulu.isi -ki siki -n -dana**  
 clay star -OBJ to be sharp pointed -VS -PRES EV  
 ‘A clay star has sharp points.’
- (104) **da- takipa -ki uni -n**  
 1POSS- marmoset -OBJ to be good -VS  
**-al -i**  
 -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘My marmoset is lovely.’

Adverbs in verbal functions also receive verb-like affixation. They can have two arguments.

- (105) **ano -n -mina -al -i**  
 much/many -VS -NEG -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘There is little.’/ ‘There is some.’
- (106) **iwnuwa -k ano -n -mina**  
 star -OBJ much/many -VS -NEG  
**-al -i**  
 -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘There are few stars.’

- (107) **bala -n -al -i**  
 DUAL -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘There are two.’

Weather verbs do not have overt arguments.

- (108) **amayl -i -al -i**  
 to rain -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘It rains.’

- (109) **tolun -n -ap -al -i**  
 to thunder -VS -ITER -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘It is thundering (constantly).’

- (110) **milut -i -al -i**  
 to lighten -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘There is lightening.’

#### 4.4.6 Existential Constructions

Existential constructions express ownership on the part of the subject. In Sabanê, nominal constructions are used to express ownership in the present tense. These constructions are formed by concatenating the referential suffix to a (possessed) noun. Although the sequences (111-114) lack aspect, tense, and mood suffixes, they are interpreted as regular present tense sentences.

- (111) **da- kiliwa -mali**  
 1POSS- house -REF  
 ‘This is my house.’
- (112) **a- yata -mali**  
 3POSS- wife -REF  
 ‘This is his wife.’
- (113) **Manoel kiliwa -mali**  
 Manoel house -REF  
 ‘Manoel has a house.’



- (114) **d- yata wayulu -mali**  
 1POSS- wife dog -REF  
 'My wife has a dog.'

The same construction can have aspect, tense, and mood suffixes when it expresses a past tense existential phrase. However, in these cases it resembles an auxiliary verbal root sentence.

- (115) **d- yata wayulu -mi -ntal -i**  
 1POSS- wife dog -REF -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 'My wife had a dog.'

#### 4.4.7 Serial Verbs

When an identical agent/subject is involved in two actions in coordinated sentences, the verbs can be concatenated in which case only the last one receives all verbal suffixes. This is shown in (116).

- (116) **Manoel alisin -n ip -i -datinan**  
 Manoel to jump -VS to run -VS -PRET EV  
 'Manoel ran and jumped.'

In (117), each verb has its own argument and therefore they are not strictly serial.

- (117) **towali alisin -n t- iney -i**  
 1SUBJ to jump -VS 1OBJ- to fall -VS  
**-ntal -i**  
 -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 'I jumped and fell.'

#### 4.5 Coordinate Clauses

Coordinated clauses can be divided into additive and adversative clauses.

##### 4.5.1 Additive Clauses

Additive clauses have only one tense/aspect/mood component attached to the last verb, if both verbs express the same tense and if they have the same

arguments. For example, in (118), the verbs, **ilul**, and **iney** are both related to the argument **towali**.

- (118) **towali wola ilul -i ineý -i -dana**  
 1SUBJ a lot to eat -VS to drink -VS -PRES EV  
 ‘I eat and drink a lot.’

However, if tense or arguments are distinct, each sentence has its own TAM structure. In this case, sentences are just concatenated. There is no coordinating morpheme like ‘and’.

- (119) **hay Manoel ay -i -datinan**  
 already Manoel to go -VS -PRET EV  
**ileypelu towali ay -i -telon**  
 now 1SUBJ to go -VS -FUT EV  
 ‘Manoel is already gone and I am leaving now.’

#### 4.5.2 Adversative Clauses

Two concatenated adversative sentences have a tense/aspect/mood component each, even though, as in (120), their tense (**dana**) and subject (**towali**) are the same.

- (120) **towali ilul -i -dana towali ineý -i**  
 1SUBJ to eat -VS -PRES EV 1SUBJ to drink -VS  
**-mina -dana**  
 -NEG -PRES EV  
 ‘I ate but I didn’t drink.’

Adversativeness is expressed by concatenation of positive and negative sentences.

- (121) **t- hamo -n -mina -tan -ntal**  
 1OBJ- to push -VS -NEG -DES -PRET NEUT  
**-i t- hamo -n -datinan**  
 -ASSR 1OBJ- to push -VS -PRET EV  
 ‘S/he didn’t want to push me, but s/he did.’

- (122) **uli payleto -k ip -i -tika**  
 2SUBJ ghost -OBJ to see -VS -PASS INF  
**a- tia -n -mina -datinan**  
 3OBJ- to speak -VS -NEG -PRET EV  
 ‘You saw a ghost but you didn’t tell her/him.’

#### 4.6 Comparative Clauses

In order to compare properties or states of affair, Sabanê does not use any lexical comparative items or derivational suffixes. Comparative clauses are usually formed through the juxtaposition of simple sentences, one of which is affirmative and the other negative.

- (123) **Gabriel -k isayl -i -dana**  
 Gabriel -OBJ to be heavy -VS -PRES EV  
**Manoel -k isayl -i -mina -dana**  
 Manoel -OBJ to be heavy -VS -NEG -PRES EV  
 ‘Gabriel is heavier than Manoel.’  
 (Lit. Gabriel is heavy, Manoel isn’t.)
- (124) **towali ip -a -ntal -i**  
 1SUBJ to run -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
**uli ip -a -mina -ntal -i**  
 2SUBJ to run -VS -NEG -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘I run harder than you.’  
 (Lit. ‘I run, you didn’t.’)
- (125) **wayulu kanin -n -dana**  
 dog to be big -VS -PRES EV  
**wayulupi kanin -n -mina -dana**  
 cat to be big -VS -NEG -PRES EV  
 ‘Dogs are bigger than cats.’  
 (Lit. ‘Dogs are big, cats aren’t.’)

Absolute comparison is obtained by the juxtaposition of two similar affirmative (positive) sentences. One of the sentences must have an adverb in order to sanction it as the ‘winning’ sentence in the comparison.

- (126) **Josi wola ilul -i -dana**  
 Josi a lot to eat -VS -PRES EV  
**Lino ilul -i -dana**  
 Lino to eat -VS -PRES EV  
 ‘Josi eats more than Lino.’  
 (Lit. ‘Josi eats a lot, Lino eats.’)

#### 4.7 Subordinate Clauses

##### 4.7.1 Relative Clauses

Subordinate clauses have the same constituent order as simple or coordinated clauses, since verbal suffixes appear in the same position. Subordinate clauses may be subordinated to a noun or to a nominalized verb. The sentence in (127) is relativized to the nominalized form **kan-i-ta-mi** to die-VS-ACNNR-REF ‘dead body’.

- (127) **kan.i.ta.mi {m- ip -i -datinan}**  
 dead (body) 2OBJ- to see -VS -PRET EV  
**m- yaya -mi -datinan**  
 2POSS- brother -REF -PRET EV  
 ‘The corpse {that you have seen} is your brother’s.’

Objects can also be relativized, as shown in (128):

- (128) **miakali -ka {hala.n.ta.mi} t- ilup -a**  
 manioc -OBJ putrid 1OBJ- to vomit-VS  
**-datinan**  
 -PRET EV  
 ‘I vomited the manioc {which was putrid}.’

Headless sentences can be formed by nominalization.

- (129) **hilikan -n -bi -ta -mi**  
 to play -VS -PATNR -ACNNR-REF  
 ‘Player/The one who plays.’

#### 4.7.2 Temporal Clauses

Sabanê forms a temporal subordinate clause through prefixation of the morpheme **nat-** ‘when/while’ to the subordinate clause:

- (130) **nat-** **-i-** **t-** **inan** **-n** **-tapanal** **-i**  
 TEMP- LINK- OBJ- to grow -VS -FUT NEUT -ASSR  
**towali ulikapali -n telon**  
 1SUBJ boss -VS -FUT EV  
 ‘I am going to be the leader, when I grow older.’

Commonly, subordinate clauses precede main clauses, although this is not obligatory. In the following example, a temporal subordinate clause follows the main clause.

- (131) **towali kwina yey -i -misina-datinan**  
 1SUBJ quiet to stay -VS -NEG -PRET EV  
**nat- ul yey -i -tika**  
 TEMP- LOC to stay -VS -PASS INF  
 ‘I would not calm down while she was there.’

**towali amun -i -misina-datinan**  
 1SUBJ to sleep -VS -NEG -PRET EV  
**nat- ul yey -i -tika**  
 TEMP- LOC to stay -VS -PASS INF  
 ‘While she was there, I would not sleep.’

#### 4.7.3 Temporal Consecutive Clauses

The conjunction **kayl(a)-** ‘after’ converts a sentence into a temporal consecutive subordinate clause ‘CONS’ in which it is prefixed to the verb that carries the tense/aspect/mood suffix. In (132) there is only one TAM group of particles because the argument and tense categories are the same.

- (132) **towali -mi ilul -i kayl- amu -n telon**  
 1SUBJ -REF to eat -VS CONS- to sleep -VS -FUT EV  
 ‘I am going to eat, and after that sleep.’

In case of different tenses or agents, the prefix **kayl(a)**– occurs between the clauses. In (133-134) there are two TAM groups of particles because the argument and tense category are different.

- (133) **Ivone kila –k hipiw –i –say**  
 Ivone macaw –OBJ to pluck the feathers of –VS –PROG  
**–dana kayla– kalit –i –telon**  
 –PRES EV CONS– to cook –VS –FUT EV  
 ‘Ivone is plucking the macaw’s feathers and then she is going to cook it.’

- (134) **Manoel doda –ka kan –n**  
 Manoel white-lipped peccary –OBJ to kill –VS  
**–tika kayla– kiliwa –ka sa –n –datinan**  
 –PASS INF CONS– house –OBJ to catch –VS –PRET EV  
 ‘Manoel killed a white-lipped peccary and afterwards took it home.’

#### 4.7.4 Concessive Clauses

The conjunction **to–** ‘CONC–’ is used to express the meaning ‘although/in spite of/nevertheless’. The concessive subordinate clause usually opposes two sentences.

- (135) **amayl –i –say –dana**  
 to rain –VS –PROG –PRES EV  
**to– towali ay –i dana**  
 CONC– 1SUBJ to go –VS –PRES NEUT  
 ‘Despite the fact that it is raining, I go.’

The prefix **to–** also occurs in sentences with different tense suffixes:

- (136) **t– hamo –n –mina –tan –tika**  
 1OBJ– to push –VS –NEG –DES –PASS INF  
**to– t– hamo –n –datinan**  
 CONC– 1OBJ– to push –VS –PRET EV  
 ‘Although s/he didn’t want to push me, s/he did.’

## 5 Adverbs

### 5.1 Introduction

Adverbs are divided into two classes in Sabanê. The first class has real adverbs that behave like independent prosodic words, while the second is formed by adverbs that are used only in verbal function.

### 5.2 Free Adverbs

The first class of adverbs includes free morphemes, which express adverbial notions like mood and time (01). Adverb types like **wola** and **sukwin**, which will be described separately below, have positional restrictions, and are therefore not free morphemes in a broader sense.

(01)	<b>hinama</b>	‘suddenly’
	<b>hay</b>	‘already’
	<b>holiapa</b>	‘far’
	<b>hiaka</b>	‘near’
	<b>iley</b>	‘early’
	<b>ileyhilon</b>	‘tomorrow morning’
	<b>ileypelu</b>	‘now’, ‘today’
	<b>ileytika</b>	‘yesterday’
	<b>ikameyna</b>	‘tomorrow’
	<b>tamay</b>	‘over’
	<b>tuni</b>	‘inside’
	<b>yalakanin</b>	‘slowly’
	<b>sukwin</b>	‘little’
	<b>wola</b>	‘a lot’

Adverbs of this type can occupy any position in the sentence, i.e., possible orders vary from ADV-S-O-V (basic), S-ADV-O-V, S-O-ADV-V to S-O-V-ADV. These adverbs differ either morphologically or syntactically from nouns and verbs. Compared to nouns, adverbs do not require a referential suffix nor do they allow attachment of any nominal affix, like pronouns or classifiers. Adverbs of this type cannot be used as arguments. They do not allow attachment of any verbal suffix.

Adverbs in this class are independent prosodic words, that is, they have their own primary stress, and their boundaries are preserved at word edges. Below I will present adverbs from this class individually.

The morpheme **hinama** ‘suddenly’ expresses an unforeseen action:

- (02) **hinama**      **t-**      **ilup**    **-i**      **-datinan**  
 suddenly          1OBJ-    to vomit-VS      -PRET EV  
 ‘Suddenly I vomited.’
- (03) **uli**    **has**    **-i**      **-datinan**      **hinama**  
 2SUBJ    to pull   -VS      -PRET EV          suddenly  
 ‘You pulled it suddenly.’
- (04) **towali** **hinama**          **hamo**    **-n**      **-datinan**  
 1SUBJ    suddenly              to push -VS      -PRET EV  
 ‘I pushed her/him/it suddenly.’

The adverb **hay** ‘already’ expresses an action that happened by a specified time:

- (05) **hay**    **ilup**    **-a**      **-ntal**          **-i**  
 already    to vomit-VS      -PRET NEUT      -ASSR  
 ‘S/he already vomited.’
- (06) **towali** **hay**    **iteyn**                  **-n**      **-ntal**          **-i**  
 1SUBJ    already    to defecate              -VS      -PRET NEUT      -ASSR  
 ‘I already defecated.’
- (07) **uli**    **hay**    **ilul**    **-i**      **-say**    **-al**          **-a**  
 2SUBJ    already    to eat    -VS      -PROG    -PRES NEUT      -INT  
 ‘Are you already eating?’

The free morpheme **holiapa** ‘far’ expresses the fact that an object or a person is at a considerable distance of the referent.

- (08) **a-**      **papiayta**          **holiapa**          **kan**    **-n**      **-datinan**  
 3POSS-    village              far                  to die    -VS      -PRET EV  
 ‘He died far away from his village.’



- (09) **holiapa towali wayulu –ka ot –a –datinan**  
 FAR 1SUBJ dog –OBJ to find –VS –PRES EV  
 ‘I found this dog far away from home.’

The free morpheme **hiaka** ‘near’ expresses the fact that something or someone is at a short distance of the referent.

- (10) **hiaka towali ip –a –ntal –i**  
 near 1SUBJ to see –vs –PRET NEUT –ASSR  
**wayulu –ka**  
 jaguar –OBJ  
 ‘I saw a jaguar nearby (here).’
- (11) **hiaka –na ninu?mata –n –al –i**  
 near –LOC lagoon –vs –PRES NEUT –ASSR  
 ‘There is a lagoon nearby.’

The morpheme **iley** ‘early’ expresses the fact that an action took place at an early time in the past.

- (12) **towali iley ilul –i –datinan**  
 1SUBJ EARLY to eat –VS –PRES EV  
 ‘I ate early.’
- (13) **iley ay –i –datinan**  
 early to go –VS –PRES EV  
 ‘S/he left early’.

The morpheme **ileyhilon** express the temporal notion ‘tomorrow morning’. This morpheme can be used only with future tense particles.

- (14) **towali ileyhilon may –i –telon**  
 1SUBJ tomorrow morning to walk –VS –FUT EV  
 ‘I am leaving tomorrow morning.’
- (15) **ileyhilon doda –ki pi–**  
 tomorrow morning white-lipped peccary –OBJ PL–  
**osanap –i –telon**  
 to share –VS –FUT EV  
 ‘We are going to divide the wild boar tomorrow morning.’

The word **ileypelu** ‘today/now’ expresses an action at the present time or at a time that is very near:

- (16) **ileypelu**      **ilul**      **-i**      **-tapanal**      **-i**  
 today/now      to eat      -VS      -FUT NEUT      -ASSR  
 ‘S/he will eat now.’
- (17) **ileypelu**      **amayl**      **-i**      **-al**      **-a**  
 today/now      to rain      -VS      -PRES NEUT      -INT  
 ‘Is it raining today?’
- (18) **ileypelu**      **a-**      **kalit**      **-i**      **-al**      **-i**  
 today/now      3OBJ-      to cook      -VS      -PRES NEUT      -ASSR  
 ‘S/he cooks it now.’
- (19) **ileypelu**      **kamayki**      **-n**      **-al**      **-i**  
 today/now      to dry      -VS      -PRES NEUT      -ASSR  
 ‘It is the dry season now.’

The morpheme **ileytika** ‘yesterday’ refers to the day before the present day or to a recent period in the past.

- (20) **ileytika**      **amayl**      **-i**      **-datinan**  
 yesterday      to rain      -VS      -PRET EV  
 ‘It rained yesterday/recently.’
- (21) **ileytika**      **wola**      **nan**      **-n**      **-datinan**  
 yesterday      a lot      to cry      -VS      -PRET EV  
 ‘Yesterday, s/he cried a lot.’
- (22) **malia** **t-**      **osa**      **-n**      **-ntal**      **-i**  
 Maria 1OBJ-      to give      -VS      -PRET NEUT      -ASSR  
**miakali**      **ileytika**  
 manioc      yesterday  
 ‘Yesterday, Maria gave me manioc.’

The free morpheme **ikameyna** ‘tomorrow’ expresses the notion of near future or the day following today.

- (23) **amayl -i -mina -telon ikameyna**  
 to rain -VS -NEG -FUT EV tomorrow  
 'It is not going to rain in the next few days.'
- (24) **ikameyna towali towakali? -ku sul**  
 tomorrow 1SUBJ caiman -OBJ to hunt  
**-i -telon**  
 -VS -FUT EV  
 'Tomorrow I am going to hunt caimans.'
- (25) **ikameyna ay -i -tapanal -i**  
 tomorrow to go -VS -FUT NEUT -ASSR  
 'S/he will go tomorrow.'

The free adverb **tamay** 'over' expresses the fact that something or someone is at a position above or higher than the referent.

- (26) **daliwulu tamay m- anasi yey -i -dana**  
 hat over 2POSS- head stay -VS -PRES EV  
 'The hat must stay above your head.'
- (27) **bose tamay waylinon -na yey -i -telon**  
 fish over girau -LOC stay -VS -FUT EV  
 'The fish is going to be over the girau.'

The native speakers usually express the notion 'under' through a litotic construction of 'over'.

- (28) **powaypulu tamay m- owayna**  
 fun over 2POSS- foot  
**yey -i mina -dana**  
 stay -VS -NEG -PRES EV  
 'The fun must stay under your feet.'  
 (Lit. The fun must not stay over your feet.)
- (29) **bose tamay yopanon -na yey -i**  
 fish over fireplace -LOC stay -VS  
**-mina -telon**  
 -FUT EV  
 'The fish is going to be under the fireplace.'

The adverb **tuni** ‘inside’ expresses the notion of an inner or interior part of something.

- (30) **tuni uli amun -a -ntal -a**  
 inside 2SUBJ to sleep -VS -PRET NEUT -INT  
 ‘Did you sleep inside (the house)?’

- (31) **towali tuni amun -a -mina -datinan**  
 1SUBJ inside to sleep -VS -NEG -PRET EV  
 ‘No, I did not sleep inside (the house).’

The free morpheme **yalakanin** expresses the notion of slowness:

- (32) **yalakanin ninu? -k inay -i -datinan**  
 slowly juice -OBJ to drink -VS -PRET EV  
 ‘S/he drank the juice slowly.’

- (33) **ip -i -datinan yalakanin**  
 to run -VS -PRET EV slowly  
 ‘S/he ran slowly.’

- (34) **kolowapi -k towali yalakanin has -i**  
 string -OBJ 1SUBJ slowly to pull -VS  
**-datinan**  
 -PRET EV  
 ‘I pulled the string slowly.’

The morpheme **sukwin** ‘little’ is also a free adverb.

- (35) **sukwin amayl -i -datinan**  
 little to rain -VS -PRET EV  
 ‘It rained a little.’

- (36) **sukwin ilul -a -ntal -i**  
 little to eat -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘S/he ate a little.’

- (37) **towali sukwin ilul -a -ntal -i**  
 1SUBJ little to eat -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘I ate a little.’

Nonetheless, **sukwin** is a suffix component in nominal compounds as well. In these cases, **sukwin** shares certain properties with the diminutive suffix **-mata**. However, differently than **-mata**, classifiers are usually attached to **sukwin**.

- (38) **kolu?kolu?**                      **sukwin -takata**                      **-mi**  
 (a pair of) scissors                      little    -CL: LONG                      -REF  
 ‘small scissors’
- (39) **apiawa**                      **sukwin -tiawa**                      **-mi**  
 wooden bark                      little    -CL: BARK                      -REF  
 ‘small wooden bark’

Therefore, **sukwin** is an adverb as well as a noun suffix, depending on its position and function.

The free morpheme **wola** ‘a lot’ shares most of its characteristics with the other adverbs of this class: it is an independent prosodic word and its boundaries are preserved in contact with other boundaries. However, it receives the nominal augmentative suffix **-ta**. The resulting form **wolata** is an emphatic version of **wola**. The particles **wola** and **wolata** reject any other nominal suffix, such as the referential suffix.

- (40) **wola**    **amayl -i**                      **-al**                      **-i**  
 a lot    to rain    -VS                      -PRES NEUT                      -ASSR  
 ‘It rains a lot.’
- (41) **wolata**                      **amayl -i**                      **-al**                      **-i**  
 a lot more                      to rain    -VS                      -PRES NEUT                      -ASSR  
 ‘It is raining very hard.’

Furthermore, **wola** and **wolata** normally occur in pre-verbal position and dislocation from that position results in ungrammaticality.

- (42) **towali wola ayp -i -datinan**  
 1SUBJ a lot to dig -VS                      -PRET EV  
 ‘I dug a lot.’  
 \***towali aypidatinan wola**  
 \***wola towali aypidatinan**

In a sentence, adverbs of this type can be freely dislocated, except **wola** and **wolata**. This indicates that **wola** is structurally bound to the verbal domain. However, primary stress is assigned to the morpheme **wola** [ˈwoːla] independently, which indicates that it forms a word domain. Furthermore, the final vowel in **wola** is stable, i.e., it is not elided in any circumstance. Additionally, all verbal affixes<sup>1</sup> (in a verbal domain) are stressless. Therefore, **wola** cannot be regarded as part of the verbal domain.

### 5.3 Bound Adverbs

The second class of adverbs generally includes bound morphemes. Most of these are adverbs in verbal function, i.e., they are root-like forms, e.g., **ano**, **amulu**, **bala**, and **kata**. One morpheme, the negative particle **–misina**, is a suffix attached to the verbal theme. The common properties of this class of adverbs are that each of them has special characteristics that make it impossible to classify them as either a free adverb or a verb.

- (43)    **ano**                    ‘much’/‘many’  
           **amulu**                ‘only’  
           **bala**                    DUAL  
           **kata**                    ‘one’ (singulative)

**–misina, –mina** NEG

Bound adverbs do not share the same morphological and syntactic characteristics with verbal roots. For example, bound pronouns cannot be attached to adverbs like **ano** ‘much/many’.

- (44)    **ano**                    **–i**            **–al**            **–i**  
           much/many        –VS        –PRES NEUT    –ASSR  
           **naysunun**        **–ka**  
           land                    –OBJ  
           ‘There is plenty of land.’

<sup>1</sup> Except preterit neutral tense **–ntal** (cf. section 2.5).

- (45) \***t-**    **ano**                    **-I**    **-al**  
 1POSS- much/many            -VS    -PRES NEUT  
**-i**    **naysunun**            **-ka**  
 -ASSR land                    -OBJ  
 \*‘I have a huge (piece of) land.’

The adverb **ano-n-mina** ‘few’ is formed through negation of **ano** ‘much/many’. Litotic constructions like this are common in Sabanê.

- (46) **ano**                    **-n**    **-mina** **-al**                    **-i**  
 much/many            -VS    -NEG    -PRES NEUT            -ASSR  
 ‘There are few.’/ ‘There are some.’
- (47) **iwnuua** **-k**    **ano**                    **-n**    **-mina**  
 star    -OBJ    much/many            -VS    -NEG  
**-al**                    **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT            -ASSR  
 ‘There are few stars.’

The morpheme **amulu** can be either a verbal adverb (44) or an adverb (45-46). In its verbal function, **amulu** behaves like **ano**, whereas in its adverb function, **amulu** behaves like **wola**. This means that **amulu** is neither a full verbal root, nor a free adverb.

- (48) **amulu** **-n**            **-al**                    **-i**  
 only    -VS            -PRES NEUT            -ASSR  
 ‘There is only one!’
- (49) **amulu** **t-**            **ilup**    **-a**            **-ntal**                    **-i**  
 only    1OBJ-    to vomit-VS            -PRET NEUT            -ASSR  
 ‘I was the only one who vomited.’  
 (Context: some people ate spoiled food, many got sick, but I was the only one who vomited.)
- (50) **da-**    **maysunon**            **amulu** **kata**            **-n**  
 1POSS-    youngling male    only    one            -VS  
**-al**                    **-i**  
 -PRES NEUT            -ASSR  
 ‘I have only one (child) boy.’

Finally, the morpheme **bala** 'DUAL' is related to or indicates two people or things. It has the same structural features as **ano** (cf. section 3.1.5).

- (51) **bala -n -al -i**  
 DUAL -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'It is two.'

Apart from free and bound adverbs, root reduplication also has an adverbial effect. In this case, root reduplication implies intensity.

- (52) **d- oto -k siki -n**  
 1POSS- arrow -OBJ to be sharp pointed -VS  
**-al -i**  
 -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'My arrow has a sharp point.'

- (53) **d- oto -k siki.siki**  
 1POSS- arrow -OBJ to be sharp pointed.to be sharp pointed  
**-n -al -i**  
 -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'My arrow has a very sharp point.'

- (54) **tapulisi -ko motu -n -al -i**  
 stone -OBJ to be round -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'The stone is round.'

- (55) **tapulisi -ko motu.motu -n**  
 stone -OBJ to be round.to be round -VS  
**-al -i**  
 -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 'The stone is perfectly round.'



## 6 Interrogatives

### 6.1 Introduction

The Sabanê language has two major morphosyntactic strategies to form an interrogative utterance. The first strategy is by using an interrogative suffix **-a**, as already described in the section 3.3.8.1 and briefly summarized below. The second way is by employing question word particles. The interrogative suffix occurs simultaneously with a question word particle. Therefore, in this study, an interrogative word is any question word element or an interrogative suffix.

Besides, there are other minor strategies to express interrogativeness, such as by tense and evidentiality suffixes and intonation. As far as the tense and evidentiality system is concerned, the interrogative suffix can be attached only to neutral sentences; hence, evidential tenses are inherently affirmative and prohibit (morphosyntactically) any attempt to inquire into the factuality of the state of affairs.

### 6.2 Interrogative Suffix

The interrogative suffix **-a** 'INT' is added to sentences with *neutral* tense morphemes as **-np**, **-ntal**, **-al** and **-tapanal**. This suffix is the counterpart of the assertive suffix **-i** 'ASSR': both occupy the same position and they rule each other out. Example (01) expresses this opposition:

(01) **iney** **-i** **-ntal** **-i**  
to fall -VS -PRET NEUT -ASSR  
'S/he fell.'

**iney** **-i** **-ntal** **-a**  
to fall -VS -PRET NEUT -INT  
'Did s/he fall?'  
**\*ineyntali** + intonation

Semantically and morphologically, only neutral tense sentences allow the interrogative suffix. In (02-05), this is exemplified with each one of these morphemes:

- (02) **nan -i -ntal -a**  
 to cry -VS -PRET NEUT -INT  
 'Did s/he cry?'
- (03) **nan -i -np -a**  
 to cry -VS -PRET NEUT INF -INT  
 'Did s/he cry?'
- (04) **nan -i -al -a**  
 to cry -VS -PRES NEUT -INT  
 'Does s/he cry?'
- (05) **nan -i -tapanal -a**  
 to cry -VS -FUT NEUT -INT  
 'Will s/he cry?'

Evidential tenses involving **-datinan**, **-tika**, **-dana** and **-telon** do not allow assertive or interrogative affixation. Evidential sentences rule out the possibility of questioning their inherent truthfulness value. As shown in (06), the interrogative suffix cannot be attached to an evidential sentence.

- (06) **\*nanidatinana**  
**\*nan -i -datinan -a**  
 to cry -VS -PRET EV -INT  
 'Did s/he cry?'

Intonation is an integral part of the interrogative suffix, because phrasal stress must be assigned to the interrogative suffix in these sentences. This results in a rising sentence-final pitch. However, the duration of this element cannot be measured because final syllables can be naturally lengthened and this environment is difficult to control in experiments.

Interrogative sentences have two types of answers. These sentences necessarily are neutral tense-marked; however, depending on which evidentiality source is available to the speaker, the answer can involve neutral or evidential tense. Therefore, the question in (07) **uli ayisayala** 'Are you leaving?' has two possible answers: a neutral one (08) or an evidential one (09).

- (07) **uli ay -i -say -al -a**  
 2SUBJ to go -VS -PROG -PRES NEUT -INT  
 'Are you leaving?'

Possible answers:

- (08) **towali ay -i -al -i**  
 1SUBJ to go -VS -PRES NEUT -ASSR  
 ‘Yes, I am leaving.’
- (09) **towali ay -i -dana**  
 1SUBJ to go -VS -PRES EV  
 ‘Yes, I am leaving.’

In many languages, interrogative sentences may require or accept a yes/no answer. In Sabanê, however, every answer must involve all sentence-obligatory elements. The negative morpheme is a bound morpheme and there is no free negative morpheme. On the other hand, the speakers make use of a ‘positive’ morpheme in two situations: the morpheme **hay**<sup>1</sup> ‘already’ or the acquiescence ideophone **hum-hum** is employed as ‘yes’. A positive answer is possible although highly marked.

- (10) **uli ay -i -say -al -a**  
 2SUBJ to go -VS -PROG -PRES NEUT -INT  
 ‘Are you leaving?’
- (11) **\*Mina**  
 ‘No.’
- (12) **?Hay or ?Hum-hum.**  
 ‘Yes.’ ‘Yes.’

An abrupt gasp, such as **eh**, phonetically transcribed as [hẽh], followed by a rising intonation is the way to signal that the speaker is waiting for an acquiescence answer.

- (13) **uli ay -i -say -al -i -eh?**  
 2SUBJ to go -VS -PROG -PRES NEUT -ASSR -TAG  
 ‘Are you leaving?’  
 Expected answer: ‘yes’.

<sup>1</sup> Lowe (1999: 284) reports that, in Kithãulhu, the interjection *hai<sup>3</sup>yo<sup>2-1</sup>* means ‘Right!, OK!’. This is similar to the Sabane interjection **hay**.

Another type of validation sentence (in which the hearer must confirm or deny a statement) is expressed by the tag question particle **-eh** following the interrogative suffix **-a**. In this case, the tag question is more negative-like.

- (14) **uli ay -i -say -al -a -eh?**  
 2SUBJ to go -VS -PROG -PRES NEUT -INT -TAG  
 ‘You are leaving, aren’t you?’

In general, tag questions require complete sentences, although positive answers are common as well.

### 6.3 Question Words

Question word particles indicate which piece of information is being requested from the hearer or mark a sentence as interrogative. Table 20 presents the question word particles of Sabanê.

Table 20: Question words

animate	<b>atel-</b>	‘who’/‘whose’
neutre	<b>ate-</b>	‘what’/‘who’/‘whose’
neutre	<b>ates-</b>	‘what’
reason	<b>kate-</b>	‘why’
mood/time	<b>nat-</b>	‘how’/‘when’
place	<b>pays-</b>	‘where’
place	<b>pay-</b>	‘where to/from’
generic	<b>tia-</b>	‘which’
time	<b>tia-</b>	‘when’

In Sabanê, the first function is expressed by actual question words while the second function is expressed by the interrogative suffix. Even though in many languages these particles are classified as adverbs or pronouns, I will not assume this position here. Nevertheless, these particles do not share characteristics either with adverbs or with pronouns.

The animate vs. neutre opposition holds for the particle **atel-** ‘who’, which usually refers to beings, things or objects, and to **ate-** ‘who’, **ates-** ‘what’, which refer to human beings or animals (animate).

- (15) **atelikiliwami nala**  
**atel-**            **-i-**        **kiliwa**   **-mi**    **-n**  
 QW: whose-       -LINK-   house   -REF   -VS  
**-al**                **-a**  
 -PRES NEUT       -INT  
 ‘Whose house is it?’
- (16) **atepilulitapanala**  
**ate-**                **pi-**        **ilul**        **-i**        **-tapanal**        **-a**  
 QW: what-        PL-        to eat    -VS       -FUT NEUT       -INT  
 ‘What will we eat?’
- (17) **atesimanasi myeyiala**  
**ates-**                **-i-**        **m-**        **anasi**    **m-**        **yey**  
 QW: what NH-    -LINK-   2POSS-   head   2OBJ-   stay  
**-i**        **-al**                **-a**  
 -VS       -PRES NEUT       -INT  
 ‘What do you have in mind?’
- (18) **kateayisaila**  
**kate-**                **ay**        **-i**        **-say**    **-al**                **-a**  
 QW: why-        to go    -VS       -PROG   -PRES NEUT       -INT  
 ‘Why is s/he leaving?’
- (19) **natamuntala**  
**nat-**                **amu**    **-n**        **-ntal**                **-a**  
 QW: when-        to sleep -VS       -PRET NEUT       -INT  
 ‘When did s/he sleep?’
- (20) **paysimamunala**  
**pays-**                **-i-**        **m-**        **amu**    **-n**  
 QW: where-       -LINK-   2OBJ-   to sleep -VS  
**-al**                **-a**  
 -PRES NEUT       -INT  
 ‘Where do you sleep?’

- (21) **tianoseka hanomintala**  
**tia-** **anose** **-ka** **hanom** **-i**  
 QW: which- bowl -OBJ to choose -VS  
**-ntal** **-a**  
 -PRET NEUT -INT  
 'Which bowl did s/he choose?'
- (22) **tiaymalia kantala**  
**tiay-** **malia** **kan** **-n** **-ntal** **-a**  
 QW: when- Maria to die -VS -PRET NEUT -INT  
 'When did Maria die?'
- (23) **natasantala**  
**nat-** **uli** **a-** **sa** **-n** **-ntal**  
 QW: how- 2SUBJ 3OBJ- to catch -VS -PRET NEUT  
**-a**  
 -INT  
 'How did you catch it?'
- Question word particles are obligatorily attached to the first element of the sentence.
- (24) **paygabriel mayitapanala**  
**pay-** **gabriel** **may** **-i** **-tapanal** **-a**  
 QW: where- Gabriel to walk -VS -FUT NEUT -INT  
 'Where is Gabriel going to?'
- (25) **atesimamanasi myeyiala**  
**ates-** **-i-** **m-** **anasi** **m-** **yey**  
 QW: what NH- -LINK- 2POSS- head 2 OBJ- stay  
**-i** **-al** **-a**  
 -VS -PRES NEUT -INT  
 'What do you have in mind?'
- (26) **atesipintala**  
**ates-** **ip** **-i** **-ntal** **-a**  
 QW: what NH- to see -VS -PRET NEUT -INT  
 'What did s/he see?'

Prosodically, question word particles belong to their host's domain, i.e., they are not regarded as prosodic domains themselves. Adverbs in sentences with question word particles are usually dislocated to the end of the sentence.

- (27) **paysimayintala ileytika**  
**pays-**            **-i-**    **may**    **-i**        **-ntal**        **-a**  
 QW: where to-    -LINK- to walk -VS        -PRET NEUT    -INT  
**ileytika**  
 yesterday  
 'Where s/he did walk to yesterday?'

When a question word particle ends in a consonant and the following word starts with a consonant, a linking vowel [i] appears (28). When the next morpheme starts with a vowel or a glide, and the question word particle ends in a vowel, its final vowel is elided (29).

- (28) **paysidodaka taliwintala**  
**pays-**            **-i-**    **kokwayli**        **-ka**    **taliw**    **-i**  
 QW: where-        -LINK- horse            -OBJ    to bury -VS  
**-ntal**            **-a**  
 -PRET NEUT        -INT  
 'Where was the horse buried?'
- (29) **katyowlotami nala**  
**kate-**            **yowlota-ki**    **tapun**            **-n**  
 QW: why-            machete-OBJ    to be black        -VS  
**-al**            **-a**  
 -PRES NEUT        -INT  
 'Why is the machete dirty?'

For Latundê, Telles (2002: 340) points out that the interrogative marker **ã-** is part of every question word particle. In Sabanê, a similar suffix **-a** occurs at the end of every interrogative sentence, either in the presence of a question word or alone. Therefore, one might suggest that every question word in Sabanê has the same marker as in Latundê; in the latter, this occurs sentence-finally, and in the former, it occurs sentence-initially.





## 7 Conclusion

The Nambikwara linguistic family is classified as isolated. This means that with our current state of knowledge, it is not possible to provide convincing evidence for establishing some linguistic affiliation with other linguistic families or groups. From this perspective, by enlarging our knowledge of the Nambikwara languages, we broaden our chances of discovering a relationship between this language group and other languages of South America, between the Nambikwara people and other peoples that populate the American continent, and we increase our understanding about the history of the population of the Americas. This *Grammar of Sabanê* pretends to contribute to these fields of knowledge. It also hopes to make a useful contribution to the study of linguistic typology in general and to the internal classification of the languages that belong to the Nambikwara family in particular.

The *Grammar of Sabanê* is the first linguistic study that deals exclusively with Sabanê. Beyond our purely linguistic theory oriented purposes, we have tried to help the Sabanê community in two different ways. Most important was the preparations of a document by which we have been able to defend before the Fundação Nacional do Índio, FUNAI (a Federal Agency for Protection of the Indigenous Populations). This document enables us to defend the right of the Sabanê people to return to their traditional lands. Moreover, the foundation of a settlement whose ethnic majority is Sabanê has encouraged the Sabanê's interest for revitalizing their traditional language and culture. In line with this fact, an educational project was started, which aims to develop materials to enable the Sabanê to teach the language to their children, who had become monolingual in Portuguese. Therefore, this *Grammar of Sabanê* has not only developed our understanding of the structure of the language, but it has also permitted that the language, the use of which had become victim of dispraise and prejudice both on the part of the non-Indians and of the surrounding Indian groups, regain its prestige within and outside of the community.

The phonological system of Sabanê possesses a series of five oral vowels, which occur phonetically nasalized before an underlying nasal consonant. Within the Nambikwara family, this system is atypical, because other languages of the group have complex vowel series that include oral, nasal, glottalized, and long vowels at the phonological level. Sabanê has eleven consonants /p t k β d m n l s h ?/, in which respect it finds itself completely in line with the other languages of the family. A phonological tone contrast is normally considered a common characteristic of the Nambikwara languages. We have here defended the position that pitch rises in Sabanê are predictable and

consequently not part of the underlying linguistic structure. A diachronic study could reveal the origin of some of the phonological discrepancies of the Sabanê language as compared to the other Nambikwara languages. Among these are the rise (or loss) of the tonal opposition.

Whereas the Nambikwara languages that are already described show a polysynthetic morphology, Sabanê is an agglutinating language. Furthermore, Sabanê nominal roots have normally two or more syllables, whereas the same units are overwhelmingly monosyllabic in the other languages of the family.

On the level of morpho-syntax, Sabanê possesses almost the same set of verbal affixes as the other languages, at least from the point of view of their meaning, although the phonological form and their position in the verbal domain are different. Lexically, the number of cognate words equals about 50% of the vocabulary. Additionally, the resemblance between Sabanê and the other Nambikwara languages is most evident when considered from the perspective of Proto-Language reconstruction (see Costa & Wetzels, in preparation).

Questions relating to the possible influence of Portuguese in all areas of the grammar are awaiting further research. The question of the mobility of the adverbs in the sentence deserves a detailed investigation, which fact, in turn necessitates an in-depth study of pragmatics. The interaction between interrogative particles and adverbs also needs a more elaborate study. As far as the syntax is concerned, future studies should penetrate into the relation between volitional and non-volitional verbs, as well as into the roles of patient and agent in general. Complex sentences were not fully explored in this study. As for the discourse, more attention should be given to recording and analyzing spontaneous speech. On the basis of what was achieved already in this study, we hope to be able to contribute to the discussion of all of these features in future work.

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## Samenvatting (Summary in Dutch)

Dit proefschrift biedt een taalkundige beschrijving van het Sabanê, een taal die behoort tot de Nambikwara-familie. De Sabanê wonen verdeeld over twee dorpen in de zuidelijke regio van het Braziliaanse Amazonebekken, in de staten Rondônia en Mato Grosso. Terwijl ongeveer 140 personen zich beschouwen als etnische Sabanê, spreken er slechts drie het Sabanê als moedertaal, alle drie ouder dan zestig jaar. De taal wordt niet meer in het sociale verkeer gebruikt en is daarom ernstig met uitsterven bedreigd.

Het eerste hoofdstuk schetst in het kort de geschiedenis van het volk in de 20ste eeuw, waarbij gebruik is gemaakt van officiële documenten en van overgeleverde getuigenissen van de Sabanê zelf. De taal van de Sabanê is nooit eerder beschreven. Het beschikbare taalkundige materiaal bestond uit een lijst van 56 woorden, over het algemeen verwantschapstermen, verzameld door Lévi-Strauss (1948), en een woordenlijst van ongeveer 180 termen samengesteld door Price (1978). Lévi-Strauss stelt zich de vraag betreffende de genetische verwantschap van het Sabanê, omdat hij observeert dat de Sabanê niet kunnen communiceren met de andere (Noord-Nambikwara) groepen in de regio, die zich onderling wel verstaanbaar maken. Price gebruikt zijn woordenlijst eveneens met een comparatief doel. Hij stelt vast dat ongeveer 50% van de woorden in zijn verzameling, wat hun klank betreft, verwant zijn met woorden met dezelfde betekenis in twee Nambikwara-talen, één Zuid-Nambikwara taal en één Noord-Nambikwara taal, en ziet daarin voldoende bewijs voor de genetische verwantschap van het Sabanê met de Nambikwara-familie. De in ons onderzoek vastgestelde overeenkomsten op het gebied van de morfologie en de syntaxis tussen het Sabanê en een aantal andere Nambikwaratalen bevestigen de hypothese van Price.

Het tweede hoofdstuk geeft een overzicht van de fonetiek en de fonologie. Het fonologische systeem van het Sabanê onderscheidt 5 klinkers /a e i o u/ en 11 medeklinkers /p t k β d m n l s h ?/. In vergelijking met de andere Nambikwaratalen valt het klinkersysteem van het Sabanê op door zijn eenvoud. Terwijl de meeste Nambikwaratalen een fonologisch onderscheid maken tussen orale, nasale en geglottaliseerde klinkers neemt het Sabanê genoegen met het ongemarkeerde vijfklinker systeem. Wat het medeklinkersysteem betreft lijkt het Sabanê sterk op de andere Nambikwaratalen, afgezien van de twee implosieve medeklinkers /β d/, die elders niet (meer) systematisch voorkomen. Het Sabanê heeft een voorkeur voor open lettergrepen. Gesloten lettergrepen die zijn toegestaan eindigen op de sonorante klanken [j w] and /n/ of op de glottale occlusief /?/. Ongeaccentueerde lettergrepen zijn over het algemeen licht (CV), terwijl geaccentueerde lettergrepen meestal zwaar zijn, hetzij onderliggend (CVC), hetzij afgeleid (CVV). Anders dan de overige talen van de Nambikwara-familie

heeft het Sabanê geen distinctieve toon. Het woordaccent is voorspelbaar: in zelfstandige naamwoorden valt het accent op de zware lettergreep van de nominale wortel en bij afwezigheid van een zware lettergreep wordt de laatste (meest rechtse) lettergreep van de wortel geaccentueerd. In werkwoorden valt het accent op de zware lettergreep in de verbale wortel. Waar een zware lettergreep niet voorhanden is, draagt de voorlaatste lettergreep (tellend vanaf rechts) het woordaccent. In alle gevallen is het secundaire accent voorspelbaar vanaf het hoofddaccent, waarbij van rechts naar links linkshoofdige binaire voeten worden gevormd.

Hoofdstuk 3 geeft een overzicht van de nominale en verbale morfologie. Wanneer het zelfstandig naamwoord in isolatie wordt uitgesproken is het referentiële suffix **-mi** (of **-mali**) verplicht. Hetzelfde fenomeen treffen wij aan in de zustertalen. In het Sararé, Zuid-Nambikwara, is er een referentieel suffix **-su/-sa** (Borella, in voorbereiding), terwijl in het Latundê, Noord-Nambikwara, het referentiële suffix **-te** wordt gebruikt (Telles, 2002). Als het zelfstandige naamwoord voorkomt in zinsverband is **-m(al)i** optioneel aanwezig, behalve wanneer het suffix van de patiëntieve casus **-k** wordt gebruikt, waarmee **-m(al)i** nooit mag combineren.

Geslacht en getal worden niet morfologisch gemarkeerd. De bezittelijke voornaamwoorden worden geprefigeerd. Alle andere aan het zelfstandig naamwoord gebonden morfemen treden op in de vorm van suffixen. De taal beschikt over een diminutief en een augmentatief suffix. Samenstellingen worden productief afgeleid, waarbij de constructie nomen+nomen de meest gangbare is. Het Sabanê heeft bovendien suffixen die de zelfstandige naamwoorden indelen in klassen naargelang de vorm of de consistentie van het concept waarnaar zij verwijzen. Hoewel deze classificeerders optioneel zijn, worden zij veelvuldig gebruikt. Niet zelden vervangt de classificeerder het zelfstandige naamwoord in uitingen waarin het substantief met zijn classificeerder al eerder is vermeld.

Ook het werkwoord staat slechts één klasse van prefixen toe. In dit geval zijn het de persoonlijke voornaamwoorden met een patiëntieve functie. Evenals de andere Nambikwaratalen, heeft het Sabanê een groot aantal verbale suffixen. Elke verbale wortel moet voorzien zijn van tenminste één suffix. Het tempussysteem en het evidentialiteitssysteem zijn zeer belangrijk in het Sabanê. Alle zinnen moeten zijn voorzien van hetzij een evidentialiteitssuffix hetzij een neutraal suffix. Neutrale zinnen mogen een assertief of interrogatief partikel bevatten. Wanneer een zin met een van de evidentialiteitssuffixen is gemarkeerd bezit deze een intrinsieke feitelijkheid en kan niet in de vragende vorm worden gesteld.

Verder komen in hoofdstuk drie de verschillende werkwoordstypen aan bod, worden de partikels besproken die typisch bij werkwoorden voorkomen, en wordt bijzondere aandacht geschonken aan de imperatiefconstructie.

De syntaxis wordt beschreven in hoofdstuk 4. Een fundamenteel kenmerk van de syntaxis van het Sabanê betreft het onderscheid tussen agentieve en patiëntieve werkwoorden. Inderdaad hangt de keuze van het agentieve of patiëntieve pronomen af van de aard van het werkwoord. Zo krijgen werkwoorden die een controleerbare actie uitdrukken, zoals het werkwoord voor ‘eten’, een agentief pronomen, of blijven ongemarkeerd, wanneer het onderwerp wordt uitgedrukt door middel van een zelfstandig naamwoord. Wanneer de actie uitgedrukt in het werkwoord niet controleerbaar is, zoals in het woord voor ‘braken’, bevat de zin een patiëntief objectpronomen, of, indien het object wordt uitgedrukt door middel van een zelfstandig naamwoord, dan wordt dit laatste altijd gemarkeerd met het suffix **-k**. De basisvolgorde van de constituenten is subject-object-werkwoord (SOW).

In hoofdstuk 5 worden de bijwoorden behandeld. Sabanê kent twee klassen van adverbia. *Vrije adverbia* zijn morfemen die in willekeurig welke positie in de zin kunnen voorkomen. *Gedonden adverbia* zijn morfemen die deel uitmaken van het werkwoordsdomein.

In hoofdstuk 6 worden de vraagwoorden besproken, waarvan het Sabanê twee soorten kent. Er is een modaal vraagpartikel en een groep van vraagwoorden. Het eerste kan voorkomen zonder de laatste, maar de laatste komen niet voor zonder het eerste: wanneer een zin een vraagwoord bevat eindigt deze verplicht op het interrogatieve partikel **-a**.

Het laatste hoofdstuk bevat een aantal conclusies en geeft onderwerpen aan die nader onderzoek verdienen.



## Summary

This dissertation offers a linguistic description of the Sabanê language, which belongs to the Nambikwara linguistic family. The Sabanê live divided over two villages in the southern region of the Brazilian Amazon, in the states of Rondônia and Mato Grosso. While around 140 people regard themselves as ethnic Sabanê, only three speak the language as their mother tongue, all of whom are over sixty years old. The language is no longer used in the society, and is therefore severely threatened by extinction.

The first chapter briefly describes the history of the people in the 20th century, on the basis of official documentation and oral reports of the Sabanê themselves. The Sabanê language has never been described before. The linguistic material that is available consists of a list of 56 words, mostly kinship terms, gathered by Lévi-Strauss (1948), and a word list of around 180 words collected by Price (1978). Lévi-Strauss was concerned with the question of the genetic affiliation of the Sabanê language, because he observed that the Sabanê could not communicate with the other (northern Nambikwara) groups of people in the same region, whose languages were mutually intelligible to each other. Price also used his data for a comparative purpose. He determined that around 50 per cent of the words in his list were, as far as their sounds were concerned, related to words with the same meaning in one southern and one northern Nambikwara language, and regarded this as sufficient evidence to establish a genetic relation of Sabanê with the Nambikwara family. The morphological and syntactic similarities between Sabanê and a number of other Nambikwara languages that were uncovered in our research project confirm Price's hypothesis.

The second chapter gives an overview of the phonetics and phonology of Sabanê. The phonological system distinguishes 5 vowels /a e i o u/ and 11 consonants /p t k β d m n l s h ?/. Compared with other Nambikwara languages the vowel system of Sabanê is relatively simple. While most Nambikwara languages make a phonological distinction between oral, nasal and glottalized vowels, Sabanê just uses an unmarked five-vowel system. As far as the consonantal system is concerned, Sabanê resembles the other Nambikwara languages more strongly, apart from the two implosives /β d/, which do not (or no longer) occur in the other languages. Sabanê prefers open syllables. Closed syllables are only permitted if they end in the sonorants [j w] and /n/, or the glottal stop /?/. Unstressed syllables are usually light (CV), while stressed syllables are mostly heavy, sometimes underlyingly (CVC) and sometimes as a result of a rule (CVV). Different from the other languages of the family, Sabanê

does not make use of distinctive tone contrasts. Word stress is predictable: in nouns the stress appears on the heavy syllable in the root; if there is no heavy syllable, the final (i.e. rightmost) syllable of the root is stressed. In verbs, the stress is attracted by a heavy syllable in the verbal root. If there is no heavy syllable, the penultimate (i.e. the one but last) syllable will receive primary accent. In all cases rhythmic stress is assigned on the basis of the position of primary stress, building binary left-headed feet from right to left.

Chapter 3 presents an overview of nominal and verbal morphology. When a noun is produced in isolation, the referential suffix **-mi** (or **-mali**) is obligatory. The same phenomenon is found in the related languages. In Sararé, which is a southern Nambikwara language, there is a referential suffix **-su/-sa** (Borella, in preparation), while in Latundê, northern Nambikwara, the referential suffix **-te** is used (Telles, 2002). If the noun is used within a sentence, **-m(al)i** is optional, except when the patientive suffix **-k** occurs, with which **-m(al)i** can never be combined.

Gender and number are not morphologically marked. The possessive pronouns take the form of prefixes. All other morphemes that can be attached to the noun are suffixes: there is a diminutive as well as an augmentative suffix. Compounding is a productive process, in which NOUN+NOUN compounding is most usual. Sabanê also has suffixes that classify nouns according to the shape or the consistency of the concept to which they refer. Although these classifiers are optional, they are frequently used. The classifier often replaces the noun in discourse in which the noun with the classifier has already been used.

For the verb, too, there is only one class of prefix; in this case, these are the personal pronouns with a patientive function. Just like the other Nambikwara languages, Sabanê has a large number of verbal suffixes. Every verbal root must take at least one such suffix. The temporal system and the evidential system are of paramount importance in Sabanê. Every sentence must take either an evidentiality suffix or a neutral suffix. If a sentence is marked with one of the evidentiality suffixes, it has an intrinsic factuality and cannot be used to form a question. Finally in chapter 3, different verb forms are discussed, as well as the particles that tend to co-occur with verbs, and special attention is devoted to the imperative construction.

The syntax of Sabanê is described in chapter 4. A fundamental characteristic is the distinction between agentive and patientive verbs, which determines the choice of the (agentive or patientive) pronoun. Verbs that express an action that can be controlled, such as the verb for *to eat*, take an agentive pronoun, or remain unmarked when the subject is expressed by a nominal group. When the action that is expressed by the verb cannot be controlled, as in the verb for *to vomit*, the sentence contains a patientive object pronoun; if the object is

expressed by a noun, this is always marked by the suffix **-k**. The basic constituent order is subject-object-verb (SOV).

Chapter 5 deals with the adverbs. Sabanê has two classes of adverbs, the first of which contains free morphemes which can occupy any position in the sentence. The second class contains bound morphemes which are part of the verbal domain.

Chapter 6 is concerned with question words, which are also divided into two categories: there is a modal question particle and a group of question words. The former can occur without the latter, but the latter cannot occur without the former: if a sentence contains a question word, it obligatorily ends with the interrogative particle **-a**.

The final chapter draws a number of conclusions and gives a number of issues that deserve further research.





## Appendix

### *Small Dictionary Sabanê-English*

Conventions: (see also *List of Abbreviations*)

<i>adv.</i>	Adverb
AF	Alternate form
AKA	Also known as
LKA	Locally known as
<i>n.</i>	Noun
<i>v.</i>	Verb

### A - a

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**a**<sup>1</sup> *third person object pronoun.* **nawa akaliali** ‘S/he cuts her/his own beiju.’

**a**<sup>2</sup> *third person possessive pronoun.* **akiliwamali** ‘her/his house(s)’.

**-a**<sup>1</sup> see **-i**<sup>1</sup>.

**-a**<sup>2</sup> *interrogative particle.* **nanintala** ‘Did S/he cry?’.

**abonon** *n.* sky. [a:ʔonõː].

**aiwmuma** *n.* larva. [aʔiwmu<sub>1</sub>maː].

**akas** *n.* to hurt. **uli makasidana** ‘You are hurting me.’

**-akata** AF **-takata** *classifier.* CL: LONG: elongated three-dimensional objects, like bones and wooden objects, including sticks, firewood, wooden scissors, bows, arrows, etc. **katatali?kolu?kolu?takatami** ‘iron scissors’.

**akayl** *v.* to scratch. **uli makaylidana** ‘You are scratching yourself.’

**akilayt** *v.* to piss. **akilaytidana** ‘S/he pisses.’

**akokusi** *n.* face. **dakokusimali** ‘my face’.

**akona** *n.* tingüi tree, LKA tingüi. *Magonia pubescens*.

**akotey** *v.* to cross. **atipa? towali akoteyidatinan** ‘I crossed the road.’

**akuku?** *n.* Brazilian wild dog, LKA cachorro do mato. [aːkuːkuː]. *Dusicyon thous*.

**al**<sup>1</sup> *v.* to bake. **aliali** [ʔa:rijaːli] ‘It is being baked.’

**al**<sup>2</sup> *v.* to walk. **uli wolaaliali** [ʔu:ri ʔwo:laʔa:rijaːli] ‘You walk too much.’

**-al** *present tense neutral.* **towali yeyiali** ‘I wait (here).’

**alawopi** *n.* bow string. [aʔla<sup>w</sup>wo<sub>1</sub>piː].

**ali** *n.* sloth, LKA macaco-preguiça. [a:ri]. *Bradypus tridactylus*.

**alikini** *v.* to cure. **dalikinisaydana** ‘I am recovering (from a flu).’

- alin** v. to be good. *alinnali* ‘It is good.’
- alisin** v. to jump. **towali alisinadana** ‘I jump.’
- aliw** v. to bake (under the fire). **nawak aliwadatnan** ‘The beju was baked (under the bonfire).’
- alowa** n. jucum tree. [a'lo<sup>w</sup>wa]. *Bactris setosa*.
- am** v. to be hungry. **wola tamiali** [l'wo:lɐ 'tã:mɪa'li] ‘I am starving.’
- amam** v. to squeeze out. *amamin* ‘Squeeze it!’
- amat** v. to dream. **tamatidatnan** ‘I had a dream.’
- amayl** v. to rain. *amaytiali* [a'majɾi'a'li] ‘It is raining.’
- amays** v. to be fat. **dodak amaysiali** ‘The wild boar is fat.’
- amaysita** n. fat. [a'majʃi'ta].
- amialata** n. rattle. [a'mi'a:la'ta].
- amitinon** n. stomach. [ə'mi:ti.nõ].
- amoka** n. larva. [ə'mo:la].
- amoka** AF **-tamoka** classifier. CL: LONG FLEXIBLE ANIMATE: larvae, vermiform and snake-like animate creatures like snakes, lizards, earthworms, millipedes, larvae, reptiles, etc. **waysilitamokami** ‘assai palm larva’.
- amola** n. belly. **damola** [dã'mo:la] ‘my belly’.
- amot** v. to squeeze. *amotiali* ‘It squeezes.’
- amolanon** n. inner belly. [a'mo:la.nõ].
- amoya** n. sweet potato. [a'mo:ja].
- amoyanun** n. mashed potato. [ə'mo:ja.nũ].
- amoyasi** n. potato. [e'mo'jɐ.sɪ].
- amulu** adv. just, only. *amulunali* ‘There is only one!’
- amun** v. to sleep. *amuniali*. [e'mũ:nja'ri]. ‘S/he/it sleeps.’
- anakapalonon** n. ears. [ə'na:kapa'ronõ].
- anante** n. sap. [ə'nã:te].
- anasi** n. head. [ə'na:ʃi].
- anaypakata** n. arm; branch; wing. [a'najpə'ka'ta].
- anaypanon** n. axilla. [a'najpa.nõ].
- anekelesi** n. nipple. [a'ne:le'ko:si].
- ani**<sup>1</sup> n. wood; fire. [a:ni].
- ani**<sup>2</sup> v. to shoot. *aninsayali* ‘S/he is shooting.’
- ani**<sup>3</sup> v. to feel; to simulate. *aninadana* ‘S/he is pretending.’
- anina** n. bat. [a'nĩ:na].
- anipi** n. liane. [a'ni:pi].
- aniti** n. wasp. [a'ni:ti].

- ano-** *adv.* much; many. **anoiali** ‘There is plenty.’/‘It is a lot.’  
**anola** *n.* animal. [a<sup>h</sup>no:la].  
**anolota** *n.* meat. [a<sup>h</sup>no:lo<sub>1</sub>ta].  
**-anon** AF **-tanon** *classifier*. CL: HEMI: shallow or hemispheric objects, with a recipient hole, including clay, pan, calabash, glass, rainbow, house, car, etc.  
**itatuanonmi** ‘rainbow’.  
**anose** *n.* bowl. [a<sup>h</sup>no:se].  
**anot** *v.* to shoot. **olumatak anotadatinan** ‘S/he shot the bull.’  
**anu** *v.* to rise. **puwisak anundatinan** ‘The wattled curassow flew high.’  
**ap**<sup>1</sup> *v.* to be sharp. **yowlak apiali** ‘The knife is sharp.’  
**-ap**<sup>2</sup> *iterative particle*. **towali yowlak apiapatapanali** ‘I will sharpen the knife.’  
**-apimina** *v.* to be blunt. **yowlak apiminadana** ‘The knife is blunt.’  
**apayliko** *n.* soul. [ə<sup>h</sup>pajri<sub>1</sub>ko].  
**api** *n.* wood. [a<sup>h</sup>pi].  
**-api** AF **-tapi** *classifier*. CL: LONG FLEXIBLE: elongated and flexible string-like objects like string, fishing line, etc. **linhadapimi** ‘fishing line’.  
**apiawa** *n.* wood board; spoon. **kiliwa apiwatanon** ‘wooden house’.  
**apikata** *n.* table. [a<sup>h</sup>pi:ka<sub>1</sub>ta].  
**apikataliawa** *n.* spoon; wood bark. [a<sup>h</sup>pi:ka<sub>1</sub>ta:ri<sub>1</sub>a<sup>w</sup>wa].  
**apili** *n.* embira. **apilimi tosan**. [a<sup>h</sup>pri:mi to<sup>sā</sup>]. ‘Give the embira string to me!’  
**apina** *n.* tree. [a<sup>h</sup>pi:na].  
**apinaypakata** *n.* stick. [a<sup>h</sup>pi<sup>h</sup>na<sub>1</sub>pə<sub>1</sub>ka<sub>1</sub>ta].  
**apintap** *v.* to have a period. **apintapadatinan** ‘She had her period.’  
**apinun** *n.* saw dust. [a<sup>h</sup>pi:nū].  
**apio** *v.* to spread. **kolowa ayntami apionn** ‘Spread red paint (use this piece of cotton to do it).’  
**apiopakata** *n.* trap. [a<sup>h</sup>pi<sup>o</sup>:pə<sub>1</sub>ka<sub>1</sub>ta].  
**apipa** *n.* hand. **dapipa** [də<sup>h</sup>pi:pa] ‘my hand’.  
**apipamata** *n.* (any) finger. [ə<sup>h</sup>pi:pə<sub>1</sub>ma<sub>1</sub>ta].  
**apipata** *n.* thumb. [ə<sup>h</sup>pi:pə<sub>1</sub>ta].  
**apisapa** *n.* fruit. [a<sup>h</sup>pi:sa<sub>1</sub>pa].  
**apisapata** *n.* mango fruit. [a<sup>h</sup>pi:sa<sub>1</sub>pə<sub>1</sub>ta].  
**apisapiaka** *n.* coconut milk. [a<sup>h</sup>pi:sa<sub>1</sub>pi<sub>1</sub>a<sub>1</sub>ka].  
**apita** *n.* coffee. [ə<sup>h</sup>pi:ta].  
**apoy** *v.* to show up. **apoyidatinan** ‘S/he did show up.’  
**apu** *v.* to be soft. **apunali** ‘It is soft.’  
**asa** *n.* pineapple. [a<sup>h</sup>sa].  
**asasi** *n.* leaf. [ə<sup>h</sup>sa:si].  
**asay** *n.* feces. [e<sup>h</sup>saj].  
**asaykanon** *n.* intestines. [e<sup>h</sup>sajka<sub>1</sub>n<sup>o</sup>].

- asiani** *n.* firewood. [e'siã'ni].
- asin** *v.* to remove. **kiliwana kalakalak asimidana** 'She removes the chicken from the house.'
- asina** *n.* penis (animal). [e'si:mə].
- asipakalatakata** *n.* ribs. [a'si'pa'ka:lətə'ka'ta].
- asipal** *v.* to be afraid; to spill. **asipali** 'S/he is afraid.'
- asipanun** *n.* salt. [a'si:pa:nũ].
- asisapawlo** *n.* buttocks. [a'si:sa'pawlo].
- asiwita** *n.* sister-in-law. [a'si<sup>w</sup>'wi'ta].
- ate-** *question word* (animate forms). What; who; whose. **atepiilulitapanala** 'What will we eat?'
- atel-** *question word* (non-animate forms). Who; whose. **atelikiliwaminala** 'Whose house is it?'
- atelo** *n.* son. [a'tæ:lo].
- atelutisia** *v.* to gossip. **uli wola atelutisiapadana** 'You gossip too much.'
- ates-** *question word* (non-animate forms). What. **atesimanasi myeyiala** 'What do you have in mind?'
- atipa?** *n.* road. [a'ti:'pa?].
- ati?** *n.* male. [a'ti:].
- atilis** *v.* to weave **atilisiali** 'S/he weaves.'
- atitapa?** *n.* female. [a'ti:'ta'pa?].
- atoya** *n.* yam, LKA cará. [a'to'ja].
- awayleta** *n.* girl. [ə'wajɾe'ta].
- awayli** *n.* cocoon. [ə'wajɾ].
- awayn** *v.* to leave. **awaynisaydana** 'She is leaving.'
- awi** *n.* tooth. **dawi** ['də:wi] 'my tooth'.
- awi** *n.* seed. **kiatawi** [ki'a:ta'wi] 'corn seed'.
- awl** *v.* to open. **towali kadaysik awlitelon** 'I am going to open the door.'
- awla** *n.* large wasp. [a'wɾə].
- ay** *v.* to go. **uli ayitapanali** [u:ɾi 'ajitəpəna'li] 'You will go.'
- ayalika** *n.* necklace. [a'jə'ɾikə].
- ayan** *v.* to carry. **akiliwaka tayanidatinan** 'She took me to her house.'
- ayl** *v.* to leave. **towali ayhiali** 'I am leaving.'
- aylandeypa** *n.* coral snake. [ajlã'dɛjɾə].
- aym** *v.* to arrive. **aymadatinan** 'She arrived.'
- aymoti** *n.* louse. [a'jmo'ti].
- ayn** *v.* to be red. **aynnali** [ã'jna'li] 'It is red.'
- aynam** *v.* to listen to. **taynamadatinan** 'I listened to him.'
- aynasapa** *n.* mangaba fruit. [a'jna'sa'pa]. *Hancornia speciosa*.
- ayntimi** *n.* mutum-flower. [ã'jti'mi].

- ayowa** *n.* black fly. [a<sup>h</sup>o<sub>1</sub>wa<sup>·</sup>].  
**ayp**<sup>1</sup> *v.* to be thirsty. **taypdana** ‘I am thirsty.’  
**ayp**<sup>2</sup> *v.* to dig. **aypitelon.** [a<sub>1</sub>p<sub>1</sub>tə<sub>1</sub>rō<sup>·</sup>]. ‘S/he is going to dig.’  
**aypasin** *v.* to dig up. **towali motokakaypasinadana**  
 [to<sup>·</sup>wali mo<sup>·</sup>toka k<sub>1</sub>a<sub>1</sub>p<sub>1</sub>a<sup>·</sup>s<sub>1</sub>nə<sub>1</sub>dā<sup>·</sup>na]. ‘I am digging up the calabash.’  
**aypo** *n.* axe. **aypokapiminali** [a<sub>1</sub>p<sub>1</sub>o<sup>·</sup>k<sub>1</sub>a<sub>1</sub>p<sub>1</sub>i<sub>1</sub>m<sub>1</sub>na<sup>·</sup>li] ‘The axe is not sharp.’  
**ayso** *n.* tobacco. [a<sub>1</sub>s<sub>1</sub>ʃ<sub>1</sub>].  
**ayt** *v.* to bite. **wayulu tayt<sub>1</sub>iminantali** ‘The dog did not bite me.’  
**aytamal** *v.* to bake. **towali bosek aytamaliali** ‘I bake the fish.’  
**a<sup>?</sup>olu<sup>?</sup>** *n.* tatu-galinha, an armadillo species. [a<sup>?</sup>o<sub>1</sub>lu<sup>·</sup>]. *Dasyypus novemcinctus.*

## B - b

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- bala**<sup>1</sup> *DUAL, num.* two. **balanali** [ba<sup>·</sup>la<sub>1</sub>na<sup>·</sup>li] ‘It is two’.  
**bala**<sup>2</sup> *possessive pronoun dual.* **balakiliwamali** ‘our house’.  
**bapusitayliti** *n.* gecko. [ba<sub>1</sub>pu<sup>·</sup>s<sub>1</sub>i<sup>·</sup>taj<sub>1</sub>ri<sub>1</sub>ti<sup>·</sup>].  
**bat** *v.* to blossom. **watati<sup>?</sup> batadana** ‘The flowers are in blossom.’  
**baylapantanopi** *n.* headball game. [ba<sub>1</sub>ya<sub>1</sub>lə<sub>1</sub>pā<sup>·</sup>ta<sub>1</sub>no<sup>·</sup>pi]. Note: a type of game similar to football, although played with the head.  
**bisikuli** *n.* anaconda. [bi<sup>·</sup>si<sub>1</sub>ku<sup>·</sup>li] *Eunectes murinos.*  
**bisil** *v.* to be hard, strong. **bisiliwawalidatinan** ‘S/he shouted very loudly.’  
**bolowke** *n.* parrot. [bo<sup>·</sup>rowk<sup>h</sup>e].  
**bose** *n.* fish (generic). [bo<sup>·</sup>se].  
**boosesapa** *n.* characin fish. [bo<sup>·</sup>se<sub>1</sub>sa<sup>·</sup>pa].

## D - d

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- d-** AF **da-** *first person possessive pronoun.* **dapipami** ‘my hand’.  
**dalama** *n.* batava palm, LKA patoá palm. [da<sup>·</sup>la<sup>·</sup>ma]. *Oenocarpus bataua.*  
**dalamasi** *n.* patoá fruit. [da<sup>·</sup>la<sup>·</sup>ma<sub>1</sub>si<sup>·</sup>].  
**dalamawi** *n.* patoá seed. [da<sup>·</sup>la<sup>·</sup>ma<sub>1</sub>wi<sup>·</sup>].  
**daliwulu** *n.* hat. [da<sup>·</sup>li<sup>w</sup>wu<sub>1</sub>lu<sup>·</sup>].  
**dān** *v.* to be sour. **dāniali apisapiaka** ‘The coconut milk is sour.’  
**-dana** *present tense evidential.* **akuku<sup>?</sup> ipidana** ‘The wild dog runs.’  
**danaka** *n.* frog. [da<sup>·</sup>na<sup>·</sup>kə].  
**dapu** *n.* lizard. [da<sup>·</sup>pu].

- datinan** *past tense evidential*. **akuku? ipidatinan** ‘The wild dog ran.’  
**dayan** *v.* to be sad. **madayanantala** ‘Have you been sad?’  
**denia** *v.* to be old. **denianali** ‘She is old.’  
**deypa** *n.* snake. [ʔɛjɸ<sup>h</sup>a].  
**di** *v.* to close. **kadaysiko towali dütelon** ‘I am going to shut the door.’  
**diopa** *n.* lips ornament. [ɔʔo:p<sup>h</sup>a].  
**doda** *n.* white-lipped peccary. [ʔo:ɔa] *Tayassu pecari*.  
**don** *v.* to be tangy. **hayla doniali** ‘The cashew fruit is tangy.’  
**dont** *v.* to suck. **ilaylami dyamako dontadatinan** ‘The fly sucked my blood.’  
**dowala** *n.* things.  
**dumanasa** *n.* rounded arrowhead. [ʔu:mənaˈsa]. Note: a type of arrowhead used to hunt birds.

## E - e

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- ela** *n.* Moon. [ʔe:ra].

## H - h

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- haboya** *n.* caterpillar. [haʔoʔja].  
**hado** *v.* to go. **hadon** ‘Go!’  
**hakonata** *n.* harvestman, LKA opilião, olupião. [ʔa:koŋaˈta]. *Spaeleoleptes spaeleusa*.  
**hal** *v.* to thresh; **kiataka pihalito** ‘Go thresh the corn.’  
**hala** *v.* to be rotten. **apisapa halanali** [aʔpi:sapaˈha:laŋaˈli] ‘The fruit is rotten.’  
**hala** *v.* to moan. **halanali** ‘S/he is moaning.’  
**halahala** *v.* to sob. *Reduplication of hala*.  
**halakata** *n.* pequi tree. [ʔa:laʔkaˈta]. *Caryocar brasiliense*.  
**halasapa** *n.* pequi fruit. [ʔa:laʔsaˈta].  
**hali** *n.* armadillo. [ʔa:li].  
**halip** *v.* to swallow. **awika halipadatinan** ‘She swallowed her own tooth.’  
**hamo** *v.* to push. **thamontantali** ‘S/he wanted to push me.’  
**hamu** *v.* to be deep. **ninu?apilia? hamundana** ‘The bottom of the river is deep.’  
**han** *v.* to go. **hanitapanali** ‘S/he will go.’  
**hanom** *v.* to choose. **tianoseka hanomintala** ‘Which bowl did s/he choose?’

- hanu** v. to climb. **towali hanunminadana** ‘I do not climb (trees) anymore.’
- hap** v. to be sour. **ninu? hapiali** ‘The chicha-juice is sour.’
- hapowla** n. field. [ha'powla].
- has** v. to pull; to remove. **uli hasidatinan hinama** ‘You pulled it suddenly’.
- hawawlo** n. parrot. [ha'wawlo].
- hawn** v. to reserve. **uli boseka hawniali** ‘You keep some fish for later.’
- haws** n. to break. **towali motokaka hawsidatinan** ‘I broke the calabash.’
- hay**<sup>1</sup> adv. already. [ʰhaj]. **uli hay ilulisayala** ‘Are you already eating?’
- hay**<sup>2</sup> affirmative particle. Yes.
- haybakata** n. pororoca tree, AKA jutai-pororoca. [ʰhajβa'ka'ta]. *Dialium guianensis*.
- hayl** v. to damage. **uli pitapawulu hayladana** ‘You damaged our clay pot.’
- hayla** n. cashew fruit. [ʰhajɾɔ].
- haypa** n. ray. [ʰhajpɔ].
- haytil** v. to bury. **awayulupi haytilatelon** ‘She is going to bury her cat.’
- heloy** n. watch. [hə'loj].
- heloymata** n. small watch. [hə'lojmə'tə].
- hi** v. to be rancid. **anolota hinali** ‘The meat is rancid.’
- hiaka** adv. near. **hiaka towali ipantali wayuluka** ‘I saw a jaguar nearby.’
- hieynakata** n. kumbu palm, LKA bacaba tree. [hi'æjnə'ka'ta]. *Oenocarpus bacaba*.
- hieynasi** n. bacaba fruit. [hi'æjnə'si].
- hikolanon** n. car. [hi'kola'nɔ̃].
- hilikan** v. to play. **hilikaniali** ‘They are playing.’
- hilikanbitami** n. player. [hi'li'kābi'ta'mi].
- hin** v. to be pungent. **kanaysiki hinadatinan** ‘The pepper was spicy.’
- hinama** adv. suddenly. **hinama tilupidatinan** ‘Suddenly I vomited.’
- hipiw** v. to pluck the feathers off. **Ivone kilaki hipiwdana kaylakalititelon** ‘Ivone is plucking the macaw’s feathers and then she is going to cook it.’
- his** v. to hug. **tahisiminan** ‘Do not hug me!’
- hisasin** v. to stretch. **hisasin** ‘Stretch it out!’
- holiapa** adv. far. **apapiayta holiapa kanndatinan** ‘He died far away from his village.’
- holokalikata** n. urucuri palm, LKA acuri. [ʰo:lo'ka'li'ka'ta]. *Attalea phalerata*.
- holupi** n. necklace. [hɔ'lu:pi].
- hop** v. to weave. **towali anoseko hopitelon** ‘I am going to weave a bowl.’

**huhup** *v.* to copulate. **huhupimināpalisinali** ‘S/he does not want to have sex.’

## I - i

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**-i<sup>1</sup>** *verbal suffix.* **isuniala** ‘Is s/he angry?’

**-i<sup>2</sup>** *Assertive.*

**iama** *n.* blood. [ʃaːma].

**iamisunon** *n.* nostrils. [jaˈmiːfuˌnõ].

**iasalalisi** *n.* heart. **diasalalisi** [dʒiˈaːsaˌlaˈliʃiː] ‘my heart’.

**iawa** *n.* bark. [iˈaːwə].

**-iawa** *classifier.* CL: BARK: bark-like objects, including spoons, canoes, earrings, rings, fruit peels, etc. **kupuliawami** ‘earring’.

**iekosi** *n.* cloth; skin. **diekosi** ‘my clothes’.

**ieylesi** *n.* penis (human). [iˈæjleʃiː].

**ikameyna** *adv.* tomorrow. **ikameyna amaylitelon** ‘It is going to rain tomorrow.’

**ikayla** *n.* nail. [iˈkajra].

**ikukusi** *n.* eye. [iˈkuːkuʃiː].

**ikukiawante** *n.* eyebrows. **dikukusiawante** ‘my eyebrows’.

**ila** *n.* spider-monkey, LKA macaco-aranha. [iːrə] *Ateles species.*

**ilaw** *v.* to be big. **ilawnali** [iˈlãw̃naˌliː] ‘S/he/It is big.’

**ilawa** *v.* to be crazy. **ilawandatinan** ‘She was crazy.’

**ilayla** *n.* fly. [iˈrajra].

**ilayt** *n.* to lost. **towali dakupilika ilaytidatinan** ‘I lost my earring.’

**iley** *adv.* early. **iley ayidatinan** ‘S/he left early’.

**ileyhilon** *adv.* tomorrow morning. **ileyhilon dodaki posanapitelon** ‘We are going to divide the wild boar tomorrow morning.’

**ileypa** *v.* to be new. **ileypanali**. [iˈræjpənaˌli]. ‘It is new.’

**ileypelu** *adv.* now; today. **ileypelu amayliala** ‘Is it raining today?’

**ileyt** *v.* to stretch out. **ileytin** ‘Stretch it out.’

**ileytika** *adv.* yesterday. **ileytika amaylidatinan** ‘It rained yesterday/recently.’

**ili<sup>1</sup>** *v.* to be sick. **wolata tilindana** ‘I am very sick.’

**ili<sup>2</sup>** *v.* to be (after)noon. **ilinali** ‘It is afternoon.’

**ili<sup>3</sup>** *n.* liver. **dili** [dʒiːri] ‘my liver’.

**ilika** *v.* to work. **Manoel ilakanidana** ‘Manoel works.’

**ilikanonkata** *n.* heart of palm. [iˈliːkaˌnõːkəˌtaː].

**ilil** *v.* to be overfed. **tililadana** ‘I am overfed.’

**ilita** *n.* breast. [iˈriːtʃa].

**ilitanun** *n.* mother’s milk. [iˈriːtʃaˌnõː].



- ilul** *v.* to eat. **iluliali** [i<sup>l</sup>ru:rija<sup>·</sup>li] ‘S/he eats.’
- ilulitilik** *v.* to chew. **towali aysok uninilulitilikadana** ‘I like to chew tobacco.’
- ilunakata** *n.* wild pequi. [i<sup>l</sup>ũ:na<sup>·</sup>ka<sup>·</sup>ta]. *Caryocar brasiliense*.
- ilunasi** *n.* wild pequi nut. [i<sup>l</sup>ũ:na<sup>·</sup>si].
- ilup** *v.* to vomit. **ilupiali** [i<sup>l</sup>ru:pija<sup>·</sup>ri] ‘S/he vomits.’
- im** *v.* to bite. **timiali** [t<sup>i</sup>mi:ja<sup>·</sup>ri] ‘S/he bites me.’
- inay** *v.* to drink. **ninu<sup>?</sup>k yalakanin inayidatinan** ‘He drank the juice slowly.’
- inayna** *n.* egg. [i<sup>l</sup>najna].
- iney<sup>1</sup>** *n.* root. [i<sup>l</sup>næj].
- iney<sup>2</sup>** *v.* to fall. **ineyiali** [i<sup>l</sup>næ<sup>·</sup>ji<sup>·</sup>li] ‘It falls.’
- iney<sup>3</sup>** *n.* ice; hailstone. [i<sup>l</sup>næj].
- ineyla** *n.* spotted pacu (fish), LKA pacu. [i<sup>l</sup>næjɾɔ]. *Metynnis maculatus*.
- ineytel** *v.* to suckle. **ineyteliali** ‘S/he suckles (milk).’
- inu** *v.* to wake up. **inunitelon** ‘S/he is going to wake up.’
- inumakatasi** *n.* knee. [i<sup>l</sup>nũ:ma<sup>·</sup>ka<sup>·</sup>ta<sup>·</sup>si].
- inun<sup>1</sup>** *n.* powder. [i<sup>l</sup>nũ:].
- inun<sup>2</sup>** *classifier*. CL: PD: powder, mousse, or granulated-like substances including powder, dust, flour, etc. **kiatanunmi** [ki<sup>l</sup>a:ta<sup>·</sup>nũ:mi] ‘maize flour’.
- ip<sup>1</sup>** *v.* to run **towali ipiali** [to<sup>l</sup>wa:li<sup>·</sup>ji<sup>·</sup>pija<sup>·</sup>ri] ‘I run.’
- ip<sup>2</sup>** *v.* to be long. **ipiali** ‘It is long.’
- ip<sup>3</sup>** *v.* to see. **towali mipaminadatitanan** ‘I did not see you.’
- is<sup>1</sup>** *v.* to be hard. **isiali** ‘It is hard.’
- is<sup>2</sup>** to be erect. **dieylesi isiali** ‘My penis is erect.’
- isa** *n.* tree. [i<sup>l</sup>isa].
- isatapokalat** *v.* to fold up. **asasik isatapokalatidana** ‘The leaves are folded.’
- isayl<sup>1</sup>** *v.* to be happy. **isayliali** [i<sup>l</sup>sajrija<sup>·</sup>li] ‘S/he is happy’.
- isayl<sup>2</sup>** *v.* to be heavy. **isayliali** [i<sup>l</sup>sajrija<sup>·</sup>li] ‘It is heavy’.
- isey** *n.* tail. [i<sup>l</sup>fæj].
- isi** *n.* hair; fur. **disi** [d<sup>i</sup>si] ‘my hair.’
- isi** *n.* seed. [i<sup>l</sup>si].
- isi** *classifier*. CL: RND: round, oval, or oblong-like objects, including seeds, spiders, insects, frogs, stars, etc. **kalisimi** ‘horned frog’.
- isiawante** *n.* moustache; beard. **disiawante** [d<sup>i</sup>si:fiawã<sup>·</sup>te] ‘my moustache’.
- isikatowla** *n.* chin. [i<sup>l</sup>fi:ka<sup>·</sup>towla].
- isisipisi** *n.* mouth. [i<sup>l</sup>fi:si<sup>·</sup>pi<sup>·</sup>zi].
- isu** *n.* bone. **disu** [d<sup>i</sup>si] ‘my bone’.
- isun** *v.* to be angry; to be upset. **tisuniali** [ti<sup>l</sup>sũ:na<sup>·</sup>li] ‘I am upset.’
- ita** *n.* a puberty festival. [i<sup>l</sup>itã]. Note: this festival is celebrated when an adolescent leaves her ritual-prison and is ready to get married.
- itan** *v.* to grow. **itaniali** ‘S/he is growing up.’

- itapenun** *n.* fur; feather. [i<sup>l</sup>ta:pɛnũː].  
**itatonon** *n.* rainbow. [i<sup>l</sup>ta:tu,nõː].  
**itayla** *n.* bark. [i<sup>l</sup>tajra].  
**itays** *v.* to break up. **pitaysidatinan** ‘We broke up.’  
**iteyn** *v.* to defecate. **iteynali** [i<sup>l</sup>tæ̃ːna,li] ‘S/he defecates.’  
**iusupa** *n.* lips. [i<sup>l</sup>u:su,paː].  
**iusupayla** *n.* tongue. [i<sup>l</sup>u:su,pajra].  
**iwimata** *n.* jatai bee. [i<sup>w</sup>wi,maːta]. *Tetragonisca angustula*.  
**iwinun** *n.* sugar. [i<sup>w</sup>wi,nũː].  
**iwita** *n.* humming-bird; queen bee. [i<sup>w</sup>wi,taː].  
**iwitapunte** *n.* black bee. [i<sup>w</sup>wi,ta,pũːte].  
**iwkulikuli** *n.* neck. [i<sup>w</sup>wku,liːku,liː].  
**iwlat** *v.* to name. **uli aiwlatatelon** ‘You are going to name it.’  
**iwnua** *n.* star. [i<sup>w</sup>wnu,aː].  
**iwnuata** *n.* morning star. [i<sup>w</sup>wnu,a,taː].  
**iwsukowla** *n.* elbow. [i<sup>w</sup>wsu,kowra].  
**iwsukutu** *n.* forehead. [i<sup>w</sup>wsu,kuːtu].  
**iwta** *n.* sun. [i<sup>w</sup>wt,aː].  
**iwtata** *n.* Morning star. [i<sup>w</sup>wt,a,taː].

## K - k

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- k object/patient marker.** **towali wayuluk ipidatinan** ‘I saw the dog.’  
**kaba** *v.* to be muddy.  
**kadaysi** *n.* door. [ka<sup>l</sup>dʌjfi].  
**kadole** *n.* monkey. [ka<sup>l</sup>dʌle].  
**kal** *v.* to cut. **nawa akaliali** ‘S/he cuts her/his own beiju.’  
**kalakala** *n.* chicken. [ka<sup>l</sup>ka,kaːla].  
**kalano** *v.* to stand up. **kalanon** ‘Stand up!’  
**kali** *n.* horned frog. [ka<sup>l</sup>li]. *Ceratophrys ornate*.  
**kali** *v.* to be hot. **wola kalinali** ‘It is really warm.’  
**kalit** *v.* to cook. **ileytika akalitintali** ‘S/he cooked it yesterday.’  
**kalit-i-mina** *v.* to be raw. **kalitiminali** ‘It is not cooked.’ Note: used to refer to goods that can be cooked.  
**kaliwatamoka** *n.* rattlesnake. [ka<sup>l</sup>li<sup>w</sup>wata,moːka].  
**kaloma** *n.* jacuira. [ka<sup>l</sup>lõːma].  
**kamakama** *n.* firefly. [ka<sup>l</sup>ma,kaːma].  
**kamana** *n.* ant. [ka<sup>l</sup>nãːma].

- kamanasi** *n.* female ant, LKA tanajura. [ka<sup>h</sup>nã:ma<sub>1</sub>si<sup>1</sup>]. *Atta sexdens*.
- kamata** *n.* beans. [ka<sup>h</sup>ma:ta].
- kamatabila** *n.* beans. [ka<sup>h</sup>ma:ta<sub>1</sub>bi<sup>1</sup>rə].
- kamayki** *v.* to be dry season. **ileypelu kamaykinali** ‘We are in the dry season.’
- kan<sup>1</sup>** *v.* to die. **wayulupimaysilik kanntiakadana** ‘Somebody said that the kitten died.’
- kan<sup>2</sup>** *v.* to tremble. **takaniali** ‘I am trembling.’
- kanapa** *n.* grater. [ka<sup>h</sup>na:pa].
- kanayki** *n.* cake of manioc flour. [ka<sup>h</sup>najki].
- kanaykinun** *n.* fine manioc flour. [ka<sup>h</sup>najki<sub>1</sub>nũ].
- kanaysi** *n.* pepper. [kə<sup>h</sup>najfi]. *Capsicum frutescens*.
- kanaysita** *n.* sweet red pepper. [kə<sup>h</sup>najfi<sub>1</sub>ta<sup>1</sup>].
- kani** *v.* to run out. **kanintapanali** ‘It will run out.’
- kanin** *v.* to be tall. **towali kaniniali** ‘I am tall.’
- kanit** *v.* to close. **akanitin** ‘Close it!’
- kanita** *n.* dead. **wayulu kanita halandana** ‘The dead dog stinks.’
- kapa** *n.* shrimp. [ka<sup>h</sup>pa].
- kapayla** *n.* armadillo. [ka<sup>h</sup>pajrə].
- kapi<sup>?</sup>** *n.* coati. [ka<sup>h</sup>p<sup>h</sup>i<sup>?</sup>]. *Nasua nasua*.
- kapila** *n.* bottle gourd; bowl. [ke<sup>h</sup>pi:lə].
- kapilamata** *n.* small bowl. [ke<sup>h</sup>pi:lə<sub>1</sub>ma<sup>1</sup>tə].
- kapipanun** *n.* ashes. [k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>p<sup>h</sup>i:p<sub>1</sub>u<sub>1</sub>n<sub>1</sub>ō].
- kapune** *n.* paca. [ka<sup>h</sup>pũ:nə]. *Cuniculus paca*.
- kasimalala** *n.* rattlesnake. [ke<sup>h</sup>ʃi:mə<sub>1</sub>la<sup>1</sup>le].
- kasip** *v.* to spit. **takasipidatina** ‘S/he spat on me.’
- kat** *v.* to thresh. **akatiali** ‘She is threshing it.’
- kata** *numeral.* one. **damaysunon amulukatanali** ‘I have only one (child) boy.’
- katal** *v.* to be raw. **kataliali** ‘It is raw.’
- katala** *v.* to be thick. **katalanali** ‘It is thick.’
- katatali<sup>?</sup>** *n.* white man. [ke<sub>1</sub>ta<sup>1</sup>te<sup>1</sup>li<sub>1</sub>].
- katatali<sup>?</sup>amoya** *n.* potato. [ke<sub>1</sub>ta<sup>1</sup>te<sup>1</sup>li<sup>?</sup>a<sub>1</sub>mo<sup>1</sup>ja].
- katatali<sup>?</sup>non** *n.* can. [ke<sub>1</sub>ta<sup>1</sup>te<sup>1</sup>li<sub>1</sub>n<sub>1</sub>ō].
- katatali<sup>?</sup>tapuli** *n.* town. [ke<sub>1</sub>ta<sup>1</sup>te<sup>1</sup>li<sup>?</sup>ta<sub>1</sub>p<sub>1</sub>uli].
- katatali<sup>?</sup>tapunta** *n.* black person. [ke<sub>1</sub>ta<sup>1</sup>te<sup>1</sup>li<sup>?</sup>ta<sub>1</sub>p<sub>1</sub>ũ<sup>1</sup>tə].
- kate-** *question word indicating reason.* Why. **kateayisaila** ‘Why is S/he leaving?’
- kaw** *v.* to peel off. **nawoka towali kawitelon** ‘I am going to peel off the manioc.’
- kawoli** *n.* catfish. [ka<sup>h</sup>w<sub>1</sub>o<sub>1</sub>ri].

- kayl-** AF **kayla-** *conjunction*. after. **towalimi ilulikaylamuntelon** ‘I am going to eat, and after that sleep.’
- kaylia** *n.* urine. [ˈkajɾjə].
- kaymit** *v.* to mix. **kaymitin** ‘Mix it up.’
- kayno** *n.* tuvira fish. [ˈkãjɾɲ]. *Carapus fasciatus*.
- kaynomoka** *n.* catfish. [ˈkãjɾɲmɔˈkə]. *Gymnotus carapo*.
- kayt** *v.* to dress. **kaytiali diegohomi** ‘S/he is dressing her/his clothes.’
- kela** *n.* blue and yellow macaw. [ˈkeːra] *Ara ararauna*.
- kiata** *n.* corn. [kiˈaːta].
- kiatanun** *n.* corn flour. [kiˈaːtaɲũː].
- kiatasi** *n.* straw (corn). [kiˈaːtaʃiː].
- kiatasu** *n.* corn cob, corn bone. [kiˈaːtaʃuː].
- kiawa** *n.* bacurau bird. [kiˈaːwə]. *Chordeiles Podager*.
- kiayleli** *n.* peccary [kiˈæjɾəliː]. *Tayassu tajacu*.
- kieyl** *v.* to make stripes. **apipa kieyiali** ‘He is drawing stripes on his own hand.’
- kiki** *v.* to scratch; to pinch. **uli wola kikatatanan** ‘You are scratching too much.’
- kikila** *n.* cicada. [kiˈkiːrə].
- kikilata** *n.* male cicada. [kiˈkiːrətaː].
- kila** *n.* macaw. [ˈkiːrə].
- kiliwa** *n.* house. [kiˈriːwə].
- kiliwalatamoka** *n.* rattlesnake, LKA cascavel. [kiˈriːwəlaːtaɲmɔˈka].
- kiluma** *n.* jabuti. [kiˈrũːmə]. *Testudo tabulata*.
- kilumata** *n.* turtle. [kiˈrũːmətaː].
- kilumatayliawa** *n.* hoe. [kiˈrũːmətaːriːaːwə].
- kina** *n.* sand flea. [ˈkiːna]. *Tunga penetrans*.
- kita** *n.* rasp palm. [ˈkiːtə]. *Iriarteia exoriza*.
- kiwkiw** *n.* fireant. [ˈkiwkiw]. *Solenopsis saevissima*.
- ko** see **-k**.
- koalali?wi** *n.* fork. [koːlaˈliːwi].
- koka**<sup>1</sup> *n.* father-in-law. [ˈkoːka].
- koka**<sup>2</sup> *comitative*. **Telesa koka Gabliel isunndana** ‘Teresa is upset and Gabriel is too.’
- koke** *n.* hawk. [ˈkoːke].
- koketa** *n.* harpy eagle. [ˈkoːkeːtaː].
- koko** *n.* father in law; brother in law. [ˈkoːko].
- kokwayli** *n.* horse. [koˈkwajɾi].
- kokwayli** *n.* deer. [koˈkwajɾi]. *Mazama Americana*.
- kokwayliseymi** *n.* poney tail. [koˈkwajɾiːsejmi].

- kolinali** *n.* squirrel. [ko'ri:nali].  
**kolokolo** *n.* frog. [ko:lo|ko'lo].  
**kolola** *n.* cricket. [ko'lo:lə].  
**kolopanun** *n.* meal. **towali kolopanunk ilulidatinan** 'I ate the meal.'  
**kolowapi** *n.* cotton rope. [ko'lo<sup>w</sup>wəpi].  
**kolowasi** *n.* ball (of yarn). [kɔ'lo<sup>w</sup>wɑ<sub>1</sub>ɸy].  
**kolowisi** *n.* cotton seed. [kɔ'lo<sup>w</sup>wi<sub>1</sub>ɸy].  
**kolowlui?** *n.* stone knife. [kɔ<sub>1</sub>low.lu.ti:].  
**kolu?kolu?** *n.* (a pair of) scissors. *Redup: kolu?*  
**koluma** *n.* caecilian, LKA *cobra-cega*. [ko'lū:ma]. *Typhlonectes compressicaudus*.  
**kolun** *v.* to be dry. **koluniali** [ko'lū:niɸa'ri] 'It is dry.'  
**komu** *v.* to be full. **komuniali** 'It is full.'  
**kosit** *n.* to sneeze **kositiali** 'S/he sneezes.'  
**kotey** *v.* to be straight. **koteynali** 'It is straight.'  
**kowaliti** *n.* mole. [ko'wa:li<sub>1</sub>ti].  
**kowayiti** *n.* swallow, LKA *andorinha*. [ko'wa<sub>1</sub>ji<sub>1</sub>ti]. *Hirundo rustica*.  
**kowayitipan** *n.* gray-breasted martin, LKA *andorinha-azul* [ko'wa<sub>1</sub>ji<sub>1</sub>pã].  
*Progne chalybea domestica*.  
**kuli** *n.* agouti, LKA *cotia*. [ku:ri]. *Myoprocta acouchy*.  
**kuli?kuli?** *v.* to be curved. **kulinali** 'It is curved.'  
**kulima** *n.* cerejeira tree. [ku'ri:ma]. *Amburana cearensis*.  
**kupiliawa** *n.* earring. [ku'pi:ri<sup>w</sup>wa].  
**kut** *v.* to tie. **kutiali** [ku:tɸi<sub>1</sub>a'ri] 'It is tied up.'  
**kwina** *n.* quiet. [kwī:na].

## L - l

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- letoko** *n.* old man; grandfather. [re:to<sub>1</sub>ko].  
**lilabiti** *n.* family. [li:la<sub>1</sub>βi<sub>1</sub>ti].  
**linhadapi** *n.* fishing line. [li'na:da<sub>1</sub>pi]. Loanword from BP 'linhada'.

## M - m

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- m-**<sup>1</sup> AF **ma-**. *Second person object/patientive pronoun.* **milupidana** 'You are vomiting.'

- m-**<sup>2</sup> AF **ma-**. *Second person possessive pronoun.* **mapipami** ‘your hand’, ‘your (PL) hands’.
- makal** *v.* to fight. **pimakalisaydatinan** ‘We were fighting.’
- makali** *n.* fish trap. [mə'ka:li].
- makalinon** *n.* bowl. [mə'ka:li:nõ].
- malasi** *n.* rusty-margined guan, LKA jacucaca. [mə'la:si]. *Penelope superciliaris jacucaca.*
- malay** *v.* to want. **tamalaynminali** ‘She does not want me.’
- mali** *referential suffix.* **kaliwamali** ‘the/a house’.
- maliwanon** *n.* bucket. [ma'li<sup>w</sup>wa:nõ].
- manala** *n.* sieve. [mə'na:lə].
- manalata**<sup>1</sup> *n.* huge sieve. [mə'na:lə'taː].
- manalata**<sup>2</sup> *n.* array fish. [mə'na:lə'taː].
- masalata** *n.* crab. [mə'sa:lə'taː].
- mata** *diminutive.* **yowlamatami** ‘small knife’.
- matal** *v.* to lie. **mataliali** ‘S/he tells a lie.’
- matay** *v.* to be shallow. **mataynali** ‘It is shallow.’
- matelo** *n.* hammer. [ma'tæ:lɣ]. Loanword from BP ‘martelo’.
- matowlanon** *n.* mortar. [ma'tow:lə:nõ].
- matulopa** *n.* junjun fish. [ma'tu:lɔpaː].
- may** *v.* to walk. **mayidana** ‘S/he walks.’
- maylana** *n.* hawk. [ˈmaylaːnaː].
- maylapi** *n.* piercer. [ˈmaylaːpiː].
- maysili**<sup>1</sup> *n.* litter (pl.). [ˈmajʒiːriː]. **wayulumaysilimi** ‘youngling puppies’
- maysili**<sup>2</sup> *n.* children. [ˈmajʒiːriː].
- maysunon** *n.* boy; male youngling. **wayulumaysunonmi** ‘male puppy’.
- maytasan** *v.* to carry. **amaytasann** ‘Carry it.’
- maytelon** *n.* young girl female; female youngling. **wayulumaytelonmi** ‘female puppy’.
- mi-** see **m-**.
- mi** see **-mali**.
- mia** *v.* talk. **wola mianali** ‘She talks a lot.’
- mialata** *n.* fripperies. [mi'a:lə'taː].
- miamia** *v.* whisper. **miamianali** ‘S/he is whispering.’
- milay** *v.* to move (to another place). **milayidana** ‘S/he is moving out.’
- milisi** *n.* person. [mi'li:fi].
- milut** *v.* to lighten. **milutiali** [mi'ru:tjaːri] ‘It is lightening’.
- mina** see **-misina**.
- minu** *v.* to be smooth. **minunali** ‘It is smooth.’
- misa** *n.* inaja palm. [ˈmi:za]. *Maximiliana regia.*

- misakata** *n.* inaja palm tree. [ˈmiːzɑːkɑːtɔ].  
**misasapa** *n.* inaja palm nut. [ˈmiːzɑːsɑːpɔ].  
**misasi** *n.* inaja palm seed. [ˈmiːzɑːsiː].  
**misaiwa** *n.* inaja palm straw blanket. [ˈmiːzɪjɑːwɑ].  
**-misina** *negative particle.* **ayimisinatapanali** ‘S/he does not go.’  
 verbal theme + **-mi(si)na** *imperative negative.* **tawimina** ‘Do not cut!’  
**misu**<sup>1</sup> *v.* to smell (good). **misunali** ‘It smells good.’  
**misu**<sup>2</sup> *n.* scent. [miːsuː].  
**mitawkosi** *n.* spider. [miːtawkosiː].  
**-moka** see **-amoka**.  
**molowke** *n.* parrot. [moːrowke].  
**motoka** *n.* calabash. [moːtoːka].  
**motokamata** *n.* small calabash. [moːtoːkɑːmɑːtə].  
**motokawi** *n.* calabash seed. [moːtoːkɑːwiː].  
**motu** *v.* to be round. **motunali** [moːtūːnɑːliː] ‘It is round.’  
**motuka** *n.* urucu. [moːtuːka].  
**motumotu** see **motu**.  
**mu** *v.* to be deep. **wolata muntali** ‘It is too deep.’  
**muay** *v.* to carry. **amuayndana** ‘S/he is carrying it.’  
**mukunapi** *n.* earpod tree, LKA timbó. [muːkūːnɑːpiː]. *Enterolobium contortisiliquum*.  
**mulula** *n.* giant armadillo, LKA tatu-peba. [muːluːla]. *Priodontes giganteus*.  
**mulolopoka** *n.* ears ornament. [muːloːloːpɔːkə].  
**myol** *v.* to have sex. **pimyolidana** ‘They are having sex.’

## N - n

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- n**<sup>1</sup> see **-i**<sup>1</sup>.  
**-n**<sup>2</sup> (verbal theme + **-n**) *strong imperative.* **ilulin** ‘Eat (it is an order)!’  
**-na**<sup>1</sup> see **-i**<sup>1</sup>.  
**-na**<sup>2</sup> *locative.* **dakiliwana towali mayitelon** ‘I am going (to walk) home.’  
**nadon** *v.* to kiss. **tanadonn** ‘Do not kiss me!’  
**nahali** *n.* spider. [naːhaːli].  
**nal** *v.* to grate. **nawoka naliali** ‘S/he is grating manioc.’  
**nam** *v.* to pick out. **tanamin** ‘Pick me out!’

- naminali** *n.* other. [nã·mi'ha:li].
- nan**<sup>1</sup> *v.* to cry. **nanintala** 'Did s/he cry?'
- nan**<sup>2</sup> *v.* to shout. **wayulumi nanintali**. [ʼwaʼju,lu·mi nã;nĩnta,li] 'The dog barked.'
- nanayiku** *n.* mosquito. [na'najji,ku].
- nasala** *n.* horn. [na'sa:la].
- nat**<sup>-1</sup> *question word.* when. **natamuntala** 'Where did s/he sleep?'
- nat**<sup>-2</sup> *temporal subordinative particle.* when; while. **natitinanntapanali towali ulikapalintelon** 'I am going to be the leader, when I grow older.'
- nawa** *n.* beiju. **nawak akaliali** [ʼna:wa,kaʼaʼkali,li] 'S/he cuts the beiju.'
- nawaney** *n.* manioc root. [ʼna:wa,næj].
- nawanun** *n.* manioc meal. **nawanunmi** [ʼna:wa,nũ·mi].
- nawasi** *n.* dough. [ʼna:wa,fi]. Note: manioc dough.
- nawata** *n.* big cassava. [ʼna:wa,ta].
- nawko** *n.* mother. [ʼnawko].
- naysununpantanun** *n.* quicksand. [ʼnaj,funũ·pãta,nũ].
- naysunun** *n.* sand; soil. [ʼnaj,funũ].
- nikakata** *n.* pitch tree. [ni'ka:ta].
- nikasi** *n.* pitch. [ni'ka:fi].
- nimitawko** *n.* nostril ornament. [ni·mi'tawko].
- ninu**<sup>1</sup> *n.* water. [ni.'nu:].
- ninu**<sup>2</sup> *n.* drink. [ni.'nu:].
- ninu**<sup>3</sup> *n.* liquid. [ni.'nu:].
- ninu?** **anasimata** *n.* riverhead. [ni'nu:ʼa,na'si,ma:ta].
- ninu?** **apilia?** *n.* water. [ni'nu:ʼəp,ri,li].
- ninu?** **ta** *n.* sea. [ni'nu:ta].
- nosodo?** *v.* to blow. **nosodo?iali** [no'so'doʼi,li] 'S/he is blowing.'
- np** *past tense neutral inferential.* **myotopinpi** '(One infers that) you knew it.'
- ntal** *past tense neutral.* **ilupintali** 'S/he vomited.'
- nutupi?** *n.* urucu. [nu'tu'pi:] *Bixa orellana*.

## O - o

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- okola** *n.* yellow scorpion. [o'ko:ra].
- olali?** *n.* grass. [o'la'li?].
- olopa** *n.* European bee. [o'ro:pa]. *Apis mellifera*. Note: loanword from BP (abelha) europa.



- oluma** *n.* tapir. [o'lũ:ma]. *Tapirus terrestri*.  
**olumata** *n.* cow; bull. [o'lũ:ma,ta].  
**olumatamaysili** *n.* calves. [o'lũ:mata,majfi,ri].  
**olumatamaysunon** *n.* male calf. [o'lũ:mata,majfu,nõ].  
**olumatamaytelon** *n.* female calf. [o'lũ:mata,majte,rõ].  
**onolusu** *n.* armadillo. [o'lũ:nu,ʃu].  
**op** *v.* to grain; to built. **opiali** 'S/he grains it.'  
**opaynapa** *n.* body. [o'pãjnapa].  
**osa** *v.* to give. **tosan** [to'sã:] 'Give it me!'  
**osanap** *v.* to divide. **tosanapan** 'Share it with me!' Note: verb formed by **osa-n** + **ap**<sup>2</sup>.  
**ot** *v.* to find. **otadatinan** 'S/he found it.'  
**ota** *n.* peach palm, LKA siriva. [o:ta] *Guilielma speciosa*.  
**oto** *n.* arrow. **doto** [d'o:to] 'my arrow'.  
**otopoka** *n.* bow; shot-gun. **motopoka** [m'o:to,po'ka] 'your shot-gun'.  
**otosa** *v.* to find and give. **totosandana** 'He found it and gave it to me.'  
**otu** *v.* to tie something together. **otunali** 'S/he ties it together.'  
**oway** *v.* to leave. **owayin** 'Leave it.'  
**owayli** *n.* red deer. [o'wajri]. *Ozotoceros bezoarticus*.  
**owayna** *n.* foot. [o'wãjnə].  
**owaynakata** *n.* leg. [o'wãjnə,ka'ta].  
**owayta** *n.* mushroom. [o'wajta].  
**oya**<sup>1</sup> *n.* buriti palm. [o:'ja]. *Mauritia vinifera*.  
**oya**<sup>2</sup> *n.* rat. [o:'ja].  
**oyakata** *n.* buriti palm tree. [o:ja,ka'ta].  
**oyata** *n.* wild rat. [o:ja,ta].  
**oyunta** *n.* ghost of the flute. [o:jũ,ta]. Note: a spiritual entity.

## P - p

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- p**<sup>1</sup> AF **pi-**. *possessive pronoun plural*. **panosemali** 'our bowl'.  
**p**<sup>2</sup> AF **pi-**. *object and subject pronoun plural*. **pilulidana** 'We all eat.'  
**pakomos** *v.* to fold. **pakomosin** 'Fold it!'  
**palan** *v.* to not have. **towali mateloka palanndana**  
 [to'wa:li ma'tæ:ɾkə pa'lãndã'na] 'I do not have a hammer'.  
**palasi** *n.* comb. [pa'lasi]. Note: comb made of buriti and inaja palm parts.

- palasita** *n.* big comb. [pa<sup>l</sup>lasita].
- palaw** *v.* to tear off. **palawin** ‘Tear if off.’
- pali** *v.* to be warm. **palindana** ‘It is warm.’
- palin** *v.* to spread. **palinidana** ‘It is spread.’
- palisin** *v.* to wish. **palisiniali** ‘S/he wants it.’
- palit** *v.* to cleave wood. **palitiali** ‘She is cleaving wood.’
- pan<sup>1</sup>** *v.* to be white. **paniali** [pã:nja’li] ‘It is white.’
- pan<sup>2</sup>** *v.* to look alike. **totali?ka mululaka panimindana** ‘The giant armadillo and the three-banded armadillo do not resemble each other.’
- panabita** *n.* morning. [pã:naβi’ta].
- panapana** *v.* to be shallow. **panapanandana** ‘It is shallow.’
- pani** *v.* break. **panindana** ‘It breaks.’
- papa** *n.* gecko. [pa:pa].
- papiayta** *n.* village cluster. [pa:pi’ajta].
- paposa** *conj.* in half; in the middle. [pa’po:sa].
- pasakata** *n.* tree bridge. [pa:sa’ka’ta].
- pasika** *n.* matrinxã fish. [pa’fi:ka]. *Brycon matrinchao.*
- paw** *v.* to wait. **pawidana** ‘S/he waits.’
- pawla** *n.* cará fish. [pawla].
- pay** *question word indicating place.* where to; where from. **payjoao**  
**mayitapanala** ‘Where is John going to?’
- pays** *question word indicating place.* where. **paysimamunala** ‘Where do you sleep?’
- payleto** *n.* ghost. [pajre’to].
- payn** *v.* to sing. **maysili payniali.** [majfi’ri: pãñja’li]. ‘The children are singing.’
- pi-** see **-pi.**
- pi-** + verbal theme + **-to.** *imperative hortative exclusive plural.* **piilulito** ‘You (plural) eat!’
- pi-** + verbal theme + **-tinopi.** *imperative hortative inclusive.* **piilulitinopi** ‘Let’s eat!’
- pileypi** *n.* spoon. [pi’ræjpi].
- piowla** *n.* wolf fish, LKA traíra. [pi’owla]. *Hoplias malabaricus.*
- pita** *v.* to squeeze. **apitanali** ‘S/he squeezes it.’
- pitanasi** *n.* popular designation of the spiny seed kernels of various plants. [pi:ta’na’si].
- pito** *v.* to soft. **pitoiali** ‘It is soft.’
- pipot** *v.* to extract. **apipotiali** ‘S/he extracts it.’
- pokolant** *v.* to roll up, to be curled. **pokolantiali** ‘It is curled.’
- polopolokata** *n.* fig tree. [po:lo’po’lo’ka’to].

**polopolosapa** *n.* fig. [pɔ:lɔpɔ:lɔsɑ:pɔ].  
**poposa** *v.* to cut in half. **apoposanali** ‘S/he cuts it in half.’  
**poputa** *n.* butterfly. [pɔ'pɔ:ta].  
**powaypulu** *n.* fun. [pɔ'wajpɔ'lɔ].  
**puwisa** *n.* wattled curassow, LKA mutum. [pu.'wi:sa] *Crax globulosa*.

## S - s

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**sa** *v.* to catch. **asani** ‘S/he catches it.’  
**sakasaka** *v.* to be rough. **sakasakanali** ‘It is rough.’  
**salata** *n.* pineapple. [sa'la:tə].  
**salaymulita** *n.* curica bird [sa'lajmɔ'ri'ta]. *Eucinetus barrabandi*.  
**samawpotaba** *n.* maiden. [sa'mawpɔ'ta'βa].  
**sanbita** *n.* theft. [sã:βi'ta].  
**sapa**<sup>1</sup> *n.* nut. [sa:pə].  
**sapa**<sup>2</sup> *n.* woody wine, AKA Jamaica dogwood, LKA timbó. [sa:pa]. *Piscidia erythrina*.  
**sapa**<sup>3</sup> *v.* to be flat. **sapanali** [sa'pã:na'li] ‘It is flat.’  
**sapane** *n.* little sister, youngest sister. [sa'pã:ne].  
**sapasapa** see **sapa**<sup>3</sup>.  
**sasaw** *v.* to peel off. **asasawiali** ‘S/he peels it off.’  
**sasayla** *n.* peanuts. [sa'sajrə].  
**-say progressive.** **wayulupimatami nanisayali** [t'wa'julu'pi mi nãni'saja'li] ‘The kitten is meowing.’  
**siakan** *v.* to keep close to. **tasiakanan** ‘(You) Keep close to me!’  
**siki**<sup>1</sup> *v.* to have a blade. **sikinali** ‘It has a blade.’  
**siki**<sup>2</sup> *v.* to tickle. **sikinali** ‘S/he tickles.’  
**sikisiki**<sup>1</sup> *v.* to pinch; to tickle. **tasikisikinali** ‘S/he pinches me.’  
**sikisiki**<sup>2</sup> *v.* to be sharp pointed. **dotok sikisikinali** ‘My arrow has a very sharp point.’  
**sikisikiwaka** *n.* saffron. [si'ki'si'ki'waka].  
**siliko** *n.* tuvira rajada fish. [si'ri:ko]. *Eigenmannia trilineata*.  
**siliw** *v.* to scratch. **siliwadana** ‘S/he scratches.’  
**silu** *v.* to be tasty. **kolopanunki silundana** [ko'lo:pa'nũ'ki si'rũ:ɟa'nd] ‘The meal is salty.’  
**sin** *v.* to pull. **asinan** ‘Push it.’  
**sinaysa** *n.* nephew; cousin. [si'hajsə].  
**sinos** *v.* to remove. **asinosiali** ‘S/he removes it.’

- siyuta** *n.* ghost. [si'ju:tə].  
**solu?** *n.* woodpecker. [so'ru:].  
**somawpa** *n.* younger sister. [so'mawpə].  
**sopa**<sup>1</sup> *n.* baby carrier. **dasopatanon amulunali.**  
 [dʰe'so:pətənõ ʔe'mu:luŋa'li]. 'I have only one baby carrier.'  
**sopa**<sup>2</sup> *n.* Brazilian boxwood, LKA guarantã tree. [so:pa]. *Esenbeckia leiocarpa.*  
**sowa** *v.* to be wet. **sowanali** [so'wã:na'li] 'It is wet.'  
**sowaw** *n.* rainbow fish, LKA piaba. [so'waw]. *Lebistes reticulatus.*  
**sowawsi** *n.* piapara fish, LKA piau. [so'wawsi]. *Leporinus elongates.*  
**sowawsisu** *n.* piapara fishbone. [so'wawsi'sʌ].  
**suat** *v.* to sweat. **suatiali** 'S/he sweats.' Loanword form BP 'suar'.  
**sukwin** *adv.* little. [su'kwĩ:]. **sukwin ilulantali** 'S/he ate a little.'  
**sul**<sup>1</sup> *v.* to kill; to knock; to beat. **wayuluka sulintali** 'S/he killed the dog.'  
**sul**<sup>2</sup> *v.* to spank. **tasulintali** 'S/he spanked me.'  
**suli** *n.* wrinkle. [su:ri].  
**suwa** *v.* to have a hole. **suwandana** 'There is a hole.'

## T - t

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- t-** AF **ta-** *first person object pronoun.* **towali tatawintali** 'I cut myself.'  
**-ta**<sup>1</sup> *augmentative.* **apiawatami** 'huge wooden spoon.'  
**-ta**<sup>2</sup> *nominalizer.* **kanitami** 'the dead'.  
**taka** *n.* locust. [t̪a:kə].  
**takata** *n.* green locust. [t̪a:kə'ta].  
**-takata** see **-akata**.  
**takayliawa** *n.* lid. **tapawulu takayliawa sukwintanonmi.** 'Lid of a small clay pot'.  
**takipa** *n.* marmoset, LKA sauim. [ta'ki:pa]. *Cebuella pygmaea.*  
**talama** *n.* teju, LKA calangão. [ta'lã:ma]. *Tupinambis teguixim.*  
**talawa** *n.* red macaw. [ta'la:wɔ]. *Ara chloroptera.*  
**taliw** *v.* to bury. **ataliwadana** 'S/he buries it.'  
**tam** *v.* to seek. **matamadatinan** 'She sought you.'  
**tamay** *adv.* over. **bose tamay waylinonna yeyitelon** 'The fish is going to be over the girau.'  
**tamo** *v.* to get stuck in the mud. **tamoiali** 'S/he is stuck in the mud.'  
**-tamoka** see **-amoka**.  
**tamon** *n.* mud. [ta'mõ:].  
**tan** *v.* to be poisoned. **tanadatinan** 'She was poisoned.'

- tan desiderative. towali ilulitanali** 'I want to eat'.  
**taninta** *n.* poison. [ta'nĩ:ta].  
**-tanon** see **-anon**.  
**-tapanal future tense neutral. amaylitapanali** 'It will rain.'  
**tapawulu** *n.* clay pot. **datapawulumi** [d̥aːtaˈpaˈwuˌluˈmi] 'my clay pot'.  
**tapawulusi** *n.* clay star. [taˈpaˈwuˌluˈsi].  
**tapawulutakayliawa** *n.* clay pot lid. [taˈpaˈwuˌluˈtaˌkaˌjliˈaˈwa].  
**tapay** *v.* to be rotten; to be inedible. **tapaynali** 'It is inedible.'  
**tapayli<sup>1</sup>** *n.* pacoba tree, LKA pacova. [taˈpajri]. *Renalmia exaltata*.  
**tapayli<sup>2</sup>** *n.* banana tree, LKA banana. [taˈpajri]. Note: various species.  
**tapaylikusa** *n.* hammock. [taˈpajriˌkuˈsə].  
**tapaylisapa** *n.* pacoba fruit. [taˈpajriˌsaˈpə].  
**tapaylisi** *n.* pacoba leaf. [taˈpajriˌfi].  
**tapayna** *n.* tucum bowl; arm sling. [taˈpãˌna].  
**tapaytapay** *n.* emerald tree boa, LKA cobra-pagagaio. **tapaytapaytamoka**  
 [taˌpajtaˈpajtaˌmɔˈka]. *Corallus caninus*.  
**-tapi** see **-api**.  
**tapokolan** *v.* to be tangled. **tapokolaniali** 'It is tangled.'  
**tapulisi** *n.* stone. [ˈtaːpuliˌfi].  
**tapun<sup>1</sup>** *v.* to be black. **tapuniali** 'It is black.'  
**tapun<sup>2</sup>** *v.* to be cloudy. **tapuniali** [taˈpũˌniˌaˌri] 'It is cloudy.'  
**-tasa imminentive.** almost. **tatawitasantali** 'S/he is almost cutting me.'  
**taw** *v.* to cut. **yowlami tatawidana** 'I was cut by the knife.'  
**tekiliwi** *n.* rice. [teˈkiˌriˌwi].  
**telilak** *v.* to slide. **telilakantali** 'S/he slid.'  
**-telon future tense evidential. amaylitelon** 'It is going to rain.'  
**tete** *v.* to squeeze. **atetenali** 'She squeezes it.'  
**tia-** *question word generic.* which. **tianoseka hanomintala** 'Which bowl did s/he choose?'  
**-tiaka quotative. milupitiakadatinan** 'You vomited, they said.'  
**tialali?** *n.* rattlesnake. [tiˌaˌlaˈliː].  
**-tiawa** see **-iawa**.  
**tiay-** *question word indicating time.* when. **tiaymalia kantala** 'When did Maria die?'  
**-tika past evidential inferential. kieylalik kanntika halandana** 'The peccary died (I presume because) it stinks.'  
**tiko** *n.* mother-in-law; sister-in-law. [ˈtiˌko].  
**tiley** *v.* to vanish. **tileyidana.** 'It vanishes.'  
**tilihup** *v.* to weave. **tilihupadana** 'S/he weaves.'  
**tilikat** *v.* to mess around. **maysili wola tilikatiali.** 'Children mess around too'

much.'

**tilit** v. to paint oneself. *tilitiali* 'S/he is painting her/himself.'

**-tinopi** (verbal theme + **-tinopi**) *imperative hortative inclusive*. **pikalitino**  
'Let's cut it!'

**tiopa** n. brother-in-law. [ti'o:pa].

**-tisi** see **-isi**.

**tisia** v. to talk. **wola tisianali** 'She talked a lot.'

**tisianap**<sup>1</sup> v. to ask. *tisianapiminadana* 'S/he does not ask anything.' Note:  
verb formed by **tisia-n** + **ap**<sup>2</sup>.

**tisianap**<sup>2</sup> v. to teach. **unintisianapidana** 'S/he teaches well.' Note: verb formed  
by **tisia-n** + **ap**<sup>2</sup>.

**titunulisi?** n. termite. [ti:tu'nu'li:si].

**to** v. to be acrid. **salataka toiali** 'The pineapple is acrid.'

**-to** (verbal theme + **-to**) *imperative hortative exclusive*. **ilul ito** 'Eat!' or 'You  
(SG) can eat!'

**to-** *concessive clause conjunction*. **amaylisaydana totowali ayidana** 'Despite  
the fact that it is raining, I go.'

**tokali?** n. Brazilian nut tree, LKA castanheira. [to'ka'ri?]. *Bertholletia excelsa*.

**tokali?kata** n. Brazilian nut tree. [to'ka'ri:ka'ta].

**tokali?si** n. Brazilian nut. [to'ka'ri:fi].

**tolo** v. to untie. **tolonantali** 'It is untied.'

**tolun** v. to thunder. **tolunapali** 'It is thundering (constantly).'

**tolupata** n. match. [to'lu'pa:ta].

**tomolut** v. to be painted. **tomolutantali** 'It is painted.'

**tomu?tomu?** n. white-browed guan, LKA jacucaca grande. [to'mu'to'mu:].  
*Penelope jacucaca*.

**ton** v. to lick. **toniali** 'S/he licks.'

**tono** v. to be noisy. **wola tonoiali** 'It is noisy.'

**tont** v. to suck. **tontiali** 'S/he sucks.'

**topun** n. coffee. [to'pũ:].

**topuntia** n. coffee (liquid). [to'pũ:ti'a].

**topuntinun** n. coffee powder. [to'pũ:ti:nũ].

**totali?** n. three-banded armadillo. [to'ta'li?]. *Tolypeutes tricinctus*.

**towakali?** n. red-head cayman, LKA jacaré da cabeça vermelha. [to'wa'kri:ʔ]

**towali** *first person subject/agentive pronoun*. **towali ayitelon** [to'wa:li'ʔajite,rõ:]  
'I am leaving.'

**towit** v. to drop. **towitiminan** 'Do not drop it!'

**towla** n. pestle. [to'wla].

**towlakata** n. pestle stick. [to'wla'ka'ta].

**towlamata** n. small pestle. [to'wla'ma'ta].

- towlanon<sup>1</sup>** *n.* pestle bowl. [t'owləp̄nõ].  
**towlanon<sup>2</sup>** *n.* bellybutton. [t'owləp̄nõ].  
**tui?tui?lapi?** *n.* dragonfly. [tuᵊ·tuᵊ·la'pi:].  
**tukun** *v.* to twist. **tukunantali** 'It was twisted.'  
**tuley** *v.* to sink. **tuleyidatinan** 'It sunk.'  
**-tun** *suppositive.* **amaylituntapanali** 'It seems it will rain.'  
**tuni** *adv.* inside. **tuni anoseka yeyiala** 'What is in the bowl?'  
**tutikali** *n.* pigeon. [tu:t'fik̄a'ri].  
**tutinakapawli** *n.* jandaya parakeet, LKA jandaí. [tu:t'fi'na:kaᵊpawri]. *Aratinga jandaya.*  
**tutumut** *v.* to sink. **tamonka tutumutantali** 'S/he sunk in the mud.'  
**tuyt** *v.* to drop. **tuyfidatinan** 'It dropped.'

## U - u

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- uli** *second person subject/agentive pronoun.* **uli ayiminateelon** 'You are not going anywhere.'  
**ulikapali** *n.* boss. [uᵊli·ka'pa:ri].  
**ulila** *n.* lesser ant-eater, LKA tamanduá-mirim. [u'li:ra]. *Tamandua tetradactyla.*  
**ulilikan** *v.* to jumble. **ulilikaniali** 'It is jumbled.'  
**ulima** *n.* caxinguba tree [u'li:ma]. *Ficus anthelmintica.*  
**ulin** *v.* to be stinky. **ulinali** [u.'ri:.na,ri] 'It stinks/It is dirty.'  
**ulita** *n.* rubber. [u'ri:tə].  
**ulumusu?** *n.* dove. [uᵊlu·mu'su:]. *Columbina minuta.*  
**uluntanon** *n.* hole. [u'lu:taᵊnõ].  
**ulununu?** *n.* white-faced capuchin, LKA macaco capuchino. [uᵊlu·nu'nu:].  
*Cebus capucinus.*  
**ulupa** *n.* vulture. [u'ru:p<sup>h</sup>a]. Loanword from BP 'urubu'.  
**uma** *n.* capybara. [u:ma]. *Hydrochoerus capybara.*  
**uni** *v.* to be beautiful; to be delicious; to be good. **uninali** 'She is beautiful.'  
**upa** *n.* macuca bird, LKA macuco. [u:p<sup>h</sup>a]. *Tinamus solitarius.*  
**ute** *n.* tayra, LKA irara. [t'ajɾə]. *Tayra barbara.*  
**uyalinon** *n.* coffin. [uᵊjliᵊnõ]. Note: a traditional coffin made of jatoba tree bark.

**uykilapita** *n.* big bellied woolly monkey. [ʉjkiɾəpiˈta]. *Lagotrix lagotrica*.

## W - w

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**wadawkuli** *n.* boy. [waˈdʌwkuɾiˈ].

**wakawlu** *n.* heron, LKA cegonha. [waˈkawlu]. *Casmerodius albus egretta*.

**wal** *v.* to blow. **walapali** ‘The wind is blowing continuously.’

**wala** *v.* to laugh. **walanali** ‘S/he laughs.’

**walati?** *n.* the wind. **walati?** **walidana** [ɿwaˈlaˈti? ˈwaːliɾdãˈna] ‘The wind blows’.

**walawaka** *n.* red and blue macaw. [ɿwaˈlaˈwaːkə]. *Ara macao*.

**walawka** *n.* piauçu fish. [waˈrawkə]. *Leporinus macrocephalus*.

**walayena** *n.* toucan. [waˈlaˈjeːnaˈ]. *Ramphastos toco*.

**walaynunu** *n.* little egret, LKA garça. [waˈlaɿnuːnuˈ]. *Egretta garzeta*.

**wali**<sup>1</sup> *n.* seringueira tree. [ˈwaːri].

**wali** *v.* to smoke. **walinali** ‘S/he smokes.’

**walu** *n.* parrot. [ˈwaːlu].

**wan** *v.* to be sore. **diusupaylakwaniali** ‘My tongue is sore.’

**wani** *n.* turkey. [ˈwãːni]. *Gallipavo meleagris*.

**wanis** *v.* to swallow. **wanisidatinan** ‘It has been swallowed.’

**wanisi** *n.* ema. [ˈwãːniʃiˈ]. *Rhea americana*.

**wanita** *n.* turkey. [ˈwãːniˈtaˈ].

**watati?** *n.* flower. [ɿwaˈtaˈtiˈ].

**wawa** *n.* basket. [ˈwaːwa].

**wawal**<sup>1</sup> *v.* to shout, to bark. **uli wolata wawalidana** ‘You shout excessively.’

**wawal**<sup>2</sup> *v.* to cry (of pain). **twawalidana** ‘I was crying of pain.’

**wawawsi** *n.* arapuã bee. [waˈwawsi]. *Trigona spinipes*.

**wawoke** *n.* an anesthetic root, LKA João-brandim. [waˈwoːke]. *Piper callosum*.

**wayali** *n.* beetle. [ˈwaːjaˈliˈ].

**wayliawa** *n.* bed frame. [ˈwaɿriːaːwa].

**waylinawa** *n.* otter, LKA lontra. [ˈwaɿriːnaːwa]. *Lutra platensis*.

**waylinon** *n.* girau, a type of all-purpose table. [ˈwaɿriːnõˈ].

**waylinun** *n.* beaver. [ˈwaɿriːnũˈ]. *Pteronura brasiliensis*.

**waynko** *n.* father. [ˈwãːko].

**waypiawa** *n.* fan. [ˈwaɿpiːaːwa].

**waypulu** *n.* arrow head. [ˈwaɿpuːluˈ]. Note: arrowhead made of gabiroba wood.



- waypulukata** *n.* gabiropa tree. [ʰwajpuluʔkaˈta]. *Campomanesia xanthocarpa*.  
**waypulusapa** *n.* gabiropa fruit. [ʰwajpuluʔsaˈpa].  
**waysili** *n.* assai palm, LKA açai. [ʰwajʃiʔriː]. *Euterpe precatoria*.  
**waysilikata** *n.* heart of (assai) palm. [ʰwajʃiʔriːkaˈta].  
**waysilisapa** *n.* assai palm coconut. [ʰwajʃiʔriːsaˈpa].  
**wayt** *v.* to leave. **waytɪn** ‘Get out!’  
**waytelu** *v.* to dive. **waytelunali** ‘S/he dives.’  
**wayulu** *n.* dog; jaguar. [ʰwaˈjuːluː].  
**wayulupi** *n.* cat; guara-wolf. [ʰwaˈjuːlupiː]. *Chrysocyon brachyurus*.  
**wayulutapayli** *n.* spotted jaguar. [ʰwaˈjuːlutaˌpaɪʔli]. *Panthera onca*.  
**wi** *v.* to be dusty. **winali** ‘It is dusty.’  
**wiakali** AF **miakali** *n.* cassava. [wiːaˈkaˈliː] ~ [miːaˈkaˈliː].  
**wialakata** AF **mialakata** *n.* jatoba tree. *Hymenaea courbaril*.  
**wialasapa** AF **mialasapa** *n.* jatoba fruit. [wiːaːlaːsaˈpa] ~ [miːaːlaːsaˈpa].  
**wiawlu** *n.* tinamou bird, LKA nambu. [wiːawlu]. *Tinamus sp.*  
**wikalakata** *n.* fork. [wiːkaːlaːkaˈta].  
**wila** *n.* bird; chicken. [wiːre].  
**wilamaysili** *n.* chicks. [wiːreːmajʃiʔriː].  
**wilanayna** *n.* bird’s egg. [wiːraːnaɪna].  
**wilasika** *n.* pumpkin. [wiːraːsiːka].  
**wilata** *n.* big bird. [wiːraːtaː].  
**wiley**<sup>1</sup> *v.* to vanish. **wileyidatinan** ‘It vanished.’  
**wiley**<sup>2</sup> *v.* to stop. **wileyin** ‘Stop!’  
**win** *v.* to be dusty; to be foggy. **winali** [wiːnaːliː] ‘It is dusty/foggy.’  
**wisiawa** *n.* blanket. [wiːsiːaːwa].  
**wola** *adv.* a lot. **wola amayliali** ‘It rains a lot.’  
**wolata** *adv.* a lot more. **wolata amayliali** ‘It is raining very hard.’  
**wolit** *v.* to boil. **ninuʔapiliaʔk wolitiali** ‘The water is boiling.’  
**wolowkamoka** *n.* millipede. [woːrowkeːmoːka].

## Y - y

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- yalakanin** *adv.* slowly. **ipidatinan yalakanin** ‘S/he ran slowly.’  
**yalawa** *n.* catfish. [jaːlaːwa].  
**yalawoka** *n.* arrowroot, LKA araruta. [jaːlaːwoːka]. *Maranta arundinacea*.  
**yalay** *n.* peludo armadillo, LKA tatu-canastra. [jaːlaɪ]. *Euphractus sexcinctus*.  
**yamotoka** *n.* boa, LKA jibóia. [jãːmoːtoːka]. *Constrictor constrictor*.  
**yanika** *n.* garden. [jaːniːka].

- yantami** *n.* flame. [ʃã:ta,mi].
- yata** *n.* wife. **dyata** [ʃdja:ta] ‘my wife’.
- yatay** *v.* to be tied up. **yatayyataynali** [ja,tajyaʔtajna,li] ‘It is tied up’.
- yaya** *n.* brother. [ʃa:ja].
- yey** *v.* stay. **yeyiali** [ʃæjia,li] ‘S/he stays.’
- yeydat** *v.* to be late. **yeydatiali** ‘S/he is late.’
- yeyeyla** *n.* great kiskadee, LKA bem-te-vi. [jeʃæjra]. *Pitangus sulphuratus*.
- yeypasa** *v.* to steal. **yeypasantatinan** ‘S/he stole from me.’
- yeytami** *n.* village. [ʃæjtə,mi].
- yolola** *n.* ice cream bean tree, LKA ingá. [joʔlo:la]. *Inga edulis*.
- yololasapa** *n.* ingá fruit. [joʔlo:la,saˈpa].
- yomotokamoka** *n.* viper, LKA jararaca. [joˈmoʔto:ke,moˈka]. *Bothrops jararaca*.
- yop** *v.* to hang. **yopin** ‘Hang it (on something).’
- yopa** *v.* to follow. **tyopan** ‘Follow me!’
- yopan** *v.* to get down. **yopann** ‘Get down.’
- yopanon** *n.* hot ashes; fireplace. [ʃo:pa,ɲõ].
- yopipakan** *v.* to be in a hurry. **yopipakaniali** ‘S/he is in a hurry.’
- yotakata** *n.* thorn. [ʃo:ta,kaˈta].
- yoto** *n.* star-nut palm, LKA tucumã. [ʃo:ty]. *Astrocaryum aculeatum*.
- yoton** *v.* to choke. **tayotonatasadatinan** ‘I almost choked.’
- yotonot** *v.* to cough. **yotonofiali** ‘She is coughing.’
- yotop** *v.* to know; to remember. **towali yotopamisinaali** ‘I don’t remember.’
- yotop** *v.* to be smart. **tyotopali** ‘I am smart.’
- yotosapa** *n.* star-nut palm nut. [ʃo:ty,saˈpe].
- yotow** *n.* hook. [ʃoˈtow].
- yow** *v.* to make; to prepare. **otopokak yowimintelon** ‘S/he is not going to make a bow.’
- yowayli** *n.* skunk. [joˈwajri]. *Didelphis marsupialis*.
- yowayn** *n.* red bee. [joˈwãj].
- yowaynte** *n.* bee. [joˈwãjte].
- yowi** *n.* honey. [ʃo:wi].
- yowitakata** *n.* sugar cane. [ʃo:wi,kaˈta]. *Saccharum officinarum*.
- yowla** *n.* knife. **yowla apiali** [ʃowlaʔa:pijaˈri] ‘The knife is sharp.’
- yowlata** *n.* machete. **yowlata apiali** [ʃowla,taʔa:pijaˈri] ‘The machete is sharp.’
- yoy** *n.* small. [ʃoj].
- yubana** *n.* taro [juˈbãna]. *Colocasia esculenta*.
- yupanasato** *n.* straw mat [ʃu:pana,saˈto].
- yui** *v.* to be tired. **yuiniali** ‘S/he is tired.’

- yulin** *v.* to be raw. **yuliniali** ‘It is raw.’  
**yulina** *n.* flute. [juˈliːna].  
**yumula** *n.* frog. [juˈmuːra].  
**yuyamoka** *n.* earthworm. [ˈjuːjaɪmɔˈka].  
**yuyutamoka** *n.* belly worm. [ˈjuːjuːtəɪmɔˈka].