

A grammar of Tapiete (Tupi-Guarani)

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This dissertation provides a linguistic description of Tapiete, a Tupi-Guarani (TG) language spoken in Argentina, Bolivia and Paraguay. Fieldwork has been conducted in Argentina, where about 80 Tapiete families are settled in “Misión Los Tapietes”, Tartagal, province of Salta, northern Argentina. Thus, the linguistic data and the results of this study reflect the variety spoken by the Tapietes living in Argentina. The main features of Tapiete phonology, the nominal and the verbal morphology, as well as the syntactic structure are investigated. At the lexical level, a vocabulary of 2049 entries and 400 subentries is provided based on the information gathered through the elicitation of lexical questionnaires and texts.

Specifically, this dissertation investigates the expression of possession in Tapiete, as its default marker of possession has developed from a functional extension of the default marker of possession, *t-*, of Class II nouns in TG languages. In addition, a further formalization of the alienable/inalienable opposition occurs, expressed through the existence of different sets of third person markers.

In addition, this work discusses the restructuring of the cross-reference system in Tapiete. Specially, it describes the lack of an overt marker of third person for verbs that belong to Jensen’s Set 1, with the exception of monosyllabic roots, and the encoding of the first person active and inactive plural exclusive through the verbal root marked for third person, together with the affixation of the TG nominalizing morpheme *-ha*. In addition, the Tapiete version of Jensen’s Set 4 person markers differs from that of TG languages: while in TG languages these

forms are portmanteau morphemes that encode a first person singular or plural acting on a second person singular (e.g. TG *oro-*) or a first person singular or plural acting on a second person plural (e.g. TG *opo-*), in Tapiete, both forms encode a first person singular, with no possibility of their being interpreted as plural. Finally, Tapiete has developed a paradigm of reflexive person markers that comes from a reinterpretation of the prefixation of the *a-* and *i-* person markers which encode the agent and the patient, respectively.

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PREFACE

This dissertation is the product of seven years of training at the University of Pittsburgh and fieldwork conducted in the province of Salta, Argentina. The description of the Tapiete language would have not been possible without the generosity of the Tapiete people who kindly agreed to share their lives and their culture with me. I specially want to thank Esther López, Miguel Gerez, Hermelinda Romero, Romualdo Montes, Agustina Mercado, Victoria Mercado, Cristina Gutiérrez, Juliana Arias, Miguel Arias, Elena Cabeza, Marina Cabeza and Carlitos Negri who were not only willing and ready to work on this project, but also showed a genuine interest in the description and preservation of their language. I also thank Catalina López, Fernando López, Ernesto Killo, Joaquín Killo, Albertín Velázquez and Justino Velázquez. For seven years we worked together to compose a description of Tapiete. They were motivated by their desire to document what they know is an endangered language; and by the imperative need to convey the diversity of Argentina, my native country. I hope this work attains those goals to some degree.

Back in 1998 when I first applied to pursue my doctoral studies, the Department of Linguistics of the University of Pittsburgh accepted my application although my English language skills were not the best. The Department's belief in me and my project was the crucial vow of confidence I needed to undertake and complete my studies and I am grateful for that. My course work at the University of Pittsburgh was possible through a fellowship of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of the University of Pittsburgh, and a Pre-doctoral *Andrew Mellon* fellowship from the *Andrew Mellon Foundation*.

I would like to thank as well, the members of my doctoral committee for supporting and encouraging me during my fieldwork and the writing of this dissertation. Terrence Kaufman, my

dissertation director, showed me the importance of exhaustive analytical work in linguistics, and shared with me his vast knowledge of American Indian languages. Alan Juffs supported me logistically and academically in every step of my doctoral studies and I sincerely thank him for that. Pascual Masullo added to his academic support of my project, the good humor and camaraderie only a compatriot can offer; gracias Pascual. Colette Grinevald, whom I met in 1996 at the Université Lumière Lyon-2 in Lyon, France, encouraged me to pursue my doctoral studies in the United States. Most importantly, she gave me the confidence to think myself a linguist, and made me aware of the importance of ethics in fieldwork and of commitment to the empowerment of the peoples studied.

I thank Lucía Golluscio for trusting me to lead the study of Tapiete, one of the languages described by the *Edangered Languages, Endangered Peoples in Argentina Project*. Much of my fieldwork was financed through this project with a grant of the Volkswagen Foundation. This project also afforded me the opportunity to work with a number of people whose advice and feedback greatly improved my work. I am indebted to Bernard Comrie for his comments on the organization of the dissertation. In internal seminars of this project, linguists Beatriz Gualdieri and Alejandra Vidal provided valuable comments on Tapiete grammar. Also in this context, my team mate, anthropologist Silvia Hirsch, shared with me the heartaches and joys of fieldwork. Our discussions enriched my understanding of fieldwork dynamics and informed my outlook of my own work. The work of Andrea *Popina* Rubio and Florencia Ciccone, the research assistants of the Tapiete team, was indispensable for the completion of this work. *Popina* sacrificed many siestas to toil on the laptop with the Tapiete lexicon. Without her devoted help, completing the write up of my study would have not been possible.

The support of my family was essential for the completion of my dissertation. My mother was a spiritual and moral support throughout these years. My brothers Rubén and Alfredo kindly helped us when my husband and I moved from France to Pittsburgh and made our stay in the USA both, warm and inspiring. I thank Alfredo for having shared with me the moments of “academic pressure and stress” and for his valuable advise regarding academic life. Finally, I want to thank my husband, Adrián and my little boys Tomás and Martín. Adrián showed me the importance of doing what one really wants independently of the economic rewards and encouraged me to pursue my project regardless of the difficulties. Tomás proved to be an excellent companion accommodating with willingness and curiosity to the up-and-downs of fieldwork. He and his baby brother Martín are the well of my happiness. Without their love and warmth all my academic accomplishments would have been meaningless, and it is for them and their generation that I write.

1. Introduction

This dissertation provides a linguistic description of Tapiete, a Tupi-Guarani (TG) language spoken in Argentina, Bolivia and Paraguay. Fieldwork has been conducted in Argentina, where about 80 Tapiete families are settled in “Misión Los Tapietes”, Tartagal, province of Salta, northern Argentina. As a consequence, the linguistic data and the results of this study reflect the variety spoken by the Tapietes living in Argentina.

The Tapiete language belongs to the Guarani branch of the Tupi-Guarani language family, where it is included within the Guarani group as posited by Kaufman (1994). Other languages that belong to this group are Kaingwá (spoken in Paraguay), Bolivian Guaraní (spoken in Bolivia), Paraguayan Guaraní (spoken in Asunción, Paraguay), Chiripá-Nyandeva (spoken in Paraguay), Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano) (spoken in Bolivia and Argentina) and Mbya (spoken in Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay).

Although the TG languages family is one of the best studied language family of South America, no description of Tapiete has been provided so far, except for a list of 600 words published by Max Schmidt in 1935 and some sentences recorded by Tovar in 1958 and then published by Dietrich in 1986 (Dietrich 1986:201).

1.1. Research goals

The main goal of this dissertation is to give a thorough description of the Tapiete language that will provide information about its phonology, its nominal and verbal morphology and its syntactic structure. At the lexical level, a vocabulary of 1905 entries and 400 subentries is provided based on the information gathered through the elicitation of lexical questionnaires and 80 texts. This information is intended to contribute to the general knowledge of the TG language family, and, more specifically, to contribute to

position the Tapiete language within the Guaraní group by presenting information about a language considered the result of a shift from a Chaco language speaking population to a TG language. This work provides phonological and morphological evidence that the linguistic distance between Tapiete and Ava-Guaraní (Chiriguano) is greater than the one claimed by Dietrich (1986:202).

1.1.1. Methodology

The data presented in this dissertation was gathered during seven fieldwork trips to ‘Misión Tapiete.’ These trips lasted from one to three weeks making a total of 12 weeks (that is 5 month) spent on fieldwork. Thirteen consultants agreed to work with me; they were both male and female whose age ranged from 25 to 50. Part of the work sessions was recorded in twenty tapes of 90’ each. Lists of words and texts were recorded by means of a DAT recorder in 10 DAT tapes of 124’ each.

Although Tapiete has not yet a writing system approved by the community, examples are presented in the tentative Tapiete orthography and are followed by a morpheme-by-morpheme translation and a free translation in English.

1.1.2. Topics to be explored

The main topics to be explored in this dissertation deal with Tapiete verbal morphology. Specifically, the restructuring of the cross-reference system is studied since it shows differences from the original TG system. Following Jensen’s classification of TG person markers into four sets, a number of subsets corresponding to these sets are identified in Tapiete that crucially distinguish Tapiete from other languages of its group. Specially, the lack of an overt marker of third person for verbs that belong to Jensen’s Set 1, except for monosyllabic roots, and the encoding of the first person active and inactive plural

exclusive through the verbal root marked for third person together with the affixation of the TG nominalizing morpheme *-ha*. In addition, the Tapiete version of Jensen's Set 4 person markers differs from TG languages: while in TG languages these forms are portmanteau morphemes that encode a first person singular or plural acting on a second person singular (e.g. TG *oro-*) or a second person plural (e.g. TG *opo-*), in Tapiete, both forms encode a first person singular excluding all possibility of their being interpreted as plural. Finally, Tapiete has developed a paradigm of reflexive person markers that comes from a reinterpretation of the prefixation of the third person marker *i-* that encodes the patient preceded by the person marker *a-* that encodes the agent. This new paradigm also functions as an exponent of middle voice.

1.2. Previous work on Tapiete and Tupí-Guaraní languages

Although there is so far no preliminary description of Tapiete, this language belongs to a well studied and documented language family of South America, the Tupí-Guaraní family. An important number of descriptive studies have been carried out on this family (Cabral 2001; Dietrich 1986, 1990a, 1990b, 1994, 2001, 2003; Firestone 1965; Gregores & Suarez 1967; Grenand 1980; Guedes 1991; Kakumaso 1986; Pease & Betts 1971; Saelzer 1973; Seki 1990), as well as historical studies that explore the diachronic evolution and diversification of the family (Dietrich 1990; Jensen 1998, 1990; Rodrigues 1958, 1964, 1984/85, 1986, 1990.)

Very little information is available about the Tapiete people. Palavecino's article *Observaciones etnográficas y lingüísticas sobre los indios Tapietes* (Ethnographic and linguistics remarks on Tapiete Indians) (Palavecino 1930) is a very short paper that quickly describes some aspects of the material culture of Tapiete people and provides a

short list of words organized by semantic fields related to body terms, names of animals and plants. The first extensive work on the Tapiete people is Schmidt's article *Los Tapietes*, in which he describes some characteristics of Tapiete material culture noted during his visit to Paraguay in 1935 and in which he locates one of their communities "*in a place far from Fortín Oruro more or less 15 km.*" (Schmidt 1938:37). In this place, Schmidt visited *cacique* Tadyopi and his community, which comprised 35 people. Another village Mr. Schmidt visited on that occasion was "*35 km. far from Oruro, in a place called Cañada Bolívar, in the direction of Capirendá.*" (Schmidt 1938:38). In addition to this, Schmidt's paper deals with general aspects of Tapiete cultural material such as food, clothes, utensils, textile techniques, and so on. Finally, Schmidt presents a list of 622 words.

Almost fifty years later, Dietrich (1986), also refers to the Tapiete people in his book *El Idioma Chiriguano*, in which he presents some linguistic information (obtained from Tovar in 1958) about the Tapiete language. According to Dietrich, this people had always refused to establish any kind of relationship with *criollo* people or teach them their language because they "told lies about them (Tapietes), especially their origin, as some American researchers did" (Dietrich 1986:31). This information has been corroborated by members of the community, who characterized their former chief as an especially strict man, who was reluctant to establish any kind of contact with the *criollo* population. This is why, with the exception of 50 words recorded by Tovar and then published by Dietrich (1986), no linguistic or anthropologic research about Tapietes living in Argentina have been carried out up to now.

A short time before his death, the former chief appointed Don Fernando López as new *cacique* of the community, and relationships with the *criollo* population began to change.

This brought, as a consequence, my being accepted as a linguist in the community.

Most recently, some articles have been published that are mainly concerned with the situation of Tapietes living in Bolivia. Gutierrez (1992) gives a brief description of Tapietes of Samayhuate, Bolivia, and discusses kinship relationships and terminology. In addition, Gutierrez (1995) presents historical and demographic information as well as a description of Tapiete social, economic and political organization. Arraya Ayza (1998) gives a biophysical description of the Bolivian Chaco region where Bolivian Tapietes are settled. The author includes data concerning the biodiversity characteristics of the area and explores the indigenous knowledge of botanic classification, hunting and agriculture. Finally, Carvajal (1998) also presents important information related to Bolivian Tapietes. The author gives data concerning the territory they occupied before the Spanish conquest as well as information related to their cultural characteristics. A list of geographic Tapiete names is included at the end of the article.

1.3. Use of the results of this study

The results of this study are intended to contribute to the comparative TG linguistics by providing information about a language considered marginal within the TG language family. In addition, the results presented in this work may be used to conduct comparative studies of the languages spoken within the Chaco region. The *Endangered Languages, Endangered People in Argentina* project conducted by Dr. Lucía Golluscio through a grant given by the Volkswagen Foundation has financed part of the fieldwork

conducted in “Misión Los Tapiete”.¹ Since the main goal of this project is the documentation of four indigenous languages spoken within the Chaco region (Mocovi, Tapiete, Vilela and Wichi), the linguistic data has been organized in such a way that allows for lexical and morpho-syntactic comparison of the languages studied. In this context, the Tapiete data could be used to conduct comparative and typological studies.

Since the variety of Tapiete spoken in Argentina is considered seriously endangered i.e. it is not currently being passed on to the younger generations, the information provided in this dissertation is intended to help on the preservation of the linguistic knowledge that fluent speakers of Tapiete have about their language. In addition, the linguistic information provided in this dissertation is intended to help on the elaboration of pedagogical material, namely a pedagogical grammar, specialized vocabularies and a dictionary that could be used for pedagogical purposes.

1.4. Ethnography

Most of the documentation about the Tapietes is both out-of-date and scarce. Although there have been recent publications about different aspects of Tapiete culture, they are mostly concerned with Tapietes living in Bolivia and Paraguay. In this section, I present some general aspects such as the geographical location, previous documentations and linguistic affiliation. Then, I present the recent history of this people in the way it has been related to me by members of the community. This presentation includes Tapiete relations with *Criollos* (people descending from European immigrants) and other indigenous groups of the region. Finally, I discuss the sociolinguistic situation of the

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community and show that, in the present context, the Tapiete language must be considered an endangered language, which is being rapidly replaced by Spanish.

1.4.1. Geographic location

In Argentina, Tapiete people live in Tartagal, in the province of Salta, and in Curvita, in the district of San Martín (Chaco area of the Salta province). In this last village, Tapiete people live about two miles away from Santa Victoria and Santa María villages, near the Pilcomayo River. In Bolivia, Tapiete language is spoken in Samaihuate and Cutaiqui, in the district of Villa Montes, province of Gran Chaco (Tarija) (PROEIB 2000), near the Argentinian border. According to Lema (2000, in PROEIB 2000), some Tapiete families are living along with Weenhayek ones in the town of Crevaux. Finally, in Paraguay, Tapiete is called Nhandeva and it is mainly spoken in the San Lázaro neighborhood, Mariscal Estigarribia, in the district of Boquerón.

1.4.2. Ethnic and linguistic affiliation

1.4.2.1. Ethnic affiliation

The origin of Tapiete people has often been the subject of debate. Two hypotheses have been suggested. The first one was presented by Cardús (Cardús 1986 in Schmidt 1938), who suggested that Tapietes would be Guaraníes that, after separating from the original group, on the one hand kept their language, and, on the other hand, acquired the customs of their *chaqueños* neighbors, especially Toba Indians. With respect to this, Schmidt says:

“Sabíase que ellos hablan un dialecto de la lengua Guaraní y ese hecho ha inducido varias veces a tenerlas (sic) desde un principio como una tribu de Guaraníes. Cardús (1) dice que pertenecen a la tribu de los Guaraníes y hablan la lengua Guaraní y, que se dice que ellos, se hubiesen apartado de aquellos, cuando ellos emigraron al

Paraguay y se establecieron en los lugares por donde viven en la actualidad. Algunas costumbres sean (sic) idénticas con las costumbres de los Chiriguano, otras las hubiesen recibido, aparentemente, de los Tobas. Ginencchini (2) tiene a los Tapietés como también a los Chanés, llamados por él Tapii, por un grupo de los Chiriguano. Kersten (3), los incorpora con respecto a su lengua a los Guaraníes. Domenico de Campana (4) ha unido en su publicación: "Cenni su i Tapii ed i Tapihete" datos sobre los Chanés, llamados también por él Tapii y sobre los Tapihete (sic)." (Schmidt 1938:30)²

The other hypothesis suggests that Tapiete Indians would be a tribe from the Chaco region which speaks a Tupí-Guaraní language. According to Schmidt (1938), Nordenskiöld makes equal Chorotes, Chulupis and Tapietes Indians as far as their material culture is concerned.

"Nordenskiöld [...] desiste de darnos [...] algunos datos especificados respecto su cultura material [...] porque eso sería casi una repetición de los que había dicho sobre los Chorotes o los Ashluslays (Churupís)" (Nordenskiöld 1912 en Schmidt 1938:28).³

Dietrich (1986), appealing to biological criteria, says:

"[...] su aspecto físico coincide mucho más con el carácter paleo-siberiano de los maticos que con el malayo de lo los chiriguano." (Dietrich 1986:31-32).⁴

² "It was known that they spoke a dialect of the Guaraní language, and this fact has made us consider them from the beginning as a Guaraní tribe. Cardús (1) says that they belong to Guarní tribe and spoke Guaraní language, and it is said that they parted from them, when they emigrated to Paraguay and settled in the places they still live nowadays. Some customs are identical to Chiriguano ones, some others seem to have been inherited, apparently, from Tobas Indians. Ginencchini (2), believes that Tapiete and Chanés (which he calls Tapii) Indians are a group belonging to Chiriguano Indians. Kersten (3), connects them, with respect to their language, to Guaraní people. Doménico de Campana (4) has joined in his publication 'An outline about Tapii and Tapiete Indians' information about Chanés Indians, that he calls Tapii too, and about Tapihete (sic) Indians." All translations are made by the author.

³ "Nordenskiöld [...] desists from giving us [...] some specific information related to their material culture [...] because this would almost be a repetition of what he had previously said about Chorotes or Ashluslays (Churupis) Indians."

⁴ "[...] their physical aspect is much more similar to Maticos Indians Paleo-Siberian character than to Chiriguano Indians Malayo one."

And then, he adds:

“Es sabido que los tapietes no son de raza guaraní, sino que son chaqueños, probablemente matacos que han recibido la lengua de los chiriguanos y chanés”. (Dietrich 1986:201)⁵

Notice that both Tobas, mentioned by Cardús (1986 in Schmidt 1938) and Chorotes or Chulupis, mentioned by Nordenskiöld, are Chaqueño tribes whose linguistic affiliation place Chorotes and Chulupis as belonging to the Mataco family and Tobas as belonging to the Guaycuruan family.

Not only their ethnic origin has been discussed in the scarce literature existing about Tapiete people, but we can also add to this discussion the huge variety of names used to identify this people. Words like *Yanayguas* or *Yanas* are used by Schmidt to name Tapiete people, because, according to this author, Yanayguas name is commonly used in the River Parapiti region (Schmidt 1938:28). With respect to this, Dietrich says:

“Los chiriguanos y chanés los llaman con el nombre despreciativo de tapiete, es decir, los más bárbaros’, o ñanaiguas, yanaiguas o ñanaguas, es decir, ‘los del campo (del Chaco)’” (Dietrich 1986:201).⁶

It is evident that there is a great confusion with respect to the names used, because a little earlier Dietrich says:

“Las misiones de la provincia de Salta presentan la ventaja de vivir en ellas miembros de todos los tres grupos auténticos de chiriguanos (chiriguano-ava, chané y tap+i-zoceño) sin contar los grupos “chiriguanizados” de los tapietes y de los ñanaiguas” (Dietrich 1986: 14).⁷

⁵ “It is known that Tapiete Indians do not belong to Guaraní race, but to Chaqueño, probably Mataco Indians who have inherited their language from Chiriguanos and Chanés”.

⁶ “Chiriguano and Chané people call them by the derogatory name of Tapiete, that is to say, ‘the most barbarians’, or Ñanaiguas Yanaiguas or Ñanaguas, which means ‘Those from the fields of Chaco’.”

⁷ “The missions of the province of Salta offer a big advantage: members of the three authentic groups of Chiriguano people (Chiriguano-ava, Chané and Tap+i-zoceño), and the ‘chiriguanized’ groups of Tapietes and Ñanaiguas live there.”

It is possible to infer from this quotation that Tapiete and Ñanaigua Indians would be two different groups, which differs from what the author says later on. On the other hand, Dietrich himself refers to the confusion existing with respect to Tapiete's naming when he mentions the title of Gustavo González's (1968) article *Entre los guaraní-chané (o ñanaguas) del Noroeste chaqueño* (Among the Guaraní-Chané (or Ñanaguas) from the Chaqueño Northwest), in which three different words are indistinctly used to refer to the same group.

With respect to the etymology of the word Tapiete, Dietrich says:

“El superlativo de tapi es tapiéte, nombre de los tapietes, pueblo chaqueño “chiriguanizado” que no había podido ser sometido totalmente, pero que era dependiente de los chiriguanos y, de tiempo en tiempo, trabajaba para ellos.”
(Dietrich 1986:21)⁸

Even if the words *tapiete* or *yanayguas* and their variations would be derogatory terms, Tapietes from Tartagal employ the word Tapiete as a self-naming term in which they do not perceive any negative connotation.⁹ The term *yanayguas* is unknown to the Argentinean Tapietes.

1.4.2.2. Linguistic affiliation

On the linguistic level, the hypothesis according to which Tapiete Indians would be a Chaqueño group ‘chiriguanized’ by the Avá-Guaraní (more commonly known by the derogatory terms ‘chiriguanos’¹⁰ or ‘chaguancos’¹¹), implies that Tapiete language would

⁸ “The superlative of *tapi* is *tapiéte*, name of Tapiete people, a ‘chiriguanized’ Chaqueño tribe, that could not have been totally subdued, but was depending from Chiriguano people and, from time to time, worked for them.”

⁹ This is not the case of Tapietes from Paraguay, whose self-naming term is *Nhandeva*.

¹⁰ “Derogatory term that includes the Quechua word *chiri* ‘cold’ and probably *wanu* ‘manure’.” (Dietrich1986:21)

¹¹ “(This is also a word of Quechua origin containing the element *chawa* ‘raw’)” (Dietrich 1986:21)

be the result of the adoption of a Guaraní language (the Avá-Guaraní) from part of a population speaking a Chaqueño language. Rodriguez says:

*“O Izoceño é um dialeto do Chiriguáno falado por descendentes dos índios Chané, originalmente de língua da família Aruák. O mesmo se dá com o Tapiete, falado por un povo chaqueño probablemente de origem Matáko.”*¹²
(Rodrigues 1984/85:42)

Adhering to this hypothesis, Dietrich gives us even more details about the ethnic origin and language of Tapiete people when he says:

“En realidad, está claro que los tapietes son un pueblo chaqueño chiriguanizado relativamente tarde, es decir, más tarde que los chanés. Su lengua es claramente el chiriguano [...], pero dan la impresión de hablarlo “mal” con poca seguridad morfológica y sintáctica. Además, tienen bastantes elementos ajenos. (Dietrich 1986:31-32)¹³

Unfortunately, Dietrich does not explain what he means by ‘little morphological and syntactic security’, neither does he identify the ‘foreign elements’ existing in the Tapiete language he refers to.

Tapiete has been classified by Rodrigues (1984/85) as belonging to the first set of languages out of the seven he posits, which constitute the Tupi-Guaraní family. In his classification Rodrigues does not provide any information about the dialectal distance existing among the languages belonging to a particular set. Instead, he provides a list of the languages along with the morphological and phonological features used as criteria for proving their membership within a set¹⁴.

¹² “Izoceño is a Chiriguano dialect spoken by Chané Indians descendants, originally from a language of the Arawak family. The same happens to Tapiete, spoken by a Chaqueño group, probably of Mataco origin.”

¹³ “It is really clear that Tapiete is a Chaqueño group, later ‘Chiriguanized’, that is to say, later than Chanés people. Their language is clearly ‘Chiriguano’ [...], but they seem to speak it ‘badly’, with little morphological and syntactic security. Moreover, they have quite a lot of foreign elements.”

¹⁴ The classifications presented here are not intended to be exhaustive as for the purpose of this presentation I only include the sets or groups which include Tapiete and Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano).

Set # 1 (Rodrigues 1984/85)

- Guaraní Antigo
- Mbya
- Xetá (Serra dos Dourados)
- Ñandéva (Txiripá)
- Kaiwa (Kayová, Pãï)
- Guaraní Paraguaio
- Guayaki
- Tapieté
- Chiriguano (Ava)
- Izoceño (Chané)

Kaufman (1994) following Rodrigues (1984/85) provides a classification of Guaraní languages that includes information about the relative place of Tapiete within the Guaraní group. Tapiete is here considered a dialect of Chiriguano whereas both Chiriguano and Paraguayan Guaraní are posited as different languages belonging to the same group.

I. Tupi-Guarani family (Kaufman 1994)

A. Guaraní group

1. Guaraní language

Kaingwá
Bolivian Guaraní
Paraguayan Guaraní
Chiripá-Nyandeva
Chiriguano

dialects: Tapieté = Nyanaigua,
Chiriguano-Chané-Isosenyo = Tapyi

Mbü'a

Dietrich (1986) differs from both Rodrigues and Kaufman, as he does not include Chiriguano and Paraguayan Guaraní within the same group. He also proposes a more detailed dialectal classification, which considers Tapiete to be a dialect of Chiriguano. His dialectal classification is based on the study of phonetic and grammatical features as well as on the study of common lexical items (Dietrich 1986).

Ia. Lenguas meridionales de tipo guaraní marcado:

Avañe'e [Paraguayan Guaraní],
Kaiwá,
Mbia,
Apapocuva,
Xetá

Ib. Lengua de tipo Guaraní periférico:

Guayakí

Ic. Tupí-guaraní central

a) boliviano:

Chiriguano
- Chiriguano-Ava
- Chané
- Tapiete
- Izoceño-Tapi
Guarayo
Guarasu (o Pauserna)
Siriono

b) amazónico:

Tembé-tenetehara,
Wayãpi,
Asurini,
Parantintin,
Kawahib (wirafed)

Although Dietrich based his dialectal classification of Chiriguano on the fieldwork he conducted in Argentina, he could not collect data on Tapiete, as Tapiete speakers refused to work with him (Dietrich 1986:31). His considerations about Tapiete and its place within the Guaraní languages are based on secondary sources as well as on the analysis of a 1950 tape-recording containing a few sentences in Tapiete.

1.4.3. The ethnic matter

The conflict settled by the coexistence of two antagonistic theories (researchers on one side and Tapiete people on the other side) with respect to the ethnic origin of the Tapiete

people is very interesting. I have already mentioned how the hypothesis according to which Tapiete would be a ‘Chiriguanized’ Chaqueño tribe has considerably influenced the relationships between Tapiete people and researchers who were interested in this group (denying to these last ones any type of contact with the Tapiete community). This behavior on the part of Tapiete community seems to be an act of resistance to an external attempt to define them according to criteria that are not recognized as valid by the community itself. The situation seems to clearly illustrate Skutnabb-Kangas statement (1999) that

“For a few national minorities (e.g., Swedishspeakers in Finland, English and Afrikaans speakers in South Africa), the right to exist, to define independently who they are (to endocategorize) and to reproduce themselves as minorities [...] have been more or less self-evident. [...] Most minorities do not have these rights. Most minorities are still exocategorized, that is, defined by others. (Skutnabb-Kangas 1999:45)

Without any doubt, this conflict should make us reflect on the validity of categories imposed following criteria whose objectivity is presented as indisputable (as the biological criterion would be), when it comes to discuss the ethnic origin of a people.

With respect to this, Dorian (1999) says:

“Ethnicity can feel very primal, but it rests fundamentally on social rather than on biological underpinnings and socially constructed categories are subject to change.” (Dorian 1999:25)

Consequently, the Tapiete people do not agree at all with the theory according to which they would be a ‘Chiriguanized’ tribe; they do not even subscribe to the idea that their language is a dialect of Ava-Guaraní. On the contrary, Tapiete people consider themselves true Guaraní Indians and consequently claim an authentic Guaraní origin. Even if a careful research of the features from which the ethnic identity of this

community is built (i.e., material culture, customs, religion, language, and so on) has not been carried out, my impression is that language is an important constituent element of such identity. One of the reasons for their feeling that they are Guaraní is that they speak a language close to Guaraní, which would be an indisputable proof of their belonging to this group. Up to now, I have restricted myself to presenting the existing discussion about their ethnic origin, but it does not mean I believe this issue has to be solved (at least not right now). Without doubt, it is quite interesting to find out if Tapiete is the result of the contact of two languages. However, I consider it of paramount importance to respect the right of this people to the self-definition starting from the features they regard as pertinent. In any case, the current situation of the Tapiete language indubitably reflects a process of radical shift to Spanish.

1.4.4. Historical background of the Tapiete people in Argentina

In Argentina, the Tapiete people live in ‘Misión Tapiete’, twenty blocks to the north of the city of Tartagal center. According to data offered by people I interviewed, at the beginning of the 20th century, the Tapiete people were hunters-and-gatherers who moved in an area corresponding to present-day bordering region among Bolivia (especially the village of Villa Montes), Argentina and Paraguay. In that time, Tapiete families, who were only a few and, on average, had of only two children, used to cross the Pilcomayo River to come to Argentina where they had better opportunities to get jobs in sugar and tobacco factories. The sugar factory “San Ramón de la Nueva Orán” was a place where some Tapiete men worked. Little by little, those families settled on the Argentinian side. Nowadays, some families from ‘Misión Tapiete’ come from the Paraguayan side of the Pilcomayo River.

In 1935, the war between Paraguay and Bolivia found Tapietes dispersed in these three countries. Some of those who lived in Bolivia could escape from the war by settling themselves in Argentina; others were forced to stay in that country and in Paraguay.

Once in Argentina, and before settling in Tartagal, Tapietes lived in Tomiterenda, a place located about twelve miles north of Tartagal. Due to the difficult relationship they had with Avá- Guaraní people, who permanently chased them, Tapietes left that place and moved to the present-day city of Tartagal. Once they had established themselves there, they were displaced several times inside the city boundaries. According to their testimony, at the beginning of the 20th century Tapietes lived near the present location of the Tartagal main square. While the city was growing, authorities displaced them and sent them away from downtown Tartagal; in this way, they were forced to move from the surroundings of the barracks towards the cemetery; then they had to settle near the *El Espinillo* market; after that, they were taken to the neighborhood of the *Newells' Old Boys Stadium's*; and later on, near Sarmiento Street. Finally, in the 70s, the Tapietes moved to the place where they still live, between Sarmiento and Gorriti Streets.

Even if this last settlement was not very far from the city, the density of the vegetation surrounding the community and the absence of roads connecting the tribe with *Criollos* made Tapietes live almost isolated. Moreover, Tapietes occupied a territory vast enough to allow families to live separated by the local vegetation. Only a small path connected the community with the external world. This isolation was reinforced with a state of mutual distrust, typical of the very few relations existing between Tapietes and *Criollos*. As for the *Criollos*, they hardly ever visited the community, because they considered Tapiete as ferocious Indians capable of committing any crime. On the other hand,

Tapietes were afraid of the presence of white people in the region. A 56-year-old woman still remembers how her mother hid her daughters when she saw soldiers near the community, as they used to steal and rape Tapiete adolescents. Stories that show a deep feeling of fear and distrust towards *Criollos* were told to me by younger people. A 40-year-old woman says how her parents hid Tapiete children in the treetops when some teacher entered the community hoping to convince them to be vaccinated. Tapiete parents and grandparents feared vaccination to be only another method employed by white people to exterminate them¹⁵.

During this period of scarce and unsatisfactory contacts with the *criollo* community, almost every adult and child was a monolingual speaker of Tapiete, while some adolescents knew a little Spanish, a language they had learnt after spending two or three years at school. Up to twenty years ago, Tapiete adolescents used to meet in the evangelical temple of the community, where the only language heard was Tapiete.

Due to the importance of the natural resources of this region, several oil companies settled near Tartagal. Foreigners as well as Argentinian people coming from different parts of the country went to this region to work, and Tartagal became a city quite rich and exuberant. While the city enjoyed an economic growth, new housing developments were built around it, which brought as a consequence the partial destruction of the rain forest that up to seventy years ago surrounded the Tartagal region¹⁶. As far as Tapietes are concerned, they saw how the ‘natural border’ that separated them from the Spanish

¹⁵ Even now, some mothers still scare their children by telling them “Behave yourself, or the lady who vaccinates will come!”

¹⁶ The present situation is quite different. Nowadays, Tartagal has 40,000 inhabitants that in the last 10 years have seen how the petrol companies closed, leaving a huge number of people unemployed and with no economic resources. According to some statistics, 66% of children who live in that region belong to poor families, while 22% could not survive without the help of ONGs (*Organización No-Gubernamental* ‘No Governmental Organizations’), the Church or the poor governmental help.

speaking world was disappearing little by little, because of the new Spanish speaking areas and roads built near their community. In this way, Tapietes, who only kept occasional contacts with *Criollos*, began to establish a closer contact with them. With the arrival of democracy in 1983, Tapietes got the right to own their lands, but at the same time the government reduced the size of it to only five blocks. Tapietes also possess 289 hectares located seven miles far from 'Misión Tapiete', where they grow corn, watermelon and squash. All the families belonging to the community have the right to exploit this piece of land, and the crop is used for both their own consumption and for sale. The community also owns a cemetery located in Kilómetro 6; this land was given by the Swedish missionary who evangelized them.

1.4.5. Religion

At the beginning of the 20th century Protestant missionaries from Sweden and England evangelized the Chaco region in Argentina and Bolivia. Although some Tapietes were exposed to Christianity when they worked in haciendas and when they migrated to sugarcane plantations, they rejected the establishment of Catholic missions in their communities (Hirsch 2004:1-2).

According to the people I interviewed, Chorotes were the first people to be converted to Christianity by Swedish missionaries. Tapietes were converted by a member of the community, Horacio Martínez, who having moved to the Chorote community of Kilómetro 6 married a Chorote woman, and adopted her religion. Some years later, this man went back to the Tapiete community with a Swedish missionary and started to evangelized Tapiete people using their mother tongue.

This probably happened in the late 60s, since some people who are currently almost forty years old still remember some rituals their parents and grandparents performed before their conversion. At present, Tapietes from Tartagal belong to the evangelical church called 'La Asamblea de Dios' (Assembly of God Church). As Hirsch (2004:6) points out the "conversion to Evangelism was a strong force towards culture change among the Tapiete. The Assembly of God Church strongly criticized native religious beliefs and practices, in fact it preached insistently to abolish the indigenous world view." Generally speaking, people I interviewed decided not to speak about their 'prechristian' customs, rituals and traditions.

1.4.6. Tapiete people and their relations with other indigenous groups

According to their testimonies, Tapietes did not enjoy any privileged relation with any particular ethnic group. On the contrary, in the past there was a permanent tension among all the indigenous groups of the region, which caused a division among them. However, it is clear from their stories that the most conflicting relations took place with the Avá-Guaraní Indians. It has already been mentioned that the first Tapiete displacement from Tomiterenda to the present region of Tartagal was due to the permanent persecution on the part of the Avá-Guaraní. According to their stories it is clear that the relation they have kept with this tribe is at least tense and asymmetric. This tension and asymmetry are still evident nowadays at different levels. At the linguistic level, this is shown by an asymmetry in the inter-comprehension existing between the two groups: according to Tapiete testimonies, they understand without any major problem the Avá-Guaraní language, but, they say, Avá-Guaraní people do not understand the Tapiete language.

This situation reveals each group difference of status, since Tapietes, as the group of minor status, have to make the bigger comprehension effort.

The asymmetry is also evident through the different educational levels. Even if I have not been able to collect any precise datum, the Avá-Guaraní group and their Izoceño subgroup show a better educational level, as it is not rare for adults belonging to this community to finish their primary and high school. On the other hand, in the Tapiete community there are very few adults who have finished their primary school, and nobody has finished high school. According to the people I interviewed, this situation was the cause of a conflict between the two communities, because members of the Avá-Guaraní community asked the educational authorities to revise the requisites for the job of bilingual assistant. This revision included the requirement to have completed high school to get the job, replacing the previous condition that only required the applicant to be a native speaker of the language. This new condition would bring as a consequence the disappearance of the two jobs of bilingual assistant of the Tapiete community. As far as Izoceño community is concerned, the number of jobs would not suffer any alteration, because their bilingual assistants are people who fulfill the necessary conditions. Some of them are even studying to become teachers. This situation originated a conflict between the authorities of the Tapiete and the Izoceño community that resulted in the dismissal of the proposed new requirements.¹⁷

¹⁷ This story was told to me in a resented way that shows how Tapietes perceive the Avá-Guaraní feeling of superiority.

1.4.7. Some demographic data about ‘Misión Tapiete’¹⁸

As I have previously mentioned, ‘Misión Tapiete’ covers five blocks: four of them are occupied with small houses, and the fifth one is covered by the school ‘Misión Tapiete,’ founded in 1971. In addition, the community has a temple, a carpenter’s shop and a small clinics where a nurse and an assistant are in charge of the vaccination and the care of children and pregnant women. Seventy-five families live in ‘Misión Tapiete,’ an overall number of more or less four hundred people.¹⁹ 40% of the population are younger than 10 – that is 161 children –. If we add to this the percentage of people whose age varies between eleven and twenty years –that is 85 adolescents–, we have 61% of the population under the age of 20. Apart from a few exceptions, most heads of family, when they get a job, work in the bean crop or only have temporary jobs. Consequently, the level of incomes is very low. To soften this situation of extreme poverty, the school serves lunch to its small students. There is also a community canteen for those children out of the educational system and a religious school, ruled by members of the community, that offers the Sunday lunch to approximately half the children of the community. Even so, the number of undernourished children is alarming: 10% of children under the age of 10 –that is, 18 children- are deeply undernourished.²⁰ This percentage does not include children at risk (under weight) or those who show an incipient undernourishment state. Including these last two categories, whose exact figures I do not have, the overall number of children that cannot fulfill their basic needs is 20%. As a result of this extreme picture

¹⁸ The following information is the result of the interviews I carried out in ‘Misión Tapiete’ during the first week of September 2001. I visited each house of the community with the aim of getting a more precise demographic and sociolinguistic view.

¹⁹ The estimation of the number of inhabitants of this community done by the Atención Primaria a la Salud is of 750 people. (Silvia Hirsch, p.c.)

²⁰ Undernourishment is measured through a scale including three channels: channel 1 (the least serious), channel 2 and channel 3. This last level is the most serious state, after which the child dies.

of poverty, illnesses such as tuberculosis, diarrhea (related to undernourishment) and bronchitis (that sometimes degenerates into pneumonia) are very common among members of the community.

1.4.8. Ethnic configuration of ‘Misión Tapiete’

Despite its name, ‘Misión Tapiete’ is far from being an homogenous group, ethnically speaking. After visiting all the houses of the mission, I discovered that along with Tapiete people live members of other ethnic groups, such as Avá-Guaraní, Chanés, Chorotes, Tobas, Weenhayeks and Wichís, and also two *criollo* families.²¹

The small piece of land they received does not prevent the existence of a sort of ‘inner border’ inside the community that splits it into two sectors: one of them occupied by mostly exogenous couples; while families whose members consider themselves as Tapietes live in the other sector. Of course, exceptions to this ‘rule’ can be found in both sectors. As a consequence, people who claim a pure Tapiete origin are notably reduced. According to my calculations, only 36% -145 people- who live in Misión Tapiete identify themselves as Tapiete. This number includes both families whose parents claim to be tapietes and Tapiete members of an exogenous couple.

I wish to make clear that I did not adopt any ‘objective’ or ‘external’ criteria when I had to determine the ethnic origin of the person I was interviewing. Interviews were carried out in an informal atmosphere: in most cases, a long time was devoted both to explain my being there and to justify my curiosity. This means that in my notes a person is defined as ‘Tapiete’ or ‘Toba’ only if he or she claims to belong to that group. Of course, the logical consequent question is: What makes the child of a Toba/Tapiete couple identify

²¹ Because of time, these families were not included in the survey I carried out. I do not rule out the possibility of working with them in following fieldworks.

himself/herself as a Tapiete or as a Toba? At the present stage of my investigations I cannot answer this question with absolute certainty. My impression is that the ethnic affiliation of the person who was in charge of the interviewed person (mother, father, aunt, grandmother) plays a major role in this election. Very often, this person was a native speaker of the indigenous language with whom the child had grown up. People I interviewed showed different levels of proficiency in that indigenous language: some could speak it properly, some understood it and some only vaguely remembered it.

It is also necessary to make some clarification with respect to the words employed by the people I interviewed when it comes to designating the ethnic group they belong to. The terms *Chaguanco* and *Guaraní*, and also the term *cuña* (only for women) were used most of times by people whose origin is commonly recognized among *criollo* people with the derogative name of *Chiriguano*. Even if the term Avá-Guaraní is the chosen one by those people as the term of self-naming, it was mentioned only in those opportunities when I was asking if *Chaguanco* and *Guaraní* were synonymous with *Avá-Guaraní*. As far as the pejorative term *mataco* is concerned, it was mentioned several times as synonymous with *Weenhayek* by people of such origin. Now that the complexity of the subject is clearly understood, let's examine the ethnic composition of married couples.

1.4.8.1. Ethnic composition of couples in 'Misión Tapiete'

There is a large percentage of exogenous marriages in the community. On a total of 65 couples examined, 68% are exogenous couples which reflects a strong tendency of Tapiete people to form families with people of Avá-Guaraní origin. As far as endogenous couples are concerned, they are formed by 16 Tapiete/Tapiete marriages (24%), and 4 Avá-Guaraní/ Avá-Guaraní marriages (6%). Taking into account the relations of enmity

which lasted until a few years ago, it is really surprising to see the major percentage of exogenous Tapiete-Av-Guaran marriages (31%) as compared to the percentage of endogenous Tapiete/Tapiete marriages (24%). With respect to Tapiete people, it is interesting to see that the higher percentage of exogenous couples concentrates on younger people, a tendency that contrasts with the large percentage of endogenous marriages among older people. This situation suggests that the practice of getting married to people not belonging to the Tapiete group is relatively new. All of the couples whose ages are between 61 and 70 are endogenous. On the other hand, exogenous marriages start to appear among 50-year-old people. This new trend is possibly related to the conversion of Tapiete people to Christianity. Indeed, all the testimonies show that this conversion must have happened about 35 years ago, that is to say, when people who are now 50-60-year-old were about 20. According to the testimonies I could gather, evangelization broke the taboo that forbade Tapiete people to look for a husband/wife outside the Tapiete community. While reaching present times, ‘Misin Tapiete’ is getting ethnic diversity through couples that include members from a greater number of indigenous communities (Toba, Weenhayek, Chorote, Wich, Chan) and also *Criollos*. However, not only evangelization must have played a major role in this change. The quick economic development of the region put an end to the geographical and cultural isolation of the Tapiete community, leading its members to establish more frequent contacts not only with the Criollo society but also with other indigenous groups with which they started to share a greater number of social spaces such as work, sporting and religious activities. There is no doubt that this situation also contributed to extend the ethnic spectrum of younger couples.

1.4.9. Sociolinguistic situation

The significant changes happening during the last fifty years in the life of this community ('sedentarism', evangelization, frequent contacts with *Criollo* people and other indigenous groups, exogenous marriages) had their correlation at the linguistic level. We have seen how during the last fifty years there has been an increasing trend to marry people outside the Tapiete community. The ethnic belonging of the spouses is one of the important elements when it comes to evaluating if the native language will be kept by younger generations or if they will definitely adopt the dominant language. Other factors, such as the access to the dominant language and a real socio-economic incentive that stimulates members of a linguistic minority to adopt that language are particularly relevant when it is necessary to evaluate the linguistic behavior of a community (Paulston 1994:12). In the following section, I will give a presentation of the Tapietes sociolinguistic situation.

1.4.9.1. Present situation and ways to a linguistic change²²

People distribution with respect to the command of the Tapiete and the Spanish language varies, on the one hand, due to age, and, on the other hand, due to the frequency of contacts with the Spanish speaking population. In general, this situation can be sketched as follows: people older than 50 have a perfect command of the Tapiete language. Even if they cannot be considered as sheer monolinguals, because some of them can speak Spanish too, they generally prefer to avoid the use of this language and feel more comfortable speaking their own language. Consequently, these people can be considered unbalanced bilinguals, as there is no doubt they handle Tapiete language better than

²² The following considerations deal with Tapiete families or those families in which at least one of the parents is of Tapiete origin. Endogenous Avá-Guaraní and Tobas couples are not included; the same happens with endogenous couples in which neither husband or wife are from the Tapiete group.

Spanish. People older than 30 are native speakers of Tapiete and most of them learned Spanish in a sudden and compulsory way, when they started going to school, that is to say, when they were 6 or 7 years old. Their command of Spanish varies according to the kind of work they perform, (in or outside the community) and also according to the ethnic origin of their husband/wife (if the spouse is not Tapiete, Spanish is generally the language most employed at home, and in this way Tapiete is being slowly displaced). This generation of speakers use Tapiete to speak among themselves and with their grown-ups, but they speak Tapiete with their children only occasionally. As far as people whose age varies between 20 and 30 years are concerned, even if a relatively large percentage speak Tapiete, a slightly less important percentage is only able to speak it, which enables me to classify them as passive bilinguals. With respect to adolescents, the percentage of those who speak Tapiete decreases sensibly, while the percentage of those who only understand it, grows. Some of these young people, whose age varies between 17 and 20, were Tapiete-Spanish bilingual before starting primary school. In some cases, these young people understand Tapiete perfectly and they can even speak it if it is necessary, but they feel definitely more comfortable speaking Spanish. Adolescents who still speak Tapiete feel their command of the language is regular or simply bad. In general, these adolescents had the opportunity of learning Tapiete through living with their grandparents. Consequently, the Tapiete language is related to grandparents, sometimes parents, but never to siblings, with whom they never speak that language. Finally, children hardly ever speak Tapiete. Some of them understand it and can even recite nursery rhymes, but they are unlikely to choose it to express themselves. It is also necessary to point out that even in those families where mixed marriages do not exist and,

consequently, all members are Tapiete native speakers, parents generally use Spanish to address their children. The following chart systematizes the information offered by people I interviewed with respect to the usage of Tapiete language.²³

Ages	Tapiete speaking	Tapiete and Spanish speaking	Speaks Spanish and understands Tapiete	Spanish monolingual from Tapiete parents
71 – 80	100%			
61 - 70		100%		
51 - 60		91%	9%	
41 - 50		100%		
31 - 40		88%	12%	
21 - 30		55%	26%	18%
11 - 20		15%	42%	43%
3 - 10		3%	45%	52%

Table 1: Tapiete command with relation to people’s ages

The chart shows the sudden adoption of Spanish by part of the population that was, up to no more than 30 years ago, Tapiete monolingual. It is possible to see how most of older people are Tapiete monolinguals, and, as the ages of the community members decreases, the number of bilingual people increases, and also the number of people who understands Tapiete but do not speak it. Finally, Tapiete is spoken by a very small percentage of adolescents and an even smaller one of children, and more or less half of the children under 10 are Spanish monolingual.

In conclusion, Tapiete is presently spoken by people older than 20, in the frame of their daily interaction. Spanish is the language employed to communicate with the external world and only a few Tapiete children speak their native language. This data show that there is not any ‘intergenerational’ transfer of Tapiete inside the tapiete community of Tartagal, which reflects a sudden abandonment of the language (Crystal 2000:20).

²³ This chart does not include the information that deals with those families whose spouses are not Tapietes.

1.4.10. General presentation of the educational level of Tapiete people

Only the younger members of the community receive a formal education. Generally speaking, it is possible to say that the generation on their 30s completed only what is presently called EGB 1.²⁴ Testimonies of Tapiete people I interviewed have been unanimous: they went to school being Tapiete monolingual, and their teachers not only did not speak their language, but also humiliated them when they spoke Tapiete. The ineluctable consequence of this kind of educative situation is that children abandon school after only a few years. The real command of reading and writing, of this part of the population, varies depending on the possibility they had to practice this kind of knowledge: those who worked outside the community, as bakers, bricklayers, drivers, bilingual assistants or representatives of their community, can read and write Spanish, even if with some difficulties according to the cases. On the other hand, most of the men who worked on the land, and of the women who stay at home taking care of the children, cannot read it or write it.

1.4.10.1. Tapiete and bilingual education

The children go to 'Misión Los Tapiete' school, which is located in Padre Pedro Alley, inside the Tapiete community. This school is also attended by neighboring *Criollos* children. 700 children attend the school, 108 of them –that is 16% - come from 'Misión Tapiete'. Two bilingual assistants have worked in that school for seven years now, where they are in charge of the children of the community who attend EGB 1.

The real problems Tapiete bilingual assistants have to face are: a lack of linguistic (alphabet, grammar and so on) and pedagogical (such as teaching materials) tools, which are necessary in carrying out this kind of program. Due to the fact that Tapiete does not

²⁴ Educación General Básica (Basic General Education)

have its own alphabet yet, bilingual assistants usually employ the teaching materials that are specially designed for children who speak Avá-Guaraní. However, both the children and the Tapiete teacher in charge of the Samaihuate school have demonstrated against these texts because of the differences existing between the two languages. (PROEIB 2000)²⁵ Last but not least, two problems that were mentioned were the lack of professional assistance and interest on the part of school authorities on the one hand and discrimination on the other.

Despite the implementation of a bilingual educational program, it is evident that both teachers and the principal of the school do not have intellectual tools and the necessary training to carry out such programs. Consequently, bilingual assistants can only reach, in the best of cases, a role of translator. For example, they have to translate sentences such as *El oso come pan* (*The bear eats bread*) which offers several problems from the semantic point of view (the Tapiete word to name a *bear* does not exist because this animal is not typical of the region), the pragmatic (in general, bears do not eat bread) and the syntactic one (the assistants, making an effort to perform their job satisfactorily copy the order SVO, which, as a result, gives an artificial Tapiete sentence because this language shows the order SOV.). Assistants usually help teachers, offering personalized help to indigenous children: when the teacher has introduced a new topic to or gives instruction for carrying out a new activity, the bilingual assistant helps the children while they are doing it.²⁶

²⁵ The adoption of an alphabet needs the making of decisions varying from purely practical ones (e.g. how to represent a nasal vowel with a typewriter) to political ones (the acceptability or not of the orthographic conventions already adopted by other languages of the same linguistic family). This last topic is not less important because the common history of the two native peoples, who are linguistically related can be marked by relations stormy enough to make them unwilling to show any kind of similarity.

²⁶ According to the perception of the kindergarten teacher, indigenous children are always 'slower' than *Criollo* ones. Of course, this remark can be considered as a discriminatory act on the part of the teacher.

No doubt in ‘Misión Los Tapiete’ school the learning situation is ‘subtractive’, that is to say, the use of the native language is not pursued, on the contrary, the idea is that children abandon and progressively forget it. Children do not have any special stimulus to use a language that, for example, does not have a word to refer to ‘bears’, a situation that they perceive as proof of the imperfection of their language with respect to Spanish. Even if they have attended some training courses provided by the Salta Educational Council and dictated by Mrs. Mónica Zidarich, that took place at General Mosconi and Aguaray, the bilingual assistants feel absolutely confused and left alone inside the school.

For four years, bilingual assistants had the task of taking care of the food children received for lunch. This situation apparently changed with the unexpected visit of the inspector of the school found the bilingual assistants in the kitchen, ‘stirring the pot’. This situation aroused the anger of the inspector, and she gave, as a result, an explicit warning to the headmistress to avoid this situation in the future(23).²⁷ On the other hand, it is important to point out that this inspector defended the tenure status of bilingual assistants, who have to be appointed again each year.²⁸

Finally, it is necessary to point out a fact that is very significant for its symbolic value. Even if the original name of the school is ‘Misión Los Tapietes’, some years ago a headmistress renamed it as “12th of October”, a fact that, for obvious reasons, aroused a

However, according to my field work notes, in 1998, 9 children of the community were in channel 3 of undernourishment. It is logical to think that with this level of undernourishment children cannot respond as those who can satisfy their basic needs.

²⁷ Even if this fact did not happen again and, at the moment, bilingual assistants work in the classroom and not in the kitchen, when lunchtime arrives, the teachers and headmistress eat separately, and assistants have their lunch in the kitchen. Moreover, bilingual assistants replace the school cleaners when some of them do not go to school.

²⁸ Bilingual assistants whose designation is evaluated year by year can lose their job if their contract is not renewed. It usually happens that, when February comes to the end, these teachers still do not know if they will start classes in March and, consequently, if they will work during the next year. The tenure status, on the other hand, guarantees a certain kind of stability and continuity of their jobs.

deep unease among members of the community. Nowadays, it is possible to see a big sign on the gate with this last name, and inside the school, on a wall, a small and not very visible plate remembers the original name of the school. Even if the representative of the Tapiete community has repeatedly asked to have the sign removed, this wish has not been satisfied up to now.

Children, on their part, cannot avoid perceiving the difference of status between teachers and bilingual assistants, that, in the case of ‘Misión Los Tapietes’ school is clearly evident. Obviously, this situation does not motivate children to find reasons to preserve their parents’ language and to see in it a reason to be proud.

1.4.10.2. The role of bilingual assistants

Considering how the sociolinguistic situation of the children of ‘Misión Tapiete’ (they are almost Spanish monolingual) was presented, it is worthwhile wondering what is the function of the bilingual assistants and what is the main aim of their job. In this case, we could suppose that their job is oriented towards the teaching and fostering of the use of Tapiete language on the part of the children that are not, in any case, competent speakers of the language. This fact, along with other elements of an overall plan, would help to reverse the advanced state of the loss of language that is evident among the members of the community. However, this is not the real situation.

The bilingual assistants’ role inside the school is quite problematical, because there is an evident lack of consensus about the job they have to perform and also about the objectives that the bilingual educational program wants to reach. On the one hand, the main task of the bilingual assistant is to work as an interpreter. This objective was explicitly admitted, as María Martell’s (headmistress of kindergarten and EGB)

declaration shows. Her words were published in an article called *Aborígenes reclaman por más auxiliares bilingües* (“Aboriginal inhabitants are asking for more bilingual assistants”) that appeared in *El Tribuno*. (Thursday, June 25th, 1998)²⁹

*“...a medida que pasa el tiempo son más los niños aborígenes que hablan castellano y la necesidad del traductor va desapareciendo.”*³⁰

These words clearly show that bilingual educational programs are created as a temporary tool employed by the educational system to make a bit more ‘human and acceptable’ the process of abandonment of the native language on the part of indigenous children. Consequently, the funds for bilingual programs are being reduced, as the objective pursued by the educational authorities is being gradually reached: the number of aboriginal children who do not speak their mother tongue is increasing. So, according to the information provided by Tapiete bilingual assistants, at least four indigenous communities have seen how the number of their assistants has been reduced: in Kilómetro 6 community (with Toba, Wichí and Chorote children), Cherenta (with Chané children), and Yacui (with Izoceño children) the number of bilingual assistants has been reduced from five to two. In the community of Cruce del Pichanal the number has decreased from three to one. It is important to point out that in this last community the assistant, of Chulupí origin, has among her students Wichí children, who she obviously cannot help.

On the other hand, as we previously said, what is really being expected in ‘Misión Los Tapietes’ school is that bilingual assistants help teachers by taking care of the children through a more personalized teaching of the different subjects. Finally, according to the

²⁹ *El Tribuno* is the local paper of Salta.

³⁰ “...as time passes, there are more aboriginal children who speak Spanish, and the need for an interpreter is disappearing.”

testimony of a bilingual assistant, the main objective that they pursue is to defend children from any kind of discriminatory treatment coming from their classmates or school personnel. From this point of view, the bilingual assistant guarantees that schoolchildren are treated with due respect and they and their parents are listened to properly. In this way the bilingual assistant performs the role of ‘cultural interpreter’ between the people of the community and school authorities.

What has been previously said implies that the command of the language is not the main objective of the bilingual educational program the way it is implemented in this school. Moreover, the accomplishment of such an objective would be complex and problematical, because, even if Tapiete is the most largely spoken indigenous language in ‘Misión Tapiete’, some other languages are also spoken, although in smaller proportion. Should Tapiete be taught to children who speak Avá-Guaraní or Toba at home, just to give an example? Should a Tapiete bilingual assistant and another one belonging to a different ethnic group be present at school? Would this situation create a conflict inside the community? The answers are quite complex. Moreover, even if children of the community attend a school that offers them a bilingual educational program, the program is not really bilingual because it offers only two bilingual assistants who do not receive any kind of pedagogical support on the part of school authorities.

Although one consequence of bilingual aids is that their jobs serve as a source of scarce income for the community, bilingual assistants are already being questioned. People of Tapiete origin see that their children are not learning the Tapiete language at school. Furthermore, tensions surface that go beyond the Tapiete sub-group, as members of the community perceive as a prerogative the fact that one of the bilingual assistants is a

daughter of the chief. In any case, at present, the situation does not seem to have a quick solution.

1.4.11. Conclusions

‘Misión Tapiete’ is far from being an ethnically homogeneous community, because people of seven indigenous groups live there. The groups are: Avá-Guaraní, Toba, Chorote, Chané, Weenhayek and Wichí. This ethnical diversity reflects the increasingly common trend to get married outside the Tapiete group. This new exogenous tendency and also the regular contacts, with *criollo* people and other indigenous groups, are factors that must be taken into account when it comes to evaluate the abandonment of the mother tongue on the part of younger generations.

In this way Tapiete people exemplify a dizzy process of loss of their culture that has taken place in a period of fifty years. No doubt this process started in 1932 with the war between Bolivia and Paraguay, when the way of life of this people was seriously affected and, at the same time, they entered a state of poverty they still cannot abandon. From that moment the sedentarization forced by the war, the evangelization and the recent and growing adoption of the Spanish language with the consequent and imminent abandonment of the mother tongue came one after the other.

1.5. Grammatical sketch

Tapiete is a head marking language that mainly encodes inflectional information through suffixation (1). Other morphological processes such as prefixation (2), stem modification (3) and reduplication (4) are also attested.

- (1) a-mbo'e-po-yi-reta-kwi
1SGAC-teach-FUT-FRQ-PL-DISTFUT
I will teach them again

- (2) a-mi-mba-yuka
1SGAC-CAUS1-INHO-kill
I make (him/her) to hunt
- (3) ha'e 'I said'
nde-re 'you said'
he'i '(s)he said'
yai 'we (inc.) said'
he'i-ha 'we (exc.) said'
pe-re 'you (PL) said'
- (4) karu '(s)he eats' kakaru '(s)he eats quickly'
iyeta '(s)he speaks' iyeyeta '(s)he whispers'

Tapiete is an active/inactive language: the agentive subjects of both transitive (5) and intransitive (6) verbs are marked by the same set of personal prefixes, while the non-agentive subject of intransitive verbs (7) and the patient of transitive verbs (8) are marked by a different set of personal prefixes.

- (5) a-yuka
1SGAC-kill
I kill (him/her)
- (6) a-ñani
1SGAC-run
I run
- (7) sh-ankwa
1SGIN-speedy
I am speedy
- (8) shi-mbori
1SGIN-help
help me

Finally, the default order of constituents in Tapiete is SOV (9); other orders are possible although they are pragmatically marked or are the result of Spanish influence (10).

- (9) S O V
ha'e-re kosira hou
(s)he-PL tea 3:drink
ellos están tomando el té

(10)	V(aux)	V	O
	á-ha-po	a-yasiya	iwira
	1SGAC-go-FUT	1SGAC-cut	stick
	<i>voy a cortar palos</i>		

1.5.1. Phonology

Tapiete has fifteen consonants and twelve vowels, six orals and six nasals. Vowels are further opposed according to three places of articulation i.e. front, central and back, and two levels of opening i.e. high and low. As other Tupi-Guarani languages spoken in eastern Bolivia (e.g. Sirionó) and northern Argentina (e.g. Ava-Guarani), word stress in Tapiete falls on the penultimate syllable.³¹ However, the place of the stress may change according to the suffix ability to attract stress. As for its syllabic structure, Tapiete only allows for open syllable where the onset may be a consonant or a vowel. Finally, Tapiete displays nasal harmony, a process by which consonants undergo changes by virtue of the presence of a stressed nasal vowel of a lexical item. (Cf. Chapter 2)

1.5.2. Morphosyntax

As said before, Tapiete is an agglutinative language that exhibits prefixation, suffixation, and reduplication. Prefixes encode verbal inflectional information that includes the category of person (e.g. subjects and objects) (11), mood (12) and causation (morphological causative *mbi-* ~ *mi-*) (13).

(11)	a-piri-yúka-po
	1SGAC-2PL-kill
	<i>I will kill you (PL)</i>

(12)	t-o-kwa	ndi-ré(he)
	MOD-3AC-hit	you-rehe
	<i>let him to hit you</i>	

³¹ Tupi-Guarani languages whose stress falls on the last syllable are, among others, Paraguayan Guarani and Yuquí (Crowhurst 2000).

- (13) *m̩-n̩giye*
CAUS1-fear
make him to be afraid

Suffixes encode inflectional information, such as aspect (14), tense (15), causation (morphological causative *-ka*) (16), and negation (17).

- (14) *a-m̩-ngwére-ma*
1SGAC-CAUS1-cure-RES
yo le he calmado

- (15) *a-káru-po*
1SGAC-eat-FUT
I will eat

- (16) *a-heno-ka*
1SGAC-call-CAUS2
lo hago llamar

- (17) *a-hesha-ä*
1SGAC-see-NEG
I didn't see (him/her)

Finally, Tapiete makes a productive use of partial reduplication that applies to verbal roots and modifies the aspectual value of the verb: reduplication may convey iterative (18) and continuative meaning (19) and it may refer to an action distributed over several distinct objects (20).

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|---------|----------------|------------------------|
| (18) | <i>kutu</i> | ‘stab’ | <i>kukutu</i> | ‘stab repeatedly’ |
| (19) | <i>hesha</i> | ‘see’ | <i>hehesha</i> | ‘check’ |
| (20) | <i>pete</i> | ‘stick’ | <i>pepete</i> | ‘stick several things’ |

In addition, Tapiete has noun incorporation, which is encoded through the affixation of two morphemes *mba-* ‘INHO’ that refers to an incorporated non-human object (21) and *p̩ri-* ‘IHO’ that refers to the incorporation of a human object (22).

- (21) pe pi-ma-mbeu pe-ĩ
 you (PL) 2PL-INHO-tell 2PL-be
you are now telling the tale
- (22) pĩrĩ-pota i(ko)-wa
 IHO-want be-NOM
((s)he) wants to fall in love

As far as the nominal morphology is concerned, Tapiete encodes morphologically the category of number (23) while gender is marked lexically only to avoid ambiguity.

- (23) kunumi-re
 boy-PL
boys

In addition, a set of suffixes encodes diminutives (24) and augmentative (25) meanings, while locative suffixes distinguish between a fixed position (26) and a movement position (27). Prefixes encode possession (28).

- (24) kunumi-mi-re
 boy-DIM1-PL
little boys
- (25) ro'ĩ-kwe
 ice cream-AUG
big ice-cream
- (26) y-ase'o-pe hunga-ha
 3POSS-throat-LOC finger-IMPER
le han apretado (en) la garganta
- (27) tĩnta-ipi a-wata-po
 village-LOCMOV 1SGAC-walk-FUT
I will walk by the village
- (28) shi-mbiware-reta
 1SGPOSS-old fashioned puppet-PL
my puppets

The distinction between alienable and inalienable possession, common to TG languages, is further formalized in Tapiete by the obligatory presence of both (i) a default marker of

possession in inalienable possessive constructions (29), and (ii) different third person possessive markers that distinguishes alienable from inalienable possession (30).

(29) *t̥i*-yupa
DEFPOSS-house
somebody's house

(30)	alienable possession		inalienable possession	
	<i>y̥i</i> -k̥iɾipot̥i	‘his/her money’	<i>pi</i> re	‘his/her skin’
	<i>ñ̥i</i> -mand̥iyu	‘his/her cotton’	<i>i</i> -po	‘his/her hand’
			<i>h̥i</i> -poi	‘his/her bowel’
			<i>y̥i</i> -wata	‘his/her dress’
			<i>y</i> -ase’o	‘his/her throat’
			<i>ñ̥i</i> n-samp̥inkará	‘his/her eyebrow’
			<i>ñ̥i</i> -anka	‘his/her head’

Finally, nouns may function as predicates in which case, they exhibit verbal morphology such as tense (31), aspect (32) and negation (33).

(31) *ha*’e *she*-me-kwe
I policeman-PST
he is my former husband

(32) *she* *sindá*ro-ma
I policeman-RES
I am a policeman already

(33) *she* *sindaro*-ä
I policeman-NEG
I am not a policeman

Tapiete has a set of pospositions that occur with person markers of Set 2 with which they form pronominal forms that encode different semantic roles: posposition *rehe* encodes the participatory semantic role of patient and the circumstantial role of reason, *hewi* encodes the semantic role of source, *yehe* encodes a marginal reflexive construction and *yupe* encodes the circumstantial role of beneficiary.

Questions are morphologically encoded by means of the interrogative particle *-ra* ‘Q’, which may be suffixed to any constituent. Usually, the question marker focuses the constituent the question is about (e.g. the predicate (34) or an argument (35)).

(34) *ndi-kwa'a-ra*
 2SGAC-understand-Q
do you understand?

(35) *kosira-ra pe-'u pe-i*
 tea-Q 2PL-2:eat 2PL-be
are you drinking some tea?

In addition, Tapiete has an evidential morpheme *nda-* ‘EVD’ that specifies that the speaker did not witness the reported information. Suffix *nda-* can also attach to the constituent in focus (e.g. the predicate (36) or an argument (37))

(36) *ou-nda arka'e kope*
 3:come-EVD long time ago here
He came here once.

(37) *ha'e-nda nu-numpa*
 (s)he-EVD 2SGP-slap
He said that he has bitten you

1.6. Organization

Chapter 1 presents the historical and ethnographic background of the Tapiete people. It surveys the linguistic descriptions of Tapiete carried out so far and discusses the question of their linguistic and ethnic affiliation while giving information of the present day socio-linguistic situation. Chapter 2 presents the main features of Tapiete’s phonology, with a focus on the inventory of phonemes, the phonological rules that regulate allophonic variations, and its phonotactics. Nasal harmony, syllable structure and word stress are also examined in this chapter. Finally, morphophonological processes that result from the co-occurrence of particular phonemes at the juncture of morphemes that involve nasal

harmony, stress location and reduplication are also discussed. Chapter 3 presents the nominal morphology and the syntax of the noun phrase. The internal structure of nouns, the categories of number, gender, diminutives, augmentatives, as well as the encoding of alienable and inalienable possession are discussed. The noun phrase is described in terms of the distribution of its components. Specifically, independent pronouns and pronominal construction, as well as indefinite pronouns, demonstratives, numerals and quantifiers are discussed. The lexical and syntactic encoding of possession is described. Finally, the distribution of locatives and directionals is discussed. Chapter 4 discusses the verbal morphology and the order of elements within the verb phrase. The grammatical categories encoded through the verbal morphology e.g. active, inactive and reflexive person markers, tense, aspect and mood, causatives, noun incorporation, negation and the instrumental morpheme are presented. Then, the arrangement of constituents within the verb phrase, the syntactic distribution of auxiliary verbs, as well as their function as aspectual markers is discussed. The semantic content of the adverbs and the syntactic distribution of the adverbial phrase are also described in this chapter. Chapter 5 presents the order of constituents within the clause and the types of sentences, e.g. declarative and interrogative, are presented. Among declarative clauses, transitive and ditransitive clauses are discussed, as well as existential and equational clauses. A discussion of subordinate clauses is presented that includes relative, complement and adverbial clauses. Then coordinating, comparative and imperative constructions are surveyed. Finally, clausal negation and evidentials are discussed. Chapter 6 discusses the linguistic outcome of the contact between Tapiete and Spanish. The discussion is mainly oriented toward an analysis of the linguistic features that result from this situation. The degree of

assimilation of Spanish loanwords in Tapiete is evaluated through the analysis of consonant and vocalic alternations, changes of the syllable structure, re-location of the stress within the word and the effect of nasal harmony on loanwords. The weight of Spanish loanwords on both the Tapiete vocabulary and on semi-spontaneous texts is evaluated since it serves to propose a correlation between the occurrence of Spanish loanwords and socio-linguistics parameters. Finally, the influence of Spanish on the morphology and the syntax of Tapiete and the use of Spanish connectors in the discourse is investigated.

2. Phonology

In this chapter, I present the main features of Tapiete phonology. In section 2.1. I focus on the inventory of phonemes, the phonological rules that regulate allophonic variation, and the sequential arrangement of phonemes, or phonotactics. In section 2.2, I examine nasal harmony. Section 2.3 discusses word stress and section 2.4 syllable structure. Finally, in section 2.5 I consider morphophonological processes that result from the co-occurrence of particular phonemes at the juncture of morphemes, nasal harmony, and the ability of affixes to attract stress and reduplication.

Through this chapter, examples are presented, first, in phonological transcription, then in phonetic and orthographic transcriptions. Examples are presented in both the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) and the tentative Tapiete orthographic system.

2.1. Segmental phonology

In this section, I present the inventory of phonemes, and their phonetic description together with their distribution within the phonological word. The phonological word in Tapiete includes a lexical root and the clitics associated to it subject to rules of stress assignment.

Tapiete has 15 consonants and 12 vowels, six oral and six nasal. Table 2 and Table 3 present the inventory of Tapiete consonants in IPA notation and the tentative Tapiete alphabet respectively.

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-velar	glottal
Voiceless stops	p	t		k	k ^w	ʔ
Prenasalized voiced stops	mb	nd		ŋg		
Voiceless fricative		s	ʃ			h
Voiceless affricate			tʃ			
Voiced affricate			dʒ			
Flap		r				
Approximants					w	

Table 2: Tapiete consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-velar	glottal
Voiceless stops	p	t		t	kw	ʔ
Prenasalized voiced stops	mb	nd		ng		
Voiceless fricative		s	sh			h
Voiceless affricate			ch			
Voiced affricate			y			
Flap		r				
Approximants					w	

Table 3: Tapiete consonants in the tentative alphabet

Table 4 and Table 5 present the inventory of vowels in the IPA and the tentative orthographic Tapiete alphabet, respectively.

	Front	Middle	Back
High	i / ĭ	ɨ / ĩ	u / ũ
Low	e / ě	a / ǎ	o / ǒ

Table 4: Tapiete vowels

	Front	Middle	Back
High	ɨ / ĩ	ɨ̣ / ị̃	u / ũ
Low	e / ě	a / ǎ	o / ǒ

Table 5: Tapiete vowels in the tentative Tapiete alphabet

2.1.1. Phonetic description of phonemes

In this section I consider the phonetic description of Tapiete consonants as well as their distribution within the phonological word. Allophonic variations are discussed in section 2.1.3.

2.1.1.1. Consonants

Since Tapiete does not allow closed syllables, consonants are always at the onset of syllables. They are presented, here, in both word medial and word initial positions when these contexts qualify.

/p/ is a bilabial voiceless stop; it occurs in word initial and word medial position.

/pete/ [pete] pete ‘(s)he punishes’

/hupi/ [hupi] hupi ‘(s)he raises’

/t/ is an alveolar voiceless stop; it occurs in word initial and word medial position.

/taso/ [taso] taso ‘worm’

/pota/ [pota] pota ‘(s)he wants’

/k/ is a velar voiceless stop; it occurs in word initial and word medial position.

/kɨʔa/ [kɨʔa] kɨʔa ‘dirt’

/puku/ [puku] puku ‘long’

/kw/ is a labiovelar voiceless stop; it occurs in word initial and word medial position.

/kʷarasi/ [kwarasi] kwarasi ‘sun’

/apɨrakʷa/ [apɨrakwa] apɨrakwa ‘kind of bear’

/ʔ/ is a glottal stop; it occurs in word medial position.³²

/kaʔa/ [kaʔa] kaʔa ‘woodland’

³² The glottal stop also occurs in word initial and word final position; in these contexts, however, it is not phonemic (Cf. Section 2.1.3)

/mb/ is a pre-nasalized bilabial voiced stop; it occurs in word initial and word medial position.

/mberu/	[mberu]	mberu	‘fly’
/kambu/	[kambu]	kambu	‘to be breastfed’

/nd/ is a pre-nasalized alveolar voiced stop; it occurs in word initial and word medial position.

/nde/	[nde]	nde	‘you’
/hendu/	[hendu]	hendu	‘(s)he listens’

/ŋg/ is a pre-nasalized velar voiced stop; it occurs in word medial position.

/ŋgareko/	[ŋgareko]	ngareko	‘(s)he takes care of’
/aŋguza/	[aŋguza]	anguya	‘mouse’

/s/ is an alveolar voiceless fricative; it occurs in word initial and word medial position.

/soʔo/	[soʔo]	so’o	‘meat’
/hasa/	[hasa]	hasa	‘(s)he passes’

/ʃ/ is a palatal voiceless fricative; it occurs in word initial and word medial position.

/ʃure/	[ʃure]	shure	‘potato’
/heʃa/	[heʃa]	hesha	‘(s)he sees’

/h/ is a glottal voiceless fricative; it occurs in word initial and word medial position.

/ha/	[ha]	ha	‘hair’
/mōha/	[mōhā]	mohä	‘medicine’

/tʃ/ is a palatal voiceless affricate; it occurs in word medial position.³³

/dʒotʃa/ [dʒotʃa] yocha ‘(s)he catches’

/dʒ/ is a palatal voiced affricate; it occurs in word initial and word medial position.

/dʒoʔo/ [dʒoʔo] yo’o ‘(s)he digs’

/adʒuru/ [aʒuru] ayuru ‘parrot’

/w/ is a labio-velar approximant; it occurs in word initial and word medial position.

/wera/ [wera] wera ‘bright’

/awati/ [awati] awati ‘corn’

/r/ is a voiced alveolar flap; it occurs in word initial and word medial position.

/raha/ [raha] raha ‘(s)he carries’

/here/ [here] here ‘(s)he licks’

2.1.1.2. Vowels

Tapiete distinguishes between oral and nasal vowels.

/i/ is an oral high un-rounded front vowel.

/iro/ [iro] iro ‘bitter’

/ĩ/ is a nasal high un-rounded front vowel.

/ĩ/ [ĩ] ĩ ‘to be’

/i/ is an oral high un-rounded central vowel.

/i/ [i] i ‘water’

/ĩ/ is a nasal high un-rounded central vowel.

/kĩʔĩ/ [kĩʔĩ] kĩĩ ‘chili’

³³ See section 2.1.3 for occurrences of this sound in other contexts.

/e/ is an oral mid un-rounded front vowel.

/heta/ [heta] heta ‘a lot’

/ẽ/ is a nasal mid un-rounded front vowel.

/hẽ/ [hẽ] hẽ ‘to go out’

/a/ is an oral low un-rounded front vowel.

/awara/ [awara] awara ‘fox’

/ã/ is a nasal low un-rounded front vowel.

/kãwi/ [kãwĩ] kãwĩ ‘chicha’

/u/ is an oral high rounded back vowel.

/huri/ [huri] huri ‘eight’

/ũ/ is a nasal high rounded back vowel.

/hũwa/ [hũwã] hũwã ‘black’

/o/ is an oral mid rounded back vowel.

/dzoka/ [dzoka] yoka ‘(s)he breaks’

/õ/ is a nasal mid rounded back vowel.

/põra/ [põrã] põrã ‘beautiful’

2.1.2. List of minimal pairs

Although minimal pairs are not absolutely needed to establish phonological contrast, their presence confirm the existence of phonemes. The following is a non-exhaustive list of minimal pairs. When possible, segments are opposed in function of the relevant phonetic feature that contrasts them (e.g. bilabial vs. alveolar point of articulation of voiceless stops, high front vowel vs. non-high front vowel)

2.1.2.1. Consonants

/p/ vs. /t/

/pēku/	[peŋku]	penku	‘kind of bird’
/tēku/	[teŋku]	tenku	‘tongue’
/dzɪpɪ/	[dzɪpɪ]	yɪpɪ	‘trunk’
/dzɪtɪ/	[dzɪtɪ]	yɪtɪ	‘line’

/k/ vs. /kw/

/karu/	[karu]	karu	‘(s)he eats’
/k ^w aru/	[kwaru]	kwaru	‘(s)he urinates’
/saka/	[saka]	saka	‘little firewood’
/sak ^w a/	[sakwa]	sakwa	‘hole’

/ʔ/ vs. /k/

/heʔa/	[heʔa]	he’a	‘(s)he intermingles’
/heka/	[heka]	heka	‘(s)he looks for’

/ʔ/ vs. /r/

/kɪʔɪ/	[kɪʔɪ]	kɪ’ɪ	‘chile’
/kɪrɪ/	[kɪrɪ]	kɪrɪ	‘to be ticklish’

/t/ vs. /r/

/tu/	[tu]	tu	‘father’
/ru/	[ru]	ru	‘to bring’
/pete/	[pete]	pete	‘(s)he punish’
/pere/	[pere]	pere	‘wound’

/tʃ/ vs. /k/

dʒotʃa/ [dʒotʃa] yocha '(s)he catches'

/dʒoka/ [dʒoka] yoka '(s)he breaks'

/s/ vs. /ʃ/

/siriri/ [siriri] siriri '(s)he flows'

/ʃiriri/ [ʃiriri] shiriri '(s)he fries'

/hesa/ [hesa] hesa 'his eye'

/heʃa/ [heʃa] hesha '(s)he sees'

/dʒ/ vs. /ʃ/

/dʒuka/ [dʒuka] yuka '(s)he kills'

/ʃuka/ [ʃuka] shuka 'kind of play'

/hedʒa/ [hedʒa] heya '(s)he leaves'

/heʃa/ [heʃa] hesha '(s)he sees'

/dʒ/ vs. /s/

/dʒi/ [dʒi] yi 'ax'

/si/ [si] si 'mother'

/kiɖʒe/ [kiɖʒe] kiye 'fear'

/kise/ [kise] kise 'knife'

/mb/ vs. /p/

/tumba/	[tumba]	tumba	‘orphan’
/tupa/	[tupa]	tupa	‘bed’
/mbite/	[mbite]	mbite	‘middle’
/pite/	[pite]	pite	‘(s)he kisses’

/nd/ vs. /t/

/ndirete/	[ndirete]	ndi-rete	‘your body’
/tirete/	[tirete]	ti-rete	‘somebody’s body’
/henda/	[henda]	henda	‘his/her chair’
/heta/	[heta]	heta	‘a lot’

/ŋg/ vs. /k/

/puŋga/	[puŋga]	punga	‘upset’
/puka/	[puka]	puka	‘(s)he laughs’

/w/ vs. /p/

/wiʔa/	[wiʔa]	wi’a	‘(s)he is used to’
/piʔa/	[piʔa]	pi’a	‘belly’
/owa/	[owa]	owa	‘(s)he buys’
/opa/	[opa]	opa	‘all’

2.1.2.2. Vowels

/e/ vs. /i/

/pere/	[pere]	pere	‘wound’
/pire/	[pire]	pire	‘skin’
/dʒāpe/ ³⁴	[ɲampe]	ñampe	‘bandy-legged’
/dʒāpi/	[ɲampi]	ñampi	‘(s)he shaves’

/u/ vs. /o/

/dʒuhe/	[dʒuhe]	yuhe	‘(s)he wishes’
/dʒohe/	[dʒohe]	yohe	‘(s)he washes’
/dʒapu/	[dʒapu]	yapu	‘(s)he lies’
/dʒapo/	[dʒapo]	yapo	‘(s)he does’

/a/ vs. /e/

/ha/	[ha]	ha	‘(s)he goes’
/he/	[he]	he	‘his name’
/wata/	[wata]	wata	‘(s)he walks’
/wate/	[wate]	wate	‘up’

/a/ vs. /u/

/katu/	[katu]	katu	‘(s)he knows’
/kutu/	[kutu]	kutu	‘(s)he stabs’
/peʔa/	[peʔa]	peʔa	‘(s)he opens’
/peʔu/	[peʔu]	peʔu	‘pus’

³⁴ See section 2.2.1 for the palatal affricate [dʒ] and the palatal nasal [ɲ] allophonic variation.

/i/ vs. /ĩ/

/piʔa/	[piʔa]	pi'a	'egg'
/pīʔa/	[pīʔa]	pī'a	'liver'
/wapi/	[wapi]	wapi	'(s)he tripes'
/wapĩ/	[wapĩ]	wapĩ	'(s)he is seated down'

/a/ vs. /ã/

/wapi/	[wapi]	wapi	'(s)he trips'
/wãpi/	[wãpi]	wãpi	'kind of bird'
/kawi/	[kawi]	kawi	'quiet'
/kãwi/	[kãwī]	kãwī	'corn liquor'

/e/ vs. /ẽ/

/pete/	[pete]	pete	'(s)he punishes'
/pẽte/	[pẽte]	pẽte	'one'

/ĩ/ vs. /ĩ/

/pisa/	[pisa]	pisa	'net'
/pĩsa/	[pĩnsa]	pĩnsa	'toe'
/wiʔa/	[wiʔa]	wi'a	'to get used to'
/wĩʔa/	[wĩʔã]	wĩ'ã	'sorrow'

/u/ vs. /ũ/

/tupa/	[tupa]	tupa	'bed'
/tũpa/	[tũpa]	tũpa	'god'

/i/ vs. /ĩ/

/piro/ [piro] piro ‘(s)he peels off’

/pĩro/ [pĩrõ] pĩrõ ‘(s)he walk on’

/o/ vs. /õ/³⁵

/otʃe/ [otʃe] o-che ‘(s)he sleeps’

/õtʃe/ [ontʃe] onche ‘door’

/ĩ/ vs. /ã/

/mĩta/ [minta] minta ‘cat’

/mãta/ [manta] manta ‘(s)he throws’

/ẽ/ vs. /ã/

/tẽta/ [tenta] tenta ‘village’

/tãta/ [tanta] tanta ‘hard’

2.1.3. Allophonic variations

The following discussion of allophonic variations will be limited to segments that do not undergo any change due to nasal harmony. Nasal harmony will be discussed in 2.2.

a) A glottal stop is inserted in both **(i)** utterance final position when the final vowel is not a central vowel [ɨ] in which case a voiceless velar fricative [x] is inserted, **(ii)** utterance initial position when it precedes a vowel. These contexts are formalized in (38) and (39).

³⁵ This opposition has a very low functional load.

(38) **Glottal stop and velar fricative insertion in utterance final position**

$$\emptyset \rightarrow [\text{ʔ}] / \text{V} \text{ ___ } \#\#$$

[-central]

$$[\text{ʔ}] \rightarrow [\text{x}] / \text{V} \text{ ___ } \#\#$$

[+central]

(39) **Glottal stop insertion in initial position**

$$\emptyset \rightarrow [\text{ʔ}] / \#\# \text{ ___ } \text{V}$$

Rule (38) is illustrated with (40) and (41). In (40), a glottal stop preceded by a non-central nasal vowel [ɛ̃] is inserted in utterance final position.

- (40) [ʔambeupo ʃeme haj ʒuka huwɪ hɛ̃ɛʔ]
- a-mbe'u-pota she-me ha'e yuka huwɪ hɛ'ɛ
- 1SGAC-tell-FUT 1SGPOSS-husband (s)he kill blood sweet
- I will tell that diabetes killed my husband*

Example (41) illustrates the insertion of a voiceless velar fricative when the last vowel is a central un-rounded vowel [ɪ].

- (41) /kɪ/ [kɪx] kɪ 'louse'

Example (40) repeated here as 0, shows the glottal stop insertion in utterance initial position when followed by a vowel.

- (42) [ʔambeupo ʃeme haj ʒuka huwɪ hɛ̃ɛʔ]
- a-mbe'u-po she-me ha'e yuka huwɪ hɛ'ɛ
- 1SGAC-tell-FUT 1POSS-husband (s)he kill blood sweet
- I will tell that diabetes killed my husband*

b) The post-alveolar affricate /dʒ/ becomes a post-alveolar fricative [ʒ] in intervocalic position, as exemplified in (44).

(43) /dʒ/ **Fricativization**

[dʒ] → [ʒ] / V__V

(44) /aŋgudʒa/ [aŋgúʒa] anguya 'mouse'

In word initial position and after an underlying nasal vowel, this consonant preserves its affricate quality, as shown in (45).

(45)

/dʒadʒu/	[dʒáʒu]	yayu	'neck'
/míndʒe/	[míndʒe]	minye	'(s)he puts into'

c) In casual speech, the glottal stop [ʔ] is deleted when found in inter-vocalic position

(46).

(46) **Glottal stop deletion**

[ʔ] → [∅] / V__V

(47)

/mboʔe/	[mbóʔe] → [mbóe]	mbo'e	'(s)he teaches'
/aŋguʔa/	[aŋgúʔa] → [aŋgúa]	angu'a	'mortar'

d) The middle un-rounded vowel [a] and the central high vowel [ɨ] are realized as a high palatal approximant [j] when preceded by a stressed low vowel [a] in word final position.

This variation is found in casual speech.

(48) **Palatalization**

[e ɨ] → [j] / V__#

This rule must be preceded by (c); that is, a glottal stop must be previously deleted for this variation to meet the appropriate environment.

- (49)
- | | | | | | | |
|----------|------------|---|-----------|--------|-----------|-----------------|
| /mbaʔe/ | [mbáʔe] | → | [mbáe] | [mbáj] | mba'e | 'thing' |
| /sāʒaʔi/ | [sandʒáʔi] | → | [sandʒai] | → | [sandʒáj] | sanya'i 'child' |

e) A final vowel is deleted when the glottal stop preceding it is deleted and the vowel preceding the glottal stop is of the same quality. This rule must apply after (c) **Glottal stop deletion**.³⁶

(50) **Final vowel deletion**

$$V \rightarrow [\emptyset] / V _ \#$$

- (51) /kapiʔi/ [kapíʔi] → [kapíi] → [kapí] kapi'i 'grass'

f) The palatal voiceless fricative [ʃ] is an allophone of the alveolar voiceless fricative [s] after the front vowel [i].

(52) **Palatalization**

$$[s] \rightarrow [ʃ] / V _$$

- (53)
- | | | | |
|----------|----------|---------|----------|
| /tiwisa/ | [tiβíʃa] | tiwisha | 'large' |
| /isimba/ | [iʃímba] | ishimba | 'orphan' |

There are some instances where the alveolar voiceless fricative [s] is found after a front vowel [i] (54). However, this vowel has to be analyzed as an underlying high central vowel /i/ which surfaces as a front vowel [i] as a consequence of its palatalization by the preceding palatal voiceless fricative /ʃ/.

- (54) /ʃisare/ [ʃisáre] → [ʃisáre] shisare 'I forgot'

g) The bilabial voiced fricative [β] and the labio-velar glide [w] are in complementary distribution: [w] is found in both word initial and word medial position, while [β] is only

³⁶ The consequences that this rule has for syllabification and the place of the stress are considered in section Syllable structure variations.

found in word medial position where is never preceded or followed by the central high vowel [ɨ].

(55) **Complementary distribution of [β] and [w]**

$$[w] \rightarrow [β] / \begin{matrix} V & \underline{\quad} \\ [-\text{central}] & \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} V \\ [-\text{central}] \end{matrix}$$

Examples of this distribution are given in (56) and (57).

(56) **Allophone [w]**

/wedʒɨ/	[weʒɨ]	weyɨ	‘(s)he goes down’
/ɨwiɨ/	[ɨwiɨ]	ɨwi	‘earth’

(57) **Allophone [β]**

/tiwikwa/	[tiβikwa]	tiwikwa	‘anus’
/huwiʃa/	[huβiʃa]	huwisha	‘his/her cacique’
/kawi/	[kaβi]	kawi	‘well’
/owa/	[oβa]	owa	‘six’
/wewe/	[weβe]	wewe	‘(s)he flies’
/hekowe/	[hekoβe]	hekowe	‘his/her life’

h) The palatal voiceless affricate [tʃ] is an allophone of the velar voiceless stop /k/ before the front vowels [i] and [e].

(58) **Complementary distribution of [k] and [tʃ]**

$$[k] \rightarrow [tʃ] / \begin{matrix} V \\ \boxed{\begin{matrix} +\text{front} \\ -\text{low} \end{matrix}} \end{matrix}$$

(59)

/kēse/	[tʃense]	chense	‘(s)he closes’
/kīki/	[tʃintʃi]	chinci	‘(s)he cuts’

However, some instances of the velar voiceless stop [k] before the front vowels [i] and [i] have been attested. In those cases the velar voiceless stop [k] is always preceded by a non-front vowel [u o a]. This includes the examples in (60).

(60)

/sapuke/	[sapuke]	sapuke	‘scream’
/sapupuke/	[sapupuke]	sapupuke	‘(s)he is screaming’
/izukeʔi/	[izukeʔi]	iyuke’i	‘female’s sister-in-law’
/tiroke/	[tiroke]	tiroke	‘poultry yard’
/siwa oke/	[siwaoke]	siwa oke	‘Burnt Front’
/taki/	[taki]	Taki	‘Taki’

Other Guaraní languages as Ava-Guaraní (i.e. Chiriguano) and Paraguayan Guaraní display a voiceless velar stop [k] in the same context, that is, before the front vowels [i] and [e] (Dietrich 1986; Canese 1983). It appears, then, that the Tapiete complementary distribution of the voiceless velar stop [k] before non-front vowels and the voiceless palatal affricate [tʃ] before front vowel is an innovating feature.

Nevertheless, in Spanish loanwords the velar voiceless stop [k] has been attested before the front vowels [i] and [e].

(61)

/flekiʒo/	[flekiʒo]	flekiyo	‘fringe’
/shikireta/	[shikireta]	shikireta	‘bicycle’
/kirawo/	[kيراʒo]	kirawo	‘nail’
/kasike/	[kasike]	kasike	‘cacique’

Finally, the palatal voiceless affricate [tʃ] never occurs before the non-front vowels [ɨ], [o] and [u].

To sum up, the palatal voiceless affricate [tʃ] occurs before the front vowels [i] and [e]. This consonant is never found before the non front vowels [ɪ], [o] and [u] where the velar voiceless stop [k] occurs. However, [tʃ] and [k] contrast before the low vowel [a], as there is, at least, one minimal pair between these two consonants shown in (62). This opposition never occurs in word initial position and does not appear as very functional in the phonology of Tapiete.

- (62)
- | | | | |
|----------|----------|-------|-----------------|
| /dʒotʃa/ | [dʒotʃa] | yocha | ‘(s)he catches’ |
| /dʒoka/ | [dʒoka] | yoka | ‘(s)he breaks’ |

h) In casual speech, the glottal fricative [h], when found in a non-stress syllable, exchanges its position with the following vowel.

(63) Methathesis

$$hV \rightarrow Vh \quad / \quad V \quad _$$

+syll -stress	/	+syll +stress	_
------------------	---	------------------	---

- (64) /wāhe/ [wāēh] wāhē ‘(s)he arrives’

i) The alveolar flap [ɾ] when follows a nasal vowel is realized as either an alveolar nasal [n] or a nasalized flap [ɾ̃], as shown in (66).

(65) [n] ~ [ɾ̃] free variation

$$/ɾ/ \rightarrow [n] \sim [\tilde{\mathfrak{r}}] \quad / \quad V \quad _$$

	/	+	nasal	_
--	---	---	-------	---

- (66)
- | | | | | |
|--------|--------|---------|------|--------------|
| /hāra/ | [hānā] | [hāɾ̃ā] | härä | ‘that’s why’ |
| /īru/ | [īnū] | [īɾ̃ū] | irü | ‘other’ |

2.1.4. Phonotactics

In this section I examine the frequency, distribution and rules of co-occurrence of segments both within the syllable and the word.

2.1.4.1. Frequency and distribution of segments

Voiceless stops [p], [t], [k] and [ʔ] are the most frequent consonants within the corpus.

All consonants, except the glottal stop [ʔ]³⁷ and the pre-nasalized voiced velar stop [ŋg],

can occur in word initial position. The glottal fricative [h] voiceless stops [p], [t], [k] and

the voiced affricate [dʒ] are the most frequent consonants occupying the C₁ position

within a CV.CV word. In addition, all consonants can occur in syllable initial position.

The consonants that occur most frequently in this position are the glottal stop [ʔ], the

bilabial and alveolar stops [p] and [t], and the labio-velar approximant [w]. Table 6 shows

the frequency of segments within a sample of 382 CVCV words. Consonants are

presented by order of frequency.

³⁷ I have shown in section 2.1.3 that the glottal stop can occur in utterance initial position. However, in that context this consonant does not contrast with any other segment.

Segment	C ₁	%	Segment	C ₂	%
h	61	16	ʔ	57	15
p	56	15	t	47	12
t	49	13	p	42	11
dʒ	44	11.5	w	37	10
k	38	10	k	34	9
mb	24	6	s	25	6.5
m	23	6	h	16	4
w	23	6	n	13	3.4
ɲ	19	5	dʒ	12	3.1
s	12	3	m	11	2.8
n	9	2	nd	10	2.6
r	6	1.5	mb	8	2
ʃ	5	1.3	ɲ	8	2
tʃ	5	1.3	ʃ	7	1.8
nd	3	0.7	kw	5	1.3
ŋ	1	0.3	ŋg	5	1.3
ʔ	0	0	r	4	1
ŋg	0	0	tʃ	3	0.8

Table 6: Frequency of consonants

2.1.4.2. Co-occurrences

Voiceless stops co-occur frequently with each other and with the voiceless glottal stop.

However, there is a tendency to avoid the co-occurrence of two voiceless stops produced at the same point of articulation within the same CV.CV word (i.e. there is more common for the voiceless bilabial stop [p] to co-occur with both the voiceless alveolar stop [t] and the voiceless velar stop [k] than with other voiceless bilabial stop). Likely, there is a tendency for the alveolar fricative [s] and the palatal fricative [ʃ] to co-occur more often with voiceless stops avoiding the combination with each other. This is also true for the glottal fricative [h], which only co-occur with a palatal fricative [ʃ] and other glottal

fricative [h] in only one word respectively. However, this consonant co-occurs very often with the alveolar fricative [s]. As for the voiced palatal affricate [dʒ], it mainly co-occurs with voiceless stops, it also co-occurs with the alveolar fricative [s] and the glottal fricative [h] but only in one word it co-occurs with other palatal voiceless [tʃ] or voiced affricate [dʒ] respectively.

To sum up, there is a general tendency in Tapiete for the consonants to dissimilate in regard to their point of articulation within a CVCV lexical root. The possible combinations of consonants are presented in Table 7.

C2 \ C1	p	t	k	k ^w	ʔ	s	ʃ	h	tʃ	dʒ	r	w	mb	nd	ŋg	m	n	ŋ	ɲ
p	x	X	x	x	x	x	x	x	---	x	x	x	---	---	x	---	x	---	x
t	x	X	x	x	x	x	---	---	---	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	---	---
k	x	X	---	---	x	x	---	---	---	x	x	x	x	x	---	x	x	---	x
k ^w	x	---	---	x	---	---	---	---	---	---	x	x	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
ʔ	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
s	x	---	x	x	---	x	---	---	---	---	x	x	---	---	x	x	---	---	---
ʃ	x	X	x	---	x	---	---	---	---	---	x	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
h	x	X	x	x	x	x	x	x	---	x	x	x	---	x	x	x	x	---	x
tʃ	---	---	---	---	---	x	---	---	x	---	x	---	---	---	---	---	x	---	---
dʒ	x	X	x	---	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
r	---	X	x	---	x	---	---	x	---	x	x	x	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
w	x	X	x	---	x	x	x	x	---	x	x	x	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
mb	x	X	x	---	x	x	---	x	---	x	x	x	---	---	---	x	---	---	---
nd	---	---	---	---	x	---	x	---	---	---	---	x	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
ŋg																		---	
m	x	X	x	---	x	---	---	x	---	x	x	x	x	x	---	---	x	---	x
n	x	X	---	---	x	---	---	x	---	---	---	---	x	---	x	x	x	---	---
ŋ	---	X	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
ɲ	x	X	---	---	x	---	---	x	---	---	---	x	---	x	---	x	x	---	x

Table 7: Combinations of consonants within a CV.CV word

2.1.5. Conclusion

In what has preceded, I have examined the main characteristics of the segmental phonology of Tapiete. I have posited, first, the existence of 15 consonants phonemes and 12 vocalic phonemes based on the occurrence of minimal pairs. Then, I have outlined the rules that govern allophonic variations and, finally, I have considered the phonotactics of the language by examining the tendencies underlying the co-occurrence of segments within a CV.CV word. In the following sub-sections supra-segmental phenomena such as nasal harmony, stress, syllable structure and reduplication will be considered.

2.2. Nasal harmony

2.2.1. Introduction

Tapiete, as other Guaraní languages displays ‘nasal harmony’, a process by which a nasal lexical root triggers its nasalization to adjacent vowels and consonants. In TG languages, nasalization is, therefore, considered a prosodic feature that affects a whole word and even spreads over affixes. In addition, nasal harmony creates consonants alternations: nasal consonants are allophones of pre-nasal voiced stops and voiceless stops. Nasal consonants are found in nasal environment, pre-nasal voiced stops and voiceless stops are found in oral contexts. These alternations can be represented as follows:

(67) Consonants alternations due to nasal harmony

oral environment		nasal environment
mb	→	m
nd	→	n
ŋg	→	ŋ
ʒ	→	ɲ
oral environment		nasal environment
p	→	mb
t	→	nd
k	→	ŋg
s	→	nd
ʒ	→	ɲ

As said earlier, nasalization is a distinguishing features of TG phonology and the way it works in the languages of the family has been discussed in several studies (Barrat 1981; Dooley 1984; Guedes 1991 among others).

In the following section, I consider the rules that govern nasal harmony in Tapiete and concentrate on the following aspects: the element that triggers nasalization, the domain over which nasalization spreads, the direction of the spreading and the elements that block its spreading.

2.2.1.1. Element that triggers nasalization

In Tapiete, nasalization is a supra-segmental feature triggered by a stressed nasal syllable of a lexical root. A nasal syllable is defined as a stressed syllable that contains **(i)** a nasal vowel and/or **(ii)** a nasal consonant. Although vowels following or preceding nasal consonants are prone to be nasalized, in Tapiete, the actual phonetic realization of vowels in these contexts is of a slightly nasalized vowel or a fully oral vowel (69). On the contrary, stressed nasal vowels followed or preceded by oral consonants are strongly nasalized (68).

- | | | | | |
|------|--------|--------------|------|------------------|
| (68) | /wẽʔe/ | [wẽʔẽ] | wẽ'ë | '(s)he vomits' |
| (69) | /nõhe/ | [nõhẽ][nohe] | nohë | '(s)he pull out' |

As a consequence, nasalization affects the quality of vowels and consonants that belong to adjacent syllables to the stressed nasal syllable; it crosses over morphemic boundaries and creates vowel and consonant alternations.³⁸ The domain of nasalization in Tapiete is the phonological word defined as a prosodic unit. Since nasalization is only triggered by a stressed nasal syllable, the oral-nasal opposition is only functional in that context. In other words, the oral-nasal quality of adjacent segments is determined by the oral-nasal nature of the stressed syllable of the lexical root. As a result, nasalization is not contrastive in adjacent syllables.

2.2.1.2. Pre-nasalized voiceless segments

In addition to pre-nasalized voiced consonants, Tapiete displays pre-nasalized voiceless consonants. In fact, the sequence of a vowel plus a nasal consonant before a voiceless stop constitutes an allophonic variation of a nasal vowel. That is, a sequence such as [VNC] is the surface form of an underlying nasal vowel followed by a voiceless stop. In these cases, the nasal consonant is homorganic to the following voiceless consonant, the underlying nasal vowel is phonetically realized as an oral vowel and the nasal portion of the pre-nasalized voiceless consonant is distinctly perceptible. This is shown in the examples given in (70).

³⁸ The consequences that nasalization has for the morpho-phonological level are surveyed in section Nasal harmony.

(70)	/āpo/	[ampo]	ampo	‘this one, that one’
	/pēte/	[pente]	pente	‘one’
	/nāki/	[naŋki]	ñanki	‘wet’
	/hāse/	[hanse]	hanse	‘(s)he shouts’
	/mīʃi/	[minʃi]	minshi	‘small’
	/sāzaʔi/	[sanzaʔi]	sanyaʔi	‘child’

In careful speech the oral phonetic quality of the vowel and the plain articulation of the nasal consonant are easily perceptible (71), while the articulation of a nasal vowel with or without any nasal consonant following it is common in casual speech (72).

(71)	/pēte/	[pente]	pente	‘one’
(72)	/pēte/	[pēnte] ~ [pēte]	pente	‘one’

In addition, the palatal voiceless fricative [ʃ] and the voiced affricate [dʒ] also show some degree of pre-nasalization after a nasal vowel.

(73)	/mīʃi/	[minʃi]	minshi	‘small’
	/mīdʒe/	[mindʒe]	minye	‘(s)he put into’

However, the articulation of the homorganic nasal consonant preceding the palatal voiceless fricative [ʃ] is much more unstable. Thus, it is common to find a fully nasal vowel in this context, as shown in (74).

(74)	/mīʃi/	[mīʃi]	minshi	‘small’
------	--------	--------	--------	---------

2.2.2. Direction of the spread of nasalization

In Tapiete, nasalization spreads both backward (i.e. regressive spread) and forward (i.e. progressive spread) and is blocked under specific conditions that are considered in what follows.

2.2.2.1. Regressive spread of nasalization

Nasalization spreads from the nasal root to its left affecting the quality of the preceding consonants and vowels; in which cases, the spreading of nasalization is called regressive. In (76), the penultimate nasal stressed syllable is responsible for the nasalization to spread regressively affecting the quality of the preceding syllable, which, in turn, becomes nasal. As noted before, nasalization is expressed either by means of a fully nasal vowel (e.g. [hãʔãŋga] *hã'ãnga* 'similar') (75) or by means of a stressed syllable whose phonetic structure is of the type CVN (e.g. [kampépe] *kampempe* 'large reed') (76). Both types of stressed nasal syllables spread nasalization regressively.

(75)

/atẽʔi/	[antẽʔĩ]	antẽ'i	'lazzyiness'
/akãʔe/	[aŋkãʔẽ]	ankã'ẽ	'magpie'
/pĩsẽwe/	[pĩnsẽwẽ]	pĩnsẽwẽ	'half'
/haʔãŋga/	[hãʔãŋga]	hã'ãnga	'similar'

(76)

/kapẽpe/	[kampépe]	kampempe	'large reed'
/ʃarõʃi/	[ʃãrõŋʃi]	hã'ãnga	'thrush'

Finally, pre-nasalized voiced consonants that belong to a stressed syllable of a lexical root also trigger regressive spread of nasalization. Since this phenomenon affects the form of preceding prefixes, it is discussed in section 2.5.2.

2.2.2.2. Progressive spread of nasalization

Within the domain of a phonological word, nasality spreads forward through the glottal stop [ʔ], the alveolar flap [ɾ], the labiovelar approximant [w] and the glottal fricative [h] affecting the quality of the final vowel. As a consequence, the nasal quality of a final vowel is not phonemic in that context. Examples are given in (77).

(77)

/māʔe/	[māʔē]	māʔë	‘(s)he looks at’
/wāhe/	[wāhē]	wāhë	‘(s)he arrives’
/kāre/	[kārē]	kārë	‘(s)he scratches’
/hōwi/	[hōwī]	hōwī	‘narrow’

2.2.2.3. Segments that block the spread of nasalization

Voiceless obstruents block the progressive spread of nasalization within the domain of a phonological word. Thus, given a nasal lexical root, its final vowel is oral if it is preceded by either a stop (78), an affricate (79) or a fricative (80). As said before, in these cases the nasal quality of the stressed nasal vowel is expressed through the pre-nasalization of the obstruent.

(78)

/wāpi/	[wampi]	wampi	‘palapala’ (kind of bird)
/mīta/	[minta]	minta	‘cat’
/hāka/	[haŋka]	hanka	‘branch’

(79)

/mīʒe/	[minʒe]	minye	‘(s)he puts inside’
/ōke/	[ontʃe]	onche	‘door’

(80)

/hāse/	[hanse]	hanse	‘(s)he screams’
/īʃa/	[inʃa]	insha	‘rope’

2.2.3. Summary

In Tapiete, nasal harmony triggers consonant and vowel alternations within the domain of a phonological word. Nasalization spreads both backward and forward from the stressed syllable of a nasal lexical root. Voiceless obstruent block the progressive spread of nasalization.

2.3. Stress

Stress in Tapiete is predictable since it invariably falls on the penultimate syllable. This pattern undergoes some modifications as exemplified in (138) and (139), where the suffixation of morphemes *-ma* ‘RES’ and *-mi* ‘DIM’ does not alter the place of the stress and, consequently, results on words stressed on the antepenultimate syllable.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|---------------|-----------|---------------------|
| (81) | /ka. ru/ | [ká. ru] | karu | ‘(s)he eats’ |
| | /ká. ru. ma/ | [ká. ru. ma] | káruma | ‘(s)he already ate’ |
| (82) | /ʃõ. ʃo/ | [ʃón. ʃo] | shonsho | ‘trush’ |
| | /ʃó. ʃo. mi/ | [ʃón. ʃo. mi] | shónshomi | ‘kind of trush’ |

The following section examines the place of the stress variations.

2.3.1. Place of the stress variations

A survey of phonological alternations was presented in section 2.1.3. Some of the rules proposed in this section have consequences for the place of the stress. More specifically, the interaction between the rules **Glottal stop deletion** and **Final vowel deletion** results in the construction of words whose stress pattern deviate from the canonic Tapiete stress pattern (i.e. on the penultimate syllable).

It was shown that the rule **Final vowel deletion** deletes a final vowel when the preceding glottal stop is deleted and the vowel that precedes the glottal stop is of the same quality.

As said earlier, this rule applies after the **Glottal stop deletion** rule has applied. Both rules **Glottal stop deletion** and **Final vowel deletion** are repeated in (83) and (84), respectively.

(83) **Glottal stop deletion**

$$[\text{ʔ}] \rightarrow [\emptyset] / \text{V_V}$$

(84) **Final vowel deletion**

$$\text{V} \rightarrow [\emptyset] / \begin{matrix} \text{V} \\ [\alpha \text{ high}] \\ [\beta \text{ front}] \end{matrix} _ \#$$

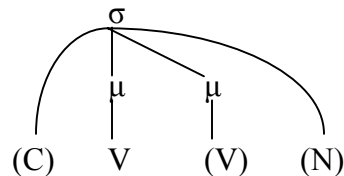
The application of these rules crucially modifies the syllabification of words: by deletion of its final syllable, a trisyllabic word such as the one given in 0 becomes disyllabic. Since the place of the stress does not undergo any modification, the resulting form is a disyllabic word stress on the last syllable.

/kapiʔi/ [kapíʔi] [kapíi] [kapí] kapi'i 'grass'

2.4. Syllable structure

Tapiete accepts open syllable of the type V, CV and CVV. Phonetically closed syllables are attested although they are the result of phonological (e.g. nasal harmony) and morpho-phonological processes (e.g. vowel deletion). The syllable structure of Tapiete is presented in (85).

(85)



In this section, the attested types of syllable structure are surveyed altogether with marginal types that are the result of phonological processes.

2.4.1. Types of syllable structure

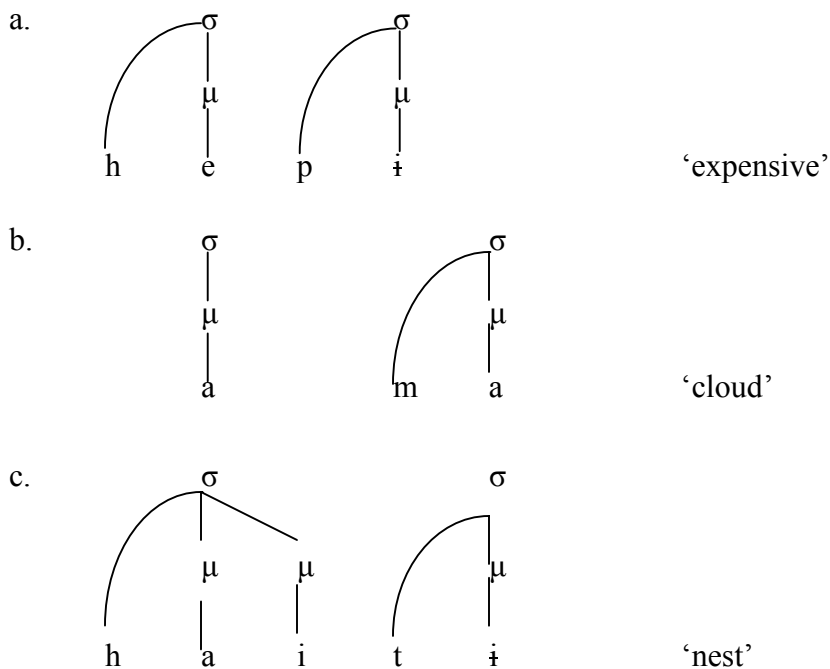
Tapiete displays three types of syllable structures: CV, V and CVV. The most frequent types are CV and V, followed in frequency by CVV. Examples of these types are given in (86).

(86)

/he. pi/	[hé. pi]	<u>CV.CV</u>	hepi	‘expensive’
/a. ma/	[á. ma]	<u>V.CV</u>	ama	‘cloud’
/hai. mbe/	[háj. mbe]	<u>CVV.CV</u>	haimbe	‘to toast’

In other words, syllables may have an onset, but do not accept a coda.³⁹ The peak of the syllable may be composed of one or two vowels. The tree diagrams of the words presented in (86) are given in (87).

(87)



³⁹ In section 2.4.4 exceptions to this generalization are discussed.

Sequences of vowels (e.g. VV) are also attested. Phonetically, these sequences are realized as falling diphthong of the type [aⁱ], [eⁱ], [oⁱ], [a^u] and [a^u]. Some examples are given in (88).

(88)

[há ⁱ mbɛ]	haimbe	‘(s)he toasts’
[é ⁱ]	ei	‘honey’
[mbó ⁱ]	mboi	‘snake’
[ʃá ^u]	shau	‘eight’
[ó ^u]	o’u	‘(s)he is coming’

Phonologically, however, a sequence of vowels may be interpreted as monosyllabic or dissyllabic depending on the interaction between the place of the stress within the word and the distribution of segments within the syllable. Since the default stress pattern in Tapiete is for the stress to fall on the penultimate syllable, sequences of vowels that follow (89) or precede (90) the stress syllable have to be analyzed as monosyllabic. The tree diagrams of these kinds of sequences are given in (91).

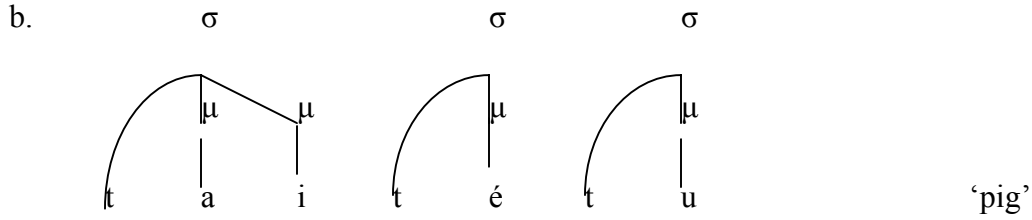
(89) /mbiwei/ [mbí.wɛj] CV.CVV mbiwei ‘kind of duck’

(90) /taitetu/ [taj.té.tu] CVV.CV.CV taitetu ‘pig’

(91)

a.

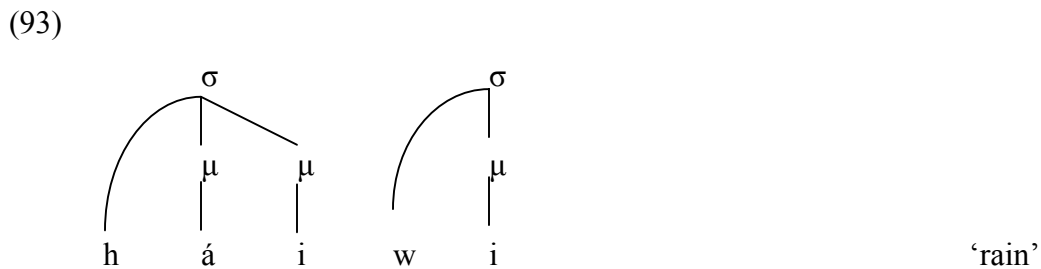




Following the same criterion (i.e. the place of the stress), a sequence of vowel V_1V_2 stressed on V_1 and occurring on the penultimate syllable has to be considered as monosyllabic.

(92)

/haimbe/	[há.j.mbe]	CVV.CV	haimbe	‘(s)he sharps’
/haiwi/	[há.j.wi]	CVV.CV	haiwi	‘rain’



Finally, a stressed sequence of vowels that occurs in isolation (94) or in word final position is analyzed as disyllabic (95). The tree diagrams are given in (96).

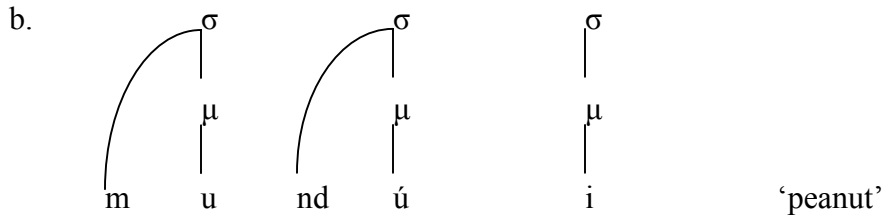
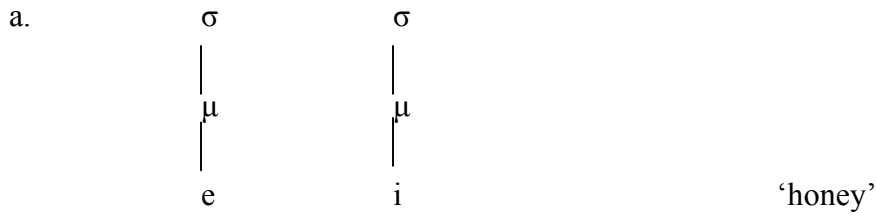
(94)

/ei/	[é.j]	V.V	ei	‘honey’
------	-------	-----	----	---------

(95)

/hamei/	[hamé.j]	CV.CV.V	haméi	‘always’
/mundui/	[mundú.j]	CV.CV.V	mundúi	‘peanut’
/karai/	[kará.j]	CV.CV.V	karai	‘white man’
/kwimbae/	[kwimbá.e]	CV.CV.V	kwimbáe	‘always’
/kwatia/	[kwatía]	CV.CV.V	kwatía	‘(s)he sharps’

(96)



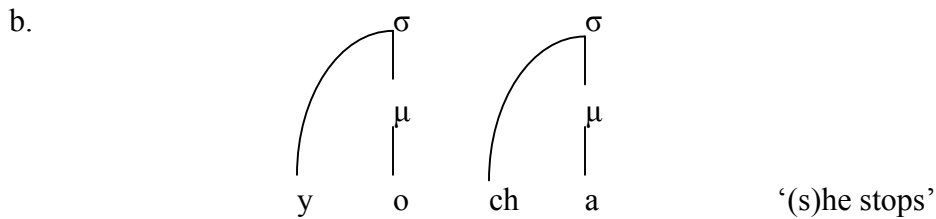
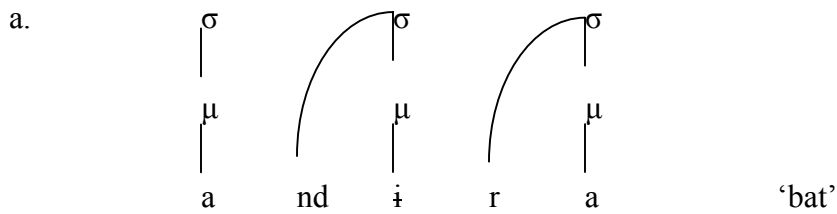
2.4.2. Prenasalized voiced stops and affricates consonants

Although pre-nasalized voiced consonants [mb], [nb] and [ŋg], and affricates consonants [tʃ] and [dʒ] are articulatorily complex segments, they are analyzed as single phonemes, as their positions within the syllable parallels that of single phonemes. That is, they are only found in syllable initial position, as exemplified in (97) and formalized in (98).

(97)

/a.dʒu.mbi/	V.CV. <u>CV</u>	añumbi	‘kind of bird’
/a.ndi.ra/	V. <u>CV</u> .CV	andira	‘bat’
/i.ŋga/	V. <u>CV</u>	inga	‘(s)he breaks’
/dʒo.tʃa/	CV. <u>CV</u>	yocha	‘(s)he stops’
/dʒa.ti.ta/	<u>CV</u> .CV.CV	yatita	‘snail’

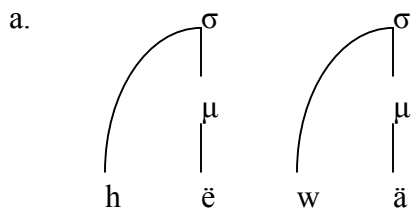
(98)

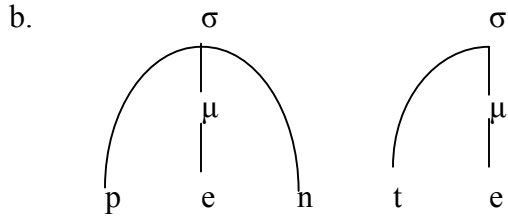


2.4.3. Pre-nasalized voiceless stops

As said in section 2.2.1.2, pre-nasalized voiceless stops are attested in Tapiete. However, they do not have to be considered phonemes of the language, because the nasal portion of these phonetically complex segments is the surface manifestation of the nasal quality of the preceding vowel. As said earlier, a phonologically nasal vowel may be phonetically instantiated by both a plain nasal vowel (e.g. [ã]) and an oral vowel followed by a nasal consonant (e.g. [an], [aŋ], etc.). As a result, syllables containing nasal vowels display two types of syllable structures represented in (99).

(99)





To sum up, the syllable structure of Tapiete can be formalized as (C)V(V)(N). Although prenasalized voiced stops are phonetically complex they are phonologically single segments that occupy the onset position within the syllable. As for prenasalized voiceless stops, they result from phonological alternations due to nasal harmony. Consequently, they are analyzed as a sequence of segments of which the nasal portion occupies the coda position of the preceding syllable and the stop portion occupies the onset position of the following syllable. Nasal consonants in the coda are only found in the context of nasal harmony and, therefore, are phonologically not relevant in this position.

Other types of syllable structures (e.g. VC) do occur as the result of phonological alternations discussed in the following section.

2.4.4. Syllable structure variations

In addition to the syllable structure presented in section 2.4.1, a marginal syllable structure type occurs as a result of phonological alternations.

In section 2.1.3, a rule of **Methatesis** was postulated stating that the glottal fricative [h], when found in a non-stressed syllable, exchanges its position with the following vowel (100).

(100) **Methathesis**

$$\begin{array}{c} hV \rightarrow Vh \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{syll} \\ -\text{stress} \end{array} \right] \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{syll} \\ +\text{stress} \end{array} \right] \quad _ \end{array}$$

The application of this rule has consequences for the syllable structure since it results in the construction of a closed VC syllable, which is deviant from the canonic (C)V(V)(N) type. Therefore, the syllabification of a disyllabic word such as [CV.CV] becomes [CV.VC], as shown in (101).

(101) /wāhe/ [wā. hē] → [wā. ēh] wāhē ‘(s)he arrives’
 [CV.CV] → [CV.VC]

As will be discussed in the following section, this rule also applies at the morpheme juncture, when the person marker *-ha* ‘1EXCL’ is suffixed to a verbal root. It can, therefore, be concluded that, beside nasal consonants, the only segment permitted in coda position, by virtue of the application of phonological rules, is the glottal stop [h].

2.5. Morpho-phonology

In this section, the allomorphic variations due to morpho-phonological processes are surveyed. Thus, phonological alternations occurring at the junctures of morphemes, phonological alternations due to nasal harmony, alternations in the placement of stress and partial reduplication are discussed here.

2.5.1. Allomorphic variations

In this section, phonological processes that affect the form of morphemes are presented.

a) It was stated earlier that a glottal fricative [h] might exchange its position with the preceding vowel. The same process occurs at the morpheme boundary between a lexical

root and the person marker *-ha* ‘1PLEXCL’. When the last vowel of the lexical root is a low front vowel [a], the suffix vowel is deleted.

(102) **a deletion**

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ -\text{high} \\ +\text{front} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \emptyset / \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ -\text{high} \\ +\text{front} \end{array} \right] \text{ } _ \text{h}$$

The application of (102) results in the construction of a closed syllable, whose coda position is occupied by the glottal fricative [h]. Significantly, this process has consequences for the place of the stress, as the resulting word becomes stressed on the last syllable. As a consequence, a word like *iyeta-ha* ‘we speak’ undergoes re-syllabification and stress modification, as shown in (103).

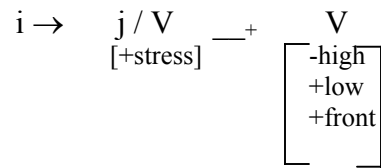
(103) /idʒetaha/ [i.ʒe.tá.ha] → [i.ʒe.tá.ah] → [i.ʒe.táh] ‘we speak’
 [V.CV.CV.CV] → [V.CV.CV.VC] → [V.CV.CVC].

b) The front vowel [e] of the suffix *-se* ‘DES1’ is realized as a high front vowel [i] when it is preceded by a stressed syllable and followed by a low front vowel [a] (104). After this process has taken place, the resulting vowel becomes a palatal approximant [j] (105). An instantiation of this process is given in (106).

(104) **e-closing**

$$e \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} i / \text{V} \\ [+stress] \end{array} \text{ } _ \text{+} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ -\text{high} \\ +\text{low} \\ +\text{front} \end{array} \right]$$

(105) **i-Palatalization**



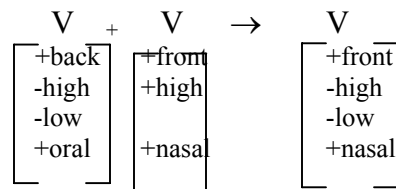
(106) /karuháseape/

[karuháseape] → [karuhásiape] → [karuhásjape]

karu-há-se-a-pe
eat-IMPER-???-NOM-LOC
dining room (lit. place where we always eat)

c) In casual speech, the third person marker *o-* and the verb *ĩ* ‘to be’ merge into a single nasal vowel *ë*. The resulting vowel combines features of the original adjacent vowels: it shares with the phoneme /i/ the features [+front] [+nasal], while the feature [-high] is shared with the third person marker *o-* (107); an exemplification of this rule is given in (108).

(107) **o-ĩ Coalescence**



(108) /māpe oĩ/

[mampeʔõĩ] → [mampeʔõj] → [mampeʔë]

- | | | | | | |
|----|---------------------|--------|----|---------------------|------|
| a. | mampe | o-ĩ | b. | mampe | ë |
| | where | 3AC-be | | where | 3:be |
| | <i>Where it is?</i> | | | <i>Where it is?</i> | |

d) The causative prefix *mbĩ* ~ *mĩ* ‘CAUS1’ displays the following alternations:

(i) The central vowel [ɨ] is fronted when it precedes a palatal consonant (109).

(109) [ɨ] **Fronting**

ɨ → i / ___ + C
[+palatal]

(110)

a. /mɨnɨnɨʔe/ [mɨnɨnɨʔɛ]

mɨ-nɨnɨ'e
CAUS-??
to make it sound repeatedly

b. /mɨkɨki/ [mɨntʃɨntʃi]

mɨn-chinchi
CAUS-cut
make it to be cut

(ii) The central vowel [ɨ] undergoes a process of harmonization when the first vowel of the lexical root to which is attached is a back rounded vowel [u] (111).

(111) **Vowel harmony**

V → V / ___ + C V

+high	+high	+high
-back	+back	+back
-front		
-rounded	+rounded	+rounded

(112)

a. /mɨpũʔa/ [mumpũʔã]

mum-pũ'ã
CAUS1-get up
to lift (something)

b. /mbɨpupu/ [mbupupu]

mbu-pupu
CAUS-boil
(to) make it boil (hacer/hacelo hervir)

(iii) The central vowel [ɨ] is deleted when suffixed to a lexical root whose first segment is a vowel (113), as shown in (114).

(113) **i-deletion**

$i \rightarrow \emptyset / __+ V$

(114)

a. /mbiodzi/ [mbozi]
mb-oyi
CAUS1-grill
make (it) grill (hacer/hacelo cocer)

b. /mbiidzeta/ [mbizeta]
a-mb-iyeta
1SGAC-CAUS1-speak
I make her/him to speak

(iv) There is a set of verbal roots whose first consonant is a glottal fricative [h] that undergo the following alternations, when preceded by the causative prefix *mbi-*:

The glottal fricative [h] is deleted (115), after which the **i-deletion** rule applies (116).

This alternation is common to young speakers (117).

(115) **Glottal fricative [h] deletion**

$C_1 \rightarrow \emptyset / CAUS1_+ C_1 \left[\begin{array}{l} +glott \\ +fric \end{array} \right]$

(116) **i-deletion**

$i \rightarrow \emptyset / __+ V$

(117)

a. /ambihakupota/
[ambihakupota] → [ambiakupota] → [ambakupota]
a-mbi-haku-pota
1SGAC-CAUS1-hot-FUT
I will heat (it)

The entire first syllable is deleted, as shown in (119).

(118) **First syllable deletion**

$$C_1V_1 \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{CAUS1} + \begin{matrix} C_1 \\ +\text{glott} \\ +\text{fric} \end{matrix}$$

(119)

- a. /ambihedʒaka/
[ambihedʒaka] → [ambizaka]
a-mbi-heya-ka
1SGAC-CAUS1-leave-CAUS2
I make her/him to leave (it)

(120)

- a. /ambiheʃaka/
[ambiheʃaka] → [ambiʃaka]
a-mbi-hesha-ka
1SGAC-CAUS1-see-CAUS2
I show her/him (something)

(v) Finally, verbal roots *hë* ‘to go out’ and *che* ‘to sleep’ do not combine with *mbi-* ~ *mi-* ‘CAUS1’, but with *mo-*, as shown in (121). (Interestingly, the forms *mbo-* ~ *mo-* ‘CAUS1’ are the forms used in Guarani and Chiriguano.)

(121)

- a. mö-hë
CAUS- go out
make her/him to get out
- b. mo-nye⁴⁰
CAUS1-sleep
make her/him to sleep

⁴⁰ See section 2.5.2.4 for the rule of nasalization of [tʃ].

2.5.2. Nasal harmony

In section 2.2.2, the effects of the spread of nasalization have been surveyed within the domain of a lexical root. The morpho-phonological alternations due to nasal harmony, that is, the alternating forms displayed by affixes as a consequence of its adjacency to an oral or a nasal root will be considered in this section.

As stated earlier, affixes display morpho-phonological alternations triggered by nasal harmony by virtue of which pre-nasalized voiced stops and voiceless consonants are found in oral context while nasal consonants are found in nasal contexts.

2.5.2.1. Allomorphic variations due to the regressive spread of nasalization

The morpho-phonological alternations resulting from the regressive spread of nasalization are triggered by the following segments found in stressed syllables: (i) a nasal vowel, (ii) a nasal consonant, and (iii) a pre-nasalized voiced consonant.

Pre-nasalized voiced consonants are particular in that they trigger nasalization, although, only regressively. In other words, the nasal portion of pre-nasalized voiced consonants spread nasalization backward, while the oral portion of these segments preserve their oral quality and no manifestation of progressive spread of nasalization is attested on the syllables that follow.⁴¹ This is exemplified in (122), where the pre-nasalized voiced stop of the root *mbo'e* 'study' is responsible for the nasal variant of the 3 person marker, while the following vowels are fully oral (i.e. [oʔe].)

- (122) ha'e ñi-mbo'e
 (s)he 3-study
 he studies

⁴¹ A similar phenomenon is reported for Kaiwá (Harrison and Taylor 1971:18), a language that, like Tapiete, belongs to Rodrigues' Set 1

Table 8 gives examples of the allomorphic variations of person markers resulting from the regressive spread of nasalization. For each nasal root exemplifying the regressive spread of nasalization, an oral root is given so that the changes operated on prefixes can be fully appreciated.

	Grammatical category	Nasal lexical root	Oral lexical root
Vowel nasalization	1SGAC	ã-hã'ã 1SGAC-try <i>I taste</i>	a-pota 1SGAC-want <i>I want</i>
m ~ mb alternation	Incorporation	ma -moĩ-po INHO-cook-FUT <i>(s)he will cook something</i>	mba -pĩwara INHO-beat <i>(s)he perforates something</i>
	CAUS1	min -chinci CAUS1-cut <i>hacelo cortar (con sierra)</i>	mbi -hakwa CAUS1-sharp <i>hacele la punta; sacar punta</i>
n ~ nd alternation	2SGPOSS	ni -membĩ 2SGPOSS-woman's offspring <i>your child</i>	ndi -yiwa 2SGPOSS-arm <i>your arm</i>
	1PLINCLPOSS	ñani -membĩ our(inc.)-woman's offspring <i>our (inc.) children</i>	ñandi -yiwa 1PLINCL-arm <i>our (inc.) arms</i>
ñ ~ y alternation	3POSS	ñi -mboĩ 3POSS-necklace <i>his/her necklace</i>	yi -awati 3POSS-corn <i>his/her corn</i>
	1PLINCL	ña -hě 1PLINCL-scratch <i>we (inc.) go out</i>	ya -raha 1PLINCL-carry <i>we (inc.) carry</i>

Table 8: Allomorphic variations due to regressive spread of nasalization

2.5.2.2. Regressive spread of nasalization and monosyllabic roots

Monosyllabic nasal lexical root are now considered. As will be shown later, Tapiete encodes grammatically the alienable/inalienable possession opposition. As a consequence, monosyllabic roots referring to body parts can never occur in isolation and must always be prefixed by a possessor marker. This fact is interesting when it comes to

evaluating the regressive spread of nasalization, since there are monosyllabic nasal lexical roots, which are phonetically oral, but whose nasality surfaces through the possessive marker prefix.

This is exemplified by (123) and (124). Phonetically, both roots *ka* ‘breast’ and *ku* ‘tongue’ are phonetically oral. Still, their nasal quality is expressed on the preceding syllable through the nasal variant of possessive markers. In (123), regressive nasality surfaces as a nasal vowel whose phonetic manifestation is of the type VN, while in (124), it surfaces through the nasal variant of the consonant alternation *nd* ~ *n*. In both cases, the root’s vowel remains phonetically oral.

(123) /ikā/

[iŋka]

in-ka

3SG-breast

his/her breast

(124) /nde kū/

[neŋku]

nen-ku

2SGAC-tongue

your tongue

2.5.2.3. Allomorphic variations due to the progressive spread of nasalization

The progressive spread of nasalization may cross over morpheme boundaries if the onset of the following morpheme syllable does not contain a segment able to block nasalization (i.e. a stop, a fricative or an affricate.) Nasalization spreads progressively through morpheme boundaries when a glottal stop [ʔ], an alveolar flap [ɾ], a labiovelar approximant [w] (125) or a glottal fricative [h] occupies the onset position of following morpheme syllable.

- (125) /hāwewa/
 [hāwēwā]
 hāwe-wa
 opaque-NOM
opaque

2.5.2.4. CAUS1 and progressive spread of nasalization

As said earlier, the causative prefix displays an oral form *mbi-* when prefixed to an oral lexical root (126) and a nasal form *mĩ-* when attached to a nasal lexical root (127). In other words, its form (i.e. oral or nasal) is subject to the regressive spread of nasalization triggered by the nasal quality of the lexical root.

- (126) *mbi-rĩri*
 CAUS1-tremble
(s)he makes her/him to tremble

- (127) *mĩ-mbowa*
 CAUS1-sieve
(s)he makes her/him to sift

There are, however, instances where the ‘CAUS1’ prefix does not undergo any change due to the regressive spread of nasalization. Instead, its nasal variant *mĩ-* affects the oral quality of the following voiceless consonant, in which cases voiceless consonants of the lexical root become prenasalized voiced consonants produced at the same place of articulation of their oral counterpart. This process mainly affects lexical roots whose first segment is a voiceless velar stop [k], which becomes a prenasalized voiced stop [ŋg]. Examples (128)- (134) show the alternation [k] ~ [ŋg].

- | | | | | |
|-------|----|--|----|--|
| (128) | a. | a-kiye
1SGAC-fear
<i>I am afraid</i> | b. | mĩ-ngiye
CAUS1-frighten
<i>make him/her frighten</i> |
| (129) | a. | a-kwaru
1SGAC-urinate
<i>I urinate</i> | b. | mĩ-ngwaru
CAUS1-urinate
<i>make him/her to urinate</i> |

- | | | | |
|----------|--|----|--|
| (130) a. | kiɾi
to be ticklish
<i>(s)he is ticklish</i> | b. | ha'e mi-ngini
(s)he CAUS1-ticklish
<i>he tickled him/her</i> |
| (131) a. | a-karu
1SGAC-eat
<i>I eat/ate</i> | b. | mi-ngaru
CAUS1-eat
<i>nourish him/her</i> |
| (132) a. | a-kwera
1SGAC-sanar
<i>I recover (me sano)</i> | b. | a-mi-ngwére-ma
1SGAC-CAUS1-cure-RES
<i>I calm her/him down</i> |
| (133) a. | ki'a
dirty
<i>(s)he is dirty</i> | b. | mi-ngi'a
CAUS1-dirty
<i>(s)he makes it dirty</i> |
| (134) a. | ku'i
ground
<i>(it is) ground</i> | b. | pu-mungu'i-po
2PLAC-loosen-FUT
<i>you will loosen (it)</i> |

There are two lexical roots whose first palatal voiceless affricate [tʃ] <ch> consonant becomes a prenasalized palatal voiced affricate [dʒ] <y> (135).

- | | | | |
|----------|---|----|--|
| (135) a. | a-che
1SGAC-sleep
<i>I sleep</i> | b. | mo-nye
CAUS1-sleep
<i>I make (him/her) to sleep</i> |
| a. | ai-che
1SGAC-enter
<i>I enter</i> | b. | mi-nye
CAUS1-enter
<i>(s)he puts inside (lit. s(he) makes (it) to go inside)</i> |

Finally, there is one lexical root whose first voiceless alveolar fricative [s] consonant becomes a pre-nasalized alveolar voiced stop [nd] (136).

- | | | | |
|----------|--|----|---|
| (136) a. | soso
pierce
<i>(s)he pierces</i> | b. | nde mi-ndoso
you CAUS1-cut
<i>you cut</i> |
|----------|--|----|---|

The progressive spread of nasalization triggered by the nasal variant of the causative prefix *mi-* is, however, limited to the verbal roots given in the precedent examples.

Therefore, the rule responsible for the spread of nasalization in this context appears as non-productive, since it only applies to a limited set of verbal roots.

The examples given in (137) show how the first consonant of the verbal roots preserves its oral quality despite the fact that it is preceded by the nasal form *mi-* of the causative prefix.

(137)

- a. *mĩn-ka'ë*
CAUS1- grill
grill it

- b. *a-mĩ-kañĩ*
1SGAC-CAUS-lost
I lost (it)

- c. *a-mĩn-kārë-ka-po*
1SGAC-CAUS1-scratch-CAUS2-FUT
I make (him/her) to scratch

- d. *a-mĩ-kambu*
1SGAC-CAUS1-suck
I make (him/her) to breastfeed (le hago mamar)

- e. *a-mĩ-kandĩ*
1SGAC-CAUS1-tiredness
I tired him

- f. *a-mĩn-kwāwā*
1SGAC-CAUS1-to embrace
I make (him/her) to embrace

- g. *a-mĩ-chensen-ka-po* *onche*
1SGAC-CAUS1-close-CAUS2-FUT door
I will make (him/her) to close the door

2.5.2.5. Summary

To sum up, regressive nasalization is triggered by a stressed nasal syllable containing either a nasal vowel, a nasal consonant, or a pre-nasalized voiced consonant. Some monosyllabic nasal roots, that are phonetically oral, express its nasality by the selection

of the nasal allophone of their possessive marker prefix. Progressive spread of nasalization through morpheme boundaries takes place if a glottal stop [ʔ], an alveolar flap [ɾ], a labiovelar approximant [w] or a glottal fricative [h] occupies the onset position of following morpheme syllable. Finally, some lexical roots are nasalized as a result of the progressive spread of nasalization triggered by the nasal allomorph of the causative prefix *mi-*. Since this phenomenon is restricted to a limited set of verbal roots, the rule responsible for the spread of nasalization in this context has to be considered as a non-productive rule.

2.5.3. Stress

As stated in section 2.3, stress is predictable since it always falls on the penultimate syllable. This pattern undergoes some modifications exemplified in (138) and (139), where the attachment of morphemes *-ma* ‘RES’ and *-mi* ‘DIM1’ do not alter the place of the stress, which results on words stressed on the antepenultimate syllable.

(138)	/ka.ru/	[ká.ru]	karu	‘(s)he eats’
	/ká.ru.ma/	[ká.ru.ma]	káruma	‘(s)he already ate’
(139)	/ʃõ.ʃo/	[ʃón.ʃo]	shonsho	‘trush’
	/ʃó.ʃo.mi/	[ʃón.ʃo.mi]	shónshomi	‘kind of trush’

In order to describe this phenomenon, a first classification of morphemes as suffixes and clitics need to be done.

2.5.3.1. Suffixes and clitics and the place of the stress

The place of the stress within a phonological word may be modified according to whether stress rules apply before or after the attachment of morphemes to the lexical root. When stress rules apply before affixation, the resulting form accomodates to the default stress

pattern (i.e. on the penultimate syllable). Suffixes involved in this process are listed in Table 9.

Suffix	Gloss	Example	Translation
-ä	NEG	a-karu-ä	'I did not eat'
-ka	CAUS2	a-hënón-ka	'I make him to call'
-ha	1PLEXCL	ndi-reka-ha	'somebody is looking for you'
-kwe	AUG	ro'i-kwe	'big icecream'
-ite	SUP	potá-ite-ma	'(s)he wants a lot'
-se	'DES1'	mbawiki-se	'touchy feely'

Table 9: Monosyllabic suffixes that attract stress

When stress rules apply after the attachment of morphemes, the resulting word is stressed on the antepenultimate syllable. Morphemes involved in this process may be considered clitics and are listed in Table 10.

Suffix	Gloss	Example	Translation
-wa / -a	NMLZ	páye-wa	'medecine man'
-e	REC	ó-ho-e	'(s)he just left'
-pe	LOC	ténta-pe	'in the village'
-ipi	LOCMOV	ténta-ipi	'through the village'
-ma	RES	a-mi-ngwére-ma	'I calm her/him down'
-pɪ	INST	shɪ-lapi a-mbapára-pɪ	'I write with a pencil'
-po	FUT	a-máma-po	'I will wrap it up'
-kwi	DISTFUT	a-káru-kwi	'I will eat'
-kwe	PST	a-púka-kwe	'I laugh'
-yɪ	FRQ	a-ñóno-yɪ	'I put (it) again'
-re	DIR	kúpe-re mbipara	'dibujá en la espalda'
-mi	DIM1	hása-mi	
-mba	NEG.	a-káru-mba a-iko	'estoy sin comer'
-nda	EVD	há'e-nda	'they say that he...'

Table 10: Monosyllabic suffixes that do not attract stress

To sum up, only penultimate and antepenultimate syllables may be stressed in Tapiete. While stress on the penultimate syllable is the default location of the stress in underived words, stress on the antepenultimate syllable is the result of the application of stress rules after the attachment of morphemes to the lexical root.

2.5.4. Reduplication

In this section the phonological rules that govern reduplication are presented. (The semantic account of reduplication is presented in section 4.1.3.2.)

The following analysis of reduplication in Tapiete follows the ideas of metrical morphology as proposed by McCarthy and Prince (McCarthy and Prince in Kenstowicz 1994.) In this view, the template (i.e. the reduplicated material) is understood in the framework of prosody categories such as the mora, the syllable, and the metrical foot (Kenstowicz 1994:624.) Accordingly, it is considered as a phonemically empty affix that denotes the language maximal syllable.

Tapiete displays partial reduplication: a monomoraic stressed syllable is reduplicated to the left of the root from left to right. The template formally matches the language maximal syllable, which is of the type (C)V(V)(N) and, therefore, parallels the Tapiete parameters of syllable building.⁴² This characterization accounts for the different patterns of reduplication found in Tapiete shown in (140).

⁴² Cf. section 2.4

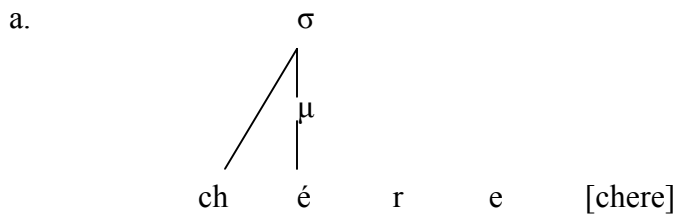
- | | | | | | | |
|-------|----|---------|--------------|----|-------------|-------------------------|
| (140) | a. | che.re | ‘crazy’ | b. | che.che.re | ‘to flirt’ |
| (141) | a. | a.mo | ‘sometimes’ | b. | a.’a.mo | ‘somebody’ |
| (142) | a. | hai.wi | ‘to rain’ | b. | ha.hai.wi | ‘to drizzle’ |
| (143) | a. | chen.se | ‘to close’ | b. | che.chen.se | ‘to cover badly’ |
| (144) | a. | kä.rë | ‘to scratch’ | b. | kan.kä.rë | ‘to scratch everywhere’ |
| (145) | a. | hu.nga | ‘to message’ | b. | hü.hü.nga | ‘to finger’ |
| (146) | a. | i.ye.ta | ‘to speak’ | b. | i.ye.ye.ta | ‘to whisper’ |

Clear instantiations of reduplication as described previously are given in (140) and (141).

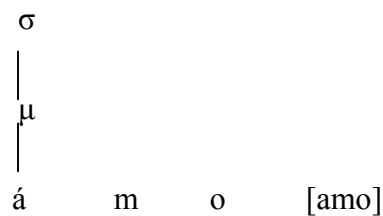
The (a) versions *chere* ‘crazy’ and *amo* ‘sometimes’ display the canonic mono-moraic syllable structure (C)V, where the vowel fills the mora and the onset consonant is not relevant prosodically. The figures in (147) and (148) formalize the requirements for partial reduplication met by the (b) versions of these examples *chechere* ‘to flirt’ and *a’amo* ‘somebody’, where the stressed mono-moraic syllable is reduplicated to the left.

The same considerations are true for the trisyllabic word given in (149).

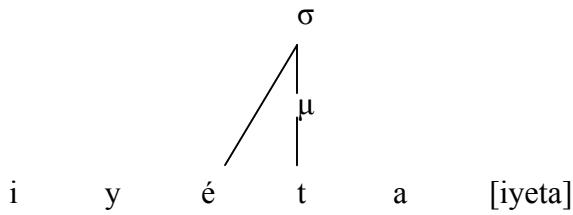
(147)



(148)



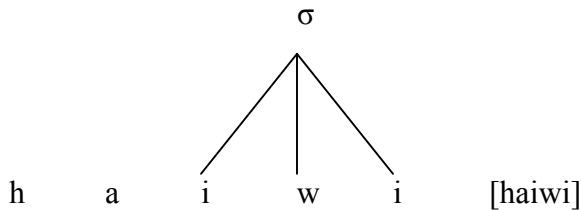
(149)



In section 2.4, reasons were given to show that a word like *haiwi* ‘rain’ has to be analyzed as a disyllabic word whose syllabic contour is CVV.CV. This claim was based on the analysis of the interaction between the placement of the stress and the syllable structure. That is, since the stress invariably falls on the penultimate syllable of the word, a sequence of vowels whose V_1 is stressed and does not occur in word final position has to be analyzed as monosyllabic.

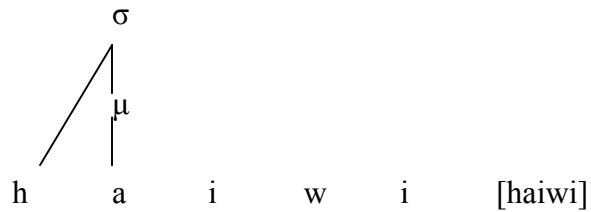
If the requirements concerning the reduplicated material was restricted to the stressed syllable, then the derivation of a word like *haiwi* ‘to rain’ would be the ungrammatical form **haihaiwi* (150).

(150)



However, the stipulation of a mono-moraic template correctly predicts the reduplicated form *hahaiwi* ‘to drizzle’ formalized in (151), where only one more is allowed to fill the template.

(151)



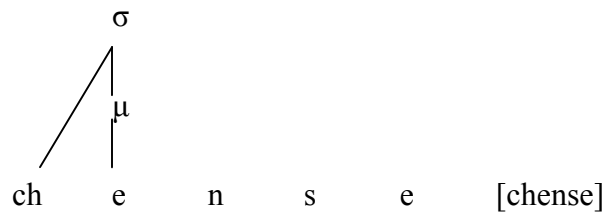
The pairs given in (143), (144) and (145) are interesting, as they instantiate the relationship between nasal harmony and reduplication. They are repeated here in (152), (153) and (154).

- | | | | | | | |
|-------|----|---------|--------------|----|-------------|-------------------------|
| (152) | a. | chen.se | ‘to close’ | b. | che.chen.se | ‘to cover badly’ |
| (153) | a. | kä.rë | ‘to scratch’ | b. | kan.kä.rë | ‘to scratch everywhere’ |
| (154) | a. | hu.nga | ‘to message’ | b. | hü.hü.nga | ‘to finger’ |

It has been shown in section 2.2.4 that the presence of nasal consonants in coda position is the surface manifestation of the preceding vowel nasality when followed by a voiceless obstruant (e.g. /pēte/ [pente] ‘one’, /pīsa/ [pīnsa] ‘toes’, and so on.) On the contrary, when a nasal vowel is followed by the alveolar flap [ɾ], the labiovelar approximant [ɹ], the glottal fricative [h] and the glottal stop [ʔ], the vowel is strongly nasalized and no homorganic nasal consonant occurs in coda position (e.g. /pōrā/ [pōrā] ‘cute’, /pōwā/ [pōwā] ‘to braid’, and so on.)

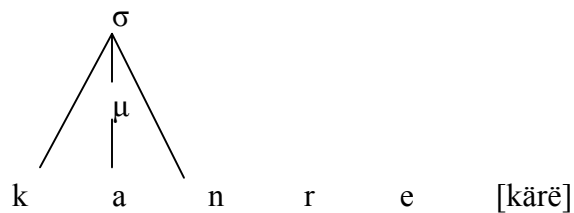
In (155), the nasal quality of the stressed syllable surfaces through a homorganic nasal consonant in coda position. The nasal consonant, however, does not surface in the template. This does not violate the requirements of the reduplicating template since the only stipulation is for it to be stressed and mono-moraic.

(155)



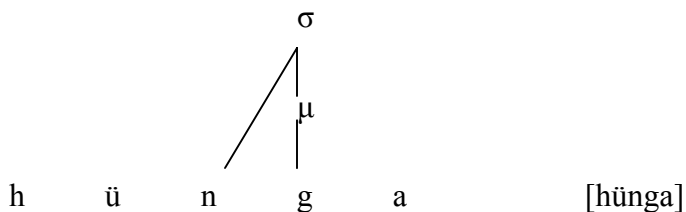
A nasal root whose nasality surfaces through the strong nasal quality of its vowels with no homorganic nasal consonant is given in (156). The regressive spread of nasalization to the reduplicating template, however, makes nasalization to surface through a nasal consonant homorganic to the following obstruent. Although the CV string of the template is modified by a nasal consonant in coda position, this does not violate the requirements for reduplication, since the coda does not affect the syllable weight, as mono-moraic.

(156)



Finally, in (157) the nasality of the stressed syllable spreads regressively through the glottal fricative and surfaces through the nasal quality of the reduplicated vowel.

(157)



2.6. Conclusions

In this chapter, I have outlined the main features of the phonology of Tapiete. I have provided a phonemic chart based on minimal pairs, together with a phonetic description of segments. I have postulated rules that govern allophonic variations and made a survey of the phonotactics and the patterns of co-occurrence of consonants. Nasal harmony has been analyzed together with the segments that display allophonic variation in virtue of this process, the elements that trigger and the elements that block nasalization. I have proposed a parametric characterization of the stress pattern in Tapiete and studied the syllable structure.

I have surveyed allomorphic variations due to morpho-phonological processes and considered the effects of nasal harmony on affixes. Stress relocation after affixation has also been considered. Finally, partial reduplication has been approached within the framework of metrical morphology.

3. The noun and the noun phrase

In this chapter, the nominal morphology and the syntax of the noun phrase are presented. The internal structure of nouns is introduced, in 3.1. Then, grammatical categories such as number 3.1.3, gender 3.1.2, diminutives 3.1.4, augmentatives 3.1.5, and possession 3.1.6 are described. A discussion on the grammatical encoding of alienable and inalienable possession is presented in 3.1.6.1, as this feature distinguishes Tapiete from other TG languages. The encoding of the alienable-inalienable opposition in TG languages is presented in 3.1.6.2 together with an explanation of the distribution of person markers according to nominal classes in section 3.1.6.3. Specifically, nominal classes in Guaraní and Ava-Guaraní (Chiriguano) are surveyed in 3.1.6.4 order to give a context to the discussion presented in 3.1.6.5 of nominal classes in Tapiete. Finally, the

formal expressions of the alienable possession and inalienable possession in Tapiete are discussed in section 3.1.6.6.

In section 3.2, the noun phrase is described in terms of the distribution of its components. Independent pronouns are discussed in 3.2.2. Indefinite pronouns 3.2.3, demonstratives 3.2.4, numerals and quantifiers 3.2.5 are described together with their syntactic distribution within the noun phrase. Nominal modification is surveyed in 3.2.6, while an explanation is proposed for not considering adjectives as a lexical category 3.2.7. Finally, locatives and directionals are surveyed in 3.2.8.

3.1. Nominal morphology

The internal structure of Tapiete nouns is examined in this section, focusing on the grammatical categories encoded by the nominal morphology i.e. gender, number, diminutives, augmentatives and possession.

3.1.1. Nominal root

The structural properties of Tapiete nouns include a set of suffixes responsible for the expression of number, diminutive and augmentative meanings, location and derivation, while possession is marked with prefixes. The distinction between alienable and inalienable possession, common to TG languages, is further formalized in Tapiete by the obligatory presence of both **(i)** a default marker of possession in inalienable possessive constructions, and **(ii)** different third person possessive markers that distinguishes alienable from inalienable possession.

In TG languages, nouns are grouped into two classes: Class 1 and Class 2 also found in Tapiete. These classes are distinguished according to the marker they take for third person. In turn, each class is subdivided into sub-classes according to the unspecified

possessive marker they take. Tapiete displays a similar distribution of nominal roots into classes. However, it departs from TG languages in that alienable possession is formally distinguished by means of a specific set of third person marker. In addition, Class 1 displays a larger number of subclasses according to their third person marker. Finally, the same number of sub-classes of Class 2 are found in Tapiete. To sum up, the diagnostic feature that serves to distinguish classes is the form taken by the third person possessive marker, while the diagnostic feature that serves to distinguish subclasses is the combination of third person possessive markers with the unspecified possessive marker. The internal structure of Tapiete nouns is given in Table 11.

-1									0	+1	+2	+3	
Possession									Root	NMLZ	DIM AUG	Number	LOC DIR
Class I					Class II								
Alienable	Inalienable				Inalienable								
shì- '1SG'	shV- '1SG'	shV- '1SG'	shV- '1SG'	shV- / sh- '1SG'	shì-r- '1SG'	sh- '1SG'	shì-r- '1SG'	shV-r- '1SG'		wa- / a-	-mi DIM -kwe AUG	-reta PL	-pe -ipe -ipi LOC -re -wi DIR
ndì- / nì- '2SG'	ndV- / nV- '2SG'	ndV- / nV- '2SG'	ndV- / nV- '2SG'	ndV- / nd- nV- / n- '2SG'	ndì-r- / nì-r- '2SG'	nd- / n- '2SG'	ndì-r- / nì-r- '2SG'	ndV-r- / nV-r- '2SG'					
yì- / ñì- '3SG/PL'	Ø '3SG/PL'	i- '3SG/PL'	hV- '3SG/PL'	yV- / y- ñV- / ñ- '3SG/PL'	h- '3SG/PL'	h- '3SG/PL'	t- '3SG/PL'	h- '3SG/PL'					
ìrì- '1EXCL'	ìrì- '1EXCL'	ìrì- '1EXCL'	ìrì- '1EXCL'	VrV- '1EXCL'	ìrì-r- '1EXCL'	ìr- '1EXCL'	ìrì-r- '1EXCL'	ìrV- '1EXCL'					
ñandì- / ñani- '1INCL'	ñandì- / ñani- '1INCL'	ñandì- / ñani- '1INCL'	ñandì- / ñani- '1INCL'	ñandV- / ñanV- '1INCL'	ñandì-r- / ñani-r- '1INCL'	ñand- / ñan- '1INCL'	ñandì-r- / ñani-r- '1INCL'	ñandV-r- / ñanV-r- '1INCL'					
pì- '2PL'	pì- '2PL'	pì- '2PL'	pì- '2PL'	pV- / p- '2PL'	pì-r- '2PL'	p- '2PL'	pì-r- '2PL'	pV- '2PL'					
	tV- 'NPF'	tV- 'NPF'	tV- 'NPF'	tV- / t- 'NPF'	tì-r- 'NPF'	t- 'NPF'	tì-r- 'NPF'	Ø 'NPF'					

Table 11: Internal structure of Tapiete nouns

3.1.2. Gender

Tapiete does not mark gender morphologically. If necessary, and for pragmatic purposes, sex of a being that has sex is encoded lexically by means of the lexemes *kuña* 'female' and *kwimbae* 'male', as shown in (158).

- (158) a. kushi kuña
pig female
female pig

- b. kushi kwimbae
 pig male
male pig

3.1.3. Number

Tapiete marks plural number morphologically by means of the suffix *-reta* (159), which can also take the shortened form *-re* (160).

- (159) sh-apisha-mi-reta
 1SGPOSS-fellow-DIM1-PL
my little fellows

- (160) karai-re
 white man-PL
white men

In addition, the suffix *-reta* may convey a collective meaning, in which case it does not refer to the plurality of the noun it modifies but denotes a group of people together with a salient person (161) or a group of people having a salient characteristic (162).

- (161) Élsa-re
 Elsa-PL
Elsa's family

- (162) h-atipi=sakwa-re
 3-cheek=hole-PL
a family where everybody has dimples

In addition, the plural suffix *-reta* may attach to plural pronouns for emphatic purposes. Examples (163) and (164) are semantically equivalent although they are not pragmatically similar. In (163), the plural suffix serves to emphasize the pragmatic force of a command, while the sentence in example (164) appears as pragmatically neuter.⁴³

- (163) pe-re pi-yo'o
 you (PL)-PL 2PL-sink
you are going to sink the hole

⁴³ Tapiete also has an imperative prefix *e-* to encode commands.

- (164) pe pi-yo'o
 you (PL) 2PL-sink
You are going to sink the hole

3.1.4. Diminutives

Diminutive meaning is expressed through the suffixation of morphemes *-mi* 'DIM1' (165) and *-ra'ĩ* 'DIM2' (166).

- (165) iwira-mi
 stick-DIM1
little stick

- (166) yitaki-ra'ĩ heki-ha-po shi
 stone-DIM2 pull out-IMPER-FUT 3PROOBL
They are going to pull out the little stones from him

The diminutive suffix *-mi* may attach to nouns (167), personal pronouns (168), noun phrases (169), verbs and Spanish loan words. (These latter cases are discussed in Chapter 4 and 6, respectively.)

- (167) sakwa-mi
 hole-DIM1
little hole

- (168) hama ha'e-mi-re shi-kwa-ma-yiwe-reta
 then (s)he-DIM1-PL 1SGIN-know-RES-???-NOM-PL
and they already know me also

- (169) hama ha'u-wa-mi opa ho'u-kwi
 then 1SG:eat-NOM-DIM1 all 3:eat-FUT
then the little I eat he is going to eat it

In addition to the expression of the smallness of the referred entity (167), the suffix *-mi* may have an affective meaning that conveys a positive appreciation of the noun it modifies (170).

- (170) shi-yari-mi
 1SGPOSS-grandmother-DIM1
my little grandmother

Finally, the suffix *-mi* ‘DIM1’ may participate in derivational processes; in (171), this suffix does not refer to the size of the referred entity; instead, it modifies the lexical meaning of the noun through the creation of a new kinship term.

- (171) a. shé-si-mi
 1SGPOSS-mother-DIM1
my maternal aunt
- b. shé-ru-mi
 1SGPOSS-father-DIM1
my maternal uncle

As far as the diminutive morpheme *-ra'í* ‘DIM2’ is concerned, Dietrich (1986:177) notes that this suffix represents the grammaticalized form of the lexeme *ta'í* ‘male’s offspring’, which formerly meant ‘little thing’.⁴⁴ In addition, the author reports the use of this suffix in Ava-Guaraní (Chiriguano), together with the suffix *-mi* ‘DIM1’ and states that the former is not found in other TP languages. In Tapiete the use of *-ra'í* ‘DIM2’ is less frequent than the diminutive morpheme *-mi*. This suffix may convey the meaning of the smallness (172), the youth (173) or the low status of its referent (174).

- (172) yitaki-ra'í heki-ha-po shi
 stone-DIM2 pull out-IMPER-FUT 3PROOBL
they are going to pull out the little stones from him
- (173) kunumi-ra'í-re
 boy-DIM2-PL
Young people from 20 to 25
- (174) tumpa-ra'í
 god-DIM2
little virgen, little saint

⁴⁴ The following opposition is attested in Tapiete: *karai ta'í* ‘white man offspring’ vs. *karai-ra'í* ‘young white man.’

It is possible for suffixes *-ra'ĩ* 'DIM2' and *-mi* 'DIM1' to co-occur, in which case the resulting order is *-ra'ĩ-mi* (175). Apparently, there is no difference of meaning if compared to their separate occurrence.

- (175) mbahĩru-ra'ĩ-mi-re
bag-DIM2-DIM1-PL
the little bags

3.1.5. Augmentatives

Augmentative meaning is expressed through the suffixation of morphemes *-kwe* 'AUG' (176) and *-wasu* 'AUG' (177).

- (176) ro'ĩ-kwe
ice cream-AUG
big ice cream

- (177) wĩra-wasu
bird-AUG
big bird

These suffixes seem to differ in regard to their semantic scope: while the suffix *-wasu* mainly refers to the unusually big size of its referent, the suffix *-kwe* can also convey a metaphorical meaning. In (178), the suffixation of the augmentative suffix *-kwe* to an abstract noun denotes the magnitude of the state referred by the noun.

- (178) pawete-kwe
poor-AUG
poverty

Finally, the suffix *-kwe* may also operate as an intensifier whose function is to stress a particular characteristic of the referred entity (179) and, also, as a superlative (180).

- (179) pĩntu-kwe
night-AUG
a very dark night fall

- (180) shi-riwi ta'i-kwe
1SGPOSS-male's brother young-AUG
my little brother

3.1.6. Possession

In this section, the morphological expression of possession in Tapiete is explored. In order to do so, a general overview about the linguistic encoding of possession is given first; then, the expression of possession in both Guarani and Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano) is surveyed with the aim of giving a context for comparison with the encoding of possession in Tapiete.

3.1.6.1. General considerations on possession

Languages vary according to the ways they express possessive relationships. They may formally distinguish (i) possessible from non-possessible nouns, (ii) inherently from non-inherently possessed nouns, and (iii) alienable from inalienable possessed nouns. Languages of the first type, express the distinction between possessible and non-possessible nouns by disallowing possessive constructions whose referents are conceptualized as non-possessible entities (e.g. 'land', 'sky', and so on.) In languages that distinguish inherently from non-inherently possessed nouns, all nouns are capable of being grammatically marked for possession by means of possessive markers. However, their grammars formalize the semantic distinction between nouns that refer to entities inherently possessed (e.g. kinship and body parts terms) and nouns that refer to entities not inherently possessed (e.g. rock, snake, and so on.) Thus, inherently possessed nouns have to be marked for possession, while possessive markers are optional with nouns conceptualized as non-inherently possessed. Finally, languages that distinguish alienable from inalienable possessed nouns make a grammatical distinction between the possession

of entities susceptible of being transferable to another possessor i.e. alienable possession (e.g. clothes, objects, and so on), and entities conceptualized as non-transferable i.e. inalienable possession (e.g. kinship, body parts, and so on.) Cultural relevant objects (e.g. animals), although transferable, may follow within this category.

Tapiete and TG languages are of the third type. Specifically, Tapiete behaves in a similar way to other TG languages since terms that belong to the semantic domains of body parts and kinship cannot be mentioned without the overt specification of their possessor. However, Tapiete differs from TG languages in the way it expresses the unspecified possessor of nouns conceptualized as inalienably possessed.

3.1.6.2. The alienable-inalienable opposition in TG languages

TG languages formally distinguish alienable from inalienable possessed nouns through a set of possessive markers whose presence is obligatory in inalienable possessive constructions. A brief presentation of the way these markers function is made in the following section.

3.1.6.3. Person markers in TG languages

Jensen (1998) distinguishes four sets of person markers in TG languages, which are established according to verbal classes. In this discussion, I focus on person markers of Set 2 since they have the following two functions **(i)** they combine with inactive verbs and **(ii)** participate in possessive constructions.⁴⁵ TG person markers are presented in Table 12.

⁴⁵ A thorough discussion of the interaction between person markers and verbal classes is presented in Chapter 4.

	Set 1	Set 2	Set 3	Set 4
1s	a-	če (r-)	wi-	
1EX	oro-	ore (r-)	oro-	
1IN	ja-	jane (r-)	jere-	
2s	ere-	ne (r-)	e-	oro- (A1:P2sg)
2pl	pe-	pe- (n-)	peje-	opo- (A1:P2pl)
3	o-	i-, c-, t-	o-	

Table 12: Proto-Tupí-Guaraní person markers (adapted from Jensen 1998:498)

In addition, two nominal classes are distinguished, according to the prefix they take as third person: nouns that belong to Class I take prefix *i-*, while nouns that belong to Class II take prefix *c-*;⁴⁶ finally, nouns that take prefix *t-* constitute a sub-set of Class II (Jensen 1998:498). The distribution of nouns into these classes is not semantically motivated; that is, there is not a straightforward relationship between the type of possession they encode (i.e. alienable or inalienable) with a particular nominal class. Finally, Class III includes nouns that do not take any possessive marker (e.g. rain, sun, and so on.)

Class I is, in turn, subdivided according to additional combinatory features: lexical roots that begin with the bilabial voiced stop [p] combine with prefix *m-* to encode a possessor that is not specified. On the other hand, lexical roots whose first consonant is not [p] combine with \emptyset - in the same context. Table 13 summarizes and gives examples of these combinations from Tupinambá (Scheicher, 1998).

⁴⁶ TG languages vary in regard to the phonetic realization of these prefixes. The form adopted by this marker in the TG languages varies following a weakening process according to which $t\zeta <ch> \rightarrow ts \rightarrow s \rightarrow h \rightarrow \emptyset$ (Dietrich 1990:25).

		Unspecified possessor		1sg.		3sg	
Class Ia	Roots that do not begin with [p]	∅	kaɪ ‘bone’	še	še-káɪ ‘my bone’	i-	i-káɪ ‘his/her/its bone’
Class Ib	Roots that begin with [p]	m	mbó ‘hand’	še	še-pó ‘my hand’	i-	i-pó ‘his/her/its hand’

Table 13: Tupinambá Sub-classes of Class 1 (adapted from Scheicher, 1998)

As for nouns that belong to Class II (nouns whose third person marker is PTG **c-*), they are characterized by displaying the *t ~ r ~ c* alternation: *t-* occurs with nominal roots whose possessor is unspecified, while the relational morpheme *-r-* occurs as possessive marker of first and second person, and *c-* occurs as possessive marker of third person. Class II is, in turn, sub-divided into four sub-classes according to the combination of possessive markers presented in Table 14.

	Unspecified possessed form	Example	1sg.	Example	3sg	Example
Ila	t-	t-embé ‘lip’	-r-	še-r-embé ‘my lip’	c-	s-embé ‘his lip’
Ilb	t-	t-endɪr ‘old sister’	-r-	še-r-endɪr ‘my old sister’	t-	t-endɪr ‘his older sister’
Ilc	∅	ók ‘house’	-r-	še-r-ók ‘my house’	c-	s-ók ‘his house’
Ild	V > ∅	peé ‘road’	-r-	še-r-apé ‘my road’	c-	s-apé ‘his road’

Table 14: Tupinambá Sub-classes of Class II (adapted from Scheicher, ???)

Since Tapiete has been reported to be closely related to Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano) (Dietrich 1986:202) and both languages pertain to the same Guarani Group as postulated by Kaufman (1994), in the following section a presentation of nominal classes in Guarani and Chiriguano is given with the aim of comparing the formal ways they have to express possession.

3.1.6.4. Nominal classes in Guarani and Chiriguano

The PTG alternation of allomorphs *m-* and *∅-* (Class I nouns) according to the presence or absence of consonant [p] as the first segment of the lexical root is not found neither in

Guarani nor in Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano). In these languages, Class I is further subdivided. Thus, in Guarani four sub-classes of Class I are distinguished according to the allomorphs displayed by the third person possessive marker: *i-*, *hi-*, *iy-* ~ *-i*, and *iñ-* ~ *iñi-*. Table 15 presents the Guarani Sub-classes of Class I altogether with the phonological conditioning of these forms and examples. As said before, the quality of the initial segment of the lexical root (i.e. with or without consonant [p]) does not affect the form of nominal roots whose possessor is not specified.

Unspecified possessed form	1SG	3	Phonological conditioning	Example	
∅	che	i-	Before consonant in oral root	i-po	‘his/her hand’
		hi-	Before stressed oral vowel (a, y ï)	hi-ý	‘his/her water’ ⁴⁷
		iy ~ i	Before non-stressed oral vowel	iy-eíra	‘his/her honey’
		iñ-V iñi-C	Before nasal root	iñ-arambotá	‘his/her pillow’

Table 15: Guarani possessive markers (adapted from Guasch 1948)

As far as Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano) is concerned, three allomorphic variations of the third person possessive marker of Class I are reported (Dietrich 1986:107.) They are similar to that found in Guarani: *i-* before consonant, *iy-* before oral vowel (i.e. oral root) and *iñ-* before nasal vowel (i.e. nasal root.) The Guarani allomorph *hi-* is not found in this language. The distribution of Avá-Guaraní (Chiriguano) allomorphs altogether with examples are given in Table 16.

⁴⁷ In the Guarani orthographic conventions the graph <y> corresponds to the sound ï and the graph <ý> corresponds to the sound ÿ.

Unspecified possessed form	1SG	3	Phonological conditioning	Example
∅-	che	i-	Before consonant	i-yuru ‘his/her mouth’
		iy-	Before a trisyllabic oral nominal root beginning with an oral vowel	iy-atĩ ‘his/her shoulder’
		iñ-	Before a nasal vowel	iñ-iro ‘his/her forgiveness’

Table 16: Avá-Guaraní (Chiriguano) 1SG and 3 person possessive markers (Dietrich 1986:107-108)
As for Class II nouns (i.e. nouns that display the *t-* ~ *r-* ~ *h-* alternation), both Avá-Guaraní (Chiriguano) and Guaraní preserve the original PTG system: that is, Class II is subdivided in four sub-classes established according to the allomorphs of the unspecified possessed form marker (i.e. *t-* ~ ∅) and the third person possessive marker (i.e. *t-* ~ *h-*.) In all cases, the relational morpheme *-r-* remains the possessive marker for all other persons (Jensen 1998:559). This distribution is summarized in Table 17.

	Unspecified possessed form	1sg.	3sg	Glose of nominal root	
	Guaraní / Chiriguano	t-esa	che-r-esa	h-esa	eye
	Guaraní	t-epotí	che-r-epotí	h-epotí	excrement
Ila	Chiriguano	t-epóti	che-r-epóti	h-epóti	excrement
	Guaraní	t-a’yra	che-r-a’y	t-a’y	male's offspring
Ilb	Chiriguano	t-ái	che-r-ái	t-ái	male's offspring
	Guaraní	óga	che-r-oga	h-oga	house
Ilc	Chiriguano	oo	che-r-o	h-óo	house
	Guaraní	t-apé	che-r-apé	h-apé	path
Ild	Chiriguano	t-ápe	che-r-ápe	h-ápe	path

Table 17: Guaraní and Avá-Guaraní (Chiriguano) Class II nouns

3.1.6.5. Nominal classes in Tapiete

Nominal classes in Tapiete are now considered, since differences with both Guarani and Chiriguano systems are found. Unlike TG languages, in Tapiete, the semantic distribution of nominal roots into classes is semantically motivated. Thus, nouns conceptualized as inalienable possessed are marked for possession differently from nouns conceptualized as alienable possessed. Furthermore, the default marker of possession comes from a reinterpretation of the unspecified possessed form of nominals that belong to TG Class II.

3.1.6.6. The alienable-inalienable opposition in Tapiete

As said earlier, in Tapiete the semantic categorization of nouns as inalienably and alienable possessed is formalized by means of the obligatory presence of a possessive marker in inalienable possessive construction and its optional presence in alienable possessive constructions. Nouns classified as inalienably possessed refer to body parts, kinship terms and other entities that are culturally significant, such as domestic animals and domestic goods and, consequently, always receive a formal mark of possession.

The default marker of possession in Tapiete has developed from a functional extension of the default marker of possession *t-* of Class II nouns in TG languages (Jensen 1990). In other words, while in TG languages the morpheme *t-* functions as a marker of the non-possessed form of nouns that display the $t \sim r \sim h$ alternation (i.e. Class II), in Tapiete this morpheme is the morphological evidence of the semantic opposition between alienable and inalienable possession of Class I and Class II nouns. In addition, a further formalization of the alienable/inalienable opposition occurs, which is expressed through the existence of different sets of third person markers. The formal markers of alienable and inalienable possession in Tapiete are presented in the following section.

THE FORMAL EXPRESSION OF ALIENABLE POSSESSION IN TAPIETE

Formal marks of alienable possession in Tapiete are optional when it comes to express the possession of entities conceptualized as non-possessable. Although they find these utterances to be pragmatically odd, under elicitation conditions, speakers may produce possessive forms of nouns referring to such entities as wild animals, air, earth, and so on. However, alienable entities thought of as transferable (e.g. money, food, and so on) may receive a formal mark of possession, although, given the appropriate pragmatic conditions the absence of possessive markers is not ungrammatical. Table 18 shows the paradigm of possessive markers in alienable possessive constructions.

Non-possessed form	1SG	3	Phonological conditioning		Example
∅	shɪ-	yɪ-	Before consonant and vowel in oral roots	yɪ-kɪɪpɔti	‘his/her money’
				yɪ-ɪ’a	‘his/her plate’
		ɲɪ-	Before consonant and vowel in nasal roots	ɲɪ-mandɪyɔ	‘his/her cotton’
				ɲɪ-angu’a	‘his/her mortar’

Table 18: 1SG and 3rd person markers of alienable possession in Tapiete

Several observations may be done from Table 18: first of all, there is no default marker of possession since these are alienable possessive constructions. Secondly, a specific set of third person possessive markers is attested: the morpheme *yɪ-* altogether with its allomorph *ɲɪ-* occurs according to whether it precedes an oral or a nasal root, respectively. Finally, the quality of the first segment of the lexical root (i.e. consonant or vowel) does not affect the form of possessive allomorphs.

THE FORMAL EXPRESSION OF INALIENABLE POSSESSION IN TAPIETE

As said earlier, every Tapiete noun classified as possessable must occur with a possessive marker, even when the possessor is not overtly expressed, in which case a default marker of possession is added. In addition, in inalienable possessive constructions Tapiete displays a larger number of possessive allomorphs than those found in Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano) and Guarani.

As far as Class I nouns are concerned, the following characteristics are observed: first of all, their default marker of possession may be realized as either *t-* or *tV-*⁴⁸ according to whether the initial segment of the root is a vowel (i.e. *t-V*) or a consonant (i.e. *tV-C*.) Secondly, four sets of third person possessive markers are distinguished: \emptyset , *i-*, *hV-* and *yV-*. In turn, the possessive marker *yV-* displays the following allomorphs: *y-* occurs before oral vowels, while its nasal variants *ñV-* and *ñ-* occurs before nasal consonants and nasal vowels, respectively. Table 19 summarizes and gives examples of this distribution in Tapiete.

⁴⁸ The vowel remains unspecified since its quality depends on phonological processes related to vowel harmony.

Non-possessed form	1SG	3	Phonological conditioning	Example
tV-	shV-	∅	Before C (y V?) in oral and nasal root	t̥i-pire ‘somebody’s skin’ sh̥i-pire ‘my skin’ pire ‘his/her skin’ t̥i-kambi ‘women’s milk’ sh̥i-kambi ‘my women’s milk’ kambi ‘his/her milk (of the mother)’
tV-	shV-	i-	Before C in oral root Before V in oral and nasal root Before C in nasal root	te-po ‘somebody’s hand’ she-po ‘my hand’ i-po ‘his/her hand’ te-‘u ‘somebody’s leg’ she-‘u ‘my leg’ i-‘u ‘his/her leg’ te-me ‘somebody’s husband’ she-me ‘my husband’ i-me ‘his/her husband’
tV-	shV-	hV-	Before C (yV?) in oral and nasal root	t̥i-poi ‘somebody’s bowel’ sh̥i-poi ‘my bowel’ h̥i-poi ‘his/her bowel’ t̥m-piñu’e ‘somebody’s ankle’ sh̥m-piñu’e ‘my ankle’ h̥m-piñu’e ‘his/her ankle’
tV-	shV-	yV-	Before C in oral root	t̥i-wata ‘somebody’s dress’ sh̥i-wata ‘somebody’s dress’ y̥i-wata ‘his/her dress’
t-	sh-	y-	Before V in oral root	t-ase’o ‘somebody’s throat’ sh-ase’o ‘my throat’ y-ase’o ‘his/her throat’
tV-	shV-	ñV-	Before C in nasal root	t̥n-samp̥inkará ‘somebody’s eyebrow’ sh̥n-samp̥inkará ‘my eyebrow’ ñ̥n-samp̥inkará ‘his/her eyebrow’
t-	sh-	Ñ-	Before V in nasal root	t-anka ‘somebody’s head’ sh-anka ‘my head’ ñ-anka ‘his/her head’

Table 19: Tapiete inalienable possessive markers

As in Guarani (Velázquez Castillo 1996:10) and Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano), in Tapiete the vast majority of nouns included in Class II encode inalienable possession. Table 20 gives examples of this distribution.

	Unspecified Possessed form	Non-possessed form	1SG	3
(a)	<i>tĩ-r-esa</i> ‘somebody’s eye’		<i>shĩ-r-esa</i> ‘my eye’	<i>h-esa</i> ‘his/her eye’
IIa (b)	<i>t-ĩpoti</i> ‘somebody’s excrement’		<i>sh-ĩpoti</i> ‘my excrement’	<i>h-ĩpoti</i> ‘his/her excrement’
IIb	<i>t-ayi</i> ‘some man’s offspring’		<i>shĩ-r-ayi</i> ‘my offspring’	<i>t-ayi</i> ‘his offspring’
IIc	<i>o</i> ‘somebody’s house’		<i>she-r-o</i> ‘my house’	<i>h-o</i> ‘his/her house’
IIId		<i>pe</i> ‘path’	<i>shĩ-r-ape</i> ‘my path’	<i>h-ape</i> ‘his path’

Table 20: Tapiete Class II nouns

Table 20 shows several things: first of all, Guarani and Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano) Sub-class IIa (e.g. *tesa*, *che-r-esa*, *hesa* ‘eye’) is subdivided in Tapiete into two further subclasses, which in Table 20 are indicated as IIa (a) and IIa (b). Secondly, when the possessor cannot be retrieved from the communicative context, a default marker of possession is added, which is formed by analogy with the first person possessive marker (e.g. *shĩ-r-esa* ‘my eye’, *tĩ-r-esa* ‘somebody’s eye’). Third, Tapiete sub-class IIb and Sub-class IIc display a similar distribution of possessive markers than the one attested in Guarani and Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano).⁴⁹ As for Sub-class IIId, no unspecified possessed form of the type *t-ape* ‘somebody’s path’ has been found in Tapiete; instead the form *pe* ‘path’ and its alternate forms *shĩ-r-ape* ‘my path’ and *h-ape* ‘his/her path’ are attested.

As said earlier, Sub-class IIa is further subdivided into Sub-class IIa (a) and Sub-class IIa (b). Specifically, first and third person possessive markers of Sub-class IIa (a) preserve the same form than the one attested in Guarani and Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano); that is, first person possessive marker is encoded through the prefix *-r-*, while third person possessive marker is encoded through the prefix *h-*.

⁴⁹ Under elicitation conditions, the form *te-r-o* ‘somebody’s house’ has been provided; since this form was not attested in texts, it seems to have been created by analogy with the other sub-classes’ unspecified possessed forms.

As for nouns included in Sub-class IIa (b), they display crucial differences compared to the original system. First of all, their possessed form matches the unspecified possessed form of Guaraní and Ava-Guaraní (Chiriguano) nouns (e.g. Guaraní *t-epotí*, Tapiete *t-ípoti* ‘somebody’s excrement’.) However, the Tapiete first person possessive marker differs from the other languages: while Guaraní and Ava-Guaraní (Chiriguano) preserve the PTG possessive marker *-r-*, this prefix has been lost in Tapiete. Thus, Guaraní *che repotí* and Chiriguano *che-repóti* ‘my excrement’ are ungrammatical in Tapiete (e.g. **shi-r-ípoti*) ‘my excrement’; instead, the form *sh-ípoti* ‘my excrement’ is attested. Finally, the Tapiete third person marker, displays the same morpheme *h-* as found in Ava-Guaraní (Chiriguano), Guaraní and the original system.

A possible explanation for the difference between Tapiete first person form *sh-ípoti* ‘my excrement’ and the original TG system can be proposed based on phonological restrictions. TG nominal roots included in Class IIa are either disyllabic (e.g. Guaraní *te.sa* ‘eye’) or trisyllabic (e.g. Guaraní *te.po.tí* ‘excrement’). When the nominal root is modified by a possessive marker, disyllabic roots become trisyllabic (e.g. Guaraní *che re.sa* ‘my eye’), and trisyllabic roots become tetrasyllabic (e.g. Guaraní *che repotí* ‘my excrement’).⁵⁰ In Tapiete, syllabification restrictions related to the number of syllables of the lexical root motivate a further subdivision of Class IIa into Sub-class IIa (a) (e.g. *shi-r-esa* ‘my eye’) or Sub-class IIa (b) (e.g. *sh-ípoti* ‘my excrement’.) That is, tetrasyllabic words are not allowed in Tapiete, unless they are the result of composition, e.g. *ama=pintu* ‘cloud’ <*ama* ‘rain’=*pintu* ‘night’. Nouns included in Sub-class IIa (a) do not violate the canonic Tapiete syllabification pattern, since their possessed form results in

⁵⁰ The orthographic conventions of Guaraní make the possessive marker to be written separately from the nominal root. However, possessive marker and nominal root form a single phonological word.

the formation of trisyllabic roots (e.g. *tī-r-esa* ‘somebody’s eye’.) However, if the same morphological operation (i.e. the marking of possession through the relational morpheme *-r-*) is applied to roots included in Sub-class IIa (b), this would result in the formation of ungrammatical tetrasyllabic roots of the type **shī-r-īpoti* ‘my excrement’. Instead, the trisyllabic form *sh-īpoti* ‘my excrement’ is attested. This restriction related to the number of syllables resulting from the affixation of possessive markers explains the alternate forms *t(V)-* ~ *t-* ‘DEFPOSS’ and *sh(V)-* ~ *sh-* ‘1SGPOSS’ of Sub-class IIa. Finally, nouns remain either disyllabic (e.g. Sub-class IIa (a) *he.sa* ‘his/her eye’) or trisyllabic (e.g. Sub-class IIa (b) *hī.po.ti* ‘his/her excrement’.) when the third person possessive marker *h-* is attached.

Other nouns included in Sub-class IIa (a) and Sub-class IIa (b) are listed in Table 21 and Table 22, respectively.

	Possessed form	1SG	3
vagina	tì-r-anti	shì-r-anti	hanti
belly	tì-r-ɛ'e	shì-r-ɛ'e	hɛ'e
leap	tì-r-embe	shì-r-embe	hembe
tooth / gums	tì-r-äi	shì-r-äi	häi
shoulder	tì-r-asitapa	shì-r-asitapa	hasitapa
vein	tì-r-ayi	shì-r-ayi	hayi
eye	tì-r-esa	shì-r-esa	hesa
body	tì-r-ete	shì-r-ete	hete
buttock	tì-r-ewi	shì-r-ewi	hewi
flesh	tì-r-o'o	shì-r-o'o	ho'o
face	tì-r-owa	shì-r-owa	howa
hip	tu-r-umbi	shu-r-umbi	humbi
tailbone	tu-r-uwe	shu-r-uwe	huwe
blood	tu-r-uwì	shu-r-uwì	huwì
sister-in-law	tì-r-aisho	shì-r-aisho	haisho
behaviour	tì-r-eko	shì-r-eko	heko
house	tì-r-enda	shì-r-enta	henta
poultry yard	tì-r-oke	??	hoke

Table 21: Sub-class IIa (a)

	Unspecified possessed form	1sg.	3sg
chin	t-añinka	sh-añinka	h-añinka
cheek	t-atipi	sh-atipi	h-atipi
anus	t-ivikwa	sh-ivikwa	h-ivikwa
footprint	t-akwere	??	h-akwere
beard	t-ìndiwá	sh-ìndiwá	h-ìndiwa
testicles	t-api'a	sh-api'a	h-api'a
excrement	t-ipoti	sh-ipoti	h-ipoti
corpse	t-ä'öwë	sh-ä'öwë	h-ä'öwë
life	t-ekowe	sh-ekove	h-ekowe
knee	t-ìrìmp'ä	sh-ìrìmp'ä	h-ìrìmp'ä
elbow	t-ìrì-wanga	sh-ìrì-wanga	h-ìrì-wanga

Table 22: : Tapiete Sub-class IIa (b)

3.1.6.7. Complementary remarks

The obligatory nature of a default marker of possession when the possessor cannot be retrieved from the context is exemplified when the nouns *hapi'a* ‘his testicles’ and *hipi'a* ‘egg’ are compared. Both nouns, which are metaphorically related, display the $t \sim r \sim h$ alternation (i.e. Sub-class IIa.) The semantic and formal differences between them are seen through the ungrammaticality of prefixing the default possessive marker *t-* to the noun ‘egg’, as shown in (181).

(181)

sh-api'a	‘my testicles’	sh-ipi'a	‘my egg’
h-api'a	‘his testicles’	h-ipi'a	‘his/her eggs’
t-api'a	‘somebody’s testicles’	*t-ipi'a	*‘somebody’s egg’

The word *so'o* ‘meat’ is another example. In Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano) and Guarani, this word constitutes a particular case of Class II nouns, as its unspecified possessed form is *so'o* and not **to'o* as it would be expected for nouns included in this class.⁵¹ The Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano) examples in (182) show this alternation, where no semantic distinction is made between ‘human flesh’ and ‘animal meat.’

(182) Chiriguano

che-ro'o	‘my flesh/meat’
ho'o	‘his/her flesh/meat’

In Tapiete, however, the semantic distinction between the inalienable possessed noun (e.g. flesh) and the alienable possessed noun (e.g. meat) is formally expressed by the set of possessive markers it takes. This is shown in (183), where two different nominal forms are distinguished according to their semantic categorization (i.e. alienable / inalienable possessed entities.) The nominal root that refers to the inalienable possessed entity ‘flesh’

⁵¹ Dietrich (1986:335) reports the Guarani form *to'o* as an innovation based on analogism.

displays the possessed form of nouns included in Sub-Class IIa (a), while the nominal root that refers to the alienable possessed entity ‘meat’ remains unchanged (e.g. *so’o* ‘meat) and displays the morphological marks of alienable possessive construction (e.g. *yí~ñí-* ‘3POSS’) As a result, the prefixation of *t(V)-* ‘DEFPOS’ is, in this case, ungrammatical.

(183) Tapiete

<i>shí-r-o’o</i>	‘my flesh’	<i>shí-so’o</i>	‘my meat’
<i>h-o’o</i>	‘his/her flesh’	<i>yí-so’o</i>	‘his/her meat’
<i>tí-r-o’o</i>	‘somebody’s flesh’	* <i>tí-so’o</i>	*‘somebody’s meat’

3.2. Noun phrase structure

In this section the structure of the noun phrase is presented with a focus on the order of elements within the noun phrase, the set of pronouns and pronominal forms, demonstratives, numerals and quantifiers, the nouns modifying, the syntactic expression of possession and the set of locative and directional morphemes.

3.2.1. Order of elements in the Noun Phrase

The order of elements in the Noun Phrase is schematized in (184).

(184) (DEM) (QUANT) (PSR) (N) Noun + (Rel. clause)

Thus, demonstratives (185), numerals (186), quantifiers (187), possessors (188) and nouns modifying (189) precede the noun, while relative clauses follow it (190).

(185) **ko** *mintá*
 DEM cat
this cat

(186) **owa** *pínsa-re*
 six toes-PL
six toes

(187) **heta** sanya'i
 a lot child
a lot of children

(188) **iwira** yipi
 tree trunk
the trunk of the tree

(189) **karai** kunumi
 white man boy
young white man

(190) hau ye'i waka ro'o **a-mb-aku-wa**
 I:eat a moment ago meat 1SGAC-CAUS1-hot-NMLZ
I ate the meat I heated on the fire

3.2.2. Independent pronouns

The pronominal system of Tapiete makes the distinctions of person and number. The category of first person plural displays a further distinction between first person inclusive (i.e. speaker and hearer are included as speech act participants) and first person exclusive (i.e. speaker and a non speech act participant are included while the hearer is excluded.) Table 23 and Table 24 display the set of independent pronouns that function as subjects and oblique arguments, respectively.

	Independent Pronouns as Subjects
1SG	she
1INCL	ñande
1EXCL	ore
2SG	nde
2PL	pe
3	ha'e

Table 23: Tapiete subject personal pronouns

	Independent Pronouns as Oblique arguments
1SG	she
1INCL	ñande
1EXCL	ore
2SG	nde
2PL	pe
3	shu

Table 24: Tapiete oblique personal pronouns

The syntactic distribution of personal pronouns and the semantic role they take are discussed in Chapter 5.

3.2.3. Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns in Tapiete are *a'anoi* ‘some’ (191), *mba'eti* ‘nobody, nothing’ (192), *heta* ‘a lot’ (193), *opa* ‘everybody’ (194) and numerals (195). They may occupy the subject and object position with no alteration of their form.

(191)

- a. a'anoi ñ-ärö
 some 3IN-bad
some are bad
- b. a'anoi a-héshe-e
 some 1SGAC-see-REC
I saw some

(192)

- a. mba'eti-po-kwi ó-ho-wa
 nobody-FUT-FUT 3AC-3:go-NOM
nobody will go
- b. mba'eti-e a-heshe-va
 nobody-REC 1SGAC-see-NMLZ
I didn't see anybody

(193) heta iyeta-reta
 a lot speak-PL
a lot (of people) spoke (muchos hablaron)

(194) opa-ite yahe'o o-i
 all-SUP cry 3AC-be
everyone is crying

(195) mbahap̄i iyeta-reta-e
 three speak-PL-REC
three (people) spoke (tres hablaron)

3.2.4. Demonstratives

Tapiete does not have articles; instead, it has a class of demonstrative adjectives and demonstrative pronouns, which encode three degrees of proximity. Table 25 shows the Tapiete demonstrative system.

	Demonstrative adjectives	Demonstrative pronouns	Glose
near the speaker	ko	ko	this
		kowa	this one (?)
	hoka woka	hoka	this
		woka	this
		akwa	
		ha'e	
far from the speaker		äü	that
		pü	that

Table 25: Tapiete demonstratives

Demonstrative *ko* may function as an adjective (196) and, given the appropriate pragmatic conditions, as a demonstrative pronoun (197); this latter use, however, remains marginal.

(196) a-mbe'u-po ko siyora p̄randu o-i
 1SGAC-tell-FUT DEM white woman ask 3-be
I'm going to tell it to this woman who is asking

(197) ko iyéta-e
 DEM speak-REC
this (man) spoke (the speaker is pointing at him)

Similarly, demonstrative *hoka* ‘that’ may also function as both adjective (198) and demonstrative pronoun (199). However, its most frequent use is as a demonstrative pronoun.

(198) *hoka sanya’i*
 DEM. child
this child

(199) *mba’eti-po hoka mbeu-ha*
 nobody-FUT DEM. tell-IMPER
nobody is going to say that

Demonstrative *woka* ‘this’ functions as both an adjective (200) and a pronoun (201).

(200) *woka mba’e opa iyeta he-reta-pi kwareta-ré*
 this one thing all speak 3:PROOBJ-PL-INST person-PL
they say all those things about people

(201) *woka kina iko, woka mba’e-wa-ra heka*
 this one in this way live this one thing-NMLZ-Q look for
that (person) lives in this way, what does he look for?

Demonstrative pronoun *akwa* ‘that one’ (202) fulfills anaphoric functions by referring to a noun phrase already introduced within the discourse.

(202) *hama akwa opa yapo-retá-rā-ma*
 then DEM finish do-PL-SUB-RES
that’s why, when you finish doing that

Demonstrative *äü* (203), *pü* (204) ‘that’ and *ha’e* ‘this’ (205) only function as pronouns.⁵²

(203) *äü o-ĩ iyéta-e*
 that one 3AC-be speak-REC
That person spoke

⁵² Demonstrative *ha’e* also encodes the personal pronoun for third person. This is an original feature of TG languages, as they lacked a third person pronoun (Dietrich 1990)

(204) pū o-ĩ ñamĩmba
 that 3AC-be dog
That dog (that is there)

(205) ha'e a-mbe'u shu siyora pĩrandu o-ĩ pota kwa
 (s)he 1SGAC-tell 3:PROOBL white woman ask 3-be want know
this I tell to the woman who is asking, she wants to know

Finally, for pragmatic purposes demonstratives may encode number morphologically through the affixation of the plural suffix *-reta*.

(206) ma'enti-we-a-ma-reta kwa-we-a-ma ha'e wóka-re sanya'ĩ-re
 sow-NOM-NEG-RES-PL know-NOM-NEG-RES (s)he DEM-PL child-PL
They don't sow any more, now the children don't know about those things

(207) ko-reta iyeta-po
 this-PL speak-FUT
They are going to speak

3.2.5. Numerals and quantifiers

3.2.5.1. Quantifiers

Non-numeral quantifiers precede the noun.

(208) opa ñĩ-mba'e-re mombo arka'e-pe
 everything 3POSS-thing-PL throw long time ago-LOC
They threw all their things a long time ago

(209) mba'etĩmba'e pĩta-wa
 nothing thing stay-NOM
Nothing remained

(210) mbówi-wa mba'e mĩmba-wa máno-e
 some-NMLZ thing animals-NMLZ die-REC
Some animals died

3.2.5.2. Numerals

The Tapiete number system is decimal. While cognates for numbers one to five are found in other TG languages, cognates for number six, seven, eight and nine are only found in Chiriguano (Dietrich 1986:169.) Names for number 'five' *pandepo* and 'ten' *opañandepo*

are compounds whose meaning are ‘all your hand’ and ‘all our hands’, respectively. Speakers easily use the number system from one to five, and this use is reflected in texts. This is not the case, of numbers six to ten. Although these later forms have been given by elderly speakers, they do not appear frequently in texts and young speakers do not use them at all. Table 26 shows the number system from one to ten.

Tapiete	English	Translation
pente	one	
monkoi	two	
mbahap̄i	three	
urund̄i	four	
pandepo	five	all your hand
owa	six	
shiu	seven	
huri	eight	
shau	nine	
opañandepo	ten	all our hands

Table 26: Tapiete number system

Beyond number ten, the forms given are innovations from young educated speakers, as they appear as calques of the Spanish number system. These forms have been approved, however, by elderly speakers as forms that could be adopted if the language reaches the point of standardization. The innovating number system is as shown in Table 27.

Tapiete	English	Translation
opa ñandepo pente	eleven	ten one
opa ñandepo monkoi	twelve	ten two
opa ñandepo mbahapɪ	thirteen	ten three
monkoi opa ñandepo	twenty	two ten
monkoi opa ñandepo pente	twenty one	two ten one
mbahapɪ opa ñandepo	thirty	three ten
mbahapɪ opa ñandepo pente	thirty one	three ten one
pandepo opa ñandepo	fifty	five ten
owa opa ñandepo	sixty	six ten
shiu opa ñandepo	seventy	seven ten
huri opa ñandepo	eighty	eight ten
shau opa ñandepo	ninety	nine ten

Table 27: Innovated Tapiete number system

As for the distribution of numerals within the noun phrase, they always appear before the noun they modify, as shown in (211).

- (211) pandepo shi-membɪ-ré,
 five 1SGPOSS-woman's offspring-PL
I have five children,

mbahapɪ tap'ipe-re monkoi kwimbae-re
 three woman-PL two male-PL
three girls and two boys

3.2.6. Noun modifying

As said earlier, in Tapiete, a noun may modify another noun in which case the modifying noun precedes the head noun.

- (212)

- a. kapura kambɪ
 goat milk
goat milk
- b. uru kwimbae
 hen male
rooster

When the head noun displays the *t- ~ r- ~ h-* alternation, the *r-* and the *h-* forms are used interchangeably with, apparently, no change of meaning, as shown in (213) and (214).

There is, however, a strong tendency to use the *h-* form in these constructions.

(213)

a. awesha ra
 sheep hair
Sheep wool

b. awesha ha
 sheep hair
wool

(214)

a. andai hä'ĩ
 kind of pumpkin seed
kind of pumpkin seed

b. andai rä'ĩ
 kind of pumpkin seed
semilla del anco

3.2.7. Adjectives

Tapiete does not have a clear lexical category adjective. Instead, adjectives share with inactive verbs a number of verbal morphological features such as the set of person markers (215), aspect (216), as well as derivational morphology as the nominalizing suffix *-wa ~ -a* 'NMLZ' (217).

(215)

a. shu-puku
 1SGIN-tall
I am tall

b. ore ɪɪ-pawete-ha
 we(exc.) 1EXCL-poor-1EXCL
we were very poor

(216)

a. shi-náni-ma
1SGIN-naked-RES
I don't have a thing to wear

b. pawéte-yi ha'e
suffer-FRQ (s)he
again she suffered

(217) sawipo-a-re
drunk-NOM-PL
The drunk men

3.2.8. Locatives

Tapiete has three locative suffixes *-pe*, *-ipe* and *-ipi*. Locatives *-pe* 'in' and *-ipe* 'inside' differ from locative *-ipi* 'LOCMOV' in that the former encode a fixed position in the space, while the latter indicates that the action referred to by the verb takes place over an area.

This opposition is illustrated in (218) and (219).

(218) iwí-pe ñono
floor-LOC put
put (it) on the floor

(219) ténta-ipi a-wata-po
village-LOCMOV 1SGAC-walk-FUT
I'm going to wander around the village

As for locatives *-pe* 'in' and *-ipe* 'inside', they are opposed as they refer to a fixed position – locative *-pe* – and a fixed position inside a closed space – locative *-ipe* –. Their functions are illustrated by the examples given below, where (220) is interpreted as indicating a specific place in the house, while (221) only indicates that the object is inside the house. Finally, (222) indicates that the subject needs to move within the house in order to reach its goal.

(220) ha'e o-pe heka
 (s)he house-LOC look for
look for (him/her) in the house

(221) ha'e o-ipe heka
 (s)he house-inside look for
look for (him/her) inside the house

(222) ha'e o-ipi heka
 (s)he house-LOCMOV look for
look for him/her inside the house (va recorriendo)

Thus, the interpretation of a locative noun phrase varies according to the locative suffix it takes, as shown in the following examples where, without further specification, example (223) is understood as referring to a person located in a specific point by the river border (e.g. sitting or standing), while example (224) is understood as referring to a person moving (e.g. walking or running) by the river bank.

(223) tika himbe-pe
 river border-LOC
(he's sitting) at the bank of the river

(224) tika himbe-ipi
 river border-LOCMOV
(he's walking) along the bank of the river

Other locative morphemes include suffix *-re* 'against, on' and suffix *-wi* 'from', which, as will be discussed in section 5.2.1.6 constitute the shortened forms of pospositions *rehe* and *hewi*, respectively. As said before, there is a specialization of form and function of these pospositions, as the shortened forms *-re* and *-wi* attach to nouns and have a directional meaning. Specifically, suffix *-re* seems to specify that the action encoded by the verb is done on or against a surface (225), while suffix *-iwi* ~ *-wi* 'from' encodes a movement done from a fixed point outwards (226).

(225)

- a. kúpe-re mbipara
back -against draw
draw on the back
- b. íwi-re a-pĩrö
earth-against 1SGAC-walk on
I step on earth
- c. ndi-yíwa-re hupi
2SGPOSS-arm-against raise
carry something on your arm

(226)

- a. manta íwi-wi
pull earth-from
to pull up
- b. weyi ha'e-wi
go down (s)he-from
get down

Finally, locative suffix *-pe* 'in' and directional suffix *-re* 'against, on' may be used interchangeably if the context is clear enough to avoid ambiguity. This explains why (227) and (228) may convey the same meaning.

(227) íwi-pe ñono
floor-in put
put (something) on the floor

(228) íwi-re ñono
floor-on put
put (it) on the floor

However, the examples below illustrate the difference of meaning between these suffixes. Given that an object may be inside a mortar without being enclosed in it, suffix *-pe* is used. On the contrary, suffix *-re* 'against, on' is rejected, as this would mean that the object is 'on the mortar'; instead, speakers interpret this morpheme as being the shortened form of the plural suffix *-reta*.

- (229) angú'a-pe ñono
 mortar-LOC put
put (it) in the mortar
- (230) angú'a-re ñono
 mortar-PL put
put several mortars

3.3. Conclusions

This chapter has presented the morphological features of nouns and the syntactic distribution of constituents within the noun phrase in Tapiete. It has been shown that Tapiete encodes through its morphology the categories of number, diminutive, augmentative and possession. On the contrary, gender is encoded lexically. In addition, Tapiete morphologically distinguishes between alienably and inalienably possession by marking differently nouns conceptualized as inalienable possessed from alienable possessed nouns. In addition, the unspecified possessed form of nominals that belong to TG Class II nouns, is reinterpreted as the default marker of possession of inalienable possessed nouns in Tapiete.

Within the noun phrase, demonstratives, quantifiers, possessors and noun modifying precede the noun, while relative clauses follow it. Tapiete has two sets of independent pronouns that function as subject and as oblique arguments.

Tapiete has indefinite pronouns that occupy both the subject and the object position with no alternation of their form and two sets of demonstratives that may function as adjectives or pronouns and that encode three different degrees of distance.

Numerals and quantifiers precede the noun. The Tapiete number system is decimal; while cognate for numbers one to five are found in other TG languages, the names for numbers six to nine are only found in Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano).

Nominal modification is attested in Tapiete, in which case the noun modifying precede the head noun. In addition, there is not a clear adjectival category, since the semantic value usually conveyed by adjectives in other languages is, in Tapiete, expressed through the set of inactive verbs.

Finally, locative morphemes distinguish a fixed position in the space (e.g. *-pe* ‘in’ and *-ipe* ‘inside’) from a movement within an area (e.g. *-ipi* ‘LOCMOV’) and two nominal suffixes specify the direction of the action performed by the verb (e.g. *-re* ‘on’ and *-wi* ‘from’.)

4. The verb and the verb phrase

This chapter introduces the verbal morphology and the order of elements within the verb phrase. Section 4.1 discusses, the grammatical categories encoded in the verbal morphology. In 4.1.1 the structure of verbs is described. The set of active and inactive person markers are presented in 4.1.2, and the verbal categories of tense, aspect and mood are presented in 4.1.3.

Then, the valence changing operations are discussed in 4.1.4; this includes a discussion of the distribution of the causative morphemes 4.1.4.1, the encoding of comitative 4.1.4.2 and noun incorporation 4.1.4.3, and an analysis of reflexives as exponent of middle voice 4.1.4.4. Finally, the encoding of plural number 4.1.5 and negation 4.1.6, as well as the affixation of the superlative, instrumental and diminutive morphemes on the verbal root 4.1.7 are discussed.

Section 4.2 presents the arrangement of constituents within the verb phrase. Section 4.2.1 surveys the syntactic distribution of auxiliary verbs and their function as aspectual

markers. Finally, section 4.2.2 discusses the semantic content of adverbs and adverbial phrases together with their syntactic distribution within the verb phrase.

4.1. Verbal morphology

4.1.1. Verbal roots

In Tapiete, the verb agrees with subject and object in person and number. Since third person is not overtly expressed on the verb, optionally, the plural suffix *-reta* attaches to verbal roots to specify the plurality of third person subject or object. Modal and person markers together with a causative morpheme are encoded through prefixation; other inflectional operations such as tense, aspect, causative and negation are encoded through suffixation. Finally, superlative, instrumental and diminutive morphemes are suffixed to the verbal root. The structure of Tapiete verbs is presented in Table 28.

Mod e	Person	OBJ	Valence			RED	Root	Person	Valence	NEG	Mode		ASP	CLT			TNS			ASP		Number	CLT			TNS
			REFL	CAUS1	COM						CAUS2	PI		WO	RES	EVD	Q	SUB	REC	FUT	PST		FRQ	HAB	PL	
e- IMP t(+)→ HORT	a- 1SGAC sh(+)→(r) 1SGIN		ai-	mbi-	ri-			-ha	-ka	-ä	-mi	-rani	-ma	-nda -mba	-ra	-rä	-e	-po	-kwe	y+	-pi	-reta	pi+	-ite	-ra`i	-kwi
	ndi-(r) 2SG	ri-																								
	o-, ø-, wv- 3AC yV-, hi-, ø-, h- 3IN		y+~ñi~i-																							
	ya-(r) 1PLAC INCL ñand(V)-r- 1PLININCL		yai-																							
	o-, ø-, wv-Verb- ha 1PLAC EXCL yV-, hi-, ø-, h- Verb-ha 1PLIN EXCL		y+~ñi~i- Verb-ha																							
	pi- 2PL	piri- 2PL																								

Table 28: Structure of Tapiete verbs

4.1.2. Person markers

In this section, I outline the cross-reference system described for Tupí-Guaraní languages as presented by Jensen (1990). In doing so, I use the terminology employed by that author. This presentation is intended to provide the context for the discussion about the cross-reference system found in Tapiete.

4.1.2.1. Cross reference markers in TG languages

Tupí-Guaraní languages display an active / inactive system of cross-reference in independent clauses, where agentive subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs (referred as A) are marked by the same set of personal prefixes, while the non-agentive subject of intransitive verbs and the patient of transitive verbs (referred as P) are marked by a different set of personal prefixes. On transitive verbs, the cross-reference system is “governed by the relative position of A and P on an agency hierarchy, where $1 > 2 > 3$.” (Jensen 1990:117.) That is, since first person is higher in the hierarchy than second and third person, first person is always cross-referenced on the verb independently of its being an agent or a patient; similarly, when second and third person are involved, only second person is cross-referenced on the verb. In subordinate clauses, the active / inactive cross-referencing system is replaced by an ergative / absolutive system, where “[t]he person markers on transitive verbs always reference P.” (Jensen 1990:118). The agency hierarchy does not play any role in this construction.

The following is a chart of four sets of person markers reconstructed by Jensen (1990) for Proto-Tupí-Guaraní.

	Set 1	Set 2	Set 3	Set 4
1s	a-	če (r-)	wi-	
1EX	oro-	ore (r-)	oro-	
1IN	ja-	jane (r-)	jere-	
2s	ere-	ne (r-)	e-	oro- (A1:P2sg)
2pl	pe-	pe- (r-)	peje-	opo- (A1:P2pl)
3	o-	i-, c-	o-	

Table 29: Proto-Tupí-Guaraní person markers (taken from Jensen 1990:120)

Set 1 person markers refer to agentive subjects of intransitive verbs (231) and to agents of transitive verbs with third person patients (232). In (232), Set 1 prefixes are followed by Set 2 prefixes (e.g. *i-* and *s-*), which refer to a third person patient.

(231) **Set 1: Independent intransitive agentive verb** **Tupinambá (from Jensen 1990:121)**

1s	a-só	‘I went’
1EX	oro-só	‘we (ex.) went’
1IN	ja-só	‘we (in.) went’
2s	ere-	‘you (sg.) went’
2pl	pe-só	‘you (pl.) went’
3	o-so	‘he/she/it/they went’

(232) **Set 1: Transitive agentive verb** **Tupinambá (from Jensen 1990:121)**

a.	1s	a-i-kutúk	‘I pierced him/her/it/them’
	1EX	oro-i-kutúk	‘we (ex.) pierced him/her/it/them’
	1IN	ja-i-kutúk	‘we (in.) pierced him/her/it/them’
	2s	ere-i-kutúk	‘you (sg.) pierced him/her/it/them’
	2pl	pe-i-kutúk	‘you (pl.) pierced him/her/it/them’
	3	o-i-kutúk	‘he/she/it/they pierced him/her/it/them’

b.	1s	a-s-ekár	‘I looked for it’
	1EX	oro-s-ekár	‘we (ex.) looked for it’
	1IN	ja-s-ekár	‘we (in.) looked for it’
	2s	ere-s-ekár	‘you (sg.) looked for it’
	2pl	pe-s-ekár	‘you (pl.) looked for it’
	3	o-s-ekár	‘he/she/it/they looked for it’

Set 2 person markers refer to patients (233), to non-agentive subjects of intransitive verbs (234) and encode possession when prefixed to nouns (235). In (233), the patient (e.g. first person singular) is higher in the hierarchy than the agent (e.g. second and third person singular and plural and first person plural inclusive and exclusive) and, therefore, is cross-referenced through the affixation of person markers belonging to Set 2. The following are examples from Tupinambá adapted from Jensen (1990:122; 1998:503)

(233) **Set 2: Patients** (Jensen 1990:122)

1s	syé repyák	‘(he/she/it/they/you) saw me’
1EX	oré repyák	‘(he/she/it/they/you) saw us (EXCL)’
1IN	jané repyák	‘(he/she/it/they/you) saw us (INCL)’
2s	né repyák	‘(he/she/it/they/you) saw you (SG)’
2pl	pé repyák	‘(he/she/it/they/you) saw you (PL)’

(234) **Set 2: Independent intransitive non-agentive verb** (Jensen 1990:122)

syé katú
 1SGIN good
 (S is non-agentive)
I am good

(235) **Set 2: Possession**

sjé sy
 1SGPOSS mother
my mother

sjé r-úb
 1SGPOSS RL-father
my father

Prefixes of Set 3 occur on intransitive serial verbs when the subject of the independent serial verb co-refers with the subject or the agent of the independent clause. In (236), the dependent serial verb *sahok* ‘to bath’ is cross-referenced by prefix *sere* ‘1PLINCL’ from Set 3 and co-refers with the subject of the independent verb *ropyta* ‘to stayed’ encoded by prefix *sa* ‘1PLINCL’ from Set 1.

(236)	Set 3: intransitive serial verbs		Assurini (adapted from Jensen 1990:125)	
	sa-ropyta	yhara	sere-sahok-a	ywryi
	1INCL-stayed.with	boath	1INCL-bathe-SER	at.edge
	Set 1	Set 3		

We stayed with the boath, bathing at the edge

Finally, prefixes *oro-* and *opo-* of Set 4 “occur on transitive verbs in independent clauses where A is first person (regardless of number) and P is second person, singular and plural, respectively.” (Jensen 1990:120). They are, therefore, considered to be portmanteau morphemes.

(237)	Set 4: portmanteau morphemes		Tupinambá (adapted from Jensen 1990:122)
	2s	oro-epyák	‘I/we saw you (SG)’
	2pl	opo-epyák	‘I/we saw you (PL)’

In addition, third person markers from Set 2, *i-* and *c-*, are used to establish word classes: words whose third person prefix is *i-* take the person markers of the *če-* paradigm (238), while words whose third person marker is *c-* take a relational morpheme *-r-* ‘RL’ for first and second person. The relational morpheme *-r-* ‘RL’ occurs in possessive constructions (239), with postpositions preceded by a person marker (e.g. **čé r-ecé* ‘about me’), and with verbs preceded by a first or second person marker belonging to Set 2 (240) (Jensen 1998:559).

(238)	sjé	sy	(Jensen 1998:559)
	1SGPOSS	mother	
	<i>my mother</i>		

(239) sjé r-úb
 1SGPOSS r-father
my father

(240) syé r-epják
 I RL-saw
(he/she/it/they/you) saw me

As said earlier, an ergative / absolutive system is found in subordinate clauses by virtue of which the same set of person markers i.e. Set 2, encodes the agentive (241) and non-agentive subjects of intransitive verbs (242) and the first person patient of transitive (243). The following examples are from Jensen (1990:118).

(241) Agentive subject of intransitive verbs

syé só-reme
 1SG go-if
if / when I go

(242) Non-agentive subject of intransitive verbs

syé katú-reme
 1SG good-if
if I am good

(243) Patient of transitive verbs

syé monó-reme-mo a-só-mo
 1SG send-if-COND 1sg-go-COND
if he sent me, I would go

According to Jensen (1990:129), some TG languages that belong to Rodrigues' Subgroup 1 (e.g. Mbya Guarani, Kaiwa and and Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano)) and Subgroup 8 (e.g. Wayampi and Urubu) have undergone a shift on their cross-referencing system by means of which the active / inactive system attested in independent constructions has replaced the ergative / absolutive system of subordinate clauses. This change is illustrated by examples from Mbya Guarani where both verbs of subordinate clauses *a-porandu* 'I asked' in (244) and *o-exa* 'he saw' in (245) are

Other languages have preserved this prefix, in which case two patterns are distinguished: **(i)** either the prefix has been associated with the person marker referencing the agent (e.g. Paraguayan Guarani (246)), **(ii)** or it has been associated with the verbal root (e.g. Guajajara (247)).

(246) Paraguayan Guarani (taken from Jensen 1998:518)
 *ere-i-nupã > rej-nupã ‘you (SG) hit him’

(247) Guajajara (taken from Jensen 1998:518)
 *a-i-apó > a-j-apó > a-z-apóa-zapó ‘I make it’

In Avá-Guaraní (Chiriguano) and Mbya Guarani there is a set of verbs that take first as person singular marker *ai-*, which has been analyzed as a frozen form of the prefixation just described (Dietrich 1986:89; Jensen 1998:519). In other words, the third person marker *i-* does not refer to a third person patient anymore but it has become associated with Set 1 prefixes.⁵⁴ As a consequence, all verbs that display prefix *ai-* as first person singular marker are transitive verbs, although not all transitive verbs take this prefix.

To sum up, Tupi-Guarani languages display an active / inactive cross-referencing system where person markers of Set 1 refer to agentive subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs and person markers of Set 2 refer to non-agentive subjects of intransitive verbs. Languages that belong to Rodrigues’ Subgroup 1 and 8 have extended the active / inactive system to subordinate clauses replacing the ergative system characteristic of this construction in TG languages. Finally, in some languages the prefix *i-* that encodes third person patient has become associated either with the person marker referencing the agent (e.g. *ai-*) or with the verbal root (e.g. PTG **a-i-apó* > Guajajara *a-zapo*).

⁵⁴ Prefix *i-* is also described as encoding an incorporated generic object (Dietrich 1986:89)

Like the other languages of Subgroup 1 (e.g. Mbya Guarani, Kaiwa and Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano)), Tapiete displays the same change in the cross-reference system as the one just described. As will be shown in the following sections, the sets of person markers of Tapiete appear as more deviant from the original system when compared with other languages of these subgroups. In addition, Tapiete is one of the languages that have associated prefix *i-* (i.e. third person marker) to person markers from Set 1. However, in Tapiete this association has created a new paradigm of person markers used in the expression of reflexive constructions.

In the following section a presentation is given of Tapiete person markers. Reflexive constructions are discussed in 4.1.4.4.

4.1.2.2. Tapiete active person markers

As said earlier, Tapiete displays an active / inactive system in independent clauses, which is also attested in subordinate clauses. The agency hierarchy governs the cross-reference system in transitive verbs. Table 31 displays the different combinations of person marker prefixes found in Tapiete that are related to Jensen's Set 1. The diagnostic person marker refers to third person. All other markers are subject to predictable changes mainly related to nasal harmony and a tendency to harmonize the vocalic quality of the prefix vowel.

	1a	1b	1c
1SGAC	a-	a-	a-
1INCL	ya-	ya-	ya-
1EXCL	o-Verb-ha	∅-Verb-ha	WV-Verb-ha
2SGAC	ndV-	ndV-	ndV-
2PLAC	pV-	pV-	pV-
3	o-	∅-	wV-

Table 31: Tapiete versions of Jensen's Set 1 prefixes

From Table 31 several observations can be made related to the formal characteristics of person markers. First of all, the Tapiete system displays three subclasses of Jensen's Set 1 prefixes,

which are distinguished according to the marker they take for third person e.g. *o-*, *∅-* and *wV-*. Monosyllabic verbs take prefix *o-* (248), while the other verbs are not marked for third person singular (249).

(248) Set 1a⁵⁵

a-a	‘I fell down’
o-a	‘(s)he fell down’

(249) Set 1b

a-mano	‘I die’
mano	‘(s)he dies’

The lack of an overt marker for third person is not attested in any other language of Subgroup 1; however, the same phenomenon is reported in Urubu Kaapor, from Subgroup 8 (250).

(250) Urubu Kaapor (from Jensen 1990:131)

a-sak	‘I saw (you/him/her/them)
u-sak	‘he/she/they saw (me/us/you/him/her/them)
a-petek	‘I tapped (you/him/her/them)
petek	‘he/she/they tapped (me/us/you/him/her/them)

In addition, a small set of verbs display a third person marker *wi-* ~ *we-* ‘3AC’ (251). In Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano) this form is reported to occur with verbal roots that combine with Set 1 person markers and whose first consonant is either [r] or [n] (Dietrich 1986:91). In Tapiete, however, this generalization does not hold since some verbal roots that meet these requirements do not take *wi-* ~ *we-* as third person marker (252).

⁵⁵ Other verbs that belong to this class are: *o-che* ‘(s)he sleeps’, *o-i* ‘(s)he is’, *o-ho* ‘(s)he go’, *o-hë* ‘(s)he goes out’, *o-kwa* ‘(s)he clubs’, *o-mi* ‘(s)he moves’, *o-po* ‘(s)he jumps’, *o-wa* ‘(s)he buys’

- (251) Set 1c
- | | |
|-----------|----------------|
| a-ru | ‘I bring’ |
| we-ru | ‘(s)he brings’ |
| a-riye’o | ‘I haul |
| wi-riye’o | ‘(s)he hauls’ |
- (252)
- | | |
|--------|-----------------|
| a-raha | ‘I carry’ |
| raha | ‘(s)he carries’ |
| a-reko | ‘I carry’ |
| reko | ‘(s)he has’ |

Second, the first person plural exclusive form is composed of the verbal root marked for third person plus the suffix *-ha* ‘EXCL’, which immediately follows the root (253). As a result, the combination of suffix *-ha* with another person marker is ungrammatical, as shown in (254).

- (253) (ore) o-á-ha-po
 we(exc.) 3AC-fall-EXCL-FUT
(we) are going to fall dawn
- (254) *a-*mbi-heheki-ha*
 1SGAC-CAUS1-pull out some-EXCL

TG cognates of suffix *-ha* have been described as a derivational morpheme that makes a noun from a verb. In Paraguayan Guarani suffix *-ha(ra)* "occurs with verbal stems and the resulting sequence is a noun. If the verbal stem is transitive, the resulting noun is agentive; if the verbal stem is intransitive, the resulting noun is locative (it indicates the place where the activity of the verbal stem is performed)" (Gregores & Suarez 1967:127)

- (255) Paraguayan Guarani transitive verbal stem
- | | |
|--------------|------------------------|
| monda-há | (from Guasch 1948:324) |
| steal-NOM | |
| <i>thief</i> | |

(256) Paraguayan Guaraní intransitive verbal stem

pítu'u-ha
to rest-NOM
place to rest

(from Gregores & Suarez 1967:127)

This suggests that in Tapiete the verbal form for first person plural exclusive may be a recycling of the agentive nominalization of the verbal root. This form is also used to refer to an impersonal agent, as exemplified in (257). However, a form such as the one given in (257) is ambiguous since it may be interpreted as either 'we ate the cat' or 'somebody ate the cat'. Thus, the personal pronoun *ore* 'we (EXCL)' may be used to avoid ambiguity (258).

(257) minta opa ho'u-ha
cat all 3:eat-EXCL/IMPER
we ate the cat // the cat was eaten (it is unknown who ate the cat)

(258) ore minta opa ho'u-ha
we(exc.) cat all 3:eat-EXCL
we ate the cat

Finally, suffix *-ha* is attached to verbs independently of the set to which they belong i.e. Set 1a (259), Set 1b (260) and Set 1c (261).

(259) o-ho-ha 'we (exc.) go'

(260) karu-ha 'we (exc.) eat'

(261) we-ru-ha 'we (exc.) bring'

A first plural inclusive form composed in this fashion has not been reported for any other Tupi-Guarani language.

4.1.2.3. Tapiete inactive person markers

In Chapter 3 it was said that third person markers from Set 2, *i-* and *c-*, are used to distinguish two word classes in TG languages. Words from Class 1 take prefix *i-* as third person marker, while words from Class 2 take prefix *c-*. Prefix *c-* has been subject to a phonological weakening

process by virtue of which *c-* has become *h-* or even \emptyset - in some of the descendent languages (Jensen 1990:131).

In Tapiete, four sub-classes of Jensen’s Set 2 are distinguished, which are presented in Table 32. All prefixes are subject to nasal harmony as described in Chapter 2, only oral versions are presented in Table 32.

	Class 1			Class 2
	Sub-class 1a	Sub-class 1b	Sub-class 1c	
1sg	sh(V)-	shV-	shV-	shV-r
1IN	ñand(V)-	ñandV-	ñandV-	ñandV-r
1EX	ĩr(ĩ)-Verb-ha	ĩrĩ-Verb-ha	ĩrĩ-Verb-ha	ĩrĩ-r-Verb-ha
2sg	nd(V)-	ndV-	ndV-	NdV-r
2pl	pV-	pV-	pV-	PV-r
3	y(V)-	hĩ-	\emptyset -	h-

Table 32: Tapiete versions of Jensen’s Set 2

Words that belong to Class 2 have the same morphological shape as found in other TG languages; that is, verbs that belong to Class II take *h-* for third person and the *-r-* linking prefix for the other persons. The difference is in the encoding of first person plural exclusive that, as explained before, takes suffix *-ha* (262).

(262) Class 2

shĩ-r-esati	‘I shed tears easily’
hesati	‘(s)he sheds tears easily’
ĩrĩ-resati-ha	‘we(exc.) shed tears easily’

Jensen’s Class 1 is further subdivided into Sub-class 1a, Sub-class 1b and Sub-class 1c. Words that belong to Sub-class 1a display as third person markers *y-* and *ñ-* before oral and nasal roots, respectively (263).

- (263) Subset 1a
- | | |
|-----------|-----------------|
| sh-akĩ | ‘I am lazy’ |
| y-akĩ | ‘(s)he is lazy’ |
| sh-a’engu | ‘I am dumb’ |
| ñ-a’engu | ‘(s)he is dumb’ |

Words that belong to Sub-class 1b display as third person marker the allomorph *hi-* (264), while words of Sub-class 1c do not have an overt person marker (265).

- (264) Subset 1b
- | | |
|----------|----------------------|
| shi-peki | ‘I am mature’ |
| hi-peki | ‘(s)he/it is mature’ |

- (265) Subset 1c⁵⁶
- | | |
|----------|---------------------|
| shi-pohi | ‘I am heavy’ |
| pohi | ‘(s)he/it is heavy’ |

Like in other languages of the TG family, Set 2 markers encode non-agentive subjects of intransitive verbs (266), patients of transitive verbs (267); and, when they are prefixed to nouns, possession (268).

(266)

- a. sh-ankwa
1SGIN-speedy
I am fast
- b. ñ-ankwa
3-speedy
(s)he is fast

(267)

- a. nde shi-mĩ-ngiye
you 1SGIN-CAUS1-fear
you have scared me

⁵⁶ The person marker *i-* is prefixed to this word in Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano) and Paraguayan Guarani (e.g. Paraguayan Guarani *i-pohyi* ‘it is heavy’), as well as in the other TG languages.

- b. ha'e ndi-raha
 (s)he 2SGIN-carry
 he takes you

(268)

- a. **sh-anka**
 1SGPOSS-head
 my head
- b. **ñ-anka**
 3POSS-head
 his/her head

4.1.2.4. Tapiete version of Jensen's Set 3 person markers

As said earlier, in the original TG system Set 3 person markers were used in intransitive agentive serial verb constructions; thus, “the S of these verbs must always be co-referential with the S or A of the main verb of the independent clause” (Jensen 1990:121) These person markers have disappeared in descendent languages of Subgroup 1 such as Ava-Guarani, Mbya Guarani and Kaiwa and languages of Subgroup 8 as Wayampi and Urubu Kaapor. Like the languages just mentioned, in Tapiete person markers from Set 3 are not attested

4.1.2.5. Tapiete version of Jensen's Set 4 person markers

Jensen's Set 4 person markers are described as portmanteau morphemes that attach to transitive verbs. Both morphemes *oro-* ‘A1:P2SG’ and *opo-* ‘A1:P2PL’ encode a first person agent that can be either singular or plural acting upon a singular (i.e. *oro-*) or plural (i.e. *opo-*) patient. Set 4 person markers are preserved in the descend languages of Subgroup 1.

Tapiete shows a different use of these prefixes: first, the agent in question is always singular, while patients may be either singular or plural. Furthermore, in Tapiete, the TG prefix *oro-* seems to be reinterpreted as a bi-morphemic form *a-rĩ-*, where *a-* refers to first person agent singular and *ĩ-* refers to second person patient singular. Consequently, the verb would agree with both agent and patient.

(269) she a-ri-kwa'a
I 1SGAC-2SGP-know
I know you

(270) a-ri-réka-po
1SGAC-2SGP-look for-FUT
I will miss you

This hypothesis may be confirmed by the dialectal variation of Tapiete spoken near the Pilcomayo river where the forms given in (271) are attested.

(271)

a. a-nd-uka-po-kwi
1SGAC-2SGIN-kill-FUT-DISTFUT
I will kill you

b. a-ndi-kwa'a
1SGAC-2SGIN-know
I know you

These forms also suggest that the TG portmanteau morpheme *oro- is reinterpreted as bi-morphemic: the form *nd(i)-* clearly reflects the personal pronoun *nde* 'you' and occupies the same structural position of *ri-*.

Thus, it seems that the form *a-ri* is created by analogy with Set 1 person markers where the vowel *a-* is interpreted as the active person marker for first person, while *-ri* seems to be an innovation.⁵⁷

Some speakers have provided the form given in (272), which is based on the bi-morphemic pattern described previously. In this example, however, a second person agent acts upon a first person patient.

⁵⁷ A speaker has even provided the form given in (1) where prefix *a-* '1SGAC' occupy the subject position, while prefix *ri-* '1PLEXCL' occupy the object position. This form, however, has not been accepted by other speaker.

(1) a-ri-mi-ngaru-ka
1SGAC-1PLEXCL-CAUS1-eat -CAUS2
I am going to make them to feed us

(272) *nde ni-shi-ngiye*
you 2SGAC-1SGIN-fear
you have scared me

However, this form remains marginal and requires the presence of the personal pronoun which is otherwise optional. This is illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (273).

(273) **ni-shi-ngiye*
2SGAC-1SGIN-fear
**you have scared me*

When first person plural exclusive is the agent acting upon a second person singular or plural both agent and patient are cross-referenced on the verb. In these cases, however, the agent is encoded through the affixation of the suffix *-ha*, while the patient is encoded by the affixation of person marker *ndi-* ‘2SG’ and *pi-* ‘2PL’.

(274) *ndi-wohi-ha*
2SGIN-carry-1EXCL
we take you (SG)

(275) *pi-wohi-ha*
2PL-carry-1EXCL
we take you (PL)

Finally, the use of a morpheme *iri-* reflex of the TG portmanteau morpheme *oro-* ‘A1:P2SG’, has been attested in the speech of one isolated speaker. Apparently, this form does not accept an interpretation according to which the agent may be either singular or plural; instead, it is always interpreted as a first person singular acting upon a second person singular. This is shown in (276).

(276)
a. *iri-meno-kwe*
A1:P2sg-copulate-PST
last time I made love with you

- b. *iri*-resha-rámé *iri*-yuka-po-kwi
 A1:P2sg- see-COND A1:P2sg-kill-FUT-DISTFUT
 when I see you I am going to kill you
- c. *iri*-wohi
 A1:P2sg-carry
 I take you

As for the TG portemanteau morpheme *opo-* ‘A1:P2PL’, its Tapiete version and use also differs from that of the original TG system. In Tapiete, the prefix *opo-* has been replaced by the form *piri-* or its shortened version *pi-* ‘HO’, which is also used to encode the incorporation of a human object. Thus, no speaker has translated the example in (277) as a first person singular or plural acting upon a second person plural, but the only possible interpretation for this sentence is that of a first person singular acting upon a second person plural.

- (277) a-*piri*-raha-po ñi-mboe-ha-se-a-pe
 1SGAC-2PLP-carry-FUT 3REFL-study-IMPER-??-NMLZ-LOC
 I am going to take you (PL) to school
- (278) a-*piri*-wohi
 1SGAC-2PLP-carry
 I take you (PL)

This form may be ambiguous since the prefix *piri-* may also be interpreted as an incorporated human object. That is, (279) may have two readings: ‘I have bitten you (PL)’ or ‘I have bitten human flesh’.

- (279) a-puru-su'u
 1SGAC-IHO-bite
 I have bitten (human meat) // I have bitten you (PL)

To sum up, there is a reinterpretation of TG portemanteau morphemes *oro-* ‘A1:P2SG’ and *opo-* ‘A1:P2PL’. The TG prefix *oro-* ‘A1:P2SG’ is interpreted as a bi-morphemic form made up of the prefix for first person active singular *a-* and the new morpheme *ri-*, which encodes a second person singular patient. Although some isolated speakers preserve the original TG phonological

shape of this marker (i.e. VrV), they interpret this form as a first person singular agent action upon a second person singular patient. As for the TG prefix *opo-* ‘A1:P2PL’, it is replaced in Tapiete by the prefix *pĩrĩ-* which is used to encode both a second person plural and an incorporated human object.

The Tapiete versions of Jensen’s Set 4 are presented in Table 33.

Set 4	
1sg	
1IN	
1EX	
2sg	a-rĩ- (A1SG-P2SG)
2pl	pVrV- (P2SG/IHO)
3	

Table 33: Tapiete version’s of Jensen’s Set 4

4.1.2.6. Comparison of person markers for the deviant languages

This section presents three comparative tables of Set 1, Set 2 and Set 4 person markers as displayed by languages of Subgroup 1 and Subgroup 8 studied by Jensen (1990:130). The tables include the Tapiete paradigm of person markers.

	Rodrigues Subgroup 1					Rodrigues Subgroup 8	
	P-T-G	Chiriguano	Guaraní	Kaiwa	Tapiete	Wayampi	Urubu
1sg	*a-	a-	a-	a-	a-	a-	a-
1IN	*ja-	ja-	ja-	ja-	ya-	ja-,si-	ja-
1EX	*oro-	ro-	oro-	oro-	Verb-ha	oro-	
2sg	*ere-	re-	ere-	ere-	ndV-	ere-	ere-
2pl	*pe-	pe-	pe-	pe-	pe-	pe-	pe-
3	*o-	o-	o-	o-	o, Ø-, wV-	o-	(o-/u-)

Table 34: Set 1 person markers (Adapted from Jensen 1990:130)

Rodrigues Subgroup 1						Rodrigues Subgroup 8	
P-T-G	Chiriguano	Guaraní	Kaiwa	Tapiete	Wayampi	Urubu	
1sg	*ce	xe	xe	xe	shi-	e	ihẽ
1IN	*jane	jane	jane	jane	ñande-	jane	jane
1EX	*ore	ore	ore	ore	ĩri-Verb-ha	ore	
2sg	*ne	ne	ne	ne	Nde-	ne	ne
2pl	*pe	pe	pe	pe	pe-	pe	pe
3	*i-,h-	i-,h-	i-,h-	i-,h-	yĩ-, hi-, Ø-	i-,Ø-	i-,h-

Table 35: Set 2 person markers (Adapted from Jensen 1990:130)

Rodrigues Subgroup 1					Rodrigues Subgroup 8	
P-T-G	Chiriguano	Guaraní	Kaiwa	Tapiete	Wayampi	Urubu
1sg	*oro-	ro-	oro-	oro-	a-ri-	oro-
2pl	*opo-	po-	oro-		a-pĩri-	poro-
1sgA				apo-		
1plA				oropo-		

Table 36: Set 4 person markers (Adapted from Jensen 1990:130)

4.1.3. Tense, aspect and mood

Tapiete displays a temporal system that relates the temporal characterization of a predicate to the moment of speaking (i.e. deictic system) and an aspectual system that encodes ‘the internal temporal constituency of a situation.’ (Comrie 1976:3). Tense is encoded through suffixes *-pota* ~ *-po* ‘FUT’, *-kwi* ‘DISTFUT’, *-ye* ~ *-e* ‘REC’ and *-kwe* ‘PST’, while aspect is encoded through suffixes *-ma* ‘RES’, *-yĩ* ‘FRQ’ and *-pi* ‘HAB’. Their distribution is considered in the following sections.

4.1.3.1. Tense

In Tapiete, present tense is not marked morphologically and, therefore, is not opposed morphologically to either past or future tense. As a result, a verb without any mark of temporal determination is interpreted as present or past according to the context (280).

(280) a-karu
1SGAC-eat
I eat / I ate

However, the temporal system of Tapiete expresses morphologically the notion future and the notion past, which, in turn, are divided between immediate and distant future and immediate and distant past.

IMMEDIATE AND DISTANT FUTURE

Tapiete morphologically distinguishes between immediate and distant future. The expression of immediate future results from an ongoing process of grammaticalization of the verb *pota* ‘(s)he wants’, while distant future is encoded by the suffixation of the morpheme *-kwi*.

Immediate future is encoded by the suffixation of the uninflected form of the verb *pota* or its shortened form *-po*. Although both forms *-pota* and *-po* are used to express immediate future, a subtle difference of meaning is attested: when the form *pota* is suffixed to the verbal root, it seems to convey a meaning that is between a modal and a temporal expression. Thus, the suffix *-pota* in (281) may be interpreted as encoding both future tense and desiderative mood.

(281) a-hasa-pota
1SGAC-cross-FUT
I am going to / I want to cross the street

On the contrary, when the shortened and unstressed form *-po* is affixed, it functions as a true grammaticalized morpheme that conveys the meaning of immediate future (282).

(282) a-mbatúka-po
1SGAC-wash clothes-FUT
I am going to wash

As said earlier, distant future is expressed through the suffixation of the morpheme *-kwi* ‘DISTFUT’, which, to my knowledge, is not reported to occur in other languages of the family.

- (283) *kö'ëi ya-ha-kwi*
 early 1PLINCL-go-DISTFUT
we are going to go fairly early

Both suffixes *-po* and *-kwi* can co-occur to refer to a more distant future in which case, the relative order of morphemes is *-po-kwi* (284). This order is maintained when two clauses are coordinated, as in (285).

- (284) *a-mano-po-kwi*
 1SGAC-die-FUT-DITFUT
I am going to die (distant future)

- (285) *yi-ráha-po* *ñi-mbo'e-kwi*
 3-carry-FUT 3-study-FUT
they are going to go to study (in a few years)

IMMEDIATE AND DISTANT PAST

The notion past is further subdivided into immediate and distant past. Both notions are the result of an ongoing process of grammaticalization of the temporal adverbs *ye'i* ‘recently’ and *kwewe* ‘long ago’, respectively.⁵⁸ A shortened form of these adverbs is suffixed to the verbal root, in which cases they become unstressed. Thus, the grammaticalized form of recent past may be expressed through the shortened forms *-ye ~ -e* ‘REC’ (286), while the grammaticalized form of the adverb *kwewe* ‘long ago’ is expressed through the shortened form *-kwe* (287).

- (286) *huwisha* *iyéta-e*
 chief speak -REC
the captain spoke

- (287) *a-ri-mbi-kwa'a-ka-kwe*
 1SGAC-2SGP-CAUS- know-CAUS -PST
I made you understand

The adverb *kwewe* ‘long ago’ and its shortened form *-kwe* ‘PST’ can co-occur, as shown in (288).

⁵⁸ Cf. Chapter 2 for the phonological integration of these forms to the lexical root to which they attach.

- (292) a-ri-mbi-yahu-ma-kwe
 1SGAC-2SGP-CAUS1-take a bath-RES-PST
(but if) I have given you a bath long time ago
- (293) ime-ma-kwe
 there is-RES-PST
there was and there is over

HABITUAL ASPECT

In Tapiete, habitual aspect is encoded through the affixation of suffix *-pi* ‘HAB’ (294), which is the grammaticalized shortened form of the adverb of time *yepi* ‘always’ (295).

- (294) (opa ara) a-káru-pi
 all day 1SGAC-eat-HAB
I eat (every day)
- (295) nd-ei-hupi yepi
 2SGAC-2:come-over there always
you always go along there

The aspectual suffix *-pi* ‘HAB’ may co-occur with temporal suffixes. When this happens, it encodes a habitual situation that was usual in the past (296), or it encodes a situation that will be habitual in the future (297). In both cases, temporal suffixes precede the aspectual suffix *-pi*.

- (296) yeti hau-kwe-pi
 sweet potato 3:eat-PST-HAB
he always ate sweet potato
- (297) yeti hau-po-pi
 sweet potato 3:eat-FUT-HAB
I am always going to eat sweet potato

FREQUENTATIVE ASPECT

Frequentative aspect is encoded in Tapiete by means of suffix *-yɛ* ‘FREQ’, which conveys the meaning of an action that occurs “not necessarily habitually, nor necessarily on one occasion, as the iterative [does]” (Bybee et al 1994:317) Some examples are given below.

- (298) á-ha-ma-yi-e
 I-go-RES-FRQ-REC
I have gone again

(299) yawaiwe sanya'i káñi-ma-yi
 because child lost-RES-FRQ
because one more child is already lost (death)

(300) hama ha'e-pi ya-hesha-yi ka'a tiwapa-mi
 then (s)he-LOCMOV 1PLINCL-see-FRQ wood kind of animal-DIM1
then over there we saw again a "quirquinchito"

REDUPLICATION: A SEMANTIC ACCOUNT

This section discusses the semantics of partial reduplication in Tapiete; it surveys the type of lexical category to which partial reduplication applies and discusses the main aspectual values conveyed by reduplication.

Reduplication is attested in TG languages that distinguish monosyllabic reduplication (i.e. affects the last syllable of the verb) from bisyllabic reduplication. When monosyllabic reduplication applies to intransitive verbs, it means that "the action is performed consecutively by one S[ubject] after another, or on one P[atient] after another in transitive verbs". Bisyllabic reduplication, on the other hand, "indicates that the action is performed frequently" (Jensen 1990:128-129).

Tapiete displays partial reduplication: reduplication only affects a monomoraic stressed syllable, which is reduplicated to the left of the root from left to right. Partial reduplication encodes a variety of aspectual meanings mainly related to the general idea of repetition.

Partial reduplication mostly affects verbal roots. The examples below show partial reduplication applied to agentive intransitive verbs (301), non-agentive intransitive verbs (302) and transitive verbs (303).

- | | | | | | | |
|-------|----|-------|---------------|----|----------|--|
| (301) | a. | ñani | 'to run' | b. | ñañani | 'trot' |
| (302) | a. | chere | 'to be crazy' | b. | chechere | 'to flirt' |
| (303) | a. | tinga | 'golpear' | b. | tintinga | 'beat several times;
fight among men' |

Partial reduplication also applies to adverbs (304), nouns (305) and numerals (306). However, these cases are marginal and reduplication remains a phenomenon that mainly applies to verbal roots.

(304)	a.	häre'ä	'fast'	b.	häre're'ä	'very fast'
(305)	a.	pere	'wound'	b.	pepere	'some wounds'
	a.	pĩntu	'night'	b.	pĩpĩntu	'dusk'
(306)	a.	pente	'one'	b.	pepente	'one by one'

As said earlier, partial reduplication in Tapiete conveys the meaning of repetition, which includes the more specific aspectual notions of iteration, habitual and frequentative. Bybee *et al* (1994:160) defines iterative as an aspectual marker that “signals that an act is repeated on a single occasion and differs from the habitual and frequentative, which both signal that the repetition occurred on different occasions”. Thus, iterative aspect is expressed by means of reduplication when it applies to telic predicates (i.e. activity verbs with a clear terminal point). The resulting reduplicated forms refer to actions repeated in a particular occasion. Some examples are given in (307).

(307)						
	a.	mankĩ	'to wet'	b.	mamankĩ	'to drizzle'
	a.	kutu	'to stab'	b.	kukutu stab	'repeatedly'
	a.	mombu	'to pinch'	b.	momombu	'to make holes in several places'
	a.	minye	'to put (sth.) in'	b.	miminye	'search all the time / without stopping'

Reduplication may also convey a continuative meaning, which “includes progressive meaning – that a dynamic situation is ongoing– and additionally specify that the agent of the action is deliberately keeping the action going. Continuative is the meaning of ‘keep on doing’ or

‘continue doing’.” (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994:127) Some examples of continuative meaning expressed by means of reduplication in Tapiete are given in (308).

- | | | | | | | |
|-------|----|-------|------------------------|----|---------|------------------------------------|
| (308) | a. | heka | ‘to look for, ask for’ | b. | heheka | ‘to chose, to look for everywhere’ |
| | a. | hesha | ‘to see’ | b. | hehesha | ‘to check’ |
| | a. | mä’ë | ‘to look at’ | b. | mama’e | ‘to watch, spy on’ |

In some cases, the meaning conveyed by partial reduplication is similar to the one described for reduplicated transitive verbal roots in TG languages: the action predicated by the verb is distributed over several distinct objects, as shown in (309).

- | | | | | | | |
|-------|----|---------|------------------|----|------------|-------------------------------|
| (309) | a. | heki | ‘pull out, raise | b. | heheki | to take out a few things. |
| | a. | mɨngaru | ‘to feed’ | b. | mɨngangaru | to feed two or more children. |
| | a. | ñompë | ‘braid’ | b. | ññoñompë | to make some braids. |
| | a. | ñontĩ | ‘plant, bury’ | b. | ññoñontĩ | to plant some plants |
| | a. | pete | ‘stick’ | b. | pepete | to stick several things |

Partial reduplication may also convey a meaning related to the manner by which an action is performed. Specifically, it expresses the fact that the agent is performing the action in a rushed way (310) or that the action is performed in an imperfect, irregular way (311).

- | | | | | |
|-------|---------|-----------------------|-------------|---|
| (310) | karu | ‘to eat’ | kakaru | ‘to eat quickly’ |
| | poi | ‘to wash one’s hands’ | popoi | ‘to wash one’s hands in a rush’ |
| | wai | ‘to wash one’s face’ | wawai | ‘to wash one’s face in a rush’ |
| (311) | chense | ‘to close’ | chechense | ‘to cover loosely’ |
| | chinchĩ | ‘to cut’ | chinchinchi | ‘to cut wrongly, with a saw, into pieces’ |

The meanings attested for partial reduplication in Tapiete, do not seem to be systematically related to the valence of the source verb, as in TG languages. Although, partial reduplication of transitive verbs may convey the meaning of a distributed action over several objects, this is not always the case, as shown in (311). Similarly, partial reduplication of an intransitive verbal root

does not convey the meaning that the action is performed by one subject after another, as in TG languages, as shown in (310).

Finally, partial reduplication has derivational functions, which are discussed in Chapter 5; some examples are given in (312).

(312)	chere	‘to be crazy’	chechere	‘to flirt’
	poti	‘to shit’	popotií	‘diarrhea’
	rärö	‘to scuffle’	rärärö	‘kind of game’

4.1.3.3. Mood

Bybee *et al* (1994) distinguish four types of modality expressed morphologically in the languages of the world: agent oriented modality, speaker oriented modality, epistemic modality, and subordinating modality. Relevant to the study of the morphological encoding of modality in Tapiete are: speaker oriented modality, which includes “directives as well as utterance in which the speaker grants the addressee permission” (Bybee *et al* 1994:177) and agent-oriented modality that “reports the existence of internal and external conditions on an agent with respect to the completion of the action expressed in the main predicate” (Bybee *et al* 1994:177). In Tapiete, speaker oriented modalities are encoded through prefixation and suffixation: imperative and hortative are expressed morphologically by the affixation of prefixes *e-* ‘IMP’ and *t(i)-* ‘HORT’, respectively; while permission is expressed through affixation of the suffix *-iño* ‘PERM’. As for agent oriented modalities, they are encoded by suffixation: desire is encoded through suffixes *-se* ‘GLOSE’ and *-sha* ‘GLOSE’ and weak obligation is encoded by suffix *-rāni* ‘WOBL’

IMPERATIVE AND HORTATIVE.

Hortative modality conveys an exhortative meaning that involves first and third person. In Tapiete, hortative modality is encoded through the affixation of prefix *t-*, which occurs before vowels (313) and its allomorph *tɨ-*, which occurs before consonants (314). The hortative morpheme precedes the person marker prefixes.

(313)

- a. t-a-mb̥isowa
HORT-1SGAC-fondle
(let see what) I am going to rub (him/it)
- b. t-o-kwa ndi-ré(he)
HORT-3AC-hit 2SGIN-rehe
(let him) hit you

(314)

- a. heno t-ou t̥i-karu
call HORT-3:come HORT-3:eat
call him to come to eat
- b. ha'e t̥i-ropo
(s)he HORT-dance
let him/her dances

Prefix *e-* 'IMP' is used to express imperative modality. However, not all the verbs take prefix *e-*; instead, verbs are distinguished according to whether they express imperative morphologically i.e. by means of morpheme *e-* 'IMP' or prosodically i.e. by intonation. Thus, verbs that belong to Set 1a (i.e. third person marker *o-*) attach prefix *e-* to encode imperative, as shown in (315).

(315)

- a. e-kwa e-wa waka ro'o yoso-ha
IMP-go IMP-buy meat grind-NMLZ
go and buy minced meat

On the contrary, verbs that belong to Set 1b (i.e. with no overt third person marker), do not encode imperative morphologically; instead, the imperative form for second person singular is pronounced the same as the form used to encode third person. Thus, the sentence in (316) can be interpreted as either '(s)he eats' or 'eat!'. In other words, when addressed to a second person singular, imperative is encoded by means of the bare verbal root with intonation as the only mark of imperative. Intonation is also responsible for the encoding of imperative of second person plural, although, in this case, the person marker is preserved (317).

(316) karu!
eat!
eat!

(317) pi-karu
2PL-eat
eat!

Imperative forms encoded through intonation are stressed when suffix *-we* ‘also’ is attached to the verbal root, as in (318).

(318) pinsë’ã-we
cut-also
cut into pieces (you too)

The two strategies just described for the encoding of imperative are attested for verbs that belong to Set 1c (i.e. third person marker *wV-*): some of them attach prefix *e-* (319), while others use intonation (320).

(319) e-ru she tumpa pire a-mbi-para-po
IMP-bring I paper 1SGAC-CAUS1-Color-FUT
bring me the book (blank) I am going to write

(320) wi-ropo!
3AC-dance
dance!

Finally, the diminutive morpheme *-mi* ‘DIM1’ may be suffixed to verbs, in which case it conveys a modal value that expresses a polite imperative (321).

(321) shi-mbori-mi p-iko
I-help-DIM1 2PLAC-live
help me (when I am doing something and they do not help me)

PERMISSIVE

Another marker of agent-oriented modality is suffix *-iño*, which conveys a permissive meaning.

- (322) e-kwa-iño
IMP-go-PERM
you are allowed to leave
- (323) heu-iño
2:eat-PERM
you are allowed to eat
- (324) pi-pirahe-iño
2PL-sing-PERM
they can sing (if they want)

OPTATIVE

Optative modality expresses the speaker's will. Tapiete encodes optative modality by means of suffixes *-se* 'GLOSE' (325) and *-(i)sha* 'GLOSE' (326).

- (325) a-pirahe-se a-i
1SGAC-sing-DES1 1SGAC-be
I want to sing
- (326) ai-pota-isha sindaro kuña-rä a-i
I-want-DES2 policeman female-NOMFUT 1SGAC-be
I would like to be a policewoman
- (327) hai pota-sha hesha
(s)he want-DES2 see
he would like to see you

WEAK OBLIGATION

The verbal suffix *-rani* 'GLOSE' encodes weak obligation. In Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano) this suffix is reported to encode the sequential relation between two events; and it is commonly translated as meaning 'first' (Dietrich 1986:327). In Tapiete, this use has been attested although it is not frequent. For instance, in (328) suffix *-rani* 'GLOSE' relates two predicates *ou* '(s)he came' and *ma'e* '(s)he saw' by establishing a chronological relation between them: the subject first came and then saw.

- (328) ou-rani ma'e
 3:come-first watch
 he came to watch first

As said before, this use remains marginal; instead, suffix *-rani* is undergoing a semantic shift, by virtue of which its most common use is that of encoding weak obligation, as shown in (329).

- (329) a-karu-rani
 1SGAC-eat-first
 I have to eat (first)

Suffix *-rani* may co-occur with temporal suffixes, in which case it precedes them. This is shown in the examples below.

- (330) a-karu-rani-po
 1SGAC-eat-first-FUT
 I am not eating yet

- (331) a-karu-rani-kwe
 1SGAC-eat-first-PST
 he had to eat before

- (332) a-karu-rani-e
 1SGAC-eat-first-REC
 I had to eat (a moment ago)

4.1.4. Valence changing operations

This section discusses the morphological operations involved in changes that affect the valence of verbs, namely, causativization, noun incorporation and reflexivization. The comitative prefix *ri-* 'COM' is also discussed in this section since it appears associated with the causative prefix *mbi-* ~ *mi-* 'CAUS1'.

4.1.4.1. Causatives

Tapiete has two morphological causatives: prefix *mbi-* ~ *mi-* 'CAUS1' and suffix *-ka* 'CAUS2'.

These morphemes are in complementary distribution: causative prefix *mbi-* ~ *mi-* 'CAUS1'

attaches to intransitive verbs, agentive and non-agentive, nouns and Spanish loan words,⁶⁰ while the causative suffix *-ka* ‘CAUS2’ attaches to transitive verbs. In addition, the prefix *mbi-* ~ *mi-* ‘CAUS1’ enters into derivational (lexeme-forming) processes while the suffix *-ka* is a grammatical suffix only relevant to the syntax. They are discussed in what follows.

CAUSATIVE PREFIX *MBI-* ~ *MI-*

Causative prefix *mbi-* ~ *mi-* ‘CAUS1’ is a transitivity morpheme that attaches to intransitive inactive predicates (333) and intransitive active predicates (334).

(333) *shi-chere*
1SGIN-crazy
I am crazy

(334) *a-che*
1SGAC-sleep
I sleep

When causative *mbi-* ~ *mi-* ‘CAUS1’ attaches to an inactive intransitive predicate, the verb becomes active transitive: thus, the causer is cross-referenced with active morphology (335), while the patient is cross-referenced with inactive morphology (336).

(335) *a-mbi-chere*
1SGAC-CAUS1-crazy
I drive (him/her) crazy

(336) *shi-mbi-chere*
1SGIN-CAUS1-crazy
(s)he drives me crazy

Similarly, when it attaches to active intransitive verbs the causativized form is cross-referenced with active morphology (337) and the patient is cross-referenced on the verb with inactive morphology (338), if it is higher than the agent in the agency hierarchy.

⁶⁰ The prefixation of CAUS1 to Spanish loanwords is discussed in Chapter 6.

(337) a-mo-nye
1SGAC-CAUS1-sleep
I make (him/her) sleep

(338) shi-mo-nye
1SGIN-CAUS1-sleep
(s)he makes me sleep

Causative *mbi-* ~ *mi-* ‘CAUS1’ may also attach to nouns and adverbs. When it is affixed to nouns, causative *mbi-* ~ *mi-* conveys the meaning of “providing someone with something”; in this construction, the causee is the person who gets the object referred by the causitized noun.

(339) a-mbi-ɪ'a-po
1SGAC-CAUS1-plate-FUT
I am going to give (his/her) plate

(340) a-mbi-kiwa
1SGAC-CAUS1-comb
I lend him/her a comb

(341) a-mbi-lote-po-kwi
1SGAC-CAUS1-terrain-FUT-DISTFUT
I am going to give you a plot

With adverbs of location, causative *mbi-* ~ *mi-* ‘CAUS1’ conveys the idea of movement. In (342), the agent, marked with active morphology, moves the causee to the place indicated by the adverb. Since the causee is third person, it is not cross-referenced on the verb.

- (342)
- a. a-mbi-ha'e-pe
1SGAC-CAUS1-(s)he-LOC
I make him get to the right place
- b. a-mbi-ati
1SGAC-CAUS1-there
I moved it over there

With adverbs of manner, the resulting form is a transitive verb: for instance, after affixation of causative *mbi-* ~ *mi-*, the adverb *mbewe* ‘slow’, becomes the transitive verb *mi-mbewe* ‘to slow down’. More examples of this kind are shown in (344) and (345).

(343) a-mi-mbéwe-po
1SGAC-CAUS1-slow-FUT
I will slow down

(344) a-mbi-heta-po-kwi
1SGAC-CAUS1-a lot-FUT-DISTFUT
I will make (them) become many

(345) a-mi-häre'ä-po
1SGAC-CAUS1-fast-FUT
I will make it grow fast

Since the function of this morpheme is to transitivize intransitive verbs, it cannot attach to originally transitive verbs unless they have incorporated their object and have, therefore, become intransitive due to noun incorporation. This is shown in (346) where causative *mbi-* ~ *mi-* ‘CAUS1’ attaches to transitive verbs that have incorporated their generic object.

- (346)
- a. mi-mba-pete
CAUS1-INHO-stick
make him/her to stick
- b. mi-mba-yuka
CAUS1-INHO-hunt
make him/her to hunt

CAUSATIVE SUFFIX -KA

Causative suffix *-ka* ‘CAUS2’ combines with transitive verbs adding an argument to the verb. As a consequence, the resulting verb becomes ditransitive and three semantic roles are distinguished: the agent i.e. the person that orders that the action be done, the recipient of the order i.e. the participant that performs the action predicated by the verb, and the recipient of the action i.e. the patient. In (347), the person marker *a-* ‘1SGAC’ encodes the agent, the person

marker *ri-* ‘GLOSE’ encodes the participant that performs the action, while the relative clause *ko a-yapo a-i-wa* ‘what I am doing’ refers to the participant that undergoes the action predicated by the verb *mbihi’a* ‘to mix’. In (348), the recipient of the order i.e. the performer of the action, is not expressed since third persons patients are not overtly cross-referenced on the verb.

(347) a-ri-mbihi'a-ka-po a-i ko a-yapo a-i-wa
 1SGAC-2SGP-mixe-CAUS2-FUT 1SGAC-be this 1SGAC-do 1SGAC-be-NMLZ
I will make you to mix the thing I am doing

(348) a-heno-ka
 1SGAC-call-CAUS2
I will have somebody call him

Both causatives may co-occur: when a non-agentive intransitive verb is transitivized by virtue of the affixation of causative prefix *mbi-* ~ *mi-* ‘CAUS1’, then suffix *-ka* ‘CAUS2’ can be affixed to the resulting form. This is shown in (349) where the intransitive verb *wewe* ‘to fly’ becomes transitive *a-mbi-wewe* ‘I make (it) to fly’ through the affixation of the causative *mbi-* ~ *mi-*. Thus, the suffixation of *-ka* ‘CAUS2’ in (350) is grammatical since the intransitive verb *wewe* has already been transitivized.

(349) a-mbi-wewe-pota
 1SGAC-CAUS1-fly-FUT
I will make it fly (a bird)

(350) a-mbi-wewé-ka-po
 1SGAC-CAUS1-fly-CAUS2-FUT
I will make him/her to make it fly

4.1.4.2. Comitative

Two examples have been found in texts where the comitative morpheme *ri-* ‘COM’ is used, both of them involve intransitive verbs. Consequently, the conclusions about its semantic value and its morpho-syntactic combinations are still preliminary. In Tapiete, this prefix conveys the meaning that the subject performs the action predicated by the verb with other person.

The comitative prefix *rĩ-* has been referred to in the literature of TG languages as a “causative-comitative” (Rodrigues 1955, in Dietrich 1986:102) or a “factitive-comitative” prefix (Dietrich 1986:102) because it conveys **(i)** a causative meaning i.e. the subject makes an agent to perform the action predicated by the verb, and **(ii)** a comitative meaning: the subject performs the action with that agent. In other words, in TG languages this prefix indicates both causation and accompaniment.

In Tapiete, the situation is different since the prefix *rĩ-* ‘COM’ always appears preceded by the causative prefix *mbĩ-* ~ *mĩ-*. The sentences in (351) mean that the causer is performing the action with the causee, while in (352) the causer is not involved in the action.

(351)

- a. a-mĩ-rĩ-ñani
 1SGAC- CAUS1- COM- run
 I make (him/her) to run and I run with (him/her)

- b. mbĩ-rĩ-wata
 CAUS1- COM- walk
 make (him/her) to walk and walk with him/her

(352)

- a. a-mĩ-ñani
 1SGAC-CAUS1- run
 I make him to run

- b. mbĩ-wata
 CAUS1-walk
 make him/her to walk

It seems, then, that the “causative-comitative” meaning encoded by a single prefix in TG languages is, in Tapiete, encoded by two prefixes, which separately convey the causative meaning through prefix *mbĩ-* ~ *mĩ-* ‘CAUS1’ and the comitative meaning through prefix *rĩ-*. In order to confirm this analysis, the grammaticality of a form such *a-rĩ-ñani* has to be tested and, if

accepted by speakers, it is necessary to see how its meaning differs from the causativized form *a-mi-ri-ñani*.

4.1.4.3. Incorporated nominal particles

TG languages display noun incorporation: specific and generic objects of transitive verbs may be incorporated into the verb in which case the verb becomes intransitive. The example in (353) illustrates the incorporation of a particular object on Mbya Guarani.

(353) Mbya Guarani (adapted from Jensen 1999:159)

a-y-’u
1SGAC-water-eat
I drink water

Among generic objects, the system makes a further distinction between non-human generic objects and human generic objects, which are encoded by the generic morphemes **ma’e* ‘thing’ (354) and **poro* ‘person’ (355), respectively (Jensen 1998:536).

(354) Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano) (adapted from Jensen 1999:159)

a-mae-júka
1SGAC-thing-kill
I hunt

(355) Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano) (adapted from Jensen 1999:159)

a-poro-móe
1SGAC-people-teach
I teach

Tapiete also displays noun incorporation although this process is limited to the incorporation of generic objects.⁶¹ Generic objects are encoded by the affixation of the generic morphemes *mba-* ~ *ma-* ‘INHO’, which encodes the incorporation of a non-human object and *píri-* ‘HO’, which encodes the incorporation of a human object. Thus, the incorporation of specific objects of transitive verbs is ungrammatical in Tapiete (356).

⁶¹ The same is true for Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano).

- (356) *a-kushi-yuka
 1SGAC-pig-kill
 *I killed a pig

Incorporated generic objects are surveyed in the following section.

LEXICAL PREFIX *MBA-* ~ *MA-*

As said before, the nominal particle *mba-* ~ *ma-* ‘INHO’ encodes the incorporation of a non-human object. Since this prefix is subject to nasal harmony, the pre-nasalized alternant *mba-* occurs with oral lexical roots (357), while the nasal alternant *ma-* occurs with nasal lexical roots (358).

- (357) *mba-pepete* *raha*
 INHO-stick carry
as you go, stick them

- (358) *a-ma-moi-po*
 1SGAC-INHO-cook-FUT
I am going to cook

After noun incorporation verbs become intransitive, which brings as a consequence the ungrammaticality of the co-occurrence of an object noun phrase with the incorporated nominal particle. This is illustrated by the examples below: in (359), the full object noun phrase *shi-istoria* ‘my life story’ co-occurs with the main verb *a-mbe’u* ‘I tell’. Since the inanimate object of the verb *mbe’u* has been incorporated through the affixation of the nominal particle *ma-* in (360), the co-occurrence of both the object noun phrase *shi-istoria* ‘my life story’ and the nominal particle *ma-* ‘INHO’ is ungrammatical (361).

- (359) *a-mbe'u* *a-i* *nde* *shi-istoria*
 1SGAC-tell 1SGAC-be you 1SGPOSS-history
I am telling you my story

- (360) *a-ma-mbe'u* *a-i* *nde*
 1SGAC-INHO-tell 1SGAC-be you
I am telling you

- (361) *a-ma-mbe'u a-ĩ nde shi-istoria
 1SGAC-INHO-tell 1SGAC-be you 1SGPOSS-history
**I am telling you my story*

LEXICAL PREFIX *PIRI-*

As said earlier, the nominal particle *piri-* ‘HO’ encodes the incorporation of a human object (362).

Since noun incorporation functions as a detransitivizing device, the co-occurrence of the generic morpheme *piri-* with the object noun phrase is ungrammatical, as shown in (363).

- (362) a-*piri-*mora'ä
 1SGAC-IHO-hate
I don't love them

- (363) *sanya'ĩ-re a-*piri-*mora'ä
 child-PL 1SGAC-IHO-hate
**I don't love the children*

4.1.4.4. Reflexive markers in Tapiete

Tapiete has developed a new paradigm of person markers to encode reflexives that crucially differ from the reflexive construction of TG languages generally. In order to give a context to the discussion of reflexives in Tapiete a presentation of the way reflexive is encoded in TG languages is made. This presentation is followed by a discussion of the morphological and semantic distribution of reflexive in Tapiete, to show that this new set of person markers encode both (i) prototypical reflexives (i.e. the agent and the patient of a transitive verb are co-referent), and (ii) middle voice (i.e. the agent is semantically de-focused) (Givón 2001).

REFLEXIVE MARKERS IN TG LANGUAGES

TG languages encode reflexives by means of the prefix **je-*, which appears between the person marker and the verbal root (364). The reflexive marker may be also affixed to a pronominal form, in which case, it appears between the pronoun and a postposition (365). The following are examples from Guarani (taken from Guasch 1948:97)

(364)

- a. a-ye-yohéi
1SGAC-REFL-wash
I wash myself
- b. o-ye-yohéi
1SGAC-REFL-wash
'(s)he/they wash her/him/themselves'

(365) che resarái che-ye-heguí
1SGIN forget 1SGIN-REFL-heguí
I forget about myself

Tapiete also encodes reflexive by means of a pronominal form and the postposition *yehe*, as shown in (366).

(366) a-kwaru shi-yehe
1SGAC-urinate 1SGIN-yehe
I pissed

Unlike TG languages, however, no invariable reflexive morpheme is prefixed to verbal roots, in Tapiete. Reflexive are overtly encoded by means of a set of person markers attached to third person, first person singular and first person plural inclusive and exclusive. In addition, the TG reflexive marker **je-* and reciprocal marker **jo-* have merged in Tapiete and are therefore subsumed under a single paradigm of person markers.

Interestingly, the person markers that encode reflexives in Tapiete also function as exponent of middle voice; that is, they “involv[e] a shift of the semantic focus away from the agent.” (Givón 2001:116) In order to describe the formal encoding of reflexive and evaluate the semantic distribution of reflexive markers in Tapiete, 116 verbs displaying reflexive morphology have been studied. The semantics of the source verb together with the semantics of the derived reflexive form have been analyzed in relation to “middle situation types”, a conceptual tool proposed by Kemmer (1996 16-20; 1994, 182-83) to investigate the encoding of middle voice

through the classification of situations usually encoded by means of middle markers in languages that display middle morphology.

In the following sections, the diachronic development of the new set of reflexive person markers, the encoding of reciprocals, and the semantic distribution of reflexive markers are discussed.

THE PERSON MARKER *AI-* IN TAPIETE: A REINTERPRETATION

As said in section 4.1.2.1, in TG languages first person is always cross-referenced on the verb, independently of its being Agent or Patient, as it is higher than second and third person in the agency hierarchy. When the Patient is third person, both the Agent and the Patient are cross-referenced on the verb: the person marker that encodes the Agent precedes the person marker that encodes the Patient, which, in turn, precedes the verbal root. Two object prefixes are available for third person **i-* or **c-* according to whether the verbal root belongs to Class 1 (367) or Class 2 (368), respectively.

(367) **a-i-potár* “I like [3]” (from Jensen 1998:9)

(368) **a-c-epják* “I saw [3]”

In reflexive and reciprocal constructions the reflexive morpheme **-je* (369) and the reciprocal morpheme **-jo* (370) occur in the same position than the third person marker.

(369) **a-je-potár* “I like myself” (from Jensen 1998:12)

(370) **oro-jo-potár* ‘we (exc.) like each other’

As said earlier, the affixation of third person markers **i-* and **c-* between the person marker and the verbal root has been interpreted as a type of incorporation that parallels the incorporation of generic objects in TG languages (Dietrich 1986:89). Although in some descendent languages (e.g. Mbyá Guaraní, Kaiwá, Avá-Guaraní (Chiriguano), Guarayu and Tupinambá (Jensen 1998:518)), prefix *i-* is still attested, it is considered a fossilized form, as is no longer productive in this context.

Particularly, in Avá-Guaraní (Chiriguano), prefix *i-* has been reinterpreted as part of the person maker that refers to the agent (Dietrich 1986:89). Thus, verbs that take prefix *ai-* as first person singular marker are the result of the obligatory affixation in PTG of the first person singular active prefix *a-* followed by the third person object prefix *i-*.

Similarly, the Tapiete data shows a group of transitive verbs whose first person singular takes prefix *ai-*. However, unlike TG languages, this prefix has been reinterpreted as belonging to a paradigm of person markers that encode reflexives and middle voice.

THIRD PERSON REFLEXIVE MARKER

As said earlier, reflexives are encoded by a special set of person markers affixed to third person and first person singular and plural.

The reflexive marker for the third person of verbs that belong to Class 1 displays the following allomorphs: *yV-* occurs before oral roots (371), *ñV-* occurs before nasal roots (372), and *i-* occurs before verbal roots whose first consonant is a palatal affricate [dʒ] <y> or a palatal nasal [ɲ] <ñ> (373).⁶²

- | | | |
|-------|------------|----------------------------|
| (371) | ai-kasoi | ‘I cover myself’ |
| | yí-kasoi | ‘(s)he covers him/herself’ |
| (372) | ai-chinchi | ‘I cut myself’ |
| | ñi-chinchi | ‘(s)he cut him/herself’ |
| (373) | ai-yohe | ‘I wash myself’ |
| | i-yohe | ‘(s)he washes her/himself’ |

The third person marker *yV-* ~ *ñV-* ~ *i-* is the Tapiete reflex of the TG reflexive marker **je-*.⁶³

Some differences from the original TG system are observable, in Tapiete, this prefix encodes third person only; that is, there is no a single reflexive morpheme attached to every person.

⁶² Only one verb has been found to take prefix *o-* as third person marker, as shown in (4).

- | | | |
|-----|-------|--------------------------|
| (4) | ai-so | ‘I cut myself’ |
| | o-so | ‘(s)he cuts her/himself’ |

⁶³ In Tapiete, the default vowel of third person reflexive marker is the high central vowel <ɨ>, which is subject to vowel harmony when followed by a root whose first vowel is the back vowel [u].

Second, no person marker precedes this prefix since its function has specialized as, precisely, a third person marker. In other words, a form like **a-yi-kasoi* ‘I cover myself’ is ungrammatical in Tapiete.

The reflexive forms of verbs that belong to Class 2 undergo supplementary morpho-phonological changes: these include the loss of the verbal root glottal fricative <h> and the affixation of a palatal consonant <y> or <ñ> to oral and nasal roots, respectively. These consonants occur throughout the whole paradigm where they are preceded by the set of person markers, as shown in (374) and (375). Consonants <y> and <ñ> are reflex of TG **je* and display a similar distribution.

(374) Class 2 nasal root *hendu* ‘listen’

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| a. | a-hendu
1SGAC-listen
<i>I listen</i> | ai-ñ-endu
1AC-REFL-listen
<i>I listen to myself</i> |
| b. | | ni-ñ-endu
2AC-REFL-listen
<i>you listen to your self</i> |
| b. | | i-ñ-endu
3AC-REFL-listen
<i>(s)he listens to him/herself</i> |

(375) Class 2 oral root *hesha* ‘see’

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|--|
| a. | a-hesha
1SGAC-see
<i>I see</i> | ai-y-esha
1AC-REFL-see
<i>I see myself</i> |
| b. | h-esha
3-see
<i>(s)he sees</i> | i-y-esha
3??-REFL-see
<i>se ve</i> |

Table 37 presents the paradigm of person markers that encode reflexives in Tapiete.

Reflexive person markers	
1sg	ai-
1IN	yai-
1EX	yí- ~ ñí- ~ i-Verb-ha
2sg	ndí-
2pl	pí-
3	yí- ~ ñí- ~ i-

Table 37: Tapiete reflexive person markers

The crucial person marker that serves to test a transitive / reflexive opposition is third person. The marker for first person singular also serves to contrast transitive with reflexive forms, although, its function as a reflexive marker is less consistent: sometimes a verbal root accept the active prefix *a-* and the reflexive prefix *ai-* without contrasting the meaning of the verb. When this happens only one form for third person is accepted. As for first person plural inclusive and first person plural exclusive, they are formed by analogy with first person singular and third person, respectively.

(376)

ai-	1SG	yí- ~ ñí- ~ i-	3
yai-	1PLINCL	yí- ~ ñí- ~ i-Verb-ha	1PLEXCL
ñai-	1PLINCL		

This marking pattern of reflexives is not uncommon, since “[...] the third person is the only person category for which the referent is not inherently specified by deixis; the referents for first and second person, in contrast, are unambiguously specified.” (Kemmer 1993:48). Confirming this idea, the Tapiete data show at least two verbs that express the transitive/reflexive opposition only by means of third person markers. In (377), the verbal root *mo’a* ‘(s)he believes, (s)he has a premonition’ only takes prefix *ai-* as first person marker. However, two person markers are contrasted for third person that convey different meanings e.g. *mo’a* ‘(s)he believes’ and *ñí-mo’a* ‘(s)he is careful’ (378). In other words, polysemy is only accepted for first person.

(377) ai-mo'a 'I believe, I have a premonition, I am careful'

(378) mo'a '(s)he believes'

ñi-mo'a '(s)he is careful'

Conversely, in (379), either prefixes *a-* or *ai-* are acceptable as first person marker; again, the difference of meaning between the two paradigms is clearly perceived when the third person markers are compared.

(379) a-pe'a ~ ai-pe'a 'I opened (it)'

(380) pe'a '(s)he opened (it)'

yí-pe'a 'it (e.g. a door, a window) opened'

The distribution of person markers in (380) is, without doubt, pragmatically driven since it is hard to think of a volitional agent performing the action of opening itself e.g. **ai-open* 'I open myself', unless this form has a metaphorical meaning apparently not attested in Tapiete.⁶⁴

MERGED OF TG REFLEXIVE **JE* AND RECIPROCAL **JO*

In TG languages, reciprocal prefix **jo* 'RECP' displays the same morphological distribution than reflexive prefix **je*: it occurs between the person marker and the verbal root, as shown in (381).

(381) **oro-jo-potár* 'we (ex.) like each other' (Adapted from Jensen 1998:12)

**ja-jo-potár* 'we (in.) like each other'

**pe-jo-potár* 'you (PL) like each other'

**o-jo-potár* '[3] like each other'

In Tapiete, however, since both prefix **je* 'REFL' and **jo* 'RECP' have merged, reflexives and reciprocals are subsumed under the same paradigm of person markers, which is a common phenomenon found cross-linguistically (Kemmer 1993:98.) As a result, reciprocals display the same allomorphic variations as described for reflexives: *yí-* ~ *ñi-* and *i-* (382). As for the

⁶⁴ Other verbs for which both forms *a-* and *ai-* are equally acceptable are: *ai-katu* ~ *a-katu* 'I know (it)', *a-kañi* ~ *ai-kañi* 'I got lost', *a-poko* ~ *ai-poko* 'I begin'

reciprocal form for first person inclusive, it also displays the same form as the reflexive form (384), while no different reciprocal person marker for second person plural is attested (385).

(382) Class 1

a. ñānde-kuña pota-ā yi-he'a ingá i-ñe'e-reta-rā
 1INCLPOSS-female want-NEG 3:RECP-to be intermingled other 3:POSS-
 language-PL-SUB
our women didn't want to mix themselves with (people speaking) other languages

b. amo pawa i-yu-kwe raha arkaipi ñi-rārō-pi-wērā
 sometimes kettle 3POSS-horn-AUG carry long ago-LOC RECP-suffle-INST-??
sometimes they carried their kettle to hurt others with

(383) Class 2

ndi-kwa'a-ra-kwe yai-y-eshā-rā
 2SGAC-know-Q-PST 1INCL-RECP-see-??
do you remember when we met?

(384) ai-pota-ā ñai-rārō
 1AC-want-NEG 1INCLAC-suffle
I don't want us to fight

(385) pi-yéta-ra
 2PL-to say-Q
did you speak to wach other?

When more than two participants are involved in the reciprocal situation, the plural suffix *-reta* is attached to the verbal root (386). Alternatively, an indefinite pronoun is used to indicate that the reciprocal action involves more than two participants (387).

(386) ñi-wāinti-reta
 3:RECP-meet somebody-PL
you met each other

(387) opa ñi-rārō
 all 3:RECP-fight
you fight each other

Finally, when the reciprocal situation involves first and third person, the comitative word *handi* 'with' optionally occurs (388). In order to specify that third person is plural, the plural suffix *-reta* 'PL' is attached to the word *handi* (389).

(388)

a. ai-pota-ä ai-rärö handi
1SGAC-want-NEG 1SGAC-scuffle with
I don't want to fight him/her

b. ai-pota-ä ñai-rärö handi
1SGAC-want-NEG 1INCLAC-scuffle with
I don't want us to fight him

(389) ai-pota-ä ai-rärö handi-reta
1SGAC-want-NEG 1SGAC-scuffle with-PL
I don't want us to fight them

REFLEXIVES AND MIDDLE VOICE MARKERS

The study of reflexives is related to the study of transitivity. A prototypical transitive event is “a verbal event in which a human entity (an Agent) acts volitionally on an inanimate definite entity (a Patient) which is directly and completely affected by that event.” (Kemmer 1993:191) According to Kemmer, this characterization does not prevent languages from using transitive morpho-syntax to encode mental events for which the agent of transitive verbs is equated to the experiencer, while the patient of transitive verbs is equated to the Stimulus (e.g. verbs of perception.) When the agent and the patient of a transitive verb co-refer, a reflexive marker may be used to encode this identity. Reflexive contexts have been defined as “consisting of a simple clause expressing a two participant predication in which one participant is a human Agent or Experiencer and the other a Patient, and in which the two participants refer to the same entity.” (Faltz 1977, in Kemmer 1993:42).

Reflexive markers may have a broad range of semantic distribution i.e. they may co-occur with no prototypical transitive verbs, in which case they encode middle meaning. The context of use of middle voice morphology occurs when “the action or state affects the subject of the verb or his interests” (Lyons 1969:373). Kemmer (1993) proposes a conceptual tool to differentiate middle voice from reflexives based on what she calls the “degree of distinguishability of

participants.” In her view, both categories reflexives and middles have in common the fact that they encode a two-argument event to which two different semantic roles (e.g. agent or patient) are associated that refer to the same entity. However, the semantics of reflexives conveys a conceptual differentiation of the referent into subparts; that is, they convey the implicit idea that an action may be equally performed by an agent on an external patient (i.e. transitive action) and on itself (i.e. reflexive action.) On the contrary, the semantics of middles does not reflect this differentiation, as the action predicated by the verb is expected to apply only on the agent; that is, there is no possibility for the action to apply on an external patient.

In Tapiete, the paradigm of reflexive person markers encodes properly reflexive actions of the type ‘I hit myself’ or ‘I see myself’. At the same time, they are also attested in a range of semantic contexts where it is common for middle markers to occur cross-linguistically. In other words, these markers function as both reflexive and middle markers. In the following sections, the valency of the source verb is considered while a semantic characterization of verbs that take reflexive markers is presented.

THE VALENCY OF THE SOURCE VERB

Verbs that take reflexive markers are mainly agentive transitive verbs. Some transitive/reflexive oppositions are shown below. A complete list of transitive source verbs together with their derived reflexives forms is presented in Appendix C.

(390)	a-here	‘I lick (it)’	ai-here	‘I lick myself’
	here	‘(s)he licks’	yɨ-here	‘(s)he licks him/herself’
(391)	a-chense	‘I close (it)’	ai-chense	‘I enclose myself’
	chense	‘(s)he closes (it)’	ñɨ-nchense	‘(s)he encloses him/herself’
(392)	a-yuka	‘I kill (it)’	ai-yuka	‘I kill myself’
	yuka	‘(s)he kills (it)’	i-yuka	‘(s)he kills him/herself’

Non-agentive intransitive verbs (393) may also take reflexive person markers; if they have been previously transitivized by the causative prefix *mbi-* ~ *mi-*. Once transitivized, the verbal root takes active cross-reference prefixes (394), which can then contrast with the set of reflexive prefixes (395).

(393) sh-anki
1SGIN-soak
I am soak

(394) a-m-anki
1SGAC-CAUS1-soak
I soak (it)

(395) a-m-anki ‘I soak (it)’ ai-m-anki ‘I soak myself’

Three inactive intransitive verbs have been attested for which the intermediate causative step between the inactive source verb and the derived reflexive verb is not attested. They are listed in (396).

(396)

shī-mārē’ī	‘I am fat’	ai-mārē’ī	‘me hago grande / gordo’
shī-nani	‘I am naked’	ai-nani	‘I get undressed’
shī-hayasī	‘I am sour’	ai-hayasī	‘I make myself be sour’ ⁶⁵

Among the agentive intransitive verbs, three of them have been found to display the active / reflexive opposition. These roots are shown in (397).⁶⁶

(397)

a-wähē	‘I arrived’	ai-wähē	‘I escaped’
a-rīrī	‘I tremble’	ai-rīrī	‘I tremble because I am doing things very quickly’
a-kwakwa	‘I am old’	ai-kwakwa	‘I make me old’

⁶⁵ The example of the inactive verb *hayasī* ‘sour’ needs to be understood in the context of a tale where a lemon has the ability to talk. It also has a metaphoric meaning that evokes the body odour.

⁶⁶ Although there is not enough data to confirm, it seems that the active set of person markers encode the unaccusative version of the verbal root (i.e. their subjects are perceived as lacking an active participation on the action predicated by the verb) (e.g. *a-wähē* ‘I arrived’) while the reflexive set of person markers encode the unergative version of the verbal root (i.e. their subjects are actively involved in initiating the action predicated by the verb) (e.g. *ai-wähē* ‘I escaped’)

SEMANTIC ACCOUNT

As said earlier, in Tapiete, this new set of person markers encodes prototypical reflexive situations. At the same time, the distribution of reflexive markers goes beyond the semantic context of use of direct reflexives revealing semantic extensions that make them to be considered exponents of middle voice. Kemmer (1993:17-20) has identified a set of “situation types” marked by middle morphology cross-linguistically. These situation types are here used to test the hypothesis according to which in Tapiete reflexive markers are good exponents of middle voice. In other words, the semantic distribution of reflexive prefixes (i.e. the meaning of the source verb and the resulting meaning of the derived verb) shows that an important number of verbs appear in semantic contexts usually marked with middle markers in other languages. The semantic contexts within which these markers have been found are analyzed in this section.

22% of the verbs listed in the lexical database (116 out of 525) have been found to take reflexive morphology. Representative examples of each situation are given below. Words on the left column are the transitive source verbs and words on the right column are the derived reflexive/middle verbs. A complete list of verb belonging to each situation type is given in Appendix C.

In Tapiete, reflexive markers encode the direct reflexive situation (i.e. situations within which the action predicated by the underived verb may be performed on an external patient) and reciprocals situations (i.e. situations that depict a mutual relationship.) Examples of direct reflexives and reciprocals are given in (398) and (399), respectively.

(398)	a-chinchi	‘I cut (it)’	ai-chinchi	‘I cut myself’
	a-hesha	‘I see’	ai-y-esha	‘I see myself’
(399)	p̄ite	‘(s)he kissed (it)’	ȳi-p̄ite	‘they kissed each other’
	mbat̄i	‘amontona’	ñ̄i-mbat̄i	‘they met each other’

Grooming action verbs also take reflexive markers, in Tapiete. According to Kemmer, it is common for languages that have a middle system to mark grooming and body function actions with middle morphology. Interestingly, Tapiete makes a formal difference between grooming actions performed on the whole body (e.g. to bath) and those performed on a specific part of the body (e.g. to wash one's hand): the former display the active/reflexive opposition (400), while the latter only take reflexive markers (401). Similarly, some verbs that depict body function actions (402) only accept reflexive markers. In other words, no opposition is possible with an underived active verb (e.g. **a-wai* 'I wash (it)').

(400)	a-yohe	'I wash (it)'	ai-yohe	I wash myself
	a-mi-mpindi	'I clean (him/her)'	ai-pindi	'I clean myself'
(401)	ai-wai	I wash my face		
	ai-poi	I wash my hands		
	ai-yaki'o	I wash my head		
(402)	ai-ñañanti	'estornudo'		
	yí-ripepeka	'bosteza'		

According to Kemmer (1993:22) the lack of underived source verb is common in languages with middle systems: verbs that do not have an unmarked counterpart are called by Kemmer 'deponents'. Although this asymmetry is more commonly attested in situation types related to speech actions, including emotive speech actions, translational motion and cognition middle, the occurrence of deponent verbs, that is, verbs without an unmarked counterpart, is common and seems to be determined idiosyncratically.

Non-translational motion (403), positionals (404) and translational motion (405) are also identified by Kemmer as situation types commonly encoded by middle morphology. Tapiete examples of verbs that depict these situation types and take reflexive morphology are given below.

(403)	pepi a-timo	'palanquea' 'lo hamaco'	yɨ-pepi ai-timo	'he twists his body' 'I rocked'
(404)	ñi-mbo'i	'(s)he is standing'		
(405)	a-wähë raha	'I arrived' 'lo lleva'	ai-wähë yɨ-raha	'I escaped' 'se va'

Some verbs that refer to changes in body posture also take reflexive markers. The derived verbs in (406) represent changes in body posture that are metaphorically related to the source verb: in the case of the verb *ñi-mbapü'ä* '(s)he curls up', the form adopted by the body evokes the shape of the object that result from performing the action of *mbapü'ä* 'hacerse un rodete'; similarly, the derived verb *yɨ-ro'a* '(s)he kneels down' evokes the position adopted by a hen when it broods.

(406)	mbapü'ä ro'a	'se hace un rodete' '(it) broods'	ñi-mbapü'ä yɨ-ro'a	'(s)he curls up' '(s)he kneels down'
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Other situation types encoded by reflexive markers in Tapiete and identified by Kemmer as marked for middle morphology cross-linguistically are emotion middle 0, emotive speech actions (408) and cognition middles (409). Like grooming action verbs, some verbs included in these categories are deponent i.e. they lack a transitive version. This is true of emotion middles (407), cognition middles (409) and speech actions verbs (410).

(407)

- | | | | | |
|----|--------|-------------|----------|-------------------|
| a. | | | ai-mëwä | ‘I admire myself’ |
| b. | | | ai-pikwá | ‘I get used to’ |
| c. | a-roya | ‘I believe’ | ai-roya | ‘I am happy’ |

(408)

- | | | | | |
|----|--------|----------------------------|-------------|---------------------|
| a. | sh-apu | ‘I am a liar, I tell lies’ | ai-mbi-peyu | ‘I deceived myself’ |
| b. | mbe’u | ‘(s)he tells’ | ñi-mbe’u | ‘it is said that’ |

(409)

- | | | | | |
|----|----------|---------------------------------------|----------|---------------------|
| a. | a-mbo’e | ‘I teach’ | ai-mbo’e | ‘I learn’ |
| b. | a-mburu | ‘I believe in the capacity of (s.o.)’ | ai-mburu | ‘I feel capable of’ |
| c. | ai-kwa’a | ‘I know’ | | |

(410)

- | | | |
|----|---------|-----------------|
| a. | ai-rure | ‘I ask, I pray’ |
| b. | ai-ya’o | ‘I discuss’ |

Spontaneous events that indicate a change of state are also identified as a situation type commonly marked with middle morphology. In Tapiete, some verbs encoding spontaneous events take reflexive markers as shown in (411). The form *yi-hayasi* ‘se hizo agrio (por no bañarse)’ may refer to a fruit that is becoming sour or, metaphorically, to a person that has body odour.

- | | | | | |
|-------|---------|---------------|-----------|---------------------|
| (411) | hayasi | ‘it is sour’ | yi-hayasi | ‘(s)he turned sour’ |
| | hi-peki | ‘it is ripen’ | yi-peki | ‘it ripens’ |

In Tapiete, most of the verbs depicting spontaneous events display the transitive/reflexive opposition for third person only. Thus, a verb like ‘open’ opposes the underived transitive form *pe’a* ‘(s)he opens’ to the reflexive form *yi-pe’a* ‘(it) opens’, when there is no specified agent. It is not uncommon for languages to use reflexive markers to encode a non-specified agent that performs the action predicated by the verb. Although this construction evokes passive

constructions, the use of reflexive markers in this context is an instantiation of middle voice marking, since the construction does not admit an overtly expressed agent. Other verbs of this type are listed in (412).

- | | | | | |
|-------|--------|--------------------|-----------|-------------------------------------|
| (412) | pe'a | '(s)he opened (it) | yì-pe'a | 'it (e.g. a door, a window) opened' |
| | piro | 'pela' | yì-piro | 'se descascara' |
| | piyere | 'derrama' | yì-piyere | 'se derrama' |

The process of derivation of a reflexive/middle verb from a source verb seems to be productive in Tapiete. Since some Spanish loanwords have been found to display reflexive/middle morphology. Thus, the Spanish verbal borrowing *mbi-estudia* '(s)he studies' takes reflexive morphology when borrowed into Tapiete (413). Interestingly, this borrowing follows the Tapiete pattern of active/reflexive opposition; which is reflected by the opposition between *mbo'e* '(s)he teaches' and *ñi-mbo'e* '(s)he learns'.

- | | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| (413) | ko | shì-membì-ré | a-mbo'e-te | he-kwe-pi |
| | this | 1SGPOSS-woman's offspring-PL | 1SGAC-study-?? | 3:PROOBJ-PST-ASP |
| | | <i>I always teach to my childre</i> | | |
| | ñi-mbi-estudia | he(se)-wërä | | |
| | 3REFL-CAUS1-study | 3:PROOBJ-for | | |
| | <i>so that they study</i> | | | |

An example has been found of a Spanish nominal borrowing marked by reflexive morphology (414). In this case, the derived meaning is 'to want to become X' where X stands for the object referred by the noun.

- | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|
| (414) | <i>ai-siyora</i> |
| | 1SGAC-white woman |
| | <i>I want to become a white woman</i> |

To sum up, Tapiete has developed a new paradigm of person markers that encode prototypical reflexives and middle voice. In addition, TG reflexive marker **je-* and reciprocal marker **jo-*

have merge in Tapiete. Verbs that take reflexive markers are mainly agentive transitive verbs. Non-agentive intransitive verbs previously transitivized by the causative prefix *mbi-* ~ *mi-* (393) may also take reflexive person markers. Besides the encoding of prototypical reflexive and reciprocal situations, verbs that refer to other situations commonly marked by middle morphology in the languages of the world, take reflexive markers in Tapiete. These include: grooming action verbs, verbs that depict body function actions, non-translational motion, and translational motion verbs, positionals and body posture verbs, emotion middle, emotive speech actions and cognition middles and verbs that depict spontaneous event.

4.1.5. Number

No different person markers are available to differentiate third person singular from third person plural, but verbs may be marked for number in order to encode the plural number of the referred subject or object. Thus, in order to avoid ambiguity, the plural suffix *-reta* ~ *-ré* ‘PL’ is optionally attached when third person is the agentive subject of transitive verbs (415), the agentive subject of intransitive verbs (416) and the non-agentive subject of intransitive verbs (417).

(415)

a. yapo-yi-reta
do-FRQ-PL
they have done (it) again

b. shi-raha-reta
1SGIN-carry-PL
they carry me

(416) ou-reta
3:come-PL
they come

(417) ha'e kiye-reta
(s)he fear-PL
they are scared

Similarly, suffix *-reta* ‘PL’ is used to express the plurality of third person object in transitive constructions (418).

(418)

- a. she a-mi-ngini-reta
I 1SGAC-CAUS1-ticklish-PL
I tickle them
- b. a-mbi-wata-po-réta
I-CAUS1-Walk-FUT-PL
I will make them to walk

4.1.6. Morphological negation

Negation is expressed morphologically through the suffixation of morpheme *-ä* ‘NEG’, which may be attached to agentive intransitive verbs (419), non-agentive intransitive verbs (420), and transitive verbs (421).

(419) ha'e wata-'ä
(s)he walk-NEG
(s)he does not walk

(420) shi-piranta-ä
1SGIN-strenght -NEG
I have no strenght

(421) a-karu-ä
1SGAC-eat-NEG
I did not eat

No different morphological negatives are found in Tapiete according to tense, mode or aspect. Similarly, the occurrence of negative suffix *-ä* is not restricted to a particular tense or aspectual morpheme. Thus, this suffix may co-occur with temporal (422) and aspectual (423) suffixes, in which case, it is found before these morphemes.

(422) mba'e a-yapo-ä-po
thing 1SGAC-do-NEG-FUT
I won't do anything

- (423) mbi-sipe-ha-ä-ma
 CAUS1-win-IMPER -NEG-RES
no le han ganado

Negative suffix *-ä* does not negate the content of the whole proposition, but only the content of the constituent to which it is suffixed; thus, it may attach to other lexical categories such as noun and adverbs.⁶⁷

4.1.7. Other verbal morphemes

This section surveys three suffixes that occur with verbal roots, namely, the superlative suffix *-ite*, the instrumental suffix *-pi*, and the diminutive suffix *-ra'ĩ*. All these suffixes also combine with nominal roots.

4.1.7.1. Superlative suffix *-ite* 'SUP'

The superlative suffix *-ite* 'SUP' may attach to verbs (424), in which case it strengthens the lexical meaning of the verbal root.

- (424)
- a. she a-kwakwá-ite-ma
 I 1SGAC-old person-SUP-RES
I am already very old
- b. shi-kandi-ite
 1SGIN-tiredness-SUP
I am very tired

4.1.7.2. Instrumental suffix *-pi* 'INST'

Tapiete has an instrumental suffix *-pi* 'INST', which is an innovation that has developed from a functional specification of the phonological alternations of the locative suffix *-pe* ~ *-pi* 'LOC'.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Clausal negation is discussed in section 5.8.

⁶⁸In Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano) the suffix *-pe* 'LOC' is reported to refer to locative complements and by a metaphoric extension to display an instrumental meaning (Dietrich 1986:131).

As shown in Chapter 3, locative *-pe* ‘LOC’ is a nominal suffix that has been found to attach to nouns with an instrumental meaning, either as *-pĩ* (425) or *-pe* (426).

(425) mba’eti óre-rä wiriye’o-ha i arkaipi karetiya-pĩ
 nothing we(exc.)-SUB carry-1EXCL be long ago-LOC handcart-INST
when we did not have, we carried it in the handcart

(426) yu-pe nohö
 needle-INST pull out
pull (it) out with the needle

However, the great majority of examples display the affixation of suffix *-pĩ* ‘INST’ to verbal roots (427). This alternation suggests an ongoing process of grammaticalization of the alternant form *-pĩ* as an instrumental suffix.

(427)

a. pĩ-kise so’o a-yasíya-pĩ
 2PL-knife meat 1SGAC-cut-INST
I am cutting the meta with your knife

b. shi-lapi a-mbapára-pĩ
 my-Pencil 1SGAC-write-INST
I am writing with a pencil

c. iwira-mi a-numpa-pĩ-e
 stick 1SGAC-slap-INST-REC
I have hit (him/her) with a little stick

4.1.7.3. Diminutive suffix *-ra’i* ‘DIM2’

Diminutive suffix *-ra’i* ‘DIM2’ when attached to verbs specifies the manner how the action predicated by the verb is performed. Specifically, it conveys the meaning that the action is performed in a rushed way.

(428) a-wata-ra’i
 1SGAC-walk-DIM2
I am walking very fast

(429) a-karu-ra’i
 1SGAC-eat-DIM2
I am eating very fast

4.2. Verb phrase structure

The distribution of constituents within the verb phrase is as schematised in (430): adverbs and object noun phrases occur in pre-verbal position, while auxiliary verbs occur in post-verbal position.

(430) (Adv.) (Obj) Verb (Aux)

Adverbs encode time, manner, location and quantity. Auxiliary verbs are distinguished according to whether they are semantically stative i.e. *i* ‘to be’ and *iko* ‘to live’ or are verbs of movement i.e. *ha* ~ *ho* ‘to go’, *raha* ‘to carry’ and *ai* ~ *ou* ‘to come’. No sequences of two or more auxiliary verbs are attested. As for their syntactic distribution within the verb phrase i.e. after the main verb, it fits Greenberg correlation according to which “[...] in languages with dominant order SOV, an inflected auxiliary always follows the main verb” (Greenberg 1963:67 in Shopen 1985:43).

4.2.1. Auxiliary verbs

Auxiliary verbs always occur after the main verb, they carry verbal inflectional information and do not participate in the lexical semantics of the main verb. The examples in (431) show the syntactic distribution of auxiliary verbs.

(431)

a. kosira hau a-ĩ
 tea I:eat 1SGAC-be
 I am drinking some tea

b. karu iko
 eat be
 he is eating (no sentado en la mesa, no sabés cuando va a dejar de comer)

c. a-hendu-mi-ma a-ha
 1SGAC-listen-DIM1-RES 1SGAC-go
 I am understanding something

- d. mbɪpara raha
 draw carry
 write as you go
- e. wāhē 'ou
 arrive 3:come
 (s)he arrives
- f. she a-heno a-re(ko)
 I 1SGAC-call 1SGAC-have
 I am calling (him/her)

Auxiliary verbs encode aspectual information, such as continuous, progressive and habitual.

Continuous aspect refers to a situation viewed as in progress and can be used to depict both dynamic and stative situations (Comrie 1976).⁶⁹ In Tapiete, continuous aspect is encoded by a periphrastic construction in which the auxiliary verb *i* ‘be’ follows the main verb and co-occur with active verbs that refers to dynamic situations (432) or inactive verbs that refers to stative situations (433). Thus, the aspectual information conveyed by this construction can be characterized as continuous since it indicates that the action or the state predicated by the main verb is taking place at reference time.

(432) a-puru-su'u a-ĩ
 1SGAC-IHO-bite 1SGAC-be
 I am biting

(433) ha'e ñi-mbo'ĩ o-ĩ
 (s)he 3IN-standing 3AC-be
 he is standing

Progressive aspect defined as “[...] the combination of continuousness with nonstativity” (Comrie 1976:12) is encoded, in Tapiete, through periphrastic constructions where the auxiliary verbs *ha ~ ho* ‘I go, (s)he goes’, *raha* ‘(s)he carry’ and *ai ~ ou* ‘I come, (s)he comes’ occur after the main verb. Progressive is considered to be a subdivision of continuous aspect that only

⁶⁹ Comrie (1976) defines continuous as being more general than progressive, which may be used to characterize dynamic situations only.

applies to dynamic situations (Comrie 1976:12). In Tapiete, auxiliary verbs that encode progressive aspect occur with active intransitive (434) and active transitive verbs (435). This construction conveys the meaning that the action predicated by the main verb takes place over a certain period of time, which is not necessarily the reference time. This is illustrated in (436) where the action is intended to last a period of time located within the future.

(434) *yayawi* *o-ho*
 hesitate 3AC-go
he is hesitating

(435) *a-hendu-mi-ma* *a-ha*
 I-listen-DIM1-RES 1SGAC-go
I am understanding something

(436) *takwere* *a-héka-po* *a-ha*
 footprint 1SGAC-look for-FUT 1SGAC-go
I will go looking for the footprint

Interestingly, the verb *ha ~ ho* ‘to go’ is also found to be acting as an auxiliary verb conveying the meaning of an immediate future. In these cases, however, it is found before the main verb and the whole construction appears a calque of the Spanish periphrastic future construction (437).

(437)

a. *ya-ha* *ya-ropo*
 1PLINCL-go 1PLINCL-dance
we are going to dance

b. *o-ho* *ma’ë*
 3AC-go look at
he is going to look at

Another way to encode progressive aspect is by means of the auxiliary verbs of movement *raha* ‘(s)he carries’ (438) and *ai ~ ou* ‘I come, (s)he comes’ (439), and *reko* ‘(s)he has’ (440), which combine with active verbs, as shown in the examples below.

(438)

- a. hama woka ña-mi-kañi ya-raha-kwe-pi
then this one 1PLINCL-CAUS1-lost 1PLINCL-carry-PST-HAB
that is why we all loose
- b. pempì raha
scrape carry
(s)he goes scraping (it)

(439)

- a. sape ou
light up 3:come
somebody is approaching lighting up
- b. hahaiwi ou
rain 3:come
rain is coming

(440)

- a. a-maña a-reko
1SGAC-push 1SGAC-have
I am pushing (it)
- b. pota re(ko)
want have
(s)he loves somebody or wants something

Habitual aspect is encoded by a periphrastic construction in which the auxiliary verb *iko* ‘to live, to be’ follows the main verb. Habitual aspect is understood as “describ[ing] a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic of a whole period.” (Comrie 1976:27-28) Thus, the periphrastic encoding of habitual aspect through the auxiliary verb *iko* ‘to live, to be’ makes a description of the subject that goes beyond the actual moment of speech. Such a construction may co-occur with active verbs, in which case they refer to different instances of the same situation (441) and with inactive verbs, in which case they refer to a continuous situation (442).

(441)

a. o-che i(ko)
3AC-sleep live
he sleeps on and on and is still sleepy

b. ha'e wata i(ko)
(s)he walk be
he is walking

(442)

a. ndi-chere nd-i(ko)
2SGIN-crazy 2SGAC-live
you are crazy

b. ai-chechere a-i(ko)
1SGAC-flirt 1SGAC-live
"andar coqueteando" (chicas que hacen lo que no tienen que hacer)

4.2.2. Adverbs

Tapiete has adverbs that designate manner, time and location of the action predicated by the verb. In texts, adverbs are mainly found within the verb phrase (443) or in clause initial position (444). Adverbs may also be found in clause final position, although this distribution seems to be a calque on the default syntactic distribution of adverbs in Spanish i.e. verb phrase final position (445).

(443) Adv. V Aux.
kapiři sirı o-ho
wright grow up 3AC-3:go
she is growing up well

(444) Adv. S V
a. ä ñande ña-mbi-hasa-ka-po
now we(inc.) 1PLINCL-CAUS1-pass-CAUS2-FUT
now we are going to enter

Adv. O V
b. kope awati pára-wa-re ñono
here maize color-NMLZ-PL put
put here the colored maize

- (445) V Adv.
 á-ha-po mbewe
 1SGAC-go-FUT slow
I will go slow

Adverbs share with verbs their ability to take verbal inflectional morphemes, except for person markers. Thus, adverbs may be marked for negation (446), aspect (447), and tense (448).

- (446) hama härē'ä-ä a-ha arīkae
 then fast-NEG 1SGAC-go long ago
that is why I didn't go fast before,

- (447) ye'i-ma pīntu
 a moment ago-RES night
it got dark a while ago

- (448) awi, pare-po ya-'u
 no tomorrow-FUT 1PLINCL-eat
no, tomorrow we are going to eat (it)

In addition, they may have attached to them the superlative morpheme *-ite* (449) and the diminutive morpheme *-mi* (450), in which case both suffixes strengthen the meaning of the adverb.

- (449) kuri-ite o-ho
 recently-SUP 3-go
he left a moment ago

- (450) hä'erē-mi-po o-ho-yi-kwi
 fast-DIM1-FUT 3-3:go-FRQ-FUT
he is going to come soon

4.2.3. Adverbs of manner

The adverbs of manners that have been found so far are *kapiri* 'good' (451), *härē'ä* 'quickly' (452), *mbewe* 'slowly' (453), and *hīrāntu* 'loudly' (454).

- (451) kapiri a-mba'apo á-i-ä-mpe yawaiwe
 good 1SGAC-Work 1SGAC-be-NMLZ-LOC because
It is good where I am working now because

sanya'i-mi-re shi-komunida-pe o-i a-mbori á-i-rä
 child-DIM1-PL 1SGPOSS-community-LOC 3AC-be 1SGAC-help 1SGAC-be-SUB
I am helping the children of my community

(452) härë'ä pi-ropo
 fast 2PL-dance
let the dancing begin!

(453) á-ha-po mbewe
 1SGAC-go-FUT slow
I will go slow

(454) hëräntu pi-pirahe
 strong 2PL-sing
sing louder

4.2.4. Adverbs of time

The adverbs of time that have been collected are *kuri* ‘recently’ (455), *kwewe* ‘long ago’ (456), *pare* ‘tomorrow’ (457), *ä* ‘now’ (458) and *kä'ä* ‘yesterday’ (459), and *pihare* ‘night’ (460).

(455) kuri o-ho
 recently 3-go
(s)he just left

(456) kwewe she-ru a-ri-mbi-kwa-ka-kwe
 before 1SGPOSS-father 1SGAC-2SGP-CAUS1-know-CAUS2-PST
last year I made you to know my father

(457) shi-pwere-ra pare 'ai
 1SGIN-can-Q tomorrow 1:come
can I come tomorrow?

(458) ä mba'apo-ma she-reta
 now work-RES 1SGIN-PL
now they work for me

(459) kä'ä-me ténta-ipi a-ha
 yesterday-LOC village-LOCMOV 1SGAC-go
yesterday I went to Tartagal

(460) a-pau pihare
 1SGAC-soñar last night
last night I had a dream

4.2.5. Adverbs of location

Adverbs of location that have appeared in the data are *kuti* ‘over there’ (455), *hupi* ‘through’ (456), *kí’ıntĩ* ‘to this side’ (457).

(461)

a. pi-yere kuti
2PL-turnround there
turn around that way

b. kuti pi-yere
there 2PL-turn round
go around that way

(462) a-mä’ë-po kaño hupi
1SGAC-look at-FUT tube through
I am going to look at through this tube

(463) pe hupi
track raise
on the road

(464) kí’ıntĩ-mi ei
to this side-ASP 2:come
come here!

4.2.6. Adverbial phrase

Adverbial phrases encode location (465), time (466) and manner (467); like adverbs, they are mainly found in clause initial position.

(465)

a. ha’e-pe ime tá’owě
(s)he-LOC there is corpse
the body remained there

b. hama katĩ túmpa-pe o-ho ha’e sanya’ĩ
then but god-in 3AC-go (s)he child
but he is going toward God

(466) opa ara o-che
all day 3AC-sleep
he spends the whole day sleeping

- (467) amó karai i-ñe'ë-mpe p̄irahé-ha
 sometimes white man 3POSS-language-LOC sing-1EXCL
sometimes we sang in Spanish

Finally, locative adverbial phrases are the result of the suffixation of locative (468) and directional (469) morphemes to nouns, demonstratives (470), and adverbs (471).

- (468) shi-pau-pe a-ri-resha
 my-dream-LOC 1SGAC-2SGP-see
I have seen you in visions

- (469) tenta-wasu-wi ai
 town-AUG-DIR 1:come
I come from a city

(470)

- a. ko-pe a-iko
 DEM-LOC 1AC-live
I live here

- b. she ha'e-pe a-iko
 I (s)he-LOC 1AC-live
I live there

- (471) mbiri-wi ai
 far-DIR 1:come
I come from far

4.3. Conclusions

This chapter has presented the main features of the verbal morphology and the syntax of the verb phrase in Tapiete. The first half of the chapter has shown that Tapiete displays an active / inactive system in independent clauses. Tapiete displays three subclasses of Jensen's Set 1 prefixes markers, which are distinguished according to the third person markers they take i.e. *o-*, *∅-* and *wi-*. The first person plural exclusive form is composed of the verbal root marked for third person plus the nominalizing suffix *-ha* 'EXCL', which immediately follows the root. This form is also used to refer to an impersonal agent. Set 2 markers encode non-agentive subjects of intransitive verbs, patients of transitive verbs; and, possession when they are prefixed to nouns.

TG person markers from Set 3 are not attested in Tapiete. Finally, Tapiete shows a different use of Set 4 person markers: the TG prefix *oro-* ‘A1:P2SG’ is interpreted as a bi-morphemic form made up of the prefix for first person active singular *a-* and the morpheme *ri-*, which encodes a second person patient singular, while the TG prefix *opo-* ‘A1:P2PL’ is replaced by the prefix *pri-* used to encode both a second person plural and an incorporated human object.

Tense and aspect are encoded through suffixation. The notions immediate immediate and distant future are distinguished. The expression of immediate future results from an ongoing process of grammaticalization of the verb *pota* ‘(s)he wants’, while distant future is encoded by the suffixation of the morpheme *-kwi*. Similarly, the notion past is further subdivided into immediate and distant past. Both notions are the result of an ongoing process of grammaticalization of the temporal adverbs *ye’i* ‘recently’ and *kwewe* ‘long ago’, respectively.

Aspect is encoded through suffixation of morphemes *-ma* ‘RES’, *-yi* ‘FRQ’, and *-pi* ‘HAB’. Resultative aspect conveys the meaning that the present situation referred by the verb results from an action that has originated in the past. Habitual and frequentative aspects are encoded through suffixes *-pi* ‘HAB’, which is the grammaticalized shortened form of the adverb *yepi* ‘always’ and *-yi* ‘FRQ’, respectively. In addition, partial reduplication in Tapiete conveys an aspectual value related to the expression of iteration and may also encode a continuative meaning. In addition, partial reduplication expresses that the action predicated by the verb is distributed over several distinct objects. It may also express the manner by which an action is performed as it indicates that the agent is performing the action in a rushed or imperfect way. Finally, partial reduplication mainly affects verbal roots, namely, agentive intransitive verbs, non-agentive intransitive verbs and transitive verbs, although it may marginally apply to adverbs, nouns and numerals.

Imperative and hortative modes are expressed morphologically by the affixation of prefixes *e-* ‘IMP’ and *tī- ~ t-* ‘HORT’, respectively, while desire and obligation are encoded by suffixation of morphemes *-se* ‘DES1’ and *-sha* ‘DES2’ and *-rāni* ‘first’.

Tapiete displays morphological operations that affect the valence of verbs. They include: **(1)** Causativization which involves two morphological causatives: prefix *mbī-* ~ *mī-* ‘CAUS1’ and suffix *-ka* ‘CAUS2’. **(2)** Noun incorporation which encodes non-human and human generic objects by the affixation of the generic morphemes *mba-* ~ *ma-* ‘INHO’, and *pīrī-* ‘HO’, respectively. **(3)** The comitative prefix *rī-*, that in TG languages indicates both causation and accompaniment, in Tapiete, seems to only encode accompaniment. **(4)** Finally, reflexivization is encoded through a new paradigm of person markers. The distribution of reflexive markers goes beyond the semantic context of use of direct reflexives revealing semantic extensions that make them to be considered exponents of middle voice; thus, besides the encoding of direct reflexive situations, the new paradigm also encode reciprocal situations, since TG reflexive marker **je-* and reciprocal marker **jo-* have merge in Tapiete. Other situation types marked with reflexive morphology are: grooming actions (that formally distinguish between grooming actions performed on the whole body, from grooming actions performed on a specific part of the body), body function actions; non-translational motion, translational motion, positionals and body posture actions; emotion middle, emotive speech actions and cognition middles and verbs that depict spontaneous event. Verbs that take reflexive markers are mainly agentive transitive verbs. When non-agentive intransitive verbs have been previously transitivized by the causative prefix *mbī-* ~ *mī-*, they may also take the reflexive person marker paradigm; in this case, the verbal root takes active cross-reference prefixes.

Since no different person markers are available to differentiate third person singular from third person plural, the verb may be marked for plural number when third person is the agentive subject of transitive and intransitive verbs, and the non-agentive subject of intransitive verbs.

Negation is expressed morphologically through the suffixation of morpheme *-ā* 'NEG', which negates the content of the constituent to which it is suffixed. Suffix *-ā* may attach to other lexical categories such as noun and adverbs. Finally, some suffixes that occur in verbal roots, namely, superlative suffix *-ite*, instrumental suffix *-pī*, and diminutive suffixes *-ra'ī* and *-mi*. All these suffixes also combine with nominal roots.

Adverbs and adverbial phrases occur in pre-verbal position. They encode time, manner and location, while auxiliary verbs occur in post-verbal position. Auxiliary verbs are found after the main verb and are distinguished according to whether they are semantically stative or they are verbs of movement. No sequences of two or more auxiliary verbs are attested.

5. Clause level syntax

This chapter presents the main features of the syntax in Tapiete. In 5.1, the order of constituents within the clause is surveyed; and, the types of sentences, e.g. declarative and interrogative, are presented in 5.2. Among declarative clauses, transitive and ditransitive clauses are discussed, as well as existential and equational clauses. The semantic roles of personal pronouns are discussed in sections 5.2.1.1 and 5.2.1.2, while the semantic roles of Set 2 person markers when they combine with a set of postpositions is discussed in 5.2.1.6. Section 5.3, describes subordinate clauses that includes relative, complement and adverbial clauses. Section 5.5 discusses coordinative constructions, section 5.6 comparative constructions and section 5.7 imperative constructions. Finally, clausal negation is discussed in 5.8 and evidentials are presented in 5.9.

5.1. Constituent order

In Tapiete, the default order of constituents i.e. the order that appears as pragmatically neutral, is as presented in (472). Subject and object precede the verb in that order, auxiliary verbs and oblique arguments follow it, while adverbials (e.g. adverbs, verb phrases and adverbial clauses) are found in clausal initial position.

(472) (Adverbials) (Agent/Subject) (Object) Verb (Aux) (Oblique)

This type of arrangement is commonly found in spontaneous texts, although other orders are attested, which are pragmatically marked.

5.2. Types of sentences

This section discusses two main types of sentences, namely declarative and interrogative sentences. Within the category of declarative sentences transitive, intransitive and ditransitive clauses are discussed first. Then the structures of existential and equational clauses are presented. Finally, interrogative clauses are presented.

5.2.1. Declarative

Tapiete is an unmarked declarative language. That is, declarative sentences i.e. sentences that convey assertions, narratives, reports and so on, do not display any overt mark that identifies them as declarative (Sadock & Zwicky 1985:165). Tapiete has one set of pronouns, which are free optional forms that fill the position of subjects and one set of pronouns found in post-verbal position that encode oblique complements. In addition, four postpositions (e.g. *rehe*, *hewi*, *yehe* and *yupe*) attach to the set of inactive person markers (e.g. *shi-rehe*, *shi-hewi*, *shi-yehe* and *shi-yupe*) in which cases they function as pronominal forms that encode different semantic roles. Finally, some dependent clauses have the same form as declarative sentences e.g. same word order with no special marker.

This section surveys transitive, ditransitive, agentive/patientive intransitive, existential and equational clauses in Tapiete.

5.2.1.1. Transitive clauses

The pragmatically unmarked order of constituents in transitive declarative clauses in Tapiete is A/S O V, as exemplified in (473). When the main verb is followed by an auxiliary verb this order is not altered (474). Notice that the auxiliary verb occupies the slot of verbs.

	A	O	V
(473)	she	ĩ	a-riye'o
	I	water	1SGAC-carry
	<i>I carry water</i>		

(474)	O	V	Aux
	takwere	a-heka-po	a-ha
	footprint	1SGAC-look for-FUT	1SGAC-go
	<i>(I) am going to go looking for the footprints</i>		

Since the A/S constituent is cross-referenced on the verb, the noun phrase that refers to it may be omitted (475).

	O	V
(475)	pähä	a-raha
	bread	1SGACcarry
	<i>(I) take bread</i>	

Personal pronouns may function as subjects and, consequently, display the same morpho-syntactic properties of subjects NP : that is, they **(i)** encode the single argument of an intransitive verb and the agent of a transitive verb, **(ii)** are found in preverbal position, and **(iii)** are cross-referenced on the verb. Although other positions are possible, they are pragmatically marked. The set of subject pronouns is listed in Table 23 and exemplified in (476).

(476)		
a.	she	a-wa
	I	1SGAC-buy
	<i>I have bought</i>	

- b. nde nde-po
 you 2SGAC-jump
 You jump
- c. ha'e raha
 (s)he carry
 He carries (e.g. a pencil) with him
- d. ñande ya-pi-wara
 we(inc.) 1INCL-beat
 We beat it
- e. ore o-ho-ha
 we(exc.) 3AC-go-1EXCL
 we go
- f. pe pi-yo'o
 you(pl) 2PL-sink
 You are going to sink the hole

The noun phrase that refers to the object of the predicate may be omitted when it is retrievable from the communicative context (477).

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| | Adv. | V |
| (477) | ha'e-pe
(s)he-LOC | a-ñono
1SGAC-put |
| | <i>(I) have put it there</i> | |

The object NP may appear after the main verb. This is done for pragmatic purposes. The examples in (478) come from texts where the speaker tells how the corn liquor and the grilled pig are prepared. Both object NPs *käwi* 'corn liquor' and *kushi* 'pig' are introduced for the first time into the discourse; and they are focused by not occupying their default position i.e. before the verb.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|--|------------------|------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| (478) | S | Adv. | V | Adv. | O |
| a. | shi-yari-reta
1SGPOSS-grandmother-PL | tinonde
first | yapo
do | arka'e-pi
long time ago-LOC | käwi
corn liquor |
| | <i>first, my grandmothers made corn liquor</i> | | | | |

	V		Adv.	Adv.	O
b.	hama	mombo-ha	pĩ	arĩka'e-pi	kushĩ
	then	throw-1EXCL	inside	long time ago-LOC	pig
	<i>then, we threw inside before the pig</i>				

Object pronominal forms are found in post-verbal position, in which case they may be followed by a co-referent noun phrase (479).

(479)	V	Pro	O
	ma'ẽ	he(se)	máno-wa
	look at	3:PROOBJ	die-NMLZ
	<i>look at the dead</i>		

Alternatively, when the referent of the pronominal form may be retrieved from the communicative context, the co-referent noun phrase may be omitted (480).

(480)	she-ru!	ma'ẽ	hese
	1SGPOSS-father	watch	3:PROOBJ
	<i>father, look at this!</i>		

Similarly, when the main verb is modified by an auxiliary verb, the pronominal object follows both the main verb and the auxiliary verb (481).

(481)	she-ru	ma'ẽ	re(ko)	he
	1SGPOSS-father	look at	have	3:PROOBJ
	<i>my father was/is looking at this</i>			

5.2.1.2. Ditransitive clauses

Ditransitive clauses are clauses that take two objects. In Tapiete, direct object noun phrases are found in pre-verbal position, while indirect objects occur after the verb.

Oblique personal pronouns take the same form as subject personal pronouns. They are distinguished from the latter in that (i) they are always found in post-verbal position, and (ii) they take the form *shu* as the pronominal form for third person. Oblique personal pronouns are listed in Table 24 and exemplified in (482).

(482)

- a. nenshe mĕ'ĕ-ha she
 milk give-IMPER I
 they have given me the milk
- b. nenshe mĕ'ĕ-ha-ă nde
 milk give-IMPER-NEG you
 they haven't given you the milk
- c. nenshe mĕ'ĕ-ha-ă shu
 milk give-IMPER-NEG 3:PROOBL
 they haven't given him the milk
- d. nenshe mĕ'ĕ-ha ñande
 milk give-IMPER we(inc.)
 somebody/they have given us (INCL) the milk
- e. nenshe mĕ'ĕ-ha ore
 milk give-IMPER we(exc.)
 somebody/they have given us (EXCL) the milk
- f. nenshe mĕ'ĕ-ha pe
 milk give-IMPER you(pl)
 somebody/they have given you the milk

This paradigm of oblique personal pronouns has its correlate in other languages of the family. Specifically, in Avá-Guaraní (Chiriguano) it has been described as the combination of personal pronouns with the TG locative suffix *-pe*. In Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano) this suffix is realized as *-we*, except for the third person pronoun, in which case the original suffix *-pe* is preserved (Dietrich 1986:155). The same is true of Paraguayan Guaraní, which displays the same paradigm of that described for Avá-Guaraní (Chiriguano). Tapiete differ from both Chiriguano and Guaraní, since the locative suffix *-pe/-we* is not attached to the set of personal pronouns. Instead, the oblique complement is syntactically encoded by occupying a post-verbal position. Occasionally, the locative suffix *-pe* is attached to the third personal pronoun, although it remains optional.

(483) a-kärë shu-pe
 1SGAC-scratch 3:PROOBL-LOC
I scratch the apple for him

(484) ma'ë shu-pe
 watch 3:PROOBL-LOC
watch him for her (e.g. her son)

This set of pronominal forms encodes the circumstantial semantic roles of benefactives, i.e. they refer to the person for whom something is done (485), and recipients i.e. they refer to an animate destination (486).

(485) a-yapo she
 1SGAC-do I
I do it to myself

(486) nenshe mē'ë-ha she
 milk give-IMPER I
they have given me the milk

Other oblique arguments are also found in post-verbal position, as shown in (487).

(487)

a. kiye-ha ndi-hewi
 fear-1EXCL you -hewi
we are afraid of you

b. nde-ho shi
 2SGAC-go 3PRO(?)
you walked away from him/her (e.g. if you left your boy friend)

Besides the syntactic encoding of indirect objects, the locative prefix *-pe* 'LOC' may function as a case marker and attach to the oblique argument (488), which may be encoded by a pronominal form or by a full NP. However, this strategy of encoding oblique arguments remains marginal in Tapiete.

(488) íwi-pe yo'o-ha shu-pe
 floor-LOC sink-1EXCL 3:PROOBL-LOC
on the floor (we) dugged (a hole) //It was dug on the earth

- (489) mbi-ware-ka-kwe peróta-pe
 CAUS1-play-CAUS2-PST ballon -LOC
they make him play with a ball

A co-referent NP may be found after the oblique pronominal form (490)

- (490) a-ru-po shu-kwi she-si
 1SGAC-bring-FUT 3:PROOBL-FUT 1SGPOSS-mother
I will bring her to my mother (to the house)

- (491) ai-mo'ä-po shi ñamimba
 I-believe-FUT 3PRO(?) dog
I am going to be careful with the dog

Alternatively, the object NP may be placed between the pronominal form and the co-referent NP

(492).

- (492) mbishaka shu nde-po nde-ru
 show 3:PROOBL 2SGPOSS-hand 2SGPOSS-father
show your hands to your father

Since the default position of an NP oblique argument is after the predicate, when the oblique argument needs to be focused, it is placed in clause initial position, while the co-referent pronominal form remains in post-verbal position. In (493), the default position of the oblique NP *sanya'i-re* 'children' is after the oblique pronoun *shu*; however, while the oblique pronoun remains at its default position i.e. after the verb, the NP that specifies its identity is found in clause initial position.

- (493) sanya'i-re kosira a-me'ë-yi shu-rä ma
 child-PL tea 1SGAC-give-FRQ 3:PROOBL-SUB after
when I prepared tea for the children again (for them)

- b. she mbe'u-ha she
 I tell-IMPER I
They have warned me

- c. moa-rä nde a-kiye ndi-hewi
 believe-Q you 1SGAC-fear you-hewi
do you think that I am going to be afraid of you?

5.2.1.3. Agentive / patientive intransitive clauses

Intransitive predicates, active (494) and inactive (495), may optionally be preceded by a subject NP. For pragmatic purposes, this optional subject NP may follow the predicate if the subject needs to be stressed (496).

(494) she a-yupi
I 1SGAC-go up
I go up

(495)

a. ore iri-pavete-ha
we(exc.) 1PLEXCL-poor-1EXCL
we were very poor

b. ndi-reko porä-ä
2SGPOSS-behaviour cute-NEG
your way of being is not good

(496) pawéte-yi ha'e
suffer -FRQ (s)he
she suffered again

5.2.1.4. Existential clauses

Existential clauses in Tapiete are expressed through the juxtaposition of a subject NP and a locative adjunct (497).

(497) awara heta ñána-pe
fox a lot woodland-LOC
there are lots of foxes in the mountain

(498) ko-pe heta awati párawa
DEM-LOC a lot maize ??
there is a lot of (overo) maize here

In addition, existential constructions are expressed by means of the existential verb *ime* 'there is' (499), and the stative verb *i* 'to be' (501), in which case the subject follows the predicate.

(499)

- a. ime-ra timbiu
there is-Q food
Is there any food?
- b. ime she-ro
there is 1SGPOSS-house
I have a house
- c. ha'e-pe ime
DEM-LOC there is
there is (cassette)

(500)

- a. ko-pe a-i
DEM-LOC 1SGAC-be
I am here
- b. äü-mpeo-i ñamimba-reta ñárö-wa
DEM-LOC 3AC-be dog-PL bad-NMLZ
there are a lot of dogs that are bad there

Alternatively, the existential verb *ime* may co-occur with the stative verb *i* 'to be' (501).

- (501) ime o-i heta sanya'i
there is 3AC-be a lot of child
there are a lot of children

5.2.1.5. Equational clauses

Equational clauses express the identity between the subject of the clause and the nominal predicate. In Tapiete, equational clauses are encoded through NP juxtaposition.

(502)

- a. she sindaro
I policeman
I am a policeman
- b. ha'e shi-riwi
(s)he 1SGPOSS-male's brother
he is my brother

In addition, the personal pronoun for third person *ha'e* '(s)he/it' functions as a copula in equational clauses in which case, it occurs between the subject NP and the nominal predicate (503).

(503)

- a. *shi-yare* *ha'e* *arka'e-wa*
 1SGPOSS-grandmother (s)he long time ago-NMLZ
 my grandmother is old
- b. *shi-membi* *ha'e* *päri-mbo'e-wa*
 1SGPOSS-woman's offspring (s)he HO-teach-NOM
 my daughter is the one who teaches (she is a teacher)
- c. *shi-ré('e)* *ha'e* Ermelinda
 1SGPOSS-name (s)he Hermelinda
 my name is Hermelinda.

Alternatively, the personal pronoun *ha'e* may occur before the two juxtaposed NPs (504), which indicates that the emphasis put on the identity of the subject NP.

(504)

- a. *ha'e* *she* *siyora*
 (s)he I white woman
 I am criolla
- b. *ha'e* *she* *huwisha*
 he/she I chief
 I am a chief
- c. *katï* *ha'e* *he'e* *arika'e* *Lucinda*
 but (s)he name long time ago *Lucinda*
 but her name was Lucinda

5.2.1.6. Pospositions and semantic roles

Tapiete has a set of pospositions that occur with person markers of Set 2.⁷⁰ This section focuses on four pospositions that combine with Set 2 person markers with which they form pronominal

⁷⁰ The pospositions reconstructed for PTG are *cupé 'to, for (dative)', *cuwí 'from', *kotý 'to, toward (loc)', pube 'with (company)', *pé 'to, for', *pocé 'lying with', *pypé 'in', *ecé 'with respect to' *ecebé 'with', *obaké 'in front of', *enoné 'a head of' *upí 'by means of, within an area, according to' (Jensen 1998:514).

forms. These forms encode different semantic roles: *rehe* encodes the participatory semantic role of patient and the circumstantial role of reason, *hewi* encodes the semantic role of source, *yehe* encodes a marginal reflexive construction and *yupe* encodes the circumstantial role of beneficiary.

POSPOSITION *REHE*

The posposition *rehe* attaches to the set of inactive person markers and display the paradigm shown in Table 38.

Posposition <i>rehe</i>	
1SG	shĩ-rehe
1PLINCL	ñani-rehe
1PLEXCL	ĩri-rehe
2SG	ndĩ-rehe
2PL	pĩ-rehe
3SG	hese

Table 38: Posposition *rehe*

These pronominal forms, that may take the shortened form *-ré*, are always found in post-verbal position (505) where they may co-refer to a noun phrase found before the verb (506), or to a noun phrase found after the verb (507).

(505)

a. o-hě ma'e shĩ-re(he)-rã-nda
 3AC-go out look at 1SGIN-rehe-SUB-EVD
he went out to attend me

b. nde-kwa-ra-po hese
 2SGAC-to hit-Q-FUT 3:PROOBJ
are you going to hit him?

(506) kosira a-yapo he(se) ei
 tea 1SGAC-do 3:PROOBJ honey
I'm going to make honey tea

(507) she ai-mbo'e a-ĩ hese tapiete i-ñe'e
 I 1SGAC-learn 1SGAC-be 3:PROOBJ tapiete 3POSS-language
I'm learning how to speak tapiete

These pronominal forms may encode both participatory and circumstantial semantic roles. In (508), the forms *ndi-rehe* and *hese* encode the participatory role of patient, since they refer to the participant directly affected by the action predicated by the verb.⁷¹ Although the participant referred by *shi-rehe* in (509) is not directly affected by the action predicated by the verb, Tapiete treats this as the more prototypical patients of (508).

(508)

b. aih! a-pĩrõ-ra ndi-rehe
 1SGAC-walk on-Q 2SGIN-rehe
Oh! did I step on your foot?

c. ai-pota ha'e o'okwa hese
 1SGAC-want (s)he 3AC-hit 3:PROOBJ
I want him to hit him

(509) meme ma'e shi-rehe
 mother look at 1SGIN-rehe
mum! look at me!

Example (510) shows that the form *hese* co-refer to the object NP *kosira* 'tea' by allowing the pronoun *hese* to be modified by another nominal (e.g. *ei* 'honey'). The absence of *hese* results in the ungrammaticality of (511) where the noun *ei* 'honey' does not modify the NP *kosira* anymore.

(510) kosira a-yapo he(se) ei
 tea 1SGAC-do 3:PROOBJ honey
I'm going to make honey tea

(511) *kosira a-yapo ei
 tea 1SGAC-do honey
**I make honey out of the tea*

⁷¹ In Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano), the cognate suffix *-re* is reported to indicate the contact with a point or a surface as a result of the movement toward this point or surface (e.g. *agwára òpo kawáyu-re* 'el zorro montó a caballo' (Dietrich 1986:134). In addition, Dietrich reports a figurative use of this suffix that indicates a movement toward a concept or a person (e.g. *che-mandúa tíu-re* 'I remember your father' (Dietrich 1986:134). In Tapiete, there seems to be a specialization of form and function: the shortened form *-ré* attaches to nouns and clearly has a directional meaning (Cf. section 3.2.9.) On the contrary, when attached to Set 2 person markers, both forms *-rehe* and *-re* alternate and function as case markers.

In addition, the pronominal form *hese*, which is not marked for number and, consequently, can refer to a third person singular or plural, may agree with the preverbal noun phrase. That is, the preverbal NP triggers agreement on the pronominal form *hese* in order to further specify the plurality of its referent and avoid ambiguity (512). Although it remains optional (513), agreement is obligatorily triggered by the preverbal noun phrase as shown by the ungrammaticality of (514).

(512) ha'e-re ya-iyeta hese-reta
 (s)he-PL 1INCL-speak 3:PROOBJ-PL
let's talk about them

(513) ha'e-re ya-iyeta hese
 (s)he-PL 1INCL-speak 3:PROOBJ
let's talk about them

(514) *ha'e ya-iyeta hese-reta
 (s)he we(exc.)-speak 3:PROOBJ-PL
 **let's talk about them*

As said earlier, these pronominal forms may also encode circumstantial roles. Specifically, they refer to the reason or cause by virtue of which the action predicated by the verb is performed. This is shown in (515), where the NP *shu-rumba* 'my animals' co-refer to the pronoun *hese-kwi* '3PROOBJ-DISTFUT', which, in turn, designates the reason why the subject is going to perform the action predicated by the verb. The same is true of (516) where *hese* does not refer to the patient, but to the reason that motivates the action predicated by the verb.

(515) a-pü'ä-po he(se)-kwi shu-rumba
 1SGAC-get up-FUT 3:PROOBJ-FUT 1SGPOSS-animals
I'm going to get up (because of) my animals

(516) hehei hese
 tell off 3:PROOBJ
he has told (him/her) off because of that

Finally, the third person pronoun *hese* can be considered a verbal clitic, as it adopts a reduced form *he*, in which case, the whole set made up of the verb and the pronoun becomes a prosodic unit that constitutes a phonological word. This is shown in (517) where the shortened form *he* is unstressed; as a result, the primary stress remains on its default position i.e. the penultimate syllable, and the whole utterance becomes stressed on the antepenultimate syllable. On the contrary, in (518) two primary stresses are distinguished, which clearly indicates the existence of two separate words. (Stress is orthographically marked here for expository purposes.)

(517) ékwa he
 kick 3PROOBJ
hit him

(518) póko hése
 touch 3PROOBJ
touch him

In addition, there seems to be a phonological restriction according to which this pronominal form takes the shortened form *he* when other suffixes are attached, as shown in (519).

(519) a-pü'ä-po he-kwi shu-rumba
 1SGAC-get up-FUT 3:PROOBJ-FUT 1SGPOSS-animals
I'm going to get up owing to my animals

POSPOSITION *HEWI*

Similarly to *rehe*, the posposition *hewi* attaches to the set of inactive person markers, in which case they act as pronominal forms that display the paradigm presented in Table 39.

Posposition <i>hewi</i>	
1SG	shi-hewi
1PLINCL	ñani-hewi
1PLEXCL	iri-hewi
2SG	ndi-hewi
2PL	pi-hewi
3SG	shi(-wi)

Table 39: Posposition *hewi*

POSPOSITION *YEHE*

The posposition *yehe* attaches to the set of inactive person markers and form the paradigm presented in Table 39.

Posposition <i>yehe</i>	
1SG	shi-yehe
1PLINCL	ñani-yehe
1PLEXCL	ĩri-yehe
2SG	ndi-yehe
2PL	pĩ-yehe
3SG	i-yehe

Table 40: Posposition *yehe*

This construction conveys a reflexive meaning, where the object referred by the pronominal forms of Table 40 is co-referential with the subject of the sentence, as shown in (527), (528) and (529).

(527) a-kwaru shi-yehe
 1SGAC-urinate 1SGIN-yehe
I urinated on myself

(528) ha'e poshi i-yehe
 (s)he get angry 3IN-yehe
(s)he got angry with him/herself

(529) ña-ma'e ñandi-yehe
 1INCL-look at 1ININCL-yehe
we look at ourselves

This kind of reflexive construction fits the general TG pattern according to which, when attached to postpositions, prefixes **je* 'REFL' and **jo* 'RECIP' are inserted between the set of person markers and the postpositions (Jensen 1998:22). The sentence below exemplifies the distribution of the TG reflexive prefix **je* before the postposition *heguí* in Guaraní (530) and its Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano) version *gwi* (531).

(530) Guaraní (Guasch 1948:97)
 Che resarái che-ye-heguí

I forget about myself

(531) Avá-Guaraní (Chiriguano) (Dietrich 1986:157)

Há-woi oéki ípo i-yéu-gwi
so he took his own hands

As shown in (527), (528) and (529), the posposition *yehe* is the Tapiete version of what has been analyzed as bi-morphemic in the other languages (e.g. Guarani *-ye-hegui*, Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano) *-yéu-gwi*). Guasch (1948:66) mentions very briefly a reflexive postposition *-yehe* that combines with pronouns whose meaning is translated in Spanish by the preposition *a* ‘to’ and *por* ‘for’. The author opposes this postposition to the complex postposition *ye-hegui* that he translates as *de* ‘of’ and *por* ‘for’ in Spanish. Interestingly, he says that the form *-yehe* is an alternate form of postposition *-rehe* that would combine with first person singular only.

In Tapiete, however, such analysis is not justified as this seems to be a non-productive form of encoding reflexives. In fact, this reflexive construction is in complementary distribution with the most common reflexive construction used in Tapiete encoded by the verbal morphology. As will be shown in Chapter 4, a fairly regular mechanism of verbs to form reflexives is through the opposition of two sets of person markers as exemplified in the examples below.

(532)

- a. a-m-anki
1SGAC-CAUS1-wet
I wet (something)

ai-m-anki
1SGAC-CAUS1-wet
I wet myself

Interestingly, verbs that have been found to form their reflexive form through the posposition *yehe* do not accept the *a-* ‘1SGAC’ / *ai-* ‘GLOSE’ opposition (e.g. **ai-ma’e*, **ai-kwaru*.)

In addition to the reflexive meaning, this construction conveys a reciprocal meaning, as shown in the examples below.

- (533) o-a i-yehe
 3AC-fall 3IN-yehe
they ran into each other
- (534) o-a i-yehe-reta
 3AC-fall 3IN-yehe-PL
they ran into each other (More than two run into)
- (535) pi-ma'e i-yehe
 2PL-look at 3IN-yehe
look at each other!
- (536) ma'e i-yehe
 look at 3IN-yehe
they looked at each other
- (537) papere a-mbapete i-yehe
 paper 1SGAC-stick 3IN-yehe
I have glued the papers

POSSPOSITION YUPE

The posposition *yupe* is attached to the set of inactive person markers and form the paradigm shown in Table 41.

Posposition <i>yupe</i>	
1SG	shi-yupe
1PLINCL	ñandi-yupe
1PLEXCL	iri-yupe
2SG	ndi-yupe
2PL	pi-yupe
3SG	i-yupe

Table 41: Posposition *yupe*

These pronominal forms are always found in post-verbal position and convey the meaning that the action predicated by the verb is done to the benefit of the agent. In turn, both the agent and the beneficiary are co-referential, as shown by the examples in (538) and by the ungrammaticality of (539).

(538)

a. a-kärë shi-yupe
1SGAC-scratch 1SGP-yupe
I scratch (e.g. the apple, the corn) for me

b. ha'e mamoi i-yupe
(s)he cook 3-yupe
He cooks his own meal

(539) *a-kärë shu-yupe
1SGAC-scratch 1SGP-yupe
*

Like posposition *yehe*, *yupe* is analyzed as bi-morphemic in Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano) resulting from the suffixation of the reflexive *-yeu* ~ *-yu* followed by the locative *-pe*, as shown in (540).

(540) o-parándu o-yeu-pe (adapted from Dietrich1986:157)
3AC-ask 3AC-REFL-LOC
they wondered to them selves

In Tapiete, however, when posposition *yupe* occurs, the action predicated by the verb does not affect the agent directly; instead it is done to the benefit of the agent, and, consequently, agent and benefactive are co-referent, as shown by the opposition in (541).

(541)

a. a-kwaru shi-yehe
1SGAC-urinate 1SGIN-yehe
I urinated

b. a-kwaru shi-yupe
1SGAC-urinate 1SGIN-yupe
I urinated (e.g. to have a urine analysis)

Furthermore, posposition *yupe* may co-occur with the reflexive construction encoded within the verbal morphology (542); the same construction is ungrammatical when posposition *yehe* is attached (543).

(542) ai-y-*esha* shi-yupe
 1??-REFL-see 1SGIN-yupe
I look at myself in a mirror

(543) *ai-y-*esha* shi-yehe
 1??-REFL-see 1SGIN-yehe
 *

COMPARISON WITH GUARANÍ AND AVA-GUARANI (CHIRIGUANO)

This section provides comparative tables of pronouns and the surveyed pospositions in Guaraní

(Guasch 1948), Ava-Guaraní (Chiriguano) (Dietrich 1986) and Tapiete.

	Pronouns as oblique arguments		
	Paraguayan Guaraní	Avá-Guaraní (Chiriguano)	Tapiete
1SG	ché-ve	ché-we	she
1PLINCL	ñandé-ve	yandé-we	ñande
1PLEXCL	oré-ve	oré-we	ore
2SG	ndé-ve	nde-we	nde
2PL	pee-me	pendé-we	pe
3SG	chu-pe, ichu-pe	chú-pe	shu-(pe)
3PL	chu-pe, ichu-pe-kuera	chu-pe-réta	shu-reta

Table 42: Pronouns as oblique arguments in Paraguayan Guaraní, Avá-Guaraní and Tapiete

	Oblique personal pronouns		
	Paraguayan Guaraní	Avá-Guaraní (Chiriguano)	Tapiete
1SG	che-ye-heguí	che-yéu-gwi	shi-yehe
1PLINCL		yandé-yéu-gwi	ñandi-yehe
1PLEXCL		ore-yéu-gwi	iri-yehe
2SG	nde-ye-heguí	nde-yéu-gwi	ndi-yehe
2PL		pendé-yéu-gwi	pi-yehe
3SG	o-ye-heguí	i-yéu-gwi / o-yéu-gwi	i-yehe

Table 43: Posposition *yehe* in Paraguayan Guaraní, Avá-Guaraní and Tapiete

	<i>rehe</i>		
	Paraguayan Guaraní	Avá-Guaraní (Chiriguano)	Tapiete
1SG	che rehe	ché-re	shi-re(he)
1PLINCL	ñande rehe	yandé-re	ñandi-re(he)
1PLEXCL	ore rehe	oré-re	iri-re(he)
2SG	nde rehe	nde-re	ndi-re(he)
2PL	pende rehe	pendé-re	pi-re(he)
3SG	hese	hese	he(se)
3PL	hese-kuera	hese-réta	he-reta

Table 44: Posposition *rehe* in Paraguayan Guaraní, Avá-Guaraní and Tapiete

	<i>hewi</i>		
	Paraguayan Guaraní	Avá-Guaraní (Chiriguano)	Tapiete
1SG	che-hegui	ché-gwi	shi-hewi
1PLINCL	ñand-hegui	yandé-gwi	ñandi-hewi
1PLEXCL	ore-hegui	oré-gwi	iri-hewi
2SG	nde-hegui	ndé-gwi	ndi-hewi
2PL	pende-hegui	pendé-gwi	pi-hewi
3SG	ichu-gui, chu-gui	chú-gwi	shi-(wi)
3PL	ichu-kuera	chu-gwi-réta	shi-reta

Table 45: Posposition *hewi* in Paraguayan Guaraní, Avá-Guaraní and Tapiete

5.2.2. Interrogative

In Tapiete questions are marked morphologically by the interrogative particle *-ra* ‘Q’. In addition, intonation and question words are used in interrogative sentences. With the exception of question words, which are always found clause initially, no particular word order is associated with interrogative sentences: they display the same word order as declarative sentences. In the following sections, yes/no questions, intonation questions and question words are examined.

5.2.2.1. Yes / No questions

In Tapiete, yes / no questions i.e. questions whose expected answer is either yes or no, are addressed through both a specific intonation pattern and a question marker. No particular word order change is associated to yes/no questions.

INTONATION

Tapiete address yes / no questions by means of a raising intonation pattern, as illustrated in

(544). 

(544) a-ra(ha) shu
1sg.-carry 3:PROOBL
I take (something) for him

QUESTION PARTICLE

More commonly, yes/no questions are encoded by attaching the question suffix *-ra* 'Q' to the constituent the question is about. Often, for pragmatic purposes, this constituent is found in clause initial position. Thus, the question suffix *-ra* may attach to subject (545) and object NPs (546), to a dative personal pronoun (547), to an adverbial phrase (548) and to a verb when the requested information involves the predicate (549).

(545) pe-ra pi-ma-mbe'u-po
2PL-Q 2PLAC-INHO-tell-FUT
are you the ones who are going to tell the story?

(546) kosira-ra pe-u pe-i
tea-Q 2pl-2:drink 2pl-be
are you drinking tea?

(547) she-ra
I-Q
I? to me? (They are looking for me)

(548) há'e-pe-ra o-i nde-si
there-Q 3AC-be 2SGPOSS-mother
is your mother there?

(549) i a-riye'ó-ma-ra-po
water 1SGAC-carry-RES-Q-FUT
am I going to carry the water? // I bring water

Interrogative clauses in (546) and (549) can be compared as they have the same syntactic distribution i.e. the subject NP precedes the predicate, still the target of the question differs: in

(546) the information requested involves the object of the predicate *kosira* ‘tea’, while in (549) it is the action itself that is questioned.

The question particle *-ra* ‘Q’ may combine with other inflectional suffixes as shown in (549) above and (550), where suffix *-ra* co-occurs with aspectual morphemes *-ma* ‘RES’ and *-yɪ* ‘FRQ’ and the temporal morpheme *-po* ‘FUT’.

(550) a-mbi-yahu-ra-po-yɪ
 1SGAC-CAUS1-take a bath-Q-FUT-FRQ
do I have to give him a bath again?

In periphrastic construction involving auxiliary verbs, the question particle attaches to the main verb.

(551) pe-u-ra pe-ĩ kosira
 2PL-eat-Q 2PL-be tea
are you drinking tea?

(552) ndi-sawipo-ra ne-ĩ
 2SGIN-drunk-Q 2SGAC-be
are you getting drunk?

Finally, the question particle *-ra* ‘Q’ may function as a dubitative marker that express uncertainty.

In (553), the question particle is not encoding a question directed to the addressee, but is conveying the speaker’s uncertainty about the information provided.

(553) kada mbahapɪ ora-pe-ra-po ña-me hou
 every three time-LOC-Q-FUT 1PLINCL-give 3:eat
(approximately) every three hours we give (him/her) to eat

5.2.2.2. Question words

Question words are found clause initially (554). They may optionally be attached the question marker *-ra* ‘Q’ (555).

(554)

- a. mba'e ndi-heka
thing 2SGAC-look for
what are you looking for?
- b. mba we-ru
who? 3-bring
who has (he/she) brought?
- c. mampe awati ñono-ha
where? maize put-1EXCL
where do (we) put the maize?

(555)

- a. mba'e-ra ndi-yapo
thing-Q 2SGAC-do
What do you do?
- b. mba-ra nd-eshá ténta-pe
who-Q 2SGAC-see village-LOC
Whom did you see in the village?
- c. mampe-ra awati ñono-ha
where-Q maize put-IMPER
where do we put the maize?
- d. mbowi-ra mbi-hepi-ha nde
some-Q CAUS1-pay-IMPER you
how much have you earned?

Finally, tense markers may attach to question words.

- (556) mba-ra-po mba-papa
who-Q-FUT INHO-count
who is the one who is going to tell?

5.3. Subordinate clauses

This section surveys subordinate clauses in Tapiete. Specifically, it discusses the main characteristics of relative clauses i.e. clauses that function as nominal modifiers (Keenan 1985), complement clauses i.e. clauses that function as an argument (e.g. subject or object) of a

predicate, and adverbial clauses i.e. clauses that modify a main clause as an adverb modifies a predicate (Thompson & Longacre 1985:171).

5.3.1. Relative clauses

Four main elements are identified in relative clauses: **(i)** the head or the domain noun i.e. “the common noun in a R[elative] C[lause] which expresses the domain of relativization” (Keenan, 1985:142), **(ii)** the restrictive clause (indicated in brackets in the examples below) **(iii)** the element within the restrictive clause that co-refers with the head, and **(iv)** the relativizer (T. Payne 1997). The specific characteristic that these elements display in Tapiete will guide the discussion about relative clauses.

In Tapiete, the pragmatically unmarked position of relative clauses is post-nominal, that is, the restrictive clause is found after the head of the relative clause. Relative clauses are marked by the nominalizer morpheme *-wa ~ -a* ‘NOM’, which always follows the restrictive clause (557).

(557)

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|--------|--|--------------------|--|-------------|-----|
| a. | | HEAD | | Restrictive Clause | | NMLZ | |
| | ha'e | tapipe | | [heko | | káwi-wa] | |
| | (s)he | woman | | behavior | | well-NMLZ | |
| | <i>she is/was a good woman</i> | | | | | | |
| b. | a-pota | nde | | [ni-pĩrĩ-mbo'e | | nd-i-wa] | |
| | 1SGAC-want | you | | 2SGAC-IHO-teach | | 2SG-be-NMLZ | |
| | | | | | | ni-mbe'u | she |
| | | | | | | 2SGAC-tell | I |
| | <i>I want you who are teaching to tell me</i> | | | | | | |

Since the nominalizer morpheme *-wa ~ -a* ‘NOM’ takes nominal morphology, it agrees in number with the head noun (558).

(558)

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|--|--|-------|----------|--|---------------|--|------|-----------|
| a. | o-ho-mba | | mbe'u | shu | | arka'e | | ampo | karai |
| | 3AC-3:go-they say that | | tell | 3:PROOBL | | long time ago | | that | white man |
| | <i>hw went to tell him before this... to the gringos</i> | | | | | | | | |

HEAD	Restrictive Clause				
karai-re	[tumpa	i-ñe'ë	mbe'u i-a-reta-rä]		
white man-PL	god	3POSS-language	tell	be-NOM-plural-SUB	
<i>the gringos who announced the God's spell</i>					

	HEAD	Restrictive Clause			
b.	hama	sanya'i-re ä	[o-ho-wa-ré	ñani-ñe'ë	hä'ä-vea-rä]
	then	child-PL	now 3AC-go-NOM-PL	our-language	speak-NMLZ-NEG-SUB
	<i>then, today's youngsters do not speak our language anymore</i>				

Two consecutive restrictive clauses may modify the same domain noun, as shown in (559), where the head of the relative clause *ko siyora* ‘this white woman’ is modified by the restrictive clauses *ou wapi o-i-wa* ‘who is sitting’ and *pĩrandu i(ko)-wa* ‘who is asking’. Notice that the second restrictive clause modifies the NP *ko siyora*, while co-referring to the oblique personal pronoun *shu* of the second clause.

(559)		HEAD	Restrictive Clause			
	a-mbe'u-po	shu	ko	siyora	[ou wapi	o-i-wa]
	1SGAC-tell-FUT	3:PROOBL	DEM	white woman	3:come	sit down
	<i>I am going to tell (her) this lady who has come to sit down</i>					
	Restrictive Clause					
	[pĩrandu	i(ko)-wa]	a-mbe'u-po	shu		
	ask	be-NMLZ	1SGAC-tell-FUT	3:PROOBL		
	<i>(a) to the one who is asking (I) am going to tell her</i>					

In addition, restrictive clauses may lack a domain noun. In (560), the restrictive clause *ä o-ho-wa* ‘el de ahora’ does not have an adjacent domain noun to modify. However, the speaker specifies the referent of the head of the relative clause by juxtaposing the NP *hoka kasike* ‘this chief’ in clause final position.

(560)	Restrictive Clause			
	hama	[ä	o-ho-wa]	
	but	now	3AC-go-NMLZ	
	<i>then the one from nowadays</i>			

HEAD

ñā-mbi-waché-a-mpo handi, hoka kasike
 1PLINCL-CAUS1-same-NEG-FUT with DEM cacique
we are not going to compare him (hoka kasike=López)

Relative clauses may be modified by a determiner in which case the determiner is adjacent to the head and occupies the same syntactic position of determiners in main clauses i.e. DET + Head + Restrictive Clause. This is exemplified in (561).

(561)

- a DET HEAD Restrictive Clause
- | | | | | | | |
|--|------|------|--------|-------|-------------|--|
| | katĩ | ko | ta'ipe | [katu | mba'ápo-wa] | |
| | but | this | woman | know | work-NOM | |
- but this woman knows how to work // if a woman knows how to work*
-
- b DET HEAD Restrictive Clause
- | | | | | | | |
|--|--------|-----|----------|---------|-------------------|--|
| | ha'e | ka | woka | sanya'ĩ | [ñā-me'ë-wa] | |
| | he/she | and | this one | child | 1PLINCL-Give-NMLZ | |
- and that boy who (we) have given away*

Alternatively, the head and the restrictive clause may be separated by the predicate. In (562), the noun *angu'a* 'drum' is the head of the relative clause whose restrictive clause is *wi-ro-po-ha-pi-wa* 'para que bailemos'. Similarly, in (563) the restrictive clause *yapo-ha óre-a* 'made for us' modifies the indefinite pronoun *heta* 'a lot', which functions as the head of the relative clause and occurs before the predicate.

- (562) HEAD V Restrictive Clause
- | | | | | | | | |
|--|------|--------|----------------|-----------------------------|--|------|-------|
| | hama | angu'a | nohe-ha | [wi-ro-po-ha-pi-wa] | | hoka | ha'e |
| | then | drum | pull out-IMPER | 3-COM-dance-IMPER-INST-NMLZ | | DEM | (s)he |
- then they take out the drum to dance, that is*

- (563) HEAD V
- | | | | |
|--|-------|------------|-------------------|
| | heta | reko-ha | arka'e-pi |
| | a lot | have-1EXCL | long time ago-LOC |
- we had several / a lot before*

Restrictive Clause

[yapo-ha óre-a]
do-NOM we(exc.)-NMLZ
done for us (here they are done)

According to Keenan (1985:146-155), languages vary in relation to how they mark the relativized position (e.g. subject, direct object, etc.) within the restrictive clause: the relativized position may be marked by a personal pronoun, a relative pronoun, a full NP or it may be “gapped”, that is, it may not receive any overt mark.

In Tapiete the relativized position within the restrictive clause that co-refers with the head of the relative clause is not marked: there is no personal pronoun, relative pronoun or full noun phrase within the restricting clause that refers to the domain noun. In other words, in Tapiete the head of the relative clause is “gapped” in the restrictive clause. In (564), the head of the relative clause *sanya’i-re* ‘children’, which occupies the subject position within the restrictive clause, is not marked in the restrictive clause.

(564)

			S	NMLZ				
hama	ä	sanya’i-re	[Ø	ó-ho-wa]	opa	mba’e	kwa	
then	now	child-PL		3-go-NOM	all	thing	know	
<i>then, today’s youngsters know everything</i>								

The positions that can be relativized in Tapiete are subject (565) and object (566). Subject’s relativization is exemplified in (565) where the head of the relative clause *sanya’i* ‘child’ functions as the subject of the restrictive clause *kiripoti ñomi shi-hewi-a* ‘who stole me the money’. In (566), the head of the relative clause *waka ro’o* ‘meat’ is the object of the restrictive clause *a-mbaku-wa* ‘que calenté en el fuego’

(565) Relativization of Subject

			S	O	V	Obl
a.	ai-kwa hé	sanya'ɪ	[Ø	kiriṗoti	ñomi	shi-hewi-a]
	I-know 3:PROOBJ	child		money	steale	I-hewi-NMLZ
	<i>I know the boy who stole the money from me</i>					

		S	V	Aux
b.	ko siyora	[Ø	ṗirandu	o-i-wa]
	DEM white woman		ask	3AC-be-NMLZ
	<i>this white woman who is asking questions</i>			

(566) Relativization of Object

			O	V
	hau ye waka ro'o	[Ø	a-mbaku-wa]	
	1:eat recently meat		1SGAC-heat-NOM	
	<i>I ate the meat that I heated up in the fire</i>			

Finally, verbs of restrictive clauses differ from verbs in main declarative clauses in that they carry almost no inflectional morphemes. Thus, although verbs in restrictive clauses may take personal, causatives and incorporating prefixes, they do not take tense and aspect markers. This is a phenomenon commonly found cross-linguistically (Keenan 1985:161).

Interestingly, Tapiete post-nominal relative clauses display features common to pre-nominal relative clauses. According to Keenan (1985), the “gapping” of the co-referent NP within the restrictive clause is common to languages with pre-nominal relative clauses. On the contrary, post-nominal relative clauses are more likely to have a personal or a relative pronoun as the co-referring NP within the restricting clause. Similarly, the position of the relativizer in Tapiete, i.e. after the restrictive clause, is common to languages with pre-nominal relative clauses; relativizer tend to occur before the restrictive clause in languages with post-nominal relative clauses (Keenan 1985:160).

5.3.2. Complement clauses

The nominalizer morpheme *-wa ~ -a* ‘NOM’ introduced in the last section, also serves to identify a clause as a complement of the main predicate. In Tapiete, complement clauses function as objects (567).

- (567) a-hésha-e kā'ä ou-wa
 1SGAC-see-REC yesterday 3:come-NMLZ
I (just) saw the one who came yesterday

The structure of complement clauses parallels that of declarative clauses where adverbials (567) and objects (568) precede the predicate, while oblique arguments follow it (569).

- (568) pi-póta-ra shure pe-u
 2PL-want-Q potato 2PL-eat
do they want to eat potatoes?

- (569) pepente ime reko-ha ìre-sì-ré yapo óre-a
 one by one there is have-1EXCL our(exc.)-mother-PL do we(exc.)-NMLZ
each of us had (what) our mothers did for us

Some predicates that commonly take complement clauses (e.g. *mo'a* ‘(s)he believes’, *mbe'u* ‘(s)he says’, *pota* ‘(s)he wants’, *ha'e* ‘I say’) do not have a complementizer associated with them. These predicates differ in regard to the structural position their complement clauses occupy within the main clause. Thus, while the syntactic distribution of object complement clauses of the verb *mo'ä* ‘(s)he believes’ parallels that of objects in independent clauses i.e. pre-verbal position (570); object complement clauses of verbs *mbe'u* (571), *pota* (572) and *ha'e* (573) are found in post verbal position.

- (570) shu-pürü'ä a-mo'a
 1SGIN-pregnant 1SGAC-believe
Is it that I am pregnant?

- (571) a-mbe'u-po shu ni-mi-poruka
 1SGAC-tell-FUT 3:PROOBL 2SGIN-CAUS1-use-CAUS2
I am going to tell (him/her) that (he/she) lends it to you

(572) ai-potá-ä ì ndi-waware hese
 1SGAC-want-NEG water 2SGAC-play 3:PROOB
I do not want you to play with water

(573) she hä'ì ñi-mba'erasì o-ì Juan
 I 1SG:say 3IN-illness 3AC-be Juan
I say that Juan is sick

According to Noonan (1985:??), the syntactic distribution of the object complement clause in (570) is common to SOV languages, as the pre-verbal position signals that they function as the object of the main predicate.

It is possible for a clause to be complement and matrix at the same time. In (574), the object complement clause of the verb *mo'ä* is the verb *pota* plus its object complement clause *sh-uká-ha ha ye* '(they wanted) to kill me recently'. Similarly in (575) the object complement clause of the verb *pota* is the verb *pi-yasaka* 'they listen' plus its object complement clause *she ha'é-a-raimi* 'what I say'.

(574) pota-ha a-mo'ä sh-uká-ha ye
 want-1EXCL 1SGAC-believe 1SGIN-kill-IMPE a moment ago
it seems that (they) wanted to kill me (a moment ago)

(575) she ha'é-a-raimi ai-pota pi-yasaka hese
 I 1SG:say-NMLZ-alike 1SGAC-want 2PL-listen 3:PROOBJ
what I say (I) want you to listen

Alternatively, the object complement clause may be subject to extraposition by being removed to the end of the main clause (Noonan 1985:83). In Tapiete, this is done for pragmatic purposes when the subject of the complement clause needs to be emphasized. In (576), the personal pronoun *nde* 'you (SG)' that functions as the subject of the complement clause and is cross-referenced on the verb of the complement predicate, remains in its unmarked position i.e. before the matrix verb, while the complement clause itself is removed after the main predicate.

(576) nde a-mo'ä nu-mbusururu
 you 1SGAC-believe 2SGAC-drink
you must be the one who has drunk

5.3.3. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are marked through the subordinating suffix *-rä* 'SUB' and through juxtaposition. Like adverbs and adverbial phrases, adverbial clauses are mainly found in clause initial position (577).

(577) ADVCL V
 hama [we-rú-ha-rä] piro-ha
 then 3AC-bring-IMPER-SUB peel off-IMPER
when they brought it, (they) peeled it

Adverbial clauses resemble independent clauses in that their predicate may take inflectional affixes (577).

(578) ADVCL
 [yawaiwe sanya'i káñi-ma-rä] opa wĩ'ää-ha
 because child lost-RES-SUB all to be sad-1EXCL
because the boy is already lost we are sad

Similarly, as in main clauses, the predicate of the adverbial clause may take a full object NP and an oblique pronominal form (579), while their predicate may be followed by a pronominal object (580).

(579) ADVCL
 OBJ V OBL
 hama [awati mbu-ruru shu-reta-rä]
 then maize CAUS1-wet 3:PROOBL-PL-SUB
then, when the soaked the maize

V O
 yoso-ha awati tánta-wa
 grind-1EXCL maize soft-NMLZ
we ground the hard maize

adverbial clauses, which may be marked by means of suffix *-rä* ‘SUB’ (584) or by juxtaposition (585).

(584)

a. Reason

[hama ä opa mbi-lote-ha-rä]
 then now everything CAUS1-terrain-IMPER-SUB
then (they) were plotted // so now that (he) has plotted everything

karai-reta-raimi-ma ya-iko-we ka
 white man-PL-alike-RES 1PLINCL-live-also and
now as we have plot we live for ever // like the criollos we live

b. Purpose

kiripoti a-mondo-po shu [ou-wërä]
 money 1SGAC-send-FUT 3:PROBL. 3:come-for
I am going to send (him/her) money for (him/her) to come

(585)

a. Reason

e-che [ndi-sawipo ne-ï]
 IMP-sleep 2SGIN-drunk 2SGIN-be
sleep because you are drunk

b. Purpose

é-ru she tumpa pire [a-mbi-pára-po]
 IMP-bring I notebook 1SGAC-CAUS1-color?-FUT
bring me the book (blank) I am going to write

Alternatively, reason adverbial clauses may be introduced by the subordinating conjunction *yawaiwe* ‘because’, which may co-occur with the subordinating morpheme *-rä*.

(586) hama she-si segundo grado mba wähë-nte arkai
 then 1SGPOSS-mother second grade EVD? arrive-only long time ago
and before my mother had reached second grade

[yawaiwe tu-mba arkai hinga-iwi ou-wa-rä]
 because father-NNEG long time ago other -DIR 3:come-NMLZ-SUB
because the father was not from this place // he came from some other place

Adverbial clauses may express the simultaneity of two events. As noted by Thompson & Longacre (1985:188), in such cases, one of the events provides the background for the other. Thus, the background clause is marked either by a marker that express the simultaneity of the two events or by special aspectual markers e.g. continuative, durative or imperfective. In Tapiete, the background clause is marked by a periphrastic construction that encodes progressive aspect (587).

(587) Background clause

a-yuhe-wasi-të-wë	pɨ	[ro'ɨ	hou	o-i	siyora-ra'ɨ]
1SGAC-desire-a lot-??-also	inside	ice cream	3:eat	3AC-be	white woman-DIM2

when the girl was eating an ice-cream I wanted

Finally, adverbial clauses encode condition in which case the conditional clause is marked by the subordinating morpheme *-rä* 'SUB'. All the examples in the database involve “unreality conditionals”, that is, conditions that refer to unreal situations. Thompson & Longacre (1985:190) subdivide unreality conditionals into predictive and imaginative conditionals. Among imaginative conditionals, hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals are distinguished.

In Tapiete predictive conditionals (589) i.e. the speaker predicts what the situation will be, and hypothetical conditionals i.e. the speaker imagine what the situation might be (589) are encoded by means of suffix *-rä* 'SUB' .

(588) Predictive Conditional

[a-pisi-rä]	hama	shɨ-mba'erasi-kwi
1SGAC-catch-SUB	then	1SGIN-illness-FUT

if I touch it, then I get sick

(589) Conditional hypothetical

a. hama [i-shɨ tu-re ɨngangá-rä-ma]

then	3POSS-mother	father-PL	diferent(?) -SUB-RES
------	--------------	-----------	----------------------

if her/his mother and his father were different // Then her/his mother

ha'é-ä-ma mbítá ha'e-ma
 (s)he-NEG-RES half (s)he-RES
it is not anymore, it is half (only)

ha'e-ä-ma ka tapi'ite
 (s)he-NEG-RES and Tapiete
it is not tapiete anymore

- b. [amo i kírìpoti ime óre-rä-po] o-wá-ha-kwi
 sometimes be money there is we(exc.)-SUB-FUT 3AC-buy-1EXCL-FUT
if we have money we are going to buy

5.4. Possessive constructions

Tapiete encodes possession lexically and through syntactic and morphological means. Morphological encoding of possession i.e. distribution of alienable and inalienable possessive markers, has already been discussed in 3.1.6.6. In this section, lexical and syntactic constructions are presented, which are limited to the expression of alienable possession only.

Lexical encoding of possession is done by means of the verb *reko* 'to have' (590), which can take the shortened form *ré* (591).

(590) kírìpoti a-reko
 money 1SGAC-have
I have money

(591) ha'e monkoi yasi re(ko)-rä shì-yarì mbi-kwakwá
 (s)he two month have -SUB 1SGPOSS-grandmother CAUS1-grow up
He was two months old when my grandmother raised him

Syntactically, possession may be expressed by means of nominal juxtaposition, in which case the possessor precedes the entity being possessed. In these cases, the possessed entity is prefixed the corresponding possessive marker as discussed in section 3.1.6.8. Examples of this construction with different possessive markers are given in (592).

(592)

- a. wira-mi i-nti
 bird-DIM1 3POSS-nose
 beak of the bird
- b. ha'e yi-ikwa
 he/she 3POSS-hole
 his hole
- c. siyora ññn-kosina
 white woman 3POSS-oven
 the white woman's kitchen
- d. te-'u hä'ĩ
 DEFPOSS-leg seed
 the muscle of the leg
- e. hara yuru
 jug mouth
 jug's mouth

In addition, possession may be expressed through a syntactic construction that combines the existential verb *ime* 'there is' and the verb *reko* 'to have' (593). The existential verb *ime* may also co-occur with possessive markers (594).

(593) andai-wasu ime a-re(ko)
 pumpkin-big there is 1SGAC-have
 I have a big pumpkin

(594) ime she-ro
 there is 1SGPOSS-house
 I have a house

Finally, Tapiete encodes possession by means of a construction that may be equated to a pronominal possessive construction, whose paradigm is given in Table 46.

1SG	sh-a'ámpo-wa	mine
1INCL	ñan-a'ámpo-wa	our (inc.)
1EXCL	ir-a'ámpo-wa	our (exc.)
2SG	n-a'ámpo-wa	yours (sg.)
2PL	p-a'ámpo-wa	yours (pl.)
3	ñ-a'ámpo-wa	his/her

Table 46: Tapiete possessive pronominal construction

Some examples are given below.⁷⁴

(595) mbo'u she sh-a'ámpo-wa
 send I 1SGPOSS-POSS-NMLZ
pass me mine

(596) mi ha'e ñ-a'ámpo-wa
 spear (s)he 3POSS-POSS-NMLZ
the spear of him

5.5. Coordination

Tapiete has two means of encoding coordination according to the nature of the units to be coordinated. The coordinating conjunction *ka* 'and' is used to encode clause coordination, while the comitative word *handi* 'with' encodes noun phrase coordination. In addition, clauses, noun phrases and verb phrases may be coordinated by juxtaposition. These coordination strategies are surveyed in what follows.

Tapiete has a coordinating conjunction *ka* 'and', which occurs after the two conjoined clauses.

(597) ma mate ho'u-ha
 then mate 3:eat-1EXCL
then we have mate

hama poko-ha iyeta-ha ka
 then begin-1EXCL to speak-1EXCL and
then we start talking

⁷⁴ The gloss is not yet clear to me: the form *ampo* is used as discourse tag, which is translated as Spanish *este* 'er' although, unlike in Spanish, it is not used as a demonstrative. The form *amo* is a demonstrative in Guarani and Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano).

- (598) hama ä opa mbi-lote-ha-rä
 then now everything CAUS1-Terrain-1EXCL-SUB
then they were plotted // so now that (he/she) has plotted everything
- karai-reta-raimi-ma ya-iko-we ka
 Creole-PL-alike-RES 1PLINCL-live-also and
now as we have plot we live for ever // like the criollos we live

Alternatively, when the verb of the second clause takes a pronominal oblique argument, an optional co-referent NP may follow the coordinating conjunction. In (599), the noun *hatikwekwe* ‘kind of corn’ co-refers with the pronominal form *shi* and appears after the conjunction *ka* ‘and’.

- (599) hama ni'insa-mi-ma o-i-rä
 then cold-DIM1-RES 3AC-be-SUB
then, when it is a bit cold
- heki-ha shi ka hatikwekwe
 pull out-1EXCL 3PRO(?) and kind of corn-AUG
and we take out the maize that is left in the sieve

The coordination of two inactive predicates is made by juxtaposition (600).

- (600) puku-mba-mi kira-wasu
 long-NNEG-DIM1 fat-big
he is short and fat

In addition, suffixes *-sewe* ‘at the same time, also’ and *-rihewe* ‘together’ also express the coordination of two inactive predicates.

(601)

- a. she-po opa ki'a ñ-anki-sewe
 1SGPOSS-hand all Dirty 3IN-wet-at the same time
I have my hands dirty and wet
- b. hai ñ-angaivo ñi-mba'erasi-sewe
 (s)he 3IN-skinminness 3IN-illness-at the same time
he is thin and sick

- (602) nde-po ki'a ñ-anki-riheve shi-pi'a o-ho-á he(se)
 2SGPOSS-hand dirty 3IN-wet-together 1SGPOSS-heart 3AC-go-NEG 3:PROOBJ
your dirty and wet hands I do not like them

The comitative word *handi* ‘with’ is used to encode accompaniment (603) and NP coordination (604), in which case it follows the two conjoined NPs; the coordinating conjunction *ka* ‘and’ is ungrammatical in this context (605). The comitative word *handi* may take verbal inflection morphology (606).

(603) ha'e-re ou-ha-po handi
 (s)he-PL 3:come-EXCL-FUT with
we (excl.) will go with them

(604)

a. shé-ru-re shé-si-re handi
 1SGPOSS-father-PL 1SGPOSS-mother-PL with
my father with my mother

b. Kiñi Awara o-ho karu handi
 Kiñi Awara 3AC-3:go eat with
Kiñi and Awara went out to eat

(605) *Kiñi ka Awara ténta-pe o-ho
 Kiñi and Awara village-LOC 3AC-3:go
 **Kiñi y Awara went down town*

(606) i-shi tu hándi-po tapĩĩ
 3POSS-mother father with-FUT Tapiete person
his/her mother and his/her father have to be (the two of them) tapietes

The coordinating conjunction *ka* (608) and the comitative *handi* ‘with’ may occur between the two conjoined elements, which seems to reflect the position they occupy in Spanish i.e. between the two coordinated constituents Spanish.

(607) hame hainá mbi-pika-ha ka mbi-asao-ha-wërä
 then from that point CAUS1-mince-1EXCL and CAUS1-barbecue-1EXCL-for
so only then we chop it up to grill it

(608)

a. ñi-rärö handi arka'e-pi Elsa handi Rubén
 RECP-suffle with long time ago-LOC Elsa with Rubén
Elsa fought with Ruben / Before Elsa and Ruben fought

- b. hama ä sanya'i-re opa iyeta handi karai-reta
 then today child-PL all speak with white man-PL
that is why now all the children talk to the criollos

Finally, examples of disjunctions are very scarce in texts. However, it appears that disjunctions are expressed through the coordinator *katĩ* 'but' (609) and through clause juxtaposition (610).

- (609) ou ye'i katĩ ou yi-ma-e
 3:come a moment ago but 3:come 3:come back-RES-REC
he came but "he left"

- (610) ñĩ-mba'erasi-ra ñĩ-mbairasi-'ä-ra'
 3-illness-Q 3IN-illness-NEG-Q
I do not know if (he) will be sick

5.6. Comparatives

Tapiete encodes comparative constructions morphologically and syntactically. The morphological encoding of comparatives and superlatives involves the affixation of suffixes *-raimi* 'alike' and *-ite* 'SUP', respectively. A specific syntactic construction is used by means of which the subject of the comparison precedes both the quality and the standard i.e. the entity against which the subject is compared. Tapiete does not have a special marker to encode a degree of comparison that refers to the inferiority of the subject compared with the standard. In the following paragraphs the morphological and syntactic encoding of Tapiete comparative constructions is surveyed.

Suffix *-raimi* 'alike' encodes the similarity that exists between two entities that are compared. It is always translated as 'similar' or 'like'. This comparative marker attaches to nominal forms (611) after the affixation of other morphemes has taken place (612).

- (611) ha'e-ä-po ha'e ñande-raimi
 (s)he-NEG-FUT (s)he we(inc.)-alike
the children do not have to be like us (hai = los niños)

(612) karai-reta-raimi iyeta
 white man-PL-alike speak
they speak like the criollos

Comparatives that do not refer to the similarity between two entities are encoded syntactically; thus, there is no special comparative marker in these constructions. Instead, the order of elements signals the comparative value of the construction: the quality precedes the noun phrase that refers to the standard. The standard, in turn, is encoded by pronominal forms attached to posposition *hewi* ‘GLOSE’ is attached (613).

	S	quality	standard
(613)	ha’e	puku	shi-hewi
	(s)he	high	1SGIN-hewi
	<i>he is bigger than me</i>		

When the standard is third person, the pronominal form *shi* ‘GLOSE’ is followed by a noun phrase that specifies its identity (614).

(614)

a.	mbirika	marë’i	shi	ñamĩmba
	donkey	big	3PRO	dog
	<i>the donkey is bigger than the dog</i>			
b.	mbirika	marë’i	shi	ha’e
	donkey	big	3PRO	(s)he
	<i>the donkey is bigger than him</i>			

Given the appropriate pragmatic conditions, the noun phrase that follows the pronominal form may be omitted (615) or it may be marked for plural number (616).

(615) mbirika marë’i shi
 donkey big 3PRO
the donkey is bigger than him

(616) mbirika marë’i shi-reta
 donkey big 3PRO-PL
the donkey is bigger than them

As for superlative, it is morphologically encoded through the affixation of suffix *-ite* ‘SUP’.

(617) ha'e puku-ite
(s)he high-SUP
he is the tallest

Tapiete speakers are more likely to encode comparatives through the Spanish comparative construction. In these cases, the Tapiete order of elements (e.g. subject-quality-standard), that matches the Spanish order of elements in comparative construction, (e.g. subject-comparative marker-quality-standard) is preserved. However, the Spanish comparative marker *más* ‘more’ is inserted between the subject and the lexical form that encodes the quality (i.e. a verb in Tapiete)

(618).

(618) nde mah ndu-puku shi-hewi
you more 2SGIN-high 1SGIN-hewi
you are taller than me

The same is true of superlative constructions: although the Tapiete superlative morpheme *-ite* is preserved, the Spanish comparative marker *más* is inserted between the subject and the quality

(619).

(619) ha'e mah puku-ite
(s)he more high-SUP
he is the tallest (this is used more)

5.7. Imperative

As said in Chapter 4, some verbs encode imperative by means of intonation while other take a special imperative prefix *e-*‘IMP’. Tapiete also has a special hortative marker *t(i)-*‘HORT’ that precedes person markers. In addition, there is clausal negative word *awɨ* ‘NEGIMP’ used to encode negative imperatives.

Imperatives of intransitive clauses are encoded either through intonation (620) on a bare verbal root or through affixation of prefix *e*-‘IMP’ (622).

(620) karu!
eat
eat!

(621) e-hě!
IMP-go out
get out

Although suppression of the subject NP is common in imperative constructions, they may occur either in their default preverbal position (622) or after the verb (623) if the speaker needs to emphasize the identity of the addressee or the imperative force of the utterance.

(622) nde e-po
you IMP-jump
you, jump!

(623) mĩ-ndoso nde
CAUS1-cut you
you, cut him

The order of elements in imperative clauses differs from the default order of elements in declarative clauses. Thus, the constituents that in transitive declarative clauses are normally found in pre-verbal position (e.g. NP objects (624) and adverbials (625)) occur in post-verbal position in imperative clauses.

(624) he'u timbiú
2:eat food
eat the food

(625) heya ha'e-pe
leave (s)he-LOC
leave it there

Similarly, in ditransitive imperative clauses both direct objects and oblique arguments are found in post verbal position (626). When the order of constituents parallels that of declarative clauses, the conveyed meaning is of a polite imperative (627).

(626) yapo shu kosira ndi-rɪwi
do 3:PROOBL tea 2SGPOSS-male's brother
make some tea for your brother

(627) yu sɪwö she
needle juniper I
thread the needle for me

Finally, Tapiete has a clausal negative imperative word *awɪ* ‘NEGIMP’, which is always found in clause initial position (628).

(628)
a. awɪ e-mi-kwi
no IMP-move-FUT
do not move
b. awɪ pirahe
no sing
do not sing

5.8. Negation

Three types of clausal negation are distinguished in Tapiete that include the negative words: *awɪ* ‘NEGIMP’ (Cf. 6.6), *mba’eti* ‘GLOSE’, and *time* ‘GLOSE’. These words have scope over the entire clause. Clausal negation words negate assertions (e.g. *time*), imperatives (e.g. *awɪ*) and the existence or presence of an entity (e.g. *mba’eti*). They are always found in clause initial position.

The clausal negative *time* is used to give a negative answer to a yes/no question (629).

(629) time pare-po ya-'u
no tomorrow-FUT 1PLINCL-eat
no, tomorrow we are going to eat it

In addition, Tapiete has a negative of existence *mba'eti* 'GLOSE' (629), which is used to give negative answers to questions about the presence or existence of some entity.

- (630) hama mba'eti-rä ti-ka'enta por'i-ha he arika'e
 then nothing-SUB DEFPOSS-grill use-IMPER 3:PROOBJ long time ago
so before when there was not somebody's grill for us to use

The negative word *mba'eti* 'GLOSE' may function as an indefinite pronoun that refers to an entity whose existence is negated. As a consequence, it may occupy the object (631) or the subject position (632).

- (631) mba'eti a-yuka
 anything 1SGAC-kill
I did not kill anyone

- (632) mba'eti-po hoka mbe'u-ä
 nobody-FUT DEM. tell-NEG
nobody is going to say this

In addition, clausal negative words may take verbal morphology such as tense (632) and aspect (633).

(633)

- a. mba'eti-ma
 nothing -RES
there is no more // finish
- b. ha'e mba'eti-pi ko tapiete-pe
 (s)he nothing-HAB DEM tapiete-LOC
this is what there is not in tapiete(hai=documento)

Finally, it is common for the negative word *mba'eti* to function as the negative word *time* and give a negative answer to a yes/no question (634). In these cases, it may co-occur with the negative suffix *-ä*, in which case the negative meaning of the whole proposition is stressed (635).

did he/she behave well?

(634) mba'eti sanga arka'e nde'i i-rä
no tearful long time ago child be-SUB
no, he was a crybaby when he was a child

(635) mba'eti a-mba'apo-ä
no 1SGAC-work-NEG
no, I do not work / I did not work

5.9. Evidentials

Tapiete has an evidential suffix *-nda* 'EVD', which indicates that the speaker has not witnessed the information reported. Therefore, evidential *-nda* is used for narration of events not witnessed by the speaker that have taken place in the recent past or in an ancient or mythic past, e.g. narration of folk tales. Evidential *-nda* may be translated as 'they/people/somebody say(s) that...'

Evidential *-nda* may be considered a clitic since it generally attaches to the first constituent of the clause, which usually is the constituent in focus. The examples below show evidential *-nda* attached to a subject noun phrase (636), a predicate (637), an adverbial phrase (638), an adverbial clause (639), a relative clause (640) and a connector (641).

(636)

a. ha'e-nda-po ou-kwi
(s)he-EVD-FUT 3:come-FUT
(they say) that (s)he will come

b. Pedro-nda o-ho-po
Pedro-EVD 3AC-go-FUT
Pedro (says that) he is going to go

(637) ou-nda arka'e ko-pe
3:come-EVD long time ago DEM-LOC
(they say that) (s)he came here long time ago

(638) ayo-pe-nda ñomi we-ru arka'e-pi i-me-rä
big bag-LOC-EVD stole 3?-bring long time ago-LOC 3POSS-husband-SUB
in the past, they stole her future husband and brought him in a bag

(639) mba arika'e she-ru nde'i í-rä-nda
 when long time ago 1SGPOSS-father child be-SUB-EVD
before when my father was a child

kíyé-ha mondo-ha arika'e-pi
 fear-IMPER send-IMPER long ime ago-LOC
they were afraid of sending the children to learn

(640) yíwe Paraguay-pe o-i-a-nda
 also Paraguay -LOC 3AC-be-NMLZ-EVD
also, the one who is in Paraguay

mbi-ware-ka-kwe peróta-pe
 CAUS1-play-CAUS2-PST ballon -LOC
(they) make (him) to play with the ballon

(641) hame-nda kwakwa-re wapi o-ho
 then-EVD old person-PL sit 3AC-go
then the old persons are sitted

As said earlier, evidential *-nda* indicates that the reported information has not been witnessed by the speaker. This is clearly illustrated in (642) where two kinds of information are reported: the declarative sentence *ou mbe'u kä'ä* 'he came yesterday to say that' refers to a situation witnessed by the speaker. On the contrary, the situation referred by the content of the message *teitema oi* '(s)he was getting worse' has not been witnessed by the speaker and, therefore, gets attached the evidential suffix *-nda*.

(642) witnessed information not witnessed information

[ou mbe'u kä'ä] [téite-ma-nda o-i-rä]
 3:come tell yesterday worse-RES-EVD 3AC-be-SUB
he has come to tell that he was worse // that he had worsened

(643) yáwa-nda ha'e-ipi iko
 tiger-EVD (s)he-LOCMOV be
(it is said that) the tiger lives over there

Evidential *-nda* is used to report events that took place in the past (644). In addition, evidential *-nda* is frequently used to introduce a story that has occurred in a remote past in which case it is usually attached to the existential verb *ime* 'there is/are' (645).

(644) *shi-sanga-nda* *arika'e-pe*
 1SGIN-tearful-EVD long time ago-LOC
they say that I was a crybaby

(645) *íme-nda* *arika'e* *pente* *kuñantäi*
 there_is -EVD long time ago one young lady
there was a woman

ñande-a *pota* *re(ko)-a*
 we(EXCL)-NMLZ want have-NMLZ
who wanted a fellow countryman of ours

Finally, it seems to be an opposition between the evidential marker *-nda* ‘EVD’ and other morpheme *-mba* that may also be characterized as an evidential. The difference between *-nda* and *-mba* seems to be that, while the former encodes information not witnessed by the speaker, the latter encodes information that has been witnessed by the speaker. This opposition is illustrated in (646) and (647).

(646)

- a. *ñaimba-nda* *ndu-su-e*
 dog-EVD 2SGP-bite-REC
it seems it is the dog (the onethat) bit you
- b. *ñaimba-mba* *ndu-su-e*
 dog-they say that 2SGP-bite-REC
the dog that had bitten you

(647)

- a. *tärähenotu-mba* *p̄ir-ompi-e*
 bee-they say that HO-bite-REC
the bees sting (the one who speaks has seen him/it, the one who listens has not seen him/it)
- b. *tärähenotu-nda* *p̄ir-ompi*
 bee-EVD HO-bite
it is said that the bees sting

However, the considerations about morpheme *-mba* ‘GLOSE’ remain tentative, since there is not enough data to confirm the validity of the opposition illustrated in the examples below.

5.10. Conclusions

This chapter has examined the main syntactic phenomena that occur at the clause level in Tapiete. Specifically, it has characterized Tapiete as an SOV language, in which adverbials are mainly found in clause initial position. Among declarative sentences, transitive clauses follow the OV order, while ditransitive clauses tend to place their oblique argument in post-verbal position.

Tapiete displays two sets of independent pronouns, which are distinguished by the position they take within the clause and the form they take for third person: independent pronouns as subjects are found in pre-verbal position and take the form *ha'e* '(s)he' as third person, while independent pronouns as oblique arguments are found in post-verbal position and take the form *shu* '(s)he' as third person. In addition, Set 2 person markers take four different positions with which they form pronominal forms that encode different semantic roles: *rehe* encodes the participatory semantic role of patient and the circumstantial role of reason, *hewi* encodes the semantic role of source, *yehe* encodes a marginal reflexive construction and *yupe* encodes the circumstantial role of beneficiary.

The subject of agentive / patientive clauses is found in clause initial position. Finally, interrogative sentences are encoded through the interrogative particle *-ra* 'Q', intonation and question words.

In addition, Tapiete has a nominalizer morpheme *-wa* 'NOM' that serves to mark relative and complement clauses. Nominalizer *-wa* is found in final position. Relative clauses are post-nominal: they are found after the head of the relative clause and may be modified by a determiner in which case the determiner precedes the relative clause (e.g. DET + Head + Restrictive Clause). The relativized position (e.g. subject and object) within the restrictive clause

that co-refers with the head of the relative clause is “gapped”, which means that there is not overt trace of these positions in the restrictive clause. Complement clauses function as object of the main predicate and their structure parallels that of declarative clauses. In addition, it is possible for a clause to be complement and matrix at the same time. As for adverbial clauses, they are marked through the subordinating suffix *-rä* ‘SUB’ and through juxtaposition. Like adverbs and adverbial phrases, adverbial clauses are mainly found clause initially.

Alienable possessive constructions are expressed through lexical (e.g. verb *reko* ‘to have’) and syntactic means. Syntactically, possession is expressed by means of nominal juxtaposition, in which case the possessor precedes the possessed entity. In addition, a construction that combines the existential verb *ime* ‘there is’ with the verb *reko* ‘to have’ is used to express possession.

Coordination in Tapiete is encoded through the coordinating conjunction *ka* ‘and’, which encodes clause coordination and the comitative word *handi* ‘with’ which encodes noun phrase coordination. In addition, clauses, noun phrases and verb phrases may be coordinated by juxtaposition.

Tapiete encodes comparative constructions morphologically and syntactically. The similarity that exists between two entities is encoded morphologically through the affixation of suffix *-raimi* ‘alike’. Similarly, superlative is encoded through suffix *-ite* ‘SUP’. Comparatives that do not refer to the similarity between two entities are encoded through a specific syntactic construction within which the subject of the comparison precedes both the quality and the standard.

Imperatives of intransitive clauses are encoded either through intonation or through affixation of prefix *e-*‘IMP’. As for imperatives of transitive clauses, the constituents that in transitive declarative clauses are normally found in pre-verbal position occur in post-verbal position in imperative clauses.

Three types of clausal negation are distinguished in Tapiete that include the negative words: *awĩ* ‘NEGIMP’ that negates imperatives, *mba’eti* ‘nothing’ that negates the existence or presence of an entity, and *time* ‘no’ that negate assertions. Clausal negation words are always found in clause initial position. Finally, Tapiete has an evidential suffix *-nda* ‘EVD’ that indicates that the speaker has not witnessed the information reported.

6. Treatment of spanish borrowings

This chapter discusses the linguistic outcome of the contact between Tapiete and Spanish. The discussion is mainly oriented toward an analysis of the linguistic features that result from this situation, although the importance of the social context within which the contact situation takes place is not ignored when it comes to evaluating the consequences of language contact.

Section 6.1 discusses the process of “nativization” of Spanish loanwords, that is “[t]he phonological adaptation of a borrowed word to fit receiving-language structure” (Thomason, 2001:272.). In this framework, strongly nativized loanwords, that is, borrowings affected by the phonological filter of speakers of Tapiete, the receiving language, are considered traces of ancient borrowings from a highly monolingual community, while words less nativized or not nativized at all are considered traces of more recent borrowings from bilingual speakers (Thomason, 2001.)⁷⁵ The degree of assimilation of Spanish loanwords in Tapiete is evaluated through an analysis of the process of re-phonologization (used as a synonym of the “nativization”) of borrowings that includes consonant and vocalic alternations, changes of the syllable structure, re-location of the stress within the word and the effect of nasal harmony on loanwords.

⁷⁵ The language of the Tapietes of Paraguay manifests interference features from Guarani, rather than from Spanish. The present discussion is limited to the Tapiete community settled in Argentina.

Section 6.2 presents the percentage of Spanish loanwords on the Tapiete vocabulary, and the percentage of Spanish words and loanwords found in semi-spontaneous texts. A correlation is proposed between the occurrence of Spanish loanwords and socio-linguistic parameters. Finally, sections 6.3 and 6.4 investigate the influence of Spanish on the morphology and the syntax of Tapiete and the use of Spanish connectors in the discourse.

The set of borrowings that constitutes the data is heterogeneous since it includes Spanish loanwords that very probably entered the Tapiete vocabulary through other Guaraní languages, namely Avá Guaraní (Chiriguano) and Guaraní, as well as more recent borrowings that do not evidence any phonological re-adaptation.

6.1. Phonetic and phonological level

The strategies of re-phonologization of Spanish loan words are discussed, in this section. Consonant and vocalic changes, stress rearrangement and syllabic structure modifications are analyzed, as well as the effect of nasal harmony as this feature is considered an indication of the level of nativization of borrowings. Before considering the nativization of Spanish loanwords, a brief presentation of the main features of Spanish phonology is given in the following section.

6.1.1. Phonological aspects of Northern Argentina Spanish

Spanish displays dialectal variations that result from the extended territories over which it is spoken. Table 47 presents the set of sounds corresponding to the Northern Argentina Spanish variety with which Tapiete speakers are in contact. Phonemes are presented in IPA with the corresponding Spanish orthographic conventions when they do not match the IPA.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ A common feature that characterizes Latin American Spanish is a narrower consonant system than the one attested in the variety of Spanish spoken in Spain, which has a larger sub-system of fricatives.

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Voiceless stops	p		t		k
Voiced stops	b		d		g
Voiceless fricatives		f	s		x <j>
Voiceless affricates				tʃ <ch>	
Voiced affricates				dʒ <ll; y>	
Nasals	m		n	ɲ <ñ>	
Lateral approximant			l		
Flap			r <ɾ>		
Alveolar trill			r <rr>		

Table 47: Consonant system of the Spanish variety spoken in northern Argentina

The allophonic variations of the system presented in Table 47 are succinctly the following: the voiced stops /b d g/ have a voiced fricative allophone in intervocalic position [β ð ɣ], respectively. The palatal affricate /dʒ/ corresponds to the palatal lateral /ʎ/ of standard Spanish. The alveolar trill /r/ is pronounced as an alveolar fricative [ɾ], and the alveolar voiceless fricative /s/, is articulated as a glottal fricative /h/ before consonant and in word final position. Finally, the labio-dental voiceless fricative /f/ is, in some cases, pronounced as a glottal fricative [h] in word initial position. As for its vocalic system, Spanish has five oral vowels: /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/.

Spanish allows open syllables (e.g. [a. rós] V.CVC *arroz* ‘rice’) and closed syllables (e.g. [ál. to] VC.CV *alto* ‘high’) and admits consonant clusters that may occur in word initial position (e.g. [bláj. ko] CCVC.CV *blanco* ‘white’) but never in coda position. Finally, in Spanish stress is contrastive (e.g. [mí. ro] *miro* ‘I see’ vs. [mi. ró] *miró* ‘he saw’) its default location being the penultimate syllable of the word.

6.1.2. Consonant changes

In this section, the interaction of both place and manner of articulation of consonants is analyzed as a strategy of phonological reinterpretation of non-existent articulations in Tapiete.

6.1.2.1. Voiced stops.

The analysis of the re-phonologization of Spanish voiced stops together with their fricative allophones suggests a tendency to preserve the place of articulation of the source consonant, while its manner of articulation is subject to more significant modifications. In turn, the manner of articulation of the resulting form varies in function of the place of articulation of the source consonant. In other words, the resulting manner of articulation of the fricative allophones mentioned earlier varies according to their place of articulation, namely bilabial [β], alveolar [ð] and velar [ɣ].

In word initial position, the Spanish bilabial voiced stop /b/ exhibits three nativized forms: it may be reinterpreted as a pre-nasalized bilabial stop [mb] (648), as a labio-velar approximant [w] (649), or it may preserve the original stop articulation (650). Notice that the examples given in (648) represent old loans, while the examples in (649) and (650) are more recent loans.

(648)	Spanish	Tapiete	English
	[ba. sú. ka] bazuca	[mba. só. ka] mbasoka	‘bazooka’
	[bo. rí. ko] borrico	[mbi. rí. ka] mbirika	‘donkey’
(649)	Spanish	Tapiete	English
	[ból. sa] bolsa	[wó. sa] wosa	‘bag’
	[báj. la] baila	[wáj. ra] waira	‘(s)he dances’
(650)	Spanish	Tapiete	English
	[bor. bó. xo] borbojo<gorgojo	[bor. bó. xo] borboho	‘grub’
	[bo. té. ʒa] botella	[bo. té. ʒa] boteya	‘bottle’

The labio-velar approximant [w] also occurs in syllable initial position (651).

(651)	Spanish	Tapiete	English
	[sɔ. brár] sobra	[sɔ. wó. ra] sowora ⁷⁷	‘(s)he/it remains’
	[kɔ. brár] cobrar	[kɔ. wá. ra] kowara	‘(s)he earns’

Although the Spanish bilabial voiced fricative allophone [β] occurs in Tapiete as an allophone of the labio-velar approximant [w],⁷⁸ it also receives different treatments, once it is nativized: in some cases, it is reinterpreted as a labio-velar approximant [w] (652), while, in others, the fricative articulation is maintained (653).

(652)	Spanish	Tapiete	English
	[pro. βár] probar	[pɪ. ró. wa] pɪrowa	‘(s)he tastes’
	[zér. βa] yerba	[zé. ru. wa] yerwa	‘maté’

(653)	Spanish	Tapiete	English
	[sá. βa. ðɔ] sábado	[sa. βá. rɔ] sawaro	‘saturday’
	[klá. βɔ] clavo	[ki. rá. βɔ] kirawo	‘nail’
	[a. ðó. βe] adobe	[a. ró. βe] arowe	‘adobe’

As for the alveolar voiced fricative [ð] -allophonic variation of the alveolar voiced stop /d/-, it is reinterpreted as an alveolar flap [ɾ] when it is found in intervocalic position.

(654)	Spanish	Tapiete	English
	[pa. tá. ða] patada	[pa. tá. ra] patara	‘kick’
	[a. ðó. βe] adobe	[a. ró. βe] arowe	‘adobe’
	[ko. sí. ðo] cocido	[ko. sí. ra] kosira	‘kind of drink’

The majority of the nativized loanwords that have this segment in word initial position preserve the stop articulation (655); there is, however, one loanword in which the alveolar stop is replaced by an alveolar flap.

⁷⁷ The examples in (651) display a change of syllable structure through the insertion of an epenthetic vowel, which results in the concatenation of open syllables.

⁷⁸ Cf. Section 2.1.3 for contexts of occurrence of this sound.

(655)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[dá. ðo]	dado	[dá. ro]	daro
				‘die’

(656)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[dí. a]	día	[rí. a]	ria
				‘day’

As for the Spanish voiced velar stop /g/ and its fricative allophone [ɣ] both segments are absent of the phonological inventory of Tapiete, which, in exchange, has a pre-nasalized velar stop phoneme /ŋg/. As a result, the pre-nasalized velar stop may replace the fricative allophone in intervocalic position (657), or it may preserve its original fricative articulation in the same context (658).

(657)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[si. ɣá. ro]	cigarro	[si. ŋgá. ro]	singaro
				‘cigar’

(658)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[trí. ɣo]	trigo	[ti. rí. ɣo]	tirigo
				‘wheat’ ⁷⁹

In word initial position, the original stop articulation is preserved, as shown in (659).

(659)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[gas]	gas	[ga]	ga
	[gá. na]	gana	[gá. na]	gana
				‘gas’
				‘desire’

Finally, only in one loanword the stop allophone [g] is reinterpreted as a velar nasal [ŋ]. The use of this latter consonant is surprising, given that it has a very low frequency in Tapiete.⁸⁰

(660)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[gó. ma]	goma	[ŋó. ma]	NGoma
				‘gum’

To sum up, the three Spanish voiced stops [b d g], altogether with their fricative allophone [β ð ɣ] are reinterpreted in different ways. In all cases, the resulting Tapiete consonant

⁷⁹ In addition, this borrowing undergoes syllabic structure modifications.

⁸⁰ Only two words have been collected that have this consonant: *maNGanga* [maŋaŋga] ‘kind of wasp’ and *NGanta* [ŋanta] ‘tell off.’ The orthographic convention to represent this sound [ŋ] <NG> is tentative.

preserves the place of articulation of the source consonant, while the manner of articulation undergoes modifications that bring the consonant over to the phonology of Tapiete. Finally, there are instantiations of consonants that, although lacking in Tapiete, do not undergo any modification, a fact that constitutes evidence of recent borrowings adopted by coordinate bilingual speakers.

6.1.2.2. Spanish liquids: /r/ and /l/.

In most of the cases, the Spanish alveolar articulations lacking in the phonological inventory of Tapiete are reinterpreted through the alveolar flap [ɾ]. Specifically, the Spanish alveolar trill /r/, the lateral approximant /l/ and the fricative allophone [ð] of the voiced velar stop are nativized through the alveolar flap [ɾ]. In the preceding section, the re-phonologization of /d/ and its fricative allophone [ð] has been discussed; the liquids /r/ and /l/ are now considered.

The Spanish alveolar trill /r/ and the lateral approximant /l/ are invariably nativized as an alveolar flap [ɾ] in both word initial (661) and intervocalic position (662).

(661)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[re. lóx] reloj		[re. ló] reló ⁸¹	‘watch’
	[ro. xé. lja] Rogelia		[rú. xe] Ruhe	‘Rogelia’
	[lá. ta] lata		[rá. ta] rata	‘mouse’

(662)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[xá. ra] jarra		[há. ra] hara	‘jar’
	[si. ɣá. ro] cigarro		[si. ŋgá. ro] singaro	‘cigar’

Once again, the place of articulation is preferred over the manner of articulation in the process of rephonologization of the alveolar flap /r/ and the alveolar approximant /l/.

⁸¹ However, this borrowing preserves the Spanish lateral approximant phoneme /l/ and the stress on the last syllable.

6.1.2.3. Spanish voiceless palatal affricate /tʃ/ <ch>.

Although the voiceless palatal affricate /tʃ/ is present in the phonological inventory of Tapiete, this consonant has a very low functional load, basically manifested by the existence of a minimal pair. On the contrary, the voiceless palatal fricative [ʃ], has a larger context of occurrence. The frequency of these consonants is reflected on the strategies of re-phonologization: instead of preserving the original affricate articulation common to both languages, the voiceless palatal affricate [tʃ] is reinterpreted as a voiceless palatal fricative [ʃ], in both word initial and intervocalic position. This is shown in (663).

(663)	Spanish	Tapiete	English
	[ku. tʃá. ra] cuchara	[ku. ʃá. ra]	kushara ‘spoon’
	[ma. tʃé. te] machete	[ma. ʃé. te]	machete ‘machete’
	[tʃáŋ. ga] changa	[ʃá. ŋga]	shanga ‘odd job’

6.1.2.4. Spanish velar voiceless fricative /x/ <j>.

The phonological inventory of Tapiete includes a glottal fricative /h/, which is a consonant articulatorily close to the Spanish velar voiceless fricative /x/. As a consequence, in the great majority of cases, the resulting Tapiete form of this Spanish segment varies between a voiceless velar fricative and a glottal fricative. Given the phonetic similarity of these sounds, the question arises if the Tapiete form is the result of a phonological reinterpretation or it is merely a non-rephonologized borrowing.⁸²

Interestingly, a different treatment of the voiceless velar fricative /x/ has been observed in at least two borrowings in which this consonant is reinterpreted as a glottal stop as /ʔ/, as shown in (664).

⁸² In fact, the articulation of a glottal fricative in this position is the norm in some dialects of Spanish.

(664)	Spanish		Tapiete	English	
	[na. ráŋ. xa]	naranja	[na. rã. ʔã]	narã'ä	'orange'
	[ti. ná. xa]	tinaja	[ti. nã. ʔã]	tinã'ä	'jarful'

Finally, the case of *awesha* [aβeʃa] is different. First of all, this word seems to be the result of an imperfect learning of the word *oveja* 'sheep,' which in Spanish contrasts with *abeja* 'wasp.' In Tapiete, the form *awesha* [aβeʃa] has been borrowed with the meaning of 'sheep.' Second, the word *obechá* 'sheep' is already attested in the first dictionary of Guaraní written by father Ruiz de Montoya (1994 [1640:121]) and its writing (e.g. *ovexa*) suggests that it is a borrowing dating from an early stage of Spanish when the voiceless palatal fricative [ç] pronunciation was maintained before the voiceless velar fricative [x] replaced it. Since the first frequent and systematic contact between the Tapiete people and the Spanish-speaking world started at the beginning of the 20c, it is unlikely that this word was directly taken from Spanish. Instead, its already nativized form probably entered the Tapiete vocabulary through other Guaraní language.

6.1.2.5. Spanish voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/.

The Spanish voiceless labio-dental fricative [f] is reinterpreted as a bilabial voiceless stop [p], in both initial and intervocalic position (665). There are instances, however, in which this consonant does not undergo any type of change, as shown in (666).

(665)	Spanish		Tapiete	English	
	[fí. a]	fiar	[pí. a]	pía	'to buy on tick'
	[se. fe. rí. no]	Ceferino	[se. fe. rí. no]	Sepeíno	'Ceferino'

(666)	Spanish		Tapiete	English	
	[ka. fé]	café	[ka. fé]	kafé	'coffee'
	[a. fá. ta]	afata	[a. fá. ta]	afata	'kind of plant'

6.1.3. Vocalic changes

Vowels undergo less phonetic adjustments than consonants. However, at least two regular changes of vocalic quality have been observed. In final position, there is a tendency to produce a closed articulation of Spanish final mid-close back vowel [o] and mid-close front vowel [e], which are produced as [u] (667) and [i] (668), respectively.

(667)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[pá.to] pato	[pá.tu]	patu	‘duck’
	[sar.sí.ʒo] zarcillo	[sa.ra.sí.ʒu]	sarasiyu	‘earring’

(668)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[lú.nes] lunes	[lú.ni]	luni	‘monday’
	[to.má.te] tomate	[to.má.ti]	tomati	‘tomate’

In middle position, some vowels are nativized through the high central vowel /ɨ/, which seems to have a status of default vowel in the morpho-phonology of Tapiete.

(669)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[sol.ða.ðo] soldado	[si.ndá.ro]	sindaro	‘soldier’
	[mu.ɲé.ka] muñeca	[mo.ɲiŋ.ka]	moñinka	‘puppet’
	[pí.so] piso	[pí.so]	piso	‘floor’

As a consequence, modifications of the vocalic quality appear as less varied than consonant modifications. This may be explained by the fact that the totality of the Spanish vocalic repertory is included within the vocalic system of Tapiete. Furthermore, it does not seem to be phonotactic restrictions that would prevent the co-occurrence of certain vowels.

In addition to the vocalic changes mentioned previously, vowel nasalization is observed as a consequence of the application of nasal harmony to Spanish loanwords. These cases are discussed in section 6.1.6.

6.1.4. Syllable structure changes

In Chapter 2, it was shown that only open syllables are admitted in Tapiete. On the contrary, Spanish allows open and closed syllables, as well as sequences of consonants and sequences of vowels. In this section, the nativization of banned syllable structures is discussed. This includes the disruption and reinterpretation of consonant clusters, the disruption of vowel sequences, as well as the relocation and deletion of the coda, all factors that help to the restoration of the Tapiete canonic syllable.

6.1.4.1. Disruption of Spanish consonant clusters.

Non-allowed sequences of consonants are disrupted by both (i) deletion of one of the consonants that make up the sequence, and (ii) insertion of an epenthetic vowel. These strategies are considered in what follows.

6.1.4.2. Consonant deletion.

Tapiete only admits closed syllables in the context of an underlying nasal vowel.⁸³ On the contrary, closed syllables are frequent in Spanish and their concatenation may result on sequences of consonants. As a consequence, Spanish loanwords with complex syllable structures are subject to nativization and this is done through different means.

One strategy of consonant clusters re-phonologization is the deletion of the consonant in coda position. This is shown in (670), where the lateral approximant [l] of the Spanish word *bolsa* ‘bag’ and the voiceless velar stop [k] of the Spanish word *directora* ‘principal’ are deleted in order to reestablish the Tapiete canonic syllable structure CV.

(670)	Spanish		Tapiete		English
	[ból.sa]	muñeca	[wó.sa]		moñinka ‘puppet’
	[di.rek.tó.ra]	directora	[di.re.tó.ra]		diretora ‘principal’

⁸³ Cf. section 2.2

The analysis of the example given in (671) is more complex.

(671)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[bi. si. klé. ta]	bicicleta	[ʃi. ki. ré. ta]	shikireta ‘bicycle’

The process of nativization of the word in (671) suggests, first, a modification of the syllable structure that allows the vowels to remain as the nucleus of the syllable, while the consonants are reordered and occupy the initial position of each syllable. As a consequence, the consonant cluster [kɫ] is deleted and syllables of the type CV are obtained. Second, the non-existent articulations [ɫ] is nativized following rules of correspondence according to which an alveolar lateral [ɫ] is re-phonologized as an alveolar flap [ɾ]. Third, phonotactic restrictions apply: since in Tapiete the voiceless palatal fricative [ʃ] is an allophone of the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] when it precedes the front vowel [i], a similar distribution of segments is attested in (671). Finally, the deletion of the voiced bilabial stop /b/ suggests a resyllabification of consonants that apply regressively.

6.1.4.3. Epenthetic vowel insertion.

In some cases, a consonant cluster is disrupted by means of the insertion of an epenthetic vowel, whose quality varies according to different patterns: in some cases, the inserted epenthetic vowel is a copy of the vowel that functions as the nucleus of the loanword’s first syllable, as shown in (672).

(672)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[pré. so]	preso	[pe. ré. so]	pereso ‘prisoner’
	[trí. ʝo]	trigo	[ti. rí. ʝo]	tirigo ‘wheat’
	[sar. sí. ʒo]	zarcillo	[sa. ra. sí. ʒu]	sarasiyu ‘earring’
	[só. bra]	sobra	[so. wó. ra]	sowora ‘excess’
	[krus]	cruz	[ku. rú. su]	kurusu ‘cross’
	[trá. mpa]	trampa	[tā. rām. pa]	tarampa ‘trap’

In other cases, the epenthetic vowel may be a high front vowel (673), a central vowel (674) or a mid-closed front vowel (675).

(673)	Spanish		Tapiete		English
	[klá.βo]	clavo	[ki.rá.βo]	kirawo	‘nail’
(674)	Spanish		Tapiete		English
	[pro.βár]	probar	[pi.ró.wa]	probar	‘to prove’
(675)	Spanish		Tapiete		English
	[plá.to]	plato	[pe.rá.to]	perato	‘plate’
	[plan.tʃár]	planchar	[mi.pe.rán.ʃa]	miperansha	‘to iron’

More examples of epenthetic vowel insertion are given in (677) and (676), where the Spanish words are all stressed on the last syllable, which, in turn, has an alveolar lateral [l] in coda position. In these cases, an epenthetic vowel is inserted in word final position whose quality is either is a copy of the preceding syllable stressed vowel (676) or a front mid-closed vowel [e], as in (677).⁸⁴

(676)	Spanish		Tapiete		English
	[al.kól]	alcohol	[ar.kó.ro]	arkoro	‘alcohol’
(677)	Spanish		Tapiete		English
	[kar.na.βál]	carnaval	[ka.ndá.βa.re]	kandaware	‘carnaval’
	[pa.pél]	papel	[pa.pé.re]	papere	‘paper’

Finally, in all the presented cases, the insertion of an epenthetic vowel results in the increase of the loanword’s original number of syllables

⁸⁴ However, in the Spanish word *alcohol* ‘alcohol’, the consonant cluster [lk] made up of the coda of the first syllable and the onset of the following syllable is not disrupted by the insertion of an epenthetic vowel.

6.1.4.4. Disruption of Spanish sequences of vowels.

Although sequences of vowel are admitted in Tapiete, this kind of syllable structure is marginal. As a result, Tapiete restores the canonic CV syllable structure when the loanwords display sequences of vowels. In these cases, two kinds of processes are attested: one is the insertion of a glottal stop [ʔ] between the vowels to obtain a CV syllable. This brings as a consequence, an increase of the resulting number of syllables, as shown in (678)

(678)	Spanish		Tapiete		English
	[ka. m.jóŋ] camión		[ka. mĩ. ʔó] kamión		‘lorry’

The other strategy is the deletion of one vowel of the sequence, as shown in (679).

(679)	Spanish		Tapiete		English
	[au. mén. ta] aumenta		[a. mén. ta] amenta		‘increase’

Finally, there are loanwords that do not display any re-syllabification strategy to prevent sequences of vowels (680). As a result, they may be either considered recent borrowings adopted by fully bilingual speakers or unassimilated and, in fact, foreign words.

(680)	Spanish		Tapiete		English
	[a. β.jóŋ] avión		[a. β.jóŋ] avión		‘airplane’
	[djés] diez		[djés] dies		‘ten’

6.1.4.5. Reinterpretation of Spanish consonant clusters.

It has been shown that Tapiete admits consonants clusters in specific contexts, one of which is that of pre-nasalized consonants (e.g. [mb], [mp], and so on.) Specifically, this type of consonant cluster is analyzed differently according to whether they include voiced or voiceless pre-nasalized consonants. Although voiced pre-nasalized consonants are made up of a nasal segment homorganic to the following voiced stop, phonologically they function as a single segment (e.g. *he.ndu* ‘to listen’.) On the contrary, the nasal and the occlusive component of pre-nasalized

voiceless stops are phonologically analyzed as belonging to two different syllables (e.g. *hen.tu* ‘to smell’). As said earlier, this is so because the nasal consonant is the surface manifestation of the preceding vowel’s nasality.

The Spanish words in (681) have consonant clusters whose components share the same place of articulation, namely the alveolar region (e.g. [l], [r], [n] and [d].) The alveolar articulations of Tapiete, on the other hand, include the voiceless alveolar stop [t], the pre-nasalized alveolar [nd], the alveolar flap [ɾ] and the voiceless alveolar fricative [s].

(681)	Spanish		Tapiete	English	
	[kar.na.βál]	carnaval	[ka.nda.βá.re]	kandavare	‘carnaval’
	[sol.dá.ðo]	soldado	[sɪ.ndá.ro]	sɪndaro	‘soldier’

These examples show that (i) the alveolar region is preserved as the place of articulation in the resulting naivized forms, and (ii) Tapiete reinterprets the Spanish consonant clusters through an available consonant cluster, namely the pre-nasalized alveolar stop [nd] even though in Spanish consonant clusters are not phonemic units.

6.1.4.6. Closed syllable deletion.

The deletion of consonants that occupy the coda in word final position is other strategy used to reconstitute the Tapiete canonic syllable structure. This is shown in (682) and (683). These words, however, vary in regard to both their historical depth and the source language from where they have been taken from. The word *asuká* <Sp. *azúcar* ‘sugar’, for instance, already appears in the dictionary of Guaraní published by Father Antonio Guasch in 1948. Thus, it is very likely that this word was borrowed into Tapiete from other Guaraní language, and not directly from

Spanish, under its already re-phonologized form.⁸⁵ Given the phonological similarities of Guaraní languages, similar strategies of rephonologization are possible.

(682)	Spanish		Tapiete		English
	[a. sú. kar]	azúcar	[a. sú. ka]	asuka	‘sugar’

More recent loanwords also show the consonant coda deletion in word final position (683).

(683)	Spanish		Tapiete		English
	[gas]	gas	[ga]	ga	‘gas’
	[lú. nes]	lunes	[lú. ne][lú. ni]	luni	‘monday’
	[pro. ðár]	probar	[pi. ró. wa]	pirowa	‘to try’

Interestingly, the Spanish pronunciation of words like *gas* ‘gas’ and *lunes* ‘monday’ tends to the weakening of the final alveolar voiceless fricative [s], which is pronounced as a glottal fricative [h] or, may be, even, deleted in this position. Given this allophonic distribution of the Spanish phoneme /s/, it is difficult to determine if these words undergo a process of rephonologization of the syllable structure or if their phonetic features reflects a variety of Spanish (notice that the alveolar lateral [l] as well as the voiced velar stop [g] do not belong to the Tapiete phonological system). In any case, these examples are recent borrowings.

To sum up, loanwords whose syllable structures do not fit the Tapiete syllable structure undergo modifications that tend to reestablish the canonic CV syllable structure. This is done through different means, namely consonant deletion, epenthetic vowel insertion within a consonant cluster, consonant insertion within a sequence of vowels, vowel deletion in a sequence of vowels, reinterpretation of a consonant cluster and syllable deletion.

⁸⁵ Although this word is not found in the available vocabulary of Ava-Guaraní (Chiriguano) (Dietrich 1986), the historical relationships between the Tapietes and other groups of the region suggests that they may have taken this rephonologized loanword either from the Avá-Guaraní (Chiriguano) or the Simbas.

6.1.5. Stress changes

In Spanish a segmental chain may convey different meanings according to the syllable that supports stress. On the contrary, in Tapiete stress is fixed and always falls on the penultimate syllable of the word. Instances in which the change of the place of the stress is correlated with a change of meaning are scarce and related to the affixation of morphemes that differ according to their capacity to attract stress.

Since in Spanish, the majority of words is stressed on the penultimate syllable, most of the Spanish loanwords share the accentual pattern of Tapiete. When a Spanish word stressed on the last or the antepenultimate syllable of the word is borrowed, adjustments are done to relocate the stress and avoid the deviant patterns. The examples given in (684) show that the relocation of the stress is related to the syllabification of words. These examples show a process of nativization according to which an epenthetic vowel is inserted in word final position in order to reconstitute the Tapiete syllabic pattern, which only allows open syllables; then, the alveolar lateral [l] is reinterpreted as an alveolar flap [ɾ]. This change of the syllable structure results in the relocation of the stress, which, although it falls on the same vowel it does not fall on the same syllable anymore.

(684)	Spanish		Tapiete		English
	[pa. pél]	papel	[pa. pé. rɐ]	papere	‘paper’
	[kar. na. βál]	carnaval	[ka. nda. βá. rɐ]	kandaware	‘carnaval’
	[al. kól]	alcohol	[ar. kó. ro]	arkoro	‘alcohol’

In (685) there is also modification of the syllable structure, which results in the relocation of the stress. In this example, there is a disruption of the consonant cluster [pr] of the Spanish word *probar* ‘to try’ through the insertion of an epenthetic vowel [ɨ]. Once the number of syllables has been modified, the stress moves to its canonic position, the penultimate syllable.

(685)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[pro. βár]	probar	[p̄i. ró. wa]	p̄irowa
				‘to try’

In (686), there is no modification of syllable structure. The stress, simply, moves from the antepenultimate to the penultimate syllable of the word to reach its default position.

(686)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[sá. βa. ðo]	sabado	[sa. wá. ro]	sawaro
				‘saturday’

A similar process is observed in (687), although in this case the loanword displays syllable structure changes related to the process of nasal harmony discussed in section 7.1.6.

(687)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[ka. pi. táŋ]	capitán	[ka. p̄ín. ta]	kapitan
				‘captain’

Finally, in some cases, stress is maintained on its source syllable in loanwords that match the accentual pattern of Tapiete (688), as well as in loanwords whose stress patterns differ from Tapiete (689).

(688)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[sé. ka]	(el/ella) seca	[sé. ka]	seka
				‘dry’

(689)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[relóh]	reloj	[reló]	reló
				‘watch’

To sum up, the strategies of stress relocation that have been analyzed in this section are mainly related to the reorganization of the syllabic structure that includes the insertion of an epenthetic vowel in word final or intervocalic position.

6.1.6. Nasal harmony on loan words

One of most interesting aspects of the nativization of Spanish loanwords is the one related to nasal harmony. Thus, nasality constitutes an interesting parameter when it comes to determining the degree of nativization of loanwords. Loanwords that show major phonological modifications

as a consequence of the application of rules that regulate the spread of nasalization are considered non-recent borrowing adopted by a highly monolingual population. In what follows this kind of loanwords are analyzed.

Spanish loanwords that have nasal segments are subject to the application of rules of nasal harmony. It is not, however, the nasal quality of the stressed vowel the element that trigger the spreading of nasalization, but, simply, the presence of a nasal consonant.⁸⁶

The Spanish words below have in common a stressed vowel followed by a nasal consonant that in (690) belong to the same syllable, while in (691) does not.

(690)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[a. lá.m. bre]	alambre	[ã. rã. mbe]	alambre ‘wire’
(691)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[a. rí. na]	harina	[ã. rĩ. na]	harina ‘flour’

As can be observed from the Tapiete words in (691), nasality spread regressively over the vowel [ĩ] that precedes the nasal segment; since the alveolar flap [r] does not block the spread of nasalization, nasality also affects the preceding syllable. In (690), the process is similar: in this case, there is reinterpretation of the alveolar lateral [l] that it is rephonologized as an alveolar flap [r], which, in consequence, allows the regressive spread of nasalization to the preceding syllable.

In the examples below, there is, first, nativization of unattested segments and rearrangement of syllable structure: in (692) there is re-interpretation of the velar voiceless fricative [x] as a glottal stop [ʔ], in (693), there is modification of the syllabification pattern through the insertion

⁸⁶ Spanish does not have a phonemic opposition between nasal and oral vowels. It is possible, however, that phonetically there are vowels more or less nasalized in the context of nasal consonants.

of a glottal fricative [ʔ] that re-establishes the canonic pattern CV.CV; finally, in (694), Tapiete adopts a shortened form of the loanword through the elimination of the final syllable.

(692)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[na. rán. xa]	naranja	[nã. rã. ʔã] nãrä'ä	'orange'
(693)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[paŋ]	pan	[pã. hã] nãrä'ä	'bread'
(694)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[po. rón. go]	porongo	[põ. rõ] pörö	'gourd'

Interestingly, in all these examples the nasal features of the Spanish forms are preserved and, in addition, follow the rules of nasal harmony. Furthermore, even when the Spanish velar nasal [ŋ] in (694) is deleted, the nativized Tapiete form preserves the nasal feature, which is expressed through the nasal quality of vowels. In addition, the rules that regulate the spread of nasalization apply, as shown by the fact that the inserted consonants in (692) and (693) (e.g. [ʔ] and [h]), as well as the consonant common to both phonological systems (e.g. [r]), allow the spread of nasalization, which, once again, is attested through the nasal quality of vowels.

The example in (695) poses a problem if the presence of a nasal segment adjacent to the stressed vowel is considered the element responsible for the spread of nasalization. It was said in Chapter 2 that one of the consonant alternations regulated by nasal harmony includes the occurrence of the palatal affricate [dʒ] in oral contexts, and that of the nasal palatal [ɲ] in nasal contexts. In (695), the Spanish word has a stressed vowel preceded, but not followed, by a nasal palatal [ɲ].

(695)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[se. ñó. ra]	señora	[si. ʒó. ra] siyora	'lady'

Given the phonological similarities between the Spanish word and the phonology of Tapiete (e.g. same phonemes, place of the stress and syllable structure), no alteration of the source consonant

[ɲ] is expected. However, the oral allophone [ʒ] appears in the nativized Tapiete form instead of the nasal consonant [ɲ] of the Spanish word. It seems, therefore, that the vowel following the nasal segment is reinterpreted as an oral vowel, which would explain the consonant alternation that requires the realization of the oral palatal fricative [ʒ], allophone of /dʒ/, instead of the nasal allophone [ɲ]. Finally, there is a change of the vocalic quality that results from the occurrence of the mid-close front vowel [e] before the palatal fricative [ʒ], which in Tapiete tends to be pronounced as high front vowel [i].

As stated in section 2.5.2, there is in Tapiete an allophonic variation explained in terms of nasal harmony, according to which in nasal contexts the alveolar flap [ɾ] and the alveolar nasal [ɲ] are neutralized, as shown (696).

(696) [iɾũ][iɲũ] iɾũ ‘other’

The examples below show that the neutralization of these segments in nasal contexts also applies in Spanish loanwords. This is shown in (697), where the lateral alveolar [ɭ] is articulated as an alveolar flap [ɾ], after which the bilabial nasal [m] spread its nasality to the preceding vowel what creates the conditions for the neutralization of [ɾ] and [ɲ]. A similar process is illustrated in (698).

(697)	Spanish		Tapiete		English
	[alámbɾe]	alambre	[ãrãmbe][ãɲãmbe]	ãrãmbe	‘wire’

(698)	Spanish		Tapiete		English
	[limõ]	limón	[nimõ]	nimo	‘lemmon’
	[létʃe]	leche	[nẽʃe]	neshe	‘milk’
	[kutʃarõŋ]	cucharón	[kuʃáno]	kushano	‘ladle’

6.1.6.1. Nasal harmony and syllable structure.

As said before, Tapiete only admits closed syllable in the context of an underlying nasal vowel.

In these cases, the vocalic nasality is attested through a nasal consonant homorganic to the obstruant of the following syllable (e.g. [pen.te] /pē.te/ ‘one’); that is, pre-nasalized voiceless stops are always found in intervocalic position, never in word final position.

At least two loanwords have been found that re-establish the canonic syllabification pattern (e.g. [CV.CV], [CVN.CV]) from a re-ordering of the nasal segments of the Spanish word. This is shown in (699) and (700). In (699), the Spanish nasal consonant in word final position is relocated in the coda position of the penultimate syllable, according to the rule stating that syllables of the type [CVN] can only occur in word medial position.⁸⁷

(699)	Spanish		Tapiete	English	
	[ka.pi.táŋ]	capitán	[ka.pín.ta]	kapinta	‘captain’

Finally, there is a Spanish monosyllabic word of the type [CVN] that undergoes resyllabification. This is shown in (700), where a glottal fricative [h] is inserted to restore the canonic syllable structure CV. This results in a disyllabic word of the type CV.CV that preserves the nasal feature of the Spanish velar nasal [ŋ], through the nasalization of vowels.

(700)	Spanish		Tapiete	English	
	[paŋ]	pan	[pã.hã]	pähä	‘bread’

To sum up, the rules of nasal harmony apply to Spanish loanwords with nasal segments. In the majority of loanwords that have been analyzed, the presence of a nasal segment seems to be the element responsible for the regressive spread of nasalization. However, the loanword *siyora* <Sp. *señora* ‘madam’ has been discussed in which, even though the loanword contains a nasal

⁸⁷ At the same time, there is a change of the place of the stress, which moves from the last syllable to the penultimate syllable following the stress pattern of Tapiete.

segment that belong to the stressed syllable, Tapiete reinterprets the vowel adjacent to the nasal segment as an oral vowel, which is evidenced by the occurrence of the oral allophone [dʒ] of the [dʒ] ~ [ɲ] alternation.

6.1.6.2. Nasality as a strategy of nativization?

At least two borrowings have been found whose nativized forms do not seem to be motivated by phonological constraints. The Spanish words in (701) manifest phonological similarities with the phonology of Tapiete (e.g. same phonemes, syllable structure and place of the stress.) The only feature not common to both languages is the lateral alveolar [ɭ] of the Spanish word *leche* ‘milk.’ Interestingly, the resulting forms in Tapiete display a nasal feature that is not motivated by phonetic reasons, since the Spanish word does not include any nasal segment.

(701)		Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[tasa]	taza		[tansa]	‘cup’
	[kosa]	cosa		[konʃa]	‘thing’
	[letʃe]	leche		[nenʃe]	‘milk’

Given that nasality is a phonetic feature that crucially distinguishes Tapiete from Spanish, probably, it is used as a marker of nativization; that is, a loanword will sound ‘more Tapiete’ if it sounds nasal.⁸⁸ Thus, even though the Spanish word *camisa* ‘shirt’ in (702) fits the phonology of Tapiete, the bilabial nasal [m], common to both languages, is reinterpreted as a pre-nasalized bilabial stop [mb], a consonant cluster more frequent in Tapiete than in Spanish.

(702)		Spanish		Tapiete		English
	[ka.mi.sa]	camisa		[ka.mbi.sa]	kambisa	‘shirt’

⁸⁸ Conversely, a Tapiete word sounds ‘more Spanish’ if phonetic features characteristics of Tapiete are erased. Specifically, some words that contain a central vowel [ɨ] -inexistent in Spanish- have been reported to be pronounced as a high front vowel [i] by bilingual speakers. Even though bilingual speakers accept both pronunciations, the later sounds ‘less Tapiete’ than the former.

6.1.7. Different strategies of nativization.

The nativization of a loanword is not a straightforward process by virtue of which a non-existent articulation of the source language is automatically replaced by another segment of the receiving language. For instance, through the preceding examples, it has been shown that the re-phonologization of a consonant may vary in function of linguistic considerations as the position of the segment within the word (i.e. word initial or intervocalic position.) Furthermore, the Tapiete data suggests that before a loanword enters the lexicon, there is a period during which competing nativized forms co-exist. The left column of the Tapiete examples in (703) shows less nativized or non-nativized loanwords, while the right column displays the same borrowings with changes that tend to fit the Tapiete phonological constraints.

(703)	Spanish		Tapiete		English	
	[da. ðo]	dado	[da. ðo]	[da. ro]	dáro	‘die’
	[lé. tʃe]	leche	[léj. ʃe]	[nén. ʃe]	nenshe	‘milk’
	[lus]	luz	[lu]	[ru]	ru	‘light’

Both forms currently co-exist and the fact that one of them will finally be adopted may depend on socio-linguistic factors such as the community’s degree of bilingualism, as well as on extra-linguistic factors as language attitudes, among others.

6.2. Lexical level

In this section, the number and frequency of Spanish loanwords in the lexicon of Tapiete is examined. The data comes from both an elicited list of vocabulary and semi-spontaneous texts.⁸⁹

The list of collected loanwords is mainly composed of content words: primarily nouns, followed

⁸⁹ Texts are categorized as semi-spontaneous because almost invariably their topic has been proposed. Nevertheless, speakers have produced them without any further constraints than the one just mentioned and the presence of the investigator.

by verbs, some adverbs and adjectives. Function words such as coordinating and subordinating conjunctions are also attested.

Texts produced by nine speakers with different socio-linguistic profile have been screened for loanwords in order to determine a correlation between their frequency and specific socio-linguistic parameters such as age, occupation and level of bilingualism. Results presented here are intended to reflect tendencies that need to be corroborated through a larger sample of text and speakers.

6.2.1. Percentage of loan words in the lexicon

A total number of 262 Spanish loanwords –that is 11.5%– have been found within a database of 2266 entries. This list includes 219 nouns –that is 83.5%–, 37 verbs –14%–, 4 adverbs –1.5%–, and 2 adjectives –0.7%–. The rest of the collected borrowings are function words such as: *i* <Sp. *y* ‘and’, *o* <Sp. *o* ‘or’, *pero* <Sp. *pero* ‘but’, *pö* <Sp. *porque* ‘because.’

The semantic fields covered by the Spanish loanwords are related to objects (e.g. *papere* <Sp. *papel* ‘paper’), animals (e.g. *waka* <Sp. *vaca* ‘cow’), plants (e.g. *närä’ä* <Sp. *naranja* ‘orange,’ etc.) and concepts (e.g. *poresía* <Sp. *policía* ‘policeman’) introduced by the Spanish-speaking world. The ethno-botanic and the ethno-zoological semantic fields reveal an impoverishment mainly explained by both the ecologic transformation of the environment in which the Argentinean Tapietes are currently settled and the consequent deep cultural transformation of Tapietes. Another direct consequence of the cultural influence of the Spanish-speaking world on the Tapiete vocabulary is the near total vanishing of Tapiete proper names. The vast majority of proper names that appear in spontaneous texts are Spanish names, while original Tapiete proper names have been obtained through elicitation and informal conversations during which the

speaker inevitably referred to old and late members of the community. No basic vocabulary has been borrowed from Spanish into Tapiete.

6.2.2. Frequency of loan words in relation to age

A total number of 69 texts produced by nine speakers have been screened for loanwords. Spanish loanwords have been subdivided into content words (e.g. *perato* <Sp. plato ‘plate’, *wosa* <Sp. bolsa ‘bag’) and function words (e.g. *pero* <Sp. pero ‘but’, *i* <Sp. y ‘and’.) In turn, speakers have been classified according to socio-linguistic criteria such as age, occupation, and level of bilingualism. Speakers are categorized according to their command of Tapiete and Spanish: balanced bilinguals are speakers “approximately fluent in two languages across various contexts” (Baker, 1996:8). Thus, Tapiete balanced bilinguals are fluent in both languages, although they may speak a stigmatized variety of Spanish, while unbalanced bilingual are speakers whose dominant language is Tapiete and exhibit an imperfect command of Spanish.⁹⁰

Topics are considered a parameter that affects the degree of Spanish interference on texts. As a consequence, they have been classified into four broad categories: texts with historic content that tell about the history of the community and the Tapiete people, life histories, texts with cultural content (e.g. preparation of food or medicines) and, finally, texts with personal opinions about a variety of topics (e.g. children’s education, everyday life.)

The number of both content and function words has been calculated, altogether with the number of fragments in Spanish that can be considered as code switching or code mixing. An example of code switching is given in (704) where an entire Spanish sentence is inserted within a Tapiete text.

⁹⁰ Tapiete speakers whose dominant language is Spanish are not considered here.

(704) kö 'ä siyóra-re he'e shu 'orno'
 This now white woman –PL to name 3:PROOBL oven
This, now white women call it "oven"

antes no existía eso

before this did not exist

hama 'ä
 then today
then now

opa ñi-mbi-siyora-wēnā
 all 3-CAUS1-white woman-??
now we act like white woman

The sentence in (705) gives an example of code mixing where Spanish fragments are inserted within a same sentence.

(705) **antes traía** ko she-ru amí kushi we-ru tetu
 before he:brought this 1SGPOSS-father deceased pig 3?-bring wild pig
antes traía mi finado papá un chancho

ha'e-'ä kushi **de** **ahora**
 (s)he-NEG pig from now
no los chanchos de ahora sino los chanchos de monte

Spanish sentences and fragments have been counted as such, as well as the total number of Spanish words included in it; that is, a sentence like the one given in (705) contains two fragments in Spanish and four Spanish words. Although, these words have not been included within the vocabulary of Tapiete presented in Appendix D, they are counted as loanwords. Table 48 systematizes this information.

Speaker	Age	Level of fluency	Occupation	Types of texts	# of content loanwords	# of function loanwords	# of fragments in Spanish	Partial percentage of loanwords	Total percentage of loanwords
CG (female)	52	unbalanced bilingual	housewife	cultural content	8	----	----	3.5	4%
				general opinion	5	----	----	5	
CL (female)	36	unbalanced bilingual	housewife	historic content	11	1	1	6	8%
				life history	21	----	9	11	
				cultural content	----	----	----	0	
				general opinion	9	1	----	3.5	
EL (female)	32	balanced bilingual	school's bilingual assistant	life history	3	----	----	5.5%	8%
				general opinion	34	3	3	6%	
VM (female)	50	unbalanced bilingual	housewife	historic content	7	----	2	6	8%
				life history	15	----	2	16	
				cultural content	21	1	1	7.5	
JA (female)	50	balanced bilingual	housewife	historic content	14	----	4	9	8%
				cultural content	27	5	6	8	
				general opinion	11	----	----	7	
HR (female)	32	balanced bilingual	housewife	life history	18	----	1	11.5%	8.5%
				cultural content	4	----	----	4%	
EK (male)	38	unbalanced bilingual	Tapiete representative	historic content	5	4	2	9%	10.5%
AM (female)	29	balanced bilingual	school's bilingual assistant	historic content	8	----	1	10.5%	12%
				general opinion				15.5%	
MG (male)	38	balanced bilingual	casual worker	historic content	16	4	2	16.5%	12%
				cultural content	----	----	----	0%	

Table 48: Distribution of Spanish loanwords

As shown in Table 48, the frequency of content loanwords is higher than that of function words, whose number is directly proportional with the total number of loanwords found in the texts. Thus, no function words are attested in the texts of CG, the speaker with the lowest percentage of Spanish loanwords –4%–. On the contrary, speakers with the highest level of Spanish loanwords also use Spanish function words; this is the case of AM and MG. Unsurprisingly, Spanish loanwords are more frequent in texts related to personal opinions and life history, since they often refer to objects or concepts introduced by the Spanish-speaking

world (p.g. ru <Sp. luz ‘light’, año <Sp. año ‘year’.) On the contrary, texts that tell the history of the community, as well as texts with cultural contents are less likely to display Spanish borrowings.

Finally, the speaker’s social role and the contexts within which these texts have been collected are important factors that determine the frequency of Spanish loanwords. This is clearly illustrated by the high percentage of Spanish loanwords attested in texts with historic content produced by EK (Tapiete representative) even though this speaker can indubitably be classified as an uncoordinated bilingual. The high percentage of Spanish loanwords in his texts reflects his purpose of passing on a message intended to go beyond the community’s borders. Similarly, even when the percentage of loanwords attested in the discourse of CG is low, most of them refer to the fact that a *siyora* <Sp. señora ‘madam (white woman)’ is interested on the Tapiete language and culture. Clearly, the mere presence of the investigator at the moment of the production of texts influences the occurrence of Spanish loanwords.

6.2.3. Distribution of nativized loanwords in relation to age

Since nativization of borrowings is considered an indicator of the community’s level of bilingualism, the percentage of nativized loanwords in relation to socio-linguistic criteria such as speaker’s age and level of fluency in Spanish is here studied.⁹¹ Table 49 shows this distribution within the set of speakers whose texts have been analyzed.

⁹¹ Nativization of loanwords is not, however, the only indicator of the community’s level of bilingualism since other factors such as language attitude may prevent the nativization of loanwords or, directly, prevent the borrowing of loanwords.

Speaker	Age	Level of fluency	Percentage of loanwords	Percentage of nativized loanwords
CG	52	unbalanced bilingual	4	92
CL	35	unbalanced bilingual	8	27
EL	34	balanced bilingual	8	24.5
VM	50	unbalanced bilingual	8	22
JA	50	balanced bilingual	8	19
HR	32	balanced bilingual	8.5	28
EK	38	unbalanced bilingual	10.5	0
AM	29	balanced bilingual	12	20
MG	38	balanced bilingual	12	20

Table 49: Distribution of nativized loanwords

Predictably, a high proportion of nativized loanwords is found in texts of speakers whose dominant language is Tapiete, while this proportion decreases in texts of balanced bilingual. In other words, the proportion of loanwords and the proportion of nativized loanwords are inversely proportional: a low percentage of loanwords is found in texts of unbalanced bilinguals who, in turn, tend to adopt a nativized pronunciation; on the contrary, the high proportion of loanwords found in texts of balanced bilinguals correlates with a low proportion of nativized loanwords.

6.3. Syntactic level

No structural borrowings are attested; that is, there are no manifestations in the morphology of Tapiete of Spanish influence. Similarly, the default SOV order of constituents of Tapiete has not been affected by the SVO order of Spanish.

6.3.1. Morphological identification of verbal borrowings

Tapiete displays a mechanism by virtue of which lexical borrowings that function as verbs are identified as such through their morphology. This process of identification is characterized by (i) the affixation of the causative prefix *mbi-/mi-* ‘CAUS1’, and (ii) the default form that the Spanish verb takes once it enters the Tapiete vocabulary. Interestingly, these features are also reported to occur in a language as close to Tapiete as Avá-Guaraní (Chiriguano), but also in a genetically distant language as Shipibo-Konibo (Valenzuela, 2004).

6.3.1.1. Causative prefix as a marker of verbal borrowings

The causative prefix *mbi-/mi-* ‘CAUS1’ is attached to Spanish verbal loanwords. Although in Tapiete this prefix combines with intransitive verbs and nominal predicates, this restriction does not apply to Spanish borrowings; instead, in this context the causative prefix serves to identify the borrowing as a verbal root without altering the valence of the verb. Examples are given in (706).

(706)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[mánda]	(el/ella) manda	[mimánda] mi-manda	‘(s)he orders’ ⁹²
	[bájla]	(el/ella) baila	[mbiwáira] mbi-waira	‘(s)he dance’

Even though the great majority of examples includes verbal roots, two cases have been found where the causative prefix attaches to Spanish nominal roots. In both cases, the resulting form functions as a verb in Tapiete.

(707)	Spanish		Tapiete	English
	[peđáso]	pedaso	[mbiperásu] mbi-pedaso	‘(s)he smashes’
	[kámbo]	cambio ⁹³	[mikámbo] mi-kambio	‘(s)he changes’

⁹² Actually, there is not an infinitive form of Tapiete verbs. The equivalent to an infinitive form is the less morphologically marked form of the verb that corresponds to the 3rd person.

6.3.1.2. Spanish verbs' default form

When a Spanish verbal root is borrowed, the default form under which it enters the Tapiete vocabulary is the 3rd person singular of the present tense. Examples given in (708) and (709) correspond to Spanish verbs that belong to the AR (e.g. *secar* 'to dry') and ER (e.g. *reconocer* 'to recognize') conjugations, respectively.

(708)	Spanish		Tapiete	English	
	[proβár]	probar	[mbiporówa]	mbi-porowa	'(s)he tries'
	[sekár]	secar	[mbiséka]	mbi-seka	'(s)he dries'

(709)	Spanish		Tapiete	English	
	[leér]	leer	[mbilé]	mbi-lé	'(s)he reads'
	[rekonosér]	reconocer	[mirekonóse]	mi-rekonose	'(s)he recognizes'

Finally, two Spanish verbal borrowings are attested which belong to the IR conjugation (e.g. *sufrir*.) In those cases, the Spanish verb takes the form of the first person singular present of the simple past, as shown in (710).

(710)	Spanish		Tapiete	English	
	[sufrí]	(yo) sufrí	[mbisufrí]	mbi-sufrí	'(s)he suffers'
	[dehkubrí]	(yo) descubrí	[mbidehkubrí]	mbi-deskubrí	'(s)he discovers'

In some cases, the morphological similarity between the verbal and the nominal Spanish forms makes it difficult to decide if the Spanish verbal or nominal root has been borrowed. Given that the majority of examples clearly evidence the borrowing of the verbal root, the ambiguous forms are analyzed as verbal; two examples are shown in (711).

⁹³ This form may be considered in Spanish as either nominal e.g. *el cambio* 'the change' or verbal e.g. *(yo) cambio* 'I change.' Since the majority of the Spanish verbal words take the third person singular form when they are borrowed in Tapiete e.g. *(el/ella) cambia*, I interpret the word *cambio* as nominal.

(711)	Spanish	Tapiete	English
	[bakuna] (el/ella) vacuna (la) vacuna	[miβakuna] mi-wakuna	‘(s)he vaccinates’
	[plantʃa] (el/ella) plancha (la) plancha	[miβeranʃa] ‘mi-peransha’	‘(s)he irons’

6.3.1.3. Causative prefix *mb-/m-* and nasal harmony.

As shown in Chapter 2, the causative prefix *mbi-* ~ *mi-* is subject to allomorphic variations that result from the application of rules of nasal harmony (i.e. the pre-nasalized form *mbi-* occurs with oral roots, while the nasal form *mi-* occurs with nasal roots.) Interestingly, this rule also applies to Spanish borrowings, which trigger the same allomorphic variation according to whether the Spanish form has a nasal segment or not. This is shown in the following examples where the pre-nasalized allomorph *mbi-* occurs with Spanish roots without nasal segments (712), and the nasal allomorph *mi-* occurs with Spanish roots with nasal consonants (713).

(712)	Spanish	Tapiete	English
	[kwadra] cuadra <cuadrar	[mbikwadra] mbi -kwadra	‘(s)he squares’
	[pesa] pesa	[mbipesa] mbi-pesa	‘(s)he weights’
	[lée] lee	[mbilé] mbi-lé	‘(s)he reads’
	[peðaso] pedaso	[mbiperasu] mbi-perasu	‘(s)he smashes’
	[soβa] soba	[mbisoβa] mbi-sowa	‘(s)he fingers’
	[bajlar] bailar	[mbiwajra] mbi-waira	‘(s)he dances’
	[seka] seca	[mbiseka] mbi-seka	‘(s)he dries’
	[sufrí] sufrí	[mbisufrí] mbi-sufrí	‘(s)he suffers’

(713)	Spanish	Tapiete	English
	[kambjo] cambio	[miŋkambjo] mi-n-kambio	‘(s)he changes’
	[firma] firma	[mifirma] mi -firma	‘(s)he signs’
	[manda] manda	[mimanda] mi-manda	‘(s)he orders’
	[plantʃa] cambio	[miperanʃa] mi-peransha	‘(s)he irons’
	[perdona] perdona	[miperdona] mi-perdona	‘(s)he pardons’
	[rekonoŋse] reconoce	[mirekononoŋse] mi-rekononoŋse	‘(s)he recognizes’
	[bakuna] vacuna	[miβakuna] mi-wakuna	‘(s)he vaccinates’

6.3.2. Word order change

While the Spanish default order of constituents is SVO, the default order of constituents in Tapiete is SOV (714), as shown in Chapter 6. This word order is largely found in all the texts that have been analyzed, independently of the socio-linguistic profile of speakers that have produced them. An alternative to the SOV order is SVO, which is used for pragmatic reasons and must not be interpreted as the result of Spanish's influence on Tapiete.

(714) O V
arete-wasu yapo-ha arkai-pi
party-AUG do-1EXCL long time ago-LOC
a big party we (used to) do when my father was alive

(715) V O
hama mombo-ha p̄i ar̄ikai-pi kushí
then throw-1EXCL inside long time ago-LOC pig
then, we threw inside the pig before

6.4. Discourse level

6.4.1. Use of Spanish connectors

Spanish connectors are found in texts, although their frequency is significantly lower when compared to content words. They include the Spanish coordinating conjunctions *o* 'or' (716) and *y* 'and' (717), which appear in the texts of almost all the speakers.

(716) ha'e káwi-ra o kawi-ã-ra yapo-wēnã
(s)he well-Q or well-NEG-Q do-??
this will be right or wrong what (s)he will do

(717) yawaiwe mémbi-mi aetē-ã ï-rã i
because woman's offspring-DIM1 almost-NEG be-SUB and
because her little son is not doing well and

hãnã mbe'u o-ï she pota-yï-ma-nda o-ho yï-rã-ma
this is why tell 3AC-be I want-FRQ-RES-EVD 3AC-go come back-SUB-RES
this is why (s)he is telling me that (s)he wants to come back

Finally, the coordinating conjunction *pero* ‘but’ (718) and a nativized form of the Spanish subordinating conjunction *porque* ‘because’ (719) have also been attested, although their use seems to be limited to the speakers that have produced them.

(718) opa-ite kɪnāwā ime reko-ha
 everybody –SUP alike there is have-1EXCL
we all have something similar

pero ore ɪre-ru tumpa
 but we(exc.) our(exc.)-father god
but our Father

yurure-ha shu-pe
 ask-1EXCL 3:OBL-LOC
we prayed to him

(719) mba'e a-yapo-ä **pö** ä-i sh-antë'i-inte ä-i
 Thing 1AC-do-NEG because 1AC-be 1IN-lazzyiness-SUP 1AC-be
I will do nothing because I am lazy

6.5. Conclusions

This chapter has discussed the main mechanisms of nativization of Spanish loanwords in Tapiete, as well as the influence of Spanish on the vocabulary and the syntax of Tapiete.

The phonological treatment of Spanish loanwords has been considered through an analysis of the consonant and vocalic changes, as well as changes of syllable structure. Finally, the application of nasal harmony to Spanish loanwords has been discussed, while nasality has been proposed as a feature used to nativized Spanish loanwords.

At the lexical level, the number and frequency of Spanish loanwords in the lexicon of Tapiete has been evaluated according to socio-linguistic parameters such as age, occupation and level of bilingualism of speakers. It has been shown that the proportion of loanwords and the proportion of nativized loanwords are inversely proportional: that is, the lower the percentage of loanwords, the higher the level of nativization and, conversely, the higher the percentage of loanwords, the

lower the level of nativization of loanwords. No Spanish interference at the morphological and syntactic level has been reported. Instead, a morphological mechanism identifies the borrowing of verbal roots through the affixation of the causative prefix. Finally, the use of Spanish connectors, namely of Spanish coordinating conjunctions *o* ‘or’ and *y* ‘and’ has been discussed.

7. Conclusions

In this dissertation I have provided a descriptive grammar of Tapiete, a Tupi-Guarani language spoken in northern Argentina, Bolivia and Paraguay. I have outlined the main features of its phonology, postulated the rules that govern allophonic variations and made a survey of its phonotactics. Nasal harmony has been analyzed together with the segments that display allophonic variation. Finally, I have described the stress pattern and the syllable structure.

The morphological features of nouns and the syntactic distribution of constituents within the noun phrase have been presented. Tapiete morphologically encodes the categories of number, diminutive, augmentative and possession. In addition, it distinguishes between alienably and inalienably possession by marking differently nouns conceptualized as inalienable possessed from alienable possessed nouns. I have shown that the unspecified possessed form of nominals that belong to TG Class II nouns is reinterpreted as the default marker of possession of inalienable possessed nouns in Tapiete. Within the noun phrase, demonstratives, quantifiers, possessors and noun modifying precede the noun, while relative clauses follow it. Tapiete has indefinite pronouns that occupy both the subject and the object position with no alternation of their form and two sets of demonstratives that may function as adjectives or pronouns and that encode three different degrees of distance. Numerals and quantifiers precede the noun. The Tapiete number system is decimal; while cognate for numbers one to five are found in other TG languages, the names for numbers six to nine are only found in Ava-Guarani (Chiriguano). Nominal modification is attested in Tapiete, in which case the noun modifying precedes the head

noun. There is not a clear adjectival category, since the semantic value usually conveyed by adjectives in other languages is, in Tapiete and the TG languages, expressed through the inactive verbs. Tapiete expresses alienable possession through lexical and syntactic means. Syntactically, possession is expressed by means of nominal juxtaposition: the possessor precedes the possessed entity.

Finally, Tapiete has locative morphemes that distinguish a fixed position in the space (e.g. *-pe* ‘in’ and *-ipe* ‘inside’) from a movement within an area (e.g. *-ipi* ‘LOCMOV’) and two nominal suffixes that specify the direction of the action predicated by the verb (e.g. *-re* ‘on’ and *-wi* ‘from’.)

I have presented the morphological features of verbs and the syntactic distribution of constituents within the verb phrase. Tapiete displays an active / inactive system in independent clauses. In addition, it displays three subclasses of Jensen’s Set 1 prefixes markers, which are distinguished according to the third person markers they take i.e. *o-*, *∅-* and *wi-*. The first person plural exclusive form is composed of the verbal root marked for third person plus the nominalizing suffix *-ha* ‘EXCL’, which immediately follows the root. This form is also used to refer to an impersonal agent. Set 2 markers encode non-agentive subjects of intransitive verbs, patients of transitive verbs; and, possession when they are prefixed to nouns. TG person markers from Set 3 are not attested in Tapiete. Finally, Tapiete shows a different use of Set 4 person markers: the TG prefix *oro-* ‘A1:P2SG’ is interpreted as a bi-morphemic form made up of the prefix for first person active singular *a-* and the morpheme *ri-*, which encodes a second person patient singular, while the TG prefix *opo-* ‘A1:P2PL’ is replaced by the prefix *piri-* used to encode both a second person plural and an incorporated human object. Since no different person markers are available to differentiate third person singular from third person plural, the verb may be marked for plural

number when third person is the agentive subject of transitive and intransitive verbs, and the non-agentive subject of intransitive verbs.

Tense and aspect are encoded through suffixation. The expression of immediate future results from an ongoing process of grammaticalization of the verb *pota* '(s)he wants', while distant future is encoded by the suffixation of the morpheme *-kwi*. Similarly, the notion past is further subdivided into immediate and distant past. Both notions are the result of an ongoing process of grammaticalization of the temporal adverbs *ye'i* 'recently' and *kwewe* 'long ago', respectively. Aspect is encoded through suffixation of morphemes *-ma* 'RES', *-yɪ* 'FRQ', and *-pi* 'HAB'. Resultative aspect conveys the meaning that the present situation referred by the verb results from an action that has originated in the past. Habitual and frequentative aspects are encoded through suffixes *-pi* 'HAB', which is the grammaticalized shortened form of the adverb *yepi* 'always' and *-yɪ* 'FRQ', respectively. In addition, partial reduplication in Tapiete conveys an aspectual value related to the expression of iteration and may also encode a continuative meaning. Partial reduplication may also express that the action predicated by the verb is distributed over several distinct objects. It may also express the manner by which an action is performed as it indicates that the agent is performing the action in a rushed or imperfect way. Finally, partial reduplication mainly affects verbal roots, namely, agentive intransitive verbs, non-agentive intransitive verbs and transitive verbs, although it may marginally apply to adverbs, nouns and numerals. Imperative and hortative modes are expressed morphologically by the affixation of prefixes *e-* 'IMP' and *tɪ-* ~ *t-* 'HORT', respectively, while desire and obligation are encoded by suffixation of morphemes *-se* 'DES1' and *-sha* 'DES2' and *-rāni* 'first'.

Tapiete displays morphological operations that affect the valence of verbs. They include: **(1)** causativization, which involves two morphological causatives: prefix *mbɪ-* ~ *mɪ-* 'CAUS1' and

suffix *-ka* ‘CAUS2’; (2) noun incorporation, which encodes non-human and human generic objects by the affixation of the generic morphemes *mba-* ~ *ma-* ‘INHO’, and *pĩrĩ-* ‘HO’, respectively; (3) the comitative prefix *rĩ-*, that in Tapiete, seems to only encode accompaniment; and, (4) reflexivization, which is encoded through a new paradigm of person markers. The distribution of reflexive markers goes beyond the semantic context of use of direct reflexives revealing semantic extensions that make them to be considered exponents of middle voice: the new paradigm also encode reciprocal situations –TG reflexive marker **je-* and reciprocal marker **jo-* have merge in Tapiete–, body function actions; non-translational motion, translational motion, positionals and body posture actions; emotion middle, emotive speech actions and cognition middles and verbs that depict spontaneous event.

Negation is expressed morphologically through the suffixation of morpheme *-ä* ‘NEG’, which negates the content of the constituent to which it is suffixed. Suffix *-ä* may attach to other lexical categories such as noun and adverbs.

Adverbs and adverbial phrases occur in pre-verbal position while auxiliary verbs occur in post-verbal position. Auxiliary verbs are distinguished according to whether they are semantically stative or they are verbs of movement. No sequences of two or more auxiliary verbs are attested.

Tapiete is an SOV language, in which adverbials are mainly found in clause initial position. Among declarative sentences, transitive clauses follow the OV order, while ditransitive clauses tend to place their oblique argument in post-verbal position. Tapiete has two sets of independent pronouns that function as subject and as oblique arguments, which are distinguished by the position they take within the clause and the form they take for third person: subject independent pronouns are found in pre-verbal position and take the form *ha’e* ‘(s)he’ as third person, while independent pronouns that function as oblique arguments are found in post-verbal position and

take the form *shu* ‘(s)he’ as third person. In addition, Set 2 person markers combine with four positions with which they form pronominal forms that encode different semantic roles: position *rehe* encodes the participatory semantic role of patient and the circumstantial role of reason, position *hewi* encodes the semantic role of source, position *yehe* encodes a marginal reflexive construction and position *yupe* encodes the circumstantial role of beneficiary. The subject of agentive / patientive clauses is found in clause initial position. Interrogative sentences are encoded through the interrogative particle *-ra* ‘Q’, intonation and question words.

Relative and complement clauses are marked by a nominalizer morpheme *-wa* ‘NOM’ found in final position. Relative clauses are post-nominal as they are found after the head of the relative clause and may be modified by a determiner in which case the determiner precedes the relative clause (e.g. DET + Head + Restrictive Clause). The relativized position (e.g. subject and object) within the restrictive clause that co-refers with the head of the relative clause is “gapped”: there is not overt trace of these positions in the restrictive clause. Complement clauses function as object of the main predicate and their structure parallels that of declarative clauses. In addition, it is possible for a clause to be complement and matrix at the same time. Finally, adverbial clauses are marked through the subordinating suffix *-rä* ‘SUB’ and through juxtaposition. Like adverbs and adverbial phrases, adverbial clauses are mainly found clause initially.

Coordination is encoded through the coordinating conjunction *ka* ‘and’, which encodes clause coordination and the comitative word *handi* ‘with’ which encodes noun phrase coordination. In addition, clauses, noun phrases and verb phrases may be coordinated by juxtaposition. Tapiete encodes comparative constructions morphologically and syntactically. The similarity that exists between two entities is encoded morphologically through the affixation of suffix *-raimi* ‘alike’

Similarly, superlative is encoded through suffix *-ite* ‘SUP’. Comparatives that do not refer to the similarity between two entities are encoded through a specific syntactic construction within which the subject of the comparison precedes both the quality and the standard.

Three types of clausal negation are distinguished in Tapiete that include the negative words: *awɨ* ‘NEGIMP’ that negates imperatives, *mba’eti* ‘nothing, nobody’ that negates the existence or presence of an entity, and *time* ‘no’ that negate assertions. Clausal negation words are always found in clause initial position.

The phonological treatment of Spanish loanwords has been considered through an analysis of the consonant, vocalic and syllable structure changes. I have shown that the rules that govern nasal harmony also apply to Spanish loanwords. At the lexical level, the number and frequency of Spanish loanwords in the lexicon of Tapiete has been evaluated according to socio-linguistic parameters such as age, occupation and level of bilingualism of speakers. I have shown that the proportion of loanwords and the proportion of nativized loanwords are inversely proportional: that is, the lower the percentage of loanwords, the higher the level of nativization and, conversely, the higher the percentage of loanwords, the lower the level of nativization of loanwords. No Spanish interference at the morphological and syntactic level has been reported. Instead, a morphological mechanism identifies the borrowing of verbal roots through the affixation of the causative prefix. Finally, the use of Spanish connectors, namely of Spanish coordinating conjunctions *o* ‘or’ and *y* ‘and’ has been discussed.

This work has intended to contribute to the general knowledge of the TG language family, and, more specifically, to contribute to position the Tapiete language within the Guaraní group by providing phonological and morphological evidence that the linguistic distance between Tapiete and Ava-Guaraní (Chiriguano) is greater than the one commonly assumed.

APPENDIX A

List of abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
AC	active
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb(ial)
ant	anterior
CAUS	causative
COMP	complementizer
COND	conditional
cons	consonant
cont	continuous
CONJ	conjunction
DEFPOSS	default possessor
del rel	delayed release
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DIR	directional
DISTFUT	distant future
EXCL	exclusive
FRQ	frequentative
FUT	future
HAB	habitual
IHO	incorporated human object
IMP	imperative
IN	inactive
INCL	inclusive
INS	instrumental
INTR	intransitive
LOC	locative
NEG	negation, negative
INHO	incorporated non-human object
NNEG	negative nominalizer
NMLZ	nominalizer/nominalization
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
P	patient-like argument of canonical transitive verb
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRO	pronoun

PROP	proper noun
PST	past
Q	question particle/marker
QW	question word
REC	recent past
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
RES	resultative
S	subject
SG	singular
SUB	subordinator
SUP	superlative
Sp.	Spanish
strid	strident
syll	syllabic
TR	transitive
V	verb
á	main stress
à	secondary stress
=	compound
-	morpheme boundary

APPENDIX B

Reduplicated verbs

Reduplication of active transitive verbs

Simple form	<i>Glose</i>	Reduplicated form	<i>Glose</i>
mankĩ	To wet	mamankĩ	To sprinkle
minye	To put in	miminye	To scour without stopping
chense	To close (a door, a window).	chechense	To cover loosely, to cover me with a blanket
chinchĩ	To cut	chinchinchĩ	To cut badly
hai	To cut	hahai	To cut
mbĩhakwa	To sharpen	mbĩhahakwa	To sharpen several rods.
hape		hahape	To burn the hairs of the chicken, of all the animals that are eaten, putting them above the fire, several times.
hapĩ	To burn	hahapĩ	To burn badly.
heka	To look for, to ask for	heheka	To chose
hekĩ	To pull out, raise.	hehekĩ	To pull out some
hentũ	To smell	hēhentũ	To smell out
here	To lick	hehere	To lick
hesha	To see	hehesha	To check.
hunga	To press with one's finger, to massage.	huhunga	To grasp the breast of the mother many times
hupi	To raise. To pick up	huhupi	To pick up and go for a walk.
kārē	To scratch	kākārē	To scratch oneself.
karu	To eat.	kakaru	To eat quickly
mĩngaru	To feed	mĩngangaru	To feed two or more children.
kitĩ	To scrub, to scrape, to rub	kĩkitĩ	To scrub continuously.
kutu	To stab	kukutu	To stab repeatedly.
mā'ē	To pay attention, look at.	mama'ē	To watch, to spy on
manta	To pull, to stretch	mamanta	To hrow several things
maña	To push	mamaña	To push each other when (some people) are arguing.
mĩngĩye	To frighten	mĩngĩngĩye	To frighten a little child when one is around.
me'e	To give	mēmē'ē	To distribute.
mōhē	To scatter, to spill.	mōmōhē	To sacatter, to destroy.
mombo	To throw	momombo	To throw unevenly, throw several things
mombu	To pinch, to prick	momombu	To pinch., to prick (something) in several

moña	To harass, to run, to catch.	momoña	places To chase a dog or the sheep for them to go where they have to go
mörä	To love	mömörä	To love
morä'ä	To hate	momorä'ä	To hate
mborî	To help	mbomborî	To help a little bit.
numpa	To slap.	nunumpa	To clap.
ñemi	To hide	ñeñemi	To be hiding (oneself)
ñomi	To steal, to hide	ñoñomi	To be playing to steal
ñompë	To braid, to weave.	ñoñompë	To make some braids.
ñontî	To plant, bury.	ñoñontî	To plant some plants.
pete	To punish.	pepete	To stick several things
peyu	To blow	pepeyu	To blow several times
piro	To peel off.	pipiro	To peel unevenly
pîsi	To catch.	pîpîsi	To catch some people.
pe'a	To open.	pepe'a	To scratch around
pîte	To kiss	pîpîte	Kiss to say hello
Poi	To wash (one's) hands	popoi	To wash (one's) hands in a rush
poko	To touch	popoko	To grope.
poti	To shit	popoti	Diarrhea.
so	To cut.	soso	To pierce.
shu'u	To bite.	shushu'u	To chew.
Tinga	To punch (somebody)	tintinga	To punch (someone) several times, to fight among men.
wai	To wash (one's) face	wawai	To wash (one's) face in a rush game.
ware	To play (a professional game)	waware	To play (among children)
wohî	To carry	wowohî	To carry.
yapo	To do	yayapo	To dance a traditional dance.
yocha	To stop.	yoyocha	To intercept continuously.
yohe	To wash, to fondle.	yoyohe	To wash.
yoka	To break.	yoyoka	To grind, to crush.
yora	To untie.	yoyora	To undo.
yoso	To grind.	yoyoso	To grind.
yuhe	To desire	yuyuhe	To desire a lot
yura	To envelope, to wrap	yuyura	To twist.

Reduplication of active intransitive verbs

hasa	To pass, to cross.	hahasa	To tac, to baste.
iyeta	To speak, to say.	iyeyeta	To whisper.
Meno	To copulate.	memeno	To make love with many women.
ñani	To run.	ñañani	To trot.
poñî	To crawl.	popoñî	To be crawling.
rure	To ask, to pray(rezar).	rurure	To be asking
wata	To walk	wawata	To have a walk
Yawî	To miss.	yayawî	To doubt

Reduplication of inactive intransitive verbs

Simple form	Glose	Reduplicated form	Glose
chere	To be crazy.	chechere	To flirt..
haiwi	Rain.	hahaiwi	Rain, drizzle.
hakwa	To sharp.	hahakwa	Several points.
Hāwē	To be gray, opaque. Grey	hāhāwē	Twilight.
hayasi	Sour, tart, acid, fermented.	hayayasi	Very sour.
Hemo	To sting.	hēhemo	To sting.
Hendi	To burn.	hēhendi	To spark.
Kira	To be fat.	kīkīra	To be ery fat
ñampe	Bandy-legged.	ñañampe	Twisted (for a metal).
ñerā'a	To be calm.	ñēñerā'a	To be quite. To be a calm person.
Pomo	To be thick.	popomo	To be sticky.
Poshi	To get angry, bad.	poposhi	To get very angry, very bad.
puku	To be long, high, adult.	pupuku	To grow up.
riri	To tremble	rīrīrī	To shiver.
simi	To be right.	sīsīmi	To be striped
Timbo	To smoke.	titimbo	To spark.
tini	To dry.	tintini	To dry a little.

Reduplicatio of numerals

pentē	One.	pepentē	One by one.
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Reduplication of nouns

kō'ē	Day, morning.	kōkō'ē	The whole morning.
pere	Wound.	pepere	Some wounds.
pīntu	Night.	pīpīntu	Dusk

APPENDIX C

Reflexives

Direct reflexives

Source verb		Derived verb	
a-chense	(I) close(a gate)	ai-chense	I lock in myself ⁹⁴
a-chenda	(I) lock (something) up	ai-chenda	I lock in myself
a-chinchi	'I cut (it)'	ai-chinchi	'I cut myself'
a-hai	(I) marked the boundaries	ai-y-ai	'I cut myself'
a-hap̄i	'I burn (it)'	ai-hap̄i	'I burnt myself'
a-hentu	'I smell (it)'	ai-hentu	'I smell myself'
a-hendu	'I listen (it)'	ai-hendu	'I listen to myself'
a-hep̄i	(I) defend (him)	ai-hep̄i	'I defend myself'
a-here	'I lick (it)'	ai-here	'I lick myself'
a-hesha	'I see'	ai-y-esha	'I see myself'
a-kār̄	(I) scratch	ai-kār̄	'I scratch myself'
		ai-kasoi	'I cover myself'
an-kimewa	(I) hurt (him)	āi-kimewa	'I hurt myself'
a-k̄t̄i	(I) scrub 'friego'	ai-k̄t̄i	(I) rub (my eye)
a-kutu	I prick	ai-kutu	(I) stab myself
a-numpa	'(I) hit (him)'	ai-numpa	'I hit myself'
a-p̄ihano	(I) cure	ai-p̄ihano	(I) cure myself
a-p̄ite	(I) kiss	ai-p̄ite	(I) suck myself
a-pota	(I) want	ai-pota	(I) love myself
a-seka	(I) dry	ai-mbi-seka	(I) dry myself
sososo	(It) pricks	ȳi-sososo	(He) pricks himself
a-yocha	(I) catch a ball	ai-yocha	(I) catch a punch
a-yokwa	(I) tie	ai-yokwa	(I) tie myself
a-yop̄i	(I) squash	ai-yop̄i	(I) crush something
a-yora	(I) untie	ai-yora	(I) untie myself
a-yuka	(I) kill	ai-yuka	(I) kill myself
a-m̄i-henta	(I) build a house (for him/her)	ai-m̄i-henta	(I) build a house for myself

Causativized source verb		Derived form	
a-m-ank̄i	'I wet (it/him/her)	ai-m-ank̄i	'I wet myself'
a-mb-aku	'I heat (it)'	ai-mb-aku	(I) got warm in the sun
a-mbi-he'a	(I) mixed them	ai-he'a	'I intermingled'
		ai-mbi-hasa	(I) let myself
a-m̄i-nḡi'a	(I) got something dirty	ai-m̄i-nḡi'a	(I) got dirty
a-m̄i-nḡi'n̄i	(I) tickle (him/her)	ai-m̄i-nḡi'n̄i	(I) tickle myself
a-m̄i-timbo	(I) smoke	ai-m̄i-timbo	'I bathe in smoke'
a-m̄i-tini	(I) dry	a-m̄i-tini	(I) dry myself
a-mbi-para	(I) draw	ai-mbi-para	(I) tattoo myself

⁹⁴ See its middle meaning *n̄in-chense* 'it closes' (Cf. Spontaneous events)

Naturally reciprocal events

Source verb		Reciprocal form	
		ñi-mārāndu	'they said hello to each other'
		ñi-menda	'they got married'
		ñi-rārō	'they fight each other'
		ñi-wēinti	'they met each other'
kwa'a	she knows	yi-kwa'a	'they met each other'
kwāwā	(s)he picks up holding	ñi-kwākwā	'they held each other'
a-meno	'I make love (man)'	ai-meno	'I make love (woman)', ⁹⁵
mombo	(s)he throws	ñi-mombo	'they are separated'
mī-morā'ā	(s)he does not love(him)	ñi-morā'ā	'they do not love each other'
mbati	'(s)he pile up'	ñi-mbati	'they met each other'
pīte	'(s)he kissed (it)'	yi-pīte	'they kissed each other'
heko	(s)he has	yi-reko	'they are together to live'
moña	(s)he runs after (him)	ñi-moña	'they chase each other'
mbi-pere	(s)he hurts (him)	yi-mbi-pere	'they hurt each other'

Grooming or body care

Source verb		Derived form	
		ai-wai	I wash my face
		ai-poi	I wash my hands
		ai-yaki'o	I wash my head
a-yohe	'I wash'	ai-yohe	I wash myself
a-mim-pindi	'I clean (him/her)'	ai-pindi	'I clean myself'
monde	(s)he is dressed	ñi-monde	(s)he gets dressed'
shi-nani	'I am naked	ai-nani	'I undress myself'
a-po'o	'I pull out (sth)'	ai-po'o	'I wax my legs'
an-kwāwā	'I pick up (sth) holding (it)'	ai-kwākwā	'I cover myself with a cloth'
a-yakatu	'I fix (something)'	ai-yakatu	'I comb myself'

⁹⁵ *meno* '(he) makes love' (the woman says when referring to a man). *ñi-meno* '(she) makes love' (the man says when referring to a woman.)

Non-translational motion and Positionals

Source verb		Derived form	
pepi	'(s)he levers'	yɨ-pepi	(s)he twists his body'
a-rɨɨ	'I tremble'	ai-rɨɨ	'I fix things in a rush'
a-tɨmo	'I push (him)'	ai-tɨmo	'I pushed myself'
		ñɨ-tɨmo	'(s)he shakes'
		ai-makanta	'I push myself'
		ñɨ-mbo'ɨ	'(s)he is standing'

Change in body posture

Source verb		Derived form	
mbapü'ä	'(s)he makes a band'	ñɨ-mbapua	'(s)he curled up'
ro'a	'(s)he caught him'	yɨ-ro'a	'(s)he kneels down'

Body function actions

ai-ñañanti	'I sneeze'
yɨ-rɨpepeka	(s)he yawns'
ai-yuyu'u	'I cough'

Translational motion

Source verb		Derived verb	
a-wähë	'I arrived'	ai-wähë	'I escaped'
we-ru	'(s)he brings (sth)'	yɨ-weru	'(A race) is run'
raha	'(s)he takes'	yɨ-raha	'(s)he goes to (somewhere)'
		ai-yawa	'two lovers run away'
i-che	(He/she) came in 'entró'	yɨ-che	'(It) let itself in'

Speech actions

Source verb		Derived verb	
peyu	'(the wind) blows'	yɨ-peyu	'(s)he curses'
sh-apu	'I am a liar'	ai-mbi-yapu	'I deceived myself'
mbe'u	'(s)he tells'	ñɨ-mbe'u	'It is said (that...)'
		ai-ampo	'I report'
		ai-ya'o	'I discuss'
		ai-yeta	'I speak'
		ai-rure	'I ask, I pray'
		ai-ampo	'I denounce'

Cognition middle

Source verb		Derived verb	
a-mbo'e	'I teach'	ai-kwa'a	'I know'
a-mbi-chere	'I drive him crazy'	ñi-mbiestudia	'(s)he learns'
a-mo'a	'I believe'	ai-mbo'e	'I learn'
a-mburu	'I believe in the capacity of (someone)'	ai-mbi-chere	'I was driven mad'
shi-chere	'I am crazy'	ai-mo'a	'I have a feeling, I'm careful'
		ai-mburu	'I feel qualified'
		ai-chechere	'I am driving myself crazy'

Spontaneous events

Inactive version		Middle version	
hayasi	'(s)he is sour'	y+hayasi	'(s)he turned sour for not having a bath'
hipek+	'(It/(s)he) is mature'	y+peki	'(s)he turns'
shi-marē'i	'I am big'	ai-marē'i	'I grow older'
		ñi-mbiwawa	'(the tree) shakes'
chense	'it closes'	ñi-chense	'it is closed'
a-kwakwa	'I am old'	ai-kwakwa	'I pretend I am old'
pe'a	'(s)he opened'	y+pe'a	'it was opened'
piro	'(s)he peels'	y+piro	'it is peeling'
piyere	'(s)he spills'	y+piyere	'it is spilt'
mbi-pota	'(s)he turned on (the light)'	y+pota	'it turned on'

APPENDIX D

Tapiete Vocabulary

- a** [ʔa] *ac.v.* 1) To fall; to fall down. *Caer; caerse*. **a-a-pota** I am going to fall. *Me voy a caer*.
- *ac.v.* 2) To be born. *Nacer*. **a-mbe'u-po mārā-rā koa sanya'ī ñani-rénta-pe ó-a-wa** voy a contar cómo, este, nace un chico en la casa.
- *ac.v.* 3) To crash. *Chocar*. **kami'ö ou o-a he(se) siyora** vino un vehículo y lo chocó.
- a-** (from: **a-**) [a] *p.m.* First person active singular marker. *Marcador activo de primera persona singular*.
- ä** [ã; ʔã] *neg.* Negation morpheme that combines with verbal roots. *Morfema de negación que se combina con raíces verbales*. **a-hesha-ä** No (lo) ví.
- a'ampo** Possessive morpheme found in pronominal constructions. *Morfema posesivo que se usa en construcciones pronominales*. **mbo'u she sh-a'ampo-wa** Pass me mine *Pasame el mío*
- a'are** [ʔaʔare] *adv.* Speedy. *Rápido*.
- a'area** *adv.* At all times. *A cada rato*.
a'area anguya ho'u-wērā raha o-ī a cada rato la rata se está llevando (algo) para comer.
- a'ayo** [ázo] *n.* Big bag. *Bolso grande; bolso de yika; bolsa que se llevan en la espalda*.
- acha** *n.* Penis. *Pene*.
- achira** [atʃíra] *n.* Kind of plant. *Achira*. *Canna*.
- a'engu** [aʔēngu] *in.v.* Dumb. *Mudo*. **a-rī-m-a'engu** te dejé mudo; **a-m-a'engu-reta** los dejé mudo.
- afata** [afáta] *n.* Kind of plant. *Afata; planta de madera blanda. Propia de la región de Tartagal. No se encuentra en el Chaco*. *From: Spanish*.
- Agustina** [aɣustína] *p.n.* Spanish female name. *Nombre de mujer de origen español*. *From: Spanish*.
- aho** [áho] *n.* Garlic. *Ajo*. *Állium satívum*. *From: Spanish*.
- ai** [áj; éj; ów] To come. *Venir*. **ai-po** I will come *voy a venir* **mba'e-ra nde ei ndī-heka-e** qué has venido a buscar? **hama kīma pīntu kā'ä i-shī yahe'o yī ou-rä** hace un rato que ya se había hecho de noche cuando la madre venía llorando.
- ai-** (from: **ai-**) [aj] *p.m.* First person singular marker of reflexive verbs. *Marcador reflexivo de primera persona singular*. **ai-kārī** I scratch myself *Me rasco*
- ákwa** *dem.* Demonstrative. *Demostrativo que refiere a una cosa o persona*. **hama ákwa opa yapo-retá-rä-ma** por eso cuando eso terminen de hacer
- ákwärāme** [ákoname; ákōnā; ákwārā] Good; OK. *Bueno; de acuerdo*.
- Aldo** [áldo] *p.n.* Spanish male name. *Nombre de hombre de origen español*. *From: Spanish*.
- ama** [áma] *n.* Rain. *Lluvia*.
- amamí** [amamí; amami] *n.* Drizzle. *Lluvia que se prolonga durante semana y produce mucho barro; llueve y llueve semanas y semanas y hay barro*.
- amanda** [amánda] *n.* Hail. *Granizo*.
- amandaiwi** [amandájʃi] *n.* Kind of drizzle. *Temporal; lluvia de 4 o 5 días; cuando llovizna chiquitito y pasa.; llovizna más gruesa que "amanda"*.
- ama-pīntu** (from: **ama-pīntu**)

[amapíntu; amapĩntu] *n.* Cloud.
Nube.

amawansu [amawānsu; amawāsu] *n.*
Storm; flood. *Tormenta; diluvio.*

amigo [amíyo] *n.* Friend. *Amigo.* **ññ-amigo**
ou handi ye'i. He came with his friend a
moment ago. (*él*) vino con su amigo hace
un rato. *From: Spanish.*

amí [amí] *n.* Deceased. *Finado.* **a-mbe'u-**
po aríka'e-pi she-ru amí o-ho yuka
kúshi-rä voy a contar cuando antes mi
finado papá iba a matar chanchos

amí [amí] *n.* Shit. *Mierda.*

amĩ'ä [amĩʔĩʔä; amĩ] *n.* Rubbish.
Porquería.

amo [amo; amo] *adv.* Sometimes. *A veces.*
amo-pe ĩ o-wa-ha sometimes we baught
the water. *a veces comprábamos el agua*

a'amo *dem.* Somebody; some people.
Alguien; algunas personas; algunos.
a'amo-re heta raha o-ĩ pähä some
people are carrying a lot of bread *algunos*
están llevando mucho pan.

ä'amoĩ [ʔäʔämoĩ] *dem.* Some. *Algunos.*

ampēi *n.* Bit. *Pedacito.* **ampēi ime ye iwära a-**
yasĩsĩa-rä quedó un pedacito cuando le
corté el palo

ampempēi *bits.* Bits. *Pedacitos.*
ampempēi a-yasĩa corto en pedacitos

ampo [ámpo; āmpo] Pet word "er...".
Palabra que se usa como muletilla
cuando uno titubea. **O-ho-mba mbe'u**
shu aríka'e...ampo... karai. *Se fue a*
avisarle antes...este... a los gringos.

ampo *ac.v.* To copulate. *Copular.* **ha'e ampo**
he pucked her *él se la cogió (mala*
palabra)

ampo *ac.v.* To denounce. *Denunciar.* **ai-**
ampo-pe ndĩ-re(he) te voy a denunciar

ambu'e *n.* Kind of animal. *Bicho bolita de*
color café.

ambu'e-hüwä (*from: ambu'e-hüwä*) *n.*
Kind of animal. *Tipo de bicho bolita de*
color negro.

ambu'ewasu *n.* Kind of animal. *Bicho*
bolita de color rojo.

angáiwo [aŋgájwo; aŋgájʃo] *in.v.*
Skinniness. *Flacura.* **ññ-angaivo yuka**
kä'ä karu kavi-ä-rä su flacura lo mató
porque no comía bien

angu'a [āgúʔa; aŋgua] *n.* Mortar.
Mortero. **Angú'a-pe ñono-ha.** *se lo pone*
en el mortero.

angu'a [aŋgúʔa; aŋgúa] *n.* Drum.
Bombo; tambor.

anguya [aŋgúʒa] *n.* Mouse; rat. *Ratón;*
rata. *rattus rattus.*

Anguya [aŋgúʒa] *p.n.* Female name that
means 'mouse'. *Nombre de mujer que*
significa "ratón, rata."

anguyawasu [aŋguzáʒasu] *n.* Viscacha.
Vizcacha. *lagóstomus máximus, L.*
trichodáctylus.

animale [animále] *n.* Animals.
Animales. *From: Spanish.*

anka [aŋka] *n.* Head. *Cabeza.*

ankä'ë [aŋkãʔë; aŋkãë] *n.* Magpie.
Urraca.

anka'enta [aŋkãēnta] *n.* Stick used to
grill. *Palo que cortan longitudinalmente*
para confeccionar una parrilla dónde
azar la carne.

ankandawo [aŋkandáʒo] *n.* Hat.
Sombrero.

ankasoro [aŋkasóro; āŋkasóro] *n.*
Gully; ravine. *Donde hay vertiente de*
agua.

anki [āki; aŋki] *in. v.* Wet. *Mojado.* **opa**
sh-anki estoy empapada.

manki [máŋki] 1) *ac.v.* To wet. *Mojar.*
a-m-anki moja. 2)
— *refl.v.* To wet oneself. *Mojarse.* **ai-m-**
anki me moja.

mamanki [mamáŋki] *ac.v.* Drizzle.
Rociar.

ankwa [āŋkwa] *in.v.* Speedy; to be speedy
when walking. *Rápido; apurarse para*
caminar. **sh-ankwa** soy rápido.

antē'ĩ [antēĩ] *in.v.* 1) To be lazy. *Estar*
flojo; tener flojera. **mba'e a-yapo-ä pō**
a-ĩ sh-antē'ĩ I am not going to do

anything because I am lazy. *no voy a hacer nada porque tengo flojera*

— *refl.v.* 2) To become lazy. *Tener flojera. ai-m-antë'i me dió flojera*

anteni *n.* Person who belongs to the Wichi ethnic group. *Persona de la etnia wichi.*

andai [andáj] *n.* Kind of pumpkin. *Anco. Cucurbita moschata. andai mbihe'a-ha ndakarai ha'e-nyĩ timbi'u anco que entreverábamos con poroto, eso era también comida*

andai-puku (*from:* **andai-puku**) [andajpúku] *n.* Kind of Pumpkin. *Calabaza; cuando su cuello alargado se presenta de manera curva, se lo llama "andai yayuyapa".*

andira [andíra] *n.* Bat. *Murciélago.*

Andrea [andréa] *p.n.* Spanish female name. *Nombre de mujer. From: Spanish.*

aña [ána] *n.* Devil; ghost. *Diablo; fantasma.*

añayacha [añazátʃa] *n.* Mushroom. *Hongo de color blanco.*

añente [aénte; ínte; añénte; añēnte] *n.* True. *Verdad, verdadero, es cierto. añente mba'e hási-pe a-kwakwá arka'e shi-ndei a-i-rä Es cierto que mi infancia fue sufrida cómo me crié antes cuando era chiquita*

año [áño] *n.* Year. *Año. From: Spanish.*

añumbi [añúmbi] *n.* Kind of bird. *Hornero. Furnarius.*

apanteno [apanténo; apāntēno] *n.* Kind of tree. *Sachapera; árbol de gran tamaño. Acanthosyris falcata.*

api'a [apiʔa; apia] *n.* 1) Egg. *Huevos. íme-ra-e uru hipia hay huevos?*

— *n.* 2) Testicle. *Testículos; huevos.*

Apichuri *p.n.* Male name. *Nombre de hombre; nombre de un antiguo cacique.*

apisha [apíʃa] *n.* Fellow. *Nena; compañera; paisana.*

apirakwa [apirákwa] *n.* Kind of animal. *Oso bandera; oso grande; parecido al oso hormiguero.*

apirakwamí [apirakwamí] *n.* Anteater. *Oso hormiguero; oso más chico que el oso bandera. Myrmecophaga jubata [tridáctyla].*

apire'a [apiréʔa; apiréa] *n.* Kind of animal. *Cuis; animal similar al ratón que mide alrededor de 20 cm; es más grande que la rata y más chico que la liebre; no tiene cola; su color es parecido al de la liebre; es mamífero; no es doméstico; sale a la hora del crepúsculo por la orilla del camino; hacen caminitos bajo los pastos.*

apoima [apójma] Thanks. *Gracias.*

apu [apu] *in.v.* 1) To lie. *Mentir; mentira; mentiroso. opa-ite p-apu*

— *refl.v.* 2) To fool oneself. *Engañarse.*

ara [ára] *n.* 1) Sky. *Cielo. ara yĩ-píro-ma kwarasĩ o-hē-pota se limpió el cielo y va a salir el sol*

— *n.* 2) Weather. *Clima.*

— *n.* 3) Day. *Día. opa ara a-káru-pi todos los días como*

ärä'änä *adv.* 1) Now. *Ahora. ärä o-i kancha tiwisha o-i ha'e-pe ahora es cancha grande ahí; ä mba'apo-ma she-reta ahora trabajan para mí*

— *adv.* 2) Today. *Hoy.*

ärämbe [ärämbe] *n.* Wire. *Alambre. From: Spanish.*

ärämbe yasiyaka
[anámbé zasizáka] *n.* Tongs.
Pinza. From: Spanish.

arapasi *n.* Kind of food. *Tipo de comida.*

Ara-Poshi (*from: Ara-Poshi*) *p.n.* Male's name. *Nombre de hombre.*

Arariyu [araríʒu] *p.n.* Male name that means "illuminate sky". *Nombre de hombre que quiere decir "cielo iluminado."*

Arayairu *p.n.* Female name. *Nombre de mujer.*

arbaka *n.* Basil. *Albahaca. From: Spanish.*

arete [aréte] *n.* Party. *Fiesta.*

Ari *p.n.* Male name. *Nombre de hombre.*

Ari-mi amí *el finadito Ari*

ärinä [arína] *n.* Flour. *Harina.* From: Spanish.

arika'e [arakáe; arkáe; arikáe; arikáj] *adv.* Long time ago. *Hace mucho tiempo.* **arika'e ehkwéla-pe-po ou piri-mbo'e-wërä-rä** *antes, la escuela cuando iba a venir uno que iba a enseñar.*

ariká'ewa [arikáewa; arikájwa] *n.* 1) Ancestors. *Los antiguos, los ancestros.*
— *n.* 2) Old person or thing. *Cosa o persona antigua.*
— *n.* 3) Story. *Historia.*

arkoro [arkóro] *n.* Alcohol. *Alcohol.* From: Spanish.

aro [áro; aró] *n.* Rice. *Arroz.* *Oryza sativa.* From: Spanish.

arowe [aróβe] *n.* Adobe. *Adobe.* From: Spanish.

arweha [arβeha] *n.* Beans. *Arveja.*

asao *n.* Barbecue. *Asado.* From: Spanish.

asi [áse; ási] *n.* Jar. *Jarra grande; recipiente de cuello fino; para guardar semillas; se hace con un porongo al que se le corta la punta.*

asoya [asóza] *n.* Blanket. *Colcha.*

asuka [asúka] *n.* Sugar. *Azúcar.* From: Spanish.

ashi [áʃi] *n.* Toasted maize. *Sémola tostada.*

atiende *ac.v.* Look after. *Atender.* **kowa she-sī shī-mī-atiende ha'e i mä'ë shī-re(he)** *my mother looks after me, she looks at me. este, mi mamá me atiende, ella me mira* From: Spanish.

atí [átí] *adv.* Over there. *Para allá.* **mba'etī kope, atī iko.** *It is not there, it is there* *No está aquí, allá está*

äü [äü; äü] *dem.* That one. *Aquel; ese.*

äumpe [äumpe] *adv.* Over there. *Allá.*

awandäi *in.v.* Reason. *Tener razón.* **sh-awandäi** *tengo mi razón*

awara [aywára] *n.* Fox. *Zorro.* *Vulpes fulva.*

Awaraii *p.n.* Name of the city of Aguaray. *Nombre de la ciudad de Aguaray que significa "lugar donde tomaba agua el zorro."*

awarami [aywaramí; aywárami] *n.* Kind of animal. *Tipo de animal menos peligroso que el zorro.*

awareta [awaréta] *n.* Person who belongs to the Ava-guaraní ethnic group (Chiriguano) people. *Persona de la etnia Ava-guaraní (Chiriguano).*

awati [awáti] *n.* Maize. *maíz.*

awati tantambawa *n.* Soft and yellow maize. *Maíz amarillo y blando.*

awati'i'i [awatiʔiʔi] *n.* Corn cane. *Caña de la planta de maíz.*

awati-käwë (from: **awati-käwë**) [awatikäwë; awatikäβë] *n.* Corncob. *Mazorca de maíz sin los granos.*

awatiki [awatíki] *n.* Ear of maize. *Choclo; maíz tierno.*

awatiki pire [awatikipíre] *n.* Tender leaf of maize. *Chala.*

awatiki-ñanti (from: **awatiki-ñanti**) [awatikiñánti] *n.* Hair of maize. *Pelo de mazorca.*

awati-ku'i (from: **awati-ku'i**) *n.* Ground and toasted maize. *Maíz molido y tostado.*

awati-paroro (from: **awati-paroro**) *n.* Kind of maize. *Tipo de maíz que se usa para hacer harina.*

awati-tántawa (from: **awati-tántawa**) [awatitántawa] *n.* Hard corn. *Maíz duro; de color amarillo.*

awati-yoyokáhawa (from: **awati-yoyokáhawa**) [awati ʔoʔokáhwa] *n.* Grinned corn soup. *Nombre que se le da a la sopa de maíz molido.* **ha'e-pe yai-yeta he(se) awati yoyoká-ha-wa** *Ahí vamos a hablar del maíz molido.*

awe [aβe] *n.* Kind of braid. *Tipo de trenza que se hacía con el pelo que se cortaban para ahorcar a la persona que no podía morir tranquilamente a cause del incesto*

cometido.

awero [awéro] *n.* Mask. *Máscara.*

awesha [aβéʃa; awéʃa] *n.* Sheep. *Oveja.*
From: Spanish.

awesha-rá [aβeshará] *n.* Whool.
Lana de oveja.

awiö [aβiö] *n.* Plane. *Avión.* *From: Spanish.*

awi [áwi] *neg.* No; nothing; anyone. *No; nada; ningún/o/a.* **awi ndi-pĩ'a pörä-ä nime i(ko)-po nd-kwi.** *No te pongas/pensés mal porque vas a seguir viviendo.*

awiräri [awiräri; awirärē; awinānē; awinānē] *n.* Cedar. *Cedro.* *Cedrus libani.*

ayatiti'i *n.* Kind of cactus. *Tipo de cactus de aproximadamente un metro y medio de alto; su fruta es de color rojo; comestible.*

ayé *excl.* How! *Cómo!*

ayema [azéma; azéme] *Although. Aunque.* **Ayema i pñhänü-ha** *Although (they/somebody) her cured him Aunque lo han curado.*

ayete [azéte; aéte] *adv.* Almost. *Casi.* **ayéte-nda o'okwa he-reta arkae** *They almost have beaten him. casi le garrotearon antes.*

ayuru [azúru] *n.* Parrot. *Loro; papagayo.*
Psittacus erithacus.

B - b

borboho [borbóxo] *n.* Grub; weevil.
Gorgojo; "cuco". *From: Spanish.*

boteya [botéza] *n.* Bottle. *Botella.* *From: Spanish.*

Ch - ch

Chakara [tʃakára] *p.n.* Male name.
Nombre de hombre sin significado.

chanteñi-kawata (*from: chanteñi-kawata*) *n.* Kind of plant. *Planta de color verde; crece en árboles como el algarrobo. Se utilizaba para sopar la miel ya que es parecida a una esponja.*

charango [tʃarángo] *n.* Charango.
Charango. *From: Spanish.*

che [tʃe] *ac.v.* To sleep. *Dormir.* **o-che o-i** *esta durmiendo.*

mony *ac.v.* Make him/her to sleep. *Hacer dormir.*

ocheháseape [otʃésiape] *n.*
Bedroom; hotel. Donde duerme; cama; hotel.

che [tʃe] *ac.v.* 1) To enter. *Entrar; entrá; entra.* **peimba opa i-che-reta arika'e** *Finally they all entered. al fin entraron todos antes.*

— *n.* 2) West. *Oeste.* **kwarasí í-che-a kiti** *por donde se entra el sol*

minye [míndze] *ac.v.* Put in. *Meter algo adentro.*

miminye [mimínze] *ac.v.* To rummage in. *Hurgar continuamente.* **kíná-mi-nyĩ**

tapiti tata-ipe mimiye-ha shĭ hai *así también al conejo lo ponían debajo del fuego*

chechere [tʃetʃére] *n.* Kind of parrot. *Calancato; loro papagayo, de color verde; es más chico que el loro hablador y más grande que la cata; a la vuelta del ojo es blanco; tiene cola larga; no habla; se ven en la zona del Chaco y en Tartagal. Psittacus erithacus.*

chense [tʃénse] *ac.v.* To close. *Cerrar (p.e. puerta, ventana). a-mĭ-chensen-ka-po onche* *lo voy a hacer cerrar la puerta; kĭma pĭntu ópa-ma nĭ-nchense* *ya es tarde está todo cerrado / es de noche.*

— *refl.v.* To lock oneself. *Encerrarse. kĭma pĭntu ópa-ma nĭ-nchense* *ya es tarde está todo cerrado / es de noche.*

chechense [tʃetʃénse] *ac.v.* Close. *Tapar irregularmente; tapar con colcha o algo. a-chechense a-re(ko)* *estoy tapando agujeritos en la verja, reja, pared pero algunos quedan.*

chenda *ac.v.* To turn; to shut in. *Doblar; encerrar. n-chenda* *doblalo; ä kĭrá-wé-a-ma-kwe-pi opa nĭ-chenda o-ho-wé-réta-rä* *ahora ya no es así, todos están encerrados.*

chere [tʃére] *in.v.* Crazy. *Loco. i-chechere* *persona a la que le gusta tener*

amantes.

chechere [tʃetʃére] *in.v.* Flirt. *Coquetear. i-chechere* *persona a la que le gusta tener amantes.*

mbichere [tʃére] *ac.v.* Drive someone crazy. *Enloquecer.*

chinch [tʃíntʃi] *ac.v.* To cut. *Cortar. chinch-ha-wa* *cortado.*

chinchinchi [tʃíntʃíntʃi] *ac.v.* To cut badly. *Cortar mal; tajejar; cortar [consierra]; cortar en pedacitos. chinchinchi-ha-ra-ĭ-wa* *Something bodily cut algo mal cortado, tajeado (algo cortado con una sierra).*

manchinchi [mantʃíntʃi] *ac.v.* Saw. *Aserrar; cortar. Aldo man-chinchi o-ĭ* *Aldo is sawing. Aldo está aserrando*

chinch [tʃíntʃe] *n.* Bug. *Chinche. Cimex lectularis.*

Chini [tʃíni] *p.n.* Female name. *Nombre de mujer.*

chinini [tʃiníni; tʃinínĭ] *in.v.* 1) Quiet. *Quieto. rowai chinini o-ĭ* *el viento está tranquilo*

chocolate [tʃokoláte] *n.* Chocolate. *Chocolate. From: Spanish.*

D - d

Dana [dána] *p.n.* Spanish female name. *Nombre de mujer. From: Spanish.*

Dante [dánte] *p.n.* Spanish male name. *Nombre de hombre. From: Spanish.*

daro [dáðo; dáro] *n.* Die. *Dados. From: Spanish.*

dies [djés] *num.* Ten. *Diez. From: Spanish.*

Dio *n.* God. *Dios. From: Spanish.*

directora [diredóra] *n.* Principal. *Directora. From: Spanish.*

dokumento *n.* Identity card. *Documento.*

dósepe [dósepe] *n.* Midday. *Mediodía. From: Spanish.*

durahno [duráhno] *n.* Peach. *Durazno. From: Spanish.*

E - e

- e** [e] Is. *Es. är'ä ë kancha tiwisha o-i ha'e-pe.* Now there is a big? *Ahora es cancha grande ahí.* From: Spanish.
- e-** (from: e-) [e; ē] *imp.* Imperative prefix. *Prefijo imperativo. e-kwa n̄-mp̄i hano páye-wa* *Andá hacete curar por el curandero*
- e** *tns.* Recent past suffix. *Sufijo que indica pasado reciente. mba'era nd-ei ndi-héka-e* What are you looking for? *qué has venido a buscar?*
- ë'ë** [ēʔe; ē; ʔe] Yes; right. *Sí; está bien.*
- éhae** [éhae; éhai] *interj.* Hey!; be careful! *¡Ay!; ¡cuidado!; ¡epa! éhae shi-waka mano mba'e-nte a-yapo-pota* My cow has died, what am I going to do? *Mi vaca se murió ¿Qué haré?*
- ei** [ej] *n.* Honey. *Miel.*
- e'i** [éʔi] *n.* Spindle. *Huso.*
- eimi** [éjmi] *n.* Moromoro honey. *Miel de moromoro.*
- eiwasu** *n.* Kind of honey. *Miel de la abeja que se llama "eiwasutu", de color grisáceo; es una miel muy dulce que no*

se puede consumir mucho.

- eiwasu tú** *n.* Kind of bee. *Abeja chiquita de 5mm, de color negro, no pica, tiene el panal abajo de la tierra.*
- Elsa** [élsa] *p.n.* Spanish female name. *Nombre de mujer.* From: Spanish.
- ermano** [ermáno] *n.* Spanish term used to refer to a member of the evangelist congregation. *Término español que se usa para designar a un miembro de la congregación evangélica. Opa ermano-rä yï-raha-rä.* *Porque todos se han hecho cristianos evangélicos.* From: Spanish.
- eskwela** [ehkwéla] *n.* School. *Escuela.* From: Spanish.
- Esther** [estér] *p.n.* Spanish female name. *Nombre de mujer.* From: Spanish.
- evangelio** [eβaŋxéljo] *n.* Evangile. *Evangelio.* From: Spanish.
- evangelisación** [eβaŋxelisasjón] *n.* Evangelization. *Evangelización.* From: Spanish.

F - f

- Felisa** *p.n.* Spanish female name. *Nombre de mujer de origen español.* From: from Spanish.
- flekiyo** [flekíʒo] *n.* Fringe. *Flequillo.* From: Spanish.

- fransikana** *n.* Franciscan. *Religión de la orden franciscana.* From: Spanish.

G - g

ga [ga] *n.* Gas. *Gas.* *From:* Spanish.
grabador [graβaðór] *n.* Recorder machine. *Grabador.* *From:* Spanish.
grado [gráðo] *n.* Room. *Aula.* **i-che-ha-kwe pi grádo-pe.** *Entramos ya en el*

grado. *From:* Spanish.
grasia [grásja] Thanks. *Gracias.* *From:* Spanish.

H - h

h- (*from:* **h-**) *poss.* Third person possessive marker. *Marcador posesivo de tercera persona.*
ha [ha; ho] *ac.v.* To go. *Ir.* **boteya ĩ iärä o-ho** *la botella va encima (flota) sobre el agua.*
ha [ha] What? *¿Qué?*
-ha *nom.* Nominalizer suffix. *Sufijo Nominalizador.*
-ha *p.m.* First person plural exclusive maker. *Marcador de primera personal plural exclusiva.*
hä'ä [hã?ã] *ac.v.* To taste (e.g. food). *Probar (p.e. comida).* **a-hä'ä-pota** I will taste it. *voy a probar.*
hä'ä [hã?ã] *ac.v.* To point at. *Apuntar, amagar.* **hä'ä re(ko) shĭ-ré(he)** ((s)he) pointed at me. *me apuntó.*
hä'ä [hã?ã] *ac.v.* To speak; to sing. *Hablar; cantar.* **ñani-ñĕ'ĕ hä'ä-yĭ ou kwewe** He came back speaking our language. *ha vuelto hablando el idioma.*
hä'änga [hã?ãŋga] *in.v.* Something similar; term used to compare. *Algo parecido, similar; término que sirve para comparar.* **aña tamui amĭ-rä hä'änga-rä ishu** *el diablo se estaba haciendo pasar por su finado abuelo* **a-hä'ä hese lo comparé**

mihä'änga [mĭhã?ãŋga] *ac.v.* Mark; measure. *Marcar; trazar; medir.*
ha'e [haj; ha?e] *p.p.* Third person personal pronoun. *Pronombre personal de tercera persona.* **Ai-pota ha'e o-kwa hese.** *Quiero que él lo garrotee.*
ha'e [háj; héj] To say. *Decir.* **hei-nda ishu-kwe-pi** *el dice que le ha dicho.*
ha'epe [hájpi] *adv.* There. *Ahí.* **amo ha'e-pe o-ho mbatuka-ha** Sometimes we went to wash (things) there *a veces íbamos a lavar ahí.*
ha'erei [ha?éere] *adv.* Soon. *Enseguida.* **mba-ra pĭrahe-po-kwi ha'ére-mi** who is going to sing soon? *quien va a cantar enseguidita?* **ha'ere-nda-po ou-kwi** he is going to come soon. *enseguida va a venir*
hahara *n.* Kind of ant. *Tipo de hormiga de color negro, de 1cm de largo 1/2 cm de alto, no tiene hormiguero.*
hai *ac.v.* 1) To cut. *Cortar, como para marcar la tierra; cortar la mano con un cuchillo.* **ĭwĭ ha'e i-yupe-reta arka'epi ñĭ-rärö-wĕrä mba** *la tierra marcaban para ellos mismo antes para pelear.*
— *refl.v.* 2) To cut oneself. *Cortarse.* **ai-yai 'me corté'** *me corté*
hahai *ac.v.* To cut badly. *Cortajear.*

hää *adv.* Apparently. *Aparentemente.* **hää heno-ha re(ko)** It seems that (somebody) is calling him/her. *pareciera que lo están llamando.*

hää-ho'o (from: **hää-ho'o**) [hãj hóʔo] *n.* Gum. *Encías.*

haimbe [hájmbe] *in.v.* Sharp. *Afilado; filoso.* **käse haimbe** sharpen knife. *cuchillo filoso*

haimbe [hájmbe] *ac.v.* To toast. *Tostar.* **tä-haimbe** que lo tueste él

hääin-yipi (from: **hääin-yipi**) [hãjnyipi] *n.* Root of tooth. *raíz de la muela.*

hääirá *adv.* From that moment. *A partir de ahí.*

haiti [hájtɪ; hájte] *n.* Nest. *Nido.*

hääiwansu [hãjwãnsu] *n.* Tooth. *Muela.*
— *in.v.* *Dientudo.*

haiwi [hájwi; hájʃi] It rains. *Llueve; lluvia.* **she a-héndu-e haiwi ou-rä** escuché la lluvia.

hahaiwi [hahájwi] Drizzle. *lloviznando.*

hä'ï [hãʔi; hãï] *n.* Seed. *Semilla; pepitas.*

haku [háku] *in.v.* 1) Hot. *Caliente.* **kwarasï haku-kwe a-mö'ä pörä-ä ré(ko)-rä** parece que el calor del sol le ha hecho mal.

— *in.v.* 2) Fever. *Tener fiebre.* **ñ-anka hasï haku i(ko)** le duele la cabeza y tiene fiebre

hakuäwë [hakwáʃë] *in.v.* Warm; lukewarm. *Cálido; tibio.*

hakwa [hákwä] *in.v.* Sharp. *Puntudo; punta.* **käse hakwa** sharpen knife. *cuchillo puntudo*

hahakwa [hahákwa] *n.* Thistle. *Cosa que tiene muchas puntas; saítallo; abrojo.*

mbihakwa [mbihákwa] *ac.v.* Sharpen. *Sacar punta.*

mbihahakwa [mbihahákwa] *ac.v.* To shap several sticks. *Sacarle la punta a varias varillas.*

hama [háma] *adv.* After; then; but.

Después; entonces; pero. **hama püntu-rä a-ma-moi-yä-rä** entonces (cuando) es de noche vuelvo a cocinar.

hampa [hampa] Instead of. *En vez de.* **hampa-knä i-mpo ñä-rärö-yä-reta** en vez de ponerse a pelear así

hani [háni] This is why; You got it? *Por eso; ¿viste?; ¿sí?; ¿y de ahí?* **hanï ñande arïka'e mba'etï he'i-ha ñande** por eso a nosotros antes nada nos decían.

hanka [háŋka; hãŋka] *n.* Branch; stem. *Rama; tallo.* **iwära hanka.** Tree's stem. *Tallo del árbol.*

hanse [hãnse] *in.v.* To shout. *Gritar.*

hãsewa [hãsewa] *n.* Miaow. *Maullido.*

hantaNGantu [hantaŋantu] *in.v.* Strong; cocky. *Fuerte; guapo.* **hama ime i(ko)-po he(se) hantaNGantu-wërä** entonces ella va a ser guapa.

hantihimbe'ï [hánti himbéʔi] *n.* External lips of vagina. *Labios externos de la vagina.*

handi [hándi] With. *Con él; contigo.* **ñ-amigo ou handi ye'i.** He came with his friend a moment ago. *El vino con su amigo hace un rato.*

hañinka-íyua (from: **hañinka-íyua**) [haníŋka ígua] *n.* Rowing. *Boga.* *boops boops; chondrostoma polypedis.*

hapa *n.* Arrow. *Flecha.*

hape *ac.v.* Charcoal grilled. *Cocinar en las brazas.* **a-hápe-po kasusimí** voy a cocinar la mulita

hahape *ac.v.* Burn. *Quemar los vellos de todos los animales que se comen, pasándolo por arriba del fuego muchas veces.* **haa-kwe hahape-ha shï ha'e hoka** los pelos le quemábamos a él (*hai hoka =conejo*).

hapi'a-hä'ï (from: **hapi'a-hä'ï**) [hapíʔa hãʔi] *n.* Testicles. *Testículos.*

hapi'a-hïru (from: **hapi'a-hïru**) *n.* Testicles' bag. *Bolsa de los testículos.*

hapi [hápi] *ac.v.* To burn. *Quemar;*

quemalo. **ha'e-po mī-hentun-ka hapī shu-rä** le tiene que hacer oler (el nido) al chico cuando lo quema.

hahapī [hahápī] *ac.v.* To burn badly. *Quemar como a las apuradas, con flojera, por aquí, por allá siempre queda un poco que no está quemado; quemar un montón de basuritas.*

hapīpe *adv.* Inside. *Adentro de algo cerrado (p.e. estuche, cartuchera, etc).* **hapīpe o-ī** está adentro.

hapīriwa [hapīrīwa] *n.* Porcupine. *Puercoespín. Hystrix cristata.*

hapo [hapo] *n.* Root. *Raíz.*

hara [xara] *n.* Jug. *Jarra.* **hara yuru boca** de la jarra *From: Spanish.*

härä [hänä] *conj.* Subordinating conjunction. *Conjunción subordinativa.* **Härä she-ru papere kwa-'ä kwa'a-ä mbīpara** *Por eso mi papá no sabe leer, no sabe escribir*

häränkwa [härākwa; härāṅkwa] *n.* Kind of bird. *Charata. Ortalis canicollis.*

häränkwanansu [härāṅkwawānsu] *n.* Kind of animal. *Pava de monte; es más grande que la charata; de color más negro.*

hardín [xardín] *n.* Kindergarten. *Jardín de infantes. From: Spanish.*

härē'ä [härēʔa; härjā] *adv.* To hurry up; fast. *Apurarse un poco; rápido.* **härēä shu-rupi** *álcenme rápido.*

härērē'ä [härērēʔä] *in.v.* Hurry up. *Apurarse mucho.*

härö [hänö; härö] *ac.v.* To wait. *Esperar.* **Juan a-härö a-ī** *estoy esperando a Juan.*

hasa [hása] *ac.v.* To pass; to cross. *Pasar; cruzar.* **pe hasa-po i(ko)-rä-nda** when she/he was going to cross the street. *cuando estaba por cruzar la calle*

hahasa [hahása] *ac.v.* To baste. *Hilvanar; pasar varias veces.*

mbīhasa [mbīhása] *ac.v.* To baste. *Hilvanar.*

hasa [hása] *in.v.* Taste. *Saber a.* **hasa awatī** *sabe a maíz.*

hasi [hāsī] *n.* Pain. *Dolor; duele.*

hatikwe *n.* Kind of corn. *El maíz que quedó arriba del colador.*

ha'uya-para (*from: ha'uya-para*) [haʔuzapára] *n.* Kind of bird. *Chalchalero overo, con lunaritos. Turdus amaurochalinus.*

ha'uya-pinta (*from: ha'uya-pinta*) *n.* Kind of bird. *Chalchalero de pecho bien rojo; canta. Turdus amaurochalinus.*

ha'uya-tiwä (*from: ha'uya-tiwä*) *n.* Kind of bird. *Chalchalero blanco. Turdus amaurochalinus.*

hāwē [hāwē] *in.v.* Gray; Opaque. *Gris; opaco.* **h'āwē-(w)ä** *gray. gris*

hāhāwē [hāhāwē] *in.v.* Twilight. *Crepúsculo, hora de la oración.*

hawiyu [aʔízu; awízu] *n.* Wool. *Lana; lo que tiene jana.*

hāwīrö [hāwīrö] *in.v.* 1) Erection. *Erección.* 2) Jealous. *Celoso.*

hāwö [hāʔöŋ] *n.* Soap. *Jabón. From: Spanish.*

hayasi [hazási] *in.v.* Sour, tart; acid; fermented. *Agrio; ácido; fermentado.*

hayayasi [hazazási] *in.v.* Very sour. *Muy agrio.*

hayayasia [hazazásea; hazazásia] *n.* Kind of plant. *Planta de color rojo; de sabor agrio como el limón. Se usa para hacer ensaladas.*

hē [hē; ī] *ac.v.* To go out. *Salir.* **e-hē** *¡get out! ¡salí!*

he'a *refl.v.* To be intermingled. *Entreverarse.* **ñande-kuña pota-ä yī-he'a ñgá i-ñe'ë-reta-rä** *nuestras paisanas (mujeres tapietes) no querían entreverarse con otras lenguas; ai-he'a a-ha fui entreverado (aunque sea con otros tapietes).*

hē'ë [hēʔē; ēʔē] *in.v.* 1) Good. *Rico.* **mī-hē'ë-wa she-kwi ha'u-wärä** *preparame algo (rico) para comer.*
— *in.v.* 2) Sweet. *Dulce.* **hē'ë-wä** *cosa dulce.*

hēhēwā [hēhēwā] *n.* Fruta bien dulce como la uva.

hē'ēwā [hēʔēwā] *n.* Sugar; honey. Azúcar; miel silvestre; está bien rico; está bien dulce.

hehei [héhe] *ac.v.* To tell off. Retar. **hahai-po shu** lo voy a retar.

heka [heka] *ac.v.* To look for; to ask for. Buscar; pedir. **härä-nda "mbai-ra nde ei ndi-héka-e"** entonces se cuenta "qué has venido a buscar?"; **kä'ä ou-wa kīrīpoti heka she-ka** el que vino ayer me pidió plata.

heheka [hehéka] *ac.v.* Chose. Elegir; buscar por todos lados.

mbareka [mbaréka] *ac.v.* 1) To hunt. Campear. **tenta mbäri ya-ha ña-mbareka-rä** lejos del pueblo íbamos a cazar.
— *n.* 2) Hunter. Cazador.

heki [hékì] *ac.v.* To pull out; to raise. Sacar; alzar. Para sacar algo de entre otras cosas, p.e. una empanada de la fuente. **hapa heki shu-reta** cuando sacaban las flechas para ellos.

heheki [heheki] *ac.v.* Pull out some. Sacar algunos; cuando hay varias cositas que sacar.

hékowa [hékōʒa] *in.v.* Bad tempered. Mañoso se aplica a un niño; persona adulta de mal carácter.

hemo [hēmo; hémo] *ac.v.* To sting. Picar; escocer.

hēhemo [hēhēmo] *in.v.* Sting. Escocer intermitentemente; escocer todo el cuerpo.

hembo *n.* Bud. Brote tiernito.

heno [hēnō; hēno] *ac.v.* To call. Llamar. **mo'a-nda ha'e heno-ha reko-ha-rä** se dice el pato creía que lo llamaban.

hentu [héntu] *ac.v.* To smell. Oler. **poi kambu-rä-me i po poi mä-hentun-ka** cuando deje de mamar, recién tenés que dejarle de hacer oler.

hēhentu [hehéntu] *ac.v.* Smell. Olfatear.

hendī [héndi; héndi; hēndi] *in.v.* To

burn. Arder, cuando el fuego está ardiendo. **hendī o-i tata** está ardiendo el fuego.

hēhendi [hehéndi] *in.v.* Spark. Chispear; cuando se levantan las llamas, iluminan de lejos; cuando arde chiquito, mucho.

hendu [héndu] *ac.v.* 1) To listen. Escuchar. **he kapiri-'a hendu-ä-rä** su nombre no han escuchado bien.

— *ac.v.* 2) To understand. Entender. **karai i-ñē'ë a-hendu-ä-rä** la lengua de los criollos no entendía

heño [héno] *in.v.* To bud. Crecer, p.e. (una planta), nacer (una planta).

hepi [hépi] *in.v.* 1) Expensive. Caro. **a-räha-po hépi-mba** voy a llevar lo que no es caro.

— *n.* 2) Payment. Paga. **shänga-mi hépi** la paga de la changa.

— *n.* 3) Price. Precio. **monkoi peso hépi** cuesta dos pesos

— *n.* 4) Cost. Cuesta. **mbówi-ra hépi** cuánto cuesta?

hepimba [hepimba] *in.v.* Cheap. Barato; no es caro.

mbihepi [mbihépi] *ac.v.* Pay. Pagar. **a-mbi-hepi-ä**

mbihepi iwa [mbihepiíwa] *n.* Payer. Contador; el que paga.

hepi [hépi] *ac.v.* To defend. Defender. **she a-rä-repi** te voy a defender.

härä [härä] *adv.* Then. Después. **käma härä-nda heno-nda re(ko)-kwe-pi he-pi kuñantai** después, se dice que (el muchacho) la ha llamado por su nombre a la chica.

here [hére] *ac.v.* To lick. Lamer.

hehere [hehére] *ac.v.* Lick continuously. Lamer continuamente.

Herena *p.n.* Spanish female name. Nombre de mujer. From: Spanish.

hesa-howi (from: **hesa-howi**) [hésa hówi] *n.* Bag under the eye. Ojeras.

hésamba [hésamba] *n.* Blind. *Ciego.*

hesa-pente (from: **hesa-pente**)
[hésa pénte] *in.v.* One-eyed.
Tuerto.

hesati [hesáti] *in.v.* To shed tear easily.
Lagrimear; cuando sale una lágrima porque tiene cataractas.

hese [hese] *pro.* Third person pronominal form that encodes the participatory role of patient and the circumstantial roles of reason and cause. *Forma pronominal de tercera persona que codifica el rol semántico de paciente y los roles circunstanciales de razón o causa.* **nde-kwa-ra-po hese** are you going to hit him? *le vas a pegar?* **a-pü'ä-po he(se)-kwi shu-rumba** I'm going to get up (because of) my animals *me voy a levantar a causa de mis animales*

hesha [hésʃa] *ac.v.* [eʃá; heʃá] 1) To see. *Ver.* **kwimbae hesha í-che-rä** cuando (el padre) al muchacho vio entrar.

— *interj.* You know? *Acentuada en la última sílaba significa "¿viste?, te lo dije".*

hehesha [hehéʃa] *ac.v.* To check.
Revisar.

mbihesha [mbíʃa; mbihéʃa] *ac.v.* To show. *Mostrar.*

heta [heta] *adv.* A lot. *Mucho.* **yawaiwe heta sanya'ï-mi-reta mba'e kwa'a-ä teri-kwe-pi** porque hay muchos chiquitos que no saben todavía.

hetaite [hetájte] *adv.* More. *Más.*

hëwä *ac.v.* To prepare. *Preparar.* **a-mï-hëwä-po** voy a preparar

hewi *posp.* Posposition that attaches to the set of inactive person markers and encodes the semantic role of source. *Posposición que co-ocurre con los marcadores personales inactivos y codifica el rol semántico de procedencia.* **a-ru ndï-hewi** I took (it) out from you *lo tomé de vos*

heya [héza] *ac.v.* To leave. *Dejar.* **mampe pï-heya p-ankandavo** ¿donde han dejado el sombrero?

hiero [jéro] *n.* Metal. *Metal.* From: Spanish.

himbipe [himbípe] *n.* Light. *Luz que se ve a la distancia; ilumina y alumbr a todos lados.* **himbipe ou** viene alumbrando **himbipe-ma ou** viene amaneciendo

hindi [híndi] *n.* Male's sister. *Hermana del varón. Término usado por el varón para nombrar a su hermana ya sea mayor o menor.*

hipi'a [hipía; hipíʔa; hapíʔa] *n.* Egg. *Huevo (p.e. de la gallina, del pato, etc.).*

hipiwe [hípi] Follow someone. *Seguir a alguien.* **a-ha-po hipiwe** me voy detrás de él

hiro [híro; híru] *n.* Thread. *Hilo.* From: Spanish?

hiwikwa-sape (from: **hiwikwa-sape**)
[tiʃikwasápe; hiʃikwasápe] *n.* Glow-worm. *Luciérnaga.* *Lampyris noctiluca.* **a-pïšï ti-wikwa-sape** agarré una luciérnaga.

himbe'i [himbéj; himbéʔi] *n.* Edge; border. *Orilla; borde.*

hipeki *in.v.* Plant not ripe enough to be harvested. *La planta está en chaucha, no está madura para cosechar.*

hïrãmbusu [hïnambúsu] *in.v.* Thick. *Grueso aplicado a un palo o una tela.*

hïrãntu [hãñãntu] *in.v.* Strong. *Fuerte.* **ampó she-me iyeta-kwe-pi hïrãntu mi** marido habla fuerte.

hïru [híru] *n.* Case. *Estuche; envase.* **kasé hïru** estuche del cassette.

mbihïru [mbihíru] *ac.v.* Parcel up. *Empaquetar.*

mbahïru [mbahíru] *n.* Bag. *Bolsa; mochila; bolso chico.*

hiwa'e [hiwáʔe] *n.* All kinds of wild animals. *Conjunto de chanchos del monte, como por ejemplo: chanco del monte, rozillo, jabalí.*

hiwere [hiwére] *ac.v.* To scorch. *Chamuscarse el pelo, el campo.* **Shami hïwere tata** la Sami se chamuscó con el

fuego.

hiwewere [hiwewére] *ac.v.* Scorch everywhere. *Quemar varias partes del campo.*

hiwii [híwi; híwii] *n.* Ravelled thread. *Hilacha; deshilacharse.*

hohopa [hohopa] *in.v.* lose one's way. *To lose one's way; Desorientarse.*

mbihohopa *ac.v.* To make someone lose. *Hacer perder.*

hoka [hóka] *interj.* Be careful. *¡Cuidado!*

hoka [hóka] *dem.* This. *Ese. Mba'éti-po hoka mbeu-a hoka Nadie va a decir eso.*

hókaipi [hókajpi] *adv.* Somewhere there. *Por ahí.*

hókape [hókape] *adv.* There. *Ahí.*

hoki [hókɨ] *n.* Leaf. *Hoja. iwira hoki tree's leaf hoja del árbol*

hokimimiwa [hōkwēmimiwā] *n.* Weeping willow. *Sauce llorón. Sálix babylónica.*

Horacio [orásjo] *p.n.* Spanish male name. *Nombre de hombre. From: Spanish.*

hori [hórɨ] *in.v.* Happy; glad. *Alegre.*

hóvene *n.* Young people. *Jóvenes. From: Spanish.*

hōwí [hōwí; hōwí] *in. v.* Narrow. *Estrecho.*

howi [hówɨ] *in.v.* Green-blue. *Verde-azul.*

hū [hū] *in.v.* Black. *Negro.*

Humbi [húmbɨ] *p.n.* Female name that means "bottom". *Nombre de mujer que quiere decir "cola."*

humbi *in.v.* Purple. *morado. hama o-kwa-ha ndi-rehe-wa-pé humbi o-i-rä*

entonces donde te pegaron cuando está morado

hunga [húnga] *ac.v.* To press with one's finger; to massage. *Apretar con el dedo; con la palma. mārā'ä sh-apo shi-rä'e shi-rä'e hungá no me hace nada, no me aprieta mi panza nada.*

hühünga [hühünga] *ac.v.* To finger. *Sobar; agarrar la teta de la mamá muchas veces.*

hunse [húnse] *ac.v.* To stand. *Aguantar. hama ñi-mbahí hunse shu-wërä entonces va a aguantar el hambre.*

hunsembá *n.* Kind of mouse. *Ratón más grande que la rata; más coludo; más grueso.*

hupi [húpi] *ac.v.* To raise. *Levantar; cargar, p.e: un bebé. a-piši a-hupi I catch (and) I raise. agarro (y) levanto.*

huhupi [huhúpi] *ac.v.* To raise and to take for a walk. *Levantar y pasear.*

-hupi [húpi] *adv.* Over there. *Por ahí.*

huri [húri] *num.* Eight. *Ocho.*

huri opa ñandepo [húri?opañandépo] *num.* Eighty. *Ochenta.*

hü'ü [hū?ū] *in.v.* Rotten. *Podrido; grano. Opa hü'ü. Podredumbre / todo podrido.*

huwa [húwa] *n.* Bottom. *Fondo de cualquier cosa que tenga fondo (p.ej. barco); hondo.*

huwai [húwaj] *n.* Tail. *Cola de los animales.*

huwishawasu [huwiʃawásu] *n.* President. *Presidente.*

I - i

i *conj.* And. *Y. From: Spanish.*

i- (*from: i-*) [i] *p.m.* Third person inactive person marker. *Marcador inactivo de*

tercera persona.

i- (from: **i-**) [i] *poss.* Third person possessive marker. *Marcador posesivo de tercera persona.*

ĩ [i] *ac.v.* To be. *Estar.* **patu ro'a o-ĩ** *un pato está empollando.*

i'a [íʔa] *n.* Fruit. *Fruta.*

ĩärë [ärë] *posp.* On. *Encima; sobre.* **käse mesa iärë** *el cuchillo está sobre la mesa*

iche [itʃe] *n.* Body side. *Costado del cuerpo.*

ichomí [itʃomí] *n.* Kind of fish. *Mojarrón parecido al sábalo; vive en el río grande, en el Pilcomayo.*

iglesia *n.* Church. *Iglesia.* From: Spanish.

i'ípi [i'ípi] *in.v.* Smooth. *Suave.*

i'ĩ [íʔi] *n.* Extremity. *Tallo de una planta.*

iko [íko; íku] *ac.v.* To live; to be. *Vivir; estar; andar.* **hama iř-pawete iko-ha-rä** *cuando éramos más pobres.*

ikokatu [ikokátu] *in.v.* Rich. *Rico de plata.*

ikwa [kwa; ʔikwa] *n.* Holle. *Agujero; cueva; guarida.*

ime [íme] There is. *Haber; hay.* **ime-nda** *there was había*

ímeĩ *adv.* Still. *Todavía.* **ai-póta-te imeĩ ai-mbo'e á-i-wa** *aunque quería seguir estudiando.*

imeshe [imeʃe] *in.v.* To recover. *Sanarse; recuperarse.* **imeshe-ra i(ko)-kwi** *will he recover?. será que él se va a sanar*

ine [íne] *in.v.* It smells bad. *Tener mal olor; hediondo; apestar.*

ínewä [ínewä] *n.* Thing_foul-smelling. *Cosa olorosa, mal olor.*

Inés [inés] *p.n.* Spanish female name. *Nombre de mujer.* From: Spanish.

inimbo *n.* Thread. *Hilo, ovillo.*

Inku Hó'uwa [iŋkuhóʔuwa; iŋkuhowa] *p.n.* Female name that means "the one who eats his/her tongue". *Nombre de mujer que significa "que se*

come la lengua o que se muerde la lengua."

inshi [ínʃi] *in.v.* Smooth. *Liso, se aplica a la textura del material(textura).*

intinti [intínti] *n.* Little mountains. *Montañitas pequeñas que no son muy altas.; lomita.*

ĩnanga [iŋáŋga] *in.v.* Kind of illness. *Enfermo de partes íntimas, arde; afecta al hombre y a la mujer ¿sífilis?*

-iño *perm.* Suffix that expresses permissive modality. *Sufijo que expresa permisividad.* **maina pĩ-pĩrahe-iño** *que canten si quieren*

-ipe [ípe] *loc.* Under; inside. *Abajo (tocando); chato; cosa aplastada.*

-ipi [ipi] *loc.* Locative of movement. *Locativo de movimiento.* **tenta-ipi a-wata-po** *I will walk through the village voy a caminar por el pueblo*

Irma [írma] *p.n.* Spanish female name. *Nombre de mujer.* From: Spanish.

iro [íro] *in.v.* Bitter. *Amargo.*

ĩrũ [ínu; íru] 1) Other; mate. *Otro; compañero.* **ĩrũ mah pukúite shi** *el otro es más alto que él* 2) Mate. *Compañero.* **ĩrũ-rä-rë yawaiwe ñambo'e yĩ-re(ko)-réta-rä** *eran compañeros porque estudiaban juntos* 3) Last; past. *Pasado; anterior.*

istoria [istórja] *n.* History. *Historia.* From: Spanish.

Íshimba [íʃimba] *p.n.* Female name that means "orphan". *Nombre de mujer que significa "sin madre".*

-ite [ite] *sup.* Superlative suffix. *Sufijo que expresa el superlativo.* **Ařikae-ite. Opa-ite.**

iti [ítĩ] *ac.v.* To knock over. *Hacer caer; voltear de algún lado a una persona.* **shĩ-rĩtĩ-ma** *él/vos me hiciste caer.*

-iwi [íʃi] *dir.* Directional suffix that means "come from". *Sufijo direccional que significa "venir de".*

iyeta [izéta] *ac.v.* To speak; to say. *Hablar; decir.* **yipwere-ä tumpa pire**

mb-iyeta *no puede leer (la biblia).*
iyeyeta [iʒeʒéʔa] *ac.v.* Whisper.
Cuchichear; murmurar; hablar en el oído.
mbiyeta [mbizéʔa] *ac.v.* Read. *Leer; leé!; hablale.*
iyetahasepiwa [iʒetahpíwa];

izetahasepiá] *n.* Microphone.
Micrófono.

iyu [íʒua] *in.v.* Yellow. *Amarillo.*

iyuke'i [iʒukéʔi] *n.* Female's sister-in-law. *Hermana del marido y esposa del hermano de la mujer.*

I - i

i [i] *n.* Water. *Agua.* **ï o-wa-ha ï wiriye'o-ha** *agua compramos, agua acarreamos*

iheresea *n.* Swallow. *Golondrina.*

i-i'ärä-iwa (*from: ï-i'ärä-iwa*)
 [iïäräíwa] *To float. Flotar; lo que anda encima del agua.*

i-iya (*from: ï-iya*) [iíʒa] *n.* Goblin of water. *Duende del agua.*

ingá [hĩngá] *Other. Otro. ñngá a-ñono a-ï-nyï.* *Estoy poniendo a otro. ñngá irü e ru (no es), el otro traé*

ingangá [ĩngangá] *Diferent. Distinto. e-ru she-kwi lapi ñngangá párawa*
Traeme lápices de distintos colores.

i-ñankwa-ou (*from: ï-ñankwa-ou*)
 [iñánkwa óhowe] *n.* Torrent; Flood. *Raudal.*

i-ñimöhë (*from: ï-ñimöhë*) [iñemöhë] *n.*
Beach. Margen, playa, donde el agua se desparrama.

i-o'a-ompe (*from: ï-o'a-ompe*)
 [ioʔaempe; ioaempe] *n.* Water fall; trickle. *Catarata; chorro; donde gotea el agua.*

ipe [ípe] *n.* Wild duck. *Pato de monte; "espátula rosada"; pato silbador.*

iraiti [irájtí] *p.n.* Female name that means "beeswax". *Nombre de mujer que quiere decir "cera de señorita".*

irawe [iráwe; iráʒi; íraʒe] *n.* Kind of

aquatic plant. Planta de color negro que flota por encima del agua.

i-renda (*from: ï-renda*) [inéndá; iréndá] *n.* Lake. *Lago; laguna; represa.*

iriwäña [iriwäña] *p.n.* Female name. *Nombre de mujer que significa "moromoro."*

iri- (*from: ïri-*) [iri] *p.m.* First person plural exclusive marker of inactive verbs. *Marcador de la primera persona plural exclusiva de verbos inactivos.*

iri- (*from: ïri-*) [inā] *poss.* First inactive plural exclusive person marker. *Marcador de primera persona inactiva plural exclusiva.*

iri- (*from: ïri-*) *p.m.* First person singular acting on second person singular. *Marcador de primera persona singular que actúa sobre una segunda persona singular. iri-resha-rä mé, iri-yuka-pokwi* *cuando yo te vea te voy a matar*

irikwañanti *n.* Kind of honey. *Miel de una abeja chiquita y negra.*

iru [íru] *n.* Jarful. *Tinaja; recipiente sin pico; cargamento.*

isíría [isíría; isírja] *n.* River; ravine. *Río; arroyo; quebrada.*

itakiti [itakítí] *n.* Rocky ground. *Gramilla; pedregal.*

itarörö [itanörö; itanönö; itanonö]

n. Trickle. *Chorro de agua.*

iti [hítì; ítì] *n.* Rubbish. *Basura.*
ña'imba mo-möhë-o-i (h)itì The dog is spraying the garbage. *El perro desparrama la basura.*

i-wähë (from: **ï-wähë**) [îwähë] *n.* Flood. *Creciente.*

iwasu [iwásu] *n.* Ocean. *Océano.*

iwasu-o'a-ompe (from: **ïwasu-o'a-ompe**) [iwasuo'paompe] *n.* Water fall. *Cataratas.*

iwawiyo [iwawízo] *n.* Kind of plant. *Mato; árbol grande de color negro; su fruta, comestible y de sabor dulce, es parecida a la uva.*

iwi [íwi; ?íwi] *n.* 1) Earth; world. *Tierra; mundo.*
 — *n.* 2) Floor. *Suelo.* **ïwï-pe ñono.** Put on the floor. *Poné el el suelo.*
 — *n.* 3) Terrain. *Terreno.* **shï-ïwï mi terreno**

iwi-hówia (from: **ïwï-hówia**) [iwihówia] *n.* Moss. *Musgo.*

iwi-kásiwa (from: **ïwï-kásiwa**) [iwikásia; iwikási] *n.* Mud. *Barro.*

iwi-kitì (from: **ïwï-kitì**) [iwikítì; iwikítì] *adv.* Under. *Abajo; hacia abajo.*

iwi-kwa (from: **ïwï-kwa**) [iwíkwa] *n.* Holle. *Pozo; hoyo; hueco; pozo para tirar la basura.*

iwi-kwa-iyá (from: **ïwï-kwa-iyá**) [iwikwaíza] *n.* Goblin of the lagoon and the sky. *Duende de la laguna y del el cielo.*

iwi'o *n.* Kind of plant. *Tipo de planta.*

iwi-pinsëwä (from: **ïwï-pinsëwä**) [iwipinsëwë] *n.* Rock. *Roca; cascote duro; terrón.*

iwira [iwíra] *n.* Stick; tree; wood. *Palo; árbol; madera.*

iwira-iyá (from: **ïwïra-iyá**) [iwíraíza/] *n.* Goblin of the tree. *Duende del árbol, que cuida todo el*

bosque, vine en el monte.

iwira-kwa (from: **ïwïra-kwa**) *n.* Den. *Guarida; agujero dentro de un palo donde se esconden animales tales como conejo, víbora o chanco del monte.*

iwirami [iwirami; iwiramí] *n.* Stick. *Varilla; palo chico.*

iwira-nambi (from: **ïwïra-nambi**) *n.* Kind of mushroom. *Hongo que sale de la madera caída; algunos son de color marrón con orillas blancas y otros son anaranjados; son comestible, se usaban para la sopa.*

iwira-puku (from: **ïwïra-puku**) [urapúku] *n.* Willow. *Sauce; árbol grande cuyo tronco crece bien derecho; es parecido al pino; se encuentra en el Chaco.* *Sáliz alba.*

iwira-roki (from: **ïwïra-roki**) *n.* Kind of plant. *Tipo de planta que en Español se llama "Santa Lucía".*

iwira-tantambawa (from: **ïwïra-tantambawa**) [uratántambáza] *n.* Soft wood: cedar, pine, oak, willow. *Madera blanda: cedro, pino, roble, sauce.*

iwi-soro (from: **ïwï-soro**) [iwisóro] *n.* Rough hill. *Cuando se derrumba el cerro y queda quebrado.*

iwitamomi *n.* Marsh. *Pantano.*

iwi-timbo (from: **ïwï-timbo**) [iwitímbo] *n.* Cloud of dust. *Polvareda.*

iwi-tiwa (from: **ïwï-tiwa**) [iwitíwa] 1) *n.* Withe land. *Tipo de tierra de color blanco que se encuentra en el Chaco.* 2)

— *n.* Geographic name. *Nombre del lugar donde fuimos a sacar las fotos con las mujeres, en castellano ese lugar se llama "Campo el cuervo".*

iwi-titi (from: **ïwï-titi**) [iwitítì] *n.* Earthquake. *Terremoto; temblor.*

iwitu [iwító; iwítu] *n.* 1) Wind. *Viento.*

— *n.* 2) Air. *Aire.*

— *n.* 2) hot_wind. *viento caliente; viento norte.*

iwi-turusu (from: **ïwï-turusu**)

[iwiturúsu] *n.* Mountain; Andes. *Montaña; cordillera.*

iwi-turusu-iya (from: **iwī-turusu-iya**)
[iwituiʒa] *n.* Goblin of the hill.
Duende del cerro.

iwīwowo *pn.* Geographic name. *Nombre de un lugar que significa "bola verde".*

iwiya [iwíʒa] *n.* Kind of snake. *Tipo de víbora llamada "víbora ciega"; es de color grisáceo, de aproximadamente 1m de largo; no es venenosa; sale cuando va a llover.*

iwi-yasuru (from: **iwī-yasuru**)
[iwizasúru] *n.* Marsh; Bog.
Pantano.

iwope [iwópe] *n.* Carob tree fruit. *Fruta del*

algarrobo; es de color amarillo y de sabor dulce; . Ceratonia siliqua.

iwope-tai (from: **iwōpe-tai**) [iwopetáj]
n. Kind of tree. *Algarrobillo; árbol grande, parecido al algarrobo; de color negro; opaco; finito; de sabor picante.*

iwowi [iwówi] *n.* Kind of tree. *Tipo de mango que se encuentra para el Chaco; tipo mango.*

iwowiti [iwowítí] *p.n.* Geographic name. *Lugar cerca de Samaihuate. La palabra quiere decir "jugo de bola verde".*

i-yochaha (from: **iwī-yochaha**)
[iaʒótʃa] *n.* Dyke. *Dique.*

J

Juan [xwaŋ] *p.n.* Juan. *Juan. From: Spanish.*

K - k

ka [ka] *conj.* And. *Y. ma mate ho'u-ha, hama poko-ha iyeta-ha ka después tomamos mate, después empezamos a hablar ndī-kwakwa-wa ka y tu viejita (como anda)?*

-ka [ka] *caus.* Causative suffix that combines with transitive verbs. *Sufijo causativo que se combina con verbos transitivos.*

ka'a [káʔa] *n.* Mate. *Yerba mate. Flex paraguayensis.*

ka'a [káʔa] *n.* Wood. *Bosque; selva.*

kā'ä [kāʔä; kaʔa] *adv.* Yesterday. *Ayer. hama we-ru-ha yī kā'ä-rä, ma opa opa yahe'o-ha cuando lo han traído ayer, y todos, todos lloramos*

ka'a-iya (from: **ka'a-iya**) [kaʔaíʒa] *n.* Goblin of the wood. *Duende del bosque. Cuando iban a cazar los chicos no tenían que hacer bulla para no molestar al duende, Victoria 2002.*

ka'apihasepiwa [kaʔapiasepiwa] *n.* Adze; large hoe; shovel. *Azuela; azadón; pala.*

ka'aru [kaʔáru; kāʔārū; kāʔāru] *n.* 1) Afternoon; twilight; dusk. *Tarde; anochecer; crepúsculo; es tarde.*

— *refl.v.* 2) To spend the afternoon. *Pasar la tarde. amo ai-ka'aru a-waware a veces pasaba le tarde jugando*

ka'awasu [kaʔwásu; kawáso] *n.* Wood; forest. *Bosque; selva; monte virgen.*

ka'awo [kaʔá:βo] *n.* Water lily. *Nenífar*. *Nymphaea alba*.

kada [kada] *adv.* Every. *Cada*. **kada mbahapĩ ora-pe-ra-po ña-me'e ho'u** *cada tres horas le damos de tomar* *From: Spanish*.

kä'ë [kãʔë] *ac.v.* To grill. *Asar*. **ñĩ-kä'ë-ra-po** *vos lo vas a asar?*

kä'ë [kãʔë] *in.v.* Healed wound. *Cicatrizado*. **shĩ-pé-re-a-pe ká'ë-ma mi lastimadura se ha cicatrizado**

kä'ëmbá [kaʔembá] *n.* Ulcer; cancer; incurable. *Enfermedad incurable como por ejemplo el cáncer, la tuberculosis y el sida*. **kä'ëmbá o-ĩ shĩ-reh(e)-rã akwera-ä-mpo he(se) tengo cáncer y no me voy a curar**

kafé [kafé] *n.* Coffe. *Café*. *Coffea arábica*; *Coffea libérica*; *Coffea robusta*. *From: Spanish*.

kahmí [kahmi; kahmí] *n.* Weasel. *Comadreja*. *Mustela nivalis*.

kakara [kakára] *n.* Kind of bird. *Carancho*. *Polyborus plancus*.

kamĩ'ö [kamĩʔõn; kamjõ; kamĩõ] *n.* Car. *Auto*; *camión*; *tractor*. *From: Spanish*.

kampana [kampána] *n.* Bell. *Campana*. *From: Spanish*.

kampempe [kampémpe; kãpémpe] *n.* Large reed. *Totora*.

kampintamí *n.* Kind of bird. *Pájaro de marotito parado (como el cardenal); su color marroncito se asemeja al color del gorrión*.

kambareta [kambaréte; kambaréta] *n.* Bomb of din. *Bomba de estruendo*. *From: Spanish*.

kambisa [kambísa] *n.* Shirt. *Camisa*. *From: Spanish*.

kambu [kámbu] *ac.v.* To suck. *Mamar*. **kambu-wa** *the one who is sucking; el que mama*; **tenka pĩte-wa** *el que toma el chiche*; **tenka pĩte o-ĩ** (s)he is sucking. *está mamando*.

kanasto [kanásto] *n.* Hamper. *Canasta*.

From: Spanish.

kancha [kántʃa] *n.* Play ground. *Cancha*. *From: Spanish*.

Kanshi *p.n.* Male name. *Nombre de hombre*.

kantë'ĩ [kantëĩ; kãntë] *in.v.* Mean. *Mesquino*.

kanti [kánti] *in.v.* Body odour. *Olor (de axila, parte del animal)*.

kandaware [kandaváre] *n.* Carnival. *Carnaval*. *From: Spanish*.

kandĩ [kándĩ] *in.v.* Tiredness; tired. *Cansancio*; *cansado*.

kañĩ [káñĩ] *in.v.* Lost. *Perdido*; *perder*; *se perdió*. **ñĩ -kañĩ-mba ka'a** *you are lost. te has perdido*.

minkañĩ *ac.v.* To bewitch. *Embrujar(lo)*; *perde(lo)*. **yawi a-mĩn-kañĩ** *I lost the keys. perdí las llaves*.

kaño [káño] *n.* Tube. *Caño*. *From: Spanish*.

kapi'i [kapí; kapíʔi] *n.* Lawn; grass. *Césped*; *hierba*; *pasto*.

kapi'i píshea *n.* Lemon verbena. *Cedrón*.

kapi'i potí hówia *n.* *Dentro de esa flor celeste chiquita, aladita como corazoncito*.

kapi'irenda [apíʔirénda] *n.* Scrubland; pasture. *Pajonal*; *pastizal*.

kapinta [kapínta] *n.* Captain; chief. *Capitán*; *cacique*. *From: Spanish*.

kapintami [kampĩntamí] *n.* Sparrow. *Gorrión*, *bracita de fuego*; *pájaro medio marroncito con pecho de color negro*; *se asemeja al gorrión*; *su cresta es del mismo color que la cresta del gorrión*. *Pásser domésticus*.

kapiri [kapírĩ] *in.v.* Beautiful; good; wright. *Lindo*; *bien*; *bueno*; *correcto*.

kapura [kapúra] *n.* Goat; billy goat. *Cabra*; *chivito*. *From: Spanish*.

karai [karáj] *n.* Creole; white man. *Criollo*; *hombre blanco*.

karaira'i [karájráĩ] *n.* White male teenager. *Criollo joven*.

kãrãmpompomí [kãrãpõpomí] *n.* Kind

of bird. *Pájaro chiquito; de color salpiconcito blanco y marroncito (blanquito overito); canta; más chico que la lechuza; más chico que el sumurukuku.*

käranshi [kārānʃi; kārānʃē] *n.* 1) Curles. *Rulos. sh-anka ha a-mä-nkäranshi*

— *p.n.* 2) Female name that means 'curles'. *Nombre de mujer que significa 'rulos'.*

käränti *n.* Kind of potato. *Papa de monte; es parecida al bejuco.*

karanda'i [karandái; karandáʔi; karāndáʔi] *n.* Palm. *Palmera; palma . Phoenix dactylifera.*

karasiroti [karasiróti] *n.* Kind of plant. *Tártago. euphorbia lathyris.*

Karasiroti [tartagal] *p.n.* Name of the city of Tartagal. *Nombre de la ciudad de Tartagal.*

karashiti [karaʃíti] *n.* Lezard. *Lagarto gris o marrón; bien chiquito; similar al otuto; anda por los polos.*

Karashiti [karaʃíti] *p.n.* Male name that means "lezard". *Nombre de hombre que significa 'lagarto'.*

karawasa [karawása] *n.* Pumpkin. *Calabaza. From: Spanish.*

kärë [kārë; kārî] *ac.v.* To scratch. *Arañar; rascar.*

käkärë [kākārë] *ac.v.* Scratch oneself. *Rascarse por todos lados.*

kärë [nīkare; nīkārë] *refl.v.* Scratch. *Rascarse; se araña. ai-kärë me rasco, me araña*

ñinkärë [nīkare; nīkārë] *ac.v.* Scratch. *Rascarse; se araña.*

karérata [karérata] *n.* Kind of frog. *Sapo chiquito; de color verde y marrón; cuando hay sequía su canto anuncia que va a llover.*

karetiya [karetíʒa] *n.* Handcart. *Carretilla. Mba'eë ire-rä wiriye'o-ha i(ko) arkaipi karetiya-pë. Cuando no teníamos acarreábamos con la carretilla. From: Spanish.*

Karlos *p.n.* Carlos. *Carlos. From: Spanish.*

karörö [karōnō; karōrō] *ac.v.* To snore. *Roncar.*

Karosi [karósi] *n.* Geographic name. *Nombre tapiete de un lugar en Bolivia, cerca de Samaihuate.*

karu [káru] *ac.v.* To eat. *Comer.*

kakaru [kakáru] *ac.v.* Eat quickly. *Comer rápido. a-kakaru-räri-po shi tengo que comer un poquito a las apuradas.*

mīngaru [mīngáru] *diac.v.* Feed. *Dar de comer; alimentar. mīngaru-ha-ä kawi-ä-rä no le alimentaban bien.*

mīngangaru [mīngangaru] *ac.v.* Feed two or more children. *Dar de comer a dos (o más) chicos.*

karuháseape [karusjápe] *n.* Dining room. *Donde se come; comedor.*

karuhasehea [karuhasehéa] *n.* Table. *Mesa.*

karumbe [kanúmbe; karúmbe] *n.* Kind of tortoise. *Tortuga grande, medio negra; antes había en la zona de Tartagal pero ahora no se las ve más; es la tortuga más grande.*

Karumbe Pire [karúmbepíre] *p.n.* Female name that means "tortoise skin". *Nombre de mujer que significa "piel de tortuga".*

karumbemí [karumbemí] *n.* Kind of turtle. *Tortuga de color verde o medio amarillento; de tamaño pequeño; se la encuentra en las lagunas.*

karumbewasu [karumbewásu] *n.* Kind of turtle. *Tortuga parecida a las tortugas de mar; vive en las lagunas.*

karuruwasu [karuruwásu] *n.* Kind of animal. *Rococo, de color negro y blanco, grande como el mono.*

karúwarusi [karúwarúsi] *n.* Kind of fish. *Taba; pez similar a la raya; la gente antigua lo comía; actualmente también se lo come.*

kasé [kasé] *n.* Cassette. *Cassette. From: Spanish.*

Kasiase [kasjáse] *p.n.* 1) Male name. *Nombre (o sobre nombre) de hombre.*
— *n.* 2) Insult. *Insulto.*

kasike [kasíke] *n.* Cacique. *Cacique.*
From: Spanish.

kasiya [kasíʒa] *n.* Hut. *Casilla.* *From: Spanish.*

kasoi [kasoʒ] *ac.v.* To wrap up. *Taparse (con una frazada); tapate.* **a-mbï-kasoi-po sanya'ï-re** *voy a tapar a los chicos.*

kasusimí [kasusimi; kasusimí] *n.* Kind of animal. *Mulita, pichi; animal más chico que el tatú; vive en el monte.* *Dasypus septemcinctus.*

kashiwera *n.* Kind of bird. *'Ataja camino'; pájaro de tamaño pequeño; de color overo marrón oscuro con blanco.*

katáinga [katájɪŋga] *n.* Lasso with balls. *Boleadoras.*

katí [katí] *conj.* But. *Pero.* **Ou ye'i katí ou-y'ï-ma-e.** He came but he already left. *El vino hace un rato pero ya se fue.*

katu [kátu] *ac.v.* 1) To know. *Saber.*
— *ac.v.* 2) Learn. *Aprender.* **ai-kátu-ma** *(yo) ya sé, aprendí.*

katu [kátu; gántu; ŋátu] *Good. Bien; bueno. mae gantu hese. fijate bien. // observar*

kátupe [kátupe] *adv.* Outside. *Afuera.*

ka'u [káʔu; káu] *ac.v.* To drink. *Beber [alcohol]; tomó.* **pörä-mba-pe y'ï ré(ko) ñï-rärö-reta, ka'u-rä** *están en lugar (una vida) que no servía, peleaban, tomaban.*

kawapua [kawapúa] *n.* Rounded beehive. *Bala. 'Colmena esférica construida por abejas silvestres en las ramas de los árboles.'*

kawapua tu [kawapúatú] *n.* 1) Kind of wasp. *Abejitas muy chiquititas; pican fuerte.*
— *n.* 2) Kind of honey. *La miel de las abejas llamadas "kawapua tu".*

kawata [kawáta] *n.* Agave fiber; hemp. *Cháguar. kawatami*

kawatawasu [kawatawásu] *n.* Kind of

plant. *Caraguatá.*

kawawáyutu [kawawázutu] *n.* Kind of wasp called "butcher". *Avispa amarilla llamada "carnicero".*

kawayu [kawáʒu] *n.* Horse. *Caballo.*
From: Spanish.

Kawayure Poti [kaʒazúrepóti] *p.n.*
Geographic name. *Nombre geográfico.*

kawëhë *n.* Kind of honey comb. *Especie de 'panal' habitado por gusanos; generalmente, se encuentra colgado de los eucaliptus. Se lo saca y se lo pone sobre las brazas, luego se lo da vuelta para que caigan los gusanos que luego se comen.*

kawëwansu [kãwëwãsũ; kãwëwãnsũ] *n.*
Sunflower. *Girasol. Helianthus annuus.*

kawi [káʒi; kãwi] *in.v.* Quiet; well; nice. *Tranquilo; bien; lindo.* **ha'e kawi i(ko)** quiet. *tranquilo.*

kãwï [kãwï] *n.* Corn liquor. *Chicha.*

kawiyu *n.* Type of food. *Mazamorra.*

kawusu [kaʒúsũ; kaʒúsũ] *n.* 1) Kind of wasp. *Lechiguana; tipo de avispa que se hace en el suelo.*

— *n.* 2) kind of animal. *Avispero grande en forma de tinaja; se lo encuentra siempre colgado de un árbol; por sus bordes se encuentra miel.*

kaye [káʒe] *n.* Street. *Calle.* *From: Spanish.*

kina [kína] *n.* Kind of plant. *Quina.*

Kiñi [kiɲi] *p.n.* Female name. *Nombre de mujer.*

kirawo [kirávo] *n.* Nail. *Clavo.* *From: Spanish.*

kí'a [kíʔa] *in.v.* Dirty. *Sucio. ámo-pe kĩa* *a veces está sucio.*

mingi'a [mĩŋgía] *ac.v.* Soil. *Ensuciar; ensucialo.*

kí'a'ä [kíʔáʔã] *in.v.* Clean. *Limpio.*

kí'ï [kíʔí; kí] *n.* Chili. *Ají. Kí'ï há'ä.* Try the chili. *Probá el ají.*

kima [kíma] *adv.* Then. *Después; hace*

tiempo; tarde. **käma o-i-rä-nda popokó-yä-rä** entonces después cuando volvió a manosear y vio que era (he=el pato).

kimanda [kimánda] *n.* Bean. Nombre genérico del poroto.

kimewa *ac.v.* To hurt oneself. lastimarse. **ai-kimewa kuri** recién me lastimé

kimewä *refl.v.* To transform oneself. Transformarse en algún animal como lobizón o tigre, como resultado de los pecados de incesto cometidos.

kimbari'i [kimbaríʔi; kimbariʔi] *n.* Kind of tree. Palo blanco. *Simaruba glauca*.

kimbaru [kimbáru] *n.* Kind of plant. Chañar. *Gourliea decorticans*.

kinta *n.* Corn; clod. Callo; terrón; cascote. **She pī kinta.** Mi callo del pie **iwī nān kinta.** earth clod. terrón de barro. **asuka nānkinta.** sugar clod. terrón de azúcar.

kī'ō *ac.v.* To break. Quebrar. **nda-kī'ō** vos lo quebrás.

kipe [kípe] *in.v.* 1) Deep. Hondo.

— *in.v.* 2) Sink. Hundir.

kipenunga [kípe núŋga] Shallow. Poco profundo.

kipi'i [kípí; kípíʔi] *n.* Female's little sister. Hermanas de la mujer exepo la mayor. **Shi-kipi'i-ré.** My little sisters. Mis hermanas menores.

kipirawátea [kípírawásea] *n.* Name of a constellation. Nombre de dos estrellas que están juntas; estas estrellas representan dos hermanitos.

kira [kíra] *in.v.* Fat. Gordo. **(he)'sha kira** ve? está gordito.

kikira [kikíra] *in.v.* Very fat. Muy gordo; gordos.

mangira [maŋgíra; māŋgíra] *n.* Fat; oil; fat. Grasa; aceite; bien gordo.

kirá [kiná; kīrā; kīnā] *adv.* Like; in this way. Como; así. **ko kirá ou pīrandu ou-wa-réta-rā-po** como este que viene preguntando.

kīrāwā [kináwa; kináwā; kináʔa]

in.v. Alike. Parecido.

kirē'i [kīrēʔi] *in.v.* 1) To be eager. Tener ganas; ánimo. **shī-kirē'i a-ha a-mä'e hese** tengo ganas de ir a verle 2)

— *refl.v.* Darse ganas. **ai-kirē'ipo shu opa a-yapo-wērā** voy a poner ganas para hacer todo

kiri [kīnī] *in.v.* Ticklish. Cosquilloso. **nā-mī-ngūri-reta** les hagamos cosquillas.

mingiri [miŋkíni; miŋgíni; miŋgíni] *ac.v.* To tickle. Hacer cosquillas.

mingingiri *ac.v.* To tickle repeatedly. Hacer cosquillas de más, lo agarra por todos lados.

kiripa'i [kiripaʔi; kiripai] *n.* Kind of tree. Cebil. *Piptadenia cébil*.

kiripoti [kiripóti; kiripóti] *n.* Money; gold; silver; metal. Dinero; oro; plata; metal. **shī-kiripoti** tengo plata

kise [kíse] *n.* Knife. Cuchillo.

kise mārēwa [kíse mārēwā] *n.* Big knife. Cuchillo grande.

kise minshiwa [kíse mīnshīwā] *n.* Small knife. Cuchillo chico; cuchillo de mesa.

kiséite [kiséjte] *n.* Knife blade. Hoja del cuchillo.

kisemba [kisemba] *n.* Fence; field. Huerta; campo. **opa nemi arkaipi kisemba hupi** todos se escondían por el cerco

kisewasu [kísewásu] *n.* Sword. Espada.

kisia [kisía] *n.* Kind of ladle. Tipo de cucharón hecho con un porongo partido longitudinalmente.

kiti [kítí] Side. Lado. **rowai kīti tantanti o-ho o-i** para el lado del viento está yendo el humo

kiti [kítí] *ac.v.* To scrub; to scrape; to rub. Fregar; raspar; untar. **hama ha'e-wi kīti raha-ha** lo llevaban refregando.

kikiti [kikítí] *ac.v.* Scrab continuously. Refregar continuamente; untar por todos lados. **nī-mashete iwíra-re kikiti** tu

machete refregalo en el palo (para limpiarlo)

kiwa [kíwa] *n.* Comb. Peine.

kiwi [kíwi; kǐβi] *n.* Female's brother; Female's germain cousin. *Hermano de la mujer; primo hermano de la mujer.* **shí-kíwí-ré.** my siblings. *mis hermanos/as.*

kíwintí [kíwĩtí] *adv.* To this side. *En dirección donde se encuentra la persona que habla.*

kiye [kíze] *in.v.* To fear; to scare. *Miedo; se asustó; asustarse; tener miedo.* **ya-kiye arkae-pi** *teníamos miedo antes.*

mingiye [mĩngíze] *ac.v.* To frighten. *Asustar.* **nde shí-mí-ngíye-a** *vos sos el que me asustás.*

mingingiye *ac.v.* To frighten the child continuously. *Hacer asustar al chiquito cuando uno anda dando vueltas.*

kiyu [kízumí; kǐrízumí; kízo] *n.* Cricket. *Grillo.* *Gryllus campestris.* *From: Spanish.*

Kiyu [kízú] *p.n.* Male's name that means "cricket". *Nombre de hombre.* *From: Spanish.*

ko [ko] *dem.* This. *Este.*

kowa [koβa; koa] *DEM.* This. *Este; esto.*

kö'ë [kõʔëj; kõëj] *n.* Day; morning. *Día; mañana.* **kö'ë-rä** *during the day de día*

konkö'ë [kõŋkõʔë] *All morning long.* *Toda la mañana.*

kö'ëi [kõʔëi] *adv.* Early. *Temprano; de mañana; bien de mañanita.* **paré kö'ëi-po a-pü'ä-kwi** *mañana por la mañana me voy a levantar.*

kö'ëi pü'ä [kõʔëjɸpüã] *ac.v.* To get up early. *Madrugar.* **paré kö'ëim pü'ä shu-wërä** *al día siguiente se levantaban // para cuando nos levantemos temprano.*

k'ö'ëma ou [kõëmaʔou] *n.* Dawn. *Madrugada; ya viene aclarando.*

kö'ëmbiya [kõʔë mbiza] *n.* Venus. *Lucero de la mañana.*

kö'ënsérima ou [kõʔënsérimaou] *n.*

Dawn. Alba. Momento alrededor de las 4 de la mañana.

koka [kóka] *n.* Coca. *Coca.* *Erythroxylon coca.* *From: Spanish.*

komo *As. Como.* **komo mbowí año-pe-ra a-ñoño shu mano-a** *a los cuántos años le voy a poner que murió* *From: Spanish.*

komunidá *n.* Community. *Comunidad.* *From: Spanish.*

konkonkwe [konkónkwe] *ac.v.* To run a professional race (e.g. athletics, bike, motor bike, car). *Carrera profesional de por ejemplo atletismo, bici, moto, auto.*

kontento [kõténto] *in.v.* Happy. *Contento.* *From: Spanish.*

kope [kópe] *dem.* Here. *Aquí.*

kosina [kosina] *n.*

— *ac.v.* Oven; cook. *Cocina; cocinar.* **äi-kosina-të-po nde'i a-ha-rä** *debería cocinar antes de que me vaya.* *From: Spanish.*

kosira [kosíra] *n.* Tea; maté infusion. *Té; mate cocido.* *From: Spanish.*

kösha [kóʃa; kõŋʃa] *n.* Button. *Botón.* *From: Spanish.*

kowara [kowára] *ac.v.* To charge. *Cobrar.* *From: Spanish.*

ku'aruháseape [kwaruhásjape] *n.* Bathroom. *Baño; lugar donde se orina.*

ku'i [kúʔi] *in.v.* Ground; lined. *Molido; rayado.*

ku'ikwe [kuʔíkwa] *n.* Small ground grain; cornflour; crumb of bread. *Granito de maíz molido; harina de maíz; miga de pan.*

kukuruwasi [kukuruwási] *in.v.* Rough. *Áspero.*

kunumi [kunúmi] *n.* Boy. *Muchacho; jovencito.*

kuña [kúɸa] *n.* Female. *Hembra.* **íme nda yĩ aríka'e ñande a pota re(ko) taípe kúña wa** *dice que había uno que se enamoró de una mujer (tapiete)*

kuñanta'i [kupañtáj] *n.* Young woman; Young lady. *Mujer joven; señorita.*

Kuñaweru *p.n.* Female name. *Nombre de mujer.*

kupe hanti [kúpe hánti] *n.* Badger. *Tejón, quincayú.*

kupeyapa [kupezápa] *in.v.* Hunchback. *Espalda agachada; jorobado.*

kuri [kúri] Recently. *Recién.* **kuri opa a-no'o yipe'a** I just picked the firewood up. *acabo de terminar de recoger la leña.*

Kururenda [kururénda] *n.* Geographic name. *Topónimo que significa 'lugar de sapos'.*

kururu [kurúru] *n.* Kind of frog. *Tipo de sapo de color negro y blanco.*

kurusu [kurúsu] *n.* Cross. *Cruz.* *From:* Spanish Guarani.

kuruwa [kurúwa] *n.* Melon. *Melón.* *Cúcumis melo.*

kushanó [kuʃarō] *n.* Ladle. *Cucharón.* **kushano-mí.** *cucharita.* *From:* Spanish.

kushara [kuʃára] *n.* Spoon. *Cuchara.* *From:* Spanish.

kushi [kúʃi] *n.* Pig. *Chancho.* ___ **kushi kuña.** female pig. *chancho hembra.* **kushi kwimbae.** male pig. *chancho macho.* *From:* Spanish.

kushira'imireta [kuʃirájmiréta] *n.* Suckling pigs. *Lechoncitos.*

Kutaichi [kutájchi] *p.n.* Geographic name. *Nombre de un lugar cerca de Samaihuate.*

kutí [kútí] *adv.* There; over there. *Por allá; allí; por ahí.* **ka'a kutí** *al otro lado del monte.*

kutu [kútu] *ac.v.* To stab. *Apuñalar; hincar.* **kä'enta kutu-ha-pi-rä tata hñwache mi-mbo'i-ha** *cuando le hincan con la "ka'enta" al lado del fuego lo paran.*

kukutu [kukútu] *ac.v.* Stab repeatedly. *Apuñalar varias veces.*

küwä [küwä] *n.* Trip. *Zancadilla.*

kwa [kwa] *Go. Ir.* **e-kwa nñ mpï hano páye-wa** *andá hacete curar por el curandero.*

kwa [ékwa] *ac.v.* To hit. *Garrotear.* **ayéte-nda o'okwa he(se)-reta aríka'e** *casi le garrotearon antes; e'ekwa hese garrotealo.*

kwa'a [kwá] *ac.v.* To know; to understand. *Conocer; saber; entender.* **ma ha'e-mi-re shi-kwa'a-ma-yi-we-reta** *y "ellecitos" me conocen ya a mí también.*

kwakwa'a [kwakwá] *in.v.* Grow up. *Criarse, crecer, se aplica a niños y plantas.* **mbatíka-pe kwakwa'a** *en el Chaco se ha criado.*

kwakwá'a-wa [kwakwáwe; kwákwa] *n.* Old person. *Anciano/a; viejo.* **ai-kwakwa'a** *me hago el viejo.*

pírikwa'a-iwa [píríkwaiwa] *n.* Fortune-teller. *Adivino.*

kwa'aä [kwä] *in.v.* Silly. *Tonto.*

kwa'ambaiwa [kwambaiwa] *n.* Silly. *Tonto.*

kwakwa'ambaiwa [kwakwambaiwa] *n.* Stupid; silly. *Estúpido; tonto; medio tonto.*

kwaderno [kwaðérno] *n.* Notebook. *Cuaderno.* *From:* Spanish.

kwakwa *ac.v.* To wrap oneself up. *Envolverse con un pedazo de tela que usaban a modo de vestimenta.* **hame mba yi-kwakwa nñ-rärö o-i** *entonces se envolvían (en esa tela) y peleaban.*

kwarasi [kwarási] *n.* Sun. *Sol.*

kwarasiä [kwānānsiā; kwarānsiā; kwārāsiā] *n.* Shade. *Sombra.*

kwarasi-haku (*from:* **kwarasi-haku**) [kwarásihaku] *n.* Summer. *Verano.*

kwarasi-mä'ë-hewa (*from:* **kwarasi-mä'ë-hewa**) [kwarásimaehéa; kwarasimāehéa] *n.* Sunflower. *Girasol.*

kwarasi-mbite (*from:* **kwarasi-mbite**) [kwarasimbíte] *adv.* Midday. *Mediodía.*

kwarasi-ohëa-kiti (*from:* **kwarasi-ohëa-kiti**) [kwārāsiohēakíti] *n.* East. *Este.*

kwareta [kwaréta] *n.* Person; people. *Persona; gente [criollos y tapietes].*
kwareta-ré people. *personas.*

kwartel [kwartél] *n.* Barraks. *Cuartel.*
From: Spanish.

kwaru [kwáru] *ac.v.* To urinate. *Orinar.*
a-kwaru (*yo*) *hice pis.*

tikwaru [tikwaru] *n.* Urine. *Orina.*

kwatia [kwatía] *n.* 1) Notebook. *Cuaderno.*
 — *n.* 2) Card. *Tarjeta.*

kwawa *ac.v.* To throw. *Echar.* **a-kwawa-po**
voy a echar.

kwäwä [kwāwā] *ac.v.* To embrace.
Levantar abrazando; abrazar. ñ-kwäwä
se abrazaron.

kwäkwä [kwākwāwā] *ac.v.*
 To embrace constantly. *Abrazar un rato*
largo; hacerse palmaditas en la espalda.

-kwe [kwe; kwi] *aug.* Augmentative suffix.
Sufijo aumentativo. patu-kwe big duck
pato grande

-kwe *tns.* Past. *Pasado.*

kwera [kwéra] *ac.v.* To cure. *Sanar; sano.*
ha'e shi-ngwera he is curing me. *él me*
sana.

kwewe [kwéβe; kwe; kweʔ] *adv.* Before.
Adverbio temporal que ubica la acción en
un pasado lejano;; la vez pasada; antes.
kwewe kwarasī-kwe a-mo'a pörä-ä shi-
rehe *parece que la vez pasada el sol me*
ha hecho mal

-kwi [kwi] *tns.* Distant future. *Morfema que*
marca el futuro distante. imeshe-ra
i(ko)-kwi. Will he recover? *¿Será que él*
se va a sanar?

kwimbae [kwimbáj; kwimbáe] *n.* Man;
 Male. *Hombre; varón. kwimbáe-re* men,
 males *hombres*

kwimamba'e *n.* Tomboy. *Machona. ñ-*
kwimamba'e i-a

kwiriri [kwiníni; kwirīnī] *in.v.* To
 keep still. *Estar quieto.*

L - l

ladriyo [ladriɔ] *n.* Brick. *Ladrillo.*
From: Spanish.

lapi [lápih] *n.* Pencil. *Lápiz. From:*
Spanish.

lei *n.* Law. *Ley. From: Spanish.*

Leo [léo] *p.n.* Spanish male name. *Nombre*
de hombre de origen español. From:
Spanish.

Linda *p.n.* Linda. *Nombre castellano de la*

abuela de Hermelinda.

loma [lóma] *n.* Hillock. *Loma. From:*
Spanish.

lote [lóte] *n.* Terrain. *Lote. From:*
Spanish.

luni [lune; luni] *n.* Monday. *Lunes.*
From: Spanish.

M - m

-ma [ma] *asp.* Resultative aspect. *Aspecto*

resultativo. a-ha-yi-ma. I'm leaving. *me*

voy.

ma'amó *adv.* More or less. *Más o menos. diez años ma'amó arka'e ehkwéla-pe a-ha diez años más o menos antes a la escuela fui* From: Spanish.

ma'e [máē; máe; māē] *ac.v.* To pay attention; to look at. *Atender; mirar. ma'e he(se)* pay attention to him. *miralo.*

mamá'ë *ac.v.* Spy on; watch. *Espiar; observar. a-mamaë ì-po hipi-we le voy a seguir; le voy a ir espiondo.*

ma'ëi *ac.v.* To let someone to do something. *Dejar hacer algo. a-ma'ëi-ka numpa lo dejé que le pegue.*

ma'enti *ac.v.* To sow. *Sembrar. a-ma'enti-po voy a sembrar.*

ma'enumbi [mainúmbi; mainúmbi] *n.* Hummingbird. *Colibrí. Trochilus colubris.*

mä'erä [māēnārā] *q.w.* For what?; why? *¿Para qué?; ¿por qué?*

ma'erenda [mairénda; mbajrénda] *n.* Sideboard; stand; furniture. *Aparador; estante; mueble.*

maestra [maéstra] *n.* Teacher. *Maestra.* From: Spanish.

mah [mah] *adv.* More. *Más. Juan mah nde'i i(ko)* Juan era el más chico. From: Spanish.

maina [májna] *conj.* Or. *O.*

maintini [majntíni] *n.* Kind of snake. *Vibora cascabel.*

makanta [makánta] *refl.v.* To swing. *Hamacarse.*

mákina wéwea [mákina βéβea] *n.* Airplane. *Avión.* From: Spanish.

mama [máma] *ac.v.* To wrap; to wrap. *Enrollar; envolver.*

mamimo *ac.v.* Cook. *Cocino. a-mamimo cocinar.*

mamoihaseape [mamojhásjape] *n.* Where people always cook. *Donde siempre se cocina.*

mampe [mámpe] *q.w.* Where? *¿Dónde?*

mampinta [mampínta] *ac.v.* To paint. *Pintar; está pintando.* From: Spanish.

mipipinta *ac.v.* To paint several things. *Varias cositas que tiene que pintar.* From: Spanish.

mampintanka [mampíntaŋka] *n.* Coloring. *Colorante.* From: Spanish.

mambeko [mambéko] *in.v.* Noise. *Ruido; ruidoso.*

mambe'uiwa [mambeuíwa] *n.* Messenger; preacher. *Mensajero; predicador.*

manana [mānānā] *n.* Banana. *Banana.* From: Spanish.

manarina [mānārína] *n.* Tengerin; Mandarin. *Mandarina. Naranja mandarina.* From: Spanish.

maNGanga [māŋāŋga; māŋgāŋga] *n.* Kind of wasp called "guanquero". *Tipo de avispa llamada "guanquero"; venenosa y grande.*

maNGantuä *ac.v.* To annoy. *Molestar.*

mangira mbishiririhawa héndiwa [maŋgirambiʃiririáhwahéndi wa] *n.* Candel. *Vela.*

mango [māŋgo] *n.* Mango. *Mango. Mangífera indica.* From: Spanish.

mankirampe [maŋkīnámpe; maŋkīrámpē] *n.* Centipede. *Cienpiés. Scolopendra mórситans.*

mankirampemí [maŋkīnāmpemí; māŋkīnāmpemí] *n.* Scorpion. *Escorpión, alacrán. Buthus occitanus.*

mano [máno] *ac.v.*
— *n.* Die. *Morir. mano se murió.*

Mano [máno] *p.n.* Male name that means "death". *Nombre de hombre que significa "muerte".*

mansana [mansána] *n.* Apple. *Manzana.* From: Spanish.

manshi [māŋʃi] *n.* Monkey. *Mono. manshi-ré* monkeys *monos*

manshi íyua [manshiíyua] *n.* Yellow monkey. *Mono amarillo; vive en el cerro; tiene astas de color amarillo; es doméstico.*

manta [mánta; mānta] *ac.v.* To throw; to stretch. *Tirar; estirar.* **manta shi iwī-wi tirale del suelo.**

mamanta [mamánta] *ac.v.* To throw several things. *Tirar varias cosas.*

manteka [mantéka] *n.* Butter. *Manteca.* *From: Spanish.*

mantirō [mantino; māntinō] *n.* Kind of tiger. *Tigre overo.*

mande [mānde] *n.* Bucket. *Balde.* *From: Spanish.*

mandi'i [mandíʔi] *n.* Catfish. *Bagre.*

mandiporopi [mandiporápi; mandiporeápi; mandiporópi] *n.* Manioc. *Mandioca.* 'Arbusto euforbiáceo de América, de cuya raíz se saca la tapioca.'

mandiyu [mandíʒu] *n.* Cotton. *Algodón.*

mandu'a [mandúʔa; mandúa] *in.v.* Remember; think. *Acordarse; pensar.*

manundu'a To tell a story. *Contar algo.*

maña [mána] *ac.v.* To push. *Empujar.* **maña i-e-pi hindī i-po mī-ngaru rērā** *le empuja la mano de la hermana cuando le da de comer.*

mamaña [mamána] *ac.v.* To push each other constantly. *Empujarse cuando se está discutiendo; empujar varias veces.*

mā'ō [māō; māʔō] *q.w.* Which one? *¿Cuál es? mā'ō-ra?* which one do you want? *¿cuál querés?*

ma'oho [maʔóho] *in.v.* To flower; to flower. *Florecer; va floreciendo.*

mārā [mānā; mārā] *n.* Shame. *Vergüenza.*

mārā [māra] *q.w.* Why; how. *Por qué; cómo.* **i-e-pi mārā-nte mba'e kā'ā** What has happened to him? *¿Qué será que le ha pasado?*

mārā'ā *neg.* Nothing. *Nada.* **marā'ā sh-apo** *no me hace nada*

Märändewe *p.n.* Female name that means "how is your name". *Nombre de mujer que significa "como te llamas".*

mārāndu [mānāndu; mārāndu] *refl.v.* To greet; to answer. *Saludar; contestar.* **nī-**

mārāndu *se saludaron.*

marārāndu [mārārāndu] *ac.v.* Great repeatedly. *Saludar a muchas personas; saludar repetidamente.*

marē'ī [mārēʔī; mārēʔē] *in.v.* Big; get bigger. *Grande; agrandarse.* **kāse marē'ē-wa** big knife. *cuchillo grande.*

marē'īwa [mārēʔīwa] *n.* Thickness; Tank. *Grueso, se aplica a la madera.*

María [maría] *p.n.* Spanish female name. *Nombre de mujer de origen español.* *From: Spanish.*

marte *n.* Tuesday. *Martes.* *From: Spanish.*

martiyō [martíʒo; martíʒu] *n.* Hammer. *Martillo.* *From: Spanish.*

mashete [maʃéte] *n.* Machete. *Machete.* *From: Spanish.*

mati [máti] *n.* Mate. *Mate.* *From: Spanish.*

me [me] *n.* Husband. *Marido.* **i-me-nda** they say that she has a husband *se dice que tiene marido*

me'e [mēʔē; mē] *ac.v.* To give. *Dar.* **hama mē'ē-ha shu-a yapó-mba-wa** *lo que le daban (la tarea) no hacían.*

meme'e [meméʔe] *ac.v.* Distribute. *Repartir.*

mehe [mehe] *n.* Exchange. *Trueque.*

meī [meī] *refl.v.* To recover. *Recuperarse.* **ai-meī she-ra a-i(ko)-kwi** will I recover? *¿será que me voy a recuperar?.*

meme [méme] *n.* Mother. *Madre.* *From: Spanish.*

membī [membī] *n.* Woman's offspring. *Hijo/a de la mujer.* **shī -membī-kwimbae** my son *mi hijo* **shī -membī-kwimbae-ré** my sons *mis hijos* **shī -membī-kuña** my son *mi hijo* **shī -membī-kuña-ré** my daughters *mis hijas* **shī -membī-ré** my children *mis hijos*

membīhireko [membī hireko] *n.* Daughter-in-law. *Nuera.*

meno [méno] *ac.v.* To copulate. *Hacere el amor.* **she ai-meno handi yo hice el amor con él.**

memeno *ac.v.* To copulate with a lot of

woman. *Hacer el amor con muchas mujeres.*

menda [ménda; me; ime] *ac.v.* To marriage. *Casarse.* **ñä-mä -menda** they married *se casaron*

Merensianda *p.n.* Female name. *Nombre de mujer.*

mesa [mésa] *n.* Table. *Mesa.* *From:* Spanish.

mëwä [mëwä] *refl.v.* Admire. *Se admira.*

-mi [mi] *dim.* Diminutive suffix. *Sufijo diminutivo.*

mi'inshi [mĩʔĩʃi] *ac.v.* To polish. *Pulir; lijar.*

minshi [minʃí] *in.v.* Small; get smaller; shrink. *Chico (cosa); achicarse; cosa que es chica.* **ni-minshi.** you have gotten it smaller. *(lo) has achicado.*

minshishí [mĩsĩsĩ] *in.v.* Very small. *Muy chico; pedacitos.*

mintä [mĩntä] *n.* Cat. *Gato.* *Felis catus.*

miñërä [miñërä] *ac.v.* To beg; to convince. *Rogar; convencer.* ***miñërä reko,**

missione [misjóne] *n.* Mission. *Misión.* *From:* Spanish.

misionero [misjonéro] *n.* Missioner. *Misionero.* *From:* Spanish.

Mite *p.n.* Female's name. *Mitelia, nombre de Victoria Mercado.*

mitehiendo [texiende] *ac.v.* To weave. *Tejer.* **mi-tehiendo o-ï** está tejiendo. *From:* Spanish.

mi [mĩ] *ac.v.* To move. *Moverse.* **ña-mä päwi** nos movemos juntos.

miamenta [amenta] *ac.v.* To add. *Aumentar.* **ña-mä-amenta-yä** lo volvemos a aumentar. *From:* Spanish.

mideskubrí [deskubrí] *ac.v.* To discover. *Descubrir.* **hei ou-nda irä-mä-deskubrí katä** *From:* Spanish.

mifirma [mífirma] *ac.v.* To sign. *Firmar.* **a-mäfirma-kwe-pi-rä** yo firmo. *From:* Spanish.

migana [gána] *ac.v.* To earn. *Cobrar.* **shë-reko a-män-gana-wa-mí mba'e ho'u he(se)-reta** mi esposa, lo poquito que gano, con eso comen algunas cosas. *From:* Spanish.

mihanti [mihanti] *ac.v.* To chew coca. *Coquear.* **koka mä-hanti-ha-pä-a** coca para coquear; **koka mihanti-ha** coqueamos.

mi'irü [miʔĩnũ; miʔĩrũ] *ac.v.* 1) To add. *Agregar(le).*

— *ac.v.* 2) *Acompañar; acompañalo.*

mimanda [mánda] *ac.v.* To order. *Mandar.* **shë-mä-manda** me manda. *From:* Spanish.

mimpindi [mimpíndi] *ac.v.* To clean the bottom. *Limpiar la cola.* **a-rä-mipindä** ¿te limpio la cola?

mimba [mímiba] *n.* Domestic animals. *Animal doméstico.*

minkambio [miŋkambjo] *v.* Change. *Cambiar.* **opa ñä-män-kambio kwareta** everybody has changed *todas las personas han cambiado* *From:* Spanish.

mindakami [mindakami] *n.* Kind of pumpkin. *Tipo de calabaza llamado "zapallito indígena"; de color verde.* *Cucurbita maxima.*

Mindakarenda *p.n.* Geographic name. *Nombre de un lugar ubicado en los alrededores de Tartagal, que existía hace mucho tiempo.*

mindakawasu [mindákawásu] *n.* Kind of pumpkin. *Zapallo plomo.*

miñë'ë [miñéʔë; miñéʔe; miñëʔë] *ac.v.* To turn on e.g. the radio. *Hacer sonar por ejemplo la radio o el grabador.*

miñë'ëhansewa [miñehánsja] *n.* Whistle. *Silbato.*

miperansha [miperánʃa] *ac.v.* To iron; ironed. *Planchar; planchado.* *From:* Spanish.

miperdona [miperdóna] *ac.v.* To forgive. *Perdonar; perdonalo.* *From:* Spanish.

miरेkonose [miरेkonóse] *ac.v.* To

recognize. *Reconocer.* **yawaiwe a-mï-rekonose-yï-we kwepi diretora-na-rä** por eso reconozco a la directora. *From:* Spanish.

miwakuna [mɨβakúna] *ac.v.* To vaccinate. *Vacunarse.* **potää shï-mï-wakuna** no querían vacunarme. *From:* Spanish.

mo'a [móa; mo; móʔa] *refl.v.* To believe. *Creer.* **ai-mo'a-nda ñï-mba'erasï o-ï** Juan yo creía que Juan estaba enfermo.

möhä [möhä; mohame] *p.n.*

— *n.* 1) Medicine. *Remedio.*

— *p.n.* 2) Male name that means "medicine". *Nombre de hombre que quiere decir "remedio".*

möhë [móhe] *ac.v.* To scatter; to spill. *Desparramar; dejar salir; tirar; verter.* **ï a-möhë** I spill water. *desparramo agua.*

mömöhë [momöhë] *ac.v.* Scatter; destroy. *Desparramar; destruir.*

moi [mój] *ac.v.* To cook. *Cocinar; cocinalo.* **ha'e moi-po-kwi hama karu-ha-po-kwi** She is going to cook it and then we are going to eat it *ella la va a cocinar y después la vamos a comer.*

mamoi [mamój] *ac.v.* Cook. *Cocinar.* **katï ma-moi-ma hama karu-ha** she cooked it and then we ate it. *ella la cocinó y la comimos.*

möirü *n.* Kind of snake. *Víbora larga, negra, no es venenosa. Trae mal agüero, si llega a la casa, uno se enviuda.*

momba [momba] *ac.v.* To wake up. *Despertar.* **a-momba** I wake him up. *lo despierto.*

mombo [mómbo] *ac.v.* To throw. *Arrojar; botar.* **ï a-mombo** I throw agua. *tiro agua.*

momombo [momómbo] *ac.v.* To throw several things. *Tirar desparejamente, tirar varias cosas.*

mombu [mómbu] *ac.v.* To pinch. *Pinchar; pinchado; agujerear.*

momombu [momómbu] *ac.v.* Pinch. *Agujerear por varios lados.*

monkoi [mókoj; mōŋkoj] *ac.v.* To

swollen. *Tragar.*

monkoi [mōŋkoj] *num.* Two. *Dos.* **monkoi sanya'ï shï-rénta-pe ó-a-wa** dos chicos nacieron en mi casa.

monkoi opa ñandepo [mōŋkojpaŋandépo] *num.* Twenty. *Veinte.*

monkoi opa ñandepo pente [mōŋkoj opa ŋandepo pente] *num.* Twenty one. *Veintiuno.*

monkopiwa [mōŋkopíwa] *n.* Twins. *Mellizos, gemelos.*

monde *ac.v.* To dress up. *Vestirse.* **ñï-mónde-ve i(ko) María-naimi** vestite como María

mimonde [mimónde] *ac.v.* Dress up. *Vestirse.* **ha'e ña-mï-mónde-po** eso le vamos a poner al chico.

móndewa [móndeβa] *n.* Clothes. *Ropa.*

mondo [móndo] *ac.v.* To send. *Mandar; enviar.* **mondo-ha-ä** no hemos mandado.

moña [móna] *ac.v.* To harass. *Corretear; correlo; alcanzalo.* **ña-moña-rä** cuando le corremos.

momoña [momóna] *ac.v.* Corretear un perro o las ovejas para que vayan donde tienen que ir.

moñinka [moñínka] *n.* Puppet. *Muñeca.* *From:* Spanish.

Mora [móra] *n.* Geographic name. *Nombre tapiete de un lugar en Bolivia, cerca de Samaihuate.*

mörä *ac.v.* To love. *Querer.* **a-rï-mörä** te quiero.

mömörä *ac.v.* Love. *Querer.*

mörä'ä [ɲimöräʔä] *ac.v.* To hate. *Odiar; ambos no se quieren.* **a-nde-mörä'ä** te odio.

momörä'ä [mömöräʔä] *ac.v.* Hate. *Odiar; ambos no se quieren.*

moto [móto] *n.* Motobike. *Moto.* *From:* Spanish.

möwä *n.* Glow-worm. *Luciérnaga más grande que "hiwikwasape".*

mumpü'ä [mopüʔa] *ac.v.* To pick up.
Recoger; levantar.

mungu'i [muŋgúʔi; muŋgúʔe] *ac.v.* To dissolve; to prick; to loosen; to soften.
Disolver; picar; aflojar; ablandar; rayando. **a-mun-gu'i-po shi-wi** I am going to loosen it. *yo (lo) voy a aflojar.*

munisipalidadá [munisipalidadá] *n.*
Municipality. *Municipalidad.*

munisipalida-pe mba'apo Agustina.
Agustina trabajó en la municipalidad.
From: Spanish.

munkuinti [muŋkwínti] *n.* Sand. *Arena.*

munkürë [mũŋkürë] *n.* Skunk. *Zorrino.*

mundui [mundúj] *n.* Peanut. *Maní. Arachis hypogea.*

Mb - mb

mba [mba] *q.w.* Who? *¿Quién?*

mba- (*from: mba-*) [mba; ma] *incr.*
Morpheme that indicates the incorporation of a non-human object.
Morpheme que indica la incorporación de un objeto no humano.

-mba [mba] *evd.* Morpheme that indicates that the speaker has witnessed the reported event. *Morfema que indica que el que habla ha sido testigo ocular del evento referido.* **ou-mba mbe'u aríka'e pörä-mba-pe.** *vino a decir antes que, estaban en un lugar que no servía.*

-mba [mba] *neg.* No. No. **puku-mba-mi** *petisito*

mba'apo [mbaʔápo] *ac.v.* To work. *Trabajar.* **heta mba'apo ha'e ha** *trabajado mucho él.*

mba'a'apo [mbaʔaʔápo] *ac.v.* To have odd jobs. *Hacer changas.*

mba'apo-iwa [mbaʔapoíwa] *n.*
Servant; employee. *Sirviente; empleado; el que está trabajando.*

mba'apo-irü *n.* Colleague. *Colega.*

mba'e [mbáʔe; mbáj] *n.* Thing. *Cosa.*

mba'e haimbehasepiwa
[mbáj hajmbehasepiwa] *n.*
Toaster. *Tostador.*

mba'e haimbe'ihaka
[mbaʔe hajmbeʔihaka] *n.*

Polishing. *Piedra para afilar cuchillo, se usa mucho más que la lima.*

mba'e hiru [mbáehíru] *n.* Package.
Envase.

mba'e iki [mbáʔeíkí] *n.* Grub. *Gorgojo.*

mba'e kutuhaka [mbáj kutuháka] *n.*
Hammer; walrus. *Martillo; morza.*

mba'e mbapetehaka
[mbájmbapeteháka] *n.* Yellow leaf fruit; Gum. *Frutita con hojas amarillas. Son como frutita de uva, amarillita, chiquitita y uno lo parte y sirve para pegar papel. Para Hermelinda tiene hoja verde, es un árbol grande. La goma es transparente. Hoja grande como la de la mora.*

mba'e mbíta'ahasepiwa
[mbájmbítahasepiwa] *n.* Drive in. *Martillo.*

mba'e ñiäwë [mbájñiáʔe;
mbájñiäwë] *n.* Image; portrait.
Imagen, retrato.; término que también se usa para designar un objeto que represente algo, por ejemplo, un animalito de juguete.

mba'e piwarahaka [mbáj piwaráka] *n.* Drill. *Taladro; herramienta con qué revolver.*

mba'e poti [mbájpotí] *n.* Flower. *Flor.*

mba'e reshahaka [mbaʔereʂáka] *n.*

Binoculars. *Largavista*.

mba'e riru [mbájríru] *n.* Travelling bag. *Bolso de viaje (no de mercado) para poner cosas.*

mba'e tikhahaka [mbájtikhaháka] *n.* Strainer. *Colador.*

mba'e yaikw'apiwa
[mbaezajkwapíwa;
mbaezejkwapíwa] *n.* Book; dictionary; computer. *Libro; diccionario; computadora.*

mba'e yasiyahaka [mbaʔezasizáka;
mbaʔezasizáka] *n.* Handsaw. *Serrucho.*

mba'e yohehaka [mbajzoheháka] *n.* Sponge. *Espanja.*

mba'e yopika [mbaʔezopíka] *n.* Press. *Prensa.*

mba'epe [mbájpe] *adv.* When. *Cuando.*
mba aríka'e ko Tartagal nde'i i-yápo-rä-me *antes cuando no se había hecho Tartagal antes que se funda (no había todavía no se había hecho Tartagal).*

mba'era [mbájra] *q.w.* What?; how? *¿Qué?; ¿cómo?*

mba'eso [mbaéso; mbaʔéso] *ac.v.* To grind; to beat. *Moler; golpear.*

mba'e'eso [mbaʔeʔeso] *ac.v.* *Molete algo.*

mba'eti [mbaʔéti] *neg.* Nobody; no; nothing; anyone; anything. *Nadie; no; nada; hace falta; no hay; ninguno.*
mba'eti ko-pe. Nobody is there. *No hay nadie.*

mba'etú [mbaetú] *n.* Wasp. *Esta palabra engloba todo tipo de 'avispa', 'abeja'. Vespa vulgaris.*

mbahaku [mbaáku] *ac.v.* To heat. *Calentar.* **hama ka'áru-rä a-mba(ha)ku** *ñ* *luego a la tarde caliente el agua.*

mbahapi [mbahápi] *num.* Three. *Tres.*

mbahapi opa ñandepo
[mbahápi ʔópa ñandépo] *num.* Thirty. *Treinta.*

mbai [mbáj] *ac.v.* To erase. *Borrar; desarmar.*

mbaparahasepiwa [mbaparahasepía] *n.* Pencil. *Lápiz.*

mbapete [mbapéte] *ac.v.* To stick. *Pegar.*
a-mba-pete *pego algo.*

mbapepete [mbapepéte] *ac.v.* To stick several things. *Pegar varias cosas.*

mbapirue [mbapírúe; mbapurúe;
mbapirúe] *n.* Corn. *Ampolla.*

mbapitei [mbapitéj] *ac.v.* To sweep. *Barrer.* **a-mbapitei, ñ a-mbaku, tata yatapi** *barro, caliente el agua, prendo el fuego.*

mbapi'uka [mbapíka] *n.* Ladle. *Cucharón.*

mbapü'ä *ac.v.* To make a band. *Hacer un rodete.* **ñ-anka ha a-mba-pü'ä** *le he hecho sorongo (rodete).*

mbaputuka [mbaputúka] *ac.v.* To wash clothes. *Lavar la ropa.* **mba-tuka lavar la ropa; e-mba-tuka,**

mbaraka [mbaráka] *n.* Maraca. *Maracas; guitarra; guacharacar.*

mbarakara'imi [mbarakarájmi] *n.* Charango. *Charango.*

mbarakaya [mbarakáza] *n.* Wild cat. *Gato montés.*

mbarakayawasu [mbarakazawásu] *n.* Wildcat. *Gato onza.*

mbarakwa'a [mbarakwa] *ac.v.* To educate. *Educar; darle consejo; enseñar bien.*

p'ir'imbarakwa'a i-a
[p'inimbarakwaía] *n.* Adviser. *Consejero.*

mbarawiki [mbaraywíki] *n.* Work. *Trabajo.*

mbariwi [mbaríwi] *n.* Mosquito. *Mosquito; más chiquito que el zancudo.*

mbariwi iyua [mbaríʔi ízua] *n.* Yellow mosquito. *Mosquito amarillo; pica fuerte; es más chico que el zancudo.*

mbasakwa [mbasákwa] *n.* Kind of wasp. *Avispa amarilla parecida a la avispa llamada "carnicero"; mide alrededor de 5 cm; pica; vuela; cava la tierra; come*

gusano o araña.

mbasoka [basóka] *n.* palo del mortero hecho con palo santo; coso para moler. From: Spanish.

mbasharere [mbaʃarére] *n.* Kind of bird. Pájaro chiquito blanco negro; carpinterito overo. Bueno para el amor, se lo mata, se le saca el seso y las patas y se los muelen. Algunas personas llevan amuletos hechos de este pájaro. Pájaro que anuncia mal agüero.

mbatĩ [mbátĩ] *ac.v.* To pile up; to gather. Amontonado; amontonar; reunirse para salir a algún lado de reunión. **pēteäpēi mba ñánde-re opa ñĩ-mbatĩ arĩka'e-pi** en un sólo lugar nuestros paisanos todos se juntaban antes.

mambatĩ [mambatĩ] *ac.v.* To gather scattered things. Amontonar cosas desparramadas.

mbatĩ *ac.v.* Rustle. Arreo. **a-mbatĩ** arrear.

mbatĩ [mbátĩ; mbatĩ] *n.* Soupe. Sopa.

Mbatika *p.n.* Geographic name. Nombre que se le da a la zona del Chaco.

mbawari [mbawári] *n.* Heron. Garza. *Ardea purpúrea.*

mbawĩwi [mbawíwĩ] *ac.v.* To sew. Coser. **a-mbawĩwĩ** coso.

mbayuka [mbazúka] *ac.v.* To hunt. Cazar; campear; carnear.

mberowi [mberówĩ] *n.* Kind of fly. Mosca verde.

mberu [mbéru] *n.* Fly. Mosca. *Musca doméstica.*

mbe'u [mbéw] *ac.v.* To tell. Narrar. **a-mbe'u-po ko siyora pĩrandu o-ĩ** le voy a contar a esta señora que está preguntando

mbe'uha [mbeʔúha] *ac.v.* To offer. Ofrecer; anotar; avisar.

mbewe [mbéʒe; mbēʒē] *adv.* Slow. Despacio. **á-ha-po mbewe** voy a ir despacio.

membewe [membéʒe] *adv.* Very slow. Muy despacio.

mbihí'a [mbihíʔa] *ac.v.* To mixe. Mezclar; entreverá. **a-mĩ-mbihí'a** yo le digo que le mescle.

mbihihí'a [mbihihíʔa] *ac.v.* Mezclar con un poco de cada cosita.

mbi'ipe *ac.v.* To stretch the dough. Estirar con las manos la masa ya hecha. **a-mbi'ipe-po** voy a estirar (con las manos) la masa (hecha).

mbi'ipĩ [mbiʔípĩ] *ac.v.* To knead. Amasar. **a-mbi'ípĩpo** voy a amasar.

mbi'ipĩahawa [mbiʔípĩahawa; mbiʔípĩ] *n.* Dough. Masa.

mbikó [mbikó] *n.* Mythical snake. Lampalagua. *Boa constrictor occidentalis.*

mbirika [mbiríka] *n.* Donkey. Burro. From: Spanish.

mbirikawasu [mbirikawásu] *n.* Mule. Mula. _ From: Spanish.

mbiru'é [mbiruʔé] *n.* Smallpox. Viruela. From: Spanish.

mbiru'ewasu [mbiruʔewasu] *n.* Measles. Sarampión.

mbíruru [mbíruru] *n.* Magpie. Urraca; hace su nido igual que la cata.

mbitá *n.* Half. Mitad. **ha'é-ä-ma mbitá 'ai-ma** ya no es más, ya es mitad (nomás) From: Spanish.

mbiwaru [mbiwáru] *ac.v.* Provoke nausea. Provoca náuseas.

mbíwei [mbíwej] *n.* Kind of duck. Chumuco; tipo de pato que anda en el río; ave igual que la garza; de color medio marrón con el pecho negro.

mbiyape *n.* Kind of corn flour. Harina que queda después de tamizar el maíz molido, lo moja y hace pancitos y luego se lo pone en la misma olla donde se está preparando la mazamorra y lo saca.

mbiyapera'i **hē'ēwä** [mbizaperaihēʔēwä] *n.* Sweet biscuit. Galletitas dulces; pan dulce.

Mbiyari *p.n.* Male name. Nombre de hombre.

mbi- (from: **mbi-**) [mbi; mi; mo] *caus.*
Causative prefix that combines with
intransitive verbs. *Prefijo castellano que
se combina con verbos intransitivos.*

mbi'a [mbiʔa] *n.* Person who belongs to the
Izoceño ethnic group. *Persona izoceña.*

mbiadora [mbiaðora] *ac.v.* To adore.
Adorar. From: Sapnish.

mbiestudia [estúdja] *t.v.* Study.
*Estudiar. mbi-estudia-sewe mba'ápo-
r'ä. Mientras estudiaba trabajaba. From:
Spanish.*

mbihiwihawa [mbihiwíahwa] *n.* Slice.
Rodaja.

mbikore [mbikóre] *n.* Fellow countryman
who wants to be "criollo". *Paisanos que
quieren ser criollos.*

mbikwadra [kwádra] *ac.v.* To fit.
*Encuadrar, término que usan cuando
están preparando el terreno para hacer
una casa. a-mbi-kwadra kawi-pota voy
a encuadrar bien. From: Spanish.*

mbilé [mbilé] *ac.v.* To read. *Leer. hama
katu-ä mbilé ha'e no sabe leer él. From:
Spanish.*

mbi'o'u [mbiʔów] *ac.v.* To blow up. *Inflar;
inflalo.*

mbiparahawa [mbiparaháwa] *n.*
Drawn. Dibujo; cosa dibujada.

mbiperasu [mbiperásu] *ac.v.* To tear
into pieces. *Pedasear; rompelo. From:
Spanish.*

mbipesahasepiwa
[mbaʔembipesahasepíwa] *n.*
Scales. Balanza. From: Spanish.

mbipia [pía] *ac.v.* To buy on tick. *Fiar.
shi-mbipía me fia?. From: Spanish.*

mbipika [mbipika; mbipika] *ac.v.* To
prick holes in. *Picar; cortar chiquito.
From: Spanish.*

mbipi [mbípi] *ac.v.* To submerge. *Su, ergir
p.e: si hay una ropa que está seca y
pregunto si la tengo que meter para el
fondo. mbipi he-si*

mimbipi [mimbípi; mimbípi] *ac.v.*
Press. Apretar por diferentes partes (cosa

ancha); aplastar con la mano.

mbipika *ac.v.* To mince. *Picar. hama hairá
mbi-pika-ha ka mbi-asao-ha-wërä
entonces de ahí recién lo picamos para
asarlo. From: Spanish.*

mbipiso [mbipíso] *ac.v.* Outstretched.
Extendido; extendé. From: Spanish.

mbipipiso [mbipipíso; mbipipíso]
ac.v. To stretch. *Tender. From: Spanish.*

mbiporika [mbiporíka; mbiporúka]
ac.v. To lend. *Prestar; pedir prestado;
prestalo. ko o-i peratu shi-mbiporika-
wa tomó el plato que me prestaste..*

mbiporowa [pirówa] *ac.v.* To try.
*Probar. mbiporowa hese probale
(cualquier ropa). From: Spanish.*

mbipota [mbipóta; mbipóta] *ac.v.* To
light. *Encender (p.e. tele, luz, lavaropa o
cualquier artefacto con botones).*

mbiprepara *ac.v.* To prepare. *Preparar.
märä-rä-po ni-mbi-prepara hoka cómo
vas a preparar eso. From: Spanish.*

mbirahe [mbiráhe] *n.* Song. *Canción.*

mbirewi [mbiréʔi] *n.* Tapir. *Anta (Tapiru
sp.).*

mbiri [mbíri] *adv.* Far. *Lejos. ime-a-rä o-
i mbiri-mba-të o-i iri-héwi-a había otros
que no estaban lejos de nosotros.*

mimbiri [mimbíri] Distant. *Expresa
una distancia más cercana que "mbiri".
mimbiri ñono raha andá dejándolo.*

mbirä [mbirä] *adv.* Close. *Cerca.
mbiri-ä cerca (respuesta).*

mbiri-mbi'ouwa (from: **mbiri-
mbi'ouwa**) [mbirimbiouwe] *n.*
*Allien. Extranjero. mbiri mbi-ou-wa
siyora foreign woman extranjera*

mbisawawa [mbisawáwa] *ac.v.* To hang
(up). *Colgar. mbahuru a-mbi-sawawa
a-i estoy colgando la bolsa.*

mbisowa [mbisóʔa] *ac.v.* To fondle.
*Sobar; sobalo. ei t-a-ri-mbisowa veni
que te voy a sobar. From: Spanish.*

mbisosowa [mbisosówa] *ac.v.* *Que le
vaya sobando por algunas partes. From:
Spanish.*

mbisufri [sufrí] *ac.v.* To suffer. *Sufrir.* **ë heta a-mbï-sufri sí, mucho sufrí.** *From: Spanish.*

mbita'e [mbitáʔe] *ac.v.* To hammer. *Martillar; martilló.*

mbitawi [mbitáwe; mbitáwi] *ac.v.* To deceive; to adultery. *Engañar; adulterio; lo engaña.* **mbítáwī re(ko) adulterio (él la vive engañando a la mujer).**

mbite [mbíte] *adv.* Middle. *Medio.* **ámo-re heta teri ñana mbite-pe i(ko) algunos muchos todavía estaban en el medio del monte.**

mbiwaira [mbiwájra; mbiβájra] *ac.v.* To dance. *Bailar.* **mbiwaira-ka hacelo bailar.** *From: Spanish.*

mbiwawaira [mbiwawájra] *ac.v.* Hum and move. *Tararear y moverse.* **mbiwawaira i-wa** *From: Spanish.*

mbiwairahaseape [mbiwajrahásiape] *n.* Nightclub. *Discoteca.*

mbiwaloro [mbiwalóro] *ac.v.* To appreciate. *Valorar.* **hama ha'e-re mbiwaloro-ä ha'e entonces ellos no valoran (el consejo).** *From: Spanish.*

mbiwawa [ɲimbiwáwa] *ac.v.* To shake. *Sacudirse; pega un chicotazo.*

mbiweraka [mbiweráka] *n.* Sandpaper. *Lija; hacelo brillar.*

mbiweyi [mbiwézi] *ac.v.* To unload. *Descargar.*

mbo'e [mbóe; mbóʔe] *ac.v.* 1) To teach. *Enseñar; aprender.* **aríka'e ehkwéla-pe-po ou pñi-mbo'e-wërä-rä** *antes, la escuela cuando iba a venir uno (alguien) que iba a enseñar.*

— *ac.v.* 2) To learn; to study. *Aprender; estudiar; estudiá.* **hame ha'e-pe ññ-mboé-ha mba aríka'e** *luego ahí nos han educado/nseñado.*

mombo'e [mombóʔe] *ac.v.* *Que le enseñen unas cuantas cosas que tiene que aprender.*

pñi-mbo'e-ia [pñimboʔeia] *n.* Teacher. *Maestra; pastor.* **shi-mboe i-a mi pastor**

pñi-mbo'eháseape [pñimboehásiape; pñimboheásiape] *n.* School. *Escuela.*

mboi [mbój] *n.* Snake. *Víbora.*

mboi hówia [mbojhówia] *n.* Kind of snake. *Víbora de color verde; no es venenosa.*

mboi hüwä *n.* Kind of snake. *Sapera, víbora de color negro; grande, peligrosa; vive por los charcos de agua.*

mboi kwatía [mbojkwatía] *n.* Kind of snake. *Yarará.* *Bothrops alternatus.*

mboirapua [mboirapúa] *n.* Scraggy person. *Escuerso.* *Palabra usada por los tapietes de Paraguay.*

mboituwi [mbojtúwi] *n.* Kind of snake. *Víbora coral; de color negro y rojo.* *Elaps [Micrurus] corallinus.*

mbo'i [mbów] *n.* Necklace. *Collar; perlas.*

mbo'i [mbóʔi; mbói; mbów] *in.v.* Standing. *Parado.* **kä'enta kutu-ha-pñi-rä tata hñwache mñ-mbo'ñ-ha** *cuando le hincan con la "ka'enta" al lado del fuego lo para.*

mboka [mbóka] *n.* Shotgun; rifle; arm. *Escopeta; rifle; arma.* *From: Spanish.*

mboka-hä'ñ (*from: mboka-hä'ñ*) [mbokahãʔñ] *n.* Bullet. *Bala.*

mbokara'i [mbokarái] *n.* Gun. *Revolver.*

mbori [mbórñ] *ac.v.* To help. *Ayudar; ayudalo.* **a-ha-se a-ñ-mbori** *voy siempre a ayudarte.*

mbombori *ac.v.* To help a little bit. *Ayudar un poco.*

mbo'u [mbów] *ac.v.* To send. *Enviar; mandar.* **mbo'u she pasame.**

mbowa [mbówa] *ac.v.* To sieve. *Sarandear; colar; tamizar; partilo; hachar.* **mbowa-ha shi ku'i-kwe** *le colamos el polvo.*

mombowa [mombówa] *ac.v.* To sieve a little. *Sarandea un poco; cuando está hachando la leñita (para ponerla en el fuego).*

mbowi [mbówi] *adv.* Some. *Varios.*

arika'e iri-reta-ä, mbowï iko-ha arika'e antes no éramos muchos, poquitos vivíamos aquí.

mbówira [mbowíra] *q.w.* How many? ¿Cuánto?

mboya *ac.v.* To watch over. *Celar.* **a-pirï-mboya** soy celoso.

momboya *ac.v.* To stick. *Pegar.* **ä opa ime-ka-kwe-pi ka hiero momboya-ha iyéhe-wa** y entonces ahora hay fierro que van pegado juntos.

mbulucha *n.* Fight. *Lucha.* From: Spanish.

mburu [mbúru] *ac.v.* To believe in someone's capacity. *creer en la capacidad de.* **she a-mburu Agustina o-ï-wërä** yo creo que ella es capaz de hacer.

mburukuya [mburukúza] *n.* Kind of plant. *Morocoya; tipo de bejuco que tiene una fruta comestible parecida al 'tomate*

de Santa Cruz'. Su sabor es agrio y cuando madura se vuelve dulce. Los antiguos le hechaban ají y la preparaban como ensalada.

mbusu [mbúso; mbúsu] *n.* 1) Slipway. *Anguila.* *Anguilla anguilla.*

— *n.* 2) Bait. *Carnada de pescado hecha con anguila.*

mbusururu [mbusurúru] *ac.v.* To drink. *Beber.* **kosira a-mbusururu** estoy tomando el té (así dicen los chicos).

mbusururu *ac.v.* To hurl down. *Derrumbar cuando hay una montañita de tierra.* **nï-membï iwï a-mbátï-a ou mbusururu** tu hijo ha venido a derrumbar la tierra que yo he amontonado.

mbutu [mbútu] *n.* Horsefly. *Tábano.* *Tabanus.*

N - n

nahe [na:; náhe] *ac.v.* To turn. *Doblar en la curva.*

nahéape [nahéape] *n.* Curve. *Curva.*

nambu [námbu] *n.* Partridge. *Perdiz.* *Alectoris rufa.* **nambu-wasu.** big partridge. *perdiz grande.*

nani [nání; nání] *in.v.* To get undressed; to naked. *Desnudarse; desnudo/a; desnudate; se desnuda.* **opa nanï nï-nani-yï-reta** todos se desvestían.

nantu [nántu] *ac.v.* To keep. *Guardar.* **nantu-(w) a,**

närä'ä [närã?ã] *n.* Orange. *Naranja.* From: Spanish.

närä'ä hë'ë [närã?ähë?ë] *n.* Tangerin. *Naranja dulce.* From: Spanish.

Negu [néɣu] *p.n.* Spanish female nickname. *Sobrenombre de mujer de origen español.* From: Spanish.

Nene [néne] *p.n.* Spanish male nickname. *Sobrenombre de hombre.* From: Spanish.

nenshe [nénʃe; nēʃe; léjʃe] *n.* Milk. *Leche.* **ko sanya'ï nenshe-të-po me'e-ha hou.** este chico tendría que tomar la leche // a este chico habría que darle leche From: Spanish.

NGanta [ŋánta] *ac.v.* To tell off. *Retar gritando.*

ngareko [ŋgaréko] *ac.v.* To take care. *Cuidar.* **ore nï-ngareko-ha hé(se) arika'e-pi** nosotros lo cuidábamos antes.

NGoma [ŋóma] *n.* Sling. *Honda.* From: Spanish.

NGomashi'úhawa [ŋgomaʃi?úhawa] *n.* Chewing gum. *Chicle.* From: Spanish.

ni'inshi [ni?ínʃi] *n.* Kind of animal. *Matuasto de color rojo.* *Leiosaurus spp.*

nimö [nimõ] *n.* Citron. *Limón.* From:

Spanish.

ni'insa [niʔĩnsa] *in.v.* Fresh; cold. *Fresco; frío.* **hama nĩ'insa-mi-ma o-ĩ-rä hekĩ-ha shi ka hafĩkwekwe** *entonces cuando está un poco frío y lo sacamos el maíz que queda en el colador.*

no [no] *neg.* No. *No.* *From:* Spanish.

noé [noé] *Isn't it. No es.* *From:* Spanish.

nohë [nõhë] *ac.v.* To pull out. *Palabra que se usa para sacar algo que está adentro p.e. la pava del fuego, la olla del fuego.* **yu-pe nohë** *sacalo con la aguja.*

nonohë [nonohe] *ac.v.* To pull out several things. *Sacar varias cositas.*

nomingo [nominɔŋo] *n.* Sunday. *Domingo.*

no'o [nóʔo] *ac.v.* To pick up. *Recoger;*

juntar. **kuri opa a-no'o yipe'a** I just picked the firewood up. *acabo de terminar de recoger la leña.*

mino'o [mĩnõʔõ; mĩnõõ] *ac.v.* Harvest; gather. *Cosechar; juntar.*

minono'o *ac.v.* To go gathering. *Andate juntando.*

numpa [númpa] *ac.v.* To slap. *Abofetear; pegale; azotar.* **shu-numpa-po-kwi** *me va a pegar ya.*

nunumpa [nunúmpa] *ac.v.* To slap continuously; to slap (e.g. several children). *Dar palmaditas; pegar (p.e. a varios hijos).*

nunga [núŋga] *Something. Algo.*

Nd - nd

-nda [nda] *evd.* Morpheme that indicates that the speaker has not witnessed the reported event. *Morfema que indica que el que habla ha sido testigo ocular del evento referido.*

ndakai wiraya *n.* Kind of bean. *Tipo de poroto llamado "poroto chaguanco". Su vaina es larga y de color verde, cuando madura se vuelve amarilla.*

ndakarai [ndakaráj] *n.* Kind of bean. *Tipo de poroto de tamaño pequeño.*

nde [nde; ndi] *p.p.* You (sg). *Vos.*

nde- (*from: nde-*) [nde; ndi; ndu; ne; ni; rĩ; nĩ] *p.m.* Second person singular person marker of inactive verbs. *Marcador de segunda persona singular de verbos inactivos.* **nde mah ndu-puku shi** *vos sos más alto que él*

nde- (*from: nde-*) [nde] *poss.* Second person singular possessive marker. *Marcador posesivo de segunda persona singular.*

nde- (*from: nde-*) *p.m.* Second person

singular marker of active verbs. *Marcador de segunda persona singular de los verbos activos.* **nde-ho shi** *te has ido de el/ella*

nde'i [ndéʔi] *adv.* 1) Not yet. *Todavía no.* **katu-ha ndé'i-rä** *cuando todavía no aprendimos.*

— *n.* 2) Child. *Niño.* **arĩka'e she-ru nde'ĩ-rä-nda** *antes cuando mi papá era chico.*

ndé'iwa [ndéʔiwa] *n.* **Child. Niño.** *ñande, ñanĩ-membĩ ndé'iwa... nosotros, nuestros hijos chicos...*

ndeshi [ndéʃi] *in.v.* Old. *Viejo.*

ndéshiwa [ndéʃiwa] *n.* Old. *Viejo/usado (cualquier cosa).*

ndiwi [ndéwi] *ac.v.* To spit. *Escupir.* **a-ndiwi kope** *escupo acá.*

mindíwi [mĩndéwi] *ac.v.* Spit. *Escupir; escupí.* **a-mĩ-ndiwi kope** *escupo acá.*

mindĩndiwi [mĩndĩndéwi] *ac.v.* Spit. *Escupir (curandero).*

ñ- (from: **ñ-**) [ɲ] *poss.* Third person possessive marker. *Marcador posesivo de tercera persona.*

ñ- (from: **ñ-**) [ɲ] *p.m.* Third person marker of inactive verbs that combines with nasal verbal roots. *Marcador de tercera persona de verbos inactivos que se combina con raíces verbales nasales.*

ña- (from: **ña-**) [ɲa] *p.m.* First person inclusive marker of active verbs that combines with nasal verbal roots. *Marcador de la primera persona inclusiva plural de verbos activos que se combina con raíces verbales nasales.*

ña'ë [ɲaʔén] *n.* Clay. *Arcilla; barro para tinajas; greda; laja.*

ña'ë hüwä [ɲaënhüwä] *n.* Black clay. *Arcilla negra que se usa para trabajar. Hay en el Chaco una veta de 10km que se encuentra yendo hacia el río Pilcomayo.*

ña'ë'ö [ɲáʔe] *n.* Plate. *Plato de barro para comer.; tazón; bol. ña'ë'ö-mí* small plate *platito*

ñai- (from: **ñai-**) [ɲáj] *p.m.* First person plural inclusive reflexive marker. *Marcador de la primera persona plural inclusiva reflexiva.*

ña'imba [ɲaím̩ba; ɲaʔúmba; ɲaúmba] *n.* Dog. *Perro. canis familiaris.*

ña'imba iki [ɲaúmbaík̩i] *n.* Dog louse. *Piojo de perro.*

ña'imbara'i [ɲambaráɪ] *n.* Pupy. *Cachorro.*

ña'inti [ɲānti; ɲaʔínti; ɲaʔíntiɣ; ɲánti; ɲaʔínta] *ac.v.* To swim. *Nadar. ña'inti i-(ko)-wa* él está nadando (el que está nadando).

ñakiräi [ɲakírãj] *n.* Harvest bug; cicada.

Chicharra.

ñakiräiwansu [ɲakírãiwãsu] *n.* Kind of cicada. *Coyuyo.*

ñampe [ɲámpe] *in.v.* Bandy-legged. *Persona chueca.*

ñañampe [ɲaɲámpe] *in.v.* Twisted(metal). *Torcido, se aplica por ejemplo a un metal.*

ñampi [ɲámpi] *ac.v.* To shave. *Afeitarse; cortarse el pelo. a-ñampi a-reko* me ando afeitando.

ñampinti [ɲampínti] *ac.v.* To tie. *Atar; atalo. ñampintí-ha-mi* nudo chiquito.

ñampimpinti *ac.v.* Hacer más de dos ataduras.

ñampintihawa [ɲāmpíntihāwā] *n.* Knot. *Nudo.*

ñampindawe *n.* Kind of tree. *Árbol grande y de tronco ancho, parecido a la tusca. Su fruta es ancha y de color negro. Su fruta se machuca y se utiliza para lavarse la cabeza.*

ñampiwä [ɲāmpiwä] *ac.v.* To dive. *Zambullirse.*

ñampurundi *n.* Kind of plant. *Tipo de planta.*

ñambi [ɲámbi] *n.* Mucus. *Moco.*

ñambiraiti [ɲambirájti] *n.* Mucus. *Mocos duros.*

ñambimi *n.* Kind of plant. *Yuyo de color verde; con flor de tamaño pequeño y de color azul; de sabor picante. Se lo usa en la ensalada, mezclado con limón, sal y tomate. También sirve como condimento para la sopa de pescado. Quita el hambre.*

ñambiwasu *n.* Kind of plant. *Tipo de yuyo*

de tamaño más grande que el "ñambimi"; sus hojas son de color morado; es comestible. Se hace secar y luego se utiliza como condimento para la comida.

- ñana** [ɲána] *n.* Woodland. Monte; yuyos.
- ñani** [ɲáni] *ac.v.* To run. Correr. **she a-ñani a-i** yo estoy corriendo
- ñañani** [ɲaɲáni] *ac.v.* Trot. Trecho, trecho me voy.
- ñanihaseape** [ɲanihasjapi] *n.* Where people always run. Donde siempre se corre.
- ñaniñe'ë** [ɲaniɲéʔe] *n.* Our language. Nuestra lengua (Tapiete).
- ñaniwampe** [ɲaniwámpe] *n.* Otter. Nutria. Lutra lutra.
- Ñanka Karanshi** [ɲaɲkaránʃi] *p.n.* Male name. Nombre de hombre.
- Ñanka Ñarö** [ɲaɲkaɲāro] *p.n.* Male name that means "bad head". Nombre de hombre que quiere decir "cabeza mala".
- ñanka wä'irä** [ɲaɲkawāīrā; ɲaɲkawāʔīra] *n.* Kind of plant. Palo de lluvia; tiene muchas espinas y una fruta grande de color rojo; es comestible. Castilla elástica.
- ñant inä** *n.* Kind of plant. Tipo de planta de tipo enredadera; posee una una fruta de color blanco, parecida al ajo; esta fruta se vuelve marrón cuando madura. Los granos de la fruta se sacan, se muelen y se mezclan con agua. Esta preparación se utiliza para lavarse el cabello ('igual que champú Sedal').
- ñanti** [ɲánti] *n.* Gray hair. Cana.
- ñanti** [ɲanti] *ac.v.* To sneeze. Estornudar.
- ñanti'ü** [ɲantiʔü; ɲantiü] *n.* Kind of mosquito. zancudo.
- ñande** [ɲánde] *p.p.* First person inclusive plural personal pronoun. Pronombre personal de primera persona inclusiva plural.
- ñande-** (from: **ñande-**) [ɲánde] *poss.* First person plural inclusive possessive marker. Marcador posesivo de primera persona plural inclusiva.

ñande- (from: **ñande-**) [ɲándi] *p.m.* First person plural inclusive marker of inactive verbs. Marcador de primera persona plural inclusiva de verbos inactivos.

ñandipa *n.* Kind of plant. Planta baja con flores amarillas, hojas verdes y sin fruta. Para dolor de cabeza. Las hojas hay que refregarlas y pasar por la cabeza. Se le pone arriba del techo y a la mañana se lo pone en la cabeza. Para el mareo y la presión.

ñandu [ɲándu] *n.* South American ostrich. Ñandú, suri. Rhea americana.

ñandu hakwere [ɲándu hakwére] *n.* Southern Cross. Constelación de estrellas llamada Cruz del sur.

ñanduti [ɲandúti; ɲandíti] *n.* Spider. Araña.

ñañunti *n.* Kind of dog. Tipo de perro con el cuello blanco.

ñarö [ɲārō] *in.v.* Bad. Malo. **äü-mpe o-i ñamämba-reta ñarö-wa** allá hay un montón de perros que son malos.

ñañarö [ɲāɲārō] *n.* Bark. Ladrido.

Ñawampinta *p.n.* Geographic name. Nombre de lugar que significa "león rojizo, castaño".

ñe'ehásea [ɲiehásja] *n.* Radio. Radio.

ñe'ë-hendumbawa (from: **ñe'ë-hendumbawa**) [ɲehendumbáwa] *n.* Lousy; stubborn. Desgraciado; testarudo.

ñe'ehiru [ɲēʔēhírū] *n.* Book. Libro.

ñemi [ɲémi] *ac.v.* To hide. Esconder; escondete. **opa ñemi arika'epi kïsemba hupi** todos se escondían por el cerco.

ñeñemi [ɲepémi] *ac.v.* To be doing hide. Andar escondiéndose.

ñemo [ɲémo] *n.* Partner. Socio; rival en el amor.

ñeno [ɲéno] *ac.v.* To lie down. Acostarse. **a-ha-po a-ñeno** me voy a acostar.

ñenti [ɲjénti] *n.* Kind of mosquito. Mosquito, upitero; mosco chiquito; no pica. Cúlex pungenis.

ñerä'ä [ɲeráʔa; ɲārāʔā] *in.v.* Calm. *Tranquilo.* **sh-ñerä'ä a-i** I'm calm. *estoy tranquila.*

ñeñerä'ä [ɲeɲerāʔā] *in.v.* Quite person. *Persona tranquila; seria.*

ñiinsi *n.* Kind of frog. *Sapo de color verde y marrón; cuando hay sequía, con su canto, anuncia que va a llover.*

ñikimewa [ɲikimēwā] *n.* Werewolf. *Lobizón; persona que se transforma; echarse a perder (la radio).*

ñimambátia [ɲimambátia] *n.* Name of a constellation. *Nombre de la constelación llamada "siete corderos".*

ñimimbi [ɲimím̩bi] *ac.v.* To play flute. *Tocar/tocá la flauta.*

ñimbipara [ɲimbipara; ɲimbiparaiβa] *n.* Tattoo. *Tatuaje.*

ñindi'a [ɲindíʔa] *n.* First menstruation. *Primera menstruación.* **mba'et̩ ha'e-rä ñindi'a-rä-me.** *no, cuando recién menstrúa.*

ñirä'ä [ɲirāʔā] *in.v.* Neigh; snort. *Relincho; canto de pájaros, maullidos, (cabras).*

ñisisiröä [ɲisisiröä] *n.* Three Marys. *Constelación de estrellas llamadas Tres marías.*

ñiwärirö [ɲiwaníno; ɲiwarinō] *n.* Kind of plant. *Molle, uva de monte. Árbol con espinas grandes, tiene una fruta parecida a la uva de sabor dulce.*

ñiwäsü'i [ɲiwasūʔi] *n.* Kind of plant. *Tala; tipo de árbol grande y espinoso; tiene un fruto chiquito y amarillo; su semilla es blandita. Su hoja se usa como remedio para el dolor de estómago y la diarrea. Celtis tala.*

ñiwī [ɲiwī] *n.* Hole. *Agujero; adentro.*

-ño Suffix that expresses meaning of exclusivity or restriction. *Sufijo que expresa exclusivada o restricción.* **wap̩ i-wi-pe-ño** *sentate en el suelo nomás ime-ñonte-po i-kwi* *será que va (él) a seguir viviendo?*

ñohe [ɲohē] *ac.v.* To pour. *Verter.*

ñohe [ɲohē] *n.* Trap. *Trampa.*

ñomi [ɲómi] *ac.v.* To steal; to hide. *Robar; ocultar.* **ayo-pe-nda ñomi weru ar̩ka'epi i-me-rä** *en la yika traían robándose antes a su futuro marido.*

ñoñomi [ɲoɲómi] *ac.v.* To pretend to steal. *Robar jugando.*

mañomi-iwa [maɲomiʔiwa] *n.* Thief. *Ladrón.*

ñompe [ɲómpe; ɲómpē] *ac.v.* To braid; to weave. *Trenza; trenzalo; tejelo.* **sh-anka-ha a-ñompe** *braid. trenza*

ñoñompe [ɲoɲómpe] *ac.v.* Make some braids. *Hacer varias trenzas.*

mañompe [maɲómpe] *ac.v.* Weave. *Tejer.*

ñompehäwä [ɲopēhāwa] *n.* Piece of knitting. *Tejido terminado.*

ñoñkwe [ɲónkwa] *ac.v.* To pass. *Pasar.*

ñoño [ɲóno] *ac.v.* To put. *Poner; servir.* **kö'ei a-pü'ä-rä a-ñoño kawi sanya'i-re** *cuando me levanto temprano les preparo a los chicos.*

ñoñti [ɲõnti; ɲõnt̩] *ac.v.* To plant; to bury. *Plantar; enterrar.* **kä'ä-me hahai-werä sh-k̩w̩ ñõñti opa opa w̩r̩nk̩mé oka** *la lluvia que cayó ayer ha destruido la plantación de mi hermano.*

ñoñõñti [ɲoɲõnt̩] *ac.v.* Plant some plants. *Plantar varias plantitas.*

ñoña [ɲóna] *ac.v.* To keep; to load. *Guardalo; cargar.*

ñoñoña [ɲoɲóna] *ac.v.* Keep some things. *Guardar varias cositas.*

ñu [ɲu] *n.* Country. *Campo; planicie; llanura.*

ñu'ürē [ɲuʔüne; ɲuʔünē] *in.v.* To burp. *Eructar.*

ñu'ü'ünē [ɲuʔuʔüre] *in.v.* Burp a few times. *Eructar varias veces.*

o [o] *conj.* Or. *O. ha'e káwi-ra o kawi-ä-rä yapo-wërä* *estará bien o estará mal lo que va a hacer* *From: Spanish.*

o- (*from: o-*) [o] *p.m.* Third person marker of active verbs. *Marcador de tercera persona de verbos activos.*

ohë [õhë] *n.* East. *Este.*

oho [óho] *n.* North. *Norte.*

ohpital *n.* Hospital. *Hospital.*

oka [óka] *n.* Courtyard; terrain. *Patio; terreno.*

ókewa *n.* Fire. *Incendio.*

okwa [ókwa] *n.* Thunder. *Trueno; rayo.*
okwa ou. *cae un rayo.*

ompe [ómpe] *in.v.* Broken. *Quebrado en varias partes.*

ompi [ompi] *ac.v.* To bite. *Picar; picao.*

onche [õntʃe] *n.* Door. *Puerta.*

opa [ópa] *adv.*

— *pron.* All; everything; everybody. *Todo; todos.* **ya-karu-ä opa-po ña-mano** *si no comemos nos vamos a morir.*

opa [ópa] *ac.v.* To finish. *Terminar; no hay.* **ma mb-oyï-a-rä opa nohe-ha-rä** *cuando horneábamos todo sacábamos.*

opa ñandepo [opañandépo] *num.* Ten. *Diez.*

opa **ñandepo** **monkoi**
[opañandépomóŋkoj] *num.*
Twelve. Doce.

opa **ñandepo** **mbahapï**
[opañandépombahápï] *num.*
Thirteen. Trece.

opa **ñandepo** **penté**
[opañandépopénte] *num.* Eleven.
Once.

opu [ópu] *ac.v.* To pinch. *Pinchar;*

revienta.

ópuwa [ópuwa] *n.* *Cuando revienta una cosa grande; lo que reventó.*

ora [óra] *n.* Time. *Hora.* *From: Spanish.*

ore [óre] *p.p.* First person plural exclusive personal pronoun. *Pronombre personal de 1era persona plural exclusiva.*

orno *n.* Oven. *Horno.* *From: Spanish.*

oupóhiwa [owpóhíwa] *n.* Visitor. *Visitas (que dan una serenata).*

owa [óβa] *num.* Six. *Seis.*

owa [ówa] *in.v.* To look like. *Parecerse; parecido.* **Juan owa-pi Luis** *Juan es parecido a Luis.*

ówawa [ówawa] *in.v.* Identical. *Idéntico.*

owa opa ñandepo [óβaópañandépo] *num.* Sixty. *Sesenta.*

owai [oβe; owa:j] *n.* Kind of plant. *Tipo de enredadera. Planta fuerte. Se usa para el mal de ojo.*

owatëwä [owatëwä] *Alike. Parecido(pero no tanto); lo que había comprado.*

owe [oβe] *in.v.* To put out. *Apaga gradualmente; no se aplica a la electricidad.* **tata owe** *se apagó el fuego.*

mbowe [mbóβe] *ac.v.* To put out. *Apagar.* **tata a-mb-owe** *apagué el fuego.*

mombowe [mombówe] *ac.v.* *Apagar un fuego que tiene varios tizones.*

oya *n.* Pot. *Olla.* *From: Spanish.*

oyaía [ozaíã] *in.v.* High person. *Persona de alta estatura.*

oyaimba [ozájmba] *in.v.* Big person. *Persona grande.* **o-yai-mba-wa-kwe kïra** *He is big and fat. Es grande y gordo.*

oyaimbawekwe [ozájmbawékwe] *n.* Giant. *Gigante; hombre grandote.*

óyawa [óʒa] *n.* Sticky food. *Comida que cuando se quema, se pega 'cuando se queda el vehículo dentro del barro'.* From: Spanish.

oyi [óʒɪ] *in.v.* Cooked. *Cocido.* **nohe-ha hou-ha-rä oyï kawi hou-ha arika'e-pe** cuando le sacábamos para comerlo bien cocinado comíamos antes.

mboyi [mbóʒɪ] *ac.v.* To roast. *Hacer cocer carne, también para la papa ya cocida.*

momboyi [mombóʒɪ] *ac.v.* To simmer. *Hacer cocer de a poco; poner un trapo tibio sobre una herida para curarla.*

P - p

pähä [pähã] *n.* Bread. *Pan.* From: Spanish.

pahu [páhu; pájhu] *n.* Dream. *Sueño.*

pai kuña *n.* Nun. *Monja.*

paiko [pájko] *n.* Kind of plant. *Paico;* *Yuyo que sale por la zona en tiempo de lluvia.* *Chenopodium.* From: Quechua.

painsha [pájɲʃa] *n.* Alligator. *Cocodrilo;* *yacaré.* *Caiman.*

pakara [pakára] *n.* Kind of tree. *Pacará.* *Enterolobium contortisilicum.*

paku [páku] *n.* Kind of fish. *Pacú.* *'Pez caracoideo que alcanza considerable tamaño y peso, y se lo aprecia por su carne. Su cuerpo, comprimido y alto, es de color pardo con tonalidades plomizas, más oscuro en el dorso. Habita la cuenca del Río de la Plata.'* *Colossoma.*

palta [pálta] *n.* Avocat. *Palta.* *Persea gratissima.* From: Spanish.

pantunú [pantūnú] *n.* Boss. *Patrón.* From: Spanish.

pandepo [pandépo] *num.* Five. *Cinco.*

pandepo opa ñandepo
[pandepoʔópapandépo] *num.*
Fifty. *Cincuenta.*

pandipi *n.* Plant. *Planta.*

pañerö *n.* Kind of dog. *Tipo de perro overo, de color marrón clarito con blanco.*

pä'ö [pãʔö] *dem.* That one. *Aquel.*

papa [papa] *ac.v.* To count. *Contar.* **ndi-**

papa-ra-e shure? did you count the potatoes?. *¿contaste las papas?.*

mbapapa [mbapapa] *ac.v.* To count. *Contar números.* **mbapapa o-i-wa** he is counting. *él está contando.*

papá [papá] *n.* Father. *Padre.* From: Spanish.

papere [papére] *n.* Paper. *Papel.* From: Spanish.

papere iyétawa [papéreizétawa] *n.* Letter; telegram. *Carta; telegrama.* From: Spanish.

papere **mambe'uwa**
[paperemambéuwa] *n.* Letter; telegram. *Carta; telegrama; papel que comunica cómo está pasando allá.* From: Spanish.

para [pára] *n.* Shovel. *Pala.* From: Spanish.

para [para] *n.* Color. *Color.* **she a-mba-para-pï lapi** yo escribo con un lápiz.

mbapara [mbapára] *ac.v.* Write. *Escribir.*

mbipara [mbipára] *ac.v.* Draw; write. *Dibujar; escribir.*

mbiparahawa [mbiparahawa] *n.* Drawn. *Dibujo; cosa dibujada.*

párawa [párawa] *n.* Print (dress). *Diseño estampado.*

papárawa [papárawa] *n.* Overo.

páramba [parambá] *n.* Plain color. *Color liso.*

Paraguay [paragwáj] *p.n.* Paraguay. *Paraguay. From: Spanish.*

Päräsäi *p.n.* Female name. *Nombre de mujer.*

paré [paré] *adv.* Tomorrow. *Mañana. paré kö'ëi pü'ä shu-wërä para cuando nos levantemos temprano.*

parenüwämpe [parenüwē] *n.* After tomorrow. *Pasado mañana.*

pariya [paríza] *n.* Grill. *Parrilla. From: Spanish.*

paroro [paroro] *in.v.* To explode. *Reventar.*

pastor [pastor] *n.* Minister. *Pastor. From: Spanish.*

patara [patara; patara] *ac.v.* To kick. *Patear. perota a-patara-pohese ya lo voy a patear la pelota. From: Spanish.*

patina [patina] *n.* Pricklypear. *Tuna del monte; tipo de cactus de alrededor de unos 50cm de alto; posee frutas de color rojo de aproximadamente 3 cm de diámetro.*

patu [pátu] *n.* Duck. *Pato. 'Ave palmípeda que existe salvaje y domesticada en el Sur de Europa; tiene el pico más ancho por la punta que en la base, dos manchas con reflejos metálicos en las alas y el cuello y los tarsos cortos. En lenguaje vulgar, se llama así a cualquier palmípeda semejante al pato.' _ From: Spanish.*

pawa [paβa] *n.* Kettle. *Pava. From: Spanish.*

päwëi [pāwī; p'āwēj] Together. *Juntos. Ya-karu päwëi. Comamos entre todos.*

pawete [paβete] *in.v.* Poor; to suffer. *Pobre; lastimoso; muy humilde; de humildad; sufrir. pawéte-wa the one who is poor. el que es pobre.*

payaso *n.* Clown. *Payaso. payaso-rä ai-yapo me disfrazo de payaso From: Spanish.*

páyewa [páziwa; páyēa; páyiwa] *n.* Quack. *Curandero; brujo.*

pe [pe] *n.* Track; path; place. *Camino de*

tierra; lugar. ou-mba mbeu arkai pörä-mba pe vino a decir antes que estaban en un lugar que no servía

— *ac.v.* 2) To deflower. *Desvirgar a una mujer. she a-mbï-hape yo la he desvirgado*

pe [pe] *p.p.* Second person plural personal pronoun. *Pronombre personal de 2da persona plural.*

pe- (*from: pe-*) [pe; pɛ] *p.m.* Second person plural marker of active and inactive verbs. *Marcador de segunda persona plural de verbos activos e inactivos. pï-karu you (pl.) eat ustedes comen*

pe- (*from: pe-*) [pe] *poss.* Second person plural possessive marker. *Marcador posesivo de segunda persona plural.*

-pe [pe; pi] *LOC.* Locative suffix 'in'. *Sufijo locativo 'en'.*

pe arika'ewe [pe arkajwe] *n.* Milky way. *Vía láctea.*

pe'a [peʔa] *ac.v.* To open. *Abrir; abierto. a-pe'a a-reko le estoy abriendo .*

pepe'a [pepeʔa] *ac.v.* Scratch. *Escarbar; desparramar cosas grandes para encontrar algo chico. ña'imba pepe'a o-i (h)ïti the dog is scratching the garbish. el perro está escarbando la basura.*

Pedro [pédro] *p.n.* Pedro. *Pedro. From: Spanish.*

peimba Finally. *Al fin.*

peínshiwa [peínʃiwa] *n.* Asphalt; route. *Asfalto; ruta.*

pempi [pémpi] *ac.v.* To scrape. *Raspar; afeitar; rallar. weru-rä pempi-ha shu estoy raspando (el chanchito) para él (porque alguien te ha pedido).*

penku [pénku] *n.* Kind of bird. *Pájaro más chico que el pájaro carpintero; se pega como el pájaro carpintero.*

peno *in.v.* To inflame; To become inflamed. *Inflamar(se). ndï-rayï peno tu vena se inflama arï-mï-peno-po-kwi iwïra hembo arï-numpa-pï-rä te voy a dejar inflamado cuando te vuelva a pegar con la varilla*

pente [pénte] *num.* One. *Uno.*

pepente [pepénte] One by one. *Uno por uno.*

penteäpëi [pente apej] *ac.v.* To unite. *Unir; estar en un solo lugar todos juntos.*

penteäpëi ña-i *nosotros estamos en un solo lugar.*

pentí [pénti] *n.* Tobacco; smoke. *Tabaco; fumar. Nicotiana tabácum.*

peña *ac.v.* To fight. *Pelear. shī-peña-po* alguien me buscó pelea.

pepi [pépi] *ac.v.* 2) *Palanquear.*

— *refl.v.* 2) *Torcerse el cuerpo. yĭ-pepĭ* torcerse el cuerpo.

perato [peráto] *n.* Plate. *Plato. From: Spanish.*

pere [pére] *n.* 1) Wound. *Lastimadura.* 2) Inflammation. *Inflamación que sale de adentro del estómago. Cuando vivían en el monte, se cortaban con gillette para que saliera lo que tenían.* 3) Nombre de una parte larga del cuerpo de la vaca.

pepere [pepére] *n.* Some wounds. *Varias lastimaduras.*

pere'ape [peréʔape] *n.* Scar. *Cicatriz.*

perekwe [perékwe] *n.* Gall-bladder. *Vesícula.*

pereso [perésó] *n.* Prisoner. *Preso. mbĭ-pereso-ha-wa.* he is in jail. *él está preso. shĭ-mbĭ-pereso-ha* I'm in jail. *me han llevado preso. From: Spanish.*

perewekwepe [pereʒekwépe] *n.* Scar. *Cicatriz.*

pero [péro] *But. Pero. From: Spanish.*

perota [peróta] *n.* Ballon. *Pelota. From: Spanish.*

yiperotahasewape [dziperotahasjape; dziperotahasjape] *n.* Play ground. *Cancha. From: Spanish.*

pete [péte] *ac.v.* To stick. *Pegar.*

pepete [pepete] *ac.v.* To stick several things. *Pegar varias cosas.*

pe'u [péu; péʔu] *n.* Pus. *Pus.*

pë'ü [mpeu; mpëü; pew] *n.* Female's brother in law; son-in-law. *Cuñado de la mujer; yerno. te-mpë'ü*

peyu [pézu] *ac.v.* 1) To blow. *Soplar. a-peyu hese* lo he soplado.

— *ac.v.* 2) To insult. *Putear. ai-peyu-we he(se)* lo he insultado.

pepeyu [pepézu] *ac.v.* To blow several times. *Soplar varias veces.*

-pi [épi] *ASP.* Habitual aspect. *Aspecto que indica que una acción es habitual. a-wata-pi* siempre camino

piki [píkĭ] *n.* Kind of fish. *Mojarra. Diplodus vulgaris. From: Spanish.*

píkimi [píkimi] *n.* Kind of fish. *Mojarrita. 'Nombre genérico de varias especies pequeñas de peces caracoideos e, incluso, de crías pertenecientes a especies mayores del mismo grupo. Abundan en aguas dulces de América del Sur.'*

Pikirenda *n.* Geographic name. *Topónimo que significa "lugar de mojarrones".*

pileta [piléta] *n.* Swimming pool. *Pileta. From: Spanish.*

pimpín [pimpín] *n.* Kind of dance. *Tipo de baile.*

pinte [pínte] *n.* Kind of frog. *Tipo de sapo de color verde; de tamaño más chico que el sapo llamado "yu'i".*

pinda [pínda; píndae; pindaj] *n.* Fish hook. *Anzuelo.*

pindi [píndi] *ac.v.* To clean oneself. *Limpiarse; se limpia; limpiate.*

pipirewasi [pipirewási] *in.v.* Rough. *Áspero.*

pira [píra] *n.* Fish. *Pez. Piscis.*

piráitemi [piráitemi] *n.* Kind of fish. *Sábalo. Clúpea alosa.*

pirapuku [pirapúku] *n.* Long fish. *Pez largo; pez espada. 'Pez teleósteo acantopterigio marino que llega a tener cuatro metros de longitud, de piel áspera sin escamas, negruzca por el lomo y blanca por el vientre; tiene la cabeza apuntada con la mandíbula superior*

prolongada en forma de espada de dos cortes, de hasta un metro de larga; se alimenta de plantas marinas y su carne es muy estimada.'. Pristis antiquarium.

pirayu [pirázu] *n.* Kind of fish. Dorado. Salminus maxillosus.

pīrēä [píne; pīrēä; pīrā] *n.* Piranha. Piraña. — *From: Spanish.*

pīrēnkwe [pīrēŋkwe] *n.* Sleep. Lagaña.

pírewa [píreβa] *n.* Kind of animal. Pichi, animal de aproximadamente 50 cm de largo; parecido al tatú y al "t'wapa" (quirquincho); más grande que el "kasusimí" (mulita).

piriri [piríri] *n.* Spark. Chispas.

piririwe *n.* Kind of bird. Churro; pájaro de color marrón clarito; es bullicioso, vive de los huesos de otros pajaritos; da vuelta alrededor de los nidos; sale para la primavera.

piro [píro] *ac.v.* 1) To peel off. Pelar; pelado. **hama we-rú-ha-rä piro-ha** cuando lo traían, lo pelaban.

— *refl.v.* 2) To peel (off). Acción de descascararse.

— *inac. v.* 3) Cloudless. Despejado.

— *n.* 4) Dandruff. Caspa. **ñan-anka k'ä i(ko) ñan-anka yipiro-rä** (cuando) está sucia la cabeza y la cabeza tiene caspa.

pipiro [pipíro] *ac.v.* To peel badly. Pelar mal.

piru [píru; pirúe] *in.v.* Skinny. Flaco.

pishe [píʃe] *in.v.* Smell; foul-smelling. Olor; hediondo. **pishe ou**

píshewa [píʃewa] *n.* Smell. Olor; oloroso.

pishéite [piʃéjte] *n.* Nasty smell. Olor feo, también para los perfumes fuertes.

pishi *n.* Flea. Pulga.

piti *ac.v.* To reach. Alcanzar. **yá-ha-po ya-pití** lo vamos a ir a alcanzar

pitu [pítu] *n.* Whistle. Pito. *From: Spanish.*

piyawa [pizawa; zipizəβa; pizəβa] *in.v.* To hurry to do things; speedy. Apurarse para hacer las cosas; rápido[limpiar, escribir, lavar]; muy rápido. **she shi-piyawa** yo hago rápido.

piyere [piére; pizére] *ac.v.* To pour; to spill; to empty; to irrigate. Verter; derramar; vaciar; vacío; regar. **ha'e-pe piyere** lo vació aquí.

piyeyere [pizezére] *ac.v.* Spill here and there. Derramar por aquí, por allá.

pi [pi] *ac.v.* To touch. Tocar. **a-pis-rä hama shi-mba'erasi-kwi** si lo toco/agarro después me enfermo.

pi [pi] *adv.* Inside. Dentro. **o-po pi i** to jump into the water. saltar al agua.

-pi [pi] *INST. INST. INST.* **yasíya-pi käse waka-ro'o.** cut the meat with the knife. Cortá la carne con el cuchillo. **yasíya käse-pi waka-ro'o.** cut the meat with the knife. Cortá la carne con el cuchillo **yupe nöhé** sacalo con la aguja

pi'ahu [piʔáhu] *in.v.* New. Nuevo. **opa ara pi'ahu kwé i monde** todos los días cosas nuevas se pone.

pi'a-kawi (*from: pi'a-kawi*) [piakáβi] *in.v.* Good person. Buena persona.

pi'akwe [piʔákwe] *n.* Liver. Hígado.

pi'ape-iyeta (*from: pi'ape-iyeta*) [piájpiizéta; piápeizeta] *ac.v.* To meditate. Pensar para adentro; piensa (en sí mismo).

pi'a-ruru (*from: pi'a-ruru*) [piʔarúru] *n.* 1) Vesicle. Vesícula. 2) Inflammation. Inflamación, cosa dura en la boca del estómago; infamación en el hígado.

pihano [piháno] *ac.v.* Tu cure. Hacerse curar; curar; curalo. **ayeme i pihanu-ha** aunque lo han curado.

pihano [pihaháno] *ac.v.* To cure little by little. Curar poco a poco.

pīripihano i-a [pīripihanoíá] *n.* Doctor; medicine man. Médico; curandero.

pihare [piháre] *adv.* Last night; at night. Anoche; de noche (1, 2 de la madrugada). **pihare shi-ngäye-ye** anoche

me han hecho asustar.

pihu *n.* Shame. *Vergüenza.* **shī-pihu** tiene vergüenza de mí.

pikasu [pikásu] *n.* Pigeon. Paloma.

pikasu pinta [pikásu pinta] *n.* Kind of pigeon. Tipo de paloma de color rojo.

pikasu'i [pikasúfi] *n.* Kind of pigeon. Sacha; tipo de paloma de tamaño mediano.

pikwá [pikwá] *ac.v.* To get used. Acostumbrarse; se acostumbra. **karai-reta-rä hama opa yī-pikwá ha'e** por eso se han acostumbrado ellos.

pino [pino; pinu] *n.* Stinging needle. Ortiga. *Urtica dioica.*

pinsa [pínsa] *n.* Toes. Dedos de los piés; uñas de los dedos de los piés. **tī-pinsa wansu** big toe *dedo gordo del pié* **tī-pinsa minshi-we** small toe *dedo meñique del pié*

pänsë'ä [päsëwe; pänsëwe] *ac.v.* To rip. Pedasear.

pänsëwë [päsëwe; pänsëwe] *n.* Half; Piece(of clothe). *Mitad sólo para cosas para comer, no para los niños;; pedazo(de tela).*

pinta [pínta] *adj.* Red. Rojo.

pintu [píntu] *n.* Night. Noche. **päntu-rä.** at night. *de noche.*

pipintu [pipintu] *n.* Twilight. Nohecita; tardecita.

piña [píña] *ac.v.* To poke the fire. Atizar el fuego; atizalo.

Pipasa Houwa [pipasahówa] *p.n.* Male's name. Nombre de hombre que significa 'come calzado'.

pipe'i *adv.* Finally. Finalmente; después de todo. **pipe'i a-káru ye mbe'u-ite-re she-rä** después de todo he comido igual al final.

pirahe [pirahe] *ac.v.* To sing. Cantar; cantar. **a-pirahe-po-wei** I am also going to sing; yo también voy a cantar; **pörä pirahe** (he/she) sings beautiful. *canta lindo.*

piraka [piraka] *ac.v.* To fish. Pescar.

piranta [pinanta] *in.v.* Strength. Fuerza. **koa ... shī-piranta a-yapo-wé koa sanya'i o-a-wërä** Este..., yo hago fuerza, este, para que nazca el chico.

pirántä'ä [pīnantāʔā; pīrārāntāʔā] *adj.* Weak. Débil.

pirandu [pīnāndu; pīrāndu] *ac.v.* To ask. Preguntar. **hama pirandu-ha shu-rä-ma** cuando le preguntaban a él.

pirerī [pīnēnī; pīrērī] *in.v.* Thin. Fino; delgado.

piri- (from: **pīrī-**) *p.m.* Second person plural object marker. Marcador de segunda persona plural objeto. **a-pīrī-raha-po nī-mboe-ha-se-a-pe** I am going to take you (PL) to school

piri- (from: **pīrī-**) [pīrī] *IHO.* Incorporated human object. Objeto humano incorporado.

pörö [pīnō] *ac.v.* To walk on. Pisar.

pöpö [pīmpīno] *ac.v.* Trend down. Pisotear.

pisa [písa] *n.* Net. Red de pescar (red tijera).

pisi [písi] *ac.v.* To catch. Tocar; atrapar; agarrar. **a-pisī-rä hama shī-mba'erasi-kwi** si lo toco/agarro después me enfermo.

pipisi [pipísi] *ac.v.* Catch some people. Agarrar a varios.

pisiháseape [pisiháseape] *n.* Door-handle. Picaporte.

pisirīi [pisiri; pisiríi] *in.v.* To slide. Resbalsarse sobre una cáscara de banana o de barro. **pisirīi** he/she slided. se ha resbalado.

piso [píso] *n.* Floor. Piso. **piso-re wë'ë-rë pürü'á she-rä** será que está embarazada? From: Spanish.

pita [píta] *ac.v.* To stay. Quedarse; se queda. **yīwache i-mbá pita arika'e-rä** lo mismo se había quedado antes.

píte [píte] *ac.v.* 1) To suck. Chupar. **ya-tíkwa ya-píte** le hechamos (agua), lo chupamos. 2) To kiss. Besar. **píte shi**

besate (shi = la mano).

pípíte [pípíte] *ac.v.* Besar para saludar.

pítehasewa [píteahaβa; píteáhβa; pítehaséa] *n.* Tube for drinking mate. Bombilla; chupete.

pí'upí [píʔúpi] *ac.v.* To stir. Revolver.

píwara [píwára] *ac.v.* To beat. Batir; mezclar; barrer; perforar; revolver. **ore píwara-ha o-í-ha** nosotros estamos batiendo;

píwawara [píwawára] *ac.v.* To beat for a while. Batir durante un rato.

píwarahapia *n.* Sticks to lit a fire. Palito para hacer el fuego.

píwë'ë [píwëʔë; píwëʔë] *ac.v.* To point with a finger. Apuntar con el dedo; indicar; señalar.

píwera [píwéra; píwéra] *n.* Open country. Campo.

píwewera [píwewéra] *n.* Campo "monteado".

mbípíwera [mbípíwéra] *ac.v.* To dismantle. Desmontar, limpiar.

píwera'owa [píweraówe; píweraʔówa] *n.* Pampa. Pampa.

píwíwí [píwíwí] *ac.v.* To grope; to poke. Tantear; hurgar (en la obscuridad).

planta *n.* Plant. Planta.

po [po] *ac.v.* To jump. Saltar. **e-po**,

-po [po] *FUT.* Future. Futuro.

pö [pö] *conj.* Because. Porque. **mba'e a-yapo-ä pö ä-í sha-teinte ä-í.** No voy a hacer nada porque tengo flojera From: Spanish.

pohí [póhi] *in.v.* Heavy. Pesado. **póhí-(w)a** heavy. pesado, que es pesado.

póhímba [póhímba; póhíʔã] *in.v.* Fickle. Liviano.

pohí [póhi] *ac.v.* To visit. Visitar. **a-ha a-pohí** voy a pasear, visitar.

poi [pój] *ac.v.* To wash one's hands. Lavarse las manos.

popoi *ac.v.* To wash one's hands quickly. Lavarse a las apuradas las manos.

poi [pój] *ac.v.* To leave; to undo. Soltar; dejalo (cosa, person); deshacer. **a-poi aríka'e mbatí ore** yo he dejado de ir a la escuela.

pö'ihewa [poʔínhéwa] *n.* Kind of frog. Rana; anuncia la lluvia.

poka [póka] *ac.v.* To drive. Manejar vehículo. **kamiön poka-hä-ä** camión no se maneja, no lo manejamos.

poko [póko] *ac.v.* To touch. Tocar; manosear. **kíma o-í-rä-nda popokó-yä-rä** entonces después cuando volvió a manosear.

popoko [popóko] *ac.v.* 1) Grope. Tantear. **popokó-yä-rä ma'e-nda he(se) patu-kwe** tanteó y se dio cuenta de que era un pato.

— *ac.v.* 2) Touch repeatedly. Toqueteo previo al sexo.

— *ac.v.* 3) To stagger. Trastabillar.

poko *ac.v.* To begin. Empezar. **poko iyeta** empezó a hablar.

pomo [pómo] *adj.* Thick. Espeso. **pota pomo-wänsí o-í pí ñani-timbiu-rä** para que esté cremoso/espeso nuestra comida.

popomo [popómo] *in.v.* Sticky. Pegajoso.

pompíhawa [pompiáhwa] *n.* Braid. Trenza.

poñí [póni; póne] *ac.v.* To crawl. Gatear. **she a-poñí** yo gateo.

popoñí [popóni] *ac.v.* Crawling. Gateando.

po'o [póʔo] *ac.v.* To pull up; to extract. Arrancar; desplumar. **a-ha-po a-po'o uru kuña** voy a desplumar una gallina.

po'óhawa [pöʔóhaβa] *n.* Bush. Mata; cosa arrancada (p.e. yuyo, pelo, piel).

popí [popí] *ac.v.* To whistle with the hands. Silbar con las manos.

pörä [pörä] *in.v.* Cute. Lindo; sirve. **pörä pírahe** (he/she) sings beautiful. canta lindo.

pörä'ä [pörãʔã; pörãʔa] *in.v.* Ugly. *Feo; no es lindo.*

poresia [poresía] *n.* Police. *Policía.*
From: Spanish.

porhásewa [porihásja; porísia; pouhásiwa] *n.* Utensil. *Utensilios.*

pörö [pörō] *n.* Mate. *Mate.* *From: Spanish.*

poru [póru] *ac.v.* To use. *Ocupar.* **orno yai-poru** *ocupamos horno.*

Posito [posító] *g.n.* Geographic name. *Posito.* *From: Spanish.*

poso *n.* Holle. *Pozo.* *From: Spanish.*

postre *n.* Desert. *Postre.* *From: Spanish.*

poshi [póʃi] *in.v.* To get angry; bad. *Enojarse; malo.* **hame mba i-shi-re hésha-rä poshi arika'e** *y cuando le veía su mamá se enojaba antes (se enojaba con la hija).*

poposhi [popóʃi] *in.v.* Get angry; bad. *Enojarse mucho; muy malo.*

pota [póta] *ac.v.* To want; to like; to love. *Querer; gustar; amar.* **pota-ä karu-e-pi** *no quería comer (porque parece que estaba enfermo).*

yipota [dzipota; dzipota] *refl.v.* Lit ember. *Brasas encendidas; algo que arde pero sin llamas; está prendido; está ardiendo.*

potaira *interj.* Thank goodness. *Menos mal.* **potaira a-ime a-iko** *menos mal que estoy viva! (llega a pasar algún accidente y no murió)*

poti [póti] *ac.v.* To shit. *Hacer caca.*

popotí *n.* Diarrhea. *Diarrea.*

potihaseape [potísiape] *n.* Toilette. *Baño.*

pöwä [pōwa] *ac.v.* To braid. *Trenzar; torcer el hilo.* **pöwä-ha-wa** *hilo ya torcido.*

pöwäwä [pōwāwā] *n.* Braid. *Trenza; hilo torcido.*

mampöwä [mampōwā] *ac.v.* Tinge. *Teñir; persona que tuerce el hilo.*

preparao *in.v.* Trained. *Preparado.*

preparao-wa-ré *los que son preparados.*
From: Spanish.

pü [pū] *DEM.* That. *Aquel.*

pü'ä [pūʔã] *ac.v.* To get up; to raise; lift. *Levantarse; levantate.* **nu-mpu'ä** *vos te levantás; ñi-mpu'ä* something that is raising. *algo que se está levantando.*

puka [púka] *ac.v.* To laugh. *Reír; risa; sonrisa.* **puka o-i** *se está riendo.*

puku [púku] *in.v.* Long; high; adult. *Largo; alto; adulto.* **puku-wa** the long one. *el que es largo.*

pupuku [pupúku] *in.v.* Grow up. *Creciendo.*

pukumba [pukúmba] *in.v.* Short; Dwarf. *Petiso; enano.* **puku-mba-mi.** short, dwarf *petisito, bajito, enanito.*

pukui [pukúj] *n.* Kind of pigeon. *Urpilita; paloma chiquita.*

Pukui Yi'íwa [pukwj ʒiʔiwa] *topo.* Nombre de lugar. *Lugar que se encuentra en Paraguay, que se llama Nueva Asunción. Asentamientos más antiguos. Deambulaban y en la época de siembra volvían.*

punga [púŋga] *in.v.* Upset. *Empacho; pudrirse; abombado.*

pungapewa *n.* Kind of plant. *Tipo de planta que se utiliza para el empacho.*

pupu [púpu] *in.v.* To boil; water bubbles. *Hervir; burbujas de agua cuando hierve.* **ndakarai pupu-sewe-ma andai hokä** *el poroto hierve con la hoja del anco.*

pupupu'ö *n.* Bubbles. *Burbujas.*

puru'a [pūrũʔã; purúʔa] *n.* Pregnancy. *Embarazo.*

puru'ahawa [puruáhwa] *n.* Pregnant. *Embarazada.*

putu'u [putúʔu; putú] *ac.v.* To rest. *Descansar; descansar.* **pī-yasaka, putu'u o-i siyora** *cállense que está descansando la señora.*

pwere [dzupwere] *ac.v.* To can. *Poder.* **tīpoere-ha-ä he(se) kä'ä** *nadie podía con él ayer (alguien intentaba curarlo pero nadie podía).* *From: Spanish.*

R - r

- ra** [ra] *Q.* Question marker. *Morfema de interrogación.* **mba'e-ra ndi-yapo.** What do you do?. *Qué hacés?*
- rä** [rã] *n.* Soul. *Espíritu; alma.*
- rä** [rã; nã] *SUB.* Subordinating morpheme. *Morfema subordinante.* **pĩntu-na.** during the night. *de noche*
- rä** *TNS.* Nominal future. *Futuro nominal.* **harä harä ha'e ñono-ha-të arĩka'e irĩ-kasike-rä** este...este... (a) él lo hemos elegido nuestro cacique
- raha** [ráha; ra] *ac.v.* To carry. *Llevar.* **raha ñontĩ** (el) lo va a enterrar.
- raimi** [rájmi] *COMP.* Alike. *Parecido.* **hama kwa-ha-ä kää reko-wërä-raimi.** y luego no sabíamos/sabe lo que ibamos a hacer. **kwa-ha-ä ikó-raimi.** no sabíamos lo que tenía. **ha'e-raimi-wa** parecido, similar **puka-wërä-raimĩ** le está dando el modelo como tiene que reirse **yapo-wërä-raimĩ** le está dando el modelo como tiene que hacer
- ra'i** [rái] *n.*
 — *n.* 1) Teenager; *DIM.* Adolescent; *joven;* *DIM.* **siyora-raĩ.** young white woman. *criolla joven.*
 — *dim.*
 — *dim.* 2) Diminutive morpheme. *Morfema diminutivo.*
- ranga** False. *falso, imitación.* **membĩ-ranga** hijastro/a de la mujer **shĩ-ra'ĩ-ranga** hijastro (del varón)
- rangeko** [nangeko; niangeko] *in.v.* Uncomfortable. *Incómodo.*
- rani** Verbal suffix that expresses that an action precedes another action. *Sufijo verbal que expresa la anterioridad de una acción con respecto a otra.* **hama she o-ĩpi-po** **a-yakatu-nani ai-yĩ-kwi** entonces yo adentro de la casa tengo que volver a arreglar
- rärö** [nãñõ; rãrõ] *ac.v.* To scuffle. *Pelear.* **opa-ite ñĩ-rärö handi arĩka'e-pe** y con todos se peleaban antes.
- rärärö** [ñĩrãñãrõ] *n.* Kind of game. *Luchadita (juego).*
- ñĩräröwa** *n.* Fight. *Pelea.*
- marärö i-wa** [mãñãrõ'íia] *n.* Thief. *Ladrón.*
- rata** [ráta] *n.* Tinplate. *Lata.* *From: Spanish.*
- re** [re] *dir.* Direccional. *Direccional.* **ĩwĩ-re a-pĩrö** I step on earth *Piso la tierra*
- rehe** [réhe; reh; re] *posp.* Posposition that attaches to the set of inactive person markers and encodes the participatory role of patient and the circumstantial roles of reason and cause. *Posposición que ocurre con los marcadores personales inactivos y codifica el rol semántico de paciente y los roles circunstanciales de razón o causa.* **t-o-kwa ndĩ-ré(he)** que él te pegue
- reko** [réko] *ac.v.* 1) To have. *Tener.* **kĩrĩpotĩ a-reko** I have money *tengo plata.* 2) Live together. *Vivir juntos; Juntarse.* **ñanĩ-membĩ tapĩpe ñngá réko-rä...** cuando nuestra hija mujer se junta con otro...
- rekordando** *ac.v.* To remember. *Recordar.* **wóka-wa a-mbĩ-rekordando a-ĩ** eso estoy recordando. *From: Spanish.*
- reló** [reló] *n.* Watch. *Reloj.* *From: Spanish.*
- representante** *n.* Representative. *Representante.* *From: Spanish.*

-reta [réta] *PL.* Suffix marker plural. *Sufijo marcador de plural.*

ria *n.* Day. *Día.* *From:* Spanish.

riye'o [wirizɛo] *ac.v.* To carry. *Acarrear.*
ĩ o-wa-ha ĩ wiriye'o-ha *agua compramos, agua acarreamos.*

ri- (*from: rĩ-*) *p.m.* Second person singular marker as object. *Marcador de segunda persona singular objeto.* **a-rĩ-réka-po** I will miss you *te voy a extrañar*

ri- (*from: rĩ-*) Comitative prefix. *Prefijo comitativo.* **a-mi-ri-ñani** I make (him/her) to run and I run with (him/her) *lo hago correr y corro con él*

-rihewe Together. *Junto; con.* **ỵ-sapéche-ríhewe-a** *Tenía un respiradero.*

ripeka [zĩrĩpeka] *in.v.* Open-mouthed. *Boquiabierto.*

ripepeka *ac.v.* To yawn. *Bostezar.*

riri [rĩrĩ; rėri; títi] *in.v.* To tremble. *Temblar; temblá.*

rĩrĩ [rĩrĩrĩ] *in.v.* Shiver. *Solo para el mal de Parkinson.*

ro'a [roʔa; roa] 1) *ac.v.* To bend down; squat. *Arrodillarse; agachate.* 2)
 — *ac.v.* Sit; brood. *Empollar.* **uru roa-po** *la gallina va a empollar*

roche *ac.v.* To copulate. *Hacer el amor en la cama durante la noche.* **ha'e pota-ä wĩ-roche** *no quería dormir con ella.*

Rogelia [roxelja] *p.n.* Rogelia. *Rogelia.* *From:* Spanish.

ro'ĩ [roʔĩ] *n.* 1) Cool. *Frío; hielo; nieve.*
 — *n.* 2) Ice cream. *Helado.* **siyora-ra'ĩ ro'ĩ hou ë-ĩ**
 — *n.* 3) Winter. *Invierno.*

ropa [ropa] *n.* Clothes. *Ropa.* *From:* Spanish.

ropo *in.v.* To dance. *Bailar.* **häre'ä pĩ-ropo** *que empiece el baile!*

rowa [rowa] *ac.v.* To separate. *Separar.*
atĩ rowa-ha-ka *ya se lo aparta.*

rowai [rowa; rowaj; roʔaj] *n.* Cold wind; wind. *Viento frío; viento.* **rowai ñankwa** strong wind *viento fuerte*

rowawai [rowawaj] *n.* Breeze. *Brisa; viento que viene, se corta, después sigue.*

rowaimi [rowajmi] *n.* Breeze. *Brisa.*

rowaiwasu [rowaj wasu] *n.* Tornado. *Tornado.*

roya *tr.v.* Believe. *Creer.*

roya [dzĩroʔa] *in.v.* Happiness; happy. *Alegría; contento.*

ru [ru] *ac.v.* To bring. *Traer.* **e-ru** bring. *traé.*

ru [lu; ru] *n.* Light. *Luz.* *From:* Spanish.

Rubén [ruβén] *p.n.* Rubén. *Rubén.* *From:* Spanish.

Ruhe [ruhe] *p.n.* Spanish female nickname. *Nombre de mujer.* *From:* Spanish.

rure [dzurure] *ac.v.* 1) To ask. *Pedir.* **e-kwa yu-rure he(se) yėruwa** *andá a pedir yerba.*
 — *ac.v.* 2) To pray. *Rezar.*

rurure [dzurure] *ac.v.* To beg. *Andar pidiendo.*

yururehásewape
 [zurururehásjape] *n.* Church. *Iglesia.*

ruru [ruru] *in.v.* 1) Wet. *Húmedo.*
 — *in.v.* 2) Swollen. *Hinchado.* **she-pĩ opa ruru** *mi pié está todo hinchado*

mbururu [mbururu] *ac.v.* Soak. *Remojar por ejemplo la ropa, el maíz pelado, el poroto; empapar.* **awati ñambu-rúru-rä ruru-ma o-ĩ-rä ya-yoso** *remoamos el maíz, cuando está remojado lo molemos.*

sainandi [sajnandi] *n.* Kind of plant.
Tipo de árbol grande, de flores rozadas o rojas.

saini [saʔíni; sájni] *n.* Kind of plant.
Tuna de casa.

saite [sajte] *in.v.* Unsociable. *Arisco.* **opa ñandi-saite ñande** (*por eso*) *nosotros hemos sido/somos ariscos.*

sä'i [sãʔi] *n.* Pupil. *Pupila.*

saka [saka] *n.* Little firewood. *Leña chiquita; gajitos de rama seca para la leña.* **sákami**

sakuru *n.* Kind of bird. *Pájaro llamado "tres pesos".*

sakuruwasu [sakuruwasu] *n.*
Kingfisher. Martín pescador.

sakwa [sakwa] *n.* Hole. *Agujero.*

sasakwa [sasakwa] *ac.v.* To make holes
in. Hacer muchos agujeros.

mbisakwa [mbisakwa] *ac.v.* Pierce.
Agujerear.

samirú *n.* Whirlwind. *Remolino.* **samirú wri-wewe** *el remolino lo hizo volar*

sampinka [sapiŋka; sampiŋka; sapika] *n.* Hill side. *Bordo; bulto; ladera de la montaña; loma; cima de la montaña; cerro.* **sapinka-we**

Samuel [samwél] *p.n.* Samuel. *Samuel.*
From: Spanish.

samu'u [samũʔũ; sa] *n.* Kind of tree.
Yuchán; palo borracho.

Samuwátea [samuwátea] *n.* Samuwátea.
Nombre de Samaihuate. Se le dio ese nombre porque había un árbol muy grande de yuchán que en tapiete se llama "samu'u".

sanga [saŋga] *in.v.* Weeping. *Llorón.*
sanga arika'e nde'i i-rä *llorón era cuando era chico.*

sanka [saŋka] *in.v.* Transparent.
Transparente.

sankwäro *n.* Kind of dog. *Tipo de perro overo, de color negro y blanco.*

sanya [sanʒa; sánʒja] *n.* Water melon.
Sandía. Cúcumis citrullus. From: Spanish.

sanya'i [sandʒai; sandʒaj] *n.* Child.
Niño/a. sanyá'i-re children *niños*
sanya'i-mi baby *bebé* **sanya'i-kwimbae-mi** little boy *varoncito*

sape [sape] *ac.v.* To light up; lantern's light.
Alumbrar; luz de linterna; antorcha.

sapeche [sapeʃe] *n.* Respiradero del
horno.

sapeka [sapeka] *n.* Lantern. *Linterna.*

sapii [sapii] *n.* Dew. *Rocío.*

Sapii [sapii] *p.n.* Female name.
Nombre de mujer que quiere decir "rocío".

sapikärü *n.* Kind of dog. *Tipo de perro con las cejas negras.*

sapikayu *n.* Kind of dog. *Tipo de perro con las cejas blancas.*

sapinkará [tapiŋkará; tisa piŋkará] *n.* Eyebrow. *Cejas.*

sapuke [sapuke] *ac.v.* Shout; to shout.
Grito; gritar.

sapupuke [sapupuke] *ac.v.* To scream
repeatedly. *Andar gritando.*

Sara [sara] *p.n.* Sara. *Sara. From: Spanish.*

sarasiyu [sarasiʒu; sarusiʒo] *n.*
Earring. *Aro de oreja; aro redondo grande de mujer. From: Spanish.*

sare [sare] *ac.v.* Forget. *Olvidarse.* **hama ha'e-wi shi-sare-mba-yi he(se) sanya hä'i yoyoka-ha-wa** *entonces de ahí me olvidé de las semillas de sandía molida.*

sareko [sareko] *ac.v.* To wake up. *Despertarse.* **o-re sareko** *buscá en las casas*

säriñama [säriñáma; sãñiñáma] *n.* Kind of bird. *Chuña.* Cariama.

sátai *n.* Kind of cactus. *Tipo de cactus pequeño; su fruta es del tamaño de una manzana; en su interior la fruta es de color blanco y se come.*

sawãñó *n.* Kind of animal. *Unca, parásito de color rojo; de alrededor de 10cm de largo; sale en los charquitos o en las lagunitas cuando llueve.*

sawaro [saβaro] *n.* Saturday. *Sábado.* *From: Spanish.*

sawawaka [sawawaka] *n.* Hammock. *Hamaca.*

sawipo [sawípoβa; sawípoa] *in.v.* 1) Drunk. *Borracho.* **ndi-sawipo-ra ne-ĩ** *estás borracha?*

sayowi [saʒówi] *n.* Kind of bird. *Celestino.*

së'ä [ñĩnsëä; ñĩnsea; pĩnsëfã; ñĩnsëãwa] *n.* Split; break; cut. *Partido; rajadura; rajar; cortar en pedazos; algo que es blando (la piel); romper.* **häi ñi-nsë'ä** split tooth *diente partido* **iwira ñi-nsë'ä** split wood *rajadura en la madera*

seboya [seβóza] *n.* Onion. *Cebolla.* Allium cepa. *From: Spanish.*

seche [setʃe] *n.* Channel. *Donde está detenida el agua; acequia; canal.*

segundo [segundo] *Second.* *Segundo.* *From: Spanish.*

seka [seka] *ac.v.* To dry. *Secar.* *From: Spanish.*

sementerio [sementerjo] *n.* Cemetery. *Cementerio.* *From: Spanish.*

señorita [señorita] *n.* Teacher. *Maestra.* *From: Spanish.*

Serekara [serekara] *n.* Serekara. *Nombre de lugar.*

serucho [serutʃo] *n.* Saw. *Serrucho.* *From: Spanish.*

-sewe [seβe] Together; At the same time. *Juntos; al mismo tiempo.* **mbi-estudia-sewe mba'apo i-rä** *mientras estudia trabaja*

simba *n.* Chané. *Persona del grupo étnico Chané.*

singaro [singaro] *n.* Cigarette. *Cigarrillo.* *From: Spanish.*

sintu [sintu] *n.* Belt. *Cinto.* *From: Spanish.*

siya [siʒa] *n.* Sit. *Silla.* *From: Spanish.*

siyora [siʒora] *n.* White woman. *Criolla; mujer blanca.* *From: Spanish.*

siyorara'ĩ [siʒoraraĩ] *n.* White woman teenager. *Criolla adolescente.* *From: Spanish.*

simi [simii] *in.v.* Right. *Derecho.*

sisimi [sĩsĩmĩ] *in.v.* Striped. *Rayado.*

minsimi [mĩnsĩmĩ] *ac.v.* To straighten. *Enderezar.*

minsinsimi *ac.v.* *Enderezar tres o más partes curvas.*

sindaro [sindaro] *n.* Policeman. *Policía.* *From: Spanish.*

sipe [sipe] *n.* Shovel. *Pala.*

sipe *ac.v.* To win. *Ganar un juego.* **sirri-we ko mbi-sipe-ha-ä-ma** *"se desesperaban" por lo que no habían ganado.*

sipepe *n.* Kind of cactus. *Tipo de cactus al que se lo corta, se lo parte y se lo raspa para sacarle el agua.*

sipewa [sipewa; sipeβa] *n.* Glass. *Espejo.*

sipo [sipo] *n.* Reed; liana. *Bejuco.*

sipowi [sipowi] *n.* 1) Kind of plant. *Tipo de planta parecida a la sandía que también sale de la tierra; es de color marrón por fuera y blanco por dentro; de tamaño grande; se exprime y se saca agua.*

— *n.* 2) Male's name. *Nombre de varón.*

sirakwa [sirakwa] *n.* Hunting rod. *Palo para cazar.*

siri [siri] *ac.v.* To flow; to grow up. *Fluir; crecer; se corre; correrse; correte.* **siri o-ho**

siriri [siriri] *ac.v.* Run; flow. *Correr; fluir; resbalar; se desliza; deslizarse.*
hówa-ipi siriri wasi yipiri'e-kwe *por la cara corría el sudor.*

sisirii [sisirii] *in.v.* To flow. *Fluir.*

siu Onomatopoeia. *Onomatopeya.*

siwa hambá [siwa hamba] *n.* Bold. *Pelado.*

Siwa oke [siwaoke] *p.n.* Male name burnt forehead. *Nombre de hombre que significa frente quemada.*

siwa rarape [siwa rarape] *n.* Bold on the sides. *Pelado a los costados.*

siwö [siwö] *ac.v.* To juniper; to thread. *Enebrar; ensartar.*

sänsiwö *Coser salteadito.*

so [so] *ac.v.* Cut. *Cortarse.* **she a-mi-ndoso insha** *yo he cortado la sogá.*

soso [soso] *ac.v.* Pierce. *Punzar; punzalo.*

mindoso [mindoso] *ac.v.* *Cortar(lo) con la mano.*

so'o [soʔo] *n.* Meat. *Carne de animal.*

sopaipiya [sopajpiza] *n.* Tortilla. *Torta frita.* **ha'e sopaipiya hou** *He eats tortilla él come tortillas* *From: Spanish.*

Soro [soro] *p.n.* Female name. *Nombre de mujer que quiere decir "roto".*

soro [soro] *ac.v.* Tear. *Razgadura; se razgó.* **iwí soro** *cerro quebrado.*

söwanti *n.* Kind of dog. *Tipo de perro con una raya blanca que va de la frente a la nariz.*

sowi [sowi] *n.* Cataract. *Cuando sale una nube en el ojo.*

sowora [sowora] *ac.v.* To remain. *Sobra.* **o ámo-pe timbiú yí-sowóra-wa a-mb-aku-yí shu-reta** *o vuelvo a calentar la comida que sobró para ellos.* *From: Spanish.*

sosowa [sosowa] *ac.v.* *Va sobrando.* **mbi-sosowa** *que le vaya sobrando por algunas partes.* *From: Spanish.*

suí *n.* Kind of parrot. *Loro de color verde; loro silbador; loro choclero; para en los cercos.*

suinda [swínda] *n.* Owl. *Lechuza.* *Strix flammea.*

sumurukuku [sumurukúku] *n.* Owl. *Búho.*

supu'a [supuʔa] *n.* 1) Kind of climbing plant. *Doca; tasi.*
 — *n.* 2) Female sex. *Genitales femeninos.*

surui [surúi] *n.* Kind of fish. *Surubí.*

Sh - sh

sha [ínʃa; ʃa] *n.* Rope; cable. *Cuerda; sogá; cordón; cable.*

-sha *MOD. DES. DES.* **ma ai-pota-sha imei ai-mboi ai-yivé** *quisiera seguir estudiando*

shähëä [ʃähëä] *n.* Kind of animal. *Escuerzo.*

shai [ʃai] *n.* Silence. *Silencio; ambiente y persona silenciosos.* **shai-ë** *silencio!!*

Shami [shami; sami] *p.n.* Sami.

Sobrenombre de Samanta.

shanga [ʃaŋga] *n.* Odd job. *Changa.* *From: Spanish.*

shankatí [ʃaŋkati] *in.v.* Silent. *Silencioso.*

shäränä [ʃäränä] *n.* Canoa. *Tipo de embarcación que usaban los antiguos para el lado del Chaco.* *From: Spanish.*

sharichi [ʃariʃi] *n.* Dried meat. *Charqui; carne charqueadita.*

shärönshi [ʃanonʃi] *n.* Thrush. *Tordo.*
Turdus philomelus; Turdus músicaus y
otras especies del mismo género.

Sharui *p.n.* Female name. *Nombre de mujer*
(sin significado).

shashisha [ʃaʃiʃa] *n.* Quetzal. *Quetzal.*
Calurus resplendens; Pharomacrus;
mocinno.

shau [ʃaw] *num.* Nine. *Nueve.*

shau opa ñandepo [ʃawʔopañandepo]
num. Ninety. *Noventa.*

she [ʃe] *p.p.* I. *Yo.*

she- (from: **she-**) [ʃe] *p.m.* 1SGP; 1SGIN.
1SGP; 1SGIN.

she- (from: **she-**) [she] *POSS.* My. *Mi.*

shi [ʃi] *pro.* Third person oblique pronoun.
Pronombre de tercera persona oblicuo.
opa ñemi-ha shi todos se escondimos (de
él, ella)

shikireta [ʃikireta] *n.* Bicycle.
Bicicleta. From: Spanish.

shipimí *n.* Kind of plant. *Quimpí; tipo de yuyo*
de color verde que va pegada al suelo;
parecido al perejil. Se usa como remedio
para el resfrío.

shipiwasu *n.* Kind of plant. *Calabuchí;*
planta de color verde, de
aproximadamente 50cm de alto. Su raíz
se hierva y se usa como remedio para el
resfrío en adultos ya que es más fuerte
que el "shipimí".

shiu [ʃíu] *num.* Seven. *Siete.*

shiu opa ñandepo [ʃiuʔopañandepo]
num. Seventy. *Setenta.*

shiúhawa [ʃiúhawa] *n.* Coca. *Coca.*
Erythroxylon cocca.

shíkii *n.* Kind of plant. *Ancoche. Árbol cuya*
fruta es de aproximadamente 1cm de
largo; de color blancusco transparente.
Es comestible y su sabor es dulce, las
gallinas y las palomas también comen su
fruta.

shiníniwa [ʃinini] *n.* Rattle. *Sonajero.*

shiriri [ʃiriiri] *in.v.* To fry; to melt. *Freír,*
término que se utiliza sólo para referirse

a la grasa o para el cebo que se está
derritiendo.

mbishiriri [mbiʃiriiri] *ac.v.* Beef; to
melt; to fry. *Bife; derretir; fritar; fritalo.*
a-mbi-shiriri *le (voy) a hacer freír.*

shiroti *n.* Chorote. *Persona de la etnia*
Chorote.

shókomi *n.* Little dog. *Cualquier tipo de*
perro de tamaño pequeño. Esta término
se puede aplicar, por ejemplo, al perro
salchicha.

shompihä [ʃompihä] *n.* Prick. *Picadura.*

shónshomi [ʃónʃomi] *n.* 1) Kind of bird.
Chonchocito. Pájaro de color marrón con
blanquito overito; vive cerca del río;
tiene nidito chiquito. Según los antiguos
son malos y traen mala suerte. — 2) Male
nickname. Apodo de varón.

shonshowansu [ʃonʃowánsu] *n.* Trush.
Bollero. Pájaro que hace un nido igual al
del "shonshomí".

shopo [shópo] *in.v.* Tail less. *Yuto; sin*
cola.

Showe [ʃoʃe] *p.n.* Male name. *Nombre de*
hombre.

showe [ʃoʃe] *n.* Kind of bird. *Pájaro*
amarillo en el pecho y negro arriba.

shu [ʃu] *pron.* 3:PROOBL. 3:PROOBL.
ópa-i hou-e ñonó-shu-e (She) has
finished *Ha terminado de comer lo que le*
han servido a ella

shuka [ʃuka] *n.* A game of ancient people.
Juego de los antiguos.

shulupí *n.* Chulupi. *Chulupí.*

shure [ʃure] *n.* Potato. *Papa. Solánum*
tuberosum.

shure tiä [ʃureiniwa] *n.* Kind of potato.
Papa lisa.

shutu [ʃutu] *n.* Short. *Corto.*

shu'u [ʃuʔú; ʃusuʔu] *ac.v.* To bite.
Mordé. shu'ú tu he bite his father. *él*
mordió a su papá

shushu'u [ʃuʃuʔu; ʃuʃu'] *ac.v.*
Chew. Masticar; morder más de una vez.

t- (from: **t-**) *HORT.* Morpheme that encodes hortative modality. *Morfema que expresa el modo hortativo.* **i-pĩ ti-yohe** que se lave los piés **ei t-a-mbiso** vení yo te voy a sobar

tai [taj] *in.v.* Hot. *Picante.*

tairupĩ [tajrupĩ] *n.* Nape of the neck. *Nuca.*

taitetu [tajtétu] *n.* Kind of animal. *Majano. Rozillo.*

ta'i [taʔi; tai; tai] *n.* Male's son; young. *Hijo del hombre; joven.*

Taki [taki] *p.n.* Male name. *Nombre de hombre.*

takikwe 1) Back; behind. *Atrás.* **e-kwa shäränä hakikwe** andá atrás del barco. 2) Smaller. *Menor.* **ha'e-pó ñĩ-ngareko he(se) taikwe-a** ese tiene que cuidar al menor

takuwasu [takuwasu] *n.* Malaria. *Malaria.*

takwere [takwere] *n.* Footprint. *Huella.*

takwekwere [takwekwere] *n.* Footprints. *Huellas.*

tamare [tamare] *n.* Tamale. *Tamales.* *From: Spanish.*

tami [tami] *ac.v.* To squeeze; to milk. *Exprimir; ordeñar; estrujar.*

tamomboki *n.* Kind of animal. *Tipo de animal.*

tambiwate [tambwáti; tambwate] *n.* Kind of fish. *Pecesito de laguna; mide entre 20 y 30 cm.*

tanimbu [tanimbu] *n.* Ashes. *Cenizas.*

tánkaha [taŋkaha] *n.* Hair. *Cabello.*

tankakawë [taŋkakawë; tãŋkakãβë]

n. Skull. *Cráneo.*

Tankar''a *p.n.* Male name that means 'little head'. *Nombre de hombre que significa 'cabeza chiquita'.*

tankatantambá [taŋkatantambá] *n.* Crown of the head. *Fontanela; mollera.*

tankwără [taŋkwără] *n.* Empty cane; bambu. *Caña hueca, caña bambú.* *Bambusa arundinaria.*

tãnkwără'ĩ [tãŋkwărăʔĩ; taŋkwarëj] *n.* Sugar cane. *Caña de azúcar.* *Saccharum officinale.*

tankwe [tãŋkwe] *n.* Penis. *Pene.*

tankwesiwa [tãŋkwesíwa] *n.* Male pubis. *Pubis del hombre.*

tankweyuru *n.* Glande.

tansa [tansa] *n.* Pitcher. *Jarro para tomar mate cocido.* *From: Spanish.*

tanta [tãta; tãtã] *in.v.* Hard. *Duro.* **hama raha i(ko) raha i(ko)-ma tãntã-ã** y lo lleva a ser blandito.

tantambá [tantambá; tantãʔã] *in.v.* Soft. *Blando; tierno.* **awati tãntã-mba** maíz blando.

tantampi [tantampi; tatampi] *n.* Coal. *Carbón.*

tantärë *n.* Kind of tree. *Espinillo, tipo de árbol de tronco blanco; tiene una flor amarilla con rico perfume; su fruta no es comestible, el chivo solamente la come.*

tantühü [tãntühü] *n.* Black mule. *Mula o armadillo negro.*

tantühüwansu [tantühüwãnsü; tantuwãnsü] *n.* Tatu. *Tatú carreta.* *Armadillo.* *Dsyppus.*

tantü'ü [tantu'] *n.* Brain. *Cerebro.*

tanyu'e [tandzúʔe] *n.* Kind of animal. *Juanita.*

tandau *n.* Back side of the knee. *Parte posterior de la rodilla.*

tañinka [tapíŋka; tapĩka] *n.* Jaw. *Parte del cuerpo que va de la boca hasta el cuello.*

tä'öwë [täʔöwë; täʔöβë; täöwë] *n.* Corpse. *Cadáver; tumba.*

tapenko [tapeŋko] *n.* Palate. *Paladar.*

tapiete [tapjete] *p.n.* Tapiete. *Tapiete.* *From: Spanish.*

Tapiti [tapiti] *p.n.* Tapiti. *Tapiti.*

tapiti [tapiti] *n.* Rabbit. *Conejo.* **tapiti-re** rabbits *conejos*

tapi'i [tapii] *n.* Tapiete person. *Persona tapiete.*

tapi'iite [tapiiite] *n.* Tapiete. *Tapiete.*

tapipe [tapipe] *n.* Woman. *Mujer.* **tapipe-ré** women *mujeres* **tapipe-mi** little women *mujercitas*

yitapipipe [ʒitapipipe] *refl.v.* Homosexual. *Homosexual; medio mujer.*

tapisa [tapisa] *n.* Ear. *Oído.*

tärä *n.* Relatives; family. *Parientes; familia.*

täräheno *n.* Kind of honey. *Miel de la abeja que se llama tärähenotú.*

tärähënötú [tänähënötu] *n.* Bee. *Abeja del extranjero.*

tärähënötú ishi [tänähënötú íʃi] *n.* Queen bee. *Abeja reina.*

tärämpa [tärämpa] *n.* Trap. *Trampa.* *From: Spanish.*

tararawi *n.* Vapour. *Vapor del calor.* **harakukwe tararawi ne'é küwä-ipi** el vapor del calor (se dispersa) por todos lados

tarawi [taráβi] *n.* Kind of lizard. *Otuto; es igual a la lagartija; se sube por los palos.*

tärë'ï [tärëʔi] *ac.v.* 1) To hate. *Odiar; tener bronca.* **yawaiwe kërë sh-antë'i an-tarë'ï a-i** por eso así no quiero tenerle bronca.

— *n.* 2) Kind of fish. *Tipo de pez que en español se denomina "dientudo".* *Oligosarcus.*

taringi [tanĩŋgi; tariŋgi] *n.* Thistle. *Tipo de cactus; de tamaño grande; tiene una fruta que cuando madura es de color amarillo. Su fruta es comestible y se la usa como ingrediente para la sopa de pescado; palo de hule; cardo; cardón.*

Tärĩngitĩ [tärĩŋgitĩ] *n.* Geographic name. *Nombre de un lugar cerca de Bolivia que designa a una planta con muchas espinas cuyo nombre en español es "cardonales".*

Tari'o *p.n.* Female name. *Nombre de mujer.*

taro [taro; táro] *n.* Pot. *Tarro.* *From: Spanish.*

tarunka [tanũŋka; parũŋka] *n.* Rib. *Costilla.* **sha-nunka-ré** my ribs *mis costillas*

tase'o [taseo; taseʔo] *n.* Throat. *Garganta.*

tase'opire [taseʔopire] *n.* Double chin. *Papada.*

tase'oranti [taseʔoranti] *n.* Adam's apple. *Pomme d'Adam.*

tasi [tási] *n.* Ant. *Hormiga.* *Formica.*

taso [táso] *n.* Worm. *Gusano.*

tata [tata] *n.* Fire. *Fuego.*

tata ishi *n.* Big ember. *Tizón grande que mantiene prendido a los otros.*

tata mbipotahasewape [tatambipotaháseape; tatambipotahásjape] *n.* Range. *Fogón.*

tata wasu [tata wasu] *n.* Volcan. *Volcán.*

tata yapohasewape [tatapohaseape] *n.* Oven. *Cocina; fogón.*

tatai [tatai] *n.* Allumette. *Fósforo; encendedor.*

tatanti [tatanti] *n.* Smoke. *Humo.*

tatapa [tatápa] *n.* Fringe. *Flequillo.*

tatasīwe [tatasīwe] *n.* Tripod of a brazier. *Trípode del fogón; tizon.*

tatayiwa *n.* Kind of tree. *Tipo de árbol llamado "mora".*

tatipi *n.* Cheek. *Cachete.*

tatipirá [tatepirá; tatipirá] *n.* Bench. *Patilla.*

tatipisakwa *n.* Dimple. *Hoyuelo.*

tayasu [taʒásu; taʒáso] *n.* Wild boar. *Jabalí; majano.*

tayi [taʒi] *n.* Kind of tree. *Lapacho. Tecoma lapacho.*

tayi [taʒi; taʒi] *n.* Male's daughter. *Hija del hombre.*

tayinanga [taʒi nanʒa] *n.* Stepdaughter. *Hijastra.*

-te [te; nte] *adv.* Only. *Solamente. hama she-sī segundo grado mba-wäi-nte arīka'e mi madre había llegado segundo grado antes.*

të'ä [tëʔä] *n.* 1) Soul. *Alma.*
— *n.* 2) Picture. *Foto.*

téite [tejte] *in.v.* Disease; in this way. *Mal (de salud). téite o-ī está mal (vos lo has visto).*

te'ítewa [teʔítewa; téjtewa] *n.* Clumsy. *Torpe; bárbaro.*

teki [téki] *n.* Louse. *Piojo. Pediculus.*

tele [tele] *n.* Television. *Televisor. From: Spanish.*

tenka [teŋka] *n.* Breast. *Seno.*

tenka inti [téŋkaínti] *n.* Nipple. *Pezón.*

tenku [teŋku] *n.* Tongue. *Lengua.*

tenku yipi [íŋkuʒípi] *n.* Uvula. *Campanilla.*

tenta [tenta] *n.* Village. *Pueblo. siyora ténta-pe karu* A white woman was eating in down town *Una señora estaba comiendo en el centro*

téntare [téntare] *n.* Neighbordhood. *Barrio.*

tentawansu [tentawansu] *n.* City. *Ciudad.*

tenti [tenti; nēnti] *n.* Nose. *Nariz.*

tenti ha [tentiha] *n.* Hair of the nose. *Pelos de la nariz.*

tenti kāwē [ténti kāwē] *n.* Bone nose. *Tabique de la nariz.*

tenti ñwī [ténti níwi] *n.* Nasal cavities. *Fosas nasales.*

tenda [tenda] *n.* Chair; place. *Lugar.*

teño [tēno; teño] *ac.v.* To stop. *Cesar; dejá; pará.*

tepi [tepi] *n.* Foot. *Pié.*

tepi kupe [tepi kupe] *n.* Calf of the leg. *Pantorrilla; parte canilla y pié; empeine.*

tepo [tepo] *n.* Hand. *Parte del cuerpo que incluye la mano, los dedos y la muñeca.*

tepo hayi [po haʒi; ipo haʒi] *n.* Hands' vein; tendon. *Venas de la mano; tendón.*

tepomärēwä [tepomärēwä; tepomänēwä] *n.* Thum. *Dedo pulgar; mano grande.*

tepomishiwä [tepomíʃiwä] *n.* Little finger. *Meñique.*

tepomapu'a; **pomapu'a** [tepomapuʔa] *n.* Fist. *Puño.*

tepope'ichewa [tepopeʔitʃea] *n.* Ring. *Anillo.*

tepopuku [tepopuku; tepopuko] *n.* Index finger. *Dedos índice y mayor.*

tepowasu [tepoβaso] *n.* Thumb. *Dedo pulgar.*

tepoypupe [tepozapupe] *n.* Little finger. *Dedo meñique.*

teri [teri] *adv.* Still. *Todavía. ámo-re heta teri ñana mbäte-pe iko algunos todavía vivían en el medio del monte*

tero [o] *n.* House; 3:house. *Casa; 3:casa. o-re. houses. casas.*

tërotëro *n.* Kind of bird. *Tero. From: Spanish.*

Tesa Pinta *p.n.* Female name. *Nombre de mujer.*

Tesa Wai *p.n.* Female name. *Nombre de*

mujer.

tesi [sɨ; ʃɨ] *n.* Mother. *Madre.*

tésimi [sɨmi] *n.* Aunt. *Tía materna del hombre o la mujer.*

tetu [tétu; tétó] *n.* Wild pig. *Chanco del monte.*

tetumí [tetumí] *n.* Kind of pig. *Rozillo.*

te'u [teʔu] *n.* Leg; thigh. *Muslo. Parte del pierna que va de la cadera a la rodilla.*

teyu [tézu] *n.* Kind of lizard. *Lagartija. Lacerta muralis; Lacerta viridis.*

tī [tī] *in.v.* White. *Blanco.*

tihü'ü *n.* Dry lagoon. *Barro que queda de una lagunita que se va secando.*

time [time] *NEG.* No. *No.*

timí [imi] *n.* Lance. *Lanza de alguien.*

timimbi [timbimbi; mimbi] *n.* Flute. *Flauta.*

timimbi [himímbe] *n.* Heart. *Corazón.*

timinti [teminti; timinti] *n.* Seed. *Semilla para sembrar; planta chiquitita.*

timpiñu'ë [timpinũpë] *n.* Ankle. *Tobillo.*

timbi'u [timbiu] *n.* Food. *Comida.*

timbi'u **timbawa**
[timbi'u timbawe] *n.* Cooked dish. *Guiso.*

timbi'u **mipintahanka**
[timbiu mipintahaŋka] *n.* Colouring. *Colorante para comidas; Bixa orellana.*

timbi'urape *n.* Esophagus. *Esófago.*

timbiware [timbiwaria] *n.* Old fashioned puppet. *Muñeca antigua.*

timbiyape [mbizápe] *n.* Corn tortilla. *Tortilla de maíz.*

timbo [timbo] *ac.v.* To smoke. *Humear; fumar. mi-timbo-ha-pĩ-a pipa.*

titimbo *ac.v.* To spark. *Chispear.*

mitimbo [mitímbo] *ac.v.* Smoke. *Fumar.*

timbo'í *n.* Kind of plant. *Planta de tamaño*

pequeño; de color verde; posee una flor de forma alargada y de color amarillo. Cuando no había jabón, esta planta se usaba para lavarse la cabeza y prevenir la caída del cabello.

timbo'iwasu *n.* Kind of plant. *Pacará, planta grande de tronco ancho y alto; sus hojas son de verde y sus flores son de tamaño pequeño y de color blanco.*

timbuku [timbúku] *n.* Kind of insect. *Vinchuca. Conorhynus [Reduvius, Triátoma] infestans.*

Timbuku [timbuku] *p.n.* Male name. *Nombre de hombre que quiere decir vinchuca.*

tina'a [tinaʔa] *n.* Large earthen jar. *Tinaja. From: Spanish.*

tinga [tinga] *ac.v.* To punch. *Golpear con el puño.*

tintingá [tintingá] *ac.v.* To punch several times. *Golpear varias veces; pelearse entre hombres.*

tini [tini] *in.v.* Dry. *Seco. min-tini-rä, opa nantu-reta cuando le secaban todo lo guardaban.*

tintini [tintini] *ac.v.* Dry a little. *Secarse un poco.*

mintini [mintini] *ac.v.* Dry. *Secar; hacelo secar. a-min-tini seco (ropa); ai-min-tini me seco.*

tinsä'ä [tĩnsãʔã] *n.* Woodpecker. *Pájaro carpintero.*

tintimimbi [tintimimbi; timimbi] *n.* Darkness. *Oscuridad.*

tío [tío] *n.* Uncle-in-law. *Tío político. From: Spanish.*

tipe [tipe] *n.* Niece. *Sobrina de hombre.*

tipire [tipire] *n.* Skin; husk. *Piel; cáscara; corteza.*

tipiri'e [tipiri'e; tipiriʔe] *n.* Sweat. *Sudor.*

tipiriti [tipiriti] *n.* Kind of disease. *Tipo de enfermedad a la que se llama "canchas".*

tirigo [tiriyo; tiriyu] *n.* Wheat. *Trigo.*

Triticum. From: Spanish.

tiri'i [tiriʔi] *n.* Nephew. *Sobrino del hombre.*

titi'a [titía] *n.* Chest. *Pecho.*

titi'a ha [pitjáha; pitíaha] *n.* Hair chest. *Pelos del pecho.*

tiwasu [tiwásu] *n.* Iguana. *Iguana. Iguana tuberculata.*

tiwikwa [tiβikwa] *n.* Anus. *Ano.*

tiwisha [tiwiʃa] *in.v.* Large. *Ancho; hay mucho; amplio.*

tiyiwa [dʒiwa] *n.* Arm. *Brazo.*

tiyiwa rä'ï *n.* Muscle. *Músculo.*

tiyuru [tizuru] *n.* Mouth. *Boca; pico.*

tiyuyu [tizúzu] *n.* Stork. *Cigüeña. Ciconia ciconia.*

tï [tɪ] *n.* Juice. *Jugo. ïwope tï ; yu'a tï*

tï- (from: **tï-**) [tɪ] *POSS.* Default possessive marker. *Marcador de posesión por defecto. te-me* somebody's husband *marido (de alguien)*

tï'asi [hiʔási] *n.* Upset. *Desarreglo (para niños, dolor de panza); diarrea.*

tï'äü [tiʔau; tïʔäü] *n.* Mole; spot. *Lunar.*

tiche'i [titʃeʔi] *n.* Male's brother. *Hermano mayor del varón.*

tih'i'apu [hiʔapu; hiapu] *n.* Thunder. *Trueno.*

tï'iche [ʔitʃe] *n.* Female's old sister. *Hermana mayor de la mujer.*

tï'ï [ʃitʃi] *n.* Hook. *Instrumento para sacar catitas pichón. No se parece exactamente al gancho. Lo usaban antes. El no lo vió.*

tï'iwa *n.* Little gourd. *Poronguito que se usa como jarro.*

tika [tika] *n.* River; sea; big river. *Río; mar; río grande.*

tika wasu [tika wasu] *n.* Ocean. *Océano.*

tikambi [kambi] *n.* Woman's milk. *Leche de la mujer.*

tiki [tiki] *in.v.* Drop. *Gota. tiki o-i está goteando.*

tikowe [tikove] *n.* 1) Soul. *Alma; espíritu.*
— *n.* 2) Life. *Vida.*

tikwa [tikwa] *ac.v.* To pour. *Verter (de la pava al mate; agua en el arroz). Tiene que haber algo en la olla o vaso para poder usarlo. ya-tikwa i-pe hama ñambu-pupu* le hacemos agua entonces lo hervimos.

tikwaru hiru [tikwaru hiru] *n.* Bladder. *Vejiga.*

tikwi [tikwi] *in.v.* To melt. *Derretirse.*

tima'ino [timaino] *n.* Grand children. *Nietos/as. shï-ma'ino-kwimbae* grand son *nieto shï-ma'ino-kuña* grand son *nieto*

timanduwa [timanduwa] *n.* Tale; story. *Cuento; historia.*

timapörämba [timapörämba] *in.v.* Lame. *Rengo; inválido.*

timembi hiru tï [timembihirúti] *n.* Amniotic liquid. *Líquido amniótico.*

timembihiru [timémbihíru] *n.* Placenta. *Placenta; útero.*

timo [timo] *ac.v.* To swing. *Hamacar(se). tï-mï-nämo* *hacelo hamacar.*

títimo [tímo] *ac.v.* To shake. *Sacudir(se).*

mintimo [míntimo] *ac.v.* To shake. *Sacudir (sábana) (lo).*

mintintimo *ac.v.* To shake off. *Sacudirse (p.e. el polvo de la ropa).*

timba'erasi [mbajrási] *n.* Illness. *Enfermedad.*

timbahï [mbáhi] *n.* Hanger. *Hambre. Hama ñï-mbahï hunse shu-wërä.* *Entonces va a aguantar el hambre.*

timbi'awo [timbiawō; timbiʔaʃo; timbiãʃo] *n.* Pants. *Pantalón.*

timbikwaha [timbikwaha] *n.* Sash. *Faja de 20cm, de colores que usan los hombres.*

timbikwaha **ñompéhawä**
[timbikwahapompéhawä] *n.*
Knitted girdle. *Faja tejida.*

tinambi [tināmbi] *n.* 1) Ear. *Oreja.*
— *n.* 2) Handle. *Asa. hara nambi asa de la jarra*

tinambisha [tinambiʃa] *n.* Earring. *Aro de la oreja.*

tinangupi [tinangúpi] *n.* Waist; side. *Cintura; costado.*

tinankatiya *n.* Kidney. *Riñón.*

tinembe [tinembe] *n.* Lip. *Labio.*

tinihë [tīnīé; tīnīhë] *ac.v.* To fill. *Llenar; lleno. m̄-nihë-nka hacelo que llene.*

tinimp'ä [tīnīmpīā; hinampīʔa] *n.*
Knee. *Rodilla.*

tiniwanga [tinīwanga] *n.* Elbow. *Codo.*

tinkäwë [tiŋkāwë] *n.* Bone. *Hueso; esqueleto.*

tinkinta [tiŋkinta] *n.* Nipple. *Tetilla del hombre.*

tinonde [tinonde; tenonde] *adv.* In front of. *Adelante; adelante de alguien. sh̄-memb̄ tinonde o-ho-kwe Paraguay-pe-rä mi hijo mayor cuando ha ido a Paraguay.*

tinóndea [tinonde; tenonde] *n.* The first one. *El primero.*

tintähë [tīntāhë] *n.* Guts; intestine. *Mondongo; tripas.*

tindapi'i [tindapi'i] *n.* Armpit. *Axila.*

tindap'ira [tindapi'ira; tindap'ira; tindap'irá; tindap'irā] *n.* Armpit hair. *Pelos de la axila.*

tindayi [tindazi; tindazi] *n.* Saliva. *Saliva; baba.*

tindiwá [tīndīwā; tāndīwa] *n.* Beard. *Barba; chivita; bigote.*

tiñe'ë [nēʔe; tiñe] *n.* 1) Language. *Lenguaje. amó karai i-ñe'ë-pe pirahe-ha a veces cantábamos en castellano.*
— *n.* 2) Voice. *Voz.*

— *n.* 3) Word. *Palabra.*

— *in.v.* 4) To whistle. *Silbar.*

— *in.v.* 5) To sound. *Sonar.*

ñeñe'ë [neñeʔë] *in.v.* To sound iteratively. *Sonar iterativamente.*

ñe'ëwa [neʔewa; neʔewā] *n.* Sound. *Sonido; voz que suena.*

tipa *ac.v.* To dry. *Secar comida, para una laguna, una quebrada que se seca. No se puede usarse para la ropa. a-mb̄-tipa-po lo voy a hacer secar.*

tipampe [tipampe] *n.* Fingernail. *Uña.*

tipandipiraimiwa [tipadipinaimia] *n.* Onion. *Cebolla.*

tipapi *n.* Arm. *Brazo.*

tipapi kuya *n.* Wrist; wristlet. *Muñeca; pulsera.*

tipasa [tipasa] *n.* Shoe. *Zapato.*

tipahi [tipahi; pajhe] *n.* Sleep. *Sueño; lloriquear, cuando los niños tienen sueño.*

tipai *ac.v.* To sweep. *Barrer. ñ̄ a-tipei barrir la basura*

tipapo [tipapo] *n.* Wing; 3:Wing. *Ala; 3:ala.*

tipewa [tipewa] *n.* Eyelash. *Pestaña.*

tipi'a [tipi'pa; tipia] *n.* Belly; liver; heart; motor. *Panza; hígado; corazón y boca del estómago; motor.*

tipino [tipino; pīnū] *n.* *Fart. Pedo. ñ̄-pino-wa the one who farts el que se tira un pedo*

tipinsa **minshiwa**
[tipinsa minshiwe] *n.* Small toe. *Dedo meñique del pié.*

tipinsawansu [tipinsa wansu] *n.* Toe. *Dedo gordo del pié.*

tipita [tipita] *n.* Heel. *Talón.*

tipoi [tipoj] *n.* Bowel. *Intestino; tripas.*

tipoi'minshíowa [hipoʔimīnʃíowa; hipojmīnʃíowa] *n.* Small bowel; intestine. *Intestino delgado; tripa.*

tipoi'iwasu [hipojwásu] *n.* Large bowel; gall bladder. *Intestino grueso;*

vesícula.

típo'i [típoʔih] *n.* Necklace with pearls. *Collar con perlitás; sin cruz.*

típoti [típoti] *n.* Shit. *Caca.*

tírá [ha] *n.* Hair; body hair. *Pelo de animal; pelo de persona.* **Kíma o-í-rá-nda patu i-nda "ha? ha?" hei-nda ishu-kwepi.** *Dice que el pato decía "¿que? ¿que?" al novio.*

tíräi [tínāj; tírāj] *n.* Tooth. *Diente; 3:diente.*

tíräi yoheka [tínāi zoheka] *n.* Tooth brush. *Cepillo de diente.*

tíraisho [tírajʃo] *n.* Sister in-law mother-in-law; mean's daughter-in-law. *Cuñada; suegra; nuera del hombre.*

tíräi *n.* Kind of bird. *Tipo de pájaro.*

tíramui [tínamwi] *n.* Grandfather. *Abuelo.*

tíranti [tínanti; hāti] *n.* Vagina. *Vagina.*

tíranti inku *n.* Clitoris.

tíranti siwa [hantisíwa] *n.* Female pubis. *Pubis de la mujer.*

tírántiha [tírántiha] *n.* Female pubis hair. *Pelos del pubis de la mujer.*

tírasitapa *n.* Shoulder blade. *Omóplato.*

tírayi [tírazí] *n.* Vein. *Vena.*

tíre'e [he] *n.* Name; to name. *Nombre; nombrar.* **He'e tu.** His father's name. *El nombre de su papá.*

tíreko [tíreko] *n.* 1) Wife. *Esposa.*
— *n.* 2) *Manera de ser.* **kasike mără heko-wa** *cómo es el cacique en su comportamiento*

tírenta [tírēnta; hēnta] *n.* House. *Casa; lote.*

hentambawa [hentambáwa] *n.* Nomadic. *Alguien que no tiene casa fija.*

tírēnda [tírenda] *n.* Saddle. *Montura.*

tíresa [hesa] *n.* Eye. *Ojo.*

tíresa kǎwē [tíresakǎwē] *n.* Cheekbone. *Pómulo.*

tíresa kinta [hésa kínta] *n.* Styel. *Orzuelo.*

tíresa píre [tésa píre] *n.* Eyelid. *Párpado.*

tíresa píre [hésa píre] *n.* Sleep. *Lagaña.*

tíresa tíwǎ [hésatíwǎ] *n.* White of the eye. *Blanco del ojo.*

tírete [tírete] *n.* Body. *Cuerpo.*

tírewi [tíréʃi] *n.* Buttock. *Nalga.*

tíri'e [tíríʔe] *n.* Belly. *Ventre.*

hi'ewasu [hiéwásu] *n.* Potbellied. *Panzón.*

tírípi *n.* Ancestors. *Ancestros.* **shírípíreta mis primeros / antiguos íre-sí-reta írí-pí-reta nuestras madres, nuestros primeros, ancianos, principio**

tíriri *in.v.* To drag. *Arrastrarse.*

mbítíriri [mbítírírí] *ac.v.* To drag. *Arrastrar.* **hame mbítírírí-ha weru-ha shíroti kuña-reta entonces cuando venía rameando a las mujeres chorotas.**

tíríyu [tíríʒu] *n.* Foam; spray. *Espuma (del jabón revuelto).*

tíríríyu [tíríríʒu] *n.* Lather; bubble. *Espuma (del jabón no revuelto); burbujas.*

tíroke [hoke] *n.* Poultry yard. *Lugar de; corralcito.*

tíro'o *n.* Flesh. *Carne de persona.*

tírowa [tíroʃa; tírowa] *n.* Face. *Cara.*

tísa'i [tísai; tísaiʔi] *n.* Tear. *Lágrima.*

tísä'í membi *n.* Iris. *Iris.*

tísiwa [tísiwa] *n.* Front. *Frente.*

tísiwa kǎwē [tísiwakǎwē] *n.* Frontal bone. *Hueso frontal.*

tísiwa rawíyu [síwaraʃíʒu] *n.* New hair. *Pelo que recién sale; pelusa de los bebés.*

títíma [títíma] *n.* Leg. *Pierna (incluye el pié).*

títímanka [títímanʃka] *n.* Calf (of the leg). *Canilla; pantorrilla.*

títiru [títiru] *n.* Kind of cloth. *Chiripá de hombre; falda de mujeres.*

tíwaisho [tíwaiʃo] *n.* Enemy. *Enemigo; el contrario; el rival.*

tíwämpēnka [tíwämpēnka; tíwämpēnka] *n.* Shoulder. *Hombro.*

tíwapa [tíwápa] *n.* Kind of animal. *Quirquincho.*

tíwapika [tíwapika] *n.* Chair. *Silla.*

tíwasinku *n.* Kind of tree. *Tipo de árbol parecido al 'palo santo'; es de tamaño grande y su fruta es de color blanco.*

tíwata [tíwata] *n.* Clothes. *Vestido.*

tíwaya [waja] *n.* Male's father-in-law; male's brother-in-law; male's son-in-law. *Suegro; cuñado; yerno del hombre.*

tíwi [híwi; tíwi] *n.* Male's brother. *Hermano menor del varón.*

tíwita'íkwe [tíwitaʔíkwe] *n.* Male's little brother. *Hermano benjamín del varón.*

tíyari [tidzari; dzariy] *n.* Grandmother. *Abuela.*

tíyayu [tidzazu; tidzazo] *n.* Neck; handle. *Cuello; cogote; mango.*

tíyeshe [éʃe] *n.* Aunt. *Tía paterna del hombre o la mujer.*

tíyuruyapi [dzuruzapi] *n.* Corner of the mouth. *Comisuras.*

toba [toʃa] *n.* Person who belongs to the Toba ethnic group. *Persona de la etnia toba. hama she-ru ha'e toba mi papá, él era toba* From: Spanish.

toko [toko] *n.* Bench. *Banco.*

tomati [tomate; tomati] *n.* Tomato. *Tomate. Solánum lycopersicum; Licopersicum esculentus.* From: Spanish.

tonkonoi *n.* Kind of frog. *Rana verde de aproximadamente 10cm.*

toro kwimbaekwe [torokwimbáekwe] *n.* Bull. *Toro. Bos taurus.* From: Spanish.

toti'ami [totízami] *n.* Kind of plant. *Tomatillo. Physalis ixocarpa.*

totiyawasu [totizawasu] *n.* Kind of plant. *Pocote amarillo, ortiga de mayor tamaño que el "toti'ami"; su fruta, parecida al tomate, es de color amarillo.*

trapo [trapo] *n.* Rag. *Trapo.* From: Spanish.

tu [tu; ru] *n.* Father. *Padre.*

tühümpihä [tühümpihä] *n.* Shawl. *Rebozo; cafiti; wawero.*

tü'i [tūʔi] *n.* Parrot. *Cata.*

tuku'a [kúʔa] *n.* Waist. *Cintura (sólo para la ropa, pantalón, vestido; mitad; mitad de cualquier cosa: botella, pata de la mesa, balde, cosa que se llena con algún contenido líquido.*

tukupe [tukupe] *n.* Back. *Espalda.*

tukuperanti [tukupenānti] *n.* Spine; spinal column. *Espinazo; columna vertebral.*

tukupuku *n.* Kind of animal. *Tipo de animal llamado "bicho palo".*

tukuru [tukuru] *n.* Scabies. *Sarna.*

tumihea [tumí] *n.* Uncle. *Tío de sangre.*

tumpa [tūmpa] *n.* God; saint. *Dios; santo.*

tumpa pire [tumpapire] *n.* 1) Paper. *Papel.*
— *n.* 2) Bible. *Biblia.*

tumpamí [tumpamí] *n.* Virgen; saint. *Virgen; santito.*

tumpapi [tumpapi; tumpapi] *in.v.* To drown; to suffocate. *Ahogarse; asfixiarse.*

tumpara'i [tumparaʔi] *n.* Virgen; Saint. *Virgencita; santito.*

tumpürü'ä [tūmpürüʔä; hūmpünüʔä] *n.* Navel. *Ombigo.* 2)
— *n.* umbilical cord. *cordón umbilical.*

tumpu'uncha [tumpuʔuntʃa] *n.* Appendix. *Apéndice; vesícula biliar; hiel; bilis.*

tumbá [tumbá] *n.* Orphan. *Huérfano de padre.*

tunka [túnka] *n.* Tucan. *Tucán.*

tüntühë [tüntühe; tüntühe; tühe; puntuhe] *in.v.*
 — *n.* To breath. *Respirar; respiración; aliento.*

tupa [tupa] *n.* Bed. *Cama; colchita tendida.*

turumbi [turumbi; turumbiy] *n.* Hip. *Cadera.*

turupa *n.* Sheet ancient beal. *Sábana o tela que se puede usar como mantel. Camita antigua. tele hupa pedazo de tela sobre el que está puesta el televisor*

turusu [turusu] *n.* A little sauce. *Salsita; comida entre sopa y guiso.*

turuwe *n.* Bottom. *Parte donde se termina el huesito.*

turuwe käwë *n.* Tail bone. *Coxis.*

turuwisha [huwiʃa] *n.* Chief. *Cacique.*

turuwi [turuwi; turuβi] *n.* 1) Blood. *Sangre.*
 — *n.* 2) Period. *Menstruación.*

turuwi hë'ë [huwi hë'ë] *n.* Diabetes. *Diabetes. a-mbe'u-po she-me ha'e yuka huwi hë'ë. Voy a contar a mi marido lo mató la sangre dulce.*

tuti [tuti] *n.* Uncle. *Tío materno del hombre o la mujer.*

tutimí *n.* Uncle. *Tío paterno del hombre o de la mujer.*

tutusumí *n.* Hummingbird. *Colibrí.*

tü'ü [tü'ü] *n.* Tipo de insecto. *Pique.*

tu'uhe [tu'ue; tu'uhe] *n.* Thirst. *Sed.*

U - u

'u [ʔu; haw; hew; how, hoʔu] *ac.v.*
 Eat; Drink. *Comer; beber. ro'x hau-po (ya) lo voy a comer (FUT inmediato).*

u'i [ʔu:] *n.* Arrow. *Flecha.*

uru [uru] *n.* Hen; fowl. *Gallina.*

uru hókei [uru hókej] *n.* Henhouse. *Gallinero.*

uru iki yukawa [uruikizukaka] *n.*
 Kind of plant. *Paico; veneno para el piojo de la gallina. Chenopodium.*

uru kuña [urukúɲa] *n.* 1) Hen. *Gallina.*
 — *p.n.* 2) Female name that means 'hen'. *Sobrenombre de mujer que significa 'gallina'.*

uru kwimbae [urukwimbáe] *n.* Cock. *Gallo. gallus.*

uru ra'imireta [ururaʔimiréta] *n.*
 Chicken. *Pollitos.*

uruku [uruku] *n.* Kind of tree. *Urucú. Bixa orellana. From: Guarani.*

urukureawasu [urukureawásu] *n.* Kind of bird. *Colcol; pájaro de color marroncito; es más grande que el chumurucucu; canta.*

ürümpe [urumpe] *n.* Sieve; Colander. *Tamiz; colador.*

urundi opa ñandepo [urundiʔopañadepo] *num.* Forty. *Cuarenta.*

urundi [urundi] *num.* Four. *Cuatro.*

Uruta [uruta] *p.n.* Male name. *Nombre de hombre.*

uruta [urúta] *n.* Kind of bird. *Cacuy; pájaro grande; come ají. Nyctibius griseus.*

u'u [uʔu] *n.* Cold. *Resfrío.*

u'uwasu [uwasu] *n.* Flu. *Gripe.*

uwa [uwa] *n.* Raisin. *Uva.*

wa [wa] *ac.v.* To buy. *Comprár.* **kä'ä-me ténta-pe a-ha, waka ro'o a-wa** yesterday I went to the village, I bought meat. *ayer fui al pueblo, compré carne*

-wa [wa; we] *nmlz.* Nominalizer suffix. *Sufijo nominalizador.* **mónde-wa** clothes *ropa*

wache [ɣwatʃe] *in.v.* Same. *Igual.*

yiwawache [ziwawatʃe] *in.v.* Todos están parejitos.

wähë [kwähë] *ac.v.* To arrive; to escape. *Llegár.* **wähë ante po-kwi pare siyora** llegará mañana la criolla?.

wai [waj] *ac.v.* To wash one's face. *Lavar(se) la cara.*

wawai *ac.v.* *Lavar(se) a las apuradas (la cara).*

wä'ï [wāj] *ac.v.* To find. *Encontrar.* **a-wä'ï shu,**

wä'inti [wājnti] *ac.v.* To meet somebody. *Encontrarse con alguien.*

waka [váka] *n.* Cow. *Vaca.* ____ *From: Spanish.*

waka [owáka] *ac.v.* To sell. *Vender; lo vende.*

waka ro'o [wakaroʔo] *n.* Meat. *Carne.* *From: Spanish.*

wakuna [βakuna] *n.* Vaccine. *Vacuna.* *From: Spanish.*

Wam Piso *p.n.* Male name. *Nombre de hombre.* *From: Juan.*

wampi [wāpi] *n.* Kind of bird. *Palapala.*

wanaku [ɣwanáhku] *n.* Guanaco. *Guanaco.* *Anchenia huanacus.* *From: Spanish?*

wanta [wanta] *in.v.* Full. *Llene.* **hï-wanta-ma a-mo'ä** and it seems she was full. *y parece que ya estaba llena*

Wandapi *p.n.* Male name. *Nombre de hombre.*

wapaya [wapaʒa; papaya] *n.* Papaya. *Papaya.* *Cárica papaya.* *From: Spanish.*

wape'ï *n.* Kind of tree. *Algarrobo.*

wäpërë [wampene] *n.* Kind of plant. *Tusca.*

wapero [wapeɾo] *n.* Wild bean. *Poroto de monte de vaina larga y sabor amargo.*

wapi [wapi] *ac.v.* To trip. *Tropezar.* **ha'e shï-mbï-wapi** el me hizo caer, tropezar.

wapï [wapï] *ac.v.* Be sitted; to sit down. *Sentado; sentarse.* **wë'ë i ë-ï-rä wapï ó-h-e íwï-pi** estaba vomitando y después se ha sentado en el suelo (se ha caído).

wäräpembï [wārā; wānā] *n.* Bed. *Cama vacía sin el colchón, ni colchas o sábanas.*

warayapo [waraʒapo] *n.* Kind of plant. *'Tubérculo del monte'.*

ware [ware] *ac.v.* To play (profesional,game); game. *Jugar aplicado a una competencia profesional; juego.* **mbï-ware-ka-kwe peróta-pe** le hacen jugar a la pelota.

waware [waware] *ac.v.* Play (the, children). *Jugar (los, niños).* **yiwaware-ha hese arïka'e timbiware** jugábamos antes a las muñecas.

yiwárewa [ziwarewa] *n.* Match. *Partido; lo que juegan.*

yiwarehewa [dziwareheβa] *n.* Toy. *Juguete.* **yi-wawárea-re he pïhïrï yuhui-rä** por los juguetes, se quitaban los juguetes.

wari [wari] To spy on. *Espiar.*

wärörö [wānōnō] *n.* Spinning top. *Trompo.*

-wasi [wasi] *adv.* A lot. *Mucho.* **a-yuhe-wasi-të-wë pï-ro'ï heu i-rä o-ï ro'ï siyora-ra'ï** when she was eating (her) ice

cream I wanted it. *cuando la chica estaba comiendo helado, yo deseaba*

waso [βaso] *n.* Glass. *Vaso.* *From:* Spanish.

wasu [wásu; wāsū] *n.* Kind of animal. *Corzuela.*

-wasu [wasu; waso; βaso; wansu] *aug.* Big. *Grande.*

wasupuku [wasupúku] *n.* Jirafle. *Jirafa.*

wasuraimiwa [wasunejmiwa] *n.* Lama. *Llama; guanaco. Lama glama.*

wasuwasu [wasuwásu] *n.* Deer, stag. *Venado.* — **wasu-wasu-reta**

wata [wata] *ac.v.* To walk. *Caminar.* **she a-wata a-ĩ** *yo estoy caminando.*

wawata [wawata] *ac.v.* Have a walk. *Pasear.*

watamba [watamba] *in.v.* Paralytic. *Paralítico.*

watahasewape [watahasjape] *n.* Where one always walks. *Donde siempre se camina.*

watahasewaipi [watahasewajpi] *n.* Sidewalk; path. *Vereda; galería.*

wate [wate] *adv.* On; on top of. *Arriba.* **yoso-ha-yĩ-rä mba-pupü'ä-ha hupi-ha wate** *cuando lo volvemos a moler lo hacemos muchas bolitas, lo alzamos arriba.*

wawasu [wawasu] *n.* Kind of plant. *Planta grande como una naranja, pomelo verde rayadito. Hojita color cenizado. Overito. La semilla si se puede comer pero la fruta es venenosa.*

wawasu raimiwa [wawasunajmiwa] *n.* Custard apple; cherimoya. *Chirimoya. Annona cherimolia.*

Wawasútea [wawasútea] *n.* Geographic name. *Nombre dado a un lugar porque ahí había mucha sacha sandía.*

wawero *n.* Kind of plant. *Tipo de planta llamada "mediodía".*

waya'o *n.* Kind of plant. *Tipo de planta.*

wayapa [wazapa] *n.* Kind of plant. *Planta con muchas espinas.*

Wayaparenda [wazaparenda] *n.* Place name. *Nombre tapiete de un lugar en Bolivia, cerca de Samaihuate.*

wayawa [ɣwazawa; ɣwazaβa] *n.* Guayaba. *Guayaba.* — *From:* Spanish.

-we [βē; βe] *adv.* Also. *También; puede ser.* **a-(ha) yuhe-wasi-tē-wē pĩ-ro'ĩ hou-ina-ē ro'ĩ siyora-ra'ĩ** when she was eating (her) ice cream I wanted it. *cuando la chica estaba comiendo helado, yo deseaba* **o-'a-ha o-ho-a-rä pe-a-we** *cuando nos caímos, cayeron uds. también,*

wē'ē [wēʔē; wēβē] *ac.v.* To vomit. *Vomitar.* **wē('ē) hē(se)** *vomitar sobre algo.*

wera [wera] *n.*

— *in.v.* 1) Ray; lightning; to lighten. *Rayo; relámpago; relampaguear.* **wera o-ĩ** *está relampagueando.*

— *in.v.* 2) Bright. *Brillante.*

mbiwera [mbiwéra] *ac.v.* To sandpaper. *Lijar; pulido; hacelo brillar.*

mbiwewera [mbiwewéra] *ac.v.* *Varias partes que tenés que hacer brillar.*

-wërä [wērā; wēna] *For. Para.* **ro'ĩ hou-wërä** He was eating *El estaba comiendo*

weshi [weʃi] *n.* Disgust; Revulsion. *Asco.*

wewe [weβe] *ac.v.* To fly. *Volar.* **samir'ü wĩrĩ-wewe** *el remolino lo hizo volar.*

wewi [wewi] *in.v.* Fickle. *Liviano.*

weyi [wezi; wezi] *ac.v.* To go down. *Bajar; bajate.*

weweyi [weweʃiia] *in.v.* To limp. *Rengo.* **weweyi iko-wa** *este es renego.*

wicheri *n.* Kind of tree. *Tipo de árbol parecido al algarrobo. Su fruta es pequeña; de color verde, cuando madura se vuelve marrón.*

winti [winti; wĩtĩ] *n.* Mist. *Neblina.*

wira *adv.* At once. *Enseguida.* **ma'ē ndĩ-rehe-reta ma'ē wira nohe** *se fijan de dónde sacan*

wisi [wise; wise; wisi] *n.* Leech. *Sanguijuela, es de color negro; sale de la*

humedad, del barro; ataca todo tipo de plantas.

wi- (from: **wi-**) *p.m.* Third person marker of active verbs. *Marcador de tercera persona de verbos activos.* **wi-roche; we-ru, wi-riye'o**

wi'a [wiʔa; wiʔã] *ac.v.* Get used to. *Acostumbrarse; se acostumbra.* **wi'ä-'ä** *no se acostumbra.*

wi'ää *ac.v.* To be sad. *Estar triste.* **a-wi'á a-ï** *estoy triste.*

wira [wíra] *n.* Bird. *Pájaro.*

wira ankä'ë [wiraŋkãʔë] *n.* Magpie. *Urraca.*

wira asi [wiraási] *n.* Tucan. *Tucán.* *Ramphastos ariel, R. toco.*

wira ha [ha] *n.* Feather. *Pluma.*

wiraché [wiratʃé] *n.* Sparrowhawk. *Gavilán.*

wiraipiro [wirajpiro] *n.* Kind of tree. *Guayacán. Árbol grande; su corteza es de color verde; por dentro su color es parecido al del algarrobo; de madera dura y parecido al palo santo. Su cáscara se hace hervir para aliviar el dolor de estómago y para la diarrea.*

wiraita [wirájta; wirájta] *n.* Kind of plant. *Palo santo; palo del mortero. Prendían palo santo, se usaba como antorcha.*

wiraita **mihendihaa**
[wiraita mihendiã;
wiraita mihendiãha] *n.* Torch. *Antorcha.*

wirantañé *n.* Kind of plant. *Tipo de planta; crece arriba, no tiene raíz, sale una planta igual que la hoja de laurel verde.*

wirantimí [wirantimí] *n.* White heron. *Garza blanca.*

wirapa [wirapa] *n.* Arch. *Arco.*

wiräpentí *n.* Kind of plant. *Tipo de planta llamada "palo amarillo".*

wirapinta [wirapínta] *n.* Eagle. *Águila.*

wiraposhi [wirapóʃi] *n.* Sparrowhawk. *Gavilán; pájaro de igual tamaño y*

parecido al "wirapínta"; ataca a los pollitos. *Accipiter nisus.*

wirapu'a [wirapúʔa] *n.* Raven. *Cuervo.* *Corvus córax.*

wirärö *n.* Kind of plant. *Quebracho blanco.*

wirawasu [wirawásu] *n.* Condor. *Cóndor.* *Sarcorhamphus gryphus.*

wirï-kwañanti (from: **wirï-kwañanti**)
[wirïkwãñanti;
wirïkwãñanti] *n.* Camomile. *Manzanilla.* *Matricaria chamomilla.*

wirï-kwañantipöhä (from: **wirï-kwañantipöhä**)
[wirïkwãñantipöhã] *n.* Mint. *Hierbabuena.* *Mentha sativa.*

wirï-nkamintamí (from: **wirï-nkamintamí**) [wirïŋkamintamí] *n.* Kind of bird. *Pájaro de color rojo; más chico que el cardenal. Se lo llama "bracita de fuego".*

wirï-nkamintawansu (from: **wirï-nkamintawansu**)
[wirïŋkaminta; wirïŋkaminta;
wirïŋkamintawansu] *n.* Kind of bird. *Cardenal.* *Cardinalis.*

wirinde'i [wirindeiwasu] *n.* Kind of tree. *Urundel. 'Árbol terebintáceo cuya madera, de color rojo oscuro, se emplea para muebles y barcos'. Astrónium balánsae. From: Spanish.*

wiropoháseape [wiropohásjape] *n.* Disco. *Discoteca.*

wiropohasepiwi [wiropohasepiwi] *n.* Music. *Música.*

wohi [wóhi] *ac.v.* To carry. *Llevar a peteco; llevar a cococho.* **hupi wohi nda-ayo** *alzó y cargó tu bolso.*

wowohi [wowóhi] *ac.v.* Carry. *Llevar.*

mbiwowohi [mbiwowó] *ac.v.* Pile up. *Apilar; encimar.*

woka [woka] *dem.* This one. *Este.* **woka kírá iko woka mba'e-wa-ra heka** *ese así anda, ese qué busca*

woka [wókã; woka] *dem.* That. *Ese; ese que está ahí.* **heta hau e woka** *comí poco de eso*

wosa [wosa] *n.* Bag. *Arpillera; bolsa.* From: Spanish.

wotihi [wotíhi; wōtīhī] *n.* Tortoise.

Tortuga, de color amarilla y verde.

Y - y

y- (from: **y-**) [dʒ] *poss.* Third person possessive marker. *Marcador de tercera persona.*

ya [ʒa] *n.* Owner. *Propietario.*

ya- (from: **ya-**) [dʒa] *p.m.* First person inclusive marker of active verbs that combines with oral verbal roots. *Marcador de la primera persona inclusiva plural de verbos activos que se combina con raíces verbales orales.*

yahape [dʒahape] *n.* Straw. *Paja para hacer rancho.*

yahe *adv.* A lot of. *Muchos.* **yahe-wa o-hē ou** *ha llegado mucha gente*

yahe'o [dʒaheʔo; dʒaheo] *ac.v.* To cry. *Llorar; llanto.* **hama opa opa yahe'o-ha** *to sob y todos, todos lloramos.*

yahehe'o [dʒaheheʔo] *ac.v.* Sob. *Sollozar; perro que empieza a lloriquear.*

yahu [dʒahu] *ac.v.* To take a bath. *Bañarse.* **a-ha a-yahu** *I am going to take a bath. me voy a bañar*

mbiyahu [mbizahu] *ac.v.* 1) To baptize. *Bautizar; bautizalo; bañalo.*
— *n.* 2) Baptism. *Bautismo.*

yahuhasepiwa [dʒahuhasepiwa] *n.* Washbasin. *Fuente; pileta.*

yai- (from: **yai-**) [ʒaj] *p.m.* First person inclusive marker of reflexive verbs that combines with oral verbal roots. *Marcador de la primera persona inclusiva plural de verbos reflexivos que se combina con raíces verbales orales.*

ya'isi [dʒaʔisi; dʒajsi; dʒajse] *n.* Resin. *Resina; savia.*

yaka *Discuss. Discutir.* **i-yaka o-i handi ti-**

che'i *está discutiendo con su hermano*

yakatu [dʒakatu] *ac.v.* 1) To comb; To farm; To arrange. *Peinar; labrar; arreglar.* **ai-yakatu** *I 'am combed. estoy peinado, me peino*

— *ac.v.*

2 To farm; To arrange. *labrar; arreglar.* *ac.v.*

3 To arrange. *arreglar.*

yaki [ʒakɪ] *in.v.* Lazy. *Vago; cualquier fruta muy tiernita.*

yaki'o *ac.v.* To wash one's hair. *Lavarse la cabeza.* **ai-yaki'o-pi-wērā** *para lavarme la cabeza.*

ya'o [iʒáʔo] *ac.v.* To discuss; discussion. *Discutir; discusión.* **iya'o-ha iärē-rä** *(cuando) discutíamos sobre esto.*

yapa [dʒapa] *in.v.* Crooked; curved; bend; crooked; bend. *Doblado; encorvado; chueco; torcido; agachado; algo como gancho, con curva.* **yapa o-ho** *(algo) que va chueco (alambre, cable, hierro).*

yapara [dʒapara] *ac.v.* To spill. *Volcarse.*

yapapara [dʒapapara] *ac.v.* *Cuando hay 5 en fila se va cayendo despacito de uno a uno; una persona que tiene mucho sueño y cabeza, duerme sentado.*

yapayere [dʒapazere] *ac.v.* To roll; knock down; to turn. *Rodar; dar vueltas; revolcate.*

yapepo [dʒapepo] *n.* Pot; pan. *Olla.*

yapeturu [ʒapeturu] *n.* Oak. *Roble. Quercus robur; Q. Pedunculata; Q. sessiliflora.*

yapi [dʒapi] *ac.v.* To stone. *Apedrear;*

tirar; disparar (mano, revolver, pala).

yapí [dzapí] *n.* Sharp end. *Punta.*

mbiyapí [mbizapí] *ac.v.* To stop. *Pará, cortala. ha'e-pe mbí-yapí ahí parás (p.e. si uno hace un cerco).*

yapíawa [zapíawa; zapíawe; zapuawa] *n.* Rond. *Redondo.*

yapíkwaha [dzapíkwaha] *n.* Hair ribbon. *Cinta para las mujeres, para el pelo.*

yapírai *ac.v.* To crack jokes. *Bromear. yapíraí-ha-wa los que bromeabamos.*

yapísa'ä [zapísa'ä; zapísa'ä] *n.* Deaf. *Sordo.*

yapísaráiti [zapísaráiti] *n.* Earwax. *Cera de la oreja.*

yapíte [zapíte]

yapíte *n.* End of the head. *Parte de arriba de la cabeza.*

yapíte *adv.* On. *Encima.*

yapíte hamba [dzapíte hamba] *n.* Bald patch. *Pelado en la coronilla.*

yapo [dzapo; dzapu; apu] *ac.v.* To do. *Hacer. yapó-ä-wa lo que no se ha hecho.*

yayapo [dzazapo] *n.* Traditional dance. *Danza tradicional.*

yara [dzara] *ac.v.* To pour. *Sacar con el cucharón o jarro líquido o comida; verter de la cuchara al plato.*

yarakwambá [zarakwamba] *n.* No entiende lo que los padres le dicen; tipo sinvergüenza.

yasaka [dzasaka] *ac.v.* To shut up; to listen. *Callarse; callate!; escuchá! pi-yasaka ai-poko-po a-iyeta cállense que voy a empezar a hablar.*

yasasaka *ac.v.?* Escucha por ahí y donde hay un montón se va y se arrima.

yasi [zasi] *n.* 1) Moon. *Luna.*

— *n.* 2) Month. *Mes.*

yasi pi'ahu [ndzasi pi'ahu] *n.* New moon. *Luna nueva.*

yasiowawasú [dzasiowa wasu] *n.*

Full moon. *Luna llena.*

yasitata [dzasitata] *n.* Star. *Estrella.*

yasiya [dzasiya] *ac.v.* To cut. *Cortar con cuchillo. iwíra a-yasiya I cut a tree. haché un árbol*

yasisiya [dzasisiya] *ac.v.* Make frayed edge. *Hacer flecos; cortar de a pedacitos chiquitos; picar.*

yaso'i [dzaso'i; dzasoj] *ac.v.* 1) To cover. *Tapar; tapalo. mba-yaso'i cubrir, tapar por ej. la botella, tapper. a-mbí-yaso-i-po sanya'í-re voy a tapar a los chicos.*

— *in.v.* 2) Cloudy. *Nublado. ara yaso'i cloudy sky cielo nublado.*

yasoya [zasoya] *n.* Lid. *Tapa.*

yasuru [dzasuru] *n.* Soft thing. *Cosa muy blanda.*

yatapi [zatapi] *ac.v.* To light. *Encender. a-mbapítei, í a-mbaku, tata yatapí barro, caliente el agua, prendo el fuego.*

yate'i [dzate'i] *n.* Kind of bee called "señorita". *Tipo de abeja llamada "señorita"; es de tamaño más pequeño que la abeja común; es capaz de hacer hasta medio litro de miel.*

yate'u [dzatéu] *n.* Tick. *Garrapata.*

yatíta [dzatíta] *n.* Snail. *Caracol.*

yawa [dzáwa] *n.* Tiger. *Tigre. Felis tigris.*

yawa *refl.v.* To elope with. *Cuando se fugan dos enamorados.*

Yawa Nambi [dzaβanambi] *n.* Yawanambi. *Lugar cerca de Samaihuate.*

yawa pärä ipo yapohambawa [zawapäräipozapohmbawa] *n.* Tiger. *Nombre que se le daba al tigre que se refería a las huellas que este animal dejaba en el suelo (mano redonda). Se usaba este término para no asustar a los niños.*

yawa pinta [dzāwā pinta; nāwā pinta] *n.* Puma. *Puma. Felis concólor.*

yawa popí [dzawapópi] *n.* Lion. *León. Felis leo.*

yawai [zawaj] *in.v.* Difficult; scarce. *Difícil; escaso.*

yawáite [dzawájte] *in.v.* Ugly. *Feo.*

yawaitéitewa [dzawaitéitewa] *n.* Ill-bred. *Bad-mannered; Que no se comporta como debe ser; ya se pasa de la línea; algo feo.*

yawaiwe *conj.* Because. *Porque.* **yawaiwe sanya'i káñi-ma yä-rä** *porque se perdió un chico más*

yawasa [zawasa] *n.* Fiancé. *Novio.*

yawe [dzaʒe; dzaʒi] *i.t.* Be enough. *Alcanzar; bastar.*

yawe [dzaʒe; dzaʒi] *n.* Key. *Llave.* *From: Spanish.*

yawiye [dzawizɛ] *in.v.* Ripe. *Maduro.*

yawi [zawi] *ac.v.* Fail. *Erró; se equivocó.*

yayawi [zazawi] *ac.v.* To totter. *Titubear.*

yawiki [zawiki] *ac.v.* To touch; to handle. *Palpar; toquetear.* **kíse-re a-yawiki-po** *voy a toquetear los cuchillos.*

mbawiwiki [mbawiwíki] *ac.v.* Fondle. *Estar toqueteando (en un sentido más sexual).*

yawiro [zawiro] *n.* Pelican. *Pelicano.* *Pelecanus onocrotalus.*

ye- (*from: ye-*) [dʒe] Reflexive prefix that combines with oral roots. *Prefijo reflexivo que se combina con raíces orales.*

yehe [zehe] *posp.* Posposition that attaches to the set of inactive person markers and encodes reflexive and reciprocal meaning. *Posposición que co-ocurre con los marcadores personales inactivos y expresa un significado reflexivo y recíproco.* **a-kwaru shi-yehe** *I urinated on myself me hice pis* **o-a i-yehe** *they ran into each other se chocaron*

ye'i [zeʔi] *adv.* A moment ago. *Hace rato.* **mintá á-ru-e ye'i** *he traído el gato hace rato.*

yeka [dzeka] *ac.v.* Slitted. *Pedaseado; rajado; saltado.*

yeyeka *Partirse por varios lados.*

-yepi *always.* *siempre.* **hoka sanya'i yarakwamba-yepi** *ese chico es tan pícaro (no está muy retirado).*

yepi *ac.v.* Power. *Poder.*

yere [dʒere] *in.v.* To turn round. *Girar; date vuelta.*

yérepí [dʒe'repi] *in.v.* To go back. *Retroceder.*

yéruwa [ʒerwa; yerba] *n.* Mate. *Yerba mate.* *Ilex paraguayensis.* *From: Spanish.*

yeti [zetɪ] *n.* Sweet potato. *Batata; camote.* *Convólulus batatas.*

yewahapiwa [zewahapiwa] *n.* Make up. *Maquillaje.*

yiche kiti [dʒitʃe kiti] *adv.* Left. *Izquierda.*

yitapa [dʒitapa] *n.* Cissors. *Tijera.*

yiwaru [dʒiwaru; dzajwaru; ʒiwaru] *in.v.* Awful. *Asqueroso; tiene asco.*

yi [dʒi] *n.* Axe. *Hacha.*

yi [dʒi; ʃi] *To come back. Volver; venir.* **a-mi-hä'änga-po ai yä-wäri-ipi** *voy a señalar por dónde voy a volver.*

yi- (*from: yä-*) [ʒi] *p.m.* Third person marker of inactive verbs. *Marcador de tercera persona de verbos activos.*

yi- (*from: yä-*) *RECP.* Reciprocal morpheme. *Morfema recíproco.*

-yi [ʒi] *ASP.* Morpheme that encodes frequentative aspect. *Morfeme que expresa el aspecto frecuentativo.*

yi'a'i [dʒiʔaʔi] *n.* Semen. *Semen.*

yi'ii [ʒiʔii] *n.* Rainbow. *Arcoiris.*

yiki [dʒiki] *ac.v.* To thresh. *Desgranar.*

yikohi [dʒikoi; dʒikow; dʒikohe; dʒikohe] *in.v.* Beautiful. *Lindo; bonito.*

yikokore [ʒikokore] *n.* Kind of hen. *Gallina huevera.*

yipe'a [ʒipeʔa; ʒipeʔa] *n.* Firewood. *Leña.*

yipi [dzɪpɪ; dzɪpɪ] *n.* Trunk. Tronco. **iwira yipi** tree's trunk tronco del árbol

yiruti [dzɪrúti; dzurúti] *n.* Turtledove. Paloma bumbuna; tórtola. *Streptopelia risoria*; *S. túrtur*.

yisirarakwa *n.* yisirarakwa. Gente salvaje que viven en la selva, en Paraguay. En castellano se les dice moro. Hablan un idioma completamente diferente. Son malos. Hacen casas en el árbol. Tiran gases hediondos como zorrino. Comen viboras grandes. Ninguno lo vió. Tien cuerpos bonitos, las chicas son elegantes. Son parecidos a los monos. Algunos ya son creyentes. Algunos fueron agarrados desde chiquitos y se han vuelto creyentes. Aunque se bañan son hediondos. Comen raíces del árbol, comen gusanos fritos. Se ponen al revés las sandalias para que no los encuentren.

yisororopa *n.* Trapeze artist. Trapecista.

yitaki [itaki; dzitaki] *n.* 1) Stone. Piedra. 2) Gall bladder. Vesícula.

yitakiwasu [zɪtakɪwasu] *n.* Big stone; cliff. Piedra grande; peña.

yitaki-ku'i [dzɪtakɪ kuʔi] *n.* Lime; cement; dust. Cal; cemento; polvo.

yitaki-wérawa [dzɪtakɪ weraʒa] *n.* Gold. Oro; piedra luminosa.

yitaki-tata *n.* Flint. Piedra para hacer el fuego.

yitewi-iwa (from: **yitewi-iwa**) [dzɪteʒiíwa] *n.* Male homosexual. Homosexual (hombre).

yiti [dzɪtɪ] *n.* Line; parting. Raya. **yiche-i-pe yiti-pe-(w)a** raya al costado

yitipopóshia *n.* yitipopóshia. Gente de la selva. Son caníbales. Te garrotean y te cocinan. Viven por el cerro. Son como duendes chiquitos, enanitos. Usan el cabello largo, arrastrando. La huella de ellos parece de bebés. Alzan a la gente y la llevan lejos. Cuando ellos (los tapietes) veían las huellas. Cuando andan cerca te descontrolan la mente, perdés la memoria. Todavía hay, debajo del puente pasaba.

yitirumbawa *n.* yitirumbawa. Gente que

vive en el monte. No les gusta el pueblo. Viven en la selva. Son malos. No se entreveran. Antes habían de estos, los veían desnudos y se escapaban. Viven en Paraguay cerca de los Tapietes.

yíwa'i *n.* Kind of tree. Mistol. *Ziziphus mistol*.

yíwarehasewape [dzɪwarehasjape] *n.* Play ground. Cancha (lugar de juego).

yíwawarehasehewa [zɪwawarehasehewa] *n.* Toy. Juguete.

yíwe Also. También. **ha'e yíwe-reta** y ellos?

yocha [zotʒa] *ac.v.* To stop. Atajar.

yoyocha [dzozotʒa] *ac.v.* Intercept continuously. Atajar repetidamente.

yochapiwa [dzotʒapia] *n.* Mosquito net. Mosquitero.

yohe [dzohe; igohe] *ac.v.* To wash (things); to fondle. Lavar (cosas); sobarse. **sh-ohé** lavame.

yoyohe *ac.v.* To wash. Lavar(se) un poco.

yohohó [zohohó] *n.* Kind of dance. Danza que bailaban antes en el ingenio San Martín.

yoka [dzoka] *ac.v.* To break. Romper; partir; descascarar. **yoká-ha-pi wíraitá** lo muele con el palo // se lo machuca con la mano del mortero.

yoyoka [zozoka] *ac.v.* To grind; to crush. Moler; machacar (p.e. la cáscara de maíz); moler mal. **ha'e-pe ya-iyeta he(se) awati yoyoka-ha-wa** ahí vamos a hablar del maíz molido // ahí hablamos del maíz machucado.

yokwa *ac.v.* To tie. Atar.

yokwe [dzókwe] *ac.v.* To manipulate; to order. Manipular; mandar.

yokweharewa [dzpkweahreʒa] *n.* Servant. Sirviente; empleado. **ha'e yapó yokwéharewa** él hacía de empleado

yo'o [dzopɔ] *ac.v.* To sink. Cavar (cuando está cavando alguna persona). **íwī-pe yo'o-ha shu-pe** en el suelo cavávamos // en la tierra se cavaba.

yopi [dzopɪ] *ac.v.* To press with both

- hands. *Aplastar; apretar con las dos manos.*
- yora** [dʒora] *ac.v.* To untie. *Desatar; desamarrar.*
- yoyora** *ac.v.* Undo. *Desarmar; destejer.*
- yoso** [dʒoso] *ac.v.* To grind. *Moler; molelo.*
yoso-ha awati tánta-wa *molíamos el maíz duro.*
- yoyoso** [ʒoʒoso] *ac.v.* Grind. *Moler; machucar [carne, tomate].*
- yu** [dʒu] *n.* 1) Horn. *Cuerno.*
 — *n.* 2) Thorn. *Espina.*
 — *n.* 3) Loom. *Telar.*
- yu mbawiwihapi** *n.* Needle. *Aguja para coser.*
- yu'a** [dʒua; ʒuʔa] *n.* Kind of fruit. *Fruta del mistol.*
- Yu'arenda** [dʒuʔarenda] *n.* Yu'arenda. *Lugar de mucho mistol en Bolivia.*
- yu'e** [íʒue] *n.* Goitre. *Bocio.*
- yuhe** [dʒuhe] *ac.v.* To desire. *Desear.* **a-(ha) yuhe wasi tēwē pī-ro'ï hou-ina-ë ro'ï siyora-ra'ï** when she was eating (her) ice cream I wanted it. *cuando la chica estaba comiendo helado, yo deseaba*
- yuyuhe** [dʒuzuhe] *ac.v.* Desire a lot. *Desear demasiado.* **yuyuhe-kwē ï ho'u** come a su antojo.
- yu-hiru** (from: **yu-hïru**) [dʒu hïru] *n.* Sewing box. *Costurero.*
- yu'i** [dʒúʔi] *n.* Frog. *Tipo de sapo comestible.* *Rana esculenta.*
- Yu'i** [ʒuʔi] *p.n.* Male name that means "frog". *Nombre de hombre que quiere decir "rana, sapo".*
- yuihea** [dʒuihéa] *n.* Kind of bird. *Pájaro parecido al 'penku' de color marrón.*
- Yu'imí** [dʒuʔimí] *p.n.* Female name that means "little frog". *Nombre de mujer que quiere decir "ranita".*
- yuka** [dʒuka] *ac.v.* 1) To kill. *Matar; él ha matado.* **ñ-angáivo yuka ká'ä karu kavi-ä-na** flaco lo mató porque no comía bien (no se sabe si perdió el apetito o es por dolor que no puede comer).
- *ac.v.* 2) Cracked skin. *Paspado.* **shï-rowa ro'ï yuka** mi cara está paspada por el frío
- mbayuka** [mbaʒúka] *ac.v.* To hunt. *Cazar; campear; carnear.*
- yuki** [dʒukí] *n.* Salt. *Sal.*
- yupa** [ʒupa] *n.* House. *Casa.*
- yupe** [ʒupe] *posp.* Posposition that attaches to the set of inactive person markers and conveys the meaning that the action predicated by the verb is done to the benefit of the agent. *Posposición que ocurre con los marcadores personales inactivos e indica que la acción predicada por el verbo es hecha en beneficio del agente.* **a-kärë shï-yupe** I scratch (e.g. the apple, the corn) for me raspo (p.e. la manzana, el maíz) para mí.
- yupi** [dʒupi] *ac.v.* Go up. *Subir.*
- yupípiwa** [ʒupipía] *n.* Stairs. *Escalera.*
- yura** [dʒura] *ac.v.* To envelope. *Envolver; torcer.* **sh-ura** they enveloped me. *me han envuelto*
- yuyura** [ʒuzura] *ac.v.* Twist. *Torcer el hilo (más ceñido).*
- yuri** *adv.* From one side. *Por el costado.*
- yuru-hüwä** (from: **yuru-hüwä**) *n.* Kind of dog. *Tipo de perro con el hocico negro.*
- yururaiwia** [ʒururuaʒβia] *in.v.* Rabble. *Persona que se va de boca. Chusma.*
- yuru-sháshawa** (from: **yuru-sháshawa**) [dʒuru ʃáʃawa] *in.v.* Talkative. *Charlatán, persona que habla, habla.*
- yu'u** [ʒuʔu; ʒu] *n.* Phlegm. *Flema.*
- yuyu'u** [íʒuzuʔu] *in.v.* Caught. *Toser.*
- yuwí** [dʒuwí] *ac.v.* To hang; hanged person. *Ahorcarse; ahorcado.*

APPENDIX E

Tapiete texts

Catalina 1: Cuenta la muerte de su sobrinito

shì-kìwì	ta'ì	manu	kä'ää ì
1SGPOSS-hermano de la mujer	hijo del hombre	morir	ayer
my-female's brother	male's son	die	yesterday

cuando murió el hijo de mi hermano ayer

ñ-angáivo	yuka	kä'ä	karu	kavi-ä-rä
3POSS-flacura	matar	ayer	comer	bien-NEG-SUB
3POSS-skininess	kill	yesterday	eat	well-NEG-SUB

flaco lo mató porque no comía bien

mìn-garu-ha-ä	kawi-ä-rä
CAUS1-comer-IMPER-NEG	bien-NEG-SUB
CAUS1-eat-IMPER-NEG	well-NEG-SUB

no le alimentaban bien

tì-kambi	ho'u-ä-rä
DEFPOSS-leche de la mujer	3:comer-NEG-SUB
DEFPOSS-woman's milk	3:eat-NEG-SUB

no tomaba el pecho

nenshé	më'ë-ha-ä	shu-rä
leche	dar-IMPER-NEG	3:PROOBL-SUB
Milk	give-IMPER-NEG	3:PROOBL-SUB

no le daban la leche

tì-poere-ha-ä	he	kää
MOD-poder-IMPER-NEG	3:PROOBL	ayer
MOD-can-IMPER-NEG	3:PROOBL	yesterday

nadie podía con él ayer (alguien intentaba curarlo pero nadie podía)

ayeme	ī(ko)	pìhanu-ha
aunque	estar	curar-IMPER
although	be	cure-IMPER

aunque lo han curado

(ha)ma	kwa'a-ha-ä	kää	reko-ah-wërä-räimì
después	saber-1EXCL-NEG	ayer	comportamiento-IMPER-para-parecido
then	know-1EXCL-NEG	yesterday	behavior-IMPER-for-alike

y luego no sabíamos lo que íbamos a hacer

kwa-ha-ä	ikó-wa-raimi
saber-1EXCL-NEG	está-NMLZ-parecido
know-1EXCL-NEG	be-NMLZ-alike

no sabíamos lo que tenía

Catalina 1 (b): Cuenta cómo fue que trajeron al sobrinito muerto

hama	we-ru-ah	yí	kää-rä
entonces	3AC-traer-IMPER	volver	ayer-SUB
then	3AC-bring-IMPER	come back	yesterday-SUB

cuando lo han traído

ma	opa	opa	yahe'o-ha
entonces	todo	todos	llorar-1EXCL
then	all	everybody	cry-1EXCL

y todos, todos lloramos

ma	kö'ë-ma	irë-ärë-rä
después	mañana-RES	nos.(exc.)-encima-SUB
then	morning-RES	we(exc.)-on-SUB

después amaneció sobre nosotros

opa	wĩ'ä-ha-rä
todo	estar triste-1EXCL-SUB
all	to be sad-1EXCL-SUB

todos nos entristecimos

kwa'a-ha-ä	kää	iko-ha-wërä-raimi
saber-1EXCL-NEG	ayer	está-1EXCL-para-parecido
know-1EXCL-NEG	yesterday	be-1EXCL-for-alike

no sabíamos qué íbamos a hacer

yawaiwe	sanya'í	kañi-ma-yi-rä
porque	niño/a	perder-RES-FRQ-SUB
because	child	lost-RES-FRQ-SUB

porque se perdió un chico más // porque un niño desapareció/se perdió otra vez.

hama	kaáru-ma	kä'á	raha-ha	ñontí-ha-rä
después	tarde-RES	ayer	llevar-1EXCL	enterrar-1EXCL-SUB
after	afternoon-RES	yesterday	carry-1EXCL	bury-1EXCL-SUB

luego a la tarde lo han llevado al entierro / lo llevamos a enterrar

hama	kati	túmpa-pe	o-ha	ha'e	sanya'í
entoncespero	dios-en	3AC-ir	el/ella	niño/a	
then	but	3AC-go	(s)he	child	

pero él se va hacia dios

Catalina 2: Cuenta por qué no quiere que sus hijos tiren agua

ai-pota-ä	í	pi-waware	he(se)
1SGAC-querer-NEG	agua	2PL-jugar	3:PROOBJ
1SGAC-want-NEG	water	2PL-play	3:PROOBJ

no quiero que jueguen con el agua porque antes el agua era escasa

yawaiwe	í	yawai	arika'e	kope
porque	agua	escaso	hace mucho tiempo	aquí
because	water	scarce	long time ago	here

porque antes el agua era escasa // porque antes el agua era difícil de conseguir

ĩ	o-wa-ha	ĩ	wiriye'o-ha
agua	3AC-comprar-1EXCL	agua	acarrear-1EXCL
water	3AC-buy-1EXCL	water	carry-1EXCL

agua compramos, agua acarreamos

táro-mi	pĩ	wiriyeo-ha	arĩka'e
tarro-DIM1	dentro	acarrear-1EXCL	hace mucho tiempo
pot-DIM1	inside	carry-1EXCL	long time ago

en un tarrito acarreábamos el agua

amo	há'e-pe	o-ho	mbatuka-ha
a veces	el/ella-LOC	3AC-ir	lavar la ropa-1EXCL
sometimes	(s)he-LOC	3AC-go	wash clothes-1EXCL

a veces íbamos a lavar ahí

amo-pe	kĩ(ma)	o-wa-ha-ä
a veces-LOC	después	3AC-comprar-1EXCL-NEG
sometimes-LOC	then	3AC-buy-1EXCL-NEG

a veces comprábamos el agua // a veces por varios días no comprábamos [H]

ámo-pe	kĩrĩpoti-rä	ime	óre-rä	o-wa-ha
a veces-LOC	dinero-SUB	haber	nos.(exc.)-SUB	3AC-comprar-1EXCL
sometimes-LOC	money-SUB	there is	we(exc.)-SUB	3AC-buy-1EXCL

a veces cuando tenemos la platita compramos

mba'eti	óre-rä	wiriye'o-ha	ĩ(ko)	arĩka'e	karetiya-pĩ
nada	nos.(exc.)-SUB	acarrear-1EXCL	estar	hace mucho tiempo-LOC	carretilla-INST
nothing	we(exc.)-SUB	carry-1EXCL	be	long time ago-LOC	handcart-INST

cuando no teníamos acarreábamos con la carretilla

Catalina 3: Cuenta cómo antes no sabían hablar castellano

arĩka'e	ehkwéla-pe-po	ou	pĩrĩ-mbo'e-wērä-rä
hace mucho tiempo	escuela-LOC-FUT	3:venir	OHI-enseñar-para-SUB
long time ago	school-LOC-FUT	3:come	IHO-teach-for-SUB

antes, la escuela cuando iba a venir uno (alguien) que iba a enseñar

pota-ä	mondo-ha	arĩka'e-pe	sanya'i-re(ta)
querer-NEG	mandar-IMPER	hace mucho tiempo-LOC	niño/a-PL
want-NEG	send-IMPER	long time ago-LOC	child-PL

no querían mandarlo antes porque

yawaiwe	numpá-ha-po	re(ko)-kwe
porque	pegar(cachetada)-IMPER-FUT	tener-PST
because	slap-IMPER-FUT	have-PST

le iban a pegar antes

numpa-ha-po-kwi	sanya'i-reta-rä
pegar(cachetada)-IMPER-FUT-FUT	niño/a-PL-SUB
slap-IMPER-FUT-FUT	child-PL-SUB

le iban a pegar a los chicos

pota-ä	yi-raha	arika'e
querer-NEG	3-llevar	hace mucho tiempo
want-NEG	3-carry	long time ago

no querían ir antes

opa	ñemi	arika'e-pe	kisemba	hupi
todo	esconder	hace mucho tiempo-LOC	cerco	por ahí
all	hide	long time ago-LOC	field	over there

todos se escondían por el cerco

hama	më'ë-ha	shu-a	yapó-mba-va
entonces	dar-IMPER	3:PROOBL-NOM	hacer-NNEG-NOM
then	give-IMPER	3:PROOBL-NMLZ	do-NNEG-NMLZ

lo que le daban (la tarea) no hacían

numpa-ha	arika'e-pe	sanya'i-reta
pegar(cachetada)-IMPER	hace mucho tiempo-LOC	niño/a-PL
slap-IMPER	long time ago-LOC	child-PL

le pegaban antes a los chicos

hama	kiye-ha	shi	arika'e	eskwéla-pe
entonces	miedo-1EXCL	3PRO	hace mucho tiempo	escuela-LOC
then	fear-1EXCL	3PRO	long time ago	school-LOC

por eso le teníamos miedo antes a la escuela (shi=la escuela)

hama	häre'ä-ä	a-ha	arika'e
entonces	rápido-NEG	1SGAC-ir	hace mucho tiempo
then	fast-NEG	1SGAC-go	long time ago

por eso no fui rápido a la escuela

dies	años	a-reko-rä	a-ha-wa	arika'e
diez	año	1SGAC-tener-SUB	1SGAC-ir-NOM	hace mucho tiempo
ten	year	1SGAC-have-SUB	1SGAC-go-NMLZ	long time ago

cuando cumplí diez años recién he ido

eskwela-pe-rä
 escuela-LOC-SUB
 school-LOC-SUB
a la escuela

urundi	grádo-mi	a-wähë	arika'e
cuatro	aula-DIM1	1SGAC-llegar	hace mucho tiempo
four	room-DIM1	1SGAC-arrive	long time ago

apenas llegué a cuarto grado

ai-kwa'a-ä	nungá	she-kwe-pi	tumpá piré
yo-saber-NEG	??	yo-PSD-HAB	papel
I-know-NEG	??	I-PST-HAB	paper

no sé de algunas cosas de papeles // no sé casi yo leer, escribir, contar, etc.

Catalina 4: Cuenta cómo era en la época de su papá

mba arkai she-ru nde'i í-rä-nda
 cuando hace mucho tiempo 1SGPOSS-padre niño estar-SUB-EVD
 when long time ago 1SGPOSS-father child be-SUB-EVD
antes cuando mi papá era chico

kíyé-ah mondo-ah arka-ipi
 miedo-IMPER mandar-IMPER hace mucho tiempo-LOC
 fear-IMPER send-IMPER long time ago-LOC
tenían miedo de mandarlos a los chicos para que aprendan

sanyai-re ñi-mboe-wënä
 niño/a-PL 3-estudiar-para
 child-PL 3-study-for
tenían miedo de mandarlos a los chicos para que aprendan

hana she-ru papere kwa-'ä kwa-ä mbi-para
 por eso 1SGPOSS-padre papel saber-NEG saber-NEG CAUS1-color
 this is why 1SGPOSS-father paper know-NEG know-NEG CAUS1-color
por eso mi papá no sabe leer, no sabe escribir

hama katú-ä mbile
 entonces saber-NEG leer
 then know-NEG read
no sabe leer él

hai kwa-ä hai tumpá piré
 el/ella saber-NEG el/ella papel
 (s)he know-NEG (s)he paper
no sabe él papel (no conoce lo que hay en el papel)

yavaive mondo-ha-mba arkai
 porque mandar-IMPER-NNEG hace mucho tiempo
 because send-IMPER-NNEG long time ago
porque no lo han mandado antes a la escuela

ehkwéla-pe-na
 escuela-LOC-SUB
 school-LOC-SUB
porque no lo han mandado antes a la escuela

hama she-si segundo grado mba wäi-nte arkai
 después 1SGPOSS-madre segundo aula ?? llegar-solamente hace mucho tiempo
 then 1SGPOSS-mothersecond grade ?? arrive-only long time ago
y mi madre había llegado segundo grado antes

yavaive tu-mba arkai hinga-ivi ou-wa-na
 porque padre-NNEG hace mucho tiempo otro-DIR 3:venir-NOM-SUB
 because father-NNEG long time ago other-DIR 3:come-NMLZ-SUB
porque el padre no era de este lugar/vino de otro lado

potá-ã	o-a	shu	papere
querer-NEG	3AC-comprar	3:PROOBL	papel
want-NEG	3AC-buy	3:PROOBL	paper

no quería comprarle cuaderno

potá-ã	o-a	shu	mbi-para-p-wera
querer-NEG	3AC-comprar	3:PROOBL	CAUS1-color-INST-para
want-NEG	3AC-buy	3:PROOBL	CAUS1-color-INST-for

no le quería comprar con lo que va a escribir (lápiz)

härä	mba-poi	o-h	arkai
por eso	ONH-soltar	3AC-ir	hace mucho tiempo
this is why	NHO-leave	3AC-go	long time ago

por eso había dejado de ir antes

Catalina 8: Por qué dejó de amasar y chusmear

o-h-ah	mba'ipi-ah-na
3AC-ir-1EXCL	amasar-1EXCL-SUB
3AC-go-1EXCL	knead-1EXCL-SUB

cuando íbamos a amasar

ma	mb-oyi-a-na	opa	nohe-ah-na
después	CAUS1-asar-1EXCL-SUB	terminar	sacar-1EXCL-SUB
then	CAUS1-grill-1EXCL-SUB	finish	pull out-1EXCL-SUB

cuando horneábamos todo sacábamos

ma	mate	ho'u-ha
después	mate	3:comer-1EXCL
then	mate	3:eat-1EXCL

después tomamos mate

hama	poko-ah	iyeta-ah	ka
después	empezar-1EXCL	hablar-1EXCL	y
after	begin-1EXCL	to speak-1EXCL	and

después empezamos a hablar

Catalina 9: Su hijo volvió de Paraguay hablando tapiete

shi-membi	tinonde	o-ho-kwe	Paraguay-pe-na
1SGPOSS-hijo/a de la mujer	adelante	3AC-ir-PSD	Paraguay-LOC-SUB
1SGPOSS-woman's offspring	in front of	3AC-go-PST	Paraguay-LOC-SUB

mi hijo mayor cuando ha ido a Paraguay

ñani-ñe	hä'ä-nyi	ou-kwe
1INCLPOSS-lenguaje	hablar-FRQ	3:venir-PSD
1INCLPOSS-language	speak-FRQ	3:come-PST

ha vuelto hablando el idioma

hää-nyi	ou-kwe	ñani-ñe	ö-i-nyi	ou-rä
hablar-FRQ	3:venir-PSD	1INCLPOSS-lenguaje	3AC-llegar-FRQ	3:venir-SUB
speak-FRQ	3:come-PST	1INCLPOSS-language	3AC-arrive-FRQ	3:come-SUB

él ha vuelto hablando en tapiete

Catalina 10: ¿Qué hace falta para ser un verdadero tapiete?

i-shi	tu	hándi-po	tapĩĩ
3POSS-madre	padre	con-FUT	persona tapiete
his/her-mother	father	with-FUT	Tapiete person

su mamá y su papá tienen que ser (los dos) tapietes

hama	hai	tapiete	ha'i-te	hai	tapiete
entonces/el/ella	tapiete	el/ella-SUP	el/ella	tapiete	tapiete
then	(s)he	tapiete	(s)he-SUP	(s)he	tapiete

él es verdadero tapiete // entonces él tapiete verdaderamente él (es) tapiete

hama	i-shi	tu-re	ĩngangá-rä-ma
entonces	3POSS-madre	padre-PL	distinto-SUB-RES
then	3POSS-mother	father-PL	diferent-SUB-RES

si su mamá y su papá fueran distintos // entonces su mamá

ha'ë-ä-ma	mbitá	hai-ma
el/ella-NEG-RES	mitad	el/ella-RES
(s)he-NEG-RES	half	(s)he-RES

ya no es más, ya es mitad (nomás)

ha'e-ä-ma	ka	tapĩite
el/ella-NEG-RES	y	Tapiete
(s)he-NEG-RES	and	Tapiete

ya no es tapiete

Catalina 11: Su marido habla diferente cuando se dirige a la gente

ampó	she-me	iyeta-kwe-pi	hĩrãntu-kwe-pi
este	1SGPOSS-marido	hablar-PSD-HAB	fuerte-PSD-HAB
this	1SGPOSS-husband	to speak-PST-HAB	strong-PST-HAB

este... mi marido habla siempre fuerte

kwareta-re	mbai	pĩrãndũ
persona-PL	cosa	preguntar
person-PL	thing	ask

siempre (cuando) la gente le pregunta algo

mbai	mbeu	shu-pe
cosa	narrar	3:OBL-LOC
thing	tell	3:OBL-LOC

(ellos) le avisan // (la gente) le cuenta algo a él

mbai-ra	yapo-pó
cosa-Q	hacer-FUT
thing-Q	do-FUT

qué va a hacer (la gente le pregunta a él qué va a hacer)

mbai-ra	yapó-ä	pota
cosa-Q	hacer-NEG	querer
thing-Q	do-NEG	want

que es lo que no va a hacer

hai	kávi-ra	o	kavi-ä-na	yapo-wënë
el/ella	bien-Q	o	bien-NEG-Q	hacer-para
(s)he	well-Q	or	well-NEG-Q	do-for

estará bien o estará mal lo que va a hacer

Catalina 12: Comptine (1)

yasitata	ei	rah	ni-mino-mí
estrella	2:venir	llevar	2SGPOSS-nietos/as-DIM1
star	2:come	carry	2SGPOSS-grand children-DIM1

estrella vení llevalo tu nietito

nambo	pikasü	häräkwa	yuruti
perdiz	paloma	charata	tórtola
partridge	pigeon	kind of bird	turtledove

perdiz, paloma, charata, bumbuna

kashiwera	ra	ra	ra	ra
tipo de pájaro				
kind of bird				

canto que se le copia al "ataja camino"(pájaro)

Catalina 13: Berceuse (1)

tapíti-mi	membí-mi	'e-che	shi-vi	ö	ö	ö
conejo-DIM1	hijo/a de la mujer-DIM1	IMP-dormir	3PRO-DIR			
rabbit-DIM1	woman's offspring-DIM1	IMP-sleep	3PRO-DIR			

hijito de conejo dormí (porque hay algo)

Catalina 14: Comptine (2)

mbirika	shopó	shi-yare	h-imbá
burro	sin cola	1SGPOSS-abuela	3POSS-animal doméstico
donkey	??	1SGPOSS-grandmother	3POSS-animals

burro sin cola de mi abuela animal

Catalina 15: Lo que hace cada día

kö'ëi	a-pü'ä-rä	a-ñono	kawi	sanyai-re
temprano	1SGAC-levantarse-SUB	1SGAC-poner	bien	niño/a-PL
early	1SGAC-raise-SUB	1SGAC-put	well	child-PL

cuando me levanto temprano les preparo a los chicos

ñi-mboe-há-se-a-pe	o-h-wënë
3-aprender-IMPER-??-NOM-LOC	3AC-ir-para
3-learn-IMPER-??-NMLZ-LOC	3AC-go-for

para que vayan a la escuela

opa	a-móndo-na
todo	1SGAC-mandar-SUB
all	1SGAC-send-SUB

cuando les mando a todos

a-mbapitei ï 'a-mbaku tata yatapï
 1SGAC-barrer agua 1SGAC-calentar fuego encender
 1SGAC-sweep water 1SGAC-heat fire light
barro, caliente el agua, prendo el fuego

'a-h 'a-wa ä-möi-wënä a-ma-moi
 1SGAC-ir 1SGAC-comprar 1SGAC-cocinar-para 1SGAC-ONH-cocinar
 1SGAC-go 1SGAC-buy 1SGAC-cook-for 1SGAC-NHO-cook
voy a comprar para cocinar, cocino

hama a-noh 'ä-möi-wënä
 después 1SGAC-sacar 1SGAC-cocinar-para
 then 1SGAC-pull out 1SGAC-cook-for
luego, cuando saco lo que cocino

shi-membi-ré a-mi-ngaru
 1SGPOSS-hijo/a de la mujer-PL 1SGAC-CAUS1-comer
 1SGPOSS-woman's offspring-PL 1SGAC-CAUS1-eat
les doy de comer a mis hijos

hama ka'aru-na a-mbaku ï
 después tarde-SUB 1SGAC-calentar agua
 then afternoon-SUB 1SGAC-heat water
luego a la tarde caliente el agua

a-me'e hou kosira sanyai-reta
 1SGAC-dar 3:comer té niño/a-PL
 1SGAC-give 3:eat tea child-PL
les doy de tomar mate cocido a los chicos

hama opa a-mbiyahu
 después todo 1SGAC-CAUS1-bañarse
 then all 1SGAC-CAUS1-take a bath
luego les baño a todos

opa 'a-mbi-yakatu
 todo 1SGAC-CAUS1-peinar
 all 1SGAC-CAUS1-comb
les peino a todos

hama a-mbeu shu shi-membi mba-yohe
 después 1SGAC-narrar 3:PROOBL 1SGPOSS-hijo/a de la mujer ONH-lavar
 then 1SGAC-tell 3:PROOBL 1SGPOSS-woman's offspring NHO-wash
luego le aviso/digo a mi hijo que limpie

opa a-mbapitei ï hakwava piso-re
 todo 1SGAC-barrer agua echar piso-DIR
 all 1SGAC-sweep water to throw floor-DIR
terminé de barrer, agua ha hechado en el piso

opa yohe hama a-mbatuka
 todo lavar después 1SGAC-lavar la ropa
 all wash then 1SGAC-wash clothes
todo lava/limpia, luego lavo

ama a-man-tini
 después 1SGAC-ONH-secar
 then 1SGAC-NHO-dry
luego seco (la ropa)

ama a-mba'ip̄i p̄a a-yapo
 después 1SGAC-amasar pan 1SGAC-hacer
 then 1SGAC-knead bread 1SGAC-do
luego amaso, hago pan

ama iyeta he p̄ähä yapo-äh-rä iyeta hese
 después hablale 3:PROOBY pan hacer-1EXCL-SUB hablar 3:PROOBY
 then to speak 3:PROOBY bread do-1EXCL-SUB to speak 3:PROOBY

luego hablamos, cuando hacemos el pan hablamos de lo que estamos haciendo.

Catalina 16 (b): Texto sobre las canciones

arkai she-kuñantäi ä-ï-rä
 hace mucho tiempo 1SGIN-señorita 1SGAC-estar-SUB
 long time ago 1SGIN-young lady 1SGAC-be-SUB
antes, cuando yo era jovencita

a-p̄rahé ä-ï arkai-pi
 1SGAC-cantar 1SGAC-estar hace mucho tiempo-LOC
 1SGAC-sing 1SGAC-be long time ago-LOC
cantaba antes

amó shi-ñeem-pe
 a veces 1SGPOSS-lenguaje-LOC
 sometimes 1SGPOSS-language-LOC
a veces en mi idioma

amó ïr̄i-ñem-pe p̄irahe-ha
 a veces 1PLEXCL-lenguaje-LOC cantar-1EXCL
 sometimes 1PLEXCL-language-LOC sing-1EXCL
a veces en nuestro idioma cantábamos

amó karai i-ñem-pe p̄irahé-h
 a veces criollo 3POSS-lenguaje-LOC cantar-1EXCL
 sometimes white man 3POSS-language-LOC sing-1EXCL
a veces cantábamos en castellano

opa-ma karai i-ñé katü-ä-nä
 todo-RES criollo 3POSS-lenguaje aprender-1EXCL-SUB
 all-RES white man 3POSS-language learn-1EXCL-SUB
(cuando?) todo el castellano aprendimos

karai i-ñem-pē i p̄irahé-h
 criollo 3POSS-lenguaje-LOC y cantar-1EXCL
 white,man 3POSS-language-LOC and sing-1EXCL
y en castellano cantábamos

katu-ha-än tér̄i-nä
 saber-1EXCL-NEG todavía-SUB
 know-1EXCL-NEG still-SUB
cuando no aprendimos // cuando todavía no sabíamos

ĩri-ñem-pë i pĩrahé-ah
 nuestro/a(exc.)-lenguaje-LOC está cantar-1EXCL
 our(exc.)-language-LOC be sing-1EXCL
cantábamos en nuestro idioma antes.

-y la Irma y las Esther cantaban?

Elsa handi Irma-reta pĩrahe yĩ-ré(ko) arĩka'e-pi
 Elsa con Irma-PL cantar 3-tener hace mucho tiempo-LOC
 Elsa with Irma-PL sing 3-have long time ago-LOC
Elsa la Irma sabían cantar antes

kuñantai-rã yĩ-re(ko)-rã
 señorita-SUB 3-tener-SUB
 young lady-SUB 3-have-SUB
cuando eran jovencitas

hanantu pĩrahé-ah arkai-pi
 fuerte cantar-1EXCL hace mucho tiempo-LOC
 strong sing-1EXCL long time ago-LOC
fuerte cantábamos antes

Cuantos años tenías cuando nació el Nene

15 años a-re Nene o-a-nã
 año 1SGAC-tener nene 3AC-nacer-SUB
 year 1SGAC-have nene 3AC-born-SUB

15 años tenía cuando nació Nene

Quien lo cuidaba?

ore ñĩ-ngareko-ha hé(se) arĩka'e-pi
 nos.(exc.) 3-cuidar-1EXCL 3:PROOBJ hace mucho tiempo-LOC
 we(exc.) 3-take care-1EXCL 3:PROOBJ long ago-LOC
nosotros lo cuidábamos antes

se portaba bien?

mba'eti-sanga arĩka'e nde'i ñ-rã
 no llorón hace mucho tiempo niño está-SUB
 no weeping long time ago child be-SUB
no, llorón era cuando era chico

ëë ãĩ-ngareko he arkai Rubén nde'i ñ-rã
 si 1SGAC-cuidar 3:PROOBJ hace mucho tiempo Rubén niño está-SUB
 yes 1SGAC-take care 3:PROOBJ long time ago Rubén child be-SUB
sí, yo cuidaba a Rubén cuando era chico

mba'eti-Rubén Rubén arĩka'e
 no Rubén Rubén hace mucho tiempo
 no Rubén Rubén long time ago
no, Rubén

Catalina 18: Por qué dejó de amasar y chusmear

o-h-ah mba'ip̄i-ah-na
3AC-ir-1EXCL amasar-1EXCL-SUB
3AC-go-1EXCL knead-1EXCL-SUB

cuando íbamos a amasar

ma mb-oȳi-a-na opa nohe-ah-na
después CAUS1-asar-1EXCL-SUB terminar sacar-1EXCL-SUB
then CAUS1-grill-1EXCL-SUB finish pull out-1EXCL-SUB

cuando horneábamos todo sacábamos

ma mate ho'u-ha
después mate 3:comer-1EXCL
then mate 3:eat-1EXCL

después tomamos mate

hama poko-ah iyeta-ah ka
después empezar-1EXCL hablar-1EXCL y
after begin-1EXCL speak-1EXCL and

después empezamos a hablar

Catalina 20: El chusmerío se hace en tapiete

ampo hapisha iyeta he-reta
este compañera hablar 3:PROOBJ-PL
that fellow speak 3:PROOBJ-PL

este...hablan de una compañera

yi-rah mba'ip̄i-r̄a
3-llevar amasar-SUB
3-carry knead-SUB

cuando van a amasar

hama opa-ite kwaréta-re iyeta he-reta
entonces todo-SUP persona-PL hablar 3:PROOBJ-PL
then all-SUP person-PL to speak 3:PROOBJ-PL

de toda la gente hablan ellos

woka k̄ina iko, woka mbái-wa-ra heka
este así anda este CAUS1-yo-comprar-Q buscar
this one in this way live this one CAUS1-I-buy-Q look for

ese (persona) así anda, ese qué busca

woka mbai opa iyeta he-reta-p̄i kwareta-ré
este cosa todo hablar 3:PROOBJ-PL-INST persona-PL
this one thing all to speak 3:PROOBJ-PL-INST person-PL

todas esas cosas ellos hablan de la gente

Esther 1: Historia del gato.

íme-nda arikai pente kuñantäi
haber-EVD hace mucho tiempo uno señorita
there is-EVD long time ago one young lady
había una mujer

ñande-a potá re-a
nos.(inc.)-NMLZ querer tener-NMLZ
we(inc.)-NMLZ want have-NMLZ
que quería un paisano nuestro

hänä-nda pñntú-na-nda raha
por eso-EVD noche-SUB-EVD llevar
this is why-EVD night-SUB-EVD carry
dice que de noche lo ha llevado (al novio)

mbi-sha-ka shu kwe tu
CAUS1-ver-CAUS2 3:PROOBL antes padre
CAUS1-see-CAUS2 3:PROOBL before father
conocer a su padre

härä-nda tu-nda ö-i ma'e
por eso-EVD padre-EVD 3AC-estar mirar
this is why-EVD father-EVD 3AC-be look at
dice que el padre salió a atenderlo

härä-nda mbai-ra nde ei ndi-heka-e
por eso-EVD cosa-Q vos 2:venir 2SGAC-buscar-REC
this is why-EVD thing-Q you 2:come 2SGAC-look for-REC
entonces se cuenta "qué has venido a buscar?"

hei-nda i shu-kwe-pi
3:decir-EVD está 3:PROOBL-PSD-HAB
3:say-EVD be 3:PROOBL-PST-HAB
el dice que le ha dicho (la que cuenta el cuento)

kwimbae hesha í-che-na
hombre ver 3-entrar-SUB
man see 3-enter-SUB
cuando (el padre) al muchacho vio entrar al novio de su hija con ella.

tayi yawasa í-che-ma o-ho handi-na
hija del hombre novio 3-entrar-RES 3AC-3:ir con-SUB
male's daughter fiancé 3-enter-RES 3AC-3:go with-SUB
cuando (el padre) al muchacho vio entrar al novio de su hija con ella.

papá ko a-ru-e mintá
padre este 1SGAC-traer-REC gato
father this 1SGAC-bring-REC cat
"papá aquí he traído un gato"

hei-nda ishu
3:decir-EVD 3:PROOBL
3:say-EVD 3:PROOBL
ella le dijo

mäë-nä-rä	ndé-ru-e	mintá
atender-SUB-Q	2SGAC-traer-REC	gato
pay attention-SUB-Q	2SGAC-bring-REC	cat

para qué has traído un gato?

hama	hau-wa-mi	opa	hou-kwi
entonces	1:comer-NOM-DIM1	todo	3:comer-FUT
then	1:eat-NOM-DIM1	all	3:eat-FUT

(para que) entonces lo (poquito) que como se lo va a comer él?

hei-nda	ishu-kwe-pi	tu
3:decir-EVD	3:PROOBL-PSD-HAB	padre
3:say-EVD	3:PROOBL-PST-HAB	father

dice que le ha dicho el padre al él

potá-ä-nda	mbi-sha-ka	shu	ampo
querer-NEG-EVD	CAUS1-ver-CAUS2	3:PROOBL	este...
want-NEG-EVD	CAUS1-see-CAUS2	3:PROOBL	er...

se dice que (la chica) no quería mostrar (al padre)

moa-nda	mintá-ite	shu-na
creer-EVD	gato-SUP	3:PROOBL-SUB
believe-EVD	cat-SUP	3:PROOBL-SUB

se dice (que el padre) pensaba que era un gato verdadero

potá-ä-nda	mī-ye-kwe-pi	o-ipe
querer-NEG-EVD	CAUS1-entrar-PSD-HAB	casa-adentro
want-NEG-EVD	CAUS1-enter-PST-HAB	house-inside

se dice que (el padre) no quería que (el gato-novio) entre dentro de la casa

moa-nda	nantu-a-mi-re	opa	hou	shi-rä
creer-EVD	guardar-NOM-DIM1-PL	todo	3:comer	3PRO-SUB
believe-EVD	keep-NOM-DIM1-PL	all	3:eat	3PRO-SUB

se dice que creía que lo poquito que había guardado todo se lo iba a comer

hai
1SG:decir
1SG:say
dije (se terminó)

Esther 2: Historia del Pato

hai-naimi	hai-naimi	katī	o-h-yi-e
el/ella-parecido	el/ella-parecido		
(s)he-alike	(s)he-alike		

este es medio parecido

hai-raimi	hai-raimi	ganti	o-h-yi-e
el/ella-parecido	el/ella-parecido		
(s)he-alike	(s)he-alike		

este es medio parecido

a-mbe'u	ä-ī-ä-naimi
1SGAC-narrar	1SGAC-estar-NOM-parecido
1SGAC-tell	1SGAC-be-NMLZ-alike

al que estaba contando

íme-nda-yi aríkai
haber-EVD-FRQ hace mucho tiempo
there is-EVD-FRQ long time ago
hace mucho tiempo

ñande-a póta re(ko) taípe kúña-wa
nos.(inc.)-NOM querer tener mujer hembra-NOM
we(inc.)-NMLZ want have woman female-NMLZ
dice que había uno que se enamoró de una mujer (¿tapiete?)

póñi-nda he-kwe-pi
gatear-EVD 3:PROOBJ-PSD-HAB
crawl-EVD 3:PROOBJ-PST-HAB
él (le) quería gatear

póta-nda wi-róche-na
querer-EVD 3AC-copular-SUB
want-EVD 3AC-copulate-SUB
se dice que él quería dormir con ella

hána-nda tu ñ-endu 'o-'ipe i-che
por eso-EVD padre REFL-escuchar casa-adentro 3-entrar
this is why-EVD father REFL-listen house-inside 3-enter
después el padre escuchó que (el muchacho) entraba dentro de la casa.

ó-ho-rä-nda wäräpembí-ipe i-che shi kwé
3AC-3:ir-SUB-EVD cama-adentro 3-entrar 3PRO antes
3AC-3:go-SUB-EVD bed-inside 3-enter 3PRO before
se dice que (el padre) fue y (el muchacho) se escondió debajo de la cama

härä-nda wäräpembí-ipe-nda i-kwe-pi
por eso-EVD cama-adentro-EVD estar-PSD-HAB
this is why-EVD bed-inside-EVD be-PST-HAB
entonces se dice que debajo de la cama había

patu roa 'ö-(i)
pato empollar3AC-estar
duck to brood 3AC-be
un pato que está empollando

kīma hērä-nda heno-nda re-kwe-pi he-p'í kuñantai
después después-EVD llamar-EVD tener-PSD-HAB nombre-INST señorita
then then-EVD call-EVD have-PST-HAB name-INST young lady
después, se dice qu (el muchacho) la ha llamado por su nombre a la chica

kīma érä-nda patu i-nda "ha ha" hei-nda
después por eso-EVD pato estar-EVD ¿qué? ¿qué? 3:decir-EVD
then this is why-EVD duck be-EVD what? what? 3:say-EVD
entonces se dice que el pato "que? que?" decía al novio

ishu-kwe-pi
3:PROOBL-PSD-HAB
3:PROOBL-PST-HAB
entonces se dice que el pato "que? que?" decía al novio

moa-nda	hai	heno-ah	reko-ah-na
creer-EVD	el/ella	llamar-IMPER	tenelo-IMPER-SUB
believe-EVD	(s)he	call-IMPER	have-IMPER-SUB

se dice que creía el pato que lo llamaban

äpó	"María	María"	hei-na-nda
este...	María	María	3:decir-SUB-EVD
er...	Mary	Mary	3:say-SUB-EVD

éste "María, María" (le) decía (el novio)

patu	i-nda	"ha"	hei-kwe-pi
pato	estar-EVD	¿qué?	3:decir-PSD-HAB
Duck	be-EVD	what?	3:say-PST-HAB

el pato "que" decía

kīma	érā-nda	popokó-yi-na
después	por eso-EVD	manosear-FRQ-SUB
Then	this is why-EVD	touch-FRQ-SUB

entonces después cuando volvió a manosear y vio que era

mai-nda	he	patu-kwë	ĩ
mirar-EVD	3:PROOBJ	pato-AUG	estar
look at-EVD	3:PROOBJ	duck-AUG	be

de que era un pato

o-hë	ñi-wäi
3AC-salir	REFL-escaparse
3AC-go out	REFL-escape

salió corriendo (el pato) // se disparó

katĩ	ha'é-ā-nda-kwe-pi	María	heno	reko-a
Pero	el/ella-NEG-EVD-PSD-HAB	María	llamar	tener-NMLZ
But	(s)he-NEG-EVD-PST-HAB	Mary	call	have-NMLZ

pero no era a María a la que estaba llamando

patu-kwe	i-nda	opa	momohe-kwe-pi	hipi'a
pato-PSD	estar-EVD	todos	desparramar-PSD-HAB	huevo
duck-PST	be-EVD	everything	sacatter-PST-HAB	egg

se dice que el pato desparramó todos sus huevos del pato

ha'i-ma
1SG:decir-RES
1SG:say-RES
eso es todo

Esther 3: Historia del día de mañana

paré	kö'ëi-po	a-pü'ä-kwi
mañana	temprano-FUT	1SGAC-levantarse-FUT
tomorrow	early-FUT	1SGAC-get up-FUT

mañana por la mañana me voy a levantar

sānyai-re	yi-raha-po	ñi-mbo'e-na
niño/a-PL	3-llevar-FUT	3-estudiar-SUB
child-PL	3-carry-FUT	3-study-SUB

(cuando) los niños se van a estudiar

kō'ëi-mpo	a-pü'ä	shu-reta-kwi
temprano-FUT	1SGAC-levantarse	3:PROOBL-PL-FUT
early-FUT	1SGAC-get up	3:PROOBL-PL-FUT

a la mañana bien temprano yo me voy a levantar para ellos // temprano me voy a levantar para ellos

kosira	a-yapo	shu-wërä-reta
té	1SGAC-hacer	3:PROOBL-para-PL
tea	1SGAC-do	3:PROOBL-for-PL

hago el té para ellos

hana	ka'áru-rä	opa	ñi-mboe-réta-na
por eso	tarde-SUB	terminar	3-estudiar-PL-SUB
this is why	afternoon-SUB	finish	3-study-PL-SUB

después a la tarde cuando dejan de estudiar (en la escuela)

ou	yi-réta-rä
3:venir	volver-plural-SUB
3:come	come back-plural-SUB

(cuando) ellos vuelven

a-mbatúka-po-yi-kwi
 1SGAC-lavar la ropa-FUT-FRQ-FUT
 1SGAC-wash clothes-FUT-FRQ-FUT
voy a volver a lavar

opa	a-mbatúka-nä	po
terminar	1SGAC-lavar la ropa-SUB	este...
finish	1SGAC-wash clothes-SUB	er...

cuando yo termine de lavar

a-mboe-yi-reta-kwi	eskwéla-pe	mboe-ah	he-a-re
1SGAC-estudiar-FRQ-PL-FUT	escuela-LOC	enseñar-IMPER	3:PROOBJ-NOM-PL
1SGAC-study-FRQ-PL-FUT	school-LOC	teach-IMPER	3:PROOBJ-NMLZ-PL

voy a estudiar con ellos lo que les han enseñado en la escuela

o	eskwéla-pe	me'e-ah	shu-a-re
o	escuela-LOC	dar-IMPER	3:PROOBL-NOM-PL
or	school-LOC	give-IMPER	3:PROOBL-NMLZ-PL

o lo que les han dado en la escuela

hénta-pe	yapo-wërä-re
3:casa-LOC	hacer-para-PL
3:house-LOC	do-for-PL

lo que les han dado para que hagan ellos en la casa

hama	ákwa	opa	yapo-retá-na-ma
entonces	DEM	terminar	hacer-PL-SUB-RES
then	DEM	finish	do-PL-SUB-RES

por eso, cuando ese/eso terminen de hacer

nāmpo	hainá
este...	a partir de ahí
??	??

y... recién

yi-waware-yi-we-reta-kwi	sānyaɪ-re
3-jugar-FRQ-NOM-PL-FUT	niño/a-PL
3-play-FRQ-NMLZ-PL-FUT	child-PL

van a volver a jugar los chicos

hama she	o-ípi-pó	a-yakatu-rani	ai-yi-kwi
después yo	casa-LOCMOV-FUT	1SGAC-arreglar-primero	1:venir-FRQ-FUT
then I	house-LOCMOV-FUT	1SGAC-??-first	1:come-FRQ-FUT

entonces yo adentro de la casa tengo que volver a arreglar

ámo-pe	kia
a veces-LOC	sucio
sometimes-LOC	dirty

porque adentro está sucio // a veces está sucio

kā'ā-mpi	she-ro-ipe-na
ayer-LOC	1SGPOSS-casa-inside-SUB
yesterday-LOC	1SGPOSS-house-adentro-SUB

cuando debajo de mi casa

ma	opa-rani-po	a-yakatu-yi-kwi
después	terminar-primero-FUT	1SGAC-arreglar-FRQ-FUT
after	finish-first-FUT	1SGAC-??-FRQ-FUT

entonces todo voy a tener que volver a arreglar

hama	p̃tu-na	a-ma-moi-yi-na
entonces	noche-SUB	1SGAC-ONH-cocinar-FRQ-SUB
then	night-SUB	1SGAC-NHO-cook-FRQ-SUB

entonces (cuando) es de noche vuelvo a cocinar

ma	sāyaɪ-re	opa	káru-na
después	niño/a-PL	terminar comer-SUB	
after	child-PL	finish	eat-SUB

cuando terminen de comer los niños

o-ho-ha	o-che-ha	hāirá
3AC-ir-1EXCL	3AC-dormir-1EXCL	a partir de ahí
3AC-go-1EXCL	3AC-sleep-1EXCL	??

recién nos iremos a dormir

Esther 4: Historia del Día de Ayer

ka'a-mi	kö'ëi	ä-püä-yi-na
ayer-LOC	temprano	1SGAC-levantarse-FRQ-SUB
yesterday-LOC	early	1SGAC-get up-FRQ-SUB

ayer a la mañana me volvía a levantar temprano // cuando ayer temprano me volvía a levantar

kö'ëi	sänyaï-re	eskwéla-pe	a-ha	handi-na	ma
temprano	niño/a-PL	escuela-LOC	1SGAC-ir	con-SUB	después
early	child-PL	school-LOC	1SGAC-go	with-SUB	after

y me fui a la escuela con los chicos (a-ha handi)// (cuando) temprano los chicos a la escuela voy con, después

hai-vi	eskwéla-ivi	ou-yi-wë-äh-rä	ma
el/ella-DIR	escuela-DIR	3:venir-FRQ-NOM-1EXCL-SUB	después
(s)he-DIR	school-DIR	3:come-FRQ-NMLZ-1EXCL-SUB	after

cuando volvimos de la escuela

meme	ma-moi	ïrï-nónde-na	karu-ah	pawi	handi
madre	ONH-cocinar	nuestro/a(exc.)-adelante-SUB	comer-1EXCL	juntos	con
mother	NHO-cook	our(exc.)-in front of-SUB	eat-1EXCL	together	with

mi mamá había hecho la comida// cocina antes que nosotros (para nosotros); comimos todos juntos

hama	ópa-ma	karu-ah	hándi-na	na'a	a-mbatuka-yi-na
después	terminar-RES	comer-1EXCL	con-SUB	a partir de ahí	1SGAC-lavar la ropa-FRQ-SUB
after	finish-RES	eat-1EXCL	with-SUB	??	1SGAC-wash clothes-FRQ-SUB

después cuando terminamos de comer (con nuestros padres) entonces después me pongo/puse a lavar (otra vez)

a-mbatuka-pó	shi-na	ma
1SGAC-lavar la ropa-FUT	3PRO-SUB	después
1SGAC-wash clothes-FUT	3PRO-SUB	after

lavo un poco

a-härö-yi	kä'ä-mpi	siyóra-mi
1SGAC-esperar-FRQ	ayer-LOC	criolla-DIM1
1SGAC-wait-FRQ	yesterday-LOC	white woman-DIM1

me puse/volví a esperar a la señorita criolla// volvía a esperar ayer a la señorita

a-mbori	ïrï-ñe'e	mba-para-e	handi-a
1SGAC-ayudar	1EXCLPOSS-lenguaje	ONH-color-REC	con-NOM
1SGAC-help	1EXCLPOSS-language	NHO-color-REC	with-NMLZ

le ayudo a escribir la lengua

hama	hai-pe	a-mba-para	ä-ï	handi	kä'ä-mpi	hasta las seis
después	el/ella-LOC	1SGAC-ONH-color	1SGAC-estar	con	ayer-LOC	
after	(s)he-LOC	1SGAC-NHO-color	1SGAC-be	with	yesterday-LOC	

después "de ahí" estoy/estuve escribiendo (con ella) hasta las seis

ma	opa-ma	mba-para	akwa	ora-pe-na	na
después	terminar-RES	ONH-color	DEM	hora-LOC-SUB	
after	finish-RES	NHO-color	DEM	time-LOC-SUB	

entonces cuando terminamos de escribir en esa hora

a-h-yi shi-rënta-pe-na
 1SGAC-ir-FRQ 1SGPOSS-casa-LOC-SUB
 1SGAC-go-FRQ 1SGPOSS-house-LOC-SUB
(cuando) me volví a mi casa

sāyaɪ-re kosira a-me'e-yi shu-na ma
 niño/a-PL té 1SGAC-dar-FRQ 3:PROOBL-SUB después
 child-PL tea 1SGAC-give-FRQ 3:PROOBL-SUB after
(cuando) a los chicos les volvía dar el té para (ellos)

kosira ópa-ma hou-áh-na ma
 té terminar-RES 3:comer-1EXCL-SUB después
 tea finish-RES 3:eat-1EXCL-SUB after
(cuando) el té hemos terminado

eee mbo'é-ah he-a-ré
 enseñar-IMPER 3:PROOBL-NOM-PL
 teach-IMPER 3:PROOBL-NMLZ-PL
tareas que les enseñan // las tareas

yapo-yi-we-reta ká'ä-pi
 hacer-FRQ-NOM-PL ayer-LOC
 do-FRQ-NOM-PL yesterday-LOC
después ellos hacen los deberes // (ellos) hacen los deberes

hama opa-maya yapo-yi-retá-na ma
 después terminar-RES hacer-FRQ-PL-SUB después
 after finish-RES do-FRQ-PL-SUB after
después de que han terminado de hacer la tarea // cuando terminaron de hacer

o-ipe ái-che a-yakatu ai-nyi ká'ä-pi-rä
 casa-adentro 1SGAC-entrar 1SGAC-arreglar 1:venir-FRQ ayer-LOC-SUB
 or-inside 1SGAC-enter 1SGAC-?? 1:come-FRQ yesterday-LOC-SUB
entro a arreglar un poco // adentro de la casa entré volviendo a arreglar ayer

opa-ma a-yakatu-na
 terminar-RES 1SGAC-arreglar-SUB
 finish-RES 1SGAC-??-SUB
(cuando) termino/é de arreglar

na ma pñtu-na a-ma-moi-yi kää-mpi
 a partir de ahí después noche-SUB 1SGAC-ONH-cocinar-FRQ ayer-LOC
 at this point after night-SUB 1SGAC-NHO-cook-FRQ yesterday-LOC
de noche cocino otra vez (cuando es) de noche volví/vuelvo a cocinar

o ámo-pe timbiú yi-sowóra-va a-mbaku-yi shu-reta
 o a veces-LOC comida 3-sobra-NOM 1SGAC-calentar-FRQ 3:PROOBL-PL
 or sometimes-LOC food 3-??-NOM 1SGAC-heat-FRQ 3:PROOBL-PL
o lo que queda vuelvo a calentar para ellos // vuelvo a calentar la comida que sobró para ellos

hama opa káru-rä na yi-rah o-che-ve-reta ká'ä-mpi
 después terminar comer-SUB a partir de ahí 3-llevar 3-dormir-NOM-PL ayer-LOC
 after finish eat-SUB at this moment 3-carry 3-sleep-NOM-PL yesterday-LOC
cuando terminan de comer los chicos se van a dormir ayer

Esther 5: Historia de Esther adolescente

aríkai-pi shü-kuñätäi shü-kuñätäi-na
 hace mucho tiempo-en 1SGIN-señorita 1SGIN-señorita-SUB
 long time ago-in 1SGIN-young lady 1SGIN-young lady-SUB
hace muchos años...(cuando yo) era jovencita

ai-pota sindaro kuña-rä a-i-kwe-pi
 Yo-querer policía hembra-SUB 1SGAC-está-PSD-HAB
 I-want policeman female-SUB 1SGAC-be-PST-HAB
cuando quería ser mujer policía

kati kati shu-pu'ere-ä ai-mboi he arikae
 pero pero 1SGIN-poder-NEG 1SGAC-estudiar 3:PROOBJ hace mucho tiempo
 but but 1SGIN-can-NEG 1SGAC-learn 3:PROOBJ long time ago
pero no pude estudiar antes

yawaive shé-ru-re mba'apo kavi-än-yi-re-rä
 porque 1SGPOSS-padre-PL trabajar bien-NEG-FRQ-PL-SUB
 because 1SGPOSS-father-PL work well-NEG-FRQ-PL-SUB
porque mis padres no tenían trabajo

kiripoti yave-ä shu-réta arkai-pi
 dinero bastar-NEG 3:PROOBL-PL hace mucho tiempo-LOCMOV
 money be enough-NEG 3:PROOBL-PL long time ago-LOCMOV
la plata no les alcanzaba

ai-pota-te-imeĩ ai-mboi á-i-wa
 1SGAC-querer-??-?? 1SGAC-estudar 1SGAC-estar-NOM
 1SGAC-want-??-?? 1SGAC-study 1SGAC-be-NOM
quería seguir estudiando

kati ayema ai-mboë-ä he arikae
 Pero aunque 1SGAC-estudiar-NEG 3:PROOBJ hace mucho tiempo
 But although 1SGAC-study-NEG 3:PROOBJ long time ago
a pesar de que no podía estudiar lo que deseaba; a pesar de que no estudié

ai-pota ai-mbo'e hé-a
 1SGAC-querer 1SGAC-estudiar 3:PROOBJ-NOM
 1SGAC-want 1SGAC-study 3:PROOBJ-NOM
lo que deseaba, lo que quería estudiar

ime-ma-tén-yi-we a-mba'apo ä-ĩ-ä-mpe
 haber-RES-??-FRQ-NOM 1SGAC-trabajar 1SGAC-estar-NOM-LOC
 there is-RES-??-FRQ-NMLZ 1SGAC-work 1SGAC-be-NMLZ-LOC
por lo menos tengo trabajito donde estoy trabajando // ya tengo otro trabajo

hama a-mba'apo á-i-ä-mpe kapiři
 entonces 1SGAC-Trabajar 1SGAC-estar-NOM-LOC bien
 then 1SGAC-Work 1SGAC-be-NMLZ-LOC good
donde estoy está bien

kapiři a-mba'apo á-i-ä-mpe yawaive
 bien 1SGAC-Trabajar 1SGAC-estar-NOM-OC porque
 good 1SGAC-Work 1SGAC-be-NMLZ-LOC because
está bien donde estoy trabajando porque

sanyaï-mi-re	shi-komunida-pë	'ö	a-mbori	á-i-rä
niño/a-DIM1-PL	1SGPOSS-comunidad-LOC	??	1SGAC-ayudar	1SGAC-estar-SUB
child-DIM1-PL	1SGPOSS-community-LOC	??	1SGAC-help	1SGAC-be-SUB

los niños de mi comunidad estoy ayudando

ma	hai-mi-re	shi-kwa-ma-yiwe-reta	kä'ä-mpi
entonces	el/ella-DIM1-PL	1SGP-conocer-RES-??-PL	ayer-LOC
then	(s)he-DIM1-PL	1SGP-know-RES-??-PL	yesterday-LOC

y "ellectos" me conocen ya a mi también

a-ha-se	a-mbori-yiwe-reta-na-ma
1SGAC-ir-DES1	1SGAC-ayudar-??-PL-SUB-RES
1SGAC-go-DES1	1SGAC-help-??-PL-SUB-RES

porque siempre voy a ayudarlos a ellos

Esther 6: Historia de Esther ahora

a-mbeu-po	pe	pi-yasaka	pë-ï	shi-re-wa
1SGAC-narrar-FUT	ustedes	2PL-escuchá!	2PL-estar	1SGIN-rehe-NOM
1SGAC-tell-FUT	you(pl)	2PL-listen	2PL-be	1SGIN-rehe-NMLZ

voy a contarles los que me están escuchando

tanta	grasia	a-me'e	shu
		1SGAC-dar	3:PROOBL
		1SGAC-give	3:PROOBL

doy muchas gracias a él

mba-kwe	pente	ñani-representante	ñánde-a
Quién-PSD	uno	1INCLPOSS-representante	nos.(inc.)-NOM
Who-PST	one	1INCLPOSS-representative	we(inc.)-NOM

un representante nuestro / cuando nuestro representante

ñandi-lei	mbu-lucha	i	he-na
1INCLPOSS-ley	CAUS1-lucha		3:PROOBJ-SUB
1INCLPOSS-law	CAUS1-fight		3:PROOBJ-SUB

por nuestra ley está luchando

hama	arä	grasia	ña-më-po	shu
entonces	ahora	gracias	1PLINCL-dar-FUT	3:PROOBL
then	now	thanks	1PLINCL-give-FUT	3:PROOBL

ahora le damos las gracia / entonces ahora tenemos que darle gracias

yavaive	hai-rehe	mba'apó-hä-të	iko-ha-yiwe-rä
porque	el/ella-rehe	trabajar-1EXCL-??	está-1EXC-??-SUB
because	(s)he-rehe	work-1EXCL-??	be-1EXCL-??-SUB

porque por él estamos trabajando nosotros

ma	ai-pota-sha-ímei	ai-mboi	ai-yiwe
entonces	1SGAC-querer-DES2-??	1SGAC-estudiar	volver-??
then	1SGAC-want-DES2-??	1SGAC-study	come back-??

quisiera seguir estudiando

yavaive	heta	sanya'i-mi-reta	mbai	kwa-'ä	teri-kwe-pi
porque	mucho	niño/a-DIM1-PL	cosa	entender-NEG	todavía-PSD-HAB
because	a lot	child-DIM1-PL	thing	understand-NEG	still-PST-HAB

porque hay muchos chiquitos que no saben todavía

shá-ä-rä-pi karai siyora-re ñi-mboi katu hai-reta-kwe-pi-rä
 ver-NEG-Q-HAB criollo criolla-PL 3-estudiar bien el/ella-PL-PSD-HAB-SUB
 see-NEG-Q-HAB white man white woman-PL 3-study good (s)he-PL-PST-HAB-SUB
vió cómo son los criollos, las criollas estudian mucho ellas

ma ai-pota kñá-imeí ai-mbói-te ai-yíwe
 entonces 1SGAC-querer así-?? 1SGAC-estudiar-?? 1:volver-??
 then 1SGAC-want in this way-?? 1SGAC-study-?? 1:come back-??
quiero seguir estudiando así (como ellos)

yavaive ime-kwe-pi karai i-ñe'e hendu-ha-mba
 porque haber-PSD-HAB criollo 3POSS-lenguaje escuchar-IMPER-NNEG
 because there is-PST-HAB white man 3POSS-language listen-IMPER-NNEG
porque hay (algunas) lenguas criollas que no entendemos

hana hana kati ai-pota irü año-pe ai-mboi ai-yíwe-kwi
 por eso pero 1SGAC-querer otro año-LOC 1SGAC-estudiar 1:volver-??-FUT
 this is why but 1SGAC-want other year-LOC 1SGAC-study 1:come-FRQ-??-FUT
pero quiero el año que viene voy a volver a estudiar

ha'i-ma
 1SG:decir-RES
 1SG:say-RES
he dicho

Esther 7: Despedida de Hebe

kuri ai-che ai-che ai o-ipe-rä
 recién 1SGAC-entrar 1SGAC-entrar 1:venir casa-adentro-SUB
 recently 1SGAC-enter 1SGAC-enter 1:come house-inside-SUB
recién cuando he venido entrando dentro de la casa

Hebe a-mba'apo handi-wërä
 Hebe 1SGAC-trabajar con-para
 Hebe 1SGAC-work with-for
para trabajar con la Hebe

kati shi-poeré-am-po a-mba'apo handi
 pero 1SGIN-poder-NEG-FUT 1SGAC-trabajar con
 but 1SGIN-can-NEG-FUT 1SGAC-work with
pero no voy a poder trabajar con ella

yawaiwe mémbi-mi aetë-ä i-rä y
 porque hijo/a de la mujer-DIM1 casi-NEG está-SUB y
 because woman's offspring-DIM1 almost-NEG be-SUB and
porque su hijito no anda bien y

hänä mbeu o-i she
 por eso narrar 3AC-estar yo
 this is why tell 3AC-estar I
por eso me está diciendo que ella quiere volver a irse ya

pota-yí-ma-nda o-h yí-na-ma
 querer-FRQ-RES-EVD 3AC-ir volver-SUB-RES
 want-FRQ-RES-EVD 3AC-go come back-SUB-RES
por eso me está diciendo que ella quiere volver a irse ya

shi-mbi-pi'ä-än	yavaive	ai-pikoá-ma	hándi-wa
1SGIN-CAUS1-panza-NEG	porque	1SGAC-acostumbrarse-RES	con-NOM
1SGIN-CAUS1-belly-NEG	because	1SGAC-get used-RES	with-NMLZ

quedé triste porque ya me he acostumbrado con ella

ó-h	yí-ma	pota	i	katí	ñ-awändäi	o-h	yí
3AC-ir	volver-RES	querer	y	pero	3POSS-razón	3AC-ir	volver
3AC-go	come back-RES	want	and	but	3POSS-reason	3AC-go	come back

ya se va a ir por eso tiene (su) razón en irse

mém-bi-mi	ä	a'áre-we	aïn-te-ma	ñi-mbairási-na
hijo/a de la mujer-DIM1	ahora	a cada rato-también		3-enfermedad-SUB
woman's offspring-DIM1	now	every time-also		3-illness-SUB

el hijo a cada rato se enferma

Juliana 12: Cómo cazaban a los animales antes

a-mbeu-po	ko	wasu	yuka-ha-räimi
1SGAC-narrar-FUT	DEM	corzuela	matar-NOM-parecido
1SGAC-tell-FUT	DEM	kind of animal	kill-NOM-alike

voy a contar como se mataba esta corzuela

mbe'u-ah-we	she-wa	mba	arkai-pi
narrar-IMPER-también	yo-NOM	??	hace mucho tiempo-LOC
tell-IMPER-also	I-NMLZ	??	long time ago-LOC

lo que me han contado a mí también antes

muña-ha	ñ-ankwa	hái-na-ma
corretear-IMPER	3IN-rápido	el/ella-SUB-RES
to harass-IMPER	3IN-speedy	(s)he-SUB-RES

le corrían (pero) era muy rápido

hapa	heki	shu-reta
flecha	sacar	3:PROOBL-PL
arrow	pull out	3:PROOBL-PL

cuando sacaban las flechas para ellos

hapa	hai	y...	u'í	yapi-ah
flecha	el/ella	y	flecha	tirar-IMPER
arrow	(s)he	and	arrow	stone-IMPER

ese su flecha y... arco tiraban lo estiraban tiraban con eso

mantá-hä-rä	yapi-ah-pi-na
tirar-IMPER-SUB	tirar-IMPER-INST-SUB
streich-IMPER-SUB	stone-IMPER-INST-SUB

ese su flecha y... arco tiraban lo estiraban tiraban con eso

o-h	he-na	yuka-ah
3AC-ir	3:PROOBJ-SUB	matar-IMPER
3AC-go	3:PROOBJ-SUB	kill-IMPER

cuando le pega le mata, cae en el suelo

ó-h	íwi-pe-ma-rä	hame-rä	yuká-ah
3AC-ir	tierra-LOC-RES-SUB	entonces-SUB	matar-IMPER
3AC-go	earth-LOC-RES-SUB	then-SUB	kill-IMPER

cuando le pega le mata, cae en el suelo

hama	we-rú-ha-na	piro-ha
después	3AC-traer-IMPER-SUB	pelar-IMPER
after	3AC-bring-IMPER-SUB	peel off-IMPER

cuando lo traían, lo pelaban

piro-ha hai	hoka	yawaiwe	hai	pire-wa-rä
pelar-1EXCL	el/ella DEM.	porque	el/ella	piel-NOM-SUB
peel off-1EXCL	(s)he DEM.	because	(s)he	skin-NMLZ-SUB

lo pelamos a ese porque ese tiene cuero

hame	hainá	mbi-pika-ah	ka	mbi-asao-ha-wërä
entoncesa	partir de ahí	CAUS1-picar-1EXCL	y	CAUS1-asado-1EXCL-para
then	from that moment	CAUS1-mince-1EXCL	and	CAUS1-barbecue-1EXCL-for

entonces de ahí recién lo picamos para asarlo

kä'ënta	yai-po	shu
palo para azar	1PLINCL:decir-FUT	3:PROOBL
stick to grill	1PLINCL:say-FUT	3:PROOBL

"kä'ënta" le vamos a llamar

kä'ënta	kutu-ah-pi-na
palo para azar	apuñalar-IMPER-INST-SUB
stick to grill	stab-IMPER-INST-SUB

cuando le hincan con la "ka'enta"

tata	hiwache	mi-mboi-ha
fuego	3IN-igual	CAUS1-parado-IMPER
fire	3IN-same	CAUS1-standing-IMPER

al lado del fuego lo para

arka-ite	mbaéti-ma	arkae
hace mucho tiempo-SUP	no-RES	hace mucho tiempo
long time ago-SUP	no-RES	long time ago

antes no había

pariya	he-a	shu-a
parrilla	3:decir-1EXCL	3:PROOBL-NOM
grill	3:say-1EXCL	3:PROOBL-NMLZ

antes no había lo que le llamamos parrilla

ä	opa	imen	ka-kwe-pi	ka
ahora	todo	haber	y-PSD-HAB	y
now	all	there is	and-PST-HAB	and

entonces ahora hay y fierro que van pegado juntos

hierro	momboya-ah	i-yéhe-wa
metal	pegar-IMPER	3IN-yehe-NMLZ
metal	to stick-IMPER	3IN-yehe-NMLZ

entonces ahora hay y fierro que van pegado juntos

hama	mba'éti-na	ti-kä'ënta
entonces	no-SUB	DEFPOSS-palo para azar
then	no-SUB	DEFPOSS-stick to grill

entonces cuando no había la parilla de alguien para que usáramos antes

por'í-ha he arikae
 ocupar-IMPER 3:PROOBJ hace mucho tiempo
 use-IMPER 3:PROOBJ long time ago
entonces cuando no había la parilla de alguien para que usáramos antes

arkai-wa-re mbai yuka-na
 hace mucho tiempo-NOM-PL cosa matar-SUB
 long time ago-NMLZ-PL thing kill-SUB
los de antes cuando mataban

hame mba moña-ha-yi arkaipi
 entonces ?? correatar-IMPER-FRQ hace mucho tiempo-LOC
 then ?? to harass-IMPER-FRQ long time ago-LOC
entonces lo volvían a correr antes

kiná-mi-nyí tapiti
 así-DIMI-FRQ conejo
 in this way-DIMI-FRQ rabbit
así también al conejo lo ponían debajo del fuego

tata-ipe mimiye-ha shi hai
 fuego-abajo(tocando) urgar continuamente-IMPER 3PRO el/ella
 fire-under rummage in-IMPER 3PRO (s)he
así también al conejo lo ponían debajo del fuego

haa-kwe hahape-ha shi hai hoka
 pelos-AUG quemar-1EXCL 3PRO el/ella DEM.
 hair-AUG burn-1EXCL 3PRO (s)he DEM.
los pelos le quemábamos a él

ha'e-ä hai piro-ha
 el/ella-NEG el/ella pelar-1EXCL
 (s)he-NEG (s)he peel off-1EXCL
eso no se pela, lo quemaban así no más de su pelo

hahape-ha i-mba shi arkaipi haa
 quemar-IMPER 3PRO hace mucho tiempo-LOC pelos
 burn-IMPER 3PRO long time ago-LOC hair
eso no se pela, lo quemaban así no más de su pelo

hoka hai tapiti wasu
 DEM. el/ella conejo corzuela
 DEM. (s)he rabbit corzuel
ese es el conejo grande

amo-pe piro-ha
 a veces-LOC pelar-IMPER
 sometimes-LOC peel off-IMPER
a veces los pelaban, a veces le quemaban el vello

amo-pe hahape-ah ë-ĩ shi
 a veces-LOC quemar-IMPER 3AC-estar 3PRO
 sometimes-LOC burn-IMPER 3AC-be 3PRO
a veces los pelaban, a veces le quemaban el vello

tenta mbiri ya-h ña-mbareka-nä
 pueblo lejos 1PLINCL-ir 1PLINCL-campear-SUB
 village far 1PLINCL-go 1PLINCL-hunt-SUB
lejos del pueblo íbamos a cazar

ya-písi-ma-nte yau-wēnä
 1PLINCL-tocar-RES-?? 1INCL:comer-para
 1PLINCL-catch-RES-?? 1INCL:eat-for
pillábamos para comer

hama hai-pi ya-hesha-yi ka'a t̥iwapa-mi
 entonces el/ella-LOCMOV 1PLINCL-ver-FRQ bosque quirquincho-DIM1
 then (s)he-LOCMOV 1PLINCL-see-FRQ wood kind of animal-DIM1
entonces por ahí volvíamos a ver un quirquinchito

ña-moña-yiwe ña-moña-rä
 1PLINCL-corretear-?? 1PLINCL-corretear-SUB
 1PLINCL-to harass-?? 1PLINCL-to harass-SUB
le corremos, cuando le corremos

kati woka hai yajakwa he
 pero ese el/ella garrotear 3:PROOBJ
 but that (s)he to hit 3:PROOBJ
pero ese le garroteamos

ha'e ko ya-irupi-mi-pe ya-yuka-rä
 el/ella DEM 3POSS-nuca-DIM1-LOC 1PLINCL-matar-SUB
 (s)he DEM 3POSS-nape of the neck-DIM1-LOC 1PLINCL-kill-SUB
ahí en su nuquita cuando lo matamos

ha'é-ä-ma hai u'i w̥irapa-ä ya-pori he
 el/ella-NEG-RES el/ella flecha arco-NEG 1PLINCL-ocupar 3:PROOBJ
 (s)he-NEG-RES (s)he arrow arch-NEG 1PLINCL-use 3:PROOBJ
ya no se usa la "u'i" y "w̥irapa" no utilizamos

hai woka hama ñga i ya-yuka-yi
 el/ella ese entonces otro está 1PLINCL-matar-FRQ
 (s)he that then other be 1PLINCL-kill-FRQ
este lo matamos de otra manera

hama yajakwa he-rä manu
 entonces garrotear 3:PROOBJ-SUB morir
 then to hit 3:PROOBJ-SUB die
entonces cuando lo garroteamos muere

hama tata-mpi hi'e-mi iärë ña-mi-nihe hai
 entonces fuego-INST 3:vientre-DIM1 encima 1PLINCL-CAUS1-llenar el/ella
 then fire-INST belly-DIM1 on 1PLINCL-CAUS1-fill (s)he
entonces le llenamos brazas sobre su pancita

ña-mb-oyi yau-wērä
 1PLINCL-CAUS1-asar 1INCL:comer-para
 1PLINCL-CAUS1-grill 1INCL:eat-for
lo cocinamos para comer

minshí haina		ya-piró-ä-ma		hai	tata-wasu
chico	a partir de ahí	1INCL-pelar-NEG-RES		el/ella	fuego-grande
small	from that moment	1INCL-peel off-NEG-RES		(s)he	fire-big

porque es chiquito ya no lo pelamos

pire-ríheve	tata	híwache	ña-ñono-pí
cáscara-junto	fuego	3IN-igual	1PLINCL-poner-INST
husk-together	fire	3IN-same	1PLINCL-put-INST

con su caparazón en la orilla del fuego le ponemos

tata-mpí	ña-mí-nñhë
fuego-INST	1PLINCL-CAUS1-llenar
fire-INST	1PLINCL-CAUS1-fill

con el fuego lo llenamos

kiná	ña-mb-oyi	hai	tíwapa
así	1PLINCL-CAUS1-cocido	el/ella	quirquincho
in this way	1PLINCL-CAUS1-cooked	(s)he	kind of animal

así cocinamos al quirquincho

Juliana 16: Receta 2-chicha

a-mbeu-po	mba	arkai-pi
1SGAC-narrar-FUT	??	hace mucho tiempo-LOC
1SGAC-tell-FUT	??	long time ago-LOC

voy a contar lo que antes en carnaval nuestra fiesta grande

kandaware-pe	ñandi-arete-wasu-rä
carnaval-LOC	1PLINCL-fiesta-grande-SUB
carnaval-LOC	1PLINCL-party-big-SUB

voy a contar lo que antes en carnaval nuestra fiesta grande

shi-yari-reta	tinonde	yapo	arkai-pi	käwí
1SGPOSS-abuela-PL	el primero	hacer	hace mucho tiempo-LOC	chicha
1SGPOSS-grandmother-PL	the first one	do	long time ago-LOC	corn liquor

mis abuelas primero hacían chicha

hama	awati	mbu-ruru	shu-reta-na
entonces	maíz	CAUS1-húmedo	3:PROOBL-PL-SUB
then	maize	CAUS1-wet	3:PROOBL-PL-SUB

entonces cuando lo remojaban al maíz

yoso-ha	awati	tánta-wa
moler-1EXCL	maíz	tierno-NOM
grind-1EXCL	maize	soft-NMLZ

molíamos el maíz duro

hama	hai-vi	ku'i-ma-na	pire-kwe	opa	heki-ah	shi
entonces	el/ella-DIR	molido-RES-SUB	cáscara-AUG	todo	sacar-1EXCL	3PRO
then	(s)he-DIR	ground-RES-SUB	husk-AUG	all	pull out-1EXCL	3PRO

entonces de ahí cuando ya estaba molido le sacábamos toda la cascarita del maíz

piré	opa	heki-ah	shi-na	ma	hainá	shu'u-ha
cáscara	todo	sacar-1EXCL	3PRO-SUB	entonces	a partir de ahí	masticar-1EXCL
husk	all	pull out-1EXCL	3PRO-SUB	then	from that moment	chew-1EXCL

cuando le sacan toda la cascarita, entonces de ahí lo mascamos

shu'u-ah-na pupu-seve-na
 masticar-1EXCL-SUB hervir-juntos-SUB
 chew-1EXCL-SUB boil-together-SUB
cuando lo mascamos hierven juntos

ma nohe-ah-yi shi kimi
 entonces sacar-1EXCL-FRQ 3PRO
 then pull out-1EXCL-FRQ 3PRO
entonces lo sacamos de ahí después de un rato de haberlo sacado (del fuego)

nohe-ah shi-na ma
 sacar-1EXCL 3PRO-SUB entonces
 pull out-1EXCL 3PRO-SUB then
entonces lo sacamos de ahí

ma ni'insa-mi-ma o-i-ra
 entonces frío-DIM1-RES 3AC-estar-SUB
 then cold-DIM1-RES 3AC-be-SUB
entonces cuando está un poco frío

heki-ah shi ka hatikwekwe
 sacar-1EXCL 3PRO y tipo de maíz-AUG
 raise-1EXCL 3PRO and kind of corn-AUG
y lo sacamos el maíz que queda en el colador

hatikwekwe-ra nantu-ha-ma hai ka hoka
 tipo de maíz-AUG-SUB guardar-IMPER-RES el/ella y DEM.
 kind of corn-AUG-SUB keep-IMPER-RES (s)he and DEM.
guardamos el maíz ya mscado y entonces eso es

nantu-ah-na shiu shiu es siete no? ma ë-ra
 guardar-IMPER-SUB siete siete
 keep-IMPER-SUB seven seven
lo que se guarda siete, siete entonces está

kwa he(se) hasi-ma o-i-ra nohe-ha
 saber 3:PROOBJ dolor-RES 3AC-estar-Q sacar-IMPER
 know 3:PROOBJ pain-RES 3AC-be-Q pull out-IMPER
cuando ya saben que está fuerte lo sacan

hama wäeh-ma ka kandavare hai-pe
 entonces llegar-RES y carnaval el/ella-LOC
 then arrive-RES and carnaval (s)he-LOC
y entonces ahí ya llega el carnaval

hama angu'a nohe-ha wiropo-ah-pi-wa hoka hai
 entonces bombo sacar-IMPER 3AC-bailar-IMPER-INST-NOM DEM. el/ella
 then drum pull out-IMPER 3AC-dance-IMPER-INST-NMLZ DEM. (s)he
entonces sacan el bombo para bailar eso es

ko a-mbeu ä-i-wa hai kawi
 DEM 1SGAC-narrar 1SGAC-estar-NOM el/ella chicha
 DEM 1SGAC-tell 1SGAC-be-NMLZ (s)he corn liquor
esto lo que estoy contando es chicha chicha lo que estoy contando

kāwī	hai	a-mbeu	ä-ï-wa
chicha	el/ella	1SGAC-narrar	1SGAC-estar-NOM
corn liquor	(s)he	1SGAC-tell	1SGAC-be-NMLZ

esto lo que estoy contando es chicha chicha lo que estoy contando

hai-we	ñandi-arete-wasu-pe
el/ella-también	1PLINCL-fiesta-grande-LOC
(s)he-also	1PLINCL-party-big-LOC

eso es nuestra fiesta grande lo que tomábamos antes

ya-ka'u-pi-a	mba	arkai
1PLINCL-beber (alcohol)-INST-NOM	??	hace mucho tiempo
1PLINCL-drink-INST-NMLZ	??	long time ago

eso es nuestra fiesta grande lo que tomábamos antes

Victoria 1: Cómo tiene que ser un buen cacique

a-mbeu-po	ko	siyora	pirandu	ë
1SGAC-narrar-FUT	este	criolla	preguntar	estar
1SGAC-tell-FUT this	white woman	ask		be

voy a contar (a) esta señora (que) está preguntando

kasike mără	heko-wa
cacique cómo	comportamiento-NOM
cacique how	behavior-NOM

cómo es el cacique en su comportamiento (manera de ser)

tï	ko	ta'ipe	katu	mba'apo-wa
Pero	este	mujer	saber	trabajar-NOM
But	this	woman	know	work-NMLZ

pero esta mujer sabe trabajar // si una mujer sabe trabajar

yi-wache	i-po	kasike-na	o-h
3-igual	está-FUT	cacique-SUB	3-ir
3-same	be-FUT	cacique-SUB	3-go

de igual manera puede ser cacique ella

huwisha	kuña	yei	shu
cacique	hembra	1PLINCL:decir	3:PROOBL
chief	female	1PLINCL:say	3:PROOBL

jefe mujer le decimos a ella

katu	mba'apo-wa
saber	trabajar-NOM
know	work-NMLZ

a la que sabe trabajar

hai	a-mbeu-po	ko	ka'aru
el/ella	1SGAC-narrar-FUT	este	tarde
(s)he	1SGAC-tell-FUT	this	afternoon

eso voy a contar esta tarde

mai-mpo	he	ko	tïyupa-ipi-po
mirar-FUT	3:PROOBL	DEM	casa-LOCMOV-FUT
look at-FUT	3:PROOBL	DEM	house-LOCMOV-FUT

tiene que mirar por las casa

mäë	o-ho	mäö-rä	pöra-mba	ö-i-wä
mirar	3-3:ir	cuál es-Q	lindo-No	3-estar-NOM
look at	3-3:go	which one-Q	cute-No	3-be-NMLZ

va mirando quién está mal

íme-ra	ë	ñi-mbairási-wa
haber-Q	estar	3-enfermedad-NOM
there is-Q	be	3-illness-NMLZ

si es que hay enfermos

hai-po	mäi	hé	ko	kasike
el/ella-FUT	mirar	3:PROOBJ	DEM	cacique
(s)he-FUT	look at	3:PROOBJ	DEM	cacique

eso tiene que mirar el cacique

taipe	kasike-na	o-i-rä	kiná	ï-po-yiwé
mujer	cacique-SUB	3AC-estar-SUB	así	estar-FUT-??
woman	cacique-SUB	3ACbe-SUB	in this way	be-FUT-??

si una mujer está de cacique tiene que ser igual / lo mismo

mäë-po	o-h-yiwé	ti-yúpa-ipi
mirar-FUT	3-3:ir-??	DEFPOSS-casa-LOCMOV
look at-FUT	3-3:go-??	DEFPOSS-house-LOCMOV

tiene que venir mirando por las casas

mäó-wä-rä	mpöra-mba	ö-i-wä
cuál es-NOM-Q	lindo-No	3-estar-NOM
which one-NMLZ-Q	cute-No	3-be-NMLZ

quienes están mal

sha-ra	heta-pi	ko	sanyai-re
ver-Q	mucho-HAB	DEM	niño/a-PL
see-Q	a lot-HAB	DEM	child-PL

no ves que hay muchos chicos

dokumento	mba'eti	shu-wa
documento	nada	3:PROOBL-NOM
ID	nothing	3:PROOBL-NMLZ

sin documentos

hai	mba'eti-pi	ko	tapiéte-pe
el/ella	nada-HAB	DEM	tapiete-LOC
(s)he	nothing-HAB	DEM	tapiete-LOC

eso es lo que no hay en tapiete

kiná	ma'e	o-h-wenä
así	mirar	3-3:ir-para
in this way	look at	3-3:go-for

(alguien) que vaya mirando / que vea

heta	sanyai-mba	mba'eti	shu-wa
mucho	niño/a-NNEG	nada	3:PROOBL-NOM
a lot	child-NNEG	nothing	3:PROOBL-NMLZ

mucha gente grande que no tiene

hai a-mbeu' ä-ĩ
 el/ella 1SGAC-narrar 1SGAC-estar
 he/she 1SGAC-tell 1SGAC-be

eso estoy contando

ime-mpi sanyaĩ-re kĩna i
 haber-LOC niño/a-PL así y
 there is-LOC child-PL in this way and

hay chicos que así

kwakwa-ma o-h-wa-ré
 Criarse-RES 3-ir-NOM-PL
 Grow up-RES 3-go-NMLZ-PL

se van criando

yi-papere mba'eti
 3POSS-papel nada
 3POSS-paper nothing

sin sus papeles

papere dokumento he-a shu-a
 papel documento decir-IMPER 3:PROOBL-NOM
 paper ID say-IMPER 3:PROOBL-NMLZ

papeles al que le dicen documento

hai kĩna-nte-mpo-pi kasike
 el/ella así-??-FUT-HAB cacique
 (s)he in this way-??-FUT-HAB cacique

el cacique así tiene que ser

hai-ma
 decir-RES
 say-RES

ya dije

Victoria 11: Remedio para la diarrea

a-mbeu-po-yĩ ko ñĩwasüĩ he'e-a shu-a
 1SGAC-narrar-FUT-FRQ DEM tala nombrar-IMPER 3:PROOBL-NOM
 1SGAC-tell-FUT-FRQ DEM kind of plant to name-IMPER 3:PROOBL-NMLZ

Voy a contar este que le dicen tala

sanyaĩ popoti i-na hai ña-me hou-yĩ
 niño/a diarrea está-SUB el/ella 1PLINCL-dar 3:comer-FRQ
 child diarrhea be-SUB (s)he 1PLINCL-give 3:eat-FRQ

Cuando el chico está con diarrea le damos eso de tomar

ampo ña-mbu-pupu shu ñĩwasüĩ hoki
 este... 1PLINCL-CAUS1-hervir 3:PROOBL tala hoja
 ?? 1PLINCL-CAUS1-boil 3:PROOBL kind of plant leaf

Este ... hacemos hervir la hoja de tala

unundi hoki-ra-po ña-mbu-pupu shu sanyaĩ
 cuatro hoja-Q-FUT 1PLINCL-CAUS1-hervir 3:PROOBL niño/a
 four leaf-Q-FUT 1PLINCL-CAUS1-boil 3:PROOBL child

Cuatro hojas haremos hervir? para un chico

pente tansa hou-wena popoti i-na
 uno jarro 3:comer-para diarrea estar-SUB
 one pitcher 3:eat-for diarrhea be-SUB
que él toma una taza cuando está con diarrea.

sanyaï h'e hasi-pi-na hai ña-me hou
 niño/a 3:vientre dolor-LOC-SUB el/ella 1PLINCL-dar 3:comer
 child belly pain-LOC-SUB (s)he 1PLINCL-give 3:eat
Cuando al chico le duele la panza eso le damos de tomar.

ámo-pemba hapi ría-ma ö-i-na hainá mñn-gwéra-ve
 a veces-LOC tres día-RES 3AC-estar-SUB a partir de ahí CAUS1-sanar-NOM
 sometimes-LOC three day-RES3AC-be-SUB from that moment CAUS1-cure-NOM
A veces a los tres días recién ya le cura.

ko sanyaï popoti i-na ko ñiwasüi he'i-a shu-a
 DEM niño/a diarrea está-SUB DEM tala 3:decir-IMPER 3:PROOBL-NOM
 DEM child diarrhea be-SUB DEM kind of plant 3:say-IMPER 3:PROOBL-NMLZ
Este chico cuando está con diarrea esta tala que le dicen,

hai-we ñani-möhä
 3:decir-NOM 1INCLPOSS-remedio
 3:say-NMLZ 1INCLPOSS-medicine
ese es nuestro remedio.

Victoria 17: Victoria entrevista a Feliza

am-pirandu-po nde
 1SGAC-preguntar-FUT vos
 1SGAC-ask-FUT you
te voy a preguntar para qué (sirve) (del) pájaro su nidito

mbai-pe-wërä-rä ko wira haiti-mi
 cosa-INST-para-SUB DEM pájaro nido-DIM1
 thing-INST-for-SUB DEM bird nest-DIM1
te voy a preguntar para qué (sirve) (del) pájaro su nidito

(Contesta Felisa)

wira haiti hai poi sanyaï kambu-wërä
 pájaro nido el/ella soltar niño/a mamar-para
 bird nest (s)he leave child suck-for
el nido del pájaro es para que el niño deje de mamar

pu katu-mä-rä ímei kambu-rä
 alto saber-RES-SUB todavía mamar-SUB
 high know-RES-SUB stil suck-SUB
cuando ya está grandecito, sigue chupando la teta

hai-po mi-hentun-ka hapi shu-rä
 el/ella-FUT CAUS1-oler-CAUS2 quemar 3:PROOBL-SUB
 (s)he-FUT CAUS1-smell-CAUS2 burn 3:PROOBL-SUB
le tiene que hacer oler el nido al chico cuando lo quema (el nido)

poi	kambu-na-me	i-po	poi	m̄-hentun-ka
soltar	mamar-SUB-LOC	vivir-FUT	soltar	CAUS1-oler-CAUS2
leave	suck-SUB-LOC	live-FUT	leave	CAUS1-smell-CAUS2

cuando deje de mamar, recién tenés que dejarle de hacer oler

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