URUBU-KAAPOR

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INTRODUCTION

Urubu-Kaapor belongs to the Tupí-Guaraní language family and is spoken by approximately 500 Indians in the northeast corner of Brazil. They live on the tributaries of streams that flow into the rivers Gurupí, Maracaçume, Paraúa and Turiaçu in the state of Maranhão. There are approximately ten villages scattered from the river Gurupí to the river Turiaçu, an area covering some 2800 square miles.

Urubu is the name by which the tribe is known to Brazilians. It is the Portuguese word meaning 'buzzard'. In anthropological journals, the tribe is often referred to as Urubu-Kaapor. The Indians refer to themselves as ka'apor, which means 'forest-dwellers'. In this paper they will be called Urubu-Kaapor.

Until the early 1970's, the Urubu-Kaapor Indians were isolated from the outside world. But in the early seventies, a highway was completed from Belém to São Luis which passed close to villages near the Paraúa river. Because of the highway, the whole tribe has more contact than ever before with the outside world and, as a result, bilingualism is increasing, especially among the younger men. Before the highway, less than five per cent of the people were bilingual.

SYNTAX OF THE SENTENCE OR CLAUSE

1 Word order

I shall refer to three clause types in Urubu-Kaapor, distinguished by the type of predicate they contain: declarative, stative, and equational. There is a subset of verbs I shall call statives, differing from declarative verbs in that they do not take the first and second person pronominal prefixes or the imperative prefix. A clause having a stative verb as its predicate is a stative clause. A clause with any other verbal predicate is a declarative clause. A clause with a nominal or adverbial predicate is an equational clause. Declarative clauses may be transitive or intransitive, these differing only in the obligatory absence of an object in the intransitive clause. Table 1 shows the differing features among the clause types.

Table 1: Differing features of clause types

		Declarative	Stative	Equational
1.	First and second person prefixes	+	-	-
2.	Imperative prefix	+	-	-
3.	Third person prefix	+	+	-
4.	Subject-verb agreement	+	+	-
5.	Predicate		declarative verb	stative verb	nominal or adverbial

1.1 Transitive clauses.   I now consider SOV to be the basic word order in the transitive clause, not OSV as in Kakumasu (1976). In the least marked clauses which have both subject and object nominals, the most frequent order is SOV. Clauses in which either the S or O nominal is a pronoun, or is followed by *ke* 'OM/FOC' or *riki* 'EMPH/FOC', are considered marked types, but some of these are also SOV (see sect. 9, and exs. (4) and (5)). In a corpus of over 3000 clauses, only 20 were unmarked transitive clauses, including (1) - (3):

(1)   oropo   hu'y   pyhyk
         Oropo   3+fever   3+get
         'Oropo came down with fever.'

(2)   ajame'ē   ke   urupe   je'ē-   ha   mondo   tĩ
         after that   Lupércio   speak-NOMLZR   3+send   also
         'After that Lupércio sent word also.'

(3)   pe   kamarar   jarusu   ra'yr   raho
         and   friends   canoe   small   3+take
         'And friends took over a small canoe.'

Examples of SOV clauses with marked object (4) or marked subject (5) are:

(4)   a'erehe   tarū   nexī   ke   jo'ok
         for that reason   Tarū   Nexī   OM   3+take
         'For that reason Tarū married Nexī.'

(5)   karai   riki   muka   mopok
        non-indian   EMPH   shotgun   3 +shoot
        'The non-indians shot off shotguns' or
        'It was the non-indians that shot off shotguns.'

In addition, there were 22 SOV clauses containing first person free pronoun
subject, including:

(6)   ko   ihē   paper   pinim   a-   mu-   wyr   nde   pe
        thus   I   paper   spotted 1SG-CAUS-come   you   to
        'Thus I sent a letter to you.'

(7)   ihē   nde   ke   a-   raho   tar   katu   tipe
        I   you   OM   1SG-take   want   well   FRUST
        'I really want to take you (but can't).'

(8)   pe   ihē   y   a-   jo'ok   tipe   i-pe
        and   I   water   1SG-take   FRUST   3-to
        'And I got water for him (but he didn't drink).'

    The second most prevalent pattern for transitive clauses is OSV. There were
only three examples in the corpus with both S and O nominals in their
unmarked forms:

(9)   kangwaruhu   maneru   juka
        paca   Mane's father   3 +kill
        'Mane's father killed a paca.'

(10)   ta'yr   jawar   ta   su'u   tipe
        his child   dog   PL   3 bite FRUST
        'The dogs bit a small one (but didn't kill it).'

(11)   kawaru   je   manepái   we-   rur   ta   tī
        horse   HSY   Mane's father   3-   bring   FUT   also
        'It is said that Mane's father will also bring a horse.'

In addition, there were 10 OSV clauses with the O followed by *ke* or *riki* (in
(13) there is one of the rare occurrences of *ke* with both the O and S
nominals, a phenomenon for which I still do not have any satisfying
explanation):

(12)   pe   ke   te'e   kairarixā   mu-   sorok   u-'am
        trail   FOC   freely   Kairarixā   3 +CAUS-space   3-be
        'Kairarixā was cleaning the trail.'

(13)   u'i   ke wira'i   ta   ke   u-'u   ym
        manioc meal   OM Wira'i   PL   FOC   3-eat   NEG
        'Wira'i folks didn't eat any manioc meal.'

(14)   pe   tajahu   riki   jawar   mahem
        and wild pig   EMPH   dog   3 +chase
        'And the dogs chased the wild pigs' or
        'And it was the wild pigs the dogs chased.'

There were 26 OSV clauses with first person subject:

(15)   ne   ra'yr   ihē   a- pyhyk   a-   xo
        your son   I   1SG-take hold   1SG-be
        'I was holding your son.'

(16)   ihē rāi   ihē   a-   moī   ta   tipe
        my   teeth I   1SG-place   FUT   FRUST
        'I wanted to put in my (false) teeth (but didn't).'

There were 27 clauses containing third person plural subject. The word *nga*
'people' is often used with the meaning 'they', so this group of clauses was
separated from the group containing two nominals:

(17)   tapi'ir   ngā   u-sa- sak   ta   tipe
        tapir   3PL   3-see-see   FUT   FRUST
        'They tried and tried to see the tapir (but didn't).'

(18)   pe   riki katar   ngā   mu-   hyk
        and so   flu   3PL   3 +CAUS-arrive
        'And so they brought the flu.'

A comprehension experiment was conducted to test basic word order. A
sentence such as 'John Bill killed' was supplied, and the native speaker
consultant was asked, ''Who died?'' The experiment was conducted with three
men, two in their late twenties and the third in his late thirties. Two men
caught on to what was being tested and their answers are given on the right in
the examples (19)-(22). The man in his thirties is a literate man who has had
experience in questions and answers and was one of the two who gave
answers. The other man who answered is an illiterate with no experience in
question and answer technique. The following sentences were given:

(19)   haimū   juā   juka   (John died)
        Raimundo   John   3 +kill

(20)   juā   haimū   juka   (Raimundo died)
        John   Raimundo   3 +kill

(21)   jawarū   jangwate   juka   (Jaguar died)
        black jaguar   jaguar   3 +kill

(22)   jangwate   jawarū   juka   (Black jaguar died)
        jaguar   black jaguar   3 +kill

After the experiment, the men's comments were that with the object marker *ke* the one who was killed is very clear but without *ke* it is not. (The men used the phrase *ukwa ran* 'he knows falsely' or 'one faintly understands').

This experiment seems to substantiate the results of the statistical study that SOV is the basic word order.

The basic full order for a transitive clause is as follows:

Connective Adjunct Subject Object Verb Closure

Subject, object, and verb are considered nuclear constituents, while connective, adjunct, and closure are peripheral constituents. It is only rarely that all these constituents actually occur in a single clause, the usual number being four or five.

(23)   ajame'ē ke   ku'ērahā   jande   pupur   ja- 'u
        after that   next day   we   boiled   1PL-eat

        ja-   xo tī
        1PL- be again
        'After that, the next day we were eating boiled (paca) again.'

(24)   pe   taramō   kaitā   ju'ipape   pi'a   u-sak   o-ho
        and   today   Caetano   turtle   egg   3-see   3-go

        tī,   pytuniwe
        again,   early morning
        'And today, early in the morning, Caetano went to look for turtle eggs.'

All other logically possible orderings of nuclear constituents occur:

VSO:

(25)   a-   'u   ym   ihē   ma'e   ke
        1SG-eat   NEG   I   something   FOC
        'I didn't eat a thing.'

(26) jo'ok   uhu   te   juwenda   ma'e   ke
      3+take   much   truly   Juvenal   thing   FOC
      'Juvenal bought a lot of things.'

VOS:

(27) mu-   hury   katu   ihẽ   ke   ngã
      3+CAUS-be happy   well   me   FOC   3PL
      'They cheered me up.'

(28) me'ẽ   hu   te   ma'e   ke   ngã   kwe
      3+give   much   truly   thing   FOC   3PL   long ago
      'Long ago they really gave a lot.'

OVS:

(29) pahar   pahar   je   kyse   me'ẽ   ngã
      quickly   quickly   HSY   knife   3+give   3PL
      'It is said that they very quickly gave out knives.'

(30) pãsykwer   riki   matyr   uhu   ngã   i-pe
      cloth   EMPH   3+get   much   3PL   3-to
      'They got a lot of cloth for him.'

SVO:

(31) karai   ta   hijar   kyse
      non-indian   3   leave   knife
      'Non-indians left knives.'

(32) nde   ere-'u   ma'e
      you   2SG-eat   thing
      'Did you eat anything?'

1.2 Intransitive clauses.   The intransitive clause has the basic word order SV:

(33) oropo   kanim   o-ho
      Oropo   3+be lost   3-go
      'Oropo went to hide.'

(34) arauxu   ahem   uhu
      Araujo   3+shout   much
      'Araujo shouted a lot.'

(35)   ihē   ramūi   u-sak   o-ho
        my   grandfather   3-see   3-go
        'My forefathers went to see (it).'

Intransitive declarative clauses differ from transitive clauses only in the obligatory absence of the object. Otherwise, the basic ordering of both nuclear and peripheral constituents is the same:

(36)   pe   pay   jywyr   o-ho
        and   Pay   3+return   3-go
        'And Pay returned.'

(37)   ihē   a-   ho   ta   a-   sak
        I   1SG-go   FUT   1SG-see
        'I'll go see.'

Word order may also vary in the intransitive clause and constituents can be fronted for emphasis. Where only nuclear constituents are involved, this means that the focus is on the action expressed by the verb:

(38)   u-pe   u-pe   tamūi   ke   mā
        3-stumble   3-stumble   grandfather   FOC   EXCLM
        'The old man stumbled and stumbled.'

(39)   je'ē   te'e   pay
        3+speak   freely   Pay
        'Pay lied.'

The fronted constituent may be further emphasized by the addition of a postposition such as *riki* 'EMPH' (40). Adjuncts (adverbials and postpositional phrases) appear to be somewhat deemphasized when they follow the subject or verb (40, 41, 42):

(40)   ko   riki   ihē   a-   hyk   a-   jur   jarupa
        here EMPH   I   1SG-arrive   1SG-come   port

        rehe
        to
        'I arrived here at the port.'

(41)   ka'aro   ne   rehe   u-sak   o-ho
        Ka'aro   you   on   3-see   3-go
        'Ka'aro went to see you.'

(42)   pe   u-hyk   o-ho   kaninde   rehe
        and   3-arrive   3-go   Canindé   to
        'And he arrived at Canindé.'

1.3 Stative clauses.

The predicate of the stative clause contains adjectival-type verbs. In combination with a subject they function as verbs, but they can also modify a noun in a noun phrase:

(43)   pira   riki   heta
        fish   EMPH   many
        'There are lots of fish.'

(44)   pe   so'o-nem   pe   túi
        and   meat-rotten   there   3 +lie
        'The rotten meat is lying there.'

(45)   tapi'ir   i-nem
        tapir   3-rotten
        'The tapir is rotten.'

The stative verb differs from the declarative verb in the form of the personal pronoun prefix. One subset of stative verbs occurs only with third person subject, and this is signalled by the prefix *i-* (45). See sects. 15.3 and 18.4.

Stative verbs of another subset have initial *h-* when the subject is third person and initial *r-* when the subject is first or second person. See also sect. 18.4.

(46)   heta   karai
        many   non-indian
        'There are many non-indians.'

(47)   jande   reta   ym
        we   many   NEG
        'We are not many' or 'We are few.'

(48)   tamūi   he'ō
        grandfather   3 +be tired
        'The old man is tired.'

(49)   ihē   re'ō
        I   1 +be tired
        'I am tired.'

Other stative verbs are unmarked as to subject agreement:

(50) ihē   katu
      I   good
      'I am good.'

(51) karai   katu
      non-indian   good
      'Non-indians are good.'

(52) mirixo   riki   ahy
      woman   EMPH   hurt
      'The women were sick.'

(53) u'i   nixói   te   hū   a'ep
      manioc meal   (there is) none   truly   much   there
      'There wasn't any manioc meal there at all.'

Connectives, adjuncts and closure all occur in stative clauses:

(54) parana   ita   pupur   rehe   heta
      Gurupí river   stone   boil   at   many
      'There are many (non-indians) at the Gurupí river rapids.'

(55) pe   y   rymy'y   rehe   riki   kamarar   ta   pirer
      and   water   edge   at   EMPH   Indian   PL   skin

      pirā
      red
      'And it was on the shore that the Indians' skin was red.'

(56) nixói   a'e   ta   ke   rī
      none   3   PL   FOC   still
      'They weren't (around) yet.'

1.4 Equational clauses.   The equational clause nucleus consists of a subject and a predicate. The predicate may be a nominal or an adverb:

(57) ihē   rakehar   ym
      I   wife   NEG
      'I don't have a wife.'

(58) eha   ym   riki   awa
      eye   NEG   EMPH   people
      'People were without sight.'

Peripheral constituents are less common with equational clauses, but connectives, adjuncts and closure may occur:

(59)   a'erehe   ko   ihē   aja   tĩ
        for that reason   here   I   thus   also
        'For that reason I am also in the same situation.'

(60)   oropo   pewe   rĩ
        Oropo   there   still
        'Oropo is still there.'

1.5 Subordinate clauses.

Subordinate clauses have fewer peripheral constituents than main clauses and the closure constituent does not occur at all. The subordinator *rahā* 'if, when' occurs after the verb. See also sect. 14. Typically, adverbial subordinate clauses precede main clauses, as in these examples:

(61)   se   a-   jur   we   rahā,   ihē   a-   jo'ok
        here   1SG-come   again   when   I   1SG-take

        ta   kӯ
        FUT   FUT.DEF.PURP
        'When I come again, I will get it for sure.'

(62)   upa aman   u-kyr   rahā,   jande   ja- ho   tipe
        end rain   3-fall when   we   1PL-go   FRUST
        'When it stopped raining, we went on in vain.'

(63)   i-pái   ximbo   tuka   rahā,   ta'yn   ke   u-'u
        3-father   poison   3+hit   when   his child   OM   3-eat

        raho
        3+take
        'When his father was beating the poison, (the anaconda) ate his child.'

(64)   kyha   upa pukwar   rahā,   i-pái   pytym
        hammock   end 3+tie   when   3-father   cigar

        me'ē-   me'ē
        3+give-give
        'When he finished tying (his) hammock, his father distributed the cigars.'

2 Parataxis

Phrases or nominalized clauses may follow the main clause to clarify the adjunct, object, or subject. The phrase/clause may or may not be contiguous

with the main clause constituent it clarifies. Phonologically, there is a dislocation in that the main clause has a falling intonation signifying closure. Syntactically, many clauses have the closure constituent, which is then followed by a phrase or nominalized clause. The clarifying constituent may be a noun phrase (65), nominalized clause (66), or adverbial phrase (67):

(65)   karai   riki   katar   jar,   ma'e ahy   jar
        non-indian   EMPH   flu   owner   some pain owner
        'Non-indians are the possessors of the flu, of all diseases.'

(66)   ame'ē ke te'ōru   japi-   japi   mā'y,   kairarixā
        that one Te'ōru 3+shoot- shoot   EXCLM   Kairarixā

        jingo   me'ē ke
        3+shoot   NOMLZR
        'Te'ōru finally killed that one, the one Kairarixā
        had shot.'

(67)   pe   koty   u-'ar   o-ho tĩ,   kairarixā
        there   towards   3-fall   3-go again   Kairarixā

        rake   tĩ
        beside again
        'On that side it fell again, beside Kairarixā.'

Two or three phrases may be juxtaposed to clarify or make more specific one of the constituents:

(68)   pe   mu-   hyk   raho,   h-ekoha   pe,
        and   3+CAUS-arrive   3+take 3-village   to

        i-anam   koty
        3-relative   towards
        'And he brought (it) to his village, to his relatives.'

(69)   u-'u   katu   aja   je   ma'e   pandu,   Xerupái
        3-eat   well   thus   HSY   someone   3+say   Xerupái

        pandu,   kapitam   pandu
        3+say   captain   3+say
        ' "He is eating well," thus it is reported that someone said,
        it was Xerupái, the chief, who said it.'

3   Ellipsis

3.1   Omission of nominals.   In declarative clauses, ellipsis occurs regularly since either the subject or object may be inferred from the context. The verb

has a pronominal prefix which marks the subject, whether or not a free nominal occurs. In intransitive clauses, only the verb constituent is obligatory.

(70) u'y   o-mbor   uhu
    arrow   3-throw   much
    'They (my forefathers) shot a lot of arrows.'

(71) kyse   raho
    knife   3+take
    'He (the man) carried away the knife.'

(72) kaninde   rehe   ja- hyk   ja- ho
    Canindé   to   1PL-arrive   1PL-go
    'We arrived at Canindé.'

(73) arauxu jo'ok
    Araujo 3+take
    'Araujo took it (a picture).'

(74) ajame'ē ke ihē   a- raho   we   tĩ
    after that I   1SG-take   little   again
    'After that I took him (your son) again for a little while.'

(75) pe   raho
    and   3+take
    'And he (the man) carried it (the knife) away.'

(76) pe   je   u-'u   we   te   je
    and   HSY   3-eat   some   really HSY
    'And it is said that she (Kupi'ipe, a woman) really ate (some of the bananas).'

In stative clauses, the subject nominal may be omitted:

(77) upa   je   i-juk   o-ho
    end   HSY   3-rot   3-go
    'It completely rotted away.'

The context of (77) is that a snake bit a man on the leg, which is the referent of *i-* '3'.

(78) pe   mani'ok   túi
    and   manioc   be there
    'And the manioc lay there.'

(79)   i-membek   o-u
        3-soft   3-lie
        'They were soft.'

In equational clauses, both the subject and predicate are obligatory:

(80)   ihē   ra'yr   ym
        I   child   NEG
        'I am without child.'

Third person goal *ehe* 'to him, for him' occurs following the main verb, without any nominal or pronominal head. First and second person and nominal goals take the form of postpositional phrases. See sect. 17.

(81)   u-hyk   ym   ehe   mā
        3-arrive   NEG   to him   EXCLM
        'He didn't find him' (literally, 'He didn't arrive to him.')

(82)   ere-sak   te   ehe
        2SG-see   truly   to him
        'You really saw him.'

(83)   pako   ro   rehe   ihē   a- ho   tī
        banana   leaf   for   I   1SG-go   again
        'I went for banana leaf again.'

(84)   kotete   jande   rehe   aman   u-hyk   py   mā
        nearby   us   to   rain   3-arrive first   EXCLM
        'Nearby it first rained on us.'

3.2 Omission of verb.   The verb *pandu* '3+say' may be omitted when it occurs to close a quotation. The normal closure for quotations is *aja pandu* 'thus he said', but speakers often close with only *aja* 'thus', or sometimes with *aja riki* 'thus EMPH'. See also the discussion of direct quotation complements in sect. 14.

(85)   upa mu-   membek   aja   ihē   pe   pandu
        end   3+CAUS-be weak   thus   me   to   3+say
        ' "It is completely weak," thus he said to me.'

(86)   anī,   aja   riki
        no   thus   EMPH
        ' "No," thus (he said.)'

(87)   e-   pu'am   we,   aja   tipe   ihē   i-pe
        2SG.IMP-stand   little   thus   FRUST   I   3-to
        ' "Stand a bit," thus I (said) to him in vain.'

In a text where there is conversation, the main verb may be omitted, but there occur forms or substitutes which give clues to the hearer for clear understanding of what is going on. Some forms that occur are *aja* 'thus', *upa* 'it is finished', '(someone) finished (something)', *ere* 'yes, okay', and *anĩ* 'no'.

(88a)   upa nde ere- mujã   tamũi
             end you 2SG-make grandfather
             'Old man, did you finish making (it)?'

(88b)   upa
             end
             'It's finished.'

The full form corresponding to (88b) would be:

(88c)   upa ihẽ a-   mujã
             end I   1SG-make
             'I finished making (it).'

(89a)   ihẽ-ma'e   py   a- mujã   ta,   mair   pandu
             my-thing   first 1SG-make FUT   Mair 3 +say
             'Mair said, "I'll make mine first".'

(89b)   ere,   sarakur   pandu,   ere
             okay Saracur   3 +say   okay
             ' "Okay," said Saracur.'

Compare the full form of response, corresponding to (89b):

(89c)   ere,   ne- ma'e   e-   mujã   py,   aja
             okay your-thing 2SG.IMP-make first   thus

             sarakur
             Saracur
             ' "Okay, you make yours first," thus Saracur (said).'

4 Reflexives and reciprocals

Reflexivity is expressed by the prefix *ju-*. The result is an intransitive verb:

(90a)   pe   je   so'oran   jangwate   ke   pukwar
             and HSY rabbit   jaguar   OM 3 +tie

             mã-   'y
             EXCLM- CMPL
             'And it is said that the rabbit tied the jaguar at that time.'

(90b)   ko   ihē   a-   ju-   pukwar   ta   a-   'am
         ATTN   I   1SG-REFLX-tie   FUT   1SG-be
         'Look, I'm going to tie myself.'

(91a)   jande   ke   a'e   mu'e   i-xo   tī
         us   OM   3SG   3+teach   3-be   also
         'He was teaching us also.'

(91b)   makynda xirur   mujā   ha   rehe   kūjā   ta
         machine pants   make   NOMLZR   on   woman   PL

         ju-   mu'e   i-xo   tī
         REFLX-teach   3-be   also
         'The women are also learning on the sewing machine.'

The reflexive form can be used with reciprocal meaning when prefixed to a reduplicated verb stem:

(92)   jangwate   ke   rehe   ju-   tuka   tuka   katu   te
         jaguar   FOC   on   3REFLX-hit   hit   good   truly
         'He bumped and bumped himself on the jaguar' or
         'They (he and the jaguar) bumped each other.'

The reflexive/reciprocal form *ju-* may cooccur with certain postpositions:

jupe 'to himself' (*-pe* 'to, towards, at'):

(93)   kaninde   pe   a-   ho ta   aja   ju-   pandu
         Canindé   to   1SG-go FUT   thus   3REFLX-   say

         ju-   pe
         3REFLX-to
         ' "I'll go to Canindé," thus he said to himself' or
         'He decided to go to Canindé.'

juehe 'to/for himself' (*-ehe* 'to, for'):

(94)   i-ju-   ehe har   upa je   makak   ta   pandu
         3-REFLX-   for NOMLZR end HSY   monkey   PL   3+say

         katu   i-pe
         good   3-to
         'It is said that the monkeys told everything about themselves
         to him.'

The construction *ijuehe har* in (94), meaning literally 'one for himself/themselves', carries the meaning 'about himself/themselves'; cf. *ihe rehe har* 'about myself'.

Although the form *jupandu jupe* 'he said to himself' occurs, the preferred construction is simply the direct quotation followed by *pandu* 'he said', without the reflexive. The English verbs 'decide', 'wish', 'want' and 'think' are expressed as direct speech followed by the quotation tag:

(95) tuti   namō   nahā   o-ho o-u- p   my   aja
      Tuti   with   perhaps   3-go 3-lie-LOC   doubt   thus

      nahā   xaᵗe   u-kwa   my
      perhaps   Xaᵗe   3-know   doubt
      'Perhaps she went to sleep with Tuti, perhaps Xaᵗe
      thought thus.'

See sect. 3.2 for the use of *aja* 'thus' to signal the end of a direct quotation.

5 Passives

Passive constructions do not occur.

6 Causatives

Causatives are formed by adding the prefix *mu-* to intransitive verbs and to some nouns. Only the semantics restricts causativization of lexical items in these categories. The resulting form is a transitive verb, and the third person pronominal prefixes always have a null realization (sect. 18.4):

(96a) pe   jande   ja- hyk   ja- jur
       and   we   1PL-arrive   1PL-come
       'And we arrived.'

(96b) pe   kyse   mu-   hyk
       and   knife   3 +CAUS-arrive
       'And he brought the knife.'

(97a) pe   ihē   a- puᵗam   a- ho   tĩ
       and   I   1SG-stand   1SG-go   again
       'And I stood going again' or 'And I stood up again.'

(97b) ok   pyter   a- mu- puᵗam
       house   center   1SG-CAUS-stand
       'I put up the house center pole.'

(98a)   ma'e   so'o   i-nem   pe   túi   tapi'ir   i-nem
        some   game   3-rotten   there   3+lie   tapir   3-rotten
        'Some kind of meat lying there is rotten, a tapir is rotten.'

(98b)   pe   irapũimbor   mu-   nem   arapuha   rukwer
        and king vulture   3+CAUS-rotten   deer   meat
        'And the king vulture caused the deer meat to rot.'

(98c)   ne   riki   ere-mu-   nem
        you EMPH   2SG-CAUS-rotten
        'You are the one who caused it to be rotten.'

Some verbs undergo a morphophonemic change:

    mumba   'cause to end' (*upa* 'end', an auxiliary verb).
    munger   'cause to sleep' (*uker* 'he sleeps').
    mondo   'cause to go, send' (*oho* 'he goes').

(99a)   a'ep   jande   ja- ker
        there   we   1PL-sleep
        'We slept there.'

(99b)   ne   mimi   ihẽ   a-   mu-   nger
        your   child   I   1SG-CAUS-sleep
        'I put your child to sleep.'

(100a) y   pe   o-ho   ym
        water   to   3-go   NEG
        'They didn't go to the stream.'

(100b) pe   xuã   pu'yr   ra'yr   mondo   i-pe
        and John beads   small   3+CAUS+go   3-to
        'And John sent him small beads.'

I have not so far encountered any causativized transitive verbs. Sentences such as ''the mother caused the child to eat'' are expressed in other ways: paraphrasing in terms of commanding, as in (101), or using a different verb, e.g. *jopói* 'give food to' (used of babies, pets, etc.), seen in (102):

(101)   e-   'u   ma'e   aja   tipe   i-mãi
        2SG.IMP-eat   something   thus   FRUST 3-mother
        'His mother said in vain, ''Eat something''.'

(102)   ihẽ   rendyr   riki   ma'e   so'o   te'e   jopói   reko
        my   sister   EMPH   some   game   freely   3+feed   AUX
        'My sister is feeding some kind of game (animal).'

Some nouns may be causativized:

> *mukapitam*   'cause to be captain' (*kapitam* 'captain')
> *muher*   'name, cause to be named' (*her* 'name')
> *mujawar*   'elope' (*jawar* 'dog')

Examples are:

(103a) ma'e ne ere-putar, kapitam aja arauxu
        what you 2SG-want captain thus Araujo
        'Araujo (said) thus, "What do you want, captain?".'

(103b) arahã i-pái mu- kapitam ta
        at that time 3-father 3+CAUS-captain FUT
        'At that time his father will make (him) captain.'

(104a) her ja- moĩ ta
        name 1PL-place FUT
        'We will give (him) a name.'

(104b) ta'yn ke upa ja- mu- her
        child OM end 1PL- CAUS- name
        'We finished naming the child.'

(105a) tajahu riki jawar mahem
        wild pig EMPH dog 3+chase
        'The dogs chased the wild pigs.'

(105b) i-namõ mu- jawar o-ho
        3-with 3+CAUS-dog 3-go
        'He eloped with her.'

The reflexive *ju-* and the causative *mu-* may cooccur in the order *ju-mu-*, resulting in an intransitive verb:

(106a) pe irapũimbor i-nem ke te'e u-'u
        and king vulture 3-rotten OM freely 3-eat
        'And the king vulture ate that which was rotten.'

(106b) pe irapũimbor mu- nem
        and king vulture 3+CAUS-rotten
        'And the king vulture caused (it) to be rotten.'

(106c) ihē a- ju- mu- nem ta
        I 1SG-REFLX-CAUS-rotten FUT
        'I will cause myself to be rotten.'

(107a)   oropo   katu   ym
          Oropo   good   NEG
          'Oropo is not good.'

(107b)   karai   ihē   a-   mu-   katu   ta
          non-indian   I   1SG-CAUS-good   FUT
          'I will make peace with the non-indian.'

(107c)   aja   te'e   ngā   ju-   mu-   katu
          thus   freely 3PL   3+REFLX-CAUS-good

          ha   kwe   riki
          NOMLZR   past time   EMPH
          'That's the way it was long ago that they caused themselves to be
          at peace.'

7 Comparatives and equatives

7.1 Comparatives.   The simplest form of the comparative is one of the
suffixes *we* 'little' or *te* 'much', with or without *katu* 'good'. For example,
compare the two forms below:

> *katu*   *we*   'somewhat good'
> *katu*   *te*   'very good'

The antonyms of 'very good' are:

> *katu*   *ym*   'not good'
> *katu*   *ym te*   'absolutely not good'

The constructions *katu we* and *katu te* may occur with verbs to express degree,
and the *katu* may be omitted:

> *me'ē*   *we*   'he gave some'
> *me'ē*   *katu*   *we*   'he gave somewhat good'
> *me'ē*   *katu*   'he gave well'
> *me'ē*   *katu*   *te*   'he really gave well'
> *me'ē*   *te*   'he truly gave'

Another form of the comparative is an adverbial phrase with the basic idea
of direction upwards or downwards. For a higher degree the following form is
used:

(108a)   i-'ar   koty   we   X
          3-above   towards   little X   'greater than it'

The "X" in the above phrase is expressed by a nominalized form, as in the examples that follow:

(108b) i'ar koty we   tamūi-   ha
                        old man-NOMLZR   'older than him'

(108c) i'ar koty we   tiha-ha
                        big-NOMLZR   'bigger than him'

(108d) i'ar koty we   puku-ha
                        long-NOMLZR   'longer than it'

For a lesser degree the following form is used:

(109a) i-wyr   koty   we   X
        3-below   towards   little X   'lesser than it'

(109b) iwyr koty we puku-ha   'shorter than it'

(109c) iwyr koty we tiha-ha   'smaller than him'

The standard of comparison may be expressed by a prefix, as in the foregoing examples, or by a pronoun (110), or by a noun:

(110a) a'e   riki   ne   'ar   koty   we   puku-ha
        he   EMPH   you   above   towards   little   long-NOMLZR
        'He is taller than you.'

(110b) a'e ne 'ar koty we tamūi-ha   'He is older than you.'

(110c) a'e ne wyr koty we tamūi-ha   'He is younger than you.'

While the above ways of expressing the comparison are acceptable and are sometimes used, it is more common to use expressions such as 'he is really tall', or by stating a positive-negative contrast that implies the comparison:

(111a) peme'ē   ja   tiha-ha
        that one   like   big-NOMLZR
        'Like that size there?'

(111b) anī,   puku   te
        no   long   truly
        'No, he is really tall' or 'No, he is taller.'

(112) nema'e   katu,   xuãma'e   anĩ
       yours   good   John's   no
       'Your's is better than John's.'

(113) a'e   puku,   ne   anĩ
       he   long   you   no
       'You are not as tall as he.'

There is no special form of correlative comparison to match the English "the more he eats the fatter he gets." A semantically near equivalent would be used, in the form of a conditional sentence with *rahã* 'if, when' (see sect. 14):

(114) u-'u   hũ   rahã,   i-xa   hũ   ta
       3-eat   lot   if   3-fat   lot   FUT
       'If he eats a lot, he will get fat.'

7.2 Equatives.   Equatives are expressed by *saka* 'like' or *aja* 'thus, like'. Sometimes both forms are used: *aja saka* 'like that, thus'. The two forms may also combine with the deictic *ame'ē* 'that one' to form the expressions: *ame'ēja saka* 'like that one' or *ame'ēja* 'like that, just like that'; or they may combine with *kome'ē* 'this one' to form: *kome'ēja saka* 'like this one' or *kome'ēja* 'like this one':

(115a) pe   riki   mair   mujã
        and   so   Mair   3+make
        'And so Mair made (a feather headdress).'

(115b) sarakur   pandu   kome'ēja   ihē-ma'e
        Saracur   3+say   like this   my- thing

        e-   mujã   aja
        2SG.IMP-make make   thus
        'Saracur said, "Make mine just like this one".'

(116a) karai   ta   u-'u   katu   tĩ
        non-indian   PL   3-eat   good   also
        'Non-indians eat it also.'

(116b) so'o   rukwer   ja   saka   ngã   pe
        game   flesh   thus   like   3PL   to

        je   a'erehe   a'e   ta   u-'u   katu   tĩ
        HSY   for that reason   3   PL   3-eat   good   also
        'It is said that it is just like game meat to them;
        for that reason they eat it also.'

(117a)   se   amō   awa   u-hyk   u-wyr
          here   another   people   3-arrive 3-come
          'Some different people came here.'

(117b)   ne   saka   riki
          you   like   EMPH
          '(They were) just like you.'

8   Coordination

The equivalent of 'and' as a coordinator is best treated as a discourse
feature, since the form used normally occurs in the sentence-initial position. It
is the connective *pe* 'and, and then', which is used to express closely
connected temporal sequences. Sometimes there are causal overtones which are
best translated as 'so, then'. One speaker used *pe* twelve times in succession
to narrate a sequence of events. An example from part of a narrative follows;
(118a-h) is a sequence of sentences:

(118a)   ihē   a-   sak   ta   a-   ho
          I   1SG-see   FUT   1SG-go
          'I'll go see.'

(118b)   pe   pytun   rupi   tur,   kandei   pe
          and   night   at   3+come   pitch   with
          'And/so he came at night with a resin torch.'

(118c)   pe   u-ḥyk,   kyse   renda   rehe
          and   3-arrive knife   place   at
          'And he arrived at the location where the knife was.'

(118d)   pe   kyse   amō   i-hī
          and   knife   another   3-be
          'And there was another knife there.'

(118e)   peteĩ   kyse
          one   knife
          'There was one knife.'

(118f)   pe   raho
          so   3+take
          'So he took it.'

(118g)   pytun   rupi   raho
          night   at   3+take
          'He took it at night.'

(118h)   pe   pay   u-hyk,   kyse   renda   rehe
           then   Pay   3-arrive   knife   place   at
           'Then Pay arrived at the location where the knife was.'

Closely related to *pe* is *pe riki* 'then, and so, and it was that, but'. This occurs less frequently than *pe*, but it also marks a sequence of events, being a combination of the forms *pe* 'and' and *riki* 'EMPH'. It has slightly stronger cause-result overtones than *pe*. For example, note the following consecutive sentences:

(119a)   tapi'iruhu   juka
           cow   3+kill
           'He killed a cow.'

(119b)   pe   riki   pupur
           and   then   3+boil
           'And then he cooked (some).'

Examples from another text follow, again a sequence of consecutive sentences:

(120a)   putu'u   ym   riki
           3+rest   NEG   EMPH
           '(The fever) didnt́ stop.'

(120b)   pe   riki   kaninde   ngi   puhã   tur   tipe
           and   then   Canindé   from   medicine   3+come   FRUST
           'Then medicine came from Canindé, but in vain.'

(120c)   ame'ẽ   parā   ehe
           that   3+slip   to him
           'That went right through him.'

(120d)   pe   riki   kutuk   kutuk   tipe   ngā
           and   so   3+pierce   3+pierce   FRUST   people
           'And so they gave him many injections, but in vain.'

Comitative is expressed by *namō* 'with, also', and sometimes has an aspect of coordination, as in (125):

(121)   pe   ihẽ   a-   ker   i-namō   a-   ju
           and   I   1SG-sleep   3-COMIT   1SG-lie
           'And I was sleeping with him.'

(122)   tangara   riki   tuti   ke   namō   túi
           Tangara   EMPH   Tuti   FOC   COMIT   3 be
           'Tangara was with Tuti.'

(123)   y   namõ   jande   karaipe   ja-   sosok
        water   COMIT   we   fibrous leaf   1PL-pound
        'We pounded the fibrous leaves with water.'

(124)   nasúi   riki   ihẽ   namõ   i-hon
        Nasúi   EMPH   me   COMIT   3-go
        'Nasúi went with me.'

(125)   wasai   ihẽ   a-   'u   u'i   namõ
        açai   I   1SG-eat   farinha   COMIT
        'I ate assai with farina.'

Quite often the comitative phrase occurs at the end of the sentence, following
the main predication, functioning to clarify or specify (cf. sect. 2):

(126)   a'erehe   anguxĩ   ko   ihẽ   rok   pe   a'e
        for that reason Agostino   thus   my   house   in   3

        túi,   h-akehar   namõ
        3+be   3-wife   COMIT
        'For that reason Agostino is in my house, with his wife.'

(127)   ma'e   ke   kaitã   ta   kekar   a'e   ta   o-ho,
        something   OM   Kaitã   PL   3+hunt   3   PL   3-go,

        te'õru   namõ
        Te'õru   COMIT
        'Kaitã folks went hunting, Te'õru also.'

(128)   sepetu   ja- 'u   we   rĩ,   pupur   namõ
        roast on stick   1PL-eat   some   still boiled   COMIT
        'We were still eating roasted (meat), boiled also.'

The adversative 'but' is expressed by *anĩ* 'no' or *anĩ rahã* 'if not':

(129a) se   ihe   mimi   ke   kanim   o-ho   aja   je
        here   my   son   FOC   3+be lost   3-go   thus   HSY
        ' "My son got lost here," thus it is said.'

(129b) anĩ,   o-ho   riki   aja   je   tukã   pandu   i-pe
        no   3-go   EMPH   thus   HSY   Tucano   3+say   3-to
        ' "But no, he went away," thus it is said Tucano said to him.'

(130a) howy   me'ẽ ke   e-   rur   rahã
        blue   NOMLZR   2SG.IMP-bring HORT
        'Bring (me) a blue one.'

(130b)   anĩ   rahã,   i-tawa   me'ē ke   e-   rur
         no   if   3-yellow   NOMLZR   2SG.IMP-bring
         'But if there isn't (a blue), bring a yellow one.'

Another kind of adversative is expressed by *pe riki* 'and then, but' (see
(119) and the preceding discussion):

(131a)   pe   haimũ   kaitã   kyse   me'ē
         and   Raimundo   Caetano   knife   3 + give
         'And Raimundo Caetano gave knives.'

(131b)   upa me'ē,   tarumba   amō
         all 3 + give sickle   also
         'He gave everything, sickles also.'

(131c)   pe riki   amō   parahy   kyse   rehe
         but   another   3 + angry   knife   for
         'But another was crazy for a knife.'

There is no special form for expressing 'or' coordination, but the idea can
be expressed in various ways, the principal one being by the use of *nahã my*
'perhaps' (cf. sect. 18.3):

(132)   o-ho   nahã my.   pyta   nahã my.   a-   kwa
         3-go   perhaps   3 + remain   perhaps   1SG-know

         ym ihē
         NEG I
         'I don{ know whether he went or stayed.'

9   Pragmatic and discourse characteristics

There are two morphological markers for focus and emphasis: *ke* 'FOCUS or
OBJECT MARKER'; and *riki* 'EMPHASIS'. Both are postposed to the head
word or phrase which they highlight. There is no restriction as to the category
with which *riki* can occur. The morpheme *ke* normally follows a noun or noun
phrase, including pronouns and demonstratives, but there are a few examples in
my data where it follows a verb that constitutes a nominalized clause
functioning as object (see, for example, 106a).

In transitive clauses where two nominals occur, one of them may be marked
with *ke* to indicate that the marked one is the object, that is the one to whom
the action is done. In many instances, the context or semantics may make it
clear as to who did what to whom. But there are occasions when it is not
clear and in such cases *ke* is used, functioning as an object marker:

(133)   tuti   ke   xa'e   juka   aja   i-pe
         Tuti   OM   Xa'e   3+kill thus   3-to
         ' "Xa'e killed Tuti," thus (she said) to him.'

(134)   ame'ē   pe   mataru   xa'e   ke   nupā   tī
         that   with Mataru   Xa'e   OM   3+hit   again
         'With that Mataru hit Xa'e again.'

(135)   pe   xa'e   ke   mata   pukwar   tī
         and   Xa'e   OM   Mata   3+tie   also
         'And Mata also tied Xa'e.'

(136)   pe   tapī   xa'e   ke   kutuk   tī
         and   Tapī   Xa'e   OM   3+pierce   also
         'And Tapī also pierced Xa'e (with an arrow).'

Object marking is not, however, the only function of *ke*. It can occur with the subject nominal, of intransitive (137, 138) and transitive (139) clauses, and it also occurs in postpositional phrases between the nominal and the postpositional relator (140). As (139) shows, it may occur in a transitive clause with both the subject and the object (cf. 13). I do not fully understand the conditions under which *ke* is used to express these different functions, but reactions of native speakers to its use with a single nominal in a transitive clause consistently demonstrate that its function is then to distinguish the direct object constituent. For the present, when it occurs with some other constituent, I interpret its function as that of highlighting, and gloss it as 'FOCUS'.

(137)   pe   xa'e   ke   manō,   aja   ixyr   pandu   kājā   pe
         and   Xa'e   FOC   3+die   thus   Ixyr   3+say   Kājā   to
         ' "And so Xa'e died," thus Ixyr said to Kājā.'

(138)   xe   ihē   ke   a-   jupir   katu   te   a-   xo
         there   I   FOC   1SG-climb   well   truly   1SG-move
         'There I was really climbing well.'

(139)   a-   'u   ym   ihē   ke   ma'e   ke
         1SG-eat   NEG   I   FOC   thing   OM
         'I didn't eat a thing.'

The particle *riki* 'EMPH' is stronger than *ke* when the latter is used with a similar function. The best English translation for *riki* is often by means of a cleft sentence, as seen in examples (140) - (143), although it should be noted that *riki* does not always occur with the first constituent of the clause (see 144, 145):

(140)   tangara   riki   tuti   ke   namõ   túi
          Tangara   EMPH Tuti   FOC COMIT   3+be
          'It was Tangara that was with Tuti.'

(141)   ihẽ   riki   a-   ka'u
          1   EMPH 1SG-be drunk
          'It was I who was drunk.'

(142)   upa   riki   raho
          all   EMPH 3+take
          'It was everything that they took away.'

(143)   jande   rehe   riki   jeë   kamarar   kamarar   kamarar
          us   to   EMPH 3+say friends   friends
          'It was to us that they called out, "Friends, friends, friends".'

(144)   upa   raho   riki
          all   3+take   EMPH
          'It was that they took away everything.'

(145)   ihẽ   jai   py   ramõ   te   rahã   riki
          I   menstruate first recently truly when   EMPH
          'It was when I just first menstruated.'

Another way to signal emphasis is simply to front the constituent to be
highlighted. The particle *riki* may or may not accompany such fronted
constituents:

(146)   nixói   riki   tame
          there was none   EMPH   crab
          'There wasn't any crab.'

(147)   a-   juka ym   ihẽ
          1SG-kill   NEG   I
          'I didn't kill (him).'

(148)   a-   kwa ym   ihẽ
          1SG-know   NEG   I
          'I don't know.'

(149)   parahy   karai
          angry   non-indian
          'The non-indians were angry.'

(150)   heta   riki   kamarar   a'ep
          many   EMPH friends   there
          'There were many friends there.'

(151)   ne   reko-ha   pe   pahar   e-   ho
          you   have-NOMLZR   to   quickly 2SG.IMP-go
          'Go quickly to your village.'

10 Interrogatives

There are basically three ways of marking sentences as interrogatives: (1)
phonologically - an interrogative sentence ends with high pitch accompanied by
strong stress on the final syllable of the sentence:

(152)   upa   nde   ere-mujā   t̄amüi
          end   you   2SG-make   old man
          'Old man, did you finish making (it)?'

(153)   nde   xa'e   ke   ere- jukā   kwë
          you   Xa'e   OM   2SG-kill   time past
          'Did you kill Xa'e?'

(2) by using the particle *my*, which normally occurs sentence-final and seems
to carry with it the meaning 'perhaps'; it indicates that the speaker has no idea
as to the answer involved in the question (see also sect. 18.3):

(154)   ko   te'e   ta   nde   ere-xo   ju-   pe
          here   without cause   FUT   you   2SG-be   REFLX-to

          my
          perhaps
          'Will you continue to stay here?'

(155)   nde   kurumī   ta   rehe   hū   ere- xo   my
          you   young boy   PL   for   much   2SG-be   perhaps
          'Why do you want young boys?'

(3) by using question words. There are seven question words and they always
occur sentence-initial. Sentence-final *my* and *mamy* 'perhaps' may cooccur with
any of the seven words except the homophonous sentence-initial *my* 'where?'.
(?*my oho my* 'Where did he go?' may be possible). The homophonous forms
perform two quite different functions as well as occurring in different positions
in the sentence:

(156)   my   o-ho
          where   3-go
          'Where did he go?'
          (Here *my* asks for information with regard to location).

(157)   o-ho   my
          3-go   perhaps
          'Did he go?' or 'I wonder if he went.' (Here *my* expresses simply
          ignorance or doubt on the part of the speaker).

The seven question words are:

     ma'e   'what?'
     my   'where?'
     marā   'how?' or 'when?'
     myja   'how?', 'how many?', or 'which one?'
     awa   'who?'
     ma'erehe   'for what purpose or reason?'
     ma'ewā   'why?', usually signalling a rhetorical question.

Examples in full sentences are:

(158)   ma'e   her   mamy
          what   3 +name   perhaps
          'What is his name?' (The speaker may or may not be seeking
          information; he may simply be trying to think what the name was).

(159)   ma'e   her
          what   3 +name
          'What is his name?' (Here the speaker is seeking information).

(160)   ma'erehe   nde   ere-jur
          why   you   2SG-come
          'Why did you come?'

(161)   myja   ne   tapi'ir   ne   ere-juka   katu
          how   you   tapir   you   2SG-kill   well
          'How do you kill a tapir?'

(162)   myja   ere-juka
          how many   2SG-kill
          'How many did you kill?'

(163)   ma'ewā   jangwate   nde   ke   su'u
          why   jaguar   you   OM   3 +bite
          'Why did the jaguar bite you?' or
          'You should not have let the jaguar bite you.'

(164)   awa ko   my
         who this perhaps
         'Who is this one?' or 'Who is this person anyway?'

(165)   my   kyse   i-hĩ
         where knife 3-be
         'Where is the knife?'

There does not appear to be any device for indicating whether a "yes" or "no" answer is expected. The closest that comes to this is the rhetorical question form *ma'ewã* (163) mentioned above. Answers to questions may take the form of "yes" or "no" either alone or with other elements (167), a repetition of the main or auxiliary verb (166), an incomplete sentence (167), a single word or phrase (166), or a full sentence (168):

(166a)   upa nde ere- mujã tamúi
         end you 2SG-make old man
         'Old man, did you finish making it?'

(166b)   upa
         end
         'It is finished.'

(167a)   nde xa'e   ke   ere- juka   kwe
         you Xa'e   OM   2SG-kill   time past
         'Did you kill Xa'e?'

(167b)   anĩ naĩ   i-pe   ihẽ
         no   mistakenly   3-to   I
         ' "No, that's not true," I (said) to him.'

(168a)   nde sawa'e ke   ere-juka   aja   i-pe
         you man   OM   2SG-kill   thus   3-to
         ' "You killed the man," thus (they said) to her.'

(168b)   pe   je   terĩ mãi   je'ẽ   te   anĩ
         and HSY Terĩ mother 3+speak INTNSF   no

         a- juka ym   ihẽ
         1SG-kill NEG   I
         'And it is said that Terĩ's mother said, "No, I didn't kill him".'

A "yes" answer may take one of several forms: *a'e tỹ* 'yes, okay, that's good', *hã* 'okay, yes', *ere* 'okay, yes', and *a'e* 'yes, okay'.

11   Imperatives

Imperative is marked in the verb by the prefixes:

> *e-* '2SG.IMP' and *pe-* '2PL'

The *pe-* form is used for both statement and imperative sentences. No distinction is made between positive and negative forms of imperative.

(169)   e-   'u   katu   puhā   pep   e-   'am
          2SG.IMP-eat   well   medicine   there   2SG.IMP-be
          'Stay there and keep taking the medicine.'

(170)   mair   ra'yr   ke   ahem   e-   jan   ym
          Mair   son   FOC   3+shout   2SG.IMP-run   NEG
          'Mair's son shouted, "Don't run".'

(171)   paite   pe-   pyta   pehē
          over there   2PL- remain   you+PL
          'You folks stay over there.'

(172)   mā   pe- pyhyk   ym
          EXCLM   2PL-grab   NEG
          'Hey, don't grab (it).'

Hortatory expressions are formed by postposing *rahā* to the verb. This form is homophonous with the clause subordinator *rahā* 'if, when'. It occurs with both second person and first person plural imperatives. The response particles *ere* 'yes' and *anī* 'no' may occur alone with *rahā* to express a mild form of imperative (176, 177). The absence of *rahā* indicates a strong imperative or command (see, for example, 179):

(173)   ja-   ho aja   riki
          1PL-   go thus   EMPH
          ' "Let's go," thus (I said).'

(174)   ja-   ho   rahā
          1PL-   go   HORT
          'Let's go.'

(175)   e-   sak   e-   jur   rahā
          2SG.IMP-see   2SG.IMP-come   HORT
          'Come and see.'

(176)   ere   rahā
         okay   HORT
         'Okay, go ahead.'

(177)   anī   rahā
         no   HORT
         'Not yet' or 'Don't do it yet.'

The affirmative response particles listed at the end of sect. 10 occur also as responses to imperatives and to declarative statements that express a mild form of imperative (178):

(178a)   pytun   rahā   jande   ja-   ho   ta   apo
         night   when   we   1PL-go FUT now
         'We'll go at night now.'

(178b)   ere   aja   ihē   i-pe
         okay   thus   I   3-to
         ' "Okay," thus I (said) to him.'

(179a)   ajame'ē ke urupe   pandu   ihē   pe   tī
         after that Lupércio   3+say   me   to   again

         ja-   ho 'y
         1PL-   go CMPL
         'After that Lupércio said to me again, "Let's go now".'

(179b)   ere   aja   ihē   i-pe
         okay   thus   I   3-to
         ' "Okay," thus I (said) to him.'

(180a)   koī   ta   a-   ho kȳ
         tomorrow   FUT   1SG-go FUT.DEF.PURP
         'Tomorrow I'll go for sure.'

(180b)   a'e tȳ   aja   ihē   i-pe
         okay   thus   I   3-to
         ' "Okay," thus I (said) to him.'

12   Negation

Sentence negation is marked by the morpheme *ym* postposed to the verb. The same form is used to express constituent negation and may be postposed to a nominal or adverbial phrase:

(181)   sawa'e   ym
          man   NEG
          '(He is) not a man.'

(182)   paite   ym
          far   NEG
          '(It is) not far.'

(183)   u-hyk   we   ym   rĩ
          3-arrive   little   NEG   still
          'He hasn't arrived yet.'

(184)   pe   riki   a'i   ākā   ym   wapyk   u-ĩ
          and   so   old woman   head   NEG   3+sit   3-be
          'And so the old woman without a head was sitting.'

A negative answer *anĩ* 'no' may cooccur with the negative morpheme *ym* to reinforce the negation. There is usually a phonological break after *anĩ*:

(185)   anĩ,   e-   raho   ym
          no   2SG.IMP-take   NEG
          'No, don't take (him).'

Historically, there is, in Tupí-Guaraní, another form of negative, expressed by infixing a verb to *nd-...-i* (Rodrigues 1953:151). A similar construction occurs in Guajajara, where a preverbal form *na-* 'NEG' occurs with the suffix *-z* (Bendor-Samuel 1972:85,94-95). In Urubu-Kaapor, only one (uninflected) form has remained of this construction: *nixói* 'there is none' (derived from *-ixo-* '3 be' and *n-...-i* 'NEG').

13   Anaphora

Two types of anaphora are dealt with in some detail in other parts of this description: deleted elements (sect. 3), and pronominal forms (sects. 15.2; 16; and 18.4). Here I will restrict my remarks to the special forms that occur as sentence connectives.

There are four basic forms that occur as sentence connectives with anaphoric reference: *a'engi* 'from there', *arahā* 'at that time', *ame'e* 'that one', and *aja* 'thus, like that'. Other elements sometimes occur before these words, but as a general rule they occur sentence-initial. (For another connective, *a'erehe*, which links two clauses in a reason-result relationship, see sect. 14).

The connective *a'engi* 'from there' marks the continuation of a narrative with a change of setting. It can be regarded as a paragraph boundary marker

indicating the beginning of a new sequence of events at a new location. It is composed of two morphemes: *a'e* 'that one, 3', and *-ngi* 'from', which can be suffixed to pronouns, nouns and adverbs:

(186a) arar   rok   renda   'ar   pe   i-hon o-ĩ
        macaw   house   place   above   to   3-go   3-be
        'He was passing by the place of Macaw's house.'

(186b) ku'ẽ   rahã   a'e- ngi   o-ho   tĩ
        next   when   there-from   3-go   again
        'The next day he travelled again from there.'

(186c) pe   nduwĩ   ru   koty   u-hyk   o-ho
        and   Nduwĩ   father   towards 3-arrive   3-go
        'And he arrived to Nduwĩ's father's (place).'

(186d) a'ep   u-ker   tĩ
        there   3-sleep again
        'There he slept.'

(186e) ku'ẽ   rahã   je   a'e- ngi   o-ho   tĩ
        next   when   HSY   there-from   3-go   again
        'The next day he travelled from there again, it is said.'

The connective *arahã* 'at that time' has reference to some earlier event whose duration may or may not be ended at the time the second event takes place. When the first event continues, *araha* indicates simultaneity:

(187a) peteĩ   xõ   ru   jahy   kanim   o-ho
        one   Jon   father   moon   3+be lost   3-go
        'Jon's father was gone for one month.'

(187b) arahã   ma'e kaninde   rehe   inẽ   a-   raho
        at that time   what Canindé   to   I   1SG-take

        tipe
        FRUST
        'At that time I took (him) to Canindé, but in vain.'

(188a) arahã   je   tuti   u-hyk   mamy   tĩ
        at that time   HSY   Tuti   3-arrive   perhaps again

        ihẽ   raikwer   koty
        me   behind   towards
        'It is said that at that time perhaps Tuti arrived again, behind me (i.e. after I left).'

(188b) kaninde   rehe   ihē   a-   ho   wā   ihē   ke
        Canindé   to   I   1SG-go just I   FOC

        arahā   'y
        at that time   CMPL
        'I had just now gone to Canindé at that time.'

(188c) arahā   je   tuti   ke   rehe   i-pái   o-ho
        at that time   HSY   Tuti   FOC   for   3-father   3-go

        tī
        also
        'It is said that at that time his father also went for Tuti.'

The word *arahā* is made up of two morphemes: *a-* 'that, it' and *rahā* 'when'. When the future tense marker *ta* cooccurs postposed to *arahā*, it may refer to some coming event, although the reference is still to a previous statement in the discourse:

(189a) warahy   ka'aruk   koty   e-   sak
        sun   afternoon   towards   2SG.IMP-see

        e-   ho   kỹ
        2SG.IMP-go   FUT.DEF.PURP
        'Go see (him) in the late afternoon.'

(189b) arahā   ta   kỹ   aja   ihē   i-pe
        at that time   FUT   FUT.DEF.PURP   thus   I   3-to
        ' "At that time (I will go see him)," thus I (said) to him.'

The connective *ame'ē* 'that one' refers to some event or object mentioned earlier in the narrative. It may refer to something immediate or it may refer to something quite distant. The word *ame'ē* is composed of the two morphemes: *a-* 'that, aforementioned' and *-me'ē* 'NOMLZR', and it may be followed by a postposition or particle:

(190a) ajame'ē ke   karai   kūjā   a'ep   u-hyk
        after that   non-indian   woman   there   3-arrive
        'After that a non-indian woman arrived there.'

(190b) a'ep   amō   u-wyr   tī
        there another   3-come   also
        'There another one came also.'

(190c)   ame'ē   awa   rehe   u-sak-iha
          that one   people   for   3-see-NOMLZR
          'That one is the nurse.'

(191a)   juka   te'e   ngā   aja   ihē   pe   ihē
          3+kill   without cause   people   thus   me   to   my

          rakehar   pandu
          wife   3+say
          'My wife said to me, "They killed him without cause".'

(191b)   ame'ē   jō   riki   ihē   a-   kwa
          that   only   EMPH   I   1SG-know
          'I only know that (i.e. what she said).'

(192a)   pe   mataru   mani'ok   sosoka   ke   pyhyk
          and   Mataru   manioc   pounder   OM   3+grab
          'And Mataru grabbed a manioc pounder.'

(192b)   ame'ē   pe   mataru   xa'e   ke   nupā   tī
          that   with   Mataru   Xa'e   OM   3+hit   also
          'With that Mataru also hit Xa'e.'

(193a)   myra   ke   y   'ar   rupi   myrape   ke   ngā
          wood   FOC   water   above   through   planks   OM   people

          mu-   pe   hū   i-ndo
          3+CAUS-   flat   much   3-send
          'People flattened out the planks above the water.'

(193b)   ame'ē   'ar   rupi   jande   ja-   sak   ja-   ho
          that   above   through   we   1PL-   see   1PL-   go

          tī
          also
          'On top of that we also went to see.'

    In (194) and (195), each from a different narrative text, *ame'ē* follows
another connective *aja* (see below) to refer to the whole story that precedes:

(194)   aja   ame'ē   upa   ke
          thus   that one   end   FOC
          'Thus that (story) is ended.'

(195)   aja   ame'ē   upa
          thus   that one   end
          'Thus that (story) is ended.'

The connective *aja* 'thus, like, like that' has reference to whole statements or thoughts that have been mentioned before, and is usually associated with conclusions and summary statements. It embraces more than *ame'ē*, which most often refers to single events or objects; *aja* may occur alone at the end of a text to refer back to the whole story:

(196)   aja   riki
         thus   EMPH
         'Thus it was' or 'That's the way it was.'

See also sect. 3.2 for use of *aja* in quote tags which follow the direct speech. Other examples of *aja* are:

(197a)   jangwate tiki   mu-   jan   i-ndo aja   ihē   ke
         jaguar   AFF   3+CAUS- run   3-go   thus   I   FOC
         ' "It is the jaguar that chased it," thus I (thought).'

(197b)   aja   ihē   ke   a-   kwa- ha
         thus   I   FOC   1SG-know-NOMLZR
         'Thus I thought' or 'Like that I was knowing.'

(198a)   ma'e   te   mutu   ke   nupā   hū
         something   INTNSF   motor FOC   3+hit much

         te   ehe
         INTNSF   onto it
         'The outboard motor beat hard on the (waves).'

(198b)   aja   me'ē   rupi   te'e   jande   ke   te
         thus   NOMLZR   through   freely   we   FOC   INTNSF
         'We (travelled) through (it) just like that.'

(199a)   arahā   u-hāi
         at that time   3-split
         'At that time (the clay pan) split.'

(199b)   aja   te'e   mo-   u
         like that   freely 3+CAUS-lie
         'It was laid just like that (i.e. split).'

(200a)   ihē   mahapyr   a-   pyhyk   tī
         I   three   1SG-take hold   also
         'I also caught three (crabs).'

(200b)   xō   aja   a'e   pyhyk   tī
         Jon   like that   3   3+take hold also
         'Jon also caught that many.'

Backward anaphora (or, cataphora) is expressed by one form that also usually occurs sentence-initial: *kuja* 'like this', which refers to something that follows:

(201)   kuja   ihẽ   sepetu   rehe   a-   mo-   ĩ,
         like this I   roast on stick   on   1SG-CAUS-be

         tumeme
         four
         'I made this many roast on stick, four.'

(202a)   ixyr   riki   kuja   pandu   kājā   pe
         Ixyr   EMPH   like this   3 +say   Kājā   to
         'It was Ixyr who said like this to Kājā.'

(202b)   papa   riki   juka   aja   riki   ixyr   pandu
         father EMPH   3 +kill thus   EMPH   Ixyr   3 +say

         kājā   pe
         Kājā   to
         ' "It was father who killed him," thus Ixyr said to Kājā.'

14   Subordinate clauses

One type of subordinate clause is formed by postposing the clitic *rahā* 'when, if' to the verb. It may be preceded by other suffixes and postpositions, but not usually more than two. Subordinate clause verbs do not differ in structure from main clause verbs except for the addition of *rahā*, and the absence of the closure constituent. Context determines whether the conditional 'if' or the temporal 'when' is meant. When the negative *ym* and the future *ta* cooccur, the meaning is unambiguously 'if' (204, 205):

(203)   a-   sak   ehe   rahā   a-   pandu   ta
         1SG-see to him when   1SG- say   FUT
         'When (or, if) I see him, I will tell him.'

(204)   ere-hendu   ym   rahā   a-   petek   ta
         2SG-hear   NEG   if   1SG-   hit   FUT
         'If you don't obey, I will hit (you).'

(205)   aman   ym   rahā   a-   ho   ta
         rain   NEG   if   1SG-go   FUT
         'If it doesn't rain, I will go.'

Further examples of subordinate clauses with *rahā* follow, including contrary-to-fact conditionals (209, 210) (see also sect. 18.3):

(206)   ajame'ē ke marajā   ngi   ihē   a-   hyk   rahā,
        after that   Maranhāo   from   I   1SG-arrive   when

        mataru rehe ihē a-   sak   tī
        Mataru on   I   1SG-see   again
        'After that, when I arrived back from Maranhāo,
        I saw Mataru again.'

(207)   pe   upa a-   pirok   rahā,   ihē   peir
        and end 1SG-peel   when   I   back carrier

        a-   mujā
        1SG-make
        'And when I finished peeling (it), I made a back carrier.'

(208)   a'erehe   ka'a   ta   rahā,   pe   ihē
        for that reason   3 +defecate   FUT   when   then   my

        kupe pe ihē a-   hupir   a-   raho   awa
        back on I   1SG-carry   1SG- take   people

        ka'a   ha   renda   pe
        3 +defecate   NOMLZR   place   to
        'For that reason, when she wants to defecate, then I
        carry her on my back to the place where people defecate.'

(209)   ihē   jō   a-   ho   rahā   ihē   pyrara   ta
        I   only 1SG- go   if   I   suffer   FUT
        'If I went alone I would suffer.'

(210)   a'e   ta   pandu   ym   rahā   jande   ja- kwa
        3   PL   3 +speak NEG   if   we   1PL-know

        ym   ta   apo
        NEG   FUT now
        'If they had not spoken, we wouldn't know now.'

The use of *rahā* is not restricted to clauses. It occurs also with phrases, especially those expressing time when the position of the sun is referred to:

(211)   warahy   jandar   rahā,   paramarajā   pe
        sun   noon   when   Pará-Maranhāo   to

        ja- hyk   ja- ho
        1PL-arrive 1PL-go
        'At noon we arrived at Pará-Maranhāo.'

(212)   warahy   ka'aruk   te   rahā   urupe   pandu
          sun   tree top   INTNSF   when   Lupércio 3 +say

          ihẽ   pe
          me   to
          'In the late afternoon, Lúpercio said to me ...'

(213)   kuế   rahā jande   ja-   ho   tĩ
          next day when we   1PL-   go   again
          'The next day we travelled again.'

A time phrase and a subordinate clause, both with *rahā*, may cooccur in juxtaposition:

(214)   warahy   ka'aruk   te   rahā   ihẽ   a-   hyk
          sun   tree top   INTNSF   when   I   1SG-arrive

          a-   jur   rahā   pije   māi   ihẽ   pe   kyha
          1SG-come when   Pije   mother   me   to   hammock

          pukwar
          3 +tie
          'In the very late afternoon, when I arrived, Pije's
          mother tied a hammock for me.'

(215)   upa ja-   matyr   rahā   ame'ẽ   pytun rahā   jande
          end 1PL- gather   when   that   night when   we

          ja-   hapy   ta   tipe
          1PL-light fire   FUT   FRUST
          'When we finished gathering, on that night, we
          wanted to light the fire.'

A sequence of subordinate clauses may be juxtaposed:

(216)   katu rahā u-hyk   rahā   apo   a-   hupir   ta
          good when 3-arrive when   now   1SG-lift up   FUT

          kỹ-   'y
          FUT.DEF.PURP-CMPL
          'When (the father) is well, and when he arrives home, I will
          then lift up (i.e. give a name to) (the child).'

(217)   ta'yn   ra'yr   ma'e   rahā   hyru   rahā
          child   little something when   3 +receptacle when

i-pái   ke   ma'e   ahy   i-xo   riki
3-father   FOC   some   pain   3-be   EMPH
'When the little child already was, when he was in the
uterus, his father was with some kind of sickness.'

When *rahā* follows an aspect auxiliary, the sequence signifies that while one
event is taking place another event occurs at the same time (see sect. 18.2 for
aspect auxiliaries):

(218)   o-ho   i-xo   rahā   a'e   u-sak   ehe
           3-go   3-ASP.AUX   when   3   3-see   to him
           'While he was going, he saw him.'

Generally, the subordinate clause precedes the main clause, but the main
clause can be fronted for emphasis:

(219)   u-'ar   u-'ar   te'e   wata   i-xo   rahā   tī
           3-fall   3-fall   freely   3+walk   3-be   when   also
           'He stumbled while he was walking.'

There are usually fewer constituents in subordinate clauses than in main
clauses.

Nominalized verbs constitute the nucleus of another type of subordinate
clause. It can be embedded in the main clause as subject (221), object (220),
or as part of a postpositional phrase (222). See also sect. 15.4. Examples are:

(220)   ajame'ē ke   pete'e   je   mā   pira   juka
           after that   there   HSY   EXCLM   fish   3+kill

           me'ē ke   pyta   mo-ī   mā-   'y
           NOMLZR   3+remain   3+CAUS-lie   EXCLM-CMPL
           'After that, it is said, there it was, the thing he killed
           the fish with.'

(221)   pe   kamyjā   tiha   me'ē ke   pyta   tī
           then   truck   big   NOMLZR   3+remain   again
           'Then that big bus stopped again.'

(222)   katu   me'ē   pe ngā   mo-   u
           3+good   NOMLZR   to people 3+CAUS-lie
           'The people placed (him) in a good place.'

Direct speech complements function as the direct object in quotative
sentences. These complements can be any kind of main clause or incomplete

sentences that can occur alone as interrogatives or responses (sect. 10) or
which satisfy any other conditions relating to ellipsis (sect. 3). In particular,
connectives and closure constituents may occur. The normal order in quotative
sentences is for the direct speech complement to precede the quote tag. There
is no indirect quotation, and verbs such as 'wish', 'desire' and 'want' are
expressed by direct quotes.

(223)   a- ho ta   kȳ   aja   pandu
          1SG-go FUT FUT.DEP.PURP thus 3+say
          ' "I'm going," thus he said.'

(224)   ere-jywyr ym ta   nde ke   mamy aja
          2SG-return NEG FUT you FOC perhaps thus

          ihē i-pe
          I   3-to
          ' "Perhaps you won't return," thus I (said) to him.'

(225)   sapukái je'ē   rahā manō aja
          rooster 3+speak when 3+die thus
          ' "He died before dawn," thus (he said to me).'

(226)   kotete ta   jande kupixa ja- mujā
          nearby FUT we garden 1PL-make

          kȳ   tī aja je peri pe
          FUT.DEF.PURP also thus HSY Peri to
          ' "We are also going to make a garden nearby," thus,
          it is said, (he said) to Peri.'

Semantic subordination is involved in the reason-result type of sentence, but
the two clauses that occur in the sequence are both main clauses. The word
a'erehe 'for that reason, as a result, therefore' occurs as a sentence connective
in the second clause of the sequence:

(227)   jixi'u te'e   ihē pe   mā,
          3+cry without cause me with EXCLM

          a'erehe   a- rur a- hijar
          for that reason 1SG-bring 1SG-leave

          i-mai   pe
          3-mother to
          'He cried for no reason at all with me (and) for that
          reason I returned (him) to his mother.'

(228)   xuãxĩ   atu   je   juka   ta   je,
         Joãozinho   good   HSY   3 kill   FUT   HSY

         a'erehe   upa   ngã   tyryk   o-ho   te
         for that reason   end   people   3 +move   3-go   INTNSF
         'It is said that Joãozinho himself will kill (him);
         for that reason all of them moved.'

The word *a'erehe* consists of two morphemes: *a'e* '3' or 'that', which
usually has reference to the protasis, and *rehe* 'for, to', a postpositional
relator. In the protasis there are no restrictions as to the constituents that may
occur, so that the closure constituent may occur before *a'erehe*:

(229a)   hói   ru   o-ho   ym   a'e   tĩ
         Hói   father   3-go   NEG   3   also
         'Hói's father also did not go.'

(229b)   aruwi   ru   anĩ   a'e   tĩ,   a'erehe
         Aruwi   father   no   3   also   for that reason

         ka'i   ru   anĩ   a'e   tĩ
         Ka'i   father   no   3   also
         'Aruwi's father also did not go and for that reason
         Ka'i's father also did not go.'

SYNTAX OF PHRASE TYPES
15   Noun phrase structure

15.1   Marking for case.
The only element that might be considered a case
marker is the suffix *ke*, which marks the object in a transitive clause when two
nominals occur. See sects. 1.1 and 9 for a fuller description.

(230)   jakare   ke   kaitã   japi   amõ   tĩ
         alligator   OM   Caetano   3 +shoot   another   also
         'Caetano also shot an alligator.'

(231)   pe   je   so'oran   jangwate   ke   nupã   katu
         and   HSY   rabbit   jaguar   OM   3 +hit   well

         te   mã   'y
         INTNSF   EXCLM   CMPL
         'And it is said that the rabbit really beat the jaguar.'

15.2   Genitives.
There are two ways to express possession. One is by using
possessive pronouns, which also (except for the third person forms) can
function as the free form subject in a clause. The second way is by a nominal
phrase:

(232)   myra   rākā
         tree   branch   'branch of a tree'

Possessive pronouns are:

ihē-	'1SG'	*jande-*	(*jane-*)	'1PL'
nde- (ne-)	'2SG'	*pehē-*		'2PL'
i- / h- / x-	'3SG'	*ngā-*		'3PL'

The items in parentheses are used when a nasalized vowel or consonant follows. They also occur varying freely with their alternate forms before nonnasal vowels or consonants. See sect. 22 for the phonological rules concerning nasal segments and progressive nasalization.

(233a)   nde-po
         2SG-hand   'your hand'

(233b)   ne-   āpūi
         2SG-nose   'your nose'

(233c)   katar   ahy   hu
         flu   hurt   much
         'The flu was very painful.'

(233d)   ngā-āpūi   huwy
         3PL-nose   blood
         'Their nose bled.'

(233e)   jande-mani'i   upa   ngā   mu-   mba
         1PL- manioc plant   end   3PL   3+CAUS- end
         'The people finished off all our manioc plants.'

(233f)   i-   membyr   ym   me'ē   ke   te'e   manō
         3SG-child   NEG   NOMLZR freely 3+die
         'The one who has not had a child died.'

Nouns are divided into four sub-classes, based on the form of the third person possessor prefix which occurs with each class: *h-*, *i-*, *x-* and 'Other'. Some *h-* class nouns are:

hamūi	'his grandfather'	*hape*	'his path'
hāi	'his teeth'	*hapo*	'its root'
hembe	'his tongue'	*hayty*	'its nest'

The *h-* changes to *r-* when the possessor is first or second person or a free form nominal; it changes to *t-* when the possessor is unspecified:

hamūi   'his grandfather',
   cf. *ihē-ramūi*   'my grandfather'
tajahu ramūi   'wild pig's grandfather',
   cf. *tamūi*   '(someone's) grandfather'

In a few cases, *t-* has come to function as the third person instead of *h-*:

ta'yr   'his son' (not **ha'yr*), cf. *ihē-ra'yr* 'my son'
                                  nde-ra'yr 'your son'

In a few other cases, the form *t-* 'unspecified possessor' is not used; for example:

ma'e rapo   'some kind of root'   (never **tapo*)
ma'e rayty   'some kind of nest'   (never **tayty*)

Some *i-* class nouns are:

iākā   'his head'   *ijywa*   'his arm'
ipy   'his feet'   *ipusu*   'his stomach'
ipy'a   'his liver'   *itangwa*   'his buttock'

The *i-* is dropped and no prefix occurs when the possessor is first or second person or a free form nominal:

ihē-ākā   'my head'
nde-py   'your feet'
arapuha py'a   'deer's liver'

In the *x-* class of nouns, *x-* changes to *k-* when possessed by a non-third person or when not possessed at all. That is, words in this class beginning with *k-* may or may not be possessed. Thus, the *x-* class of nouns is less rigid than the *h-* or *i-* classes in this respect. See the following examples, where the non-possessed form *kyha* is used in (234a) and (234b) and the possessed form *xyha* in (234c):

(234a)   pe   kyha   mu-   hem   we-rur
          then   hammock   3+CAUS-come out   3- bring
          'Then he brought away (his) hammock.'

(234b)   kyha   je   putar   tipe   je
          hammock   HSY   3+want   FRUST   HSY
          'It is said that he wanted a hammock.'

(234c)   pe   pytun   rahã   pe   x-yha   we-rur   xe
          and   night   when   then   3-hammock   3- bring   there

          maneru   rok   pe
          Maneru   house   to
          'And when it was night, then he brought his hammock there to
          Maneru's house.'

Examples of the *x-* class of nouns are:

xamby	'her breast, milk'	*ihē kamby*	'my breast, milk'
xyha	'his hammock'	*ihē kyha*	'my hammock'
xupe	'his back'	*ihē kupe*	'my back'
xywyr	'her brother'	*ihē kywyr*	'my brother'
xamarar	'his friend'	*ihē kamarar*	'my friend'

The fourth sub-class of nouns is designated 'Other'. These are non-possessed forms and constitute the largest number of nouns in the language. Some examples are:

ka'a	'forest'	*jawar*	'dog'
awaxi	'corn'	*akaju*	'cashew'
kupixa	'garden'	*myra*	'wood, tree'

The only way to refer to these items as being possessed by someone is to use a possessed form of the very general word *ma'e* 'thing', which belongs to the *i-* class of (possessed) nouns:

ihē-ma'e	'my thing, mine'
ne-ma'e	'your thing, yours'
i-ma'e	'his thing, his'

Free form nominals may precede *ma'e* to indicate the possessor:

kapitā ma'e	'captain's thing'
mane ru ma'e	'Manuel's father's thing'

Examples of genitive phrases in sentences are:

(235a)   arauxu   miasu   ke   pukái   i-xo
          Araujo   servant   FOC   3+call   3-be
          'Araujo's servant was calling out.'

(235b)   y   rymy'y   rehe   ngā   u-hyk
          water   edge   to   3PL   3-arrive
          'They arrived at the edge of the water.'

Nouns belonging to the *h*- and *i*- classes, and some members of the *x*- class, are obligatorily possessed.

15.3 Modifiers.   Modifiers of nouns fall into two groups: those that precede the noun (numerals, quantifiers, and demonstratives); and those that follow the noun (either postposed elements or stative verb roots, which combine with the noun to form a compound noun). Compare the following forms: stative verb (236a), compound noun (236b), and stative verb with a full nominal subject (236c):

(236a)   i-juk
          3-rotten   'It is rotten.'

(236b)   myra-juk
          wood-rotten   'rotten wood'

(236c)   myra i-juk
          wood 3-rotten   'The wood is rotten.'

See sect. 22 for the stress rule which explains why these modifiers are regarded as suffixal or incorporated elements.

Some modifiers may be postposed to nouns, verbs and certain adverbs (sect. 20):

		Nouns	Verbs	Adverbs
katu	'good, well'	X	X	X
(u)hu/(u)hū	'big, much'	X	X	
te	'true, much, INTNSF'	X	X	X
keruhū	'very big, much'	X	X	
ai	'ugly, useless'	X	X	
we	'little, somewhat'		X	X
py	'first'	X	X	
wā	'just, recent'	X	X	X

Examples are:

(237a)   jawar-uhu
          dog- big   'big dog' or 'species of jaguar'

(237b)   mondok-uhu
          3 +cut- much   'He cut a lot' or 'He worked hard at cutting.'

(237c)   ka'a-   te
           forest-true   'virgin jungle'

(237d)   u-hyk   katu   te
           3-arrive   well   truly   'He arrived very well.'

(237e)   me'ẽ-   te
           3 +give-truly   'He really gave (i.e. he gave generously).'

When *te* and *we* occur postposed to verbs, they occur in fourth position after the verb. (See the table of verb affixes at the beginning of sect. 18). In addition to *te* and *we*, there is another intensifier, *tai* 'really, finally', which seems to be stronger than *te* or *katu te*:

(238a)   puhã   ke   nixói   tai
           medicine   FOC   none   INTNSF
           'There wasn't any medicine at all.'

(238b)   ja-   'u   ym   tai   jande   ke
           1PL-eat   NEG   INTNSF   we   FOC
           'We didn't eat at all.'

Other modifiers that occur postposed to nouns are:

           ambyr   'deceased':

(239)   nosẽ   ru-   ambyr
           Nosẽ   father-deceased   'deceased father of Nosẽ'

           anga   'substitute':

(240)   i-pái-   anga
           3-father substitute   'his foster father' or 'his godfather'

           kwer /ngwer   'former':

(241)   kã-   ngwer
           bone-former   'bone (removed from body)'

           nungar   'similar, substitute':

(242)   kūjã-   nungar
           woman-substitute   'mistress'

           por   'one who exists /dwells':

(243)   ka'a- por
         forest-one who dwells in   'forest dweller'

         ran   'false, similar to':

(244)   jawa-ran
         dog- similar to/false   'fox'

         ta   'PLURAL':

(245)   kaitã-   ta
         Caetano-PL   'Caetano folks'

         wam   'intended to be':

(246)   kapitã- wam
         captain-intended to be   'future captain'

Modifiers that precede the noun are numerals, quantifiers, and demonstratives:

(247)   pe   kuja   pytun mokõi pytun   pe   h-akehar
         and   like this   night   two   night   then   3-wife

         rehe   o-ho   tĩ
         for   3-go   also
         'And this many nights, two nights, then he went for his wife also.'

(248)   peteĩ   renda   aja   nde   ere- mu-   pinim
         one   place   thus   you   2SG-CAUS-   spot
         'One place, thus you wrote.'

(249)   pe   amõ   kamarar   we-rur
         and   another friend   3- bring
         'And/then another companion brought it.'

(250)   ame'ẽ   jarusu   rehe   ihẽ   a-   sak   py   tĩ
         that one   boat   on   I   1SG-see   first   also
         'Also, I saw that (kind of) boat for the first time.'

(251)   kome'ẽ   tamũi   pyta   ma'e   ka'aro
         this one   old man   3+stay   what   Ka'aro
         'This old man stayed, that is, Ka'aro.'

Special rules apply to sequences of pronoun and numeral. When the numeral follows a pronoun, it gives an 'exclusive' meaning to that pronoun. There are no special forms of pronouns distinguishing 'exclusive' and 'inclusive', except by this use of numerals (see sect. 16).

(252)   jande   mokõi jõ   raho   'y
           us   two   only 3+take CMPL
           '(The truck) finally took only us two (exclusive).'

(253)   jande   mokõi ja- ho   rahã katu ta   aja   riki
           we   two   1PL-go if   good FUT thus EMPH
           ' "If we two (exclusive) went, it would be good," thus (she said).'

(254)   pehẽ   mokõi pe- ho   rahã
           you   two   2PL-go HORT
           'You two go.'

When the numeral precedes the pronoun, the sequence constitutes a stative clause:

(255)   mokõi jande
           two   we
           'We are two.'

In narrative texts, the numeral often occurs without a head noun in certain restricted contexts, such as in (256). The deleted element is recoverable from the semantics of the sentence or from the context generally:

(256)   a'ep   mokõi jande ja-   ker
           there two   we   1PL- sleep
           'We slept there two (nights).'

Relative clauses occur in the form of nominalizations or descriptive clauses. The latter do not have any formal marking of nominalization (see, for example, (257)). Both types of construction may occur as subject or object or in an adverbial phrase. See also sect. 15.4.

(257)   tamũi   i-ãkã   tuwyr kyha   pe wapyk u-ĩ
           old man 3-head white hammock in 3+sit 3-be
           'An old man who has white hair was sitting in his hammock.'

(258)   amõ   ahy   me'ẽ   ta ke   tur
           another pain NOMLZR PL FOC 3 come
           'Others who were sick came.'

(259)   wasai kaitã   we-rur   me'ẽ   ihẽ a-   kamyryk
           açai   Caetano 3- bring NOMLZR I   1SG-knead
           'I kneaded the *açai* fruit that Caetano brought.'

(260)   a'engi   ko   a-   mbor   a-   rur   akaju'y
           from there here 1SG- throw 1SG-bring cashew

kaitã   mondok   me'ē ke   pe
Caetano   3+cut   NOMLZR   to
'From there I threw (it) down here, to where Caetano
cut down the cashew tree.'

15.4 Nominalizations.   There are three basic forms of nominalizer: *-ha*,
-har, and *me'ē ke*. The *ke* in *me'ē ke* may be omitted, without any meaning
difference. The *ke* appears to be the same form as *ke* 'FOCUS', but in *me'ē
ke* it does not function to mark focus or emphasis, at least in many cases.
Neither does it always have the object-marking function of *ke*.

The forms *-ha* and *me'ē ke* nominalize verbs, while *-har* nominalizes adverbs
and postpositional phrases. There are two other variants of *ha*: *-a* occurs after
the consonant k, and *-iha* occurs after other consonants. Some speakers use
-iha, rather than *-a*, following k.

(261)   pe   mataru   mani'o   sosok-   a   ke   pyhyk
          and   Mataru   manioc   3+pound-NOMLZR   OM   3+grab
          'And Mataru grabbed a manioc pounder.'

(262)   ko   rupi   sorok-   a   e-   sak
          here along   there is space-NOMLZR   2SG.IMP-look
          'Look along here in the opening.'

(263)   i-tawa   tuti   ke   awa   u-sak-iha
          3-yellow   Tuti   FOC   person   3-see-NOMLZR
          'Tuti was yellow (to) the one seeing him.'

(264)   aja   te'e   upa   ngã   tyryk-   iha   o-ho
          thus   freely end   3PL   3+move-   NOMLZR   3-go
          'In that fashion all those moving left.'

(265)   petek-iha
          3+hit-NOMLZR
          'thing with which to hit (something)'

As in (265), the *-ha* nominalization can have an instrumental meaning, but it
can also signify the action or process:

(266)   o-ho-ha
          3-go-NOMLZR
          'his going'

The *-ha* form can also signify the doer of the action, as in (263).

The *me'ē (ke)* construction is the one more generally used for expressing the

doer of the action or process, or the subject of some state: The plural is
formed by infixing *ta* 'PL': *me'ẽ ta ke* (258):

(267)   kwaraxi   pe   i-ho-hon-me'ẽ   u-hyk
         Icoraci   to   3-go-go- NOMLZR   3-arrive
         'The one who repeatedly went to Icoraci arrived.'

(268)   ihẽ   katu-me'ẽ   ihẽ   aja   hoxĩ   ihẽ   pe
         I   good-NOMLZR   I   thus   Faustino me   to
         ' "I am one who is good," thus Faustino (said) to me.'

(269)   ajame'ẽ ke   hoxĩ   ma'e   jo'ok   amõ
         after that   Faustino something   3 +take out   another

         pytym   ra'yr   pukek- me'ẽ ke
         tobacco   small   3 +wrap-NOMLZR
         'After that Faustino brought something more, cigarettes which
         were wrapped.'

(270)   pe   amõ   u-hem   wainumby
         and   another   3-appear   Wainumby

         je'ẽ-   py- me'ẽ   ra'yr
         3 +speak-first-NOMLZR   child
         'And another appeared, Wainumby, son of the one who first spoke
         (to the non-indian).'

    The *-har* form, which nominalizes adverbs and postpositional phrases,
generally has the meaning 'one who is' or 'thing that is':

(271)   jete-har
         true-NOMLZR   'thing that is true'

(272)   rake- har
         beside-NOMLZR   'one who lives beside...'

(273)   ka'a-   pe-   har
         forest- in-   NOMLZR 'forest dwellers' (refers to Indians other
                                      than Urubu-Kaapor)

(274)   ka'a   rupi-   har
         forest   through-NOMLZR   'thing of the forest'

(275)   yman-   te- me'ẽ   rehe- har   ihẽ
         long ago-true-NOMLZR   about- NOMLZR   I

```
          a-      mu-    pinim
          1SG-CAUS-spot
          'I write the thing that is about ancient times.'
```

(276)   ma'e   rehe- har   puki
          what   about-NOMLZR is
          'What is it about?'

(277)   myra   rehe   a-   ho   we   tĩ   i-wyr   rupi- har
          wood   for   1SG-go little also   3-below along-NOMLZR

          wã   rehe
          intended to be   for
          'I also went for wood, one to be the lower one.'

There are other nominalizers, but they occur infrequently. The form *mi-/imi-*
'thing', which is frequent in other Tupí-Guaraní languages (e.g. Guajajara, per
Bendor-Samuel 1972:117), is found in only one Urubu word, possibly two:

(278)   h-imi-   'u
          3-NOMLZR-eat   'his food'

(279)   arar   mi-   'u
          macaw NOMLZR-eat   'macaw's food'

(280)   h-imi-   jar
          3-NOMLZR-owner   'his hunt'

In (280), *jar* is not a transitive verb and this casts some doubt on whether
imi- here has the same nominalizing function as in (278) and (279). In other
Tupí-Guaraní languages, *mi-* is prefixed to transitive verbs and the resulting
form belongs to the *h-* class of nouns (Bendor-Samuel 1972:117).

Another nominalizing form is *-kwer*, but this occurs very infrequently (it is
more productive in Guajajara, Bendor-Samuel 1972:122):

(281)   janema'e   ke   katu-kwer   te   ta   'y
          our thing   FOC   good-NOMLZR   INTNSF   FUT   now

          aja   je   ngã
          thus   HSY   3PL
          ' "Our things will really be good (things) now," thus they (said).'

16 Pronoun system

Pronouns may function as subject or object. The free form pronouns are:

'1SG'   *ihē*
'2SG'   *ne* (before a nasal and varies freely with *nde* before a
        nonnasal (sect. 22))
        nde (before a nonnasal)
'3SG'   *a'e*
'1PL'   *jane* (before a nasal and varies freely with *jande* before a
        nonnasal (sect. 22))
        jande   (before a nonnasal)
'2PL'   *pehē*
'3PL'   *a'e ta*
        ngā (also means 'people')

The *ne /nde* and *jane /jande* distinctions are not consistent among today's speakers of the language. See also sect. 22 for the *n /nd* variation, and the progressive nasalization rule.

For person prefixes on verbs, see sect. 18.4, and for nominal possessor prefixes, see sect. 15.2.

Some examples of pronouns in clauses are:

(282)   warahy   jere   rahā   a'e   ta   u-sak   tī
        sun   turn   when   3   PL   3-see   also
        'At one o'clock (or, early afternoon) they see also.'

(283)   pe   upa   ngā   o-mbor   ok
        and   end   3PL   3-throw   house
        'And they all threw the houses away.'

(284)   ihē   ke   a'e   mu'e   tī
        me   OM   3   3+teach   also
        'He taught me also.'

(285)   jande   ja-   sak   ja-   xo   ehe   tī
        we   1PL-   see   1PL-   be   on it   also
        'We were looking on it also.'

(286)   xō   ru   riki   paper   rehe   jande   ke   mu'e
        Jon   father   EMPH   paper   about   us   OM   3+teach

        py
        first
        'Jon's father taught us first about reading.'

(287)   ajame'ē ke uruku pe   ngā   ke   ihē
          after that   urucu   with   3PL   OM   I

          a-   mu-   pinim-pinim
          1SG-CAUS- spot-spot
          'After that I painted them with urucu.'

(288)   ihē   kupe-p   ihē   nde ke   a-   raho   ta
          my   back-LOC   I   you OM 1SG-carry   FUT
          'I will carry you on my back.'

In ancient Tupí-Guaraní (Anchieta 1876:12) and in Guajajara as it is spoken today (Bendor-Samuel 1972:87,111), there are distinctive forms for inclusive and exclusive first person pronouns. In Urubu-Kaapor the exclusive form and, therefore, the distinction, have been lost, but there is a periphrastic way of expressing the idea of exclusive first person (see sect. 15.3).

First and second person free forms occur as the head constituent in postpositional phrases; for third person, the pronominal possessor prefix is attached to the postposition:

(289)   ajame'ē ke jande   pe   pukái   mā   tī
          after that   us   to   3+call EXCLM again
          'After that they called to us again.'

(290)   ihē   pe me'ē   we   mi   amō
          me   to   3+give   little   very   some
          'He gave me a tiny piece.'

(291)   tajahu   ihē   a-   juka   aja   ihē   i-pe
          wild pig   I   1SG-kill   thus   I   3-to
          ' "I killed a wild pig," thus I (said) to him.'

The third person plural free form *ngā* 'people, 3PL' can also be used in a postpositional phrase:

(292)   hukwer   ke   ngā   pe   upa a-   mu- hāi   i-ndo
          pieces   OM 3PL   to   end 1SG-CAUS-spread   3-go
          'I distributed completely to them pieces (of meat).'

Indefinite pronouns are: *amō* 'another, someone, something', which can refer to both animate and inanimate objects; *awa* 'person, one, who (interrogative)'-when cooccurring with a negativized verb the meaning is 'no one'; *ngā* 'people, 3PL', which can be specific in its reference, but may also be used as an indefinite pronoun. Examples of the use of these forms are:

(293)   pe   amõ   u-sak   o-ho   tĩ
         and   another   3-see   3-go   also
         'And another went to see also.'

(294)   u-kwa   ym   awa
         3-know   NEG   one
         'No one knows.'

(295)   ajame'ẽ ke   jande   pe   se   koty   amõ   awa
         after that   us   to   this towards   another   person

         pukái   pukái   i-xo   wã   tĩ
         3+call   3+call   3-be   just   also
         'After that, over this way someone else was also just calling
         to us.'

(296)   pe   upa   ngã   u-sak   u-wyr   ehe
         and   end   3PL   3-see   3-come   to him
         'And they all came to see him.'

Demonstrative pronouns take the form of nominalized adverbs: *kome'ẽ* 'this
one' (*ko* 'this, here' and *me'ẽ* 'NOMLZR') refers to someone or something
near the speaker; *peme'ẽ* 'that one' (*pe* 'there' and *me'ẽ*) refers to someone or
something some distance away from the speaker or near the addressee;
paiteme'ẽ 'that one far away' (*paite* 'far away' and *me'ẽ*); *ame'ẽ* 'that one' (*a*-
'reference back' and *me'ẽ*) refers to some aforementioned person or thing.
Demonstratives can occur as the head of a phrase, substituting for a noun, or
as a modifier of a head noun (see sect. 15.3):

(297)   amõ   ta   riki   peme'ẽ
         another   PL   EMPH   that one
         'Those are different ones.'

(298)   kome'ẽ   katu   apo   aja   mair
         this one   good   now   thus   Mair
         ' "This one is finally a good (one)," thus Mair (said).'

(299)   paiteme'ẽ   papái   riki   jeé
         that one   father   EMPH   3+speak
         'The father of that one over there spoke.'

(300)   ame'ẽ   jande   ja-   'u
         that   we   1PL-eat
         'We ate that (aforementioned thing).'

(301)   upa peme'ē   ke   y   ke   ahy
        end that one   FOC   water   FOC   3+hurt
        'All of that water is bad/causes sickness.'

(302)   kome'ē   mahapyr-iha   rehe   oropo   rakehar
        this   three-   NOMLZR   on   Oropo   wife

        manō
        3+die
        'On this third day Oropo's wife died.'

Reflexive pronouns are compound forms. They consist of a pronominal possessor prefix (sect. 15.2), the reflexivizer *ju-* (sect. 4), and a postpositional relator (sect. 17):

i-ju-pe	'to himself'
ihē jupe	'to myself'
jande jupe	'to ourselves'
i-ju-ehe	'for himself'
ihē juehe	'for myself'
jande juehe	'for ourselves'

The reflexivized postpositions *jupe* and *ijuehe* may also be preceded by nominals.

There are no reciprocal pronouns as such, but the idea of reciprocity can be expressed by prefixing the reflexivizer *ju-* to a verb and reduplicating the verb stem. (Reduplication is also used to express iterativity, see sect. 18.2):

(303)   jangwate   ke   rehe   ju-   tuka-tuka   katu
        jaguar   FOC   on   3REFLX- hit-hit   good

        te
        INTNSF
        'He really bumped himself on the jaguar' or 'They really bumped each other.'

17   Adpositional phrase structure

Only postpositions occur. They are the relator element in what I have called a (postpositional) relator phrase. Members of the class of relators are:

rehe	'at, to, for, about'
rupi	'by, through, alongside, along'
pe	'to, with, at, towards'
ngi	'from, away from'

rake   'beside, near'
koty   'towards'
my¹y   'at the edge of'

These relators may be subcategorized in terms of the noun sub-classes based on third person prefix forms (sect. 15.2) as follows:

rehe and *rupi* are *h-* class
pe and *ngi* are *i-* class
koty is *x-* class
my¹y is 'Other' class

Examples are:

(304)   pe   kuja   pytun   mokõi   pytun   pe   h-akehar
         and   like this   night   two   night   then   3-wife

         rehe   o-ho   tĩ
         for   3-go   also
         'And after this many nights, two nights, he went
         for his wife also.'

(305)   ere-rur   aja   je   h-akehar   pandu   i-pe
         2SG-bring   thus   HSY   3-wife   3+say   3-to
         ' "Did you bring it?," thus, it is said, his wife said to him.'

(306)   pe   ihẽ ·   h-upi   te¹e   a-   ho
         and   I   3-along   INTNSF   1SG-go
         'And I went right alongside it.'

(307)   hãkã   rake   rupi   a-   ho
         stream   beside   along   1SG-go
         'I went close by the stream bank.'

(308)   pe   kyse   rehe   u-hyk
         and   knife   to   3-arrive
         'And he arrived to where the knife was.'

(309)   pe   i-mu   o-ho   i-ngi
         then   3-brother   3-go   3-from
         'Then his brother went away from him.'

(310)   pe   jande   ja-   jan   x-oty
         then   we   1PL-   run   3-towards
         'Then we ran towards him.'

(311)   pe   ihẽ   koty   jangwate   keruhū   u-jan   u-wyr
          then   me   towards jaguar   very big   3-run   3-come
          'Then the great big jaguar came running towards me.'

Although *rehe* is listed with the *h-* class, the form *hehe does not occur (it does in Guajajara, see Bendor-Samuel 1972:139,173). In Urubu-Kaapor, the third person form is *ehe* (see also sect. 3):

(312)   kūjã   riki   hury   ehe
          woman   EMPH   3+happy   about him
          'The woman was happy about him.'

There is an alternate third person form for *rake*; it is *wake*:

(313)   pe   wake   mapyk   so'onem   rake
          and   3+beside   3+place   bad meat   beside
          'And he placed (the firepot) beside it, beside the bad meat.'

Sometimes *my'y* 'at the edge of' has a prefix *ry-* attached to it. (In Guajajara, there is a similar form which occurs in genitive constructions and is considered a class marker in that language (Bendor-Samuel 1972:107)):

(314)   y   ry-my'y   rupi   jande   tame   ja-   kekar
          water   edge   along   we   crab   1PL-   hunt

          ja-   ho
          1PL-go
          'We hunted for crabs along the edge of the water.'

Some of the relators may cooccur in the same postpositional phrase: *my'y* may be followed by *rake* (315), *rupi* (314), or *rehe* (317); *rupi* may be preceded by *rake* (307, 315) and *koty* (316), as well as by *my'y* (314):

(315)   kupixa   my'y   rake   rupi   ja-   jur
          garden   edge   beside   along   1PL-come
          'We came alongside the edge of the garden.'

(316)   haikwer   koty   rupi   i-hĩ
          3+behind   towards   along   3-be
          'It was along behind him/to the back of him.'

(317)   y   ry-my'y   rehe   i-hon
          water   edge   to   3-go
          'He went to the river bank.'

18 Verb and verb phrase structure

Table 2: Verb and verb phrase structure

Person of Subject	REFLX	CAUS	S T E M	DESID	MOD	NEG	INTNSF	DIMIN	FUT	FRUST	SUBORD
a- 'ISG' etc.	ju-	mu-		tar	katu	ym	te tai	mi	ta	tipe	rahã
sect. 18.4	sect. 4	sect. 6		sect. 18.3	sect. 15.3	sect. 12	sect 15.3	sect. 18.4	sect. 18.1	sect. 18.3	sects. 14;18.3

Table 2 shows the type of affixes that can occur in the declarative verb and the relative order in which they occur. The table is extended to include postposed elements that occur in the verb phrase. Some of these postposed elements might better be regarded as suffixes, since they can perturb the stress pattern of the main (verb) word (see sect. 22), but in this description they have been treated as clitics or particles and written as separate words. All these forms also occur in the stative verb (phrase). There is one other form, *wã* 'a short while ago', which does not easily fit in to the table, since it does not seem to cooccur with any of the other postposed forms:

(318a)   o-ho   wã
          3-go   just   'He just left.'

(318b)   katu   wã
          good   just   'He just got better.'

18.1 Tense.   Only one tense is marked morphologically: *ta* 'FUTURE'. Past and present tenses can only be inferred from the context or by specific time words:

(319)   kase   a- 'u   ta
          coffee   1SG-drink   FUT
          'I will drink coffee.'

(320)   ma'e   nde   ere-putar
          what   you   2SG-want
          'What do you want?' (tense inferred from context)

(321)   ihē   ramūi   ita   takwar   o-mbor
         my   grandfather   stone   arrow   3-throw
         'My grandfathers used to shoot steel arrows.'

(322)   jyngar   uhū   te   je   ngā   kwe
         3+sing   much   INTNSF   HSY   3PL   time past
         'Long ago they sang a lot.'

18.2 Aspect.   There are three types of aspect: aspect auxiliary; a particle expressing completed action; and iterative aspect, which is expressed by reduplication.

The aspect auxiliaries are a sub-class of verb. They take the pronominal prefix agreeing in number and person with the subject and with the person marker on the main verb. They distinguish four basic body positions:

-xo	'moving'	*wata*	*i-xo*	
		walk	3-move	'He is walking.'
-'am	'standing'	*pu'am*	*u-'am*	
		stand	3-stand	'He is standing.'
-ī	'sitting'	*wapyk*	*u-ī*	
		sit	3-sit	'He is sitting.'
-u /-ju	'lying down'	*nino*	*o-u*	
		lie	3-lie	'He is lying down.'

Subtle distinctions of meaning may be brought out by the use of these aspect auxiliaries. In one text, two different aspects were used to describe a jaguar waiting for its prey:

(323)   harō   u-ī
         3+wait   3-sit   'He was waiting sitting down.'

(324)   harō   i-xo
         3+wait   3-move   'He was waiting pacing around.'

Other examples of aspect auxiliaries are:

(325)   ihē   riki   wewe   katu   a-   jur   a-   xo
         I   EMPH   slowly   good   1SG-come   1SG-move
         'I was coming very slowly.'

(326)   ame'ē   pe   ihē   a-   nino   a-   ju
         that one   in   I   1SG-lie down   1SG-lie
         'I was lying down in that (hammock).'

(327)   nosē   pái   pirok   u-ī
         Nosē   father   3+peel   3-sit
         'Nosē's father was peeling it sitting.'

When the aspect auxiliary is used alone, it functions as a main verb and may have postpositions attached (cf. sect. 18.8):

(328)   ka'a   rupi   a-   xo
         forest through   1SG-move
         'I am in the forest' or 'I live in the forest moving around.'

(329)   pe   ne   ere-'am
         there   you   2SG-stand
         'There you are (standing)!'

(330)   ihē   riki   pe   te'e   a-   ju- p
         I   EMPH   there   INTNSF   1SG-lie-LOC
         'I was lying right there (in a hammock).'

When a main verb occurs with an aspect auxiliary, the postposed elements usually occur with the main verb only:

(331)   pe   pijeru   ke   jixi'u   atu   te   u-'am
         and Pijeru   FOC   3+cry   good   INTNSF   3-stand
         'And Pijeru was really crying (standing)!'

(332)   tarapái   u-wyr   ta   i-xo   tī
         Tarapái   3-come   FUT   3-move   also
         'Tarapái will be coming also.'

In (332) *tī* is a final particle, not a postposed element in the verb phrase (see sect. 21).

There are three other words which I tentatively assign to the class of aspect auxiliaries, although they function quite differently from those described above:

> *indo*   'direction away from'
> *inom*   'lying down position'
> *ukwa*   'passing by, falling'

They are not inflected for person, although the initial segments *i* and *u* express a relationship to the third person prefixal forms. They modify the action of the main verb of the sentence, but the direction or position predicated in the aspectual form is related directly to the object of the sentence when that object refers to third person:

(333)   pe   ihē   a-   mahem   i-ndo
         and   I   1SG-   chase   3-going away
         'And I chased (it) as (it) went away.'

(334)   pe   ngā   we-   rur   i-nom
         and 3PL   3-   bring   3-lying down
         'And they brought (it) in a lying down position.'

(335)   xupe   'ar   rupi   a-   jan   u-kwa
         3+back above   along   1SG-   run   3-passing by
         'I ran alongside it, passing (it) by.'

The form *ukwa* is homophonous with *ukwa* 'he knows', and may be something quite different from the other two forms described here. It appears to function as a fully inflected main verb with the meaning 'pass by': *jande ja-kwa* (we 1PL-pass) 'We will pass by (it).'

Completed aspect is indicated by a particle that occurs at the end of a sentence: *'y* indicates a completed action or state which was not in existence previously. In combination with *ta* 'FUTURE' or *kȳ* 'FUTURE DEFINITE PURPOSE', *'y* may express action or state to be completed in the future. (See also sect. 21 for sentence final particles). As one example of the use of *'y*, when a trade goods item had just run out, the following comment was made:

(336)   upa   'y
         end   CMPL   'There is none now' or 'It has all gone now.'

Other examples are:

(337)   apo   nahā   katu   rahā   ta'yn   ra'yr   e-   hupir
         now   perhaps   well   when   child   small   2SG. IMP-carry

         ta   'y
         FUT   CMPL
         'Now perhaps when you are well, you will at last name the child.'

(338)   upa   ja-   mu-   her   'y
         end   1PL-CAUS-   name   CMPL
         'We have finished naming (him) now.'

(339)   se   warahy   te'e   ta   ja-   hyk
         there   sun   INTNSF FUT   1PL-arrive

         kȳ-   'y
         FUT. DEF. PURP   CMPL
         'We will finally arrive (when) the sun is right there.'

Iterative aspect is expressed by reduplication of the verb stem:

(340)   a'e   kairarixā   kutu-   kutuk   i-ndo   ky
        there   Kairarixā   3 +pierce-pierce 3-send   now

        'y
        CMPL
        'Right there Kairarixā poked it repeatedly.'

(341)   ita   je   kyty-   kytyk   'y
        rock   HSY   3 +rub- rub   CMPL
        'It is said that the rocks rubbed and rubbed.'

(342)   pe   riki   hukwen   tuka-   tuka,   tā   tā   tā   tā
        and   so   3 +door 3 +hit- hit   bang   bang   bang   bang

        aja   riki
        thus   EMPH
        'And so he knocked and knocked on the door. Bang, bang, bang,
        bang, thus (he knocked).'

18.3 Mood/Modality.   There are specific ways of expressing the following
moods: conditional, contrary-to-fact, desiderative, frustrative, intention, intention
unrealized, and degree of certainty.
    Conditional and contrary-to-fact meanings have the same form, and only the
context determines which meaning is intended (see also sect. 14). The form is
the subordinating postposition *rahā*, which functions as a temporal ('when') or
a conditional ('if'). Examples of these basic usages are given in sect. 14.
Examples of contrary-to-fact conditionals are:

(343a)   ame'ē   puhā   mondo   ehe   'y
         that one   medicine   3 +send   to him   CMPL
         'That person put medicine on him.'

(343b)   ame'ē   ym   rahā   manō   ta   ke
         that   NEG   if   3 +die   FUT   FOC
         'If it wasn't for that, he would have died.'

(344)   a'e   ta   pandu   ym   rahā   jande   ja-   kwa   ym
        3   PL   3 +speak NEG   if   we   1PL-know   NEG

        ta   apo
        FUT   now
        'If they had not spoken, we would not have known now.'

    Desiderative is expressed by *tar* 'want, DESID' followed by the modifier
katu 'well, really, strongly'. The form *tar*, which in this usage is postposed to

the verb, is clearly related to the main verb *putar* 'want' (see 103a, 234b). Both forms are also found in Guajajara (Bendor-Samuel 1972:93):

(345)   o-ho   tar   katu
          3-go   DESID   well
          'He really wants to go.'

(346)   juka   tar   katu
          3 +kill   DESID   well
          'He really wants to kill.'

Frustrative is expressed by the form *tipe* postposed to the verb. The event or action may take place, but its purpose is frustrated:

(347)   urupe   puhã   me'ē-   me'ē   tipe
          Lupércio   medicine   3 +give- give   FRUST
          'Lupércio gave and gave (him) medicine, but it didn't do any good.'

(348)   pira   rehe   o-ho   tipe
          fish   for   3-go   FRUST
          'He went fishing but didn't catch anything.'

Intention is expressed by using the particle *kȳ* 'FUT. DEF. PURP' (see sect. 21):

(349)   xe   tur   rahã   ta   ihē   a-   'u   kȳ
          there   3 +come   when   FUT   I   1SG-eat   FUT. DEF. PURP
          'When it is time, I will surely eat.'

(350)   sã   rui   pe a-   ho   ta   kȳ
          São   Luis   to 1SG-go   FUT   FUT. DEF. PURP
          'I will definitely go to São Luis.'

(351)   éi   ja- 'u   hũ   te   kȳ
          wow 1PL-eat   much   INTNSF   FUT. DEF. PURP
          'Wow, we're really going to eat.'

Intention unrealized is expressed by combining the future tense and the frustrative postposition *tipe*:

(352)   juka   ta   tipe
          3 +kill   FUT   FRUST
          'He intended to kill, but didn't.'

(353)   pira   rehe   o-ho   ta   tipe
              fish   for   3-go   FUT   FRUST
              'He intended to go fishing, but didn't.'

Certainty is expressed by the postposition *te* 'INTNSF, true, definite' (see sect. 15.3):

(354)   u-hyk   te   ta
              3-arrive   INTNSF   FUT
              'He will definitely arrive.'

(355)   u-hyk   ym   te   ta
              3-arrive   NEG   INTNSF   FUT
              'He will not arrive at all' or 'He will definitely not arrive.'

Uncertainty is expressed by *nahã*, *my*, or the sequence *nahã my* 'perhaps, maybe'. The forms *nahã* and *my* may be separated by other elements (358); *nahã my* usually occurs at the end of the sentence, but it may occur in other positions:

(356)   ja-   hyk   ta   nahã my
              1PL-arrive   FUT   perhaps
              'Perhaps we'll arrive.'

(357)   mã   ja- hyk   ta   my
              EXCLM 1PL-arrive   FUT   perhaps
              'Well, maybe we'll arrive.'

(358)   jawar   ta   pe nahã   upa   ngã   me'ẽ   my
              dog   PL   to   perhaps   end   3PL   3+give   perhaps
              'Perhaps they gave it all to the dogs.'

(359)   pe   nahã   xa'e   u-pak   my
              then   perhaps   Xa'e   3-awake   perhaps
              'Then perhaps Xa'e awoke.'

(360)   tuti   namõ nahã   o-ho   o-u- p   my
              Tuti   with   perhaps   3-go   3-lie-LOC   perhaps

              aja   nahã   xa'e   u-kwa   my
              thus   perhaps   Xa'e   3-know   perhaps
              ' "Maybe she went to lie with Tuti," thus perhaps Xa'e thought.'

The particle *my* may cooccur with *ma*, a mild exclamation for expressing surprise:

(361)   pe   xe   u-'ar   o-ho   mamy
           and   there   3-fall   3-go   perhaps +SURPRISE
           'It probably fell over there.'

See also sect. 10 for the use of *my* and *mamy* in interrogative sentences.

18.4 Person and number. Declarative clause verbs occur with the following set of pronominal prefixes which agree in person and number with the subject of the clause:

a-	'1SG'	*ja-*	'1PL'
ere-	'2SG'	*pe-*	'2PL'
u- /$\emptyset$-	'3'		

The rules regarding third person forms are as follows. Verbs with monosyllabic stems have the *u-* form, unless the stem has an *o*, in which case the prefix is also *o-*. Polysyllabic stems have the zero variant. This latter group includes all reflexive, reciprocal and causative verb forms. There are a few irregular forms: *i-xo* (3-be) 'he is, he is moving'; *o-u* (3-be lying) 'he is in a lying position'; *we-rur* (3-bring) 'he brings'; and *i-hon* (3-go) 'he went'. This last form, *hon* 'go', only occurs with the third person subject (the form is *ho* elsewhere). Some examples of each of the two classes of verb, based on the form of the third person prefix, are:

u-		zero	
uhyk	'he arrives'	*matyr*	'he gathers'
uwyr	'he comes'	*me'ē*	'he gives'
ukwa	'he knows'	*sosok*	'he pounds'
usak	'he sees'	*jo'ok*	'he takes out'

Examples of causative and reflexive forms are:

mowok	'he causes to split'
muhyk	'he causes to arrive'
jumu'e	'he learns'

Stative verbs have only third person singular prefix forms. Where a first or second person subject is semantically possible, free pronouns are used (sect. 16, and cf. the noun possessor prefixes in sect. 15.2). The third person prefixes follow the same forms and patterns as the third person possessor prefixes in nouns, being the basis for setting up four sub-classes of stative verb

according to the prefix which occurs with each sub-class: *h-*, *i-*, *x-*, and 'Other'. In the *h-* class, the *h* changes to *r* for non-third person usage. Verbs in the *i-* class occur only with third person subjects. Some examples of each class are:

i-		*h-*		*x-*	
inem	'it stinks'	*heta*	'they are many'	*xuru*	'it is rough'
imembek	'it is soft'	*haku*	'it is hot'	*xĩtā*	'it is knotty'
ihym	'it is smooth'	*heǒ*	'he is tired'	*xuwe*	'it is alive'

Other

katu   'it is good'
ahy   'it hurts'
nixói   'there is none'

(362)   ame'ē   riki   i-membek
         that one   EMPH   3-soft
         'That one was weak.'

(363)   heta   pira
         3+many   fish
         'There were many fish.'

(364)   jande   reta
         we   many
         'We are many.'

(365)   nde   ruwái   ai   ke   xuru   rāi   te'e
         your   tail   ugly   FOC   3+rough   ugly   INTNSF
         'Your ugly tail is really terribly rough.'

(366)   ihē   py   ke   ahy   a'ep
         my   foot   FOC   3+hurt   there
         'My foot hurt there.'

The affixes and postpositions described at the beginning of sect. 18 occur with stative verbs:

(367)   ta'yr   te   mi   me'ē
         3+small   INTNSF   DIMIN   3+give
         'He gave just a very tiny bit.'

(368)   puhýi   katu   ym
         3+heavy   good   NEG
         'It is not very heavy.'

(369)   i-nem   te   rahã   u-'u
           3-rotten   INTNSF   when   3-eat
           'When it was really rotten, he ate it.'

18.5 Voice.   There are no passive constructions. The valence changing prefixes *ju-* 'REFLX' and *mu-* 'CAUS' are described in sect. 4 and sect. 6 respectively. There is one other valence changing prefix: *ru-* 'COMIT'. It occurs with an intransitive verb root to form a transitive verb:

> *ru-* 'COMIT' plus *ho* 'go' results in *raho* 'take away, carry':

(370)   peteĩ   pay   raho
           one   Pay   3 +carry
           'Pay carried away one (knife).'

> *ru-* 'COMIT' plus *ur* 'motion towards' results in *rur* 'bring':

(371)   xiher   tyryhem   ihẽ   a-   rur   i-pe
           bowl   full   I   1SG-bring   3-to
           'I brought her a bowl full of (*açaí*).'

18.6 Other categories.   There are none.

18.7 Incorporation.   I know of only two possible cases of incorporation of nouns into verbs:

(372)   mani'ok   pirok   o-ho
           manioc   3 +peel   3-go
           'He went to peel manioc.'

The form *pirok* appears to be derived from *pirer* 'skin' and *jo'ok* 'take out'.

(373)   i-ãkã   rupi   pokok
           3-head   along   3 +hit with fist
           'He hit (him) around the head with his fist.'

The form *pokok* seems to be derived from *ipo* 'his fist' and *kok* 'touch'. I have not found *kok* used elsewhere in the language as spoken today, but it is reported at an earlier historical stage (Boudin 1966:207).

   There is one example of the compounding of a noun and a postpositional relator: *ha* 'his hair' and *ngi* 'from' to form *hawĩ* 'take off the hair' (there is evidence in the language family for the morphophonemic change from *ngi* to *wĩ* (cf. Bendor-Samuel 1972:140 and Boudin 1966:289):

(374)   ku'ērahā   ja-   hawĩ   'y
            next day   1PL-dehair   CMPL
            'The next day we scraped off the hair.'

A more productive process of incorporation and compounding occurs when stative verbs are incorporated into nouns as adjectives to form compound nouns (see sect. 15.3):

(375)   kamixa-   puku   aja   riki   jande   i-pe
            shirt-   long   thus   EMPH   we   3-to
            ' "Long shirt", thus we (called) it.'

Examples of more complex incorporations involving nouns and stative verbs are:

(376a)   myra-py- pem   (noun - noun - stative)
            tree- foot- flat
            'a flat tree trunk'

(376b)   ita-   pe-   ra'yr   (noun - stative- stative)
            stone- flat- small
            'a small flat stone'

18.8 Auxiliary verb system. The auxiliary verb follows the main verb and, like the main verb, agrees in person and number with the subject of the sentence. The forms which can be postposed to the verb (see sect. 18 introduction) occur following the main verb. Some of the more common auxiliary verbs are:

       rur 'bring';   *jur* 'come';   *ho* 'go';   and   *raho* 'take'

There is also the special sub-class of auxiliaries, the aspect auxiliary, which is described in sect. 18.2.

Another type of auxiliary is the invariant form *upa* 'end, it is finished, that is all'. In contrast with all other auxiliaries, *upa* always precedes the main verb. In addition, it never occurs with first or second person pronouns or prefixes (as it did in ancient Tupí-Guaraní, cf. Anchieta 1876:55). It may be separated from the main verb by other clause constituents:

(377)   upa   aman   u-kyr   rahā   ja-   ho   tipe
            end   rain   3-fall   when   1PL-   go   FRUST
            'When it stopped raining, we went in vain.'

(378)   upa xuā   pe ihē a-   mondo
          end João   to   I   1SG-   send
          'I sent everything to John.'

(379)   wyrahu   upa u-ú
          king hawk   end 3-eat
          'The king hawk ate (it) all up.'

19 Adjective phrase structure

Adjectives are stative verb roots and they occur in noun phrases as suffixes
attached to the head noun, thus forming a compound (see sect. 15.3).

20 Adverb phrase structure

Adverbials may be either postpositional phrases (see sect. 17) or adverb
phrases. Adverb phrases consist of a head word, the adverb, with the
possibility of additional postposed elements.

The principal types of adverb are:

> time, e.g. *taramō* 'today, recent time'; *yman* 'ages ago';
>   *mukwehe* 'sometime past'
> space, e.g. *ko* 'here'; *kotete* 'nearby'
> manner, e.g. *pahar* 'quickly'; *wewe* 'slowly'; *tate* 'almost'

Numerals could also be regarded as a type of adverb when they occur without
their noun head (see sect. 15.3).

The elements that can be postposed to adverbs in the adverb phrase include:
te 'INTNSF', *we* 'short time', the postpositional relator *rupi* 'through', 'along'
(with space adverbs), *jot* 'right at that place'. Some examples, with and
without postposed elements, are:

(380)   taramō   te   u-hyk   u-wyr
          recent time   INTNSF   3-arrive   3-come
          'He just arrived.'

(381)   kotete   ihē   a- ker   a- jur
          nearby   I   1SG-sleep   1SG-come
          'I slept nearby coming home.'

(382)   ajame'ē ke ko   rupi   ja-   ho   aja   ihē
          after that here   along   1PL-   go   thus   I
          'After that, "Let's go along here," thus I (said).'

(383)   pe   jot   ihē   ke   a- ju
         there   right at that place   I   FOC   1SG-be lying
         'Right there I remained lying (in hammock).'

(384)   pe   wewe   katu   o-ho
         and   slowly   well   3-go
         'And he went very slowly.'

21 PARTICLES

There are two sub-classes of particles: medial and final. Medial particles may be postposed to any constituent of the clause except the closure constituent. They are distinguished from the postposed elements that carry primary stress (sect. 22), and differ from postpositional relators (sect. 17) in the functions they serve and the fact that they occur in any type of phrase: noun, verb, adverb, or postpositional phrase. There are three medial particles:

> *je*   'HEARSAY, it is said', indicating that the speaker was not an
>   eyewitness of the facts he narrates
> *riki*   'EMPHASIS, PROMINENCE'
> *tiki*   'AFFIRMATION'

For the use of *riki*, see sect. 9. Examples of the use of the other two medial particles are:

(385)   a'engi   je   o-ho   tī
         from there   HSY   3-go   again
         'It is said that he went on from there again.'

(386)   ko   tur   aja   je   ngā   i-pe   te
         here   3+come   thus   HSY   3PL   3-to   truly
         ' "He came here," thus, it is said, they truly (said) to him.'

(387)   so'oran   tiki
         rabbit   AFF
         'It is the rabbit.'

(388)   ihē   pukwar   me'ē ke   tiki
         me   3+tie   NOMLZR   AFF
         'It is the one that tied me up.'

(389)   manō   tiki
         3+die   AFF
         'He is dead.'

As can be seen in (387) and (388), *tiki* occurs in clauses that do not have a main verb with a function similar to the verb 'to be'.

Final particles are so called because they normally occur in final position in the clause or sentence, as the closure constituent. Only juxtaposed phrases may follow them (see sect. 2). They also differ from medial particles in that they are not postposed to any single clause constituent, but are related to the whole clause. It is for this reason that I consider them a distinct clause constituent.

The functions of these final particles vary greatly: *kỹ* 'FUT.DEF.PURP' indicates intention mood; *tĩ* 'again, also' relates the proposition in the clause to some other proposition; and *kwe* 'time past' gives a distinctive temporal perspective to the content of the clause. Not every sentence has a final particle. The full set of final particles known to me is as follows:

rĩ	'still, yet'
tĩ	'again, also'
kỹ	'FUT. DEF. PURP' (sect. 18.3)
'y	'CMPL ACTION, now' (sect. 18.2)
ky	'finally, now'
kwe	'time past'
mā	'EXCLM, SURPRISE'
my, nahā, mamy, nahā my	'UNCERT, perhaps' (sect. 18.3)

Certain of these final particles may cooccur: 'y may follow *kỹ*, *ky* and *mā*; *tĩ* may follow *kỹ* and *mā*. Some examples of final particles in sentences are:

(390)   pay   je'ē   ym   we   rĩ
         Pay   3+speak   NEG   little   yet
         'Pay hadn't spoken yet.'

(391)   pe   amō   ngā   raho   tĩ
         and   another   3PL   3+take   again
         'And the people took some others again.'

(392)   katu   ky-   'y
         good   finally- CMPL
         'It is finally good.'

(393)   jyngar   uhū   te   je   ngā   kwe
         3+sing   much   INTNSF   HSY   3PL   time past
         'In the old days, it is said, the people sang a lot.'

(394)   a-   ho   ta   ihē   kỹ   tĩ
         1SG-go   FUT   I   FUT. DEF. PURP   also
         'I will definitely go also.'

22 PHONOLOGY

The orthographic symbols used in this description, and the sounds they represent, are as follows: p [p], t [t], k [k], kw [kʷ], ' [ʔ], m [m], n [n], ng [ŋ], ngw [ŋʷ], s [s], x [š], h [h], r [ř], w [w], j [y], i [i], y [ɨ], u [u], e [e], a [a], and o [o]. Each of the oral vowels has a nasalized counterpart, symbolized as: ĩ, ỹ, ũ, ẽ, ã, and õ.

Consonantal variants and their conditioning factors are:

The plosives p, t, k, kw, and ' are lengthened in primary stressed syllables (in the examples that follow, primary stress is indicated by " immediately preceding the syllable):

katu	[kaⁿttu]	'it is good'
· kaʼa	[kaⁿʔʔa]	'forest'
akwa	[aⁿkkwa]	'I know'

There is a variant of p, [pʷ], which occurs before the high central vowel y: pyʼa [pʷɨⁿʔʔa] 'liver'. There is also an optional voiced variant of p, [b], which may occur in nonprimary stressed syllables: arapuha [ařapuⁿha] or [ařabuⁿha] 'deer'. There is an optional voiced variant of t, [d], which may occur in nonprimary stressed syllables: heta tipe [heⁿta tibe] or [heⁿta dibe] or [heⁿta tipe] or [heⁿta dipe] 'there are many, but in vain'. There is an optional voiced variant of k, [g] or [g], which may occur at word boundaries (the plosive g tends to occur in slower speech and the fricative g in faster speech): usak oho [uⁿsak oho] or [uⁿsag oho] or [uⁿsag oho] 'he went to see'.

The nasals m and n have prenasalized plosive variants, [mb] and [nd] respectively, which fluctuate freely with the nasals before oral vowels or nonnasal consonants. In normal speech, [mb] and [nd] occur infrequently and in some texts not at all: mói [moi] or [mboi] 'snake'. In this description, words have been written with the slow isolated speech form variants [mb] and [nd]. The nasals ng [ŋ] and ngw [ŋʷ] have optional variants [ŋg] and [ŋgʷ] respectively; [ŋg] and [ŋgʷ] occur more frequently in normal speech; in fast speech [ŋ] and [ŋʷ] may be heard: itangwa [itaⁿŋgʷa] or [itaⁿŋʷa] 'his buttocks'.

The fricatives s and x have optional variants [ts] and [tš] respectively. In each case there seems to be free fluctuation, with the [t] in [ts] and [tš] varying among speakers from lenis to very lenis: suʼu [suⁿʔʔu] or [tsuⁿʔʔu] 'he bites'; ixa [iⁿša] or [iⁿtša] 'it is fat'.

The liquid r has an optional trilled variant [ř] which generally occurs utterance finally: jawar uwyr [yaⁿwař uⁿwɨř] or [yaⁿwař uⁿwɨř] 'the dog came'.

The semivowel j has optional variants [ñ] and [dž]: [ñ] often fluctuates with [y] preceding nasalized vowels or nasal consonants: erejãn [eřeⁿyãn] or

[eře"ñãn] 'you run'; [dž] is lenis and fluctuates frequently with [y] before high oral vowels i, y, and u; it sometimes occurs as the fricative [ž] rather than the affricate: *ji* [yi] or [dži] or [ži] 'axe'.

There are certain consonantal variants conditioned by features pertaining to a contiguous syllable. A homorganic nasal occurs preceding a voiceless plosive when that plosive occurs between nasalized vowels: *hẽtũ* [hẽntũ] 'he smells'; *iãpũ* [iãmpũ] 'he is full (of food)'. The segment k is lightly labialized when preceded by u. This labialization is lenis compared to that in kw: *juka* [yu"kkʷa] 'he kills'. The segments t, h, and n are slightly palatalized when preceded by i: *itawa* [it"awa] 'it is yellow'; *ihẽ* [ih"ẽ] 'I'. When n is articulated by its variant form [nd], the [nd] is not palatalized.

A transitional sound approximating the semivowel [y] occurs between a high front or central vowel and a low central vowel: *iãkã* [iyãkã] 'his head'; *pɨyahu* [pɨyahu] 'it is new'. A transitional sound approximating the semivowel [w] occurs between back vowels and front or central vowels: *jaxer* [yašweř] 'it is old/useless'; *koĩ* [kowĩ] 'tomorrow'.

There are certain deletion processes. When the coda and onset of successive syllables contain the same consonant, only one is articulated. When the consonant is k, it is articulated as either a voiced fricative [g] or a voiced plosive [g]: *kutuk katu* [kutu gatu] or [kutu gatu] 'she washes well'. The nasals m and n are deleted preceding any onset consonant and the preceding vowel is lightly nasalized: *aman pe* [amã pe] 'in the rain'. The consonants k and r are deleted preceding any onset consonant: *mani'ok jande japiřok* [mani'o yande yapirok] 'we peeled manioc'.

The deletion processes just described are sometimes replaced by an optional alternative strategy of inserting a transitional vowel between the coda and onset consonants of successive syllables. The quality of the vowel inserted depends on the quality of the preceding vowel, according to the following rules:

> transitional [ɛ] follows i and e: *uker katu* [uk"eřᵉgatu]
>   'he sleeps well';
> transitional [e] follows y [ɨ], a and o: *muhyk raho*
>   [muhɨkᵊřaho] or [muhɨgᵊřaho] 'he brought
>   it'; and
> transitional [u] follows u: *mykur pandu* [mɨkur"pandu] 'the
>   possum said'.

One other insertion strategy is used: [ŋ] occurs between a nasalized vowel that is the nucleus of a CV type syllable and an oral vowel that is the nucleus of a V type syllable: *pirã iwe* [piřaŋiwe] 'reddish'.

There are two degrees of nasalization of vowels: inherent nasalization and light nasalization. Light nasalization is conditioned by nasal environments and it may be progressive or regressive.

Inherent nasalization refers to nasalized vowels which occur in oral environments: *ipō* 'it is straight and narrow'; *i'ã* 'his spirit'.

Progressive nasalization occurs when oral vowels are preceded by the nasals m or n. These nasals cause progressive nasalization of the vowel immediately following them: *uruma* [uřu'mã] 'duck'. It is possible to hear a phonetic difference (accentuated by using a tape recorder in reverse) between inherent and progressive nasalization when the two types occur syllable finally. When prenasalized stops [mb] and [nd] occur, progressive nasalization is blocked: *mono* [mõ'nõ] or [mõ'ndo] 'he sends'. Progressive nasalization also does not occur following ng and ngw, since their most frequently occurring variants are [ŋg] and [ŋgʷ] respectively.

Regressive nasalization occurs when a nasal (m, n, ŋ, or ŋw), or an inherently nasalized vowel, causes nasalization of the preceding vowel: *aman* [ã'mãn] 'rain'. Regressive nasalization may extend further than a contiguous syllable, but usage varies and I have not found it possible to arrive at any definitive conclusions on how far it may extend or any conditioning factors. (For a more complete description of this type of nasalization in Kaiwá, another Tupí-Guaraní language, see Harrison and Taylor 1971: 15).

Word stress is of two kinds, and where it is relevant to the discussion it is written as: primary stress ' and secondary stress +. Another type of stress, heavy emphatic stress, relates to a whole phonological clause.

Primary stress occurs on the final syllable of words: *tata* [ta'tta] 'fire'. Secondary stress most commonly occurs on every second syllable counting back from the primary stress: *waruwa* [+wařu'wa] 'glass, mirror'.

Some postposed elements perturb the stress pattern. (These postpositions should perhaps be regarded as suffixes, but in this description have been written as separate particle-type words, see sect. 18). The primary stress moves from the last syllable of the head word to the postposed element and secondary stress occurs where the primary stress would otherwise be: *nupā* [nu'ppā] 'he hits'; *nupā ta* [nu+pā'tta] 'he will hit'; *nupāȳ ta* [nu+pãĩ'tta] 'he will not hit'. Example of noun and postposed element is: *myra* [mɨ'řa] 'tree'; *myra ke* [mɨ+řa'kke] ''tree FOCUS''. Modifiers of nouns also perturb the stress pattern in a similar way (see sect. 15.3): *myrara'yr* [mɨ+řařa' ʔʔɨř] 'small tree'.

23 MORPHOLOGY

This is fully treated in other sections.

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24 IDEOPHONES

The Urubu-Kaapor use ideophones (onomatopoeic expressions) in their story-telling, but the forms vary somewhat from speaker to speaker. There does not seem to be consistency in reproducing the sounds suggested by a particular event or thing, except in the more common things, such as a gun being fired. Examples of ideophones in their normal usage are:

(395) aᵉep   atu   ihē   a-   japi   katu,   puuUUU
       there   good I   1SG-shoot   good   firing of gun
       'Right there I shot it good.'

(396) pe   myrapypem   pirū   tū tū tū
       and   flat tree trunk   3 +step on   thumping
       'And he banged on the flat tree trunk.'

(397) pe   u-jan   auuUUUU
       and   3-ran   howling
       'And (the dogs) ran howling.'

(398) pe   riki   huken   tuka- tuka,   tā tā tā tā   aja   riki
       and   so   door   3 +hit-hit   banging   thus   EMPH
       'And so he banged on the door.'

(399) mair   raᵉyr   aᵉi   ākā   pyhyk,   tyk
       Mair   child   old woman   head   3 +grab   pulling off

       joᵉok
       3 +pull off
       'Mair's son took hold of the old woman's head and pulled it off.'

(400) pe   h-akehar   puka- puka   hu,   e hi hi hi
       and   3-wife   3 +laugh-laugh   much   laughing
       'And his wife laughed a lot.'

(401) pok   i-ākā   riki   o-wok   pyter   rupi
       splitting open   3-head   EMPH   3-split   middle   along
       'His head split right down the middle.'

Exclamatory type sounds include: ēi 'calling to someone for attention'; je e e E E 'surprise'; ái aí 'cry of pain'; huu U U 'sound made when expending a lot of effort'; and mā or māāā 'surprise, admiring or derogatory'.

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