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RICE UNIVERSITY

A GRAMMAR OF TIRIYÓ

by

Sérgio Meira S. C. O.

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
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APPROVED, THESIS COMMITTEE

Spike Gildea, Committee Chair
Associate Professor of Linguistics

Philip W. Davis,
Professor of Linguistics

Berend J. Hoff
Gastdocent Algemene Taalwetenschap
Universiteit Leiden

Suzanne E. Kemmer,
Associate Professor of Linguistics

Marianne Mithun
Professor of Linguistics
University of California,
Santa Barbara

Houston, Texas

May 1999
Abstract

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by

Sérgio Meira

The Tiriyó language has approximately 2,000 speakers (whose autodenomination is tarëno [təɾə:no], the term tiriyó or trio being of uncertain origin) who live in lowland South America, on both sides of the border between Brazil and Surinam. Like most other languages of the Cariban family, Tiriyó is chronically underdescribed. In the 117 years since Crevaux's first word list came out, very little has been written on the language: a few articles on specific points of phonology or grammar, two small tentative dictionaries, and two longer but incomplete sketches.

This dissertation is intended as an effort to improve this situation by offering a more detailed description of the Tiriyó language based on extensive field work. It has a traditional format: after an introductory chapter on the Tiriyó people and previous research on the language, it begins with a description of the segmental and suprasegmental phonology, continuing on to the definition of word classes and the description of their morphology and arriving at the syntax, using what could be broadly defined as a functional-typological approach. A certain number of diachronic remarks and
hypotheses are added when deemed appropriate; however, the synchronic descriptive goal is always the primary concern. After the basic description, a further chapter examines the lexicon, describing some formal regularities and also exploring its semantics via a closer look at some selected semantic fields. The appendices contain a collection of texts and a preliminary dictionary with grammatical information on every morpheme.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Exception, n. A thing which takes the liberty of differing from other things of its class, as an honest man, a truthful woman, etc. "The exception proves the rule" is an expression constantly upon the lips of the ignorant, who parrot it to one another with never a thought to its absurdity. In the Latin, "Exceptio probat regulam" means that the exception tests the rule, puts it to the proof, not confirms it. (....)

Ambrose Bierce, The Devil's Dictionary

Nothing ever ends. Nor does anything ever begin. There is no first moment; no single word or place from which any story springs. Nor is there any final moment, beyond which no story ever continues. Perspective is all there is, and our decisions (or maybe our limited capacity) to see certain connections but not others. So let me take a perspective, since I must; and, once that is done, the first image that strikes my eyes is the beauty of this language.

Tiriyó was not the first language I studied, not even the first Amerindian one; but it was the first that I examined over a long period of time, both by reading the (rather meager) literature and by going to places where it is the everyday language. Nothing beats the feeling of hearing people use this language till one becomes accustomed to it; the feeling of being addressed in it for the first time, and being able to answer meaningfully. The melody of its stress, the intricacies of its morphology, the charm of its words, all that and more; what else could I want? My only fear is that of doing injustice to this language by trying to capture some of it in this description. Looking back at my field notebooks, I am saddened by the thought that I may have mistranscribed words, misunderstood
explanations and translations, misinterpreted judgments of adequacy, or misanalyzed patterns. I have tried hard, and I would like to think that I have managed to avoid many pitfalls; yet I have no illusions. My last field trip saw many changes; I am sure there would be many more, had there been other field trips. I do hope that no future researcher of this language (myself included), who may find this description useful as a guide for further work, will ever mistake its content for The Truth. Hypotheses they are, and as hypotheses they will remain, ready to be changed if a fresh batch of data makes it necessary; just like the contents of any other descriptive grammar.

My first task is thus to thank the Tiriýó people, who so willingly shared their little treasure with me. They must have thought I was strange—why would any non-Tiriýó want to learn Tiriýó?—; nevertheless, they helped me, and were apparently delighted by whatever little progress I was able to make. I thank them as a people, but I particularly thank those who helped me more directly: my consultants Pedro Asehpê, Simetu, Nasau and João do Vale, and also Sebastiãø, Juliana, Rosene, Valéria, Berenice, Angelica, César, Ruki, in the Missão Tirió; Maminpê, in Matawaré; Ananpai, Têmeta, Wekúîmae and Onore, in Tepoe; Torohpa, Kamanja Panashekung, and Tomas, in Kuwamarasamutu. The Tiriýó speakers who helped me outside of their villages—Jacira and Júñior in Macapá and Belém, Jutesi and Moses in Paramaribo—also have my gratitude.

Of course, I could never have gone to the Tiriýó alone. I was a member of Dr. Spike Gildea’s Northern Brazilian Cariban Languages Documentation Project, supported by NSF grant DBS-9210130, which provided the material means to make my field work possible; its final phase was again financed by the NSF, by means of the Dissertation
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Many people have contributed to make my field work possible. So many would have the right to be mentioned here, if I wanted to be exhaustively fair, that the list—together with the description of the connections—would become unbearably tedious. I could simplify this task by simply thanking the whole world for existing (or myself, for that matter, which would amount to the same), but that would be unreasonable. Let me then begin by mentioning Dr. Denny Moore and the field workers—Ana Carla dos Santos Bruno, Gessiane Lobato Picanço, Sebastian Drude, Ana Vilacy Galucio and Eduardo Rival Ribeiro—from the Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi, in Belém, who helped me with their ideas, friendship and support, Dr. Francisco Queixalos, Dr. Odile Renault-Lescure
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A final word to you, the Reader, the ultimate goal of this work. If this grammar, inconclusive though it may be (hence the ‘first’ in the title), still ends up being a source of valuable information for you, then my goals will have been fulfilled. If you also happen to enjoy reading it—who knows, this world is full of all kinds of people, including those who like Cariban languages—, then I will be happy. For I will think that someone else has managed to understand the joy and satisfaction that my forays into the Tiriyo language have brought me. Etiam homo sum.
to the Tiriyo people

(kurano rēn nai ijomiiikon),

to my mother and sisters

(um obrigado merecido!)

and

to the Reader

(utinam semper legas!)
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1. INTRODUCTION

MAP 1. South America

MAP 2. Surinam and the Brazilian Border

1.1. Geography, demography, and economy. The Tiriyó people number around 2,000, living in various villages on both sides of the Brazilian border, close to the Tumucumaque (Tumuc-Humac) mountains, in lowland South America (cf. Maps 1 and 2). Table 1.1 has a list of the main villages, rivers, and estimated populations (demographical data on the Surinam villages from Carlin 1998).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>River</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Minority Groups</th>
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<tr>
<td>Surinam</td>
<td>Palomeu</td>
<td>Palomeu</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Wayana, Akuriyó</td>
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<tr>
<td>Surinam</td>
<td>Tapanahoni</td>
<td>Tepoe</td>
<td>200-300</td>
<td>Wayana, Akuriyó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surinam</td>
<td>Sipaliwini</td>
<td>Kwamalasamutu</td>
<td>800-1,000</td>
<td>Waiwai (Serewu, Tunayana), Sikiyana, Mawayana, Akuriyó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surinam</td>
<td>Sipaliwini</td>
<td>Sipaliwini</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Wayana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>West Paru</td>
<td>Missão Tiriós</td>
<td>700-1,000</td>
<td>Katxuyana (Sikiyana), Tunayana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>Paru</td>
<td>Matawaré</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>Cuxaré</td>
<td>Cuxaré (Marapi)</td>
<td>50</td>
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</table>
There is thus a sharp contrast between the three major demographic centers (in Surinam, Kwamalasamutu [kuwa:maра:ʂamu:tu]), with 800-1,000 inhabitants, and Tepoe [təpu], with 200-300 inhabitants; in Brazil, Missão Tiriós, with 700-1,000 inhabitants) and the four smaller villages, Paloemeu (actually a mixed village, with 50 Tiriyo and 50 Wayana), Sipaliwini, Cuxaré and Matawaré. The smaller villages seem to be the remnants of the earlier Tiriyo settlement pattern: the larger centers have emerged out of the concentration of populations originally much more widely spread out, as a direct consequence of missionary activity in the early 1960’s (cf. Rivière 1969, 1984, Frikel 1971). Modern conveniences are already available in the larger centers: each of them has an airstrip, a nursery or clinic, a school, and some source of electric power. Western medicine is readily available. However, the earlier small-village pattern has left its marks: the three larger centers are organized in a number of small subvillages not far from each other, with distances varying from less than a mile to several miles (for example, at Missão Tiriós, the subvillages would include Sawaru, Patanpê or ‘Missão Velha’, Oroi Entu, Paaruwaka, etc.). There seem to be other small villages in the area (Carlin 1998 mentions a small Tiriyo group at Kuruni [Coeroeni] and Amatopo, near the Guyana border; Janette Forte [pers. comm.] mentions that a small Tiriyo village has formed in Guyana), and there are also some Tiriyo living among other Amerindian groups (e.g. among the Wayana-Apalaf in the village of Bonna, on the East Paru). The interpersonal tensions in the larger centers have led to a certain tendency toward decentralization via the foundation of new villages, visible both in the Surinamese and in the Brazilian villages. At least in Brazil, this tendency is apparently becoming stronger: the formation
of new villages is now encouraged by the missionaries as a means to occupy the land and protect it against squatters.

In all villages, the population is linguistically homogeneous: all speak Tiriyó as their daily language, and the overwhelming majority of the population is monolingual. Languages of other Amerindian groups, if they are conserved at all, are spoken only by the members of these groups, who become fully bilingual in Tiriyó at an early age. The surrounding national languages, Portuguese in Brazil and Dutch and Sranantongo in Surinam, are known only to a very limited extent. Although Western languages enjoy a clear prestige—most people express the desire to learn them, and many believe that they should remain, as they now are, the only languages taught at school—, in practice, very few people have acquired more than a few words, phrases, and sentences. In spite of being taught Portuguese (Missão Tiriós) and Dutch (Kwamalasamutu and Tepoe) at school, most children cannot use it to communicate and address foreigners in Tiriyó instead. Most people welcome with relief any degree of proficiency in Tiriyó by a foreigner. Of course, the main reason for this is the relative isolation of the Tiriyó villages, which keeps the degree of exposure to outside languages very low. As the ties between the Tiriyó and the surrounding national societies become stronger, this situation will probably change.

The Tiriyó have good relations with their immediate neighbors, the Wayana (in Tiriyó waijana), who live to the east and southeast of the Tiriyó, in Brazil and French Guiana, and even better relations with the Waiwai (also waiwai in Tiriyó), who live to the
west and southwest of the Tiriyó, in Brazil and Guyana.¹ Their languages are also Cariban and thus related to Tiriyó, but the differences between them are considerable. To the north, along the Tapanahoni river, live the Ndyuka, a Maroon group with whom the Tiriyó had maintained extensive commercial contact in the past.² In fact, a Ndyuka-Tiriyó pidgin language was the basic means of communication between both groups in the 19th and early 20th century. This pidgin has an interesting history, having arisen from the contacts between the Ndyuka and the Tiriyó when the former established themselves along the Tapanahoni river at the end of the 18th century. It was also used by the Ndyuka in their dealings with the Wayana. Nowadays, however, most Amerindians who trade with the Ndyuka use Sranantongo, which has caused the pidgin to decline. Only a few older people remember it now (cf. Huttar & Velantie 1997 for further information, including grammatical details).

As Table 1.1 shows, there are people from other Amerindian groups among the Tiriyó. The Wayana are there basically because of intermarriage (except at Paloemeu, which is a mixed village). The Waiwai have also often intermarried with the Tiriyó; in addition, there is a group of Waiwai (specifically, Serewu and Tunayana) who live among the Tiriyó at Kwamalasamutu. Both the Wayana and the Waiwai usually conserve their

¹ There are, however, registers of former wars with the Wayana in the Tiriyó oral tradition (cf. e.g. Koelewijn 1987:262ff. With the Waiwai, on the other hand, the relationship is more fraternal, especially for the Surinam Tiriyó, who are, like the Waiwai, Protestants. Waiwais from Brazil and Tiriyós from Surinam often visit each other. Mutual friendly relations are also the case for the Tiriyó families who live among the Wayana at Bonna, on the East Paru river.
² The Tiriyó—and also Wayana and Waiwai—term for them is meekoro, a word probably derived from negro. The initial m is puzzling; it may have resulted from the influence of the Wayana and Waiwai term for capuchin monkey, meku (in Tiriyó, tarípi).
language in spite of learning Tiriyó. This is not the case for the Akuryi, recent newcomers (cf. 1.3) who have a definitely inferior social status (cf. Carlin 1998:13); in their case, Tiriyó has become the mother tongue of the younger generation, and even older speakers have changed their language due to Tiriyó influence (which is facilitated by the fact that Akuryi, also a Cariban language, is more closely related to Tiriyó than either Wayana or Waiwai; cf. Meira 1998a). The Akuryi language is not being learned by children anymore. The same can be said for the Mawayana; in fact, Carlin could not find a single speaker at Kwamalasamutu.³ The language of the Katuyana and Sikiiyana (the two groups speak very close dialects of the same language), also a Cariban language but relatively distant from Tiriyó, has been better preserved; at Missão Tiriós, in Brazil, approximately 100 speakers of all ages remain, and the language is being actively learned by children.

Linguistically, the Tiriyó can be divided in two major dialectal groups, here termed K-Tiriyó and H-Tiriyó. This distinction, already noticed by Jones 1972:45 (cf. also Carlin 1998:22), is based on the pronunciation of h-clusters (/hk/, /hu/, /hp/, and marginally /hs/). Basically, K-Tiriyó has no /h/, so that h-clusters are realized as single consonants with lengthening of the preceding vowel, whereas H-Tiriyó conserves the /h/, which affects, to different degrees, the pronunciation of a following stop (cf. 2.4.2.2). Jones calls H-Tiriyó the ‘Sipaliwini dialect’ and K-Tiriyó the ‘Paru dialect’. The author’s

³ The author, together with Dr. Spike Gildea, was able to locate Mawayana speakers living among the Waiwai during a field trip to their village on the Mapuera river, in Brazil. Even there, however, the language is dying: only a few older people are fully fluent, younger people being at best semi-speakers. The Mawayana language is clearly a member of the Maipuran (Arawakan) family. In view of its moribund state, it needs urgent attention from linguists.
field work, however, leads to a somewhat different geographical distribution, with K-
Tiriyó spoken in the northeast half of the Tiriyó area, along the East Paru and the
Tapanahoni, while H-Tiriyó covers the southwest part, along the Sipaliwini, West Paru,
and Cuxaré (Marapi) rivers. In Map 2, the presumed border between these two dialects is
indicated as the ‘Paho-Pako line’, from the pronunciation of the word for ‘father’,
[pah(h)o] to the west of the line and [pa:ko] to the east.4

Economically, the Tiriyó are basically self-sufficient. Their diet consists of meat
from hunting and fishing, and root crops from small-scale plantations. There is a clear
division of labor between the sexes: men usually hunt, fish and cut the fields, men and
women cooperate in the planting, and women take care of the fields, harvest the crops,
and cook. In Brazil, cattle (water buffaloes) have been introduced by the missionaries.
Cassava is their staple food; yams and sweet potatoes are also frequent, as well as banana,
pineapple, sugar cane, local fruits (açaí, pupunha, etc.). Given the distance and relative
inaccessibility of the Tiriyó villages, the Tiriyó have until now lived independently from
the governments of Brazil and Surinam. However, contact with Western civilization has
brought desire for Western goods (clothes, firearms, radios, flashlights, batteries,
medicines), which they satisfy by trading handicraft and captured animals (there is an
especially good marked for songbirds in Surinam). This has led to a favorable attitude

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4 This distribution is based on field trips to Tepoe, Matawaré, Kwamalasamutu, Missão Tiriyó, and Cuxaré.
No detailed dialectal surveys were conducted; rather, the author’s daily experience in these villages is used
to determine the main dialect spoken there. In spite of the presence of certain individuals who speak the
other dialect (apparently because of intermarriage), the dominant dialect is usually obvious. The speakers
themselves are aware of the differences and of their geographical distribution. The inclusion of the villages
of Sipaliwini and Paleomeu, which the author has not visited, is based on second-hand information obtained
from speakers in the other villages.
towards increasing relations the surrounding Western societies. Most people have already
been exposed to a money economy, and seem eager to be more fully integrated.\(^5\)

1.2. Autodenominations. The Tiriyo call themselves taréno [taɾɛno], a word which is
not synchronically analyzable. Comparative evidence suggests that it is derived from an
erlier word for ‘here’ (e.g. Karihona [taro], Apalaí [taro] ‘here’, from Meira 1998a:10ff),
with the adverbial nominalizer -no (cf. 4.2.2.2). If this is the case, taréno would mean
etymologically ‘someone from here’, ‘a local person’; cf. also Apalaí tarono, which has
exactly this meaning.\(^6\) Note also the (possibly related) Tiriyo adverb saré ‘hither’ (cf.
6.1.1.2), and the existential particle tééré (cf. 6.1.1.2); the latter may be the present-day
cognate of the Karihona and Apalaí words for ‘here’ mentioned above (with a change in
meaning: ‘here’ > ‘there is’).

The word Tiriyo or Trio (the former, sometimes spelled Tirió, generally used in
the Brazilian literature, while the latter occurs in Dutch and English publications) is
actually pronounced tirijo [tiriːjo]. It is mostly used by non-Tiriyo to refer to the Tiriyo.
Sometimes, different groups identify themselves as taréno, and use the label tirijo for
others (a K-Tiriyo speaker once explained the dialectal difference as resulting from the
fact that her people were ‘the real taréno’, while the Missão Tiriós people were ‘just
tirijo’). The ending -jo or -sol-jo occurs in other names of Cariban groups, apparently

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\(^5\) It is interesting to mention that the Tiriyo have two words for Westerners: karaiwa, of unknown origin,
which is used to refer only to Brazilians, and pananakiri, used for other foreigners (presumably with the
original meaning ‘person from the sea’; the Tiriyo do not have a word for ‘sea’ anymore, but cf. e.g.

\(^6\) This idea came originally from Desrey Fox (pers. comm.).
derived from animal and plant names (e.g. Akuriyó [compare Tiriyó akuri ‘agouti’], Akawayo, Aramicho, Maracho⁷). Frikel claimed that tiriyo means ‘club people’ or ‘murder people’ (wohl Keulen- oder Totschlägervolk, 1957:559); according to one of his Prōuyana consultants, the word comes from wātūrē ‘to kill with a club’.⁸ This etymology, as Rivièr 1969:17-18 has already pointed out, is not convincing. The word mentioned by Frikel is actually an idiom for ‘to kill’, literally wa(a) tīrī ‘to make nothing, to annihilate, to kill’ (formed with the negative particle wa(a) [cf. 9.1.4] and the t-adding verb stem [t]rī ‘do, make O’ [cf. 5.1.3]); the word for ‘club’, (si)warapa, is unrelated. It is not impossible that the word tiriyo be related to [t]rī (maybe meaning ‘the makers’, a possible allusion to a presumably higher technological level). A more interesting (though also, for the time being, speculative) possibility, already mentioned in Meira 1998a:11(fn. 3), is to compare tiriyo with the Kari’na (Carib) word tīre:wuyu [tīrē:wujju], the name of a (dialectally and geographically determined) subgroup of Kari’na speakers (cf. Hoff 1968:26). According to Hoff, there are two main Kari’na groups: the tīre:wuyu and the mura:to. The Kari’na believe that the mura:to had intermarried with escaped Negroes (Maroons), but not the tīre:wuyu (mura:to is an obvious borrowing, originally from Spanish-Portuguese mulato ‘half-breed’). These two words, if really cognate, are suggestive of a possible closer relationship between Kari’na and Tiriyó.

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⁷ The word Maraso, a Tiriyó subgroup according to Friken 1957:541-62 (cf. also Rivièr 1969:16ff), may be the source of the Portuguese name of the island of Marajó, in the mouth of the Amazon river.

⁸ “Der Name leitet sich gemäß der Erklärung der Prōuyana von wātūrē ab (= mit der Keule totschlagen). Die Tiriyó wären also das Totschläger- oder Keulenvolk.” (1959:525-526).
As was said, the word *tarëno* is used, by and large, as a general autodenomination by all Tiriyó groups, while *tirîjo* is more frequently used by non-Tiriyós, or by a group of Tiriyós to characterize another. This, however, seems not to have always been the case. Rivière 1969:11 says that *tirîjo* was the autodenomination of the eastern groups (presumably, K-Tiriyó speakers), while *tarëno* applied only to the western groups. Before Rivière, as Carlin 1998:11 points out, the term *tareno* is not found in the literature; one wonders if it may be a relatively recent coinage.\(^9\) Given the existence of various different ethnic names, it is also possible that *tarëno* and *tirîjo* used to refer to only one subgroup each and were later extended to the others. Even today, it is easy to elicit names for ethnic groups (e.g. *okomojana* or ‘wasp people’, *pirëujana* or ‘arrow (cane) people’, *piropi* or ‘chest people’, *pihion* or ‘mountain people’, *aramajana* or ‘bee people’, *pijanakoto* ‘hawk people’, etc.). For further considerations on these ethnic groups, cf. Frikel 1957, 1964, Rivière 1969.

Etymologies for the various village names can also be suggested (except for *Cuxaré* [kuʃare], which appears not to be a Tiriyó word). *Sipaliwini* is probably from *sipari* (w)eni ‘stingray container’, a reference to the many stingrays of that area. *Tepoe* is actually *têpu*, the word for ‘rock, stone’, and refers to a big rock not far from the village. *Matawai* is originally the name of a species of fish. *Paloemew* may come from *paru-imê*, i.e. the ‘big Paru’ (cf. 4.2.1.2 on the augmentative -imê). *Kwamalasamutu* appears to comprise two elements, one *kuwama*, a kind of bamboo, and the other *samu* ‘sand’; it

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\(^9\) It would not be implausible for the word *tarëno* to have spread as a generic term precisely because it was not the ethnic name of any of the groups and could thus be seen as more neutral.
seems to describe a sandy area, with *kuwama*, probably by the river bank. The final syllable *tu* may be an archaic pronunciation of *samu* (more conservative languages have this syllable, or some remnant for it, at the end of the word for ‘sand’; e.g. Wayana *hamut*, Akuriyó *tfamutu*, Karihona *samutu* [cf. Meira 1998a:182]); the syllable *la*, however, remains unexplained.

1.3. **A sketch of Tiriyó external history.** The earliest mentions in the literature refer not to one group, but to various different tribes inhabiting the territory of the present-day Tiriyó; in many cases, their names still exist, or are remembered, as denominations of Tiriyó subgroups (cf. e.g. Frikel 1957, 1958, 1960). Harcourt (cited in Frikel 1970:8, originally from De Goeje 1943:339) already mentions some of them (Aramagóto, Aramixo, etc.) in 1609-1610. According to Frikel, these groups occupied the area from the Corantijn/Sipaliwini rivers to the Oyapock river, between Brazil and French Guiana. Lombard 1928:124 found references in various documents, dating from 1674 to 1763, to the ‘Aramişo’ and the ‘Armagotu, Armagotous, Aramacoutous’ as inhabitants of the southern part of French Guiana, close to the Oyapock river. These groups were later driven out by the invasion of the Oyampi (Wayápi) Indians, a Tupi-Guaranian group who now occupies these areas, with the help of their allies, the Portuguese.\(^{10}\) Thus, the former inhabitants were pushed westward, in the direction of the present-day Tiriyó territory, around the Tumucumaque mountains (cf. e.g. Figueiredo 1963, who mentions the

\(^{10}\) Lombard 1928:126 even cites the date of 1736 or 1737: “l’an 1736 ou 1737, les Indiens Armacotous furent attaqués et dispersés par les Indiens des Portugais”.

‘Aramagóto’ of the West Parú). Frikel concludes that these groups, in addition to the ones that were already in the area (he mentions the Salúma/Xarúma; 1970:8), have become the modern Tiriyó.

In general, researchers agree that the Tiriyó are the result of intertribal mixing. It is quite possible that, at some point in the last several hundred years, a series of tribes, speaking related dialects (and perhaps forming a dialect continuum), occupied the area between the Sipaliwini/Corantijn and the East Parú/Tapanahoni. Some of these tribes apparently remained separate, giving rise to the modern Akuriyó and Karihona (the latter having subsequently migrated to Colombia), while the others converged to form the Tiriyó. The origin of this dialect continuum is not clearly understood. Meira 1998a, having reconstructed Proto-Taranoan as the ancestor language of Tiriyó, Akuriyó and Karihona, suggested that Proto-Taranoan speakers may have separated off from a larger group (which possibly included Kari’na, and lived closer to the coast) and gone to the Tumucumaque area, where they may have spread and given rise to the various pre-Tiriyó groups. However interesting, this suggestion remains speculative in the absence of clearer historical data.\footnote{There are references, in the Tiriyó oral tradition, to a time when the ancestors of the Tiriyó lived together in one big village called Samuwaka (cf. Koelewijn 1987:262, cited in Carlin 1998:8-9). One may feel tempted to analyze these memories as reflecting a Proto-Taranoan ‘pre-dialectal-continuum’ period; however, given the time depth involved (at least 500 years, according to Meira 1998a:160), this interpretation looks quite unlikely.}

At the end of the 18th century, runaway slaves (Maroons) came to live in the areas between the coast and the Tiriyó territory. With one of these groups, the Ndyuka, who lived along the lower Tapanahoni, the Tiriyó seem to have established contact relatively
early. They maintained regular commercial relations, which led to the formation of a Ndyuka-Tiriyó pidgin, mentioned by several contemporaneous authors (cf. Huttar & Velantie 1997:101ff). For a while, the Ndyuka were the Tiriyó’s only contact with the external world, and thus the only source of valuable items such as knives, axes, beads, red cloth, etc.

Although Westerners on the Surinam coast had heard about the ‘Trios’ relatively early (Carlin 1998:27 mentions that F. Meyer, originally cited in De Goeje 1943:340, writes, in a report to the governor in 1796, about “a sort of Akolie called Trios” who had been warded off in an attack), the first recorded contact between the Tiriyó and a European took place only in 1843, when Robert Schomburgk came upon a village of “Drio” on the Cutari river. Schomburgk classified them as “a sister tribe of the Pianogotto” (Schomburgk 1845:84). The following contact was with the French explorer Jules Crevaux, who met a few Trio on the East Paru in 1878, apparently the survivors of an epidemic (Crevaux 1883:261ff). Thus, during the whole 19th century, only two encounters between the Tiriyó and Europeans were recorded.

In the first two decades of the 20th century, three Dutch scientific expeditions reached the area (Herderschee 1905, De Goeje 1906, 1908, Käyser 1912, cited in Carlin 1998), finally producing a better ethnographic and linguistic description of the region. In 1916, the American Farabee crossed the region by the same route as Schomburgk, and met the Tiriyó (whom he called ‘Diau’) in the same area as his predecessor, where he collected a word list (cf. Farabee 1924:208-211), but added relatively little to what was already known. In 1928, the first contact from the Brazilian side was established when an
expedition led by General Rondon came to the area to survey the border. They met some Tiriyó of the Pianakotó group, close to the meeting of the Marapi and West Paru rivers (Rondon 1953:12, 43ff, cited in Frikel 1970:12; Frikel claims that the Tiriyó whom Rondon met were really of the Maraxó subgroup). In 1940-1942, Lodewijk Schmidt, in three journeys to the area of the Tiriyó, traveled through nearly all their territory, gathering very valuable ethnographic data. Based on Schmidt’s data, Rivière 1969:36 shows the geographic distribution of Tiriyó villages in 1942. An east-west division is already visible, corresponding to the present-day K- and H-Tiriyó dialect areas respectively. In 1948, Protasio Frikel (then a Roman Catholic priest) visited the area for the first time, collecting information on the various Tiriyó subgroups over the following decades.

Rivière 1969:14 considers Schmidt the last representative of the ‘exploratory phase’ of the contacts between the Westerners and the Tiriyó. According to Rivière, Frikel’s activities in the area culminated with the establishment of a Franciscan mission (the present-day Missão Tiríós on the West Paru), opening what may be called the ‘missionary phase’. The Brazilian Air Force (FAB) built the first provisory airstrip in 1958, and a permanent one in 1959, as part of a small air base, on the West Paru. This made the area much more readily accessible. The FAB cooperated actively with the missionaries in building the first provisory mission, which became definitive in 1963. The cooperation was motivated by the idea of placing permanent settlements all around the northern Brazilian border for reasons of national security. The Commander of the First Air Zone (which included the Tiriyó area), Colonel João Camarão Teles Ribeiro,
defended the ‘FAB-Mission-Indian Trinomial’ as a way of creating these settlements, the first of which was precisely Missão Tiriós.

In Surinam, similar changes began in the wake of Operation Grasshopper, an initiative taken by the central authorities to open up the interior by cutting a series of airstrips. In 1960, work was begun on airstrips in the Sipaliwini savanna and on the left bank of the Tapanahoni. This enabled the American Door-to-Life Gospel Mission, which had been granted permission in 1959 to work among the Tiriýó by the Surinamese government, to finally reach them in the spring of 1960. In 1962, the Door-to-Life Gospel Mission collapsed and was replaced by the West Indies Mission (which later became Worldteam). The two main centers of activity, however, remained the same: Alalaparu, on a tributary of the Sipaliwini river, and Paloemeu, on the Tapanahoni. Around 1970, the village of Alalaparu was abandoned, and its inhabitants seem to have moved to Kwamalasamutu.

The Protestant missions in Surinam actively encouraged the concentration of the Tiriýó in the two main centers, since it was believed that larger agglomerations would facilitate the process of conversion to Christianity. Their leader, Rev. Claude Leavitt, used methods that had already worked in the formation of the Waiwai village of Kanashen in Guyana (cf. Yde 1965, Guppy 1958, cited in Frikel 1971:29ff): converted Tiriýós were sent to other villages, where they talked about the ‘new good things’ that existed in the Mission village, distributed gifts (knives, mirrors, etc.), described the better living standards in the Mission village, and invited the listeners to move there. On the Brazilian side of the border, according to Frikel, there was no active effort to concentrate
the population, although some smaller groups did join the Missão Tiriós for protection reasons (1970:32). However, as the Protestant missions in Surinam began to attract people from the upper West Paru and Marapi areas, the Catholic missionaries in Brazil felt concerned and tried to oppose this process. They succeeded in convincing a number of families to come back to Brazil; however, instead of going back to their original areas, they settled around Missão Tiriós. Friel’s statistics indicate that, from an original population of 50-60 people, the Missão Tiriós had already reached 222 inhabitants in 1970.

At about this time, certain non-Tiriyó groups came to live among the Tiriyó. In Surinam, the Waiwai had been present from the start of the missionary phase, mostly because of the fact that the missionaries had first worked with them in Guyana, and they became ‘role models’ for the Tiriyó in the first phases of Christianization. Contacts between the Waiwai and the Tiriyó remained alive, especially at Kwamalasamutu, which is closer to the Guyana border. There is, to this day, a sizeable Waiwai contingent there, and visiting Tiriyós are frequently found in the Waiwai village on the Mapuera river in Brazil. It seems that the Mawayana who live at Kwamalasamutu have also come from the Mapuera Waiwai village. The Akuriyó, however, have a different history. After sporadic contacts in the late 30’s, the Akuriyó were, in 1970-71, contacted by a missionary expedition and convinced to move en masse to the Tiriyó villages of Tepoe and Kwamalasamutu. A few Akuriyó seem to have remained in the area where they were

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12 During a field trip among the Waiwai on the Mapuera, the author and Dr. Gildea were informed of a joint effort, by the Waiwai and the Tiriyó from Kwamalasamutu, to open a permanent path between their villages, so as to facilitate visits.
contacted, along the Oelemari river and in the Oranje mountain range, but most of them agreed to go to the Tiriyó villages. There, they acculturated linguistically to Tiriyó (a process which was facilitated by the high degree of lexical and grammatical similarity between the two languages, comparable to that between Portuguese and Spanish; cf. Meira 1998a); only a handful of older people retain some knowledge of their language, with heavy Tiriyó influence. Because of their originally lower technological level, the Akuriyó were not treated as equals by the Tiriyó; to this day, their social status remains definitely inferior.

In Brazil, the late 60’s saw the migration of the Katxuyana to Missão Tiriós from their original area on the Kaxúru river, a tributary of the Trombetas, in Brazil, where epidemics had almost killed them off (cf. Friel 1970:47ff, 1971:34). In 1968, reduced to 64 individuals (all related, so that there were no intergrupal marriage possibilities left), suffering from tuberculosis and skin diseases, the Katxuyana were transported by the FAB to Missão Tiriós; in 1969, an additional 13 Ewarhoyana/Káhyana were brought from the Kaxpakúru river. The Tiriyó, with whom the Katxuyana had had previous experiences, had given them permission to move. There, they recovered, after receiving medical care, and intermarried with the Tiriyó. Nowadays, there are over 100 Katxuyana (including here subgroups like the Sikíyana, Ewarhoyana and Káhyana) among the Tiriyó. Unlike the Akuriyó in Surinam, the Katxuyana do not have an inferior social status; rather, they have kept a certain independence and pride (they have built their own subvillage). Their language, which, although Cariban, is definitely different from Tiriyó (it is closer to Hixkaryana and Waiwáí; its distance from Tiriyó is perhaps comparable to
the distance between English and Icelandic), is still actively learned by children. In the past thirty years, it seems to have undergone important changes due to Tiriyó influence (e.g., according to Gildea [pers. comm.], among younger speakers, the use of the Katxuyana t- -txe verb form is now very similar to that of its Tiriyó cognate t- -se ‘remote past’ [cf. 5.4.3.1.2]). Young and middle-aged speakers have apparently stopped using certain words (especially particles), which they admittedly do not understand anymore, though they are still found in the speech of older people. The fact that these changes must have taken place over the last thirty years, since the Katxuyana emigrated en masse to Missão Tiriós (cf. Frikel 1970) makes Katxuyana a very interesting case for a sociolinguistic study of language contact.

At present, the situation of the Tiriyó is as was described above in 1.1 and 1.2. It is interesting to find some smaller villages (Sipaliwini, Matawaré, Cuxaré) besides the three larger centers, since most researchers had claimed that there were none left (e.g. Rivière 1969:16, Frikel 1971:33). It is not clear whether all or some of these villages are remnants of older, non-assimilated small villages, or instead more recent phenomena. At any rate, a certain tendency towards forming new small villages can now be discerned. At Missão Tiriós, this is being encouraged by the missionaries as a means to occupy and protect their land; in Surinam, the inevitable conflicts brought about by large agglomerations are leading people in this direction. At any rate, the most obvious feature of the present situation of the Tiriyós is that, although they retain a very high level of autonomy (mostly due to living in an area of difficult access), they are becoming
increasingly more interested in strengthening their ties with the surrounding Western societies.

It is at best temerarious to speculate about the future of any human group. However, the Tiriýó seem eager to be integrated into the surrounding society. They have visited Western cities (Paramaribo in Surinam, Macapá and Belém in Brazil); especially among the young, this seems to have brought the desire to become a part of their more complicated and thus more fascinating society. Transmitters of Western cultural values, such as radios, television sets, and even VCRs, can now be found among the Tiriýó of the three major centers. Although the language is not in immediate danger, it is not difficult to see that these new elements are precisely the ones capable of sapping its strength and viability. Even their very physical survival, which seemed to be definitely assured not so long ago due to the decrease in the mortality rate brought about by Western medicine, has become more dubious since the discovery of a few cases of HIV-positive individuals. In spite of that, the best thing to say is perhaps that their future—like our own—is hardly predictable.

two authors should be considered as the basic reference for anyone interested in knowing more about the Tiriýó; both provide extensive bibliographies of earlier relevant works. A more popular approach to some aspects of Tiriýó culture can be found in Plotkin 1994. Heyde 1992 treats some aspects of the history of Surinamese Amerindians. Some general details can also be found in wider-scope history books such as Bakker et al. 1998.

Linguistic works on the Tiriýó language are few and usually poor in details. Schomburgk apparently did not record anything about the language during his first encounter with the Tiriýó; the first word list of their language seems to be Crevaux 1882, a list of 29 items, with two additional sentences in Ndyuka-Tiriýó pidgin. De Goeje 1909 is a much richer source of information, including a short grammar sketch and a sizeable vocabulary, from which the reader can have a first real glimpse of the language; however, it is fairly short, and has many inaccurate and inconsistent transcriptions.

The other studies, all rather limited in scope, date from more recent times. On the phonology of Tiriýó, there are Migliazza 1965, a tentative exploratory study, and Jones 1972, a more careful, but still quite short, work (the first one to mention the two dialects, here called K- and H-Tiriýó); Meira 1997, 1998b deal with specific aspects (the status of [ʃ], [n] and [h], and rhythmic stress, respectively). On the morphology, Wallace 1980, 1983 can be cited, short studies on the verbal morphology and on possessive prefixes respectively; Carlin 1997 deals with the morphosyntax of possession. A longer work, unfortunately still unpublished, is Leavitt (ms.), which presents most of the morphological elements; it is intended to help missionaries become acquainted with the language. Meira 1998a also describes certain aspects of Tiriýó morphology in a
comparative perspective. No work (except for the present one) has treated Tiriyó syntax. Letschert 1998 is a first tentative (Portuguese-Tiriyó) dictionary; Plomp & Plomp 1986, a longer Dutch-Tiriyó, Tiriyó-Dutch word list, has additional data. A good collection of texts (though speakers have criticized it as containing transcription errors) is Koelewyn 1984, two volumes with 105 traditional narratives told by older speakers (Koelewyn 1987 contains English translations of 100 of them). Sanèpè et al. 1977 contains texts written by native speakers about a trip to Paramaribo, the capital of Surinam. Texts translated into Tiriyó can be found in Worldteam 1979, 1982 (a translation of the New Testament and a hymnal, respectively); Leavitt 1981, a Tiriyó phrase book, also contains expressions translated by the author. It goes without saying that translations are much less valuable than original texts.

The above is, as far as is known, an exhaustive list of publications on the Tiriyó language. The author hopes that the present work will add a significant contribution to this bibliography.

1.5. An overview of the Tiriyó language. Tiriyó is a member of the Cariban language family, a group of 40-60 genetically related languages spoken in lowland South America in the Amazon, Orinoco and Xingu basins. Most of them remain, to this day, chronically underdescribed; in fact, the hesitation in the number of languages comes from the fact that many of them are known from little more than short word lists, so that it is not possible to tell whether they are dialects or independent languages. For further details on the current state of Cariban linguistics, cf. Gildea 1998.
The position of Tiriyó within the family is not clear. A satisfactory classification of Cariban languages has yet to be done; the three extant ones (Girard 1971, Durbin 1977, Kaufman 1994) have all been convincingly criticized (cf. Gildea 1998:3-11, in which the three classifications are reproduced). In particular, Durbin’s classification has several major flaws, one of which concerns Tiriyó. By giving too much importance to a certain phonetic change (p > φ), Durbin placed Tiriyó and Karihona in two different major branches of the family, a position first taken in Durbin & Seijas 1973 and reiterated in Durbin 1977. However, these two languages are so close that they can be shown to form a minor sub-branch within the family, which Meira 1998a (in which Akuriyó is also added) has termed ‘Taranoan’ (from tarëno, the current autodenomination of the Tiriyó, the most widely spoken of the three languages). A similar sub-branch is posited by both Kaufman and Girard; the phonology and inflectional morphology of the protolanguage of this sub-branch is tentatively reconstructed in Meira 1998a. Thus, all that is known thus far is that, of all Cariban languages, Karihona and Akuriyó are the closest ones to Tiriyó. As was mentioned in 1.3 above, Meira 1998a speculates about a link between Taranoan languages and Kari’na (Carib), but the evidence on this matter is not conclusive.

Tiriyó is a fairly typical Cariban language (although some divergences are noted below). Its phonology is relatively simple, with seventeen segments (seven vowels and ten consonants), a rich set of vowel sequences, but only a few possible consonant clusters. There is an interesting system of iambic stress, and at least two kinds of reduplication. There is also a very pervasive allomorphic pattern of syllable reduction, involving changes in the final and/or initial syllable of a considerable number of stems.
Tiriyó morphology is also typical of its family, intermediate between the highly isolating Jê languages and the highly synthetic Arawakan family (cf. Doris Payne 1990, and also Derbyshire 1987, 1986b). In terms of richness of inflectional morphology and its degree of fusion, Tiriyó (and Cariban languages in general) could be compared to families like, for instance, Romance or Uto-Aztecan. Verbs, nouns and postpositions inflect for person, with four person distinctions (first person, second person, third person, and first person dual inclusive, i.e. 1, 2, 3 and 1+2), and for number, distinguishing collective—or rather, totalitative—from non-collective. Person marking on the verb appears at first to follow a typical split-S pattern, but closer inspection shows connections with reflexivization (detransitivization) that should be of interest for case-marking typologists. Verbs have, in addition, a rich system of tense-aspect-mood markers. Nouns, on the other hand, take a number of derivational suffixes that further elaborate their meanings (diminutive, augmentative, predilictive, etc.). A further class of adverbs (which includes adjectival stems, not differentiable from other adverbs) does not inflect, but can be nominalized. In fact, verbs, adverbs, and postpositions can all be nominalized in different ways, with different semantic results. Nouns can be verbalized, again with several different affixes resulting in different semantics, but members of other classes must be nominalized before they can be verbalized. In addition, there is a class of particles which comprises all uninflectables (including, besides more ‘grammatical’ particles, also sound-symbolic words and interjections). A cross-cutting category of interrogatives, comprising nouns and adverbs, can also be established.
Tiriyó syntax is also probably typical of its family, though the lack of studies on Cariban syntax makes this claim difficult to assess. Recognizable constituents include an OV verb phrase, a (possessor-possessed) genitive phrase, and a postpositional phrase; groups of appositional nouns can sometimes have phrase-like properties. In the simple sentence, the ordering of constituents is pragmatically determined, with topical elements tending to occur in initial position. Several kinds of dependent sentences occur, mostly (but not all) non-finite. Case marking depends on the sentence type: in most cases, it is (superficially) split-S, but there are also ergative and nominative sentence types. The two strongest semantic roles are Agent and Patient, with good arguments in favor of Dative as well; all non-Dative obliques can be seen as one broad type of Circumstantial or Peripheral Participants. Grammatical relations (subject, object) are not really useful tools for the description of Tiriyó syntax.

The Tiriyó lexicon includes a high number of surprisingly long monomorphemic stems (‘roots’). Bisyllabic roots are less frequent than trisyllabic ones, and stems with four or five syllables are not rare. In many of these stems, a certain number of submorphemic elements (‘formatives’) can be detected, which are probably older morphemes that should be particularly interesting for comparative studies. Interesting semantic fields include verbs of eating, verbs of seizing, and kinship terms. In the postpositional class, a group of *experiencer* postpositions, with meanings such as ‘hate’, ‘want’, ‘appreciate’, ‘know’, ‘not know’, ‘be afraid of’, ‘be favorable to’, etc., forms an interesting subgroup.
The above characterization situates Tiriyó as a normal, well-behaved Cariban language. However, the practicing Caribanist may be more interested in a comparison between Tiriyó and other Cariban languages that highlights the unusual features. The following deserve mention:

— There are two reduplicative processes in Tiriyó, here termed external and internal reduplication (cf. 2.6.3). Reduplication in Cariban languages has received very little attention (the only previous mention seems to be Jackson 1972:57, on Wayana). It is apparently not very widespread in the family (e.g. Katxuyana [Gildea, pers. comm.] has no reduplicative process).

— There is an innovative possessive construction, formed with the possessor followed by the third-person form (with a prefix i-∅-) of the possessed, which replaced the usual Cariban pattern (i.e. the use of possession-indicating suffixes like -rī, -nī, etc. on the possessed noun; cf. Gildea 1998:112-113); cf. 4.3.1, 10.2.1.1.

— The past imperfective form of the verb (in -jakē(ne)) is all but dead, having been replaced by an innovative habitual past in -se; the same may be happening with the future imperfective form (in -jakē(mī)), if it really is in competition with the particle _pitē; cf. 5.4.1.3.2-3, 9.1.3.1.

— The t- -se form of the verb, presumably an erstwhile participial or adverbial, has become a fully fledged verb tense, called ‘remote past’ here (cf. Gildea 1998:218-236); cf. 5.4.3.1.2, 10.3.3.

— The negative form of the verb, which is usually marked with a morpheme that probably reconstructs as *pīra (e.g. Wayana -ra, Kari’na -hpa [Hoff 1968:140],
Hixkaryana -hira [Derbyshire 1985:238], Apalaf -pîral-ra [Koehn & Koehn 1986:64], Waiwai -hra [Hawkins 1998:66]) has in Tiriyó a different marker, the morpheme -rewa, which apparently replaced -pîra in a ‘hermit crab’ way (cf. Heath 1998), inheriting the morphosyntax associated with -pîra in other Cariban languages; cf. 5.4.3.1.3, 10.3.5.

— The evidential system has been impoverished. The doubt/certainty distinction on the verb does not exist for third-person (cf. 5.4.1.3.4). Accordingly, there is only one third-person copular form in the present gnomic (cf. 5.4.4), instead of the two or three that usually occur in Cariban languages.

— Cariban languages have a system of simple spatial postpositions, which ascribes different postpositions to different kinds of location (usually distinguishing at least ‘flat surface’, ‘open area’, ‘enclosed place’, and ‘liquid’) and with different postpositions for stative location and motion (i.e. ‘essives’, ‘ablatives’, ‘allatives’ and ‘perlatives’); cf. Derbyshire (in print) for a general overview, or Derbyshire 1985:205-219, Koehn & Koehn 1986:100, and Hawkins 1998:103 for the specific cases of Hixkaryana, Apalaf, and Waiwai. In Tiriyó, however, this system has fewer location distinctions, and almost no perlative postpositions; cf. 7.3.1.

— Most of the adverbial interrogatives (‘where?’, ‘whither?’, ‘when?’, etc.) in Tiriyó start with the vowel a, also found in the nominal interrogatives (‘who?’, ‘what?’, etc.), which, in most known Cariban languages, start with o or o (cf. Chap. 8). Meira 1998a:71ff explains this as a replacement of earlier adverbial interrogatives with new ones, based on combinations of aano ‘which’ with various postpositions, with posterior analogical extension of the initial a to the other (previously o-initial) interrogatives.
— Most Cariban languages only have non-finite subordinate clauses, usually based on nominalizations or adverbializations. However, cases of subordinate adverbial clauses based on finite (conjugated) verb forms have arisen in Tiriyó, with ahtao ‘when/if’ and iweike ‘because’; cf. 10.4.1.1.

1.6. Outline of the present work and notational conventions. The present grammatical description attempts to give a first account of all aspects of Tiriyó grammar. It is based on intermittent field work carried out over the last five years, with a total of almost six months spent in five different Tiriyó-speaking villages: Missão Tiriós, Kwamalasamutu, Tepoe, Bonna (mostly a Wayana village), and Matawaré. A short one-day trip to Cuxaré, in which it was established that this village belongs to the H-Tiriyó dialectal area, can also be included. This field work led to a corpus of approximately twenty texts of varying length and style, and several notebooks of elicitation. All examples used here come from this corpus. Furthermore, the author was able to acquire a reasonable degree of fluency in the language, which made it possible to observe many linguistic phenomena in monolingual conversations among native speakers.

The present work follows a rather traditional organizational style. Chapter 2 treats the phonology. Chapter 3 introduces the morphological units, defines the lexical classes and discusses the cross-categorial semantic distinctions. Chapters 4-9 discuss the morphology of each lexical category. Chapter 10 introduces the necessary syntactic units and semantic concepts, and proceeds to a description of the syntax of constituents, clauses, and simple and complex sentences.
In general, the description adheres to the following notational conventions:

(a) slashes (/ /) = 'underlying', 'phonemic' representation (with symbols as in Table 2.1)
(b) brackets ([ ] ) = 'surface', 'phonetic' representation (with IPA symbols);
(c) parentheses = syllables that follow the syllable reducing pattern (cf. 2.6.2)
(c) dots (.) = syllable boundaries;
(d) dashes (-) = morpheme boundaries;
(e) underscores (_) = clitic boundaries;
(g) colons (:) = phonetic (non-distinctive) vowel length;
(h) number symbols (#) = pauses;
(i) asterisks (*) = incorrect or non-attested form.

In the description of the phonology (Chap. 2), morphemes are cited in slashes (e.g. "the suffix /-ne/"), to stress the fact that they are being viewed only from the perspective of their pronunciation. In other chapters, all language data are in boldface. Furthermore, in the non-phonology chapters, elements in brackets in a cited morpheme (in boldface) represent irregular stem allomorphic patterns (e.g. the t-adding verb stems; cf. 5.1.3).

In the grammar, interlinear glosses follow a four-line system (original utterance in the first line, morphemic analysis in the second line, glosses in the third line, and a free translation in the fourth line). In the texts (Appendix A), the morphemic analysis line is broken into two lines, so that morphophonological changes can be better viewed. Glosses are as given in the list of abbreviations. A dot is used to link words in multiple-word glosses (e.g. 'Prs.Prf' for 'Present Perfective'). In the grammar, non-segmental (‘∅’ or lengthening) allomorphs are not segmented; their glosses are linked to the following or
preceding ones by a colon. Thus, the verb form wene ‘I see him/her/it’ has a first-person prefix w- and zero allomorphs of the present imperfective (-j) and certainty (-e) suffixes on the verb stem ene ‘see’; it is segmented as w-ene (rather than w-ene-∅-∅) and glossed as ‘1A-see:Prs.Prf:Cty’. In the texts, again to facilitate the visualization of morphophonology, zero allomorphs are segmented out and glossed like all other elements.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{13} A special case is that of the ‘Specific Infinitive’ or ‘∅-nominalized verb form’. As is discussed in 4.2.2.1.4, there is no zero suffix; rather, verb stems can be used as nouns, under certain circumstances, without any additional morphology. The nominal use of a verb stem is thus glossed with a ‘:N’ appended to the gloss of the verb stem (i.e. ‘see:N’, ‘go:N’, ‘hear:N’, etc.), both in the grammar and in the texts.
2. PHONOLOGY

2.1. Introduction. The phonology of Tiriyó is relatively simple and straightforward. There are only seventeen distinctive segments, seven vowels (all of which can be simple or geminated) and ten consonants (cf. 2.2). The relevant phonological domains are: syllable, word, and utterance. Syllables conform to the (C)V(V)(C) template; phonological words are combinations of syllables with a few restrictions (cf. 2.4). There are many vowel sequences, but relatively few consonant clusters (always heterosyllabic), always involving either /h/ or a nasal as the first element; the pronunciation of /h/ clusters can be used to define two independent dialects (cf. 2.4.2.2). There is a rhythmic stress system, sensitive to syllable weight, of the iambic type (cf. Hayes 1995), based on pitch and vowel length (i.e. Tiriyó has both phonetic long vowels and 'phonemic' long vowels, in the form of sequences of identical vowels); its domain is the phonological word, including cliticized material (cf. 2.5.1). The most important morphophonological processes include ablaut (2.6.1), two kinds of reduplication (2.6.3), as well as syllable reduction and loss (which can occur word-finally in situations that are reminiscent of cases such as the liaison in French and certain kinds of Celtic floating elements, in that the realization of the final syllable of certain words depends on the phonological nature of the following word; cf. 2.6.2).
2.2. Segments. Table 2.1 shows all the seventeen distinctive segments of Tiriyó (seven vowels and ten consonants), represented with the orthographic symbols used throughout this grammar sketch.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ocl Lab p</td>
<td>Front High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frq Alv s</td>
<td>Central i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nas m</td>
<td>Back ũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liq j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gli w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.1. Consonants. The stops are /p/, /t/, and /k/. /p/ is a bilabial stop, less strongly articulated than is usual for [p] in European languages, to the point that it may have some friction in fast speech, especially when it is the onset of the last syllable of a word: thus /iputupē/ ‘his/her head’, in less careful speech, can come very close to [ipu:tuβə] (but [p] occurs in slow speech and always remains possible, even in fast speech). /t/ is an alveopalatal stop, and /k/ is a velar stop, i.e. [t] and [k]. All stops are usually voiceless; voiced pronunciations can be found word-internally, especially in nasal clusters (i.e. /mp/, /nk/, and less frequently /nt/, can be heard as [mb], [ŋ], and [nd]), but voiceless pronunciations, even in these cases, remain acceptable, especially in slow speech. In one of the two main Tiriyó dialects (cf. 2.4.2.2), /p/ and /k/ in /lv+/stop clusters occur as fricatives ([ʰ] and [h] ~ [x]); in the other dialect, they remain as [p] and [k].
The fricatives are /s/ and /h/. /s/ is a voiceless palatal fricative, ranging from [ʃ] to [ʃ] (the latter more frequent when the following vowel is /i/) in pronunciation; certain speakers can even have a true [s]. It is never voiced. /h/ can be a voiceless glottal fricative ([h]), but it often takes the form of a voiceless continuation of the preceding vowel (i.e. it becomes more palatal (close to [ç]) when preceded by /i/, and more velar (close to [x]) when preceded by /u/). It occurs only syllable-finally, and only in H-Tiriyó, one of the two main dialects; in the other dialect, K-Tiriyó, /h/ corresponds to vowel length (cf. 2.4.1.2).

The nasals are /m/ and /n/. /m/ is a bilabial nasal, apparently undistinguishable from the [m] found in European languages. /n/ is an alveopalatal nasal (i.e. [n]) syllable-initially. At the end of a syllable, /n/ is realized as [ŋ], if nothing follows (i.e. utterance-finally, or if a pause is made after it in very slow speech; cf. 2.3.1). If a consonant follows, /n/ assimilates to it, even across word boundaries (cf. 2.4.2.1). Utterance-finally, the velar realization [ŋ] sometimes comes close to being simply the nasalization of the preceding vowel.

The only liquid is /ɾ/, a flap with some lateral release. It sounds rather different from the non-lateral flaps often found in European languages (e.g. Spanish or Italian [ɾ]); phonetically, it lies somewhere between a laterally released flap ([l]) and a retroflex flap ([ɾ]).

---

1 In fact, the point of articulation of a syllable-final nasal is always predictable from what follows it. This amounts to saying that the /n/ - /m/ opposition is neutralized syllable-finally; strictly speaking, there is an undefined nasal N in this position. For orthographic simplicity, N has been treated here as a positional variant of the least marked nasal consonant /n/.
The glides are /j/ and /w/. /j/ is a palatal glide, very close to [j] as found in many European languages. When followed by /i/, it often has some additional friction, approaching [ʒ] or [dʒ], but [j] remains possible, especially in slow speech. /w/ is a labiovelar glide with very little (if any) lip rounding (i.e. it is close to [u], a labial approximant). When followed by /i/ or /e/, some friction is usual (coming close to [β]). Because of its behavior in nasal cluster assimilation, in which its velar character is dominant (the sequence /nw/ is realized as [ŋu]; cf. 2.4.2.1), /w/ is classified as a velar consonant in Tiriyó.

(1) Minimal/analogous sets:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/p/, /m/, /w/</th>
<th>/p/, /m/, /w/, /k/</th>
<th>/t/, /n/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ɔpɔ] ‘about you’</td>
<td>[epa] ‘her vulva’</td>
<td>[pata] ‘place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɔma] ‘you’</td>
<td>[ema] ‘throw it!’</td>
<td>[pana] ‘ear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sqɔ] ‘later’</td>
<td>[eva] ‘his/her rope’</td>
<td>[ɔ:ta] ‘hole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[eka] ‘his/her name’</td>
<td>[ɔ:na] ‘nose’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/n/, /t/</th>
<th>/n/, /t/, /s/</th>
<th>/t/, /s/, /j/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[vanɔ] ‘honey’</td>
<td>[enı] ‘his/her container’</td>
<td>[jene] ‘s/he saw me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[vaɾɔ] ‘I took’</td>
<td>[ɛɾi] ‘her vagina’</td>
<td>[jeɾe] ‘my liver’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[jeʃe] ‘liking teeth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[maja] ‘knife’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| /n/, /j/ | | |
|----------| | |
| [nene] ‘s/he saw him/her/it’ | [kine] ‘s/he came’ | [jiʃo:to] ‘my lover’ |
| [jene] ‘s/he saw me’ | [kijɛ] ‘liking us’ | [jiʃo:to] ‘afraid of me’ |
2.2.2. **Vowels.** /a/, /i/, /u/ are very close to the cardinal vowels [a], [i], [u], without much appreciable variation (except that /a/ is slightly raised when followed by a tautosyllabic nasal; phonetically, it may come very close to /ə/ in this position, though speakers still clearly distinguish them and immediately correct mispronunciations.).

/ə/, /o/ usually occur as lax mid vowels ([ɛ], [ɔ]), though tense realizations ([æ], [o]) sometimes happen, especially word-finally or when followed by a nasal consonant; the vowel sequences /œe/ and /eu/ also tend to be realized tense ([æe], [eu]).

/ɛ/, /i/ are the mid and high central vowels, closest to [ə] and [i], respectively. Especially when following labial consonants, /i/ may tend towards [u:].

(2) **Minimal sets for vowel quality**

all vowels: /a/, /e/ /u/, /i/, /e/

[əpa] ‘your grandson’, ‘vulva’
[əpə] ‘about you’
[əpi] ‘your wife’
[əpi] ‘medicine (non-posss.)’
[ape] ‘your forehead’
[əpo] ‘your clothes’
[əpu] ‘main pole (non-posss.)’

[aʃna] ‘we (exclusive)’
[əʃna] ‘hand’
[kita:ti] ‘we all are’
[kitə:ti] ‘we all are going’

[turæ] ‘talked, warned’
[tiɾæ] ‘made’
[teɾæ] ‘took, taken’

Most cases of phonetic vowel length are the result of the stress system and thus non-distinctive; however, there are ‘underlyingly long’ vowels (in fact, sequences of
identical vowels; cf. 2.5.1.1 for how to distinguish them). The following minimal pairs establish this fact (cf. also 2.6.6 for word-initial vowel lengthening as one of the allomorphs of the second-person prefix /e-/ , generating cases in which vowel length is the only factor differentiating second from third-person forms, as in the ‘your arm’ vs. ‘his/her arm’ contrast in (3)).

(3) Minimal pairs for distinctive vowel length.


[jeku] ‘he had sex with me’  [nana] ‘pineapple’  [pito] ‘spittle (ideophone)’

[mə:rə] ‘that one (animate)’
[məɾə] ‘that one (inanimate)’

In the phonemic transcription, and in the orthography used in the remainder of this work, ‘long’ vowels are written as sequences of identical vowels: /jeeka/, /kiija/, /muunu/, /aapə/, /jeeku/, /naana/, /piito/.

2.3. Phonological domains. Before describing the distribution of the segmental units, as well as the processes that operate on them, it is necessary to know the various relevant domains in terms of which these phenomena are best stated. In Tiriýó, three domains have phonological relevance: the syllable, the (phonological) word, and the utterance.² In the

² The syntactic phrases that occur in Tiriýó (Possessive Noun Phrase, Verb Phrase, Postpositional Phrase; cf. 10.2) also present a certain level of phonological unity, mainly expressed through the intonational contour. Their phonological properties are still being researched. Cf. also 2.6.3.1.2 for the ambiguous status of reduplicated words.
following paragraphs, these domains will be defined, and their main characteristics will be presented.

2.3.1. The syllable. The syllabic domain can be thought of as a group of segments that is pronounced together in one articulatory movement. There are three main criteria for defining and classifying syllables in Tiriyó:

(a) Pauses. When pronunciation is sufficiently slow, syllables are separated by small pauses; syllable-final consonants are then treated as if they were utterance-final. This tends to happen only in elicitation, or (rarely) when an unknown word is being explained for the first time. The examples below were obtained in elicitation:

(4a) /amatakana/  ‘small toucan’  [a # ma # ta # ka # na]
(b) /kítënne/  ‘Let’s go!’  [ki # təŋ # ne]
(c) /nenpa/[nempa]  ‘S/he taught’  [neŋ # pa]
(d) /moikē/  ‘small ant’  [moi # kə]
(e) /tēekarama/  ‘I gave myself’  [təe # ka # ɬa # ma]

(b) Stress. The iambic stress system of Tiriyó depends on syllable weight: (C)V (‘light’) syllables are treated differently from other (‘heavy’) syllables (cf. 2.5.1 for details and more examples). The stress patterns clearly show that two-vowel sequences are tautosyllabic:

(5a) /kítaitētēnɛ/  ‘We all pushed O’  [ki.tá.i.tə.tə.ne]  * [ki.tá.i.tî.tə.ne]
(b) /kítēwētî/  ‘We (two) have eaten O’  [ki.tõ.e.uə.ti]  * [ki.tõ.e.uə.ti]
(c) /kīneurēpo/  ‘S/he made O bark’  [ki.néu.rə.pɔ]  * [ki. né.u. tɔ.pɔ]
(c) Reduplication. External reduplication, one of the two reduplicative processes in the language, is also sensitive to syllable weight (cf. 2.6.3 for details, more examples, and coda restrictions). If the first syllable of the base word is light (i.e. (C)V), the reduplicative domain includes the first two syllables; if the first syllable is heavy, then it is the only syllable in the reduplicative domain (a dash separates the reduplicant from the base):

(6a) /wekarama/ ‘I gave’ → /weka - wekarama/ ‘I gave many times’
(b) /maitene/ ‘You pushed it’ → /mai - maitene/ ‘You pushed many times’
(c) /wenpae/ ‘I am teaching it’ → /wee - wenpae/ ‘I keep teaching it’

2.3.1.1. The problem of trivocalic sequences. Trivocalic sequences are very rare in Tiriyo. Most of the cases in which a morphological process should generate one of them actually fail to do so (cf. 2.6.4). However, the following isolated cases of ViVjVk sequences were found:

— The verb stem /ao/ ‘swell’, with vowel-initial suffixes (/e/ ‘Certainty’, the /-e/ allomorph of the /-se/ morpheme (cf. 5.4.3.1), the /-i/ ‘Hypothetical’):

(6a) /jaoe/ ‘I am swelling’³
(b) /kaoi/ ‘We would swell / have swollen’

³ Some speakers have /jaojæ/ rather than /jaoe/, which frees them from this problem.
— The transitive verb stem /œu/ ‘remove O’, only with the /-i/ ‘Hypothetical’:

(7) /wœui_mo/ ‘I would have removed it’

— Nouns ending in a /Vu/ sequence followed by the augmentative suffix /-imë/:

(8) /ekeceu-imë/ ‘big, scary disease’

The low frequency of these sequences makes them clearly marginal cases. As a consequence, their syllabic status fluctuates:

(i) Pauses were sometimes inserted and sometimes not, by the same speaker:

(9a) /jaoe_pitë/ ‘I swell, for a second’ [jaœ # pi # tə] ~ [ja # œ # pi # tə]
(b) /taoe_to/ ‘They swelled’ [taœ # tə] ~ [ta # œ # tə]
(c) /taoe_marë_to/ ‘They swelled, too’ [taœ # ma # ë # tə] ~ [ta # œ # e # ma # ë # tə]

(ii) Iambic stress treats \( V_iV_jV_k \) sequences ambiguously, as \( V_iV_jV_k \) or \( V_iV_jV_k \) (but not as \( V_iV_jV_k \) or \( V_iV_jV_k \)):

(10a) /jaoe_pitë/ ‘I swell, for a second’ [jaœ.pi.të] (i.e. /jaoe.pi.të/ or /ja.o.e.pi.të/)
(b) /taoe_pa_to/ ‘They swelled again’ [taœ.pa.to] (i.e. /taoe.pa.to/ or /ta.o.e.pa.to/)
[not */jao.e.pi.të/; */ja.o.e.pi.të/]
[*/tao.e.pi.të/; */ta.o.e.pi.të/]

(iii) Reduplication gives no clue to syllabification

(11) /jaoe/ ‘I am swelling’ \( \rightarrow \)/jao - jaoe/ ‘I keep swelling’ (i.e. /jao.e/, /jao.e/, /ja.o.e/, or /jaoe/)

---

4 For /jaoe/ ‘I am swelling’, and other forms of /ao/ ‘to swell’, there is some dialectal variation: one Surinamese speaker from Tepoe (in the K-Tiriyó area) said /jaojae/ (with the /-Ja/ allomorph of the present imperfective suffix; cf. 5.4.1.3.1) instead of /jaoe/.
Of the two possibilities in (ii), the heterosyllabic analysis \((V_iV_jV_k)\) unnecessarily violates the generalization that word-internal onsetless syllables do not occur (cf. 2.4.1). The only other possibility allowed by (ii) is the tautosyllabic analysis \((V_iV_jV_k)\); therefore, it will be preferred here.\(^5\) This would imply adding a new heavy syllable type, \((C)V_iV_jV_k\), to the ones listed in 2.4.1; owing, however, to its rarity, and to the fluctuations noted in (i), it will be considered as a marginal type.

2.3.2. The phonological word. The phonological word domain is composed of a grammatical word (cf. 3.1) combined with cliticized material. The two following criteria are relevant to its identification (an underscore character \(_\) marks the link between a clitic and the word to which it cliticizes):

(a) Rhythmic stress (cf. 2.5.1). This prosodic process has the phonological word as its domain; it can thus be used as a definitional criterion. As can be seen in the examples below, the particle /\(_{\text{marē}}\) ‘also’ may cliticize to the preceding material, forming a single phonological word (i.e. a single rhythmic stress domain), while the verb form /\(_{\text{marē}}\) ‘you took O away’ (from the verb stem /\(_{\text{arē}}\) ‘to take O away’, with the second-person A-marking prefix /\(_{\text{m-}}\) does not:

\[
\begin{align*}
(12a) & \quad /\text{kīnoro}/ '\text{macaw sp.'} & + & \text{/_marē/} & \rightarrow & [\text{ki.nō:.ɾ̩_mā:.ɾ̩}] '\text{the macaw, too}' \\
(12b) & \quad /\text{kana}/ '\text{fish}' & + & \text{/_marē/} & \rightarrow & [\text{ka.nā:.ma.ɾ̩}] '\text{the fish, too}' \\
(12c) & \quad /\text{kīnoro}/ '\text{macaw sp.'} & + & \text{/marē/} & \rightarrow & [\text{ki.nō:.ɾ̩ ma.ɾ̩}] '\text{You took the macaw'} \\
(12d) & \quad /\text{kana}/ '\text{fish}' & + & \text{/marē/} & \rightarrow & [\text{ka.nā ma.ɾ̩}] '\text{You took the fish'}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^5\) It would be possible to imagine an analysis such as \(V_iV_jV_k\) (i.e. a heavy syllable followed by two onsetless syllables, the first of which having a long vowel; e.g. [já:ʃ.ɾ́ː.pi.ta] for (9a). Besides going twice against the ban on word-internal onsetless syllables, this analysis is an unnecessary, \textit{ad hoc} complication. \textit{Entia} (and one might add, \textit{complicationesque}) \textit{non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem}. 
Usually, these criteria suffice to determine whether or not a sequence of morphemes forms one phonological word or not.\(^6\) There are, however, certain cases of fluctuation that suggest the existence of some combinations of elements that have intermediate status. For instance, the monosyllabic forms of the copula in the present gnomic tense, /\textit{wae}/ ‘I am’ and /\textit{nai}/ ‘s/he is’, behave like clitics, forming one phonological word with what precedes; the bisyllabic forms, however (/\textit{manae}/ ‘you are’ and /\textit{kitaee}/ ‘we [dual inclusive] are’), may optionally not cliticize:

\[(13a) \quad /\textit{kure}_wae/ \quad \text{‘I am well’} \quad [\textit{ku.\textit{\text{r}}\text{é}::\text{wae}}] \\
(\text{b}) \quad /\textit{kure}_nai/ \quad \text{‘S/he is well’} \quad [\textit{ku.\textit{\text{r}}\text{é}::\text{nai}}] \\
(\text{c}) \quad /\textit{ire}_po\text{ manae}/ \quad \text{‘You are there’} \quad [\textit{i.\textit{\text{r}}\text{é}::\text{p}o\text{ ma.nae}}] \sim [\textit{i.\textit{\text{r}}\text{é}::\text{p}o\text{ má}.\text{nae}}] \\
(\text{d}) \quad /\textit{ire}_po\text{ kitaee}/ \quad \text{‘We are there’} \quad [\textit{i.\textit{\text{r}}\text{é}::\text{p}o\text{ ki}.\text{t}ae}] \sim [\textit{i.\textit{\text{r}}\text{é}::\text{p}o\text{ kí}.\text{t}ae}]\]

(b) Syllable reduction. This morphophonological process can be used to diagnose clitic status in the cases to which it applies (cf. 2.6.2 for details).\(^7\) For instance, the occurrence of the coda grade /\textit{epih}/ of /\textit{epi(t)}/ ‘his/her medicine’ with the particle /\textit{ta(ike)}/ ‘Negation’ demonstrates the clitic status of the latter (and thus diagnoses /\textit{epih}\_\textit{ta}/ as one phonological word), whereas the occurrence of the zero grade /\textit{epi}/ with the verb form /\textit{teeneese}/ ‘brought’ indicates that they are different phonological words:

\[(14a) \quad /\textit{epi(t)/} + /\textit{ta}(ike)/ \quad \rightarrow \quad /\textit{epih}_\text{t}a/ \quad \text{‘not his/her medicine’} \\
(\text{b}) \quad /\textit{epi(t)/} + /\textit{teeneese}/ \quad \rightarrow \quad /\textit{epi\text{ t}eeneese (iija)}/ \quad \text{‘(s/he) brought medicine’}\]

\(^6\) Note, en passant, that nasal assimilation (cf. 1.4.2.1) cannot be used as a criterion for phonological word status.

\(^7\) Notice that syllable reduction cannot be used to distinguish clitics from affixes, since it applies to both; it can only be used to distinguish clitics/affixes from independent words.
2.3.3. The utterance. Phonologically speaking, an utterance can be defined with two criteria:

(a) it is a stretch of discourse that is uttered by itself, with pauses at the beginning and at the end (i.e. it is the result of a specific speech event);

(b) it is the maximal domain of intonational contours (cf. 2.5.2).

The utterance, being a single speech event, is the most variable, subjective, and fuzzy-boundaried of all phonological domains. The two criteria above aim at providing a starting point, a ‘prototypical’ case; the reality of discourse is, of course, more complicated than that.

2.4. Phonotactics. There are several restrictions on segmental sequences in Tiriyó. Since the best frame of reference for describing them is the syllable, the next section will treat the syllabic templates of Tiriyó.
2.4.1. Syllable types and the phonological word. Based on the criteria for defining and classifying syllables (listed in 2.3.1), the following syllable types can be isolated (V_iV_j represents a vowel sequence, while VV represents a sequence of identical vowels): ⁸

(16) (C)V  (C)VC  (C)VV
/o.to/  ‘animal’  /ji.pih.ta/  ‘I married’  /tëē.kae/  ‘bit, bitten’
/ka-na/  ‘fish’  /eh.të.to/  ‘planning’  /tëē.re.ke/  ‘armed’
/a.ku.ri/  ‘agouti’  /pan.pi.ra/  ‘paper’  /oo.ko/  ‘curassow’
/se.re/  ‘this’  /nï.tën/  ‘s/he goes’  /iê.mo/  ‘egg’
/ko.no.po/  ‘rain’  /an.ja/  ‘we (excl.)’  /ëï.waa.re/  ‘clever’

(C)V_iV_j  (C)V_iV_j C
/kai.mo/  ‘game’  /se.re.maon/  ‘someone/something of today’
/pi.reu/  ‘arrow’  /kï.nëeh.të/  ‘S/he thought, planned O’
/ae.ru/  ‘noise’  /ëëh.po.ka.kë/  ‘Shave!’
/koe.kae/  ‘I am defecating’  /jïh.tën.ka.pan/  ‘I forgot’
/tï.kui.je/  ‘dirty’  /ëen.ta/  ‘You woke up’

These syllable types can be further classified as ‘light’ ((C)V) or ‘heavy’ (non-(C)V), based on the way that they are treated by rhythmic stress and reduplication; cf. 2.5.1, 2.6.3 for details.

A phonological word (cf. 2.3.2) can be described as a sequence of syllables (σ₁σ₂...σₙ), with the following restrictions:

(i) onsetless syllables (V, VV, V_iV_j, VC, V_iV_j C) only occur word-initially (as σ₁)
(ii) syllables with sequences of identical vowels or /h/-codas cannot occur word-finally (as σₙ).

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⁸ Aside from these types, a few (apparently marginal) instances of trivocalic sequences have been found; their syllabicity appears to be ambiguous (cf. 2.3.1.1, 2.6.4).
Schematically (cf. examples in (16)),

\[ \sigma_i = (C)V, (C)V(C), (C)VV, (C)V_iV_j, (C)V_iV_jC \]  \hspace{1cm} \text{(all syllable types)}

\[ \sigma = CV, CVC, CVV, CV_iV_j, CV_iV_jC \]  \hspace{1cm} \text{(only syllables with onsets)}

\[ \sigma_f = CV, CVn, CV_iV_j, CV_iV_jn \]  \hspace{1cm} \text{(no final /h/ or VV sequence)}

Monosyllabic words, as expected, combine features of both \( \sigma_i \) and \( \sigma_f \): they have the final segment restrictions of \( \sigma_f \) (no final /h/ or VV sequence), but they can be onsetless like \( \sigma_i \) (e.g. /oi/ ‘grass, grasslands’). Furthermore, sound-symbolic words (ideophones, interjections) do not obey the above restrictions, often having coda consonants other than /h/ or a /n/ [ŋ] (e.g. /kap/, /tum/), or word-final VV or Vh sequences (e.g. /kuuh/, /pēē/); cf. Table 9.1 in Chap. 9.

2.4.2. Distribution of consonants. All consonants can occur as onsets (except /h/, which is attested only syllable-finally); any gaps are probably spurious. In syllable-final position, only a nasal consonant (N) or /h/ can occur. Thus, all consonant clusters (always heterosyllabic) are word-internal and of the form /N.C/ or /h.C/; the only two exceptions are the words /npa/ [mpa] ‘let’s go’, and /nkan/ [ŋkan] ‘s/he says’.\(^9\)

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\(^9\) There are cluster-initial particles like /ńkērē/ ‘still’ or /ńpe/ ‘Indefinite’. However, unlike /npa/ and /ńkan/, these particles can never be utterance-initial; phonologically, they cliticize to the preceding word and thus constitute no exception. In addition, /ńh/-initial particles like /ńkaarē/ ‘Surprise’ (cf. 9.1.3.2) sometimes fail to condition the full grade of a preceding syllable-reducing word (i.e. they seem to be in the process of becoming independent words with an initial /h/ rather than clitics with an initial cluster).
2.4.2.1. Nasal clusters. In nasal clusters, the nasal consonant always assimilates in place of articulation to the following consonant (which is optionally voiced).\(^{10}\) For this reason, it is always written here as /n/, the least marked nasal, in the phonemic transcription. Examples of all clusters are given below; the four subgroups correspond to the four places of articulation (labial, alveolar, palatal, velar) to which nasal consonants assimilate. Notice that /nm/ /ns/ /nr/ and /nw/ are rare and seem to occur only across morpheme boundaries, while the other clusters occur also in monomorphemic words.

| (17a) | /np/ [mp] | /anpo/ | [am.po] | ‘where?’ |
| (b)   | /enpane/ | [em.pa.ne] | ‘(someone’s) teacher’ |
| (c)   | /nm/ [mm] | /eekanmao/ | [e:.kam.mao] | ‘when?’ |
| (d)   | /jimuku/ | [jim.mu.ku] | ‘my son’ |
| (e)   | /nt/ [nt] | /entu/ | [en.tu] | ‘owner’ |
| (f)   | /nuntua/ | [ni.tun.ta] | ‘S/he has arrived’ |
| (g)   | /nn/ [nn] | /nunne/ | [nun.ne] | ‘moon’ |
| (h)   | /nitenne/ | [vi.ten.ne] | ‘I went’ |
| (i)   | /ns/ [n$] | /kinsaika/ | [kin.sai.ka] | ‘S/he made mistakes about O’ |
| (j)   | /sinxaikawea/ | [in.sai.kae.ua] | ‘not making mistakes about O’ |
| (k)   | /nt/ [nt] | /kinrama/ | [kin.ta.ma] | ‘S/he returned O’ |
| (l)   | /kinripita/ | [kin.ta.pi:.ta] | ‘S/he got thinner’ |
| (m)   | /nj/ [i$] | /senje/ | [se$i.ne] | ‘this side’ |
| (n)   | /anja/ | [a$na] | ‘we (exclusive)’ |
| (o)   | /nk/ [n$] | /kinka/ | [ki$ka] | ‘S/he said’ |
| (p)   | /manko/ | [ma$ko] | ‘my mother’ |
| (q)   | /nw/ [n$] | /sepínwi$hka/ | [se.pi$n.u$h.ha] | ‘I nodded’ |
| (r)   | /kinwekena/ | [ki$n.ue.ke:.na] | ‘S/he ran after O, persecuted O’ |

\(^{10}\) Nasal assimilation is obligatory within a phonological word. Across phonological words, however, it can still happen, albeit optionally (cf. 2.6.5).
The pronunciation of /nj/ as [ᵅj] calls for some discussion. Phonetically, it often strikes the ear as a single sound [ŋ], without any apparent [j]; this suggests a single-sound analysis (e.g. as /n̥/), rather than a cluster. The cluster analysis is preferred here for two reasons:

(i) Morphophonology. Nasal assimilation occurs whenever a nasal cluster is produced in a morphophonological process. If a nasal consonant and /j/ are brought together, [ᵅj] is the result, in parallel to [mp], [nt], [ŋk] etc. from nasal + /p/, /t/, /k/. The [ᵅ] is probably a transitional sound between the preceding vowel and the [ŋ]; as can be seen in 18, it appears automatically when /n/ and /j/ come together but not when other nasal clusters are produced. Due to its predictability, it is analyzed here as part of the realization of /nj/.\(^\text{11}\)

(18a)/m-/ '2A' + /onam̥/ 'hide' + /-po/ 'Caus' [mɔnampɔ] ‘You made him/her hide O’
(b) + /-tan/ ‘Fut.Ipf’ [mɔnantɔ] ‘You will hide it’
(c) + /-kep̥/ ‘stop’ [mɔnakɔpɔ] ‘You stopped hiding it’
(d) + /-ne/ ‘Pst.Prf’ [mɔnane] ‘You hid it (long ago)’
(e) + /-jae/ ‘Prs.Ipf’ [mɔnaŋje] ‘You are hiding it’

(ii) Stress. Words that contain [ŋ] behave as if the preceding syllable were heavy for the purposes of rhythmic stress assignment (cf. 2.5.1). If this sequence were analyzed as a single element /n̥/, it would be the only one to be always preceded by a stressed syllable. If, however, it is seen as a heterosyllabic /nj/ cluster, then the /n/ can be seen as the coda of the preceding syllable, which would be heavy.

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\(^{11}\) Notice that the two orthographies in use in the Tiriýẹ-speaking area represent this transitional sound as a part of the word. Thus, they write ainja or ainjọ for lainja/‘we (exclusive)’
Note that the lack of [ŋ]’s at the beginning of phonological words is easy to explain with the cluster analysis: since /nj/ is heterosyllabic, there has to be at least one preceding syllable (of which /n/ is the coda). In this respect, it behaves like the other clusters, which are all heterosyllabic and thus never occur at the beginning of a phonological word.

2.4.2.2. /h/-clusters, dialectology, and the status of /h/. The pronunciation of /h/-clusters defines different dialects of Tiriýó. Based on their realizations of the /hk/ cluster, I propose to call them H-Tiriýó and K-Tiriýó. Map 2 (Chap. 1) has the presumed geographic distribution of the two dialects (cf. also 1.1). Table 2.2 describes the different realizations of each dialect for all attested /h/-clusters.

| Table 2.2 |
| Realizations of /h/-clusters in different dialects. |
| /h/-clusters | H-Tiriýó | K-Tiriýó |
| /hp/ | [hΦ]~[ːΦ] | [:p] |
| /ht/ | [ht] | [:t] |
| /hk/ | [hx]~[hh]~[ːh] | [:k] |
| /hs/ | [ːʃ]~[hʃ] | [:ʂ] |
(20a) /pihpə/ ‘skin’  [pihpə]→[pi:ɲə]  [pi:ɲə]
(b) /mêhparə/ ‘birds, monkeys’  [məhparə]→[ma:ɲə]  [ma:ɲə]
(c) /mahto/ ‘fire’  [mahto]  [ma:to]
(d) /kihtaone/ ‘among us’  [kihtaone]  [ki:taone]
(e) /pahko/ ‘my father’  [pahko]→[pahho]→[pa:ho]  [pa:ko]
(f) /tuhka/ ‘Brazil nut’  [tuhha]→[tu:ha]  [tu:ka]
(g) /wihse/ ‘urucu plant’  [ui:ɲə]→[uihせ]  [ui:ɲə]
(h) /tənihsen/ ‘drink, beverage’  [tənιɲə]→[tənihсяну]  [tənιɲə]

In K-Tiriyó, /h/ is non-existent; only vowel length is to be found. In H-Tiriyó, however, /h/ clusters are very different from simple vowel length, as in the following pairs, which are homophonous in K-Tiriyó:

(21a) /witaaka/ ‘I hit O softly’  [uita:ka]  [uita:ka]
(b) /witahka/ ‘I lost O’  [uitahka]  [uita:ka]
(c) /witooka/ ‘I patted O’  [uito:ka]  [uito:ka]
(d) /witoхka/ ‘I broke O open’, ‘I made O burst’  [uitοha]  [uitοka]

Because of the spirantizing effect that they have in H-Tiriyó when the following consonant is /p/ or /k/, H-Tiriyó /h/’s are sometimes barely audible, coming rather close to vowel length. Only in /ht/ clusters are they really obvious.

Thus, the realization of /hp/, /ht/ and /hk/ clearly distinguishes the two dialects.

The realization of /hs/, on the other hand, is in fluctuation in H-Tiriyó, with the same

12 When it is present, the aspiration in /hs/ clusters is often closer to a velar than to a glottal fricative: [uiξʃe], [tanixʃeɲ].
speaker pronouncing [ːʃ] and [hʃ]. Older speakers tend to prefer [hʃ], but even among them several inconsistencies occurred (see below).

The varying pronunciation of /h/-clusters immediately suggests diachronic change. In fact, Tiriyó /h/ is the result of a historical process of syllable reduction and loss (cf. Gildea 1995 for a general picture of syllable reduction in the Cariban family, and Meira 1998a for the Taranoan sub-branch; cf. 2.6.2 for synchronic morphophonological reflexes). At some point in the past, before H- and K-Tiriyó split from Pré-Tiriyó, all /h/-clusters were probably pronounced as such: [hp], [ht], [hk], [hʃ]. Then the dialect split occurred; in K-Tiriyó, /h/ quickly became vowel length in all cases, while in H-Tiriyó it remained long enough to cause the spirantization of a following /p/ or /k/. In modern H-Tiriyó, /h/ seems to be undergoing further changes: in the /hs/ cluster, younger speakers appear to have replaced it with vowel length, while older speakers show inconsistencies; in the /hp/ cluster, it is becoming weaker and sometimes fluctuates with vowel length; in the /hk/ cluster, it has absorbed the /k/ (except in the speech of some older speakers, who can still produce [hx] in slow speech), forming a long [hh] which often fluctuates with [:h], especially among younger speakers. Only the cluster /ht/ has conserved the pronunciation [ht] (cf. examples in 20-21). Thus, /h/ has been conserved as a distinctive segment only in H-Tiriyó; K-Tiriyó has lost it entirely.

In H-Tiriyó, the present cases of fluctuation suggest a further development: in the future, /hp/ may become a new distinctive segment /ϕ/, and /hk/ may become a simple /h/ occurring intervocally, as a word-internal syllable onset (which would make its distribution more similar to that of the other consonants). The ‘in-between’ status of /h/-
clusters is reflected in the two main Tiriýó writing systems: the Surinam orthography uses hp and hk, whereas the Missão Tiriós orthography, probably based on the more innovative pronunciation, has f and h.

In the present work, the analysis of these cases as /h/-clusters (and thus the spellings /hp/, /ht/, /hk/) has been preferred, for the following reasons:

(i) it serves as a compromise between the two dialects; the actual pronunciation for each dialect is always retrievable via Table 2.2;

(ii) the /ht/ cluster in H-Tiriýó is actually pronounced as such ([ht]);

(iii) morphophonological processes that generate [ht]-clusters also produce [hɸ]~[ːɸ] and [hh]~[ːh], suggesting the same analysis for all of them; this is illustrated in (22) below, in which the final syllable /-pi/ of the verb stem /ponopi/ ‘tell stories about O’, following the syllable reduction pattern described in 2.6.2, becomes /h/ with certain consonant-initial suffixes (only the vowel-length variant is shown for simplicity):

(22a) /ni-/ ‘3AO’ + /ponopi/ ‘tell’ + /-tan/ ‘Fut.Ipf’ [ni.pó:.náh.tan] ‘S/he will tell O’
(22b) + /-po/ ‘Caus’ [ni.pó:.nó:.pó] ‘S/he made O tell’
(22c) + /-kepi/ ‘stop’ [ni.pó:.nó:.he.pi]‘S/he stopped telling O’

(iv) an analysis of /hp/ and /hk/ as single segments, say /ɸ/ and /h/, would have as a consequence that they would always be preceded by heavy syllables (since there will either be an /h/ closing the preceding syllable, or vowel lengthening, depending on the dialect). This would make any words with /ɸ/ or syllable-initial /h/ an exception to the
rhythmic stress pattern, in that the /ʔ/- or /h/-initial syllable would never be stressed and would always be preceded by a stressed syllable (cf. (23) below, in which only the vowel length variant is given for simplicity; cf. 2.5.1 for the stress system):

(23a) /mehpoka/  ‘You shaved O’ [mē:.fō.ka] *[mē.ɸō.ka]
(b) /miponohpotēne/ ‘You all asked O’ [mi.pō::nō:.fō.tō::ne] *[mi.pō:.nō.ɸō::tō.ne]
(c) /nahkētē/ ‘S/he cut O’ [nā:.hə.τō] *[nā.ho::tō]

The spelling /hs/ for [hš]~[ːʃ] should also be preferred; in fact, (iii) above is also valid for /hs/, as in (24), in which /-se/ ‘Supine’ parallels the suffixes in 22:

(24) /i/- ‘3O’ + /ponopi/ ‘tell’ + /-se/ ‘Sup’  [i.pō::nō::ʃe] ~ [i.pō::nōh.ʃe]  ‘in order to tell O’

However, the inconsistencies found even in the speech of older speakers make it difficult to distinguish cases of /hs/ from cases of /ːs/.\(^{13}\) Apparently, in H-Tiriyō, /h/-loss before /s/ is already more advanced than before other obstruents; a more detailed sociolinguistic survey would be necessary to evaluate the current situation of the /hs/-/ːs/ merger. In the absence of such an evaluation, the present work will treat this merger as already complete; all synchronic examples will be transcribed as /ːs/.

\(^{13}\) For instance, two older speakers who agreed on the /hs/ in (24) disagreed on the pronunciation of the word for ‘happy, joyful’: while one accepted both [šā:.šā:.me] and [šāh.šā:.me] (i.e. /sashaame/), the other accepted only [šā:.šā:.me], refusing [šāh.šā:.me] as a possible pronunciation (i.e. he had /sashaame/). This was never the case for the other /h/-clusters. One intriguing possibility is that some speakers may have generalized /hs/ to all cases of word-internal /ːs/; this would have been facilitated via a prior change whereby intervocalic /ʃ/’s were lost, making /hs/ much more frequent than word-internal /ːs/. As the /h/ became less clear, speakers might have reinterpreted it as part of the phonetic realization of /ʃ/ intervocally, thus making /hs/ an allophone of /ʃ/. In this case, [šāh.ʃā:.me] would be an innovation. It would be interesting to see a spectrographic analysis of words with /hs/ clusters and with intervocalic /ʃ/’s.
2.4.3. Distribution of vowels. There is one general restriction: /i/ cannot be word-initial (or, equivalently, syllable-initial, since there all onsetless syllables are word-initial). All seven vowels can occur in (C)V, (C)VV and (C)VC (i.e. single-vowel) syllables. In the Vi position of (C)VVi and (C)VViC syllables, all vowels but /i/ can occur,\(^{14}\) while in the Vj position only /i, e, o, u/ are found.

2.4.3.1. Vowel sequences. VjV sequences form tautosyllabic vowel sequences (cf. 2.4.1, 2.5.1) with the syllabic peak falling on the first vowel, Vj. There are no vowel sequences in which the syllabic peak falls on the second vowel (i.e. there is no [āu] vs. [aū] distinction).\(^{15}\)

From the fact that seven vowels can occur in the Vi position and four vowels in the Vj position, a total of 7 x 4 = 28 (minus 4 VV sequences) = 24 vowel sequences would be expected. However, only the following 14 are attested:

(25) Attested vowel sequences.

\(/ai/\), \(/nai/\) ‘s/he/it is’, \(/kurai/\) ‘chicken’, \(/kaikē/\) ‘fox (sp.)’, \(/aimara/\) ‘fish (sp.)’
\(/ae/\), \(/wirinae/\) ‘sloth (sp.)’, \(/aenu/\) ‘noise’, \(/aene/\) ‘alive’, \(/mikae/\) ‘you are saying’
\(/au/\), \(/wikipau/\) ‘deer (sp.)’, \(/aukē/\) ‘Stand up!’, \(/karau/\) ‘fruit (sp.)’, \(/sautu/\) ‘salt’\(^{16}\)

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\(^{14}\) /i:V/ sequences tend to be pronounced as /i:V/ in fast speech, as e.g. /pija:sa/ ‘a little bit’ [pi:ja:sə]–[pi:a:sa] (notice that the /a/ is still stressed, showing that there still is a syllable boundary before it). In slow speech, especially when the word is carefully enunciated, the /i/ is consistently pronounced.

\(^{15}\) Given this fact, one might wonder whether sequences of vowel + /i/ and vowel + /u/ should not be analyzed as vowel + /i/ and vowel + /u/. However, in the absence of any phonological processes distinguishing these two cases, no principled decision can be made. Descriptively speaking, it seems to be a question of arbitrary choice to decide whether to increase the set of vowel sequences (which would include /ae/, /ao/, /ēe/, /ūe/ anyway), or the set of syllable-final consonants (which already has /h/ and /m/). A similar situation applies to the analysis of inherently long vowels as underlyingly long vowels or as sequences of identical vowels (cf. 1.5.1.1).

\(^{16}\) There is some variation between /ao/ and /au/ in certain words; one speaker had /jaohipu/ ‘my mother/father-in-law’ and /waokīnae/ ‘I hug O’, while another had /jaupi/ and /waupīnae/. This may be a
/ei:/ /pepei/ ‘wind’, /rupei/ ‘lizard (sp.)’, /meine/ ‘you were’, /eire/ ‘angry (at it)’
/eu:/ /seu/ ‘coati’, /eurêto/ ‘barking’, /meuajan/ ‘You are answering O’

/lêel/ /alpipe/ ‘hard’, /lêenakê/ ‘liar’, /lêmê/ ‘path’, /kitêenpar/ ‘we (1+2) learned’
/lêu:/ /pîreul/ ‘arrow’, /lêrukêu/ ‘tree (sp.)’, /lêuse/ ‘answered’, /aakêu/ ‘monkey (sp.)’

/lêo/ /apêo/ ‘beside’ (only attested example, and a controversial one; cf. 7.3.1.2)

/oi:/ /oroî/ ‘cashew’, /loi/ ‘lizard (sp.)’, /oïma/ ‘mix O’, /moikê/ ‘ant (sp.)’
/oe:/ /epoie/ ‘over it’, /mapoie/ ‘You are digging O’, /koekapo/ ‘wanting to defecate’

/lûl/ /kûrii/ ‘toucan (sp.)’, /pûura/ ‘palm tree (sp.)’ (only two attested exemple)


The following minimal/analogous sets involving vowel sequences are also worth mentioning:

(26)

/wae/ ‘I am’
/wai/ ‘tree (sp.)’
/we/ ‘sun’; ‘I was’
/weu/ ‘I answered O’
/wêe/ ‘I came’
/wêu/ ‘I took O out’
/wiû/ ‘manioc’
/têuje/ ‘took/taken out’
/têije/ ‘scolded’
/naun/ ‘s/he stood up’
/nêun/ ‘s/he got warmer’
/naon/ ‘it is swelling’

/kae/ ‘used to say’
/kai/ ‘S/he fried us (1+2)’
/kao/ ‘We (1+2) swelled’
/kau/ ‘cow (loanword)’
/kei/ ‘We (1+2) were’
/keu/ ‘We (1+2) answered O’
/kêi/ ‘fever’
/kêu/ ‘S/he took us (1+2) out’
/koi/ ‘buriti palm’
/kui/ ‘babaçu palm’

/mêe/ ‘this one (animate)’
/mêeu/ ‘You took O out’
/moi/ ‘spider (sp.)’
/pai/ ‘tapi’
/pau/ ‘island’
/wapoe/ ‘I am digging O’
/wapoï/ ‘I would dig O’
/wapêi/ ‘I took O’

dialectal feature (the speaker who had /ao/ was from Missão Tiriós and spoke H-Tiriyó; the one who had /au/ was from Surinam but had been living for years at Missão Tiriós and spoke K-Tiriyó with some H-Tiriyó influence); more research is needed to determine whether or not this is the case.

17 In fast speech, word-initially, /ëe/ is especially hard to distinguish from /ei/; in slow speech, however, the difference becomes more obvious.
The first noticeable regularity is the lack of symmetry: whenever a $V_iV_j$ sequence is attested, its mirror image $V_jV_i$ is not. This fact can be more easily appreciated in the lack of double-headed arrows in Fig. 2.1:

![Figure 2.1](image)

Attested Tiriýó vowel sequences.

The diagram further reveals an interesting outward-upward-leftward directionality. All attested vowel sequences end in a peripheral vowel ('outward') and are either raising or level ('upward'); moreover, when both vowels are peripheral and have the same height, the arrow goes back to front ('leftward', i.e. /ui/, /œi/ but not */iu/, */œo/). The two extreme vowels are /i/, which serves as a second element for any other vowel, and /a/, which serves as a first element for any non-central vowel. The only 'surprises' are the missing */ou/, and the doubtful status of /œo/, attested in only one word, /apœo/ 'beside', which not all speakers accepted; these two vowel sequences would parallel /iu/ and /ei/, respectively.\(^\text{18}\)

\(^{18}\) Some comparative evidence suggests a diachronic explanation for these gaps. First, it seems that an earlier */ou/ has become a long /oo/ in modern Tiriýó (cf. e.g. Tiriýó /ooná/ 'nose', /oota/ 'hole' and Kaxuyana /owna/, /owta/). Second, Tiriýó /œi/ appears to be a reflex of Proto-Carib /o/ (though the
2.4.4. **Statistical data.** To further illustrate the segmental patterns of Tiriyó, statistical calculations were carried out on two samples: a list of, as far as could be determined, 250 synchronically monomorphemic words (animals, plants, natural phenomena, pronouns, adverbs), and the first 250 (phonological) words of a narrative text (*Asehpé iwehaponpê*). Both samples are reproduced in the Appendix.

2.4.4.1. **Syllable statistics.** Fig. 2.2-3 display the result of counting the syllables and syllable types in both samples:

---

**Figure 2.2**

Statistics on the number of syllables per word.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total words: 250</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Syllables</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total syllables:** 661 | **717**

**Average:** 2.6 syl/wd | **2.9 syl/wd**

---

environment conditioning the change is still poorly understood; if /e/ and /o/ used to be the same sound, it would be difficult, without further changes, for them to occur in the same syllable.

It is interesting to observe *en passant* that the directionality of Tiriyó vowel sequences is begging for an Optimality account with *e.g.* three directionality constraints, GoOut (i.e. toward the peripheral vowels), GoUp (i.e. toward the high vowels), and GoLeft (i.e. toward the front vowels). From the absence of */æɛ/, */æʊ/ it follows that GoOut > GoUp; from the absence of */œɛ/, */œʊ/, that GoUp > GoLeft. However, such approaches would still leave the absence of */ou/, and the ‘semi-existence’ of */ɛʊ/, unexplained.
As expected, longer words are less frequent. The existence of longer words in the text, as well as the slightly higher syllables-per-word average, are undoubtedly due to the presence of polymorphemic words (including affixes and clitics) in the text sample.

**Figure 2.3**
Statistics on syllable types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable types</th>
<th>Word list</th>
<th>Text sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(C)V</td>
<td>538 (81.4%)</td>
<td>502 (70%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C)VC</td>
<td>29 (4.4%)</td>
<td>97 (13.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C)VV</td>
<td>33 (5%)</td>
<td>54 (7.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C)V_iV_j</td>
<td>61 (9.2%)</td>
<td>58 (8.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C)V_iV_jC</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6 (0.8%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total syllables: 661 717

As expected, (C)V is by far the most frequent syllable type, while (C)V_iV_jC is by far the rarest. The slight increase in non-(C)V syllables in the sample text is probably caused by a number of high-frequency affixes and clitics that either are or generate non-(C)V syllables (/n-pël/, /h-pël/ ‘Past’, /_nkérë/ ‘still’, /-e/ ‘Certainty’, /-e/ allomorph of /-se/ ‘Remote Past’, /-n/ ‘Doubt’, /-ë/- ‘Detransitivizer’, etc.). In fact, all cases of (C)V_iV_jC syllables apparently involve affix or clitic boundaries.
2.4.4.2. Segment statistics. The following table displays the result of absolute segment counts; Table 2.3 contains statistics on the occurrence of segments at syllable and word boundaries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word list</th>
<th>Text sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1371 segments,</td>
<td>(1591 segments,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average 5.5 segs/word)</td>
<td>average 6.4 segs/word)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowels = 755 (55%)</td>
<td>Vowels = 835 (52.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consonants = 616 (45%)</td>
<td>Consonants = 755 (47.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. a 255 16.4% 10. o 70 5.1%</td>
<td>1. a 185 11.6% 10. w 79 4.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. i 128 9.2% 11. t 47 3.4%</td>
<td>2. e 179 11.2% 11. t 77 4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. k 119 8.6% 12. i 46 3.3%</td>
<td>3. e 148 9.3% 12. o 76 4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. r 114 8.3% 13. w 35 2.5%</td>
<td>4. i 130 8.1% 13. j 63 3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. e 108 7.8% 14. s 34 2.4%</td>
<td>5. k 104 6.5% 14. u 62 3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. u 102 7.4% 15. j 27 1.9%</td>
<td>6. n 103 6.4% 15. i 55 3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. m 79 5.7% 16. h 8 0.5%</td>
<td>7. p 89 5.6% 16. h 51 3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. p, n 77 5.6%</td>
<td>8. m 81 5% 17. s 29 1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. e 76 5.6%</td>
<td>9. r 80 5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The higher segments-per-word average in the text sample is undoubtedly due to the occurrence of polymorphemic words. The most frequent vowel is /a/, and the most frequent consonant is /k/. The least frequent vowel is /i/; the least frequent consonants are (in different orders in the word list and in the text sample) /j/, s, h/. Most segments remained relatively stable; the most dramatic differences were observed for: /h/ (three
times as frequent in the text sample as in the word list), /ʃ/, /l/, /w/ (approximately twice as frequent), and /u/ (almost half as frequent). The reasons for these changes are not hard to find. Since the text is a first-person narrative, first-person markers and pronouns (/ɪʃ-, /wɜː-, /wʊ/) occur relatively often. Certain frequently used items (/tahken/ ‘maybe’, /ahtao/ ‘while’, the /e/ allomorph of the copula, /ke/ ‘Instrumental’, /me/ ‘Attributivizer’, the /t-ːs/ remote past) appear to have a positive effect on /h/ and /l/, which are present in them, and a negative one on /u/, which is not.

Table 2.4
Percentage of the instances of each segment occurring at word / syllable boundaries.
(VV sequences counted as two instances of the same vowel;
syllable-final nasal consonants counted always as /n/)
The data confirm the claims on consonant distribution (2.4.1-3): /h/ occurs only syllable-finally (but never word-finally). All other consonants (except /n/) occur only syllable-initially; /n/ is the only one possible in both environments. /i/ does not occur word-(i.e. syllable-)initially. /i/ cannot be the first vowel in a vowel sequence, therefore it is almost always syllable-final (except for /ii/’s, counted as two-vowel sequences, so that one of the two /i/’s was not syllable-final). Again, facts such as the first-person style of the sample text, and the concurrent high frequency of the first-person prefix /i/-, probably help explain the high percentage of word-initial /i/. One surprise stands out: the overwhelming majority of instances of /s/ in the word list (61.7%) are word-initial; this suggests that word-internal /s/’s may have been lost.¹⁹

2.4.4.3. Segment sequence statistics. Table 2.5 shows the result of counting consonant-vowel sequences in the two samples; Table 2.6 contains the frequencies of consonant clusters and vowel sequences.

¹⁹ Cf. Meira ms-a for a comparative study that comes to the same conclusion. It is still an open question whether or not the remaining cases of word-internal /s/ (in the word list, a respectable 38.3% of the total instances of /s/) are all borrowings, or are polymorphemic.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CV</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>ê</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>û</th>
<th>CV</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>ê</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>û</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The absence of /h/-initial syllables is as expected; the other gaps, however, are more surprising. The sequence /te/, which occurred in the text sample but did not in the word list, always includes a morpheme break (/t-/ ‘Rem.Pst’ + /e/-initial Sa verb; the /e/ is lengthened if not followed by a tautosyllabic consonant (cf. 5.4.3.1.2)); the sequence /ti/ which did not occur at all, is found only in ideophones and in the collective suffix /-ti(i)/.

In both cases, there is reason to think that the sequences are relatively new (/t-e/ < */t-w-e/; /-ti/ < */-tēi/; cf. Meira 1998a:133, 121). Since front vowels are a well-known palatalizing environment, the lack of /te/ and /ti/ sequences suggests an evolution of the form */te, ti* > /se, si/. /wu/ is a rare, but attested, sequence (e.g. /wurujæl ‘I am giving advice to O’); /wo/, on the other hand, is unattested, as are /sē/, /sē/, and /jē/. The sequence /jē/ is rare; it was attested only as the first-person object prefix /jē/- on /rē/ ‘make, do’ (as in /saasaa_me jīrī/ ‘S/he has made me happy’). The sequence /jē/ is
attested only in the first-person marker /j'i-/ (which explains the large incidence of /j'i/-sequences in the text sample, which is a first-person narrative).²⁰

### Table 2.6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word list</th>
<th>Text sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>C-Clusters</strong></td>
<td><strong>VV seq.’s</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hp 1 (4.5%)</td>
<td>aa 12 (36.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ht 4 (18.2%)</td>
<td>ee 3 (9.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nk 2 (9.1%)</td>
<td>oo 4 (12.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>np 2 (9.1%)</td>
<td>ii 2 (6.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nt 2 (9.1%)</td>
<td>ii 4 (12.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nk 2 (9.1%)</td>
<td>uu 1 (3.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nn 1 (4.5%)</td>
<td>eì 6 (9.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nj 7 (31.8%)</td>
<td>eì 2 (3.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ns</td>
<td>oì 6 (9.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nw</td>
<td>iì 7 (11.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nr</td>
<td>iì 1 (1.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ui 6 (9.9%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total: 22</th>
<th>Total: 33</th>
<th>Total: 61</th>
<th>Total: 85</th>
<th>Total: 54</th>
<th>Total: 64</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11.4 words/CC</td>
<td>7.6 words/VV</td>
<td>4.1 words/V_{ij}</td>
<td>2.9 words/CC</td>
<td>4.6 words/VV</td>
<td>3.9 words/V_{ij}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The higher frequency of consonant clusters in the text sample (almost four times that of the word list) is due to the existence of a number of affixes and clitics that either have or generate CC clusters (e.g. /-npē/, /-hpē/ ‘Degraded’, /_nkērē/ ‘still’, /-n/ ‘Doubt’, etc.). In fact, CC clusters are fairly frequent at such boundaries; certain low-frequency clusters (/5 ns/, /nr/, /nw/) are not attested in monomorphemic roots. Similarly, VV

---

²⁰ Meira ms-a concludes that former /Vwo/ and /Vwu/ sequences have become vowel sequences (/Vo, Vu/). The */te, ti > /se, si/, change must be older; Meira ms-a could detect no trace of it. No explanation was found for the lack of /sē, sī, jē/, and for the rarity of /jē, jī, jū/.
sequences and some $V_i V_j$ sequences are also made more frequent in the text sample because of the existence of high-frequency morphemes that either have or generate them (e.g. /-tuuwë/ ‘after’, the vowel length allomorphs of /-rë/ ‘Possession’, and of /w-/ ‘Sa’; /ëe/ and /ae/ are made frequent by the /-e/ ‘Certainty’, the /-e/ allomorph of /-se/ ‘Remote Past’, etc.). Notice that this does not happen to all vowel sequences (e.g. /ai/, /oi/ are not favored, since they do not occur in high-frequency morphemes).

2.5. Prosody. In Tiriyó, there are two main prosodic phenomena: rhythmic stress (with the phonological word as its domain) and intonational contours (with the utterance as their domain). These two phenomena interact in Tiriyó, since both involve pitch and vowel length as their main phonetic cues. Stress follows a pattern of rhythmic alternation (affected by syllable structure) that has been called iambic in the literature (cf. e.g. Hayes 1995, Kenstowicz 1996). Intonation is superimposed on rhythmic stress, changing some of its phonetic consequences to signal pragmatic information.

2.5.1. Rhythmic stress. Tiriyó phonological words follow a pattern of alternation between non-prominent (unstressed) and prominent (stressed) syllables. If the phonological word is composed exclusively of (C)V syllables, then every second syllable from the beginning of the word will be stressed, except for the last syllable, which is always unstressed. Table 2.7 illustrates this pattern. (Stressed syllables are marked with an acute accent and a colon, representing length; cf. 2.5.1.3. for a discussion of the phonetic correlates of stress).
Table 2.7
Stress pattern on words composed only of (C)V syllables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3 syllables</th>
<th>5 syllables</th>
<th>6 syllables</th>
<th>7 syllables</th>
<th>8 syllables</th>
<th>9 syllables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/pawana/ ‘friend’</td>
<td>/ikapurutu/ ‘cloud’</td>
<td>/e.karamatataka/ ‘Give it! (col.)’</td>
<td>/jikirikiripamii/ ‘I shivered’</td>
<td>/kitapomatapone/ ‘We made him help’</td>
<td>/kitetapatotapone/ ‘We made him help us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tareno/ ‘Tiriyó person’</td>
<td>/akarapuka/ ‘river otter (sp.)’</td>
<td>/e.karamatataka/ ‘Give it! (col.)’</td>
<td>/apomatakatataka/ ‘Go help!’</td>
<td>/kitapomatapone/ ‘We made him help’</td>
<td>/kitetapatotapone/ ‘We made him help us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kinoro/ ‘macaw (sp.)’</td>
<td>/kanamitake/ ‘tick (insect)’</td>
<td>/e.karamatataka/ ‘Give it! (col.)’</td>
<td>/apomatakatataka/ ‘Go help!’</td>
<td>/kitapomatapone/ ‘We made him help’</td>
<td>/kitetapatotapone/ ‘We made him help us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sipari/ ‘fan, stingray’</td>
<td>/nemuririma/ ‘it wrinkled’</td>
<td>/e.karamatataka/ ‘Give it! (col.)’</td>
<td>/apomatakatataka/ ‘Go help!’</td>
<td>/kitapomatapone/ ‘We made him help’</td>
<td>/kitetapatotapone/ ‘We made him help us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/arakii/ ‘tail, penis’</td>
<td>/kweutteru/ ‘our talking’</td>
<td>/e.karamatataka/ ‘Give it! (col.)’</td>
<td>/apomatakatataka/ ‘Go help!’</td>
<td>/kitapomatapone/ ‘We made him help’</td>
<td>/kitetapatotapone/ ‘We made him help us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pereru/ ‘butterfly’</td>
<td>/e.karamatataka/ ‘Give it! (col.)’</td>
<td>/e.karamatataka/ ‘Give it! (col.)’</td>
<td>/apomatakatataka/ ‘Go help!’</td>
<td>/kitapomatapone/ ‘We made him help’</td>
<td>/kitetapatotapone/ ‘We made him help us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/okomo/ ‘wasp’</td>
<td>/e.karamatataka/ ‘Give it! (col.)’</td>
<td>/e.karamatataka/ ‘Give it! (col.)’</td>
<td>/apomatakatataka/ ‘Go help!’</td>
<td>/kitapomatapone/ ‘We made him help’</td>
<td>/kitetapatotapone/ ‘We made him help us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/akuri/ ‘agouti’</td>
<td>/e.karamatataka/ ‘Give it! (col.)’</td>
<td>/e.karamatataka/ ‘Give it! (col.)’</td>
<td>/apomatakatataka/ ‘Go help!’</td>
<td>/kitapomatapone/ ‘We made him help’</td>
<td>/kitetapatotapone/ ‘We made him help us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sunari/ ‘cricket (sp.)’</td>
<td>/e.karamatataka/ ‘Give it! (col.)’</td>
<td>/e.karamatataka/ ‘Give it! (col.)’</td>
<td>/apomatakatataka/ ‘Go help!’</td>
<td>/kitapomatapone/ ‘We made him help’</td>
<td>/kitetapatotapone/ ‘We made him help us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/taripii/ ‘monkey (sp.)’</td>
<td>/e.karamatataka/ ‘Give it! (col.)’</td>
<td>/e.karamatataka/ ‘Give it! (col.)’</td>
<td>/apomatakatataka/ ‘Go help!’</td>
<td>/kitapomatapone/ ‘We made him help’</td>
<td>/kitetapatotapone/ ‘We made him help us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tiripo/ ‘cooking stone’</td>
<td>/e.karamatataka/ ‘Give it! (col.)’</td>
<td>/e.karamatataka/ ‘Give it! (col.)’</td>
<td>/apomatakatataka/ ‘Go help!’</td>
<td>/kitapomatapone/ ‘We made him help’</td>
<td>/kitetapatotapone/ ‘We made him help us’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the stressed vowels in Table 2.7 are realized as phonetically long, one might wonder whether the stressed syllables could be analyzed as different from phonetically short vowels (e.g. as long vowels or VV sequences). However, it is easy to show that, for these words, stress (i.e. vowel length) is not an inherent property of the syllable, but merely a consequence of its position within the word. (27) shows how the addition of syllabic prefixes causes stress shifts to conform to the general pattern; (28) gives a further illustration with a number of words based on /apoto/ ‘helper’ (morphemes are separated by hyphens in the phonemic transcription).
(27a) /pakoro/ [pa.kó:ɾo] ‘house’ → /ji-pakoro/ [ji.pá:ɾo] ‘my house’
(c) /jaramata/ [ja.ɾá:ma.ta] ‘chin’ → /i-jaramata/ [i.já:ɾa.ma.ta] ‘his/her chin’

(28a) /apoto/ [a.ポート] ‘helper, assistant’
(b) /m-apoto-ma/ [ma.pó:ɾo.ma] ‘You helped’
(c) /kit-apoto-ma/ [ki.tá:ɾo.ma] ‘The two of us helped’
(d) /m-apoto-ma-ti/ [ma.pó:ɾo.má:ɾi] ‘You all helped’
(e) /kit-apoto-ma-ti/ [ki.tá:ɾo.má:ɾi] ‘We all helped’
(f) /m-apoto-ma-po-ti/ [ma.pó:ɾo.má:ɾo.pi] ‘You all made him help’
(g) /kit-apoto-ma-po-ti/ [ki.tá:ɾo.má:ɾo.pi] ‘We all made him help’
(h) /m-apoto-ma-po-tó-ne/ [ma.pó:ɾo.má:ɾo.tó.ne] ‘You all made him help’
(i) /kit-apoto-ma-po-tó-ne/ [ki.tá:ɾo.má:ɾo.tó.ne] ‘We all made him help’
(j) /kit-ət-apoto-ma-po-tó-ne/ [ki.tó:ɾo.pó:ɾo.má:ɾo.tó.ne] ‘We all made him help us’

Such stress shifts are the basis for the analysis of the above words as consisting only of (C)V syllables. Non-(C)V syllables behave differently: they conserve their stress regardless of their position within the word, so that it is not shifted by the addition or removal of a syllabic prefix. (Hyphens signal morpheme breaks; asterisks mark incorrect pronunciations.)

(29a) /kin-empaka/ [ki.némpa.ká] ‘S/he woke him/her up’
(b) /m-empaka/ [mém.pá.ká] ‘You woke him/her up’
*[mem.pá:ka]

Furthermore, the presence of non-(C)V syllables disturbs the alternating stress pattern on following (C)V syllables: the pattern restarts with an unstressed syllable, as if a new word had begun. (30) exemplifies this for syllables of the types (C)Vh (a), (C)VN
(b), CV_{i}V_{j} (c), CV_{i}V_{jh} (d) and CV_{i}V_{j}N (e); (f) has an example with two adjacent (C)VN heavy syllables.

(30a) /kin-erahtə-po-ti/ [ki.né::räh.tə.pó::ti] *[ki.né::räh.tó::po.ti] ‘S/he made him/her find them all’

(b) /mi-repentə-tə-ne/ [mi.té::pén::tə.tó::ne] *[mi.té::pén.tó::tə.ne] ‘You all paid him/her’

(c) /maitə-po-tə-ne/ [máitə.pó::tə.ne] *[máit.tó::po.tó::ne] ‘You all made him/her push it’

(d) /mə-ehntə-tə-ne/ [məeh.tə.pó::tə.ne] *[məeh.tó::po.tó::ne] ‘You all meditated’

(e) /mə-enpa-tə-ne/ [məem.pá::tə.ne] *[məem.pá::tə.ne] ‘You all learned’

(f) /wanpan-to/ [vám.pán.to] *[vám.pán.to] ‘the singing of hymns’

The following rules summarize the various facts described above, giving an overall characterization of Tiriyó rhythmic stress in terms of (C)V (‘light’) or non-(C)V (‘heavy’) syllables.

(i) Final syllables are not stressed.

(ii) Every non-final heavy syllable is stressed.

(iii) Every second light syllable, counting from either the beginning of the word or the nearest heavy syllable, is stressed.
Schematically (− = heavy syllable, ⊕ = light syllable, ’ = stress).

(a) light syllables only: /◊◊◊◊◊...◊/ → [◊◊◊◊◊◊◊...◊]
(b) one heavy syllable
   in a stress position: /◊◊◊−◊◊...◊/ → [◊◊◊−◊◊◊...◊]
(c) one heavy syllable
   in a stressless position: /◊◊−◊◊◊...◊/ → [◊◊−◊◊◊...◊]
(d) several heavy syllables
   in various positions: /◊◊−◊−−−−◊...◊/ → [◊◊−◊−−−−◊...◊]

This pattern has been described in the literature on stress as an iambic foot system
(cf. Meira 1998b, using Hayes’ 1995 formalism, or van de Vijver 1998, for an account
based on Optimality Theory). In Tiriyó, it can be used to argue for certain points
concerning syllable structure: the tautosyllabic identity of vowel sequences (cf. 2.3.1), the
‘underlying cluster’ analysis of certain phones (cf. 2.4.2.1 for [n] and 2.4.2.2 for [φ] and
syllable-initial [h]), and the presence of underlying VV sequences (cf. 2.5.1.1).
Phonological words with less than three syllables deserve special attention (cf. 2.5.1.2).

2.5.1.1. Identifying underlying sequences of identical vowels. The iambic stress system
outlined above can account for the fact that there are certain vowels which always bear
stress: they can be analyzed as underlying sequences of two identical vowels, i.e. as
(C)VV syllables.\textsuperscript{21} (32) illustrates this by comparing forms of the verb for ‘bite O’, analyzed as /eeka/, in which the stem-initial vowel is always stressed, with the verb for ‘to hear’, analyzed as /eta/, in which this is not the case.

\begin{tabular}{lll}
(32a) & /\textit{kin-eta/} & [ki.\textit{n\textepsilon:ta}] & ‘S/he heard him/her/it’ \\
(b) & /\textit{kin-eeka/} & [ki.\textit{n\textepsilon:ka}] & ‘S/he bit him/her/it’ \\
(c) & /\textit{m-eta-ti/} & [\textit{me.t\acute{a}:ti]} & ‘You all heard him/her/it’ \\
(d) & /\textit{m-eeka-ti/} & [\textit{me.\textepsilon:ka.ti}] & ‘You all bit him/her/it’ \\
& & *[\textit{me.k\acute{a}:ti}] & \\
\end{tabular}

In the transcription used in the present work, identifiable sequences of identical vowels will always be written, even if they occur in stressed positions, where their length would not be noticeable. Thus, we shall write /\textit{kineeka/}, but /\textit{kineta/}, although the second vowels of both words sound alike. From a strictly phonological viewpoint, it could be argued that the distinction between VV sequences and single vowels is neutralized in stressed positions, and that a single notation should be used (much as the single notation /\textit{n/} was adopted for syllable-final [n], [m] and [ŋ], on account of their predictability). Nevertheless, it seems much more important to identify consistently the stems with underlying VV sequences from those that do not with a double vowel letter. This allows every mention of a morpheme to convey information about its realization in other words.

\textsuperscript{21} One might wonder whether these cases represent ‘truly’ long vowels or sequences of identical vowels (i.e. /\textit{N\/} or /\textit{VV/}). Since there seems to be no phonological process in Tiriyo that distinguishes these two cases, the difference is immaterial. The label ‘sequence of identical vowels’ is chosen simply to parallel non-identical vowel sequences. The representational choice of using VV rather than V: reflects no deeper claims, but simply notational convenience. VV will be used in the phonemic transcription; V: will be used in the phonetic transcription to represent stressed vowels, regardless of whether they are underlying sequences of vowels or single vowels.
The cases in which no syllabic prefixes can be added are technically ambiguous: since there is no way to force stress to shift, it is impossible to tell if any phonetically long vowels are actually underlying VV sequences. In some cases, comparative evidence suggests that there should be a VV sequence, resulting from the process of syllable reduction (cf. 2.6.2); however, on account of the lack of any derived forms with a syllabic prefix, even these forms will be transcribed as having underlyingly short vowels synchronically.

2.5.1.2. Words with less than three syllables. As described in 2.5.1, the iambic stress system would not assign any stress to all-(C)V phonological words with fewer than three syllables. Since the last syllable does not count, a monosyllabic word would have no remaining material to be stressed, and a bisyllabic word would have only one remaining syllable, which would not bear stress since the pattern starts with an unstressed syllable.\footnote{In Hayes' 1995 terminology, the extrametricality of the final syllable means that all-(C)V bisyllabic and monosyllabic words cannot form a foot.} In fact, all-(C)V bisyllabic words fail to have all the phonetic correlates of stress (cf. 2.5.1.3). When uttered in isolation, there is a pitch drop from the first to the second syllable, but the vowel of the first syllable is not lengthened. If the intervocalic consonant is a stop, it is optionally made longer, as if it had been geminated. In (33) below, the acute accents mark higher pitch, and the parenthetical consonants represent optional lengthening.
(33a) /pata/ [pá(t).ta] ‘place, village’
(b) /meta/ [mē(t).ta] ‘you heard’
(c) /mene/ [mē.ne] ‘you saw’
(d) /tēpu/ [tó(p).pu] ‘stone, rock’
(e) /eπi/ [é(p).pi] ‘tree trunk’
(f) /eka/ [é(k).ka] ‘his/her name’
(g) /majə/ [má.ja] ‘knife’
(h) /kawē/ [ká.uə] ‘high, tall’

That is not to say that bisyllabic words cannot have initial VV sequences. But, whenever that happens, the vowel remains phonetically long even when morphology is added that places it in an unstressed position. This can be seen in (34a-c), where the addition of a suffix or clitic, causing the word to become trisyllabic, brings no stress shifts about (cf. also the minimal pairs in (3), Sec. 2.2.2). These examples can be compared with (34d-f), in which the addition of a suffix does cause stress shift.

(34a) /m-eeka/ [mē:.ka] ‘you bit’ \(\rightarrow\) /m-eeka-ti\(\) [mē:.ka.ti] ‘You all heard’
(b) /maakē/ [má:.kə] ‘mosquito’ \(\rightarrow\) /maakē ton/ [má:.kə.ton] ‘all mosquitoes’
(c) /ooko/ [ō:kə] ‘curassow’ \(\rightarrow\) /ooko ton/ [ō:kə.ton] ‘all curassows’
(d) /m-eta/ [mē(t).ta] ‘you heard’ \(\rightarrow\) /m-eta-ti/ [mē.tá:.ti] ‘You all heard’
(e) /maja/ [má.ja] ‘knife’ \(\rightarrow\) /maja ton/ [má.ja:.ton] ‘all knives’
(f) /tēpu/ [tō(p).pu] ‘stone’ \(\rightarrow\) /tēpu ton/ [tō.pu:.ton] ‘all stones’

Bisyllabic words with other kinds of initial heavy syllables also occur. These syllables can also be considered stressed in that the addition of a suffix or clitic again fails to cause stress shifts.
(35a) /mahto/ [máh.to] ‘fire’ → /mahto-ton/ [máh.to.ton] ‘all fires’
(b) /pinta/ [pín.dá] ‘peanut’ → /pinta-ton/ [pín.dá.ton] ‘all peanuts’
(c) /m-e-enpa/ [mэм.pa] ‘you learned’ → /m-e-enpa-ti/[mэм.pa.ti] ‘you all learned’

The few attested monosyllabic words show no pitch drop; one might say that, when uttered in isolation, they have no stress.

(36a) /je/ [je] ‘tooth’
(b) /o/ [o] ‘carpentry tool’

The facts shown above can be summarized as follows:

(i) monosyllabic words are not stressable;

(ii) bisyllabic words are stressable only if they have an initial heavy syllable.

In Hayes’ 1995 theory (cf. also Meira 1998b), the special situation of bisyllabic and monosyllabic words can be described as a consequence of their ‘unparsability’. Hayes considers light and heavy syllables to differ in the number of syllable weight units or ‘moras’: light syllables have only one mora, while heavy syllables have two moras.23 Furthermore, well-formed iambic feet must have at least two moras, as (37) shows by listing the possible iambic feet adopted by Hayes (\(\sim\) = light syllable, \(\sim\) = heavy syllable, \(\mu\) = mora).

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23 Equating ‘moras’ with ‘syllable weight units’ is actually not correct; Hayes’ theory considers them ‘time units’ to which segments are attached. The syllable is thus a higher node dominating one or two moras, each of which dominates the segments that compose the syllable. For descriptive purposes, the details are not so important; the interested reader is directed to Hayes 1995.
(37) \( (\mu \mu) \quad (\mu \mu \mu) \quad (\mu \mu) \)

In this framework, an iambic stress rule would simply 'parse' a phonological word into well-formed iambic feet, and then stress the leftmost element of every foot. Considering that final syllables do not count (i.e. they are 'extrametrical'), it becomes clear that monosyllabic and all-(C)V bisyllabic words do not have enough moras to form even one iambic foot (i.e. these words are 'unfootable'). (38) illustrates this by comparing the metrical parsing of an all-(C)V polysyllabic template with that of bisyllabic and monosyllabic templates. (Angle brackets \( <> \) mark the extrametricality of the final syllable).

(38) /\cdots\mu\cdots/ \rightarrow (\cdot\cdot)(\cdot\cdot)\cdots<\cdot> \rightarrow [(\cdot\cdot)(\cdot\cdot)\cdots<\cdot>]

/\mu\mu/ \quad \rightarrow (\cdot)<\cdot> \quad \rightarrow [(\cdot)<\cdot>]

/\cdot\cdot\mu/ \quad \rightarrow \cdot<\cdot> \quad \rightarrow [\cdot\cdot]

/\cdot\cdot/ \quad \rightarrow \cdot \quad \rightarrow [\cdot]

From this metrical perspective, the situation outlined above can be described as follows. Iambic stress only applies to phonological words in which two or more moras remain after the final syllable is excluded, so that at least one iambic foot can be formed. If less than two moras remain, the word simply cannot be stressed. In this case, the pitch drop observed in all-(C)V bisyllabic words would not come from stress assignment, but
rather from a normal, unmarked intonational contour which indicates the end of a statement by dropping the pitch on its last syllable (cf. 2.5.2).

2.5.1.3. The phonetic correlates of stress. A first unaided hearing of Tiriyó words in isolation suggests that the phonetic expression of stress in Tiriyó involves vowel length and pitch: the vowel of a stressed (C)V syllable seems to become phonetically long and high-pitched. Vowels of non-(C)V syllables do not become long when stressed because there is another element (a second vowel or a coda consonant) which prevents this lengthening (i.e. there can be no phonetic syllables in Tiriyó in which a VV sequence is followed by another tautosyllabic element: cf. 2.4.1).

An analysis of phonetic data shows that length does, in fact, correlate with stress on syllables without codas. However, a closer look at pitch contours with the help of laboratory tools (the CECIL speech analysis software) shows that a clear correlation between high pitch and stressed syllables does not exist. Fig. 2.4-5, 2.6-7 show single words pronounced in isolation (each word was pronounced twice; all utterances came from the same speaker, a middle-aged man): /amatakana/, a species of toucan, and /mekaramapone/ ‘You made him/her give O’ (which should become, [a.má:.ta.ká:.na] and [mē.ká:.ta.má:.po.ne], respectively). In all cases, however, the pitch remained unchanged in the first two syllables, in spite of the stress on the second one.

Such cases are fairly typical. The conclusion seems to be that high pitch, unlike length, is not an automatic element of stress; rather, it is an intonational element, which interacts with the stressed or unstressed status of a syllable (e.g. the ‘surprise’
interrogative intonation ascribes high pitch to non-stressed syllables, and low pitch to stressed ones), but is not part of it.

2.5.1.4. The question of primary stress. For the time being, aside from an impression that the last stressed syllable in a phonological word sounds stronger than the others, there seems to be no reason to analyze any single syllable in a phonological word as bearing primary stress. This conclusion may change when more is known about the phonetics of the Tiriýó stress system.

2.5.2. Intonation. Research on the various intonational patterns of Tiriýó is still ongoing. The following patterns have already been identified:

(a) Unmarked affirmative intonation. Throughout a non-final intonational phrase, pitch starts low and rises towards the end; on the last intonational phrase, pitch starts high and falls towards the end. (39) is a schematic illustration; Fig. 2.10 contains the actual pitch graph for this utterance (pronounced by a middle-aged male speaker).

(39) /pijukuku_me_nkērē # ji-w-eh-topo-npē_n-ai # ji-w-am / baby_Attr_still # 1-SA-Cop-Circ:Nzr-Pst_3SA-Cop # 1-Ignor

'What I was like as a baby, I don't know.'
Figure 2.4
Affirmative Intonation

Figure 2.5
Interrogative Intonation

Figure 2.6
Normal Affirmative Intonation
(three intonational units)
(b) Interrogative Intonation. Similar to the affirmative intonation, but pitch rises at
the end of the sentence instead of falling. (40) has schematic examples of the same
statement, pronounced affirmatively (40a) and interrogatively (40b); Figs. 2.8-9 show the
actual pitch graph for this utterance (pronounced by a young male speaker).

(40) /ekelepukė_mēe/
tayra_3AnPx
This one is a tayra.’

(b) /ekelepukē_mēē ?/
tayra_3AnPx
‘Is this one a tayra?’

(c) ‘Surprise’ interrogative intonation. This contour marks questions that go
against some prior assumption (e.g. ‘John did that?’, when it was not expected that he
would). It is characterized by high pitch on the unstressed syllables and low pitch on the
stressed syllables, as in (41).

(41) [má:ta:.uá.re:.pó:na má:ta:.tí]
/Mataware_pona mí-tē-ti(i) ?/
Mataware to 2SA-go-Col
‘Did you go to Matawaré?!’ (=I thought you hadn’t)

2.6. Morphophonology. The two most productive morphophonological processes in
Tiriyó involve mostly stem allomorphic patterns: ablaut and syllable reduction. Less
productive processes are vowel harmony and assimilation.
2.6.1. Ablaut. Vowel-initial stems can be divided into two groups: one which follows the ablaut pattern described below, and one which does not. The former group is comprised of all the stems which, in the third-person (either possessor- or object-marking) form, begin with /e/ /aCə/ or /aCo/ (where C represents any consonant); the latter contains all other vowel-initial stems.

The ablaut stems have two allomorphs, with different initial vowels, conditioned by the morphological process applied to them. One of these allomorphs has either /e/ or /o/ as the initial vowel (and is thus called here the back grade); its counterpart has either /e/ or /a/ (the front grade). The back grade occurs on forms that indicate the absence of an argument (e.g. non-possessed forms of nouns, transitive verbs with a generic or undetermined object), and also with the 1+2 (and also 12AO) prefix /k-/ and all the /t-/ prefixes (third-person reflexive [cf. 3.3.1.3], adverbializer [cf. 6.2.1.1], and remote past [cf. 5.4.3.1.2]); the front grade occurs on all other forms.

The back grade form of a stem can be predicted from the corresponding front grade form. If the front grade is /e/-initial, the back grade is /e/-initial (including initial /ee/’s, which become /eə/’s):

(42) Front grade

| (a) /ewa/ | ‘(his/her) rope’ |
| (b) /eeka/ | ‘bite O!’ |
| (c) /eremia/ | ‘sing’ |
| (d) /eeji/ | ‘(his/her) daughter’ |
| (e) /ene/ | ‘see/watch O!’ |
| (f) /epea/ | ‘(his/her) food’ |
| (g) /eju/ | ‘(his/her) eye’ |
| (h) /enih-kə/ | ‘drink O!’ |

| Back grade |
| /ewa/ | ‘rope (unpossessed)’ |
| /eeka-tə/ | ‘good at biting, capable of biting’ |
| /k-eremia/ | ‘we sang’ |
| /k-eeji/ | ‘our daughter’ |
| /k-ene/ | ‘I saw you / you saw me / s/he saw us’ |
| /t-epea/ | ‘his/her own food’ |
| /t-enu-ke/ | ‘having an eye, eyed’ |
| /t-eniŋ-se/ | ‘drank’ |
If the front grade is /a/-initial, then the form of the back grade will depend on the vowel of the second syllable; if it is /ë/, then the back grade will be /ë/-initial; if it is /o/, then the back grade will be /o/-initial; if it is any other vowel, the back grade will be the same as the front grade.

(43) Front grade Back grade

(a) /apēi/ ‘(his/her) seat’ /ēpēi/ ‘seat (unpossessed)
(b) /aḳēērē/ ‘with (him/her/it)’ /k-ēkēērē/ ‘with us’
(c) /aʁē/ ‘Take O!’ /k-ērē/ ‘I took you, you took me, s/he took us’
(d) /aʁwē/ ‘inside (him/her/it)’ /t-ēwē/ ‘inside him/herself’
(e) /aḳēmī/ ‘(his/her) ygr. sibling’ /t-ēkēmī-ke/ ‘having a younger sibling’
(f) /aʁkē(tē)/ ‘Cut O!’ /t-ēkē-se/ ‘cut’

(g) /aṃoi/ ‘(his/her) finger nail’ /oṃoi/ ‘finger nail (unpossessed)’
(h) /aɾōkī/ ‘(his/her) tail, penis’ /k-orōkī/ ‘our tail, penis’
(i) /aɾōnta/ ‘Fall!’ /k-onōta/ ‘we have fallen’
(j) /aɾoṇo/ ‘(his) brother-in-law’ /t-okono/ ‘his own brother-in-law’
(k) /apo/ ‘Dig O!’ /t-opo-e/ ‘dug’

(l) /aɾoṭī/ ‘(his/her) rib’ /k-aɾoṭī/ ‘our rib’
(m) /aɾīnīhta/ ‘Grow!’ /k-anīhta/ ‘we have grown’
(n) /aɾakunu/ ‘(his/her) laziness’ /t-akunu/ ‘his/her own laziness’
(o) /aɾiṃika/ ‘Raise/educate O!’ /t-arimika-e/ ‘raised, educated’

Notice that ablaut affects stems starting with vowel sequences if the first element is /e/, but not if it is /a/, even if the vowel in the second syllable is /ë/ (and presumably also /o/, though no examples occurred in the corpus). Stems starting with an /ee/ sequence are also affected, but not those starting with an /aa/ sequence.

(44a) /eire/ ‘angry at O’ /k-ēire/ ‘angry at the two of us’
(b) /aiteit/ ‘push O’ /t-aitet-e/ ‘pushed’
(c) /eemā/ ‘path, way’ /k-ēemā/ ‘our path’
(d) /aajo/ ‘cut O (several times)’ /t-aajo-e/ ‘cut’

For the non-ablaut stems, there is no distinction between back and front grades:

(45a) /urakana/ ‘Walk around!’ /k-urakana/ ‘We have walked around’
(b) /otį/ ‘meat food’ /t-otį-ke/ ‘having meat food’
(c) /oonә/ ‘(his/her/your) nose’ /t-oonә/ ‘his/her own nose’

Although it is always possible to predict the back grade from the corresponding front grade, the converse is not always true. Back grade forms with /e/ or /o/ in the second syllable can correspond to front grades with /a/, as in (43) above, or /e/ or /o/, as in (46) below, as the first vowel:  

(46a) /etė/ ‘Smoke/blow O!’ /t-ėtė-e/ ‘smoked/blew’
(b) /onoh-kė/ ‘Paint/smooth O!’ /t-onoo-se/ ‘painted, smoothed’

On account of this, the front grade will always be used as the citation form for ablaut stems.

An interesting irregularity is the case of /ėema/ ‘path, way’. Its ‘O’ (non-possessed) form is /ėema/, and its third-person possessed form, /eema/; with the prefixes /k-/ ‘1+2’ and /t-/ ‘3R’, however, a third form /ėema/ occurs (e.g. /k-ėema/ ‘our path, trail’). In other words, /ėema/ is the only noun that has two back grades (/ėema/ and /ēema/).  

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24 It must be said, however, that the cases with /a/ as the front grade vowel are by far the most frequent.
25 This is certainly related to the fact that the initial vowel in this word was an independent syllable at some point in the past (Meira 1998a:180 reconstructs it as *ecema/). Apparently, the non-possessed form /ėema/ is a remnant from this time; /ēema/ being probably the result of assimilation.
2.6.2. Syllable reduction. In addition to the ablaut described in the previous section, there is another allomorphic pattern, here called ‘syllable reduction’, which affects a high number of morphemes. Basically, this pattern relates allomorphs which differ only by one syllable (either the first or the last, here called the reducing syllable), and which are usually (though not always) conditioned by the form of the adjacent syllables. The allomorphs in question are:

(i) the full (or CV) grade, in which the affected syllable appears in its full form;

(ii) the reduced grades, of which there are two kinds:

— the coda (or C) grade, in which the affected syllable is replaced with a single consonant, either /h/ or /n/, which becomes the coda of the preceding syllable;

— the length (or VV) grade, in which the affected syllable is absent, but the preceding vowel is lengthened (i.e. becomes a VV sequence);

(iii) the zero (or Ø) grade, in which the affected syllable is absent, without any effects on other parts of the stem.

Table 2.8 illustrates the syllable reduction pattern. For the verb stems, the full grade form is in the /-/Ø/ present perfective, followed by the particle /_/nkērē/ ‘still, yet; again’; the coda grade form, in the /-/ta/ future imperfective; the length grade form, in the /-/ne/ past perfective; and the zero grade form, in the /-/Ø/ present perfective without any
following particle. For the noun stems, the full grade is the non-possessed form, and the reduced grade is the first-person possessed form (hyphens mark morpheme breaks, while dots mark syllabic breaks):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full (CV) Grade</th>
<th>Coda (C) Grade</th>
<th>Length (VV) Grade</th>
<th>Zero (Ø) Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wi.-po.no.pi_n.ke.re ‘I still told’</td>
<td>wi.-po.noh.-tae ‘I will tell’</td>
<td>wi.-po.noo.-ne ‘I told’</td>
<td>wi.-po.no ‘I told’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w-o.na.mí_n.kê.rë ‘I still hid’</td>
<td>w-o.nan.-tae ‘I will hide’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pî.tai ‘non-poss. shoe’</td>
<td>ji-h.tai ‘my shoe(s)’</td>
<td></td>
<td>jii.-wî ‘my ax’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wî.wî ‘non-poss. ax’</td>
<td></td>
<td>ji-n.ta ‘my mouth’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mí.ta ‘non-poss. mouth’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In general, the distribution of the various allomorphs has the following characteristics (exceptional cases will be discussed later):

— The zero grade occurs when no affixes or clitics are added. Only stem-final reduction cases have a zero grade.

— Reduction (i.e., the choice of one of the other reduced grades) occurs when an affix or clitic is added to the stem. Reduction is prevented if the result would contain a syllable that does not conform to the possible syllable types (cf. 2.4.1). (47) shows that the stem /pono(pû)/ ‘to tell O’ cannot occur in any of its reduced forms when followed by the particle /nkêrê/ ‘still, yet; again’, since this would generate unsyllabifiable sequences (*/hnk/ for the coda grade, */oonk/ for the length grade); this can be compared with
/wiponohtae/ 'I will tell it', from Table 2.8 above, in which the result is a syllabifiable /ht/ sequence:

(47)  /wi-ponopi_nkērē/ 'I told it once more'  * /wi-ponoh_nkērē/
     * /wi-ponoo_nkērē/

— Full grade forms with a nasal (i.e. NV) reducing syllable only have the coda grade in /n/, which is used in all reducing situations (i.e. with all non-CCV, non-single-consonant affixes). So, the root /onami/ 'to hide O', from Table 2.8, has no length or zero grades; its coda grade /onan/ occurs in all reducing situations (the form corresponding to the third column of Table 2.8 is /w-o.nan.-ne/, with an /nn/ cluster; the form corresponding to the fourth column would be simply /w-o.nan/). The /n/ of the coda grade, as expected, assimilates in place of articulation to the following consonant.

— Full grade forms with a non-nasal reducing syllable may have both the coda (in /h/) and the length grade. The coda grade is used whenever a possible /h/-cluster results (i.e. if the following consonant is /p, t, k/ or, marginally, /s/; cf. 2.4.2.2); otherwise, the length grade is used. So, in Table 2.8, the suffix /-ne/ occurs with the length grade /ponoo/ of the stem /ponopi/, thus confirming the phonotactic pattern that marks */hn/ as an impossible consonant sequence (cf.1.4);

— If a non-nasal reducing syllable is stem-final, then its conditioning environment (the following consonant) will depend on the nature of the following suffix; therefore, the stem can theoretically have both a coda and a length grade, if suffixes

---

26 In fact, syllable reduction environments are usually the best cases of /hs/.
beginning with the appropriate consonants exist. If, however, the reducing syllable is stem-initial, then its conditioning environment, which is the next syllable of the stem itself, is invariable; in this case, the stem can have either a coda or a length grade, but not both. It will also not have a zero grade.

Table 2.9 summarizes these claims (with syllable-final N representing the general pattern of nasal assimilation in point of articulation to the following consonant [cf. 2.4.2.1]; the ellipsis (...) shows where the word continues):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full (CV) Grade</th>
<th>Coda (C) Grade</th>
<th>Length (VV) Grade</th>
<th>Zero (Ø) Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...CVCV-C...</td>
<td>...CVh-C...</td>
<td>...CVV-C...</td>
<td>...CV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV-CV...</td>
<td>CV-h...</td>
<td>CVY-...</td>
<td>(does not occur)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...CVNV-C...</td>
<td>...CVN-C...</td>
<td>(same as Coda Grade)</td>
<td>(same as Coda Grade)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV-NV...</td>
<td>CV-N...</td>
<td>(same as Coda Grade)</td>
<td>(same as Coda Grade)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This allomorphic pattern clearly has a diachronic explanation. Internal reconstruction suggests that the full grade is the original form of the stem in all environments; at some point in time, a historical process of erosion affected certain syllables, causing them to be reduced. The first step was probably vowel loss, with the consequent formation of consonant clusters (cf. Gildea 1995 for a general overview of this phenomenon in the Cariban family). In Tiriyó, the first consonant became /h/ if it was not nasal, and appears now to be about to disappear completely, leaving the compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel as the only trace of its previous existence (cf. 2.4.2.2). As a further development, /h/-codas and VV sequences have been lost word-
finally in Tiriyó, thus generating the zero grade (which must be a recent development). Since this happened word-finally, stem-initial reduction cases cannot have a zero grade.

As a general practice, the citation form of reducing stems will include the reducing syllable in parentheses (e.g. /pono(p̪)/ 'to tell O', /pu/ 'foot'). Nasal reducing syllables are also enclosed in parentheses (e.g. /rēke(ne)/ 'only', /ona(m̩)/ 'hide O', /m̩ta/ 'mouth'). It will be understood that a nasal reducing syllable like /m̩/ corresponds to a /h/ in the reduced grade, whereas a non-nasal syllable like /p̪/ corresponds to an /h/ in the coda grade and to vowel length in the length grade.

It is a difficult task, still unresolved among Caribanists, to decide what diachronic factors conditioned syllable reduction. The stress system probably played an important role, but in ways that are not really clear yet. For a synchronic description of Tiriyó, this implies that it is difficult to characterize the set of all stems that undergo reduction (i.e. that have full, reduced, and zero grades). Certain general features can be noted:

— the reducing syllable in its full grade is always of the CV type;\(^{27}\)

— the vowel is usually /i/ or /u/;

— the consonant is usually a non-glide, i.e. a stop (/p, t, k/), a nasal (/m, n/), or /l/.

Nevertheless, there is a considerable number of exceptions and irregularities. In order to discuss them in a meaningful way, it seems better to look at stem-initial and

\(^{27}\) The only exception seems to be the particle /_ta(ike)/, which has a 'reducing part' larger than a syllable, /ike/.
stem-final reduction separately first, concerning both which kinds of prefixes trigger syllable reduction (i.e. co-occur with the reduced grades), and which kinds of stems undergo reduction (i.e. have reduced grades at all).

2.6.2.1. **Stem-initial syllable reduction.** There is never a zero grade for stem-initial reduction. The full grade occurs only when the stem undergoes no prefixation; all prefixes trigger reduction. Since prefixes are all either vowel-final or have a vowel-final allomorph which occurs on consonant-initial stems, the prefix and the reduced grade always form a syllabifiable word, as can be seen in the diagram below (single dots represent syllable breaks, while triple dots represent the (possible) rest of the word or affix; parentheses delimit optional elements; a colon represents vowel lengthening; # represents the beginning of the phonological word):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Reduced Grade</th>
<th>Resulting Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#(...)CV</td>
<td>+ CCV(...)</td>
<td>→ #(...)CVC.CV(...) (Coda Grade)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ :CV(...)</td>
<td>→ #(...)CVV.CV(...) (Length Grade)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are only a few dozen stems that reduce their initial syllable; most of them are either nouns or derived from nouns. The initial syllables are /p̪i, mi, wi/. One case of reducing /pu/ (/pu/ 'foot', which becomes /ji-hpu/ 'my foot'), and one of non-reducing /pu/ (/putep̪i/ 'head', /ji-putep̪i/ 'my head'), occurred in the available data. There was also one exceptional case: /p̪i:k̪i/ 'anus', which gets a stem-initial /h/ without
losing the first syllable: /jι-hpiʔiʔ/ ‘my anus’. It is possible that other potentially reducing syllables (e.g. /ʔi/, /mu/, etc.) would also undergo reduction, but no stems starting with these syllables have been found yet.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Grade</th>
<th>Coda Grade</th>
<th>Length Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(47a) /piʔiʔ/ ‘chest’</td>
<td>/jii-ropiʔ/ ‘my chest’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) /puʔu/ ‘foot’</td>
<td>/jii-hpu/ ‘my foot’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) /mii-nepu/ ‘bridge’</td>
<td>/jii-nepu/ ‘my bridge’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) /mii-ka/ ‘back’</td>
<td>/jii-nka/ ‘my back’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) /wiʔ-raapa/ ‘bow’</td>
<td>/jii-raapa/ ‘my bow’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With respect to the results of reduction, there is one exceptional stem: /(mii)me/ ‘long hair’, which has the length grade instead of the coda grade:

(48) /mii-me/ ‘long hair’ → /jii-me/ ‘my long hair’

2.6.2.2. Stem-final syllable reduction. It is easy to see that all suffixes and enclitics that are either a single consonant, or begin with a CCV syllable, will occur only with the full grade; as is shown in the diagram below, this is the only case that would not create unattested syllables (single dots represent syllable breaks; triple dots represent the (possible) rest of the word or affix; parentheses delimit optional elements; asterisks mark

---

28 Stems like /piʔiʔ/ ‘wife’ and /puʔu/ ‘flesh, body’ are also, *stricto sensu*, exceptions; however, it is so only because they also undergo stem-final syllable reduction. It would be strange if a bisyllabic word could reduce both its syllables simultaneously. It is as though stem-final reduction prevailed over stem-initial reduction; ‘my wife’ is /jii-piʔ/, not */jii-hpiʔ/, and ‘my body’ is /jii-puʔu/, not */jii-nuʔa/.

29 When the stem occurs without any suffixes or enclitics, there is variation between the full grade and a form in which the reducing syllable is totally lost; e.g. the first-person */-ʔi/ ‘present perfective’ form of /pono(piʔ)/ ‘tell O’ is /wi-ponopiʔ/ ~ /wi-pono/.
impossible syllabifications; # represents the end of the phonological word; the unattested syllable is underlined):

Full grade:  (...CVCV + C(CV...)# → (...CV.CVC(.CV...)#

Coda grade:  (...CVC + C(CV...)# → * (...CVCC.CV...)#
 * (...CV.C(CV...)#
 * (...CV.CC(CV...)#

Length grade:  (...CVV + C(CV...)# → * (...CVVV.CV...)#
 * (...CV.VC(CV...)#
 * (...CV.VC(CV...)#

Apart from CCV-initial and single-consonant suffixes and enclitics, there are others that can co-occur with the full grade of a reducing stem. They occur with non-verbal stems (cf. 2.6.2.2.2 for the particularities involved in the syllable reduction pattern for non-verbal stems). Here is a list; the particular details of each case, considered as idiosyncratic, are discussed in the sections dealing with each item (given below in parentheses).

— /t/-initial particles like /rën(ne)/ ‘truly’, /rë/ ‘exactly’, /rëke(ne)/ ‘only’ (cf. 9.1.4)

— the vowel-initial suffix /-imë/ ‘Augmentative’ (cf. 4.2.1.2)

— the postpositions /ja/ ‘Allative / Dative / Ergative’ (cf. 7.3.4.1), /se/ ‘Desiderative’ (cf. 7.3.3), and also /ke/ ‘Instrumental’(cf. 7.3.4.2) when it occurs with a /-Ø/-nominalized verbal stem.
The zero grade, in principle, occurs only when no suffixes or clitics are added to the stem. In the case of nominal stems, this is the case; e.g. /emeku(nu)/ ‘wrist’, /epe(tî)/ ‘medicine’ and /apēre(mi)/ ‘owner’ occur as /emekun/, /epe/ and /apēren/ when no suffixes or clitics follow (and are in fact much more frequently found in this form than in any other). Verbal stems, on the other hand, do not do that. The two verb forms that most closely resemble a ‘suffixless’ form are the /-Ø/ ‘present perfective’ form, and the /-Ø/-nominalized form (used with the desiderative postposition /_se/ [cf. 7.3.3]). Interestingly enough, in the /-Ø/ ‘present perfective’ form, the zero and full grades appear to be in free variation; in the /-Ø/-nominalized form, only the full grade can occur. This results from the presence of a possessive suffix /-(rî)/ in the nominalized form, which prevents the final syllable from reducing (cf. 4.3.1.5).

(49)  Stem  /-Ø/ ‘present perfective’  /-Ø/-nominalization

(a) /pono(pi)/ ‘tell O’ /wi-pono/ ~ /wi-ponopi/ ‘I told O’ /i-ponopi_se wae/ ‘I want to tell O’
(b) /ku(ku)/  ‘try O’ /wi-ku/ ~ /wi-kuku/ ‘I tried O’ /i-kuku_se wae/ ‘I want to try O’
(c) /ewe(tî)/ ‘feed O’ /w-ewe/ ~ /w-eweti/ ‘I fed O’ /eweti_se wae/ ‘I want to feed O’

As for the stems that undergo reduction, the highest level of regularity is found among verbal stems; on account of this, they will be treated separately.
2.6.2.2.1. Verbal stems. All the verb stems whose full grade form ends in /pǐ, ῦu, tē, tu, kī, ku/ (about 100 stems thus far), as well as those ending in /mī, mu/, follow the syllable reduction pattern: the former have both the coda and the length grade, while the latter have only the coda grade. The only exception thus far is /eku/ ‘have sex with O’, which has an irregular conjugation (cf. 5.1.6). The presence of /tē/ in the list, as well as the absence of /pu/, is surprising. Note, however, that no verb stems ending in /pu/ were found (i.e. this is probably a spurious gap), and that there are only two ending in /tē/, /ahkē(tē)/ ‘cut O’ and /akē(tē)/ ‘to clear O (an area, for planting)’.

In the examples below, the full grade form is the first-person /-Ø/-past form with the clitic particle /nkērē/ ‘still, yet; again’, the coda grade form is the /-ta/-‘Go’-imperative, and the length grade is the first-person dual form of the /-ja/-present:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Full Grade</th>
<th>Coda Grade</th>
<th>Length Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ono(pǐ)/</td>
<td>/w-ono-pǐ nkērē/</td>
<td>/ono-ta/</td>
<td>/kīt-ono-jae/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ewe(tū)/</td>
<td>/w-ewe-tū nkērē/</td>
<td>/ewe-ta/</td>
<td>/ke-ewe-jae/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ja(tu)/</td>
<td>/jī-jatu nkērē/</td>
<td>/ē-jah-ta/</td>
<td>/kī-ja-jae/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ahkē(tē)/</td>
<td>/w-ahkē-tē nkērē/</td>
<td>/ahkēh-ta/</td>
<td>/w-ahkē-jae/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ēēnū(ki)/</td>
<td>/t-ēēnūkī nkērē/</td>
<td>/ēēnih-ta/</td>
<td>/t-ēēnū-jae/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ku(ku)/</td>
<td>/w-ku-kū nkērē/</td>
<td>/i-kuh-ta/</td>
<td>/kii-ku-jae/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kooma(mi)/</td>
<td>/jī-kooma-mi nkērē/</td>
<td>/ē-kooman-ta/</td>
<td>/jī-kooman-jae/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kēhtu(mu)/</td>
<td>/jī-kēhtu-nkērē/</td>
<td>/ē-kēhtun-ta/</td>
<td>/jī-kēhtun-jae/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30 Monosyllabic stems like /pǐ/ ‘to bathe O’ or /tē/ ‘to go’ are exceptions: /wī-pǐ-jae/ ‘I am bathing O’, /wī-tē-e/ ‘I am going’; cf. 5.4.1.3.1. Concerning /tē/ ‘to go’, notice that, although it does not reduce in the /-ja/-present, it does reduce in the /-ta/-future; cf. /wī-tē-e/ ‘I am going’, /wī-h-tae/ ‘I will go’.

31 /ahkē(tē)/ and /akē(tē)/ may be diachronically related via an old case of internal reduplication (cf. 1.6.3), made less transparent by syllable reduction: /a-kē-kē(tē)/ > /ahkē(tē)/.

32 The person-marking prefix was chosen so as to make the stem-final long vowel more obvious; either the first person dual inclusive prefix (which either adds an extra syllable at the beginning of the stem, or makes the first syllable of the stem heavy), or the first person prefix (which does not affect the stem).
Verbs stems in /ru, ři/ appear to fall in two groups: one which follows the syllable reduction pattern, and one which does not (the latter contains stems that have irregular /-se/ forms cf. 5.4.3.1). ³³

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Full Grade</th>
<th>Coda Grade</th>
<th>Length Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) /entapu(ru)/ 'cover O (w/lid)'</td>
<td>/w-entapuru_nkērē/</td>
<td>/entapuh-ta/</td>
<td>/kīt-entapuu-jae/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) /enī(rī)/     ‘drink O’</td>
<td>/w-enīrī_nkērē/</td>
<td>/enīh-ta/</td>
<td>/ke-enī-jae/³⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) /apuru/       ‘close O’</td>
<td>/w-apuru_nkērē/</td>
<td>/apuru-ta/</td>
<td>/kīt-apuru-jae/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) /rū/          ‘do/make O’</td>
<td>/wī-rū_nkērē/</td>
<td>/rū-ta/</td>
<td>/kītī-rū-jae/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An interesting group of reducing stems is those ending in /-i/. Historically, these stems ended in */-ci/, but the intervocalic */c/ was lost (cf. Meira 1998a:31). Only two i-reducing stems exist; other /i/-final stems (which did not have */ci/ historically) fail to do so (compare 52a-b with 52c).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Full Grade</th>
<th>Coda Grade</th>
<th>Zero Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) /e(i)/ ‘Copula’</td>
<td>/w-ei/</td>
<td>/eh-ta/</td>
<td>/t-ee-se/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) /apē(i)/ ‘catch O’</td>
<td>/w-apēi/</td>
<td>/apēh-ta/</td>
<td>/t-apēē-se/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) /moi/ ‘obey O’</td>
<td>/wī-moi/</td>
<td>/imoī-ta/</td>
<td>/tī-moi-je/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³³ Gildea 1995, based on comparative evidence, suggests that /rV/ syllables follow a different path of evolution and thus develop idiosyncratic morphophonological properties. In Tiriyo, they seem to be responsible for most of the cases of irregularities. It is interesting to notice, for instance, that the reducing suffix /-rī/ ‘Possession’ occurs in the coda grade (/-h/) when followed by /t/- or /p/-initial clitics or suffixes, but not /k/-initial ones: /jī-pakoro-h_tao/ ‘in my house’, /jī-pakoro-h_pona/ ‘toward my house’, but /kī-pakoro--kon/ ‘our house’, not */kī-pakoro-h-kon/.

³⁴ Among the /rū/-final reducing verbs, there is one verb, /epori/ ‘meet O’, which presents an unexpected irregularity: along with its regular full grade, coda grade (e.g. /w-epoh-ta/ ‘I will meet O’), and length grade (e.g. /epoo-se/ ‘in order to meet O’), it has an allomorph /epon/ that co-occurs exclusively with the /-ne/-past suffix (e.g. /w-epon-ne/ ‘I met O’).
One unexpected irregularity of /i/-reducing stems is that they occur in the full grade with the /n/-initial suffixes (/ne/ ‘past perfective’ [cf. 5.4.1.3.3], /ne/ ‘actual A nominalizer’ [cf. 4.2.2.1.1]): /w-ei-ne/ ‘I was’, /w-apēi-ne/ ‘I caught O’, /apēi-ne/ ‘catcher, one who catches’. Notice also that they occur in their full grade in the present perfective, the zero grade being impossible (/w-apēi/ ‘I have caught O’, never */w-apē/).

2.6.2.2.2. Non-verbal stems. The highest level of unpredictability and apparent lack of motivation is found among non-verbal stems. For nouns, reducing stems end in /tū, mī, nu/ (e.g. /irepe(tū)/ ‘payment’, /pun(u)/ ‘flesh’, /apēre(mī)/ ‘owner’). Although there seem to be no non-reducing stems ending in /mī, nu/, there are apparently at least as many (possibly more; the available sample is still small) non-reducing as there are reducing stems in /tū/ (e.g. /moi(tū)/ ‘relative’, /katī/ ‘fat’, /otū/ ‘meat food’). The following examples illustrate this. The full grades given with the clitic particle /nkērē/ ‘still, yet; again’; the coda grade, with the locative postposition /pona/ ‘toward; for; in order to get’; and the length grade, with the clitic third-person gnomic present copula /nai/ ‘is’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(53) Stem</th>
<th>Full Grade</th>
<th>Coda Grade</th>
<th>Length Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) /irepe(tū)/ ‘payment’</td>
<td>/irepeti_nkērē/</td>
<td>/irepeh_pona/</td>
<td>/irepee_nai/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) /epe(tū)/ ‘medicine’</td>
<td>/epetī_nkērē/</td>
<td>/epēh_pona/</td>
<td>/epee_nai/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) /apēre(mī)/ ‘owner’</td>
<td>/apēremi_nkērē/</td>
<td>/apēren_pona/</td>
<td>(/apēren_nai/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) /pu(nu)/ ‘flesh’</td>
<td>/punu_nkērē/</td>
<td>/puna_pona/</td>
<td>(/puna_nai/)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

35 Presumably also with the adnomitive suffix /ne(nu)/ (cf. 5.4.1.3.5), but the relevant forms are not attested in the available corpus.

36 One regularity is that almost all reducing nouns in /tū/ actually end in /etū/ (cf. exs. above, and others such as nominalizations in /ke(tū)/, e.g. /emeke(tū)/ ‘one capable of transforming him/herself’), whereas the non-reducing nouns in /tū/ have a vowel other than /e/ preceding the /tū/. There are a few exceptions, though: e.g. /pī(tū)/ ‘wife’, which is a reducing syllable despite not ending in /etū/.
Besides these cases, the following reducing syllables were also found, in at least one stem:

— /mo/, in the collective suffixes /-ko(mo)/ and /-to(mo)/ (cf.3.3.2);

— /no/, in some, but not all, nominalized adjectives (e.g. /pija(no)/ ‘small one’, but /kurano/ ‘good, pretty one’; cf. 4.2.2.2);

— /ne/, in four particles, apparently all related (/_ke(ne)/ ‘Continuous’, /_rēke(ne)/ ‘only’, /tahke(ne)/ ‘maybe’, /ahke(ne)/ ‘as if’ (cf. 9.1.3.2, 9.1.4), and also in the allomorph /-ne/ of the Doubt suffix used with the future imperfective (5.4.1.3.4) and the copula (5.4.4);

— /ni/, in the privative adverbializer suffixes /-pī(ni)/ and /-mī(ni)/ (e.g. /wēpī(ni)/ ‘incapable of shooting’, /i-pana-mī(ni)/ ‘earless individual’; cf. 4.2.2.2);

— /nē/, in the ‘Doubt’ suffix /-(nē)/ (e.g. /nī-wē-(nē)/ ‘s/he shoots’; cf. 5.4.1.3.4)

— /pe/, in the particles like /_re(pe)/ ‘frustrative’ (cf. 9.1.4) and in the suffix /_je(pe)/ ‘incredulitive’ (cf. 5.4.1.3.5);

— /po/, in /-to(po)/ nominalizations (e.g. /wehto(po)/ ‘being’, reduced grades /wehtoh, wehtoo/; cf. 4.2.2.1.5);

— /ka/, in the /-a(ka)/ adjectives (e.g. /atuma(ka)/ ‘warm, hot’; cf. 6.1.1.1), and in certain directional postpositions (/-ta(ka)/ ‘into (container-like)’, /-hka(ka)/ ‘into (water)’, etc.; cf. 7.3.1.1)
— /ke/, in certain postpositions (e.g. /wame(ke)/ ‘unknown to’; cf. 7.3.3);

— /kē/, in the postposition /pē(kē)/ ‘about, busy with’ (cf. 7.3.1.11), and in the imperative marker /-(kē)/ (cf. 4.4.2.1);

— /ike/, in the clitic particle /_ta(ike)/ ‘Negation’ (cf. 9.1.4; the only case in which the reducing element is more than a CV syllable):

The following examples illustrate these irregularities. The full grade is given with the particle /nkērē/ ‘still, yet; again’; the coda grade, with the particle /pa/ ‘Repetition’; and the length grade, with the clitic third-person present gnomic copula form /nai/ ‘(there) is’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Full Grade</th>
<th>Coda Grad</th>
<th>Length Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/tēpu_to(mo)/</td>
<td>/tēpu_tomo_nkērē/</td>
<td>/tēpu_ton_pa/</td>
<td>/tēpu_ton_nai/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pija(no)/</td>
<td>/pijano_nkērē/</td>
<td>/pijan_pa/</td>
<td>/pijan_nai/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kurano/</td>
<td>/kurano_nkērē/</td>
<td>/kurano_pa/</td>
<td>/kurano_nai/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pata_rēke(ne)/</td>
<td>/pata_rēkene_nkērē/</td>
<td>/pata_rēken_pa/</td>
<td>/pata_rēken_nai/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wēpē(nī)/</td>
<td>/wēpēnī_nkērē/</td>
<td>/wēpēn_pa/</td>
<td>/wēpēn_nai/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/niwē(nē)/</td>
<td>/niwēnē_nkērē/</td>
<td>/niwēn_pa/</td>
<td>/niwēn_nai/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ije_re(pe)/</td>
<td>/ije_repe_nkērē/</td>
<td>/ije_reh_pa/</td>
<td>/ije_ree_nai/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iwehto(po)/</td>
<td>/iwehtopo_nkērē/</td>
<td>/iwehtoh_pa/</td>
<td>/iwehtoo_nai/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/atuma(ka)/</td>
<td>/atumaka_nkērē/</td>
<td>/atumah_pa/</td>
<td>/atumaa_nai/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iwame(ke)/</td>
<td>/iwameke_nkērē/</td>
<td>/iwameh_pa/</td>
<td>/iwamee_nai/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kana_pē(kē)/</td>
<td>/kana_pēkē_nkērē/</td>
<td>/kana_pēh_pa/</td>
<td>/kana_pēh_nai/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wewe_ta(ike)/</td>
<td>/wewe_taike_nkērē/</td>
<td>/wewe_tah_pa/</td>
<td>/wewe_taa_nai/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37 The copula /nai/ cannot occur right next to another finite verb.
An important detail to be noted about the more idiosyncratic cases is that many of them are optional, while the more regular cases are obligatory. Consider the following examples:

(55) /atuma(ka)/ ‘hot, warm’ + /nkërè/ → /atumakənkërè/ ~ /atumakankërè/
/_ta(ike)/ ‘Negation’ + /nkërè/ → /_taike_nkërè/ ~ /ta nkërè/

It is difficult to determine the ‘degree of optionality’ of each case without a massive analysis of text occurrences or a sociolinguistic survey; however, its very presence suggests that, for at least some of the cases of stem-final syllable reduction, the reducing syllable is actually being totally lost. Impressionistically, certain cases (e.g. the two examples in (55)) appear to be more frequent without the reducing syllable. The fact that certain /-n(o)/-nominalized adverbs always have the full form of the suffix (e.g. /kurano/), while others have its reducing form (e.g. /pija(no)/) also suggests different stages of a single process of evolution.

2.6.2.3. Similarities to other languages. In the case of reducing stems followed by particles, the syllable reduction pattern is quite reminiscent of cases such as the English indefinite article *a(n)*, French *liaison* and Celtic floating segments, in that the realization of some lexeme-final segments depends crucially on adjacent morphemes. Compare the following examples:
(56) Tiriýó:

\[ /jeneto(po)/ ‘my being seen’ + /_me/ ‘as’ \rightarrow /je.ne.too._me/ ‘for me to be seen’ \]
\[ + /_pê(kê)/ ‘about’ \rightarrow /je.ne.toh._pê/ ‘about seeing me’ \]
\[ + /_npê/ ‘Past’ \rightarrow /je.ne.to.po._n.pê/ ‘my having been seen’ \]

(57) French (the pronoun vous /vu(z)/ ‘you [plural]’):

\[ vous (/vu(z)/) + mettez (/mete/) \rightarrow vous mettez (/vu._me.te/) ‘you (pl.) put’ \]
\[ + allez (/ale/ \rightarrow vous allez (/vu.z_a.le/) ‘you (pl.) go’ \]

(58) Irish (the definite article an /ən(t)/ ‘the [singular, masculine]’):

\[ an (/ən(t)/) + fear (/fêar/) ‘man’ \rightarrow an fear (/ən._fêar/) ‘the man’ \]
\[ + ainm (/ænəm/) ‘name’ \rightarrow an t-ainm (/ən.t_æ.nəm/) ‘the name’ \]

In these cases, a similar diachronic origin (the loss of stem-final segments in certain environments) explains the synchronic patterns. It is even the case that, as in Tiriýó, there is some degree of synchronic optionality between realizing and not realizing ‘reducing’ segments in certain words, especially in the spoken language (i.e. the segments seem to be in the middle of the process of being completely lost), as in the following French example:

(59) French:

\[ êtres humains ‘human beings’ \rightarrow /e.trə.z_y.mē/ ~ /e.tr_y.mē/ \]

Another similarity is the fact that a certain level of ‘constituency’ is necessary for the ‘reducing’ segments to be realized. In Tiriýó, a CCV affix or clitic must follow, i.e. a
phonological word must be formed. In French, *liaison* is not possible if the words belong
to different syntactic constituents, as in the following example:

(60) French

ils parlent de vous à Paris
‘They talk about you in Paris’

2.6.2.4. Unsuspected lexeme-final VV sequences. In both French and Irish, the
existence of a ‘floating segment’ at the end of a lexeme can be detected by adding a
(vowel-initial) lexeme (cf. examples above). Similarly, in Tiriýó, the existence of
‘reducing elements’ at the end of a word (i.e. the existence of a full grade) can be tested
by the addition of the appropriate enclitic. It was this process that led to the discovery of
the ‘reducing syllables’ of lexemes such as the postpositions /wame(ke)/ ‘unknown to’,
(cf. 7.3.3), /pë(kë)/ ‘about, busy with’ (cf. 7.3.1.1.1), the particle /_ta(ike)/ (cf. 9.1.4) and
/a(ka)/ adverbs such as /atuma(ka)/ ‘hot, warm’ (cf. 6.1.1.1). It also led to the discovery of
a few monosyllabic morphemes that have only the zero and the length grade (i.e. they had
a ‘hidden VV sequence’), but no traces of the coda and full grades. These will be cited
with a (V) at the end; e.g. /ma(a)/ ‘far’, /wi(i)/ ‘I’, /pi(i)/ ‘mountain’, /-ti(i)/ ‘Collective’.
In the examples below, these morphemes are given with the particles /_nkëré/ ‘still, yet;
gain’ (with which the full grade should occur), /_ta(ike)/ ‘Negation’ (which should
condition the coda grade), and with the clitic copula forms /_nai/ ‘S/he is’ and /_wae/ ‘I
am’ (which should occur with the length form).38

38 The existence of a length grade must be the result of the historical process of syllable reduction and loss;
in fact, cognates of these monosyllabic morphemes from other languages are not monosyllabic (cf. Karihona
(61) Isolation /nkērē/ /ta/ Copulas
/mā/ /ma_nkērē/ /maa_ta/ /maa_nai/
/pi/ /pī_nkērē/ /pīi_ta/ /pīi_nai/
/wi/ /wī_nkērē/ /wīi_ta/ /wīi_wae/

2.6.2.5. ‘Floating’ morphemes. There is one morpheme which is a CV monosyllable in its full grade, and which occurs as /h/ in the coda grade, as simple vowel length in the length grade, and disappears completely in the zero grade: the possessive marker -(rī)/ (cf. 4.3.1.5). The examples below are based on the stems /pata/ ‘village, place’, and /pakoro/ ‘house’.

(62) Zero Grade (Isolation) Length Grade /_me/ ‘Attrib.’ Coda Grade /_pona/ ‘toward’ Full Grade /_ja/ ‘to, by’
(a) /jipata/ ‘my place’ /jipataa_me/ /jipatah_pona/ /jipatarī_ja/
(b) /jipakoro/ ‘my house’ /jipakoroome_me/ /jipakoroh_pona/ /jipakororī_ja/

The morpheme -(rī)/ has thus the interesting property of depending crucially on the form of the following material (affixes/clitics) for its realization. The same possessed stem can have its possessed status indicated by nothing at all (when no affixes/clitics follow), by vowel length, by -(h) or by -(rī). In texts, the zero-grade form is by far the most frequent.

/mīha/ ‘far’, Wayana /pi/ ‘mountain’, Katxuyana /owi/ ‘I’). Nevertheless, the reason the absence of the coda and full grades still awaits an explanation.

39 The imperative marker -(kē)/ apparently follows the same pattern. However, the necessary examples were not collected; only zero- and full-grade examples are attested (e.g. /ene/, /enekē/ ‘look at it!’).
2.6.3. Reduplication. There are two main reduplicative patterns in Tiriýó, here termed external and internal. They apply to verbs (with a few exceptions), generally with the meaning of repetition ('V-ing many times') or continuation ('keep V-ing').

Broadly speaking, external reduplication applies to the left edge of a verbal word, thus including any prefixal morphology within its scope. Internal reduplication, however, is more complicated, as it ignores at least the first mora of the base, and sometimes more than that. Both patterns are described in the following sections (based on Meira 1998b, with a few changes). In the underlying representation (in / /), morpheme breaks are indicated by dashes and the stem is in boldface. In the surface phonetic representation (in [ ]), a hyphen separates the reduplicant (which is underlined) from the rest of the word; moreover, a colon is used to distinguish the lengthening caused by the iambic stress system (cf. 2.5.1) from underlying VV sequences (which are represented as such, i.e. with a double letter).

2.6.3.1. External reduplication. Consider the following words, all of which have a light ((C)V) first syllable (the words are classified in different groups, depending on the second syllable; the syllabic structure of each group is given in parentheses):

(63) C-initial examples:40

(a) 'You gave O' /m-ekarama/ \(\rightarrow\) [meká:-meká:ţama] (CV.CV.CV...)
(b) 'S/he helped O' /napotoma/ \(\rightarrow\) [napős:-napős:tomá]
(c) 'I found O' /w-erahţa-e/ \(\rightarrow\) [verţ:-verţahtoe] (CV.CVh.CV...)

40 The length of the second vowel of the reduplicant is always in the right position for it to be the result of rhythmic stress, which is why it is represented by a colon; however, since it is impossible to add another prefix to the reduplicated word and check the effects on the rhythmic pattern, this cannot be verified.
(d) ‘took a wife’ /tī-pīhta-c/ → [tipī:-tipīhtaε]  
(e) ‘S/he taught O’ /kīn-enpa/ → [kinē:-kinēmpa]  (CV.CV.CV...)  
(f) ‘I was lazy’ /j-akunpami/ → [jakū:-jakūmpami]  
(g) ‘S/he is arriving’ /ni-tuntē-n/ → [nitū:-nituntōŋ]  
(h) ‘I scolded O’ /w-akaama/ → [vakā:-vakāma]  (CV.CVV.CV...)  
(i) ‘I am resting’ /j-ereeta-c/ → [jerē:-jerētētē]  
(j) ‘he killed game’ /ni-kaimota/ → [nikä:-nikāmota]  (CV.CVj.CV...)  
(k) ‘I got tired’ /j-apēepi/ → [japē:-japēpi]  
(l) ‘learned’ /tī-w-ēnpe-c/ → [tiuō:-tiuōempe]  (CV.CVj.CV.CV...)  
(m) ‘We are thinking’ /kīt-ēhtē-c/ → [kitō:-kitōehtē]  

(64) V-initial examples:41

(a) ‘didn’t give’ /in-ekarama-ewa/ → [inē:-inē:kaɾa:māeva] (V.CV.CV...)  
(b) ‘Give!’ /ekarama-ka/ → [ekā:-ekā:ramā:ka]  
(c) ‘didn’t think’ /in-ēhtē-ewa/ → [inē:-inēhtēeva]  (V.CVh.CV...)  
(d) ‘You married’ /ē-pīhta/ → [ēpī:-ēpīhta]  
(e) ‘You bled’ /ē-munta/ → [ēmū:-ēmūnta]  (V.CVN.CV...)  
(f) ‘You are arriving’ /ē-tunta-c/ → [ētū:-ētūntētē]  
(g) ‘didn’t adorn’ /in-aarama-ewa/ → [inā:-ināramāeva]  (V.CV.CV.CV...)  
(h) ‘didn’t get fat’ /epīna-ewa/ → [ēpī:-ēpīnāeva]  (V.CVj.CV.CV...)  
(i) ‘You killed game’ /ē-kaimota/ → [ēkā:-ēkāmota]  

As can be seen, V- and C-initial words are treated alike. If the second syllable is light, the first two syllables are reduplicated; if the second syllable is heavy, the first syllable and the initial CV part of the second syllable (ignoring any second vowels or coda consonants) are reduplicated. Phonotactic constraints might account for the failure to copy the coda consonant of the second syllable; for instance, (63c) should never be able to reduplicate the /h/, since an /h/ can never precede a /w/ (only stops or, optionally, /s/ can occur after /h/; cf. 2.4.2.2). However, phonotactics is not enough: in (63d), the base starts with /t/, and a preceding /h/ (e.g. an unattested */tīpih-tīpihtaε/) would have

41The corpus does not contain V.CVj.CV.CV... examples. It is assumed that, should any be found in future research, they will not deviate from this pattern.
been perfectly acceptable. The same is valid for nasal codas (as in 63f-g) or second vowels (63j-k), which can both occur with all kinds of following consonant (nasals having the restriction that they must assimilate in point of articulation; cf. 2.4.2.1). Yet reduplication fails to include the coda in these cases as well.

The fact that only the initial CV sequence of the second syllable is reduplicated suggests the metrical structure of the syllable as a better basis for describing this process. Hayes 1995 formalizes the distinction between heavy and light syllables in terms of moraic structure: a heavy syllable contains two moras, whereas a light syllable contains only one mora (cf. 2.5.1.3). The schema below illustrates a possible moraic analysis of the Tiriyó syllable types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CV</th>
<th>CVV</th>
<th>CViVj</th>
<th>CVC</th>
<th>CViVjC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>σ</td>
<td>σ</td>
<td>σ</td>
<td>σ</td>
<td>σ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>μ</td>
<td>μ μ</td>
<td>μ μ</td>
<td>μ μ</td>
<td>μ μ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k a</td>
<td>p e</td>
<td>j a u</td>
<td>m a h</td>
<td>m a o n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ka]</td>
<td>[pɛ:]</td>
<td>[jau]</td>
<td>[mah]</td>
<td>[maoŋ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on this analysis, the pattern illustrated in (63-64) can be characterized as the reduplication of the first two moras of the phonological word. With an initial light syllable, only the first mora of the second syllable is reduplicated. Any elements that depend on the second mora (second vowels, coda consonants) are ignored.
An immediate consequence of this analysis is that words with initial heavy syllables should only reduplicate their first syllable. This is in fact the case:

(65a)  ‘I laughed’  /j-eerana/  →  [jée-jéerana]  (CVV...)
(b)  ‘I adorned O’  /w-aarama/  →  [uá-aáràma]
(c)  ‘I am sleeping’  /t-ēení-i-ja-e/  →  [tás-táənī́jae]
(d)  ‘You pushed O’  /m-aité-ne/  →  [mai-maitáne]  (CV₁Vj...)
(e)  ‘I stood up’  /j-aumu/  →  [jáu-jáumu]
(f)  ‘We answered’  /k-euku/  →  [kéu-kéuku]
(g)  ‘They saw each other’  /n-ēene-ŋ_to/  →  [nē-nēenénto]
(h)  ‘It is barking’  /n-eurē-n/  →  [nēu-néuŋŋ]

Thus, the pattern for CVV- and CV₁Vj-initial words fits well the idea of the reduplication of the first two moras of the phonological word. However, if initial syllables with coda consonants are taken into account, an extra restriction becomes necessary, for the coda consonants, in spite of depending on the second mora, are not reduplicated:

(66a)  ‘I am teaching’  /w-enpa-e/  →  [uēe-uempae]  (CVN...)
(b)  ‘S/he tasted O’  /kín-joreka/  →  [kid-kínжorka]
(c)  ‘A closed O’  /t-ēntapu-una-e/  →  [tós-tántapúũe]
(d)  ‘I am going down’  /p-ĩhtē-e/  →  [píh-píhtae]  (CVh...)
(e)  ‘It is budding’  /n-ahta-n/  →  [náa-náhtan]
(f)  ‘I burped’  /j-ahpota/  →  [jáh-jáhpota]
(g)  ‘I am thinking’  /t-ēhtē-e/  →  [tēh-tēhtae]  (CV₁Vj...)
(h)  ‘I am shaving’  /t-ēhpoka-e/  →  [tēh-tēhphokaě]
(i)  ‘I am standing up’  /j-aun-ja-e/  →  [jáu-jáunjae]  (CV₁VjN...)
(j)  ‘I am learning’  /t-ēnpa-e/  →  [tē-tēmpae]
(k)  ‘It spilled’  /n-ēntama/  →  [nē-nēntama]

It is thus necessary to assume that the bimoraic reduplicant is subject to the condition that any coda consonants are deleted (i.e. do not reduplicate). Schematically,
CVV.CV... → CVV - CVV.CV...
CVC.CV... → CVV - CVC.CV...
CV_iV_j.CV... → CV_iV_j - CV_iV_j.CV...
CV_iV_jC.CV... → CV_iV_j - CV_iV_jC.CV...

2.6.3.1.1. Diachronic change in progress. Not all Tiriyo speakers agree on deleting only coda consonants from the reduplicant; some speakers also delete second vowels. (67a-b) contains examples of this variation, with some speakers reduplicating the second vowel and others not; (67c-e) shows additional examples from speakers who do not reduplicate the second vowel.

(67a) ‘You pushed O’ /m-aitë-ne/ → [mái-máiṁane], [máá-máiṁane]
(b) ‘I am learning’ /t-ënma-e/ → [tái-táiṁpa], [táó-táiṁpa]  
(c) ‘stood up’ /t-aun-je/ → [táá-táuñña]
(d) ‘S/he answered me’ /j-euku/ → [jéé-jéuku]
(e) ‘ran off with O’ /t-ainka-e/ → [táá-táinkaa]

Obviously, the speakers who do not reduplicate the second vowel are treating CV_iV_j(C) syllables the same way that they treat the other heavy (CVC and CVV) syllables: they are now excluding both second vowels and coda consonants. A comparison of the age of the speakers who produced the utterances [mái-máiṁane] and [mái-máiṁane] is revealing:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Presumed Age</th>
<th>mai-maitone</th>
<th>maa-maitone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asehpa</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>OK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naaki</td>
<td>40+</td>
<td>OK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simetu</td>
<td>40+</td>
<td>OK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angélica</td>
<td>40+</td>
<td>OK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasau</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>OK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rute</td>
<td>20+</td>
<td>OK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berenice</td>
<td>15-20</td>
<td>OK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, the speakers who preferred to treat CV_iV_j(C) syllables like other heavy syllables were significantly younger than those who did not.\(^{42}\) If this sample is representative of the community as a whole, then we seem to be looking at change in progress: the younger generation is regularizing the reduplication pattern, so that codas are not allowed to occur in the reduplicant, thus making the process more symmetric, as in the following schema (the reduplicants are underlined):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Older Speakers</th>
<th>Younger Speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CVV.CV.... → CVV - CVV.CV.... &gt; CVV - CVC...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC.CV... → CVV - CVC.CV... &gt; CVV - CVV...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV_iV_j.CV... → CV_iV_j - CV_iV_j.CV... &gt; CVV - CV_iV_j...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV_iV_jC.CV... → CV_iV_j - CV_iV_jC.CV... &gt; CVV - CV_iV_jC...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{42}\) As a matter of fact, this variation can be observed within the same family, since Rute and Berenice are both daughters of Nasau and Angélica.
This pattern of evolution suggests an interesting possibility: the ongoing loss of vocalic codas in the reduplicant may be the last part of a larger diachronic process of simplification of the reduplicant. The reduplicant may have originally included coda consonants, which would, at a later stage, have been lost; nowadays, coda vowels would be following the same path. This idea is sketched in Table 2.11 (where asterisks mark internal reconstructions of unattested forms). The schema after Table 2.11 represents the structural evolution.

| Hypothetical stages of the loss of final reduplicant elements (internal reconstruction). |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| **Base** | **Earlier stage** | **Present stage (older speakers)** | **Present stage (younger speakers)** |
| 'A taught O' /t-ēnpe-ë/ | *[tān-tōmpae]* | [tā-ōmpae] | [tā-ōmpae] |
| 'I went down' /p-īhtë-ë/ | *[pīh-pīhtae]* | [pīh-pīhtae] | [pīh-pīhtae] |
| 'ran off with O' /t-ainka-e/ | *[tān-tāṅkæ]* | [tān-tāṅkæ] | [tān-tāṅkæ] |
| 'you pushed O' /m-aitë-ne/ | [māi-māitane] | [māi-māitane] | [māi-māitane] |

CVX... *CVX-CVX... CVV-CVC... CVV-CVX...

CVV-CVV...

CVVj-CVjVj...

CVVj-CVjVCj...

2.6.3.1.2. The ambiguous phonological status of the reduplicant. It is an interesting fact that the VjVj-sequences generated by reduplication do not count as vowel sequences (i.e. they are not tautosyllabic), since they do not alter the stress pattern in the way that CVjVj syllables would, and can even generate vowel sequences that are unattested elsewhere (e.g. [iə] below):
(68a) ‘He made him bathe you’ /ē-pi̥-po/ → [əpi̥-əpi̥-po]  
                 * [a-pia.pi.po]  
(b) ‘Give it!’ /ekarama-kē/ → [ekā-ekā:tama:kə]  
                   * [e.kāe.ka.tā:ma.kə]

An immediate consequence of this fact is that the reduplicant and the base do not form a single phonological word (i.e. the reduplicant is not a clitic). Although they are always adjacent, they are clearly not treated as a unit by the iambic stress system. However, it is also not true that they are fully independent: the reduplicant can end in a VV sequence (e.g. (68b)), which never happens with independent phonological words (cf. 2.4.1). This places reduplicated words in an intermediate position between phonological words and phonological phrases.

2.6.3.2. Internal reduplication. Most of the examples examined in the preceding section were consonant-initial. In principle, words with a heavy vowel-initial first syllable behave just like their consonant-initial counterparts. (69) shows how VV reduplicants are produced if the first syllable of the base is VC (69a-d) or VV (69e), and $V_iV_j$ reduplicants if the first syllable is $V_iV_j$ (69f):

(69a) ‘didn’t imitate’ /in-kuu-sewa/ → [i-fŋkʊ̞ʊʃɛua] (VN...)  
(b) ‘didn’t tell’ /in-ponoo-sewa/ → [i-fmpɔnɔʃɛua]  
(c) ‘to wake up O’ /enpaka/ → [e-empaka]  
(d) ‘to think about O’ /ehṭē/ → [e-ɛhtə] (Vh...)  
(e) ‘adorn!’ /aarama/ → [aá-áarama] (VV...)  
(f) ‘you are laughing’ /ēerana-e/ → [ʃə-ʃetanae] (V_iV_j...)
Nevertheless, there is an alternative (and at least equally frequent) way of reduplicating VN-initial words. This alternative pattern is more difficult to characterize, and contains various exceptions and anomalies; it seems also to be less productive than external reduplication, and is thus probably older.

Let us first consider the examples below, all negative forms characterized by the third-person negative object prefix /in-/; this appears to be the only case in which internal reduplication is predictable (all other cases have exceptions):

(70a) ‘didn’t continue O’ /in-tį̂pį̂htę̂-ewa/ → [ı̂-ntį̂-ntį̂pį̂htę̂va] (VNCV...)
(b) ‘didn’t select O’ /in-meneka-ewa/ → [ı̂-mmę̂-mmę̂nɛ̂kɛ̂va]
(c) ‘didn’t tell O’ /in-ponoo-sewa/ → [ı̂-mpɛ̂-mponoʊʃɛ̂va]
(d) ‘didn’t abandon O’ /in-nonta-ewa/ → [ı̂-nnʊ̂-nnʊ̂ntɛ̂va] (VNCVN...)
(e) ‘didn’t address O’ /in-jompa-ewa/ → [ı̂-ŋɛ̂-ŋɛ̂mpɛ̂va]
(f) ‘didn’t imitate O’ /in-kuu-sewa/ → [ı̂-ŋkʊ̂-ŋkʊ̂ʃɛ̂va] (VNCV:...)
(g) ‘didn’t soap O up’ /in-soopuntę̂-ewa/ → [ı̂-nʊ̂-nʊ̂pʊ̂ntɛ̂va]
(h) ‘didn’t grab O’ /in-saike-ewa/ → [ı̂-nɪ̂â-nɪ̂aikeva] (VNCVV:...)

An informal description of this process would be: ignore the first mora, and reduplicate the two next moras of the word. Note that the reduplication is not simply skipping the word-initial morphology and going directly to the stem, since the /n/ of the negative prefix /in-/ is also being reduplicated. Consider also the examples below (with verb roots in an ‘infinitival’/nominalized form that occurs in desiderative constructions), which also have a coda nasal in the first syllable:

(71a) ‘to wake O up’ /enpaka/ → [ę̂-mpę̂-mpaka]
(b) ‘to give orders to O’ /ennoki/ → [ę̂-nnʊ̂-nnʊ̂ki]
(c) ‘to deceive O’ /entahka/ → [ę̂-ntɛ̂-ntɛ̂hka]
(d) ‘to chew O’ /ankə̂ta/ → [ą̂-nkə̂-nkə̂ta]
However, not all VN-initial verb stems can undergo this kind of internal reduplication (e.g. /enpa/ ‘to teach O’ cannot become */e-npa-npa/\(^{43}\)).

Examples of internal reduplication with words that have an initial light syllable also do occur; in all cases, the second syllable of the base was heavy (there are no CV.CV\(\text{N}^{\text{ex}}\) examples in my corpus):

\[
\begin{align*}
(72a) & \quad \text{‘I am breaking O’} & \text{/wi-pahka-e/} & \rightarrow [\text{ui-pāh-pāhkae}] & \text{(CV.CVh...)} \\
(b) & \quad \text{‘I am frightening O’} & \text{/wi-tihka-e/} & \rightarrow [\text{ui-tih-tihkae}] \\
(c) & \quad \text{‘I am burning O’} & \text{/wi-jahka-e/} & \rightarrow [\text{ui-jāh-jahkae}]^{44} \\
(d) & \quad \text{‘I am losing O’} & \text{/wi-tahka-e/} & \rightarrow [\text{ui-tāh-tāhkae}] \\
(e) & \quad \text{‘I am beating myself’} & \text{/s-e-tuuka-e/} & \rightarrow [\text{je-tūu-tūuikae}] & \text{(CV.CVV...)} \\
(f) & \quad \text{‘I am smoothing O’} & \text{/wi-kīka-e/} & \rightarrow [\text{ui-kī-kīkae}] \\
(g) & \quad \text{‘I am bending O’} & \text{/wi-juuka-e/} & \rightarrow [\text{ui-jūu-jūuikae}] \\
(h) & \quad \text{‘I am grabbing O’} & \text{/wi-saika-e/} & \rightarrow [\text{ui-li-liikae}] & \text{(CV.CViV\(_j\)...)} \\
(i) & \quad \text{‘I am jumping over O’} & \text{/wi-wāēhka-e/} & \rightarrow [\text{ui-wāē-wāēhkae}]^{45} & \text{(CV.CViV\(_jh\)...)} \\
(j) & \quad \text{‘I am running’} & \text{/s-e-tainka-e/} & \rightarrow [\text{je-tāin-tāinkae}] & \text{(CV.CViV\(_j\)N...)}
\end{align*}
\]

However, once more there were exceptions, like /j-ahpota/ ‘I burped’ or /j-ereeta/
‘I rested’, /w-akaama-e/ ‘I am scolding O’, which failed to undergo internal reduplication:

*/ja-hpo-hpota/, */je-ree-reta/, */wa-kaa-kaamae/ (speakers would give external

\(^{43}\) This exception is also the only bisyllabic VN-initial verb stem that I am aware of; the reduplicant would have to include the entire base (minus the first mora); this fact may have something to do with minimal word phenomena. It should also be mentioned that there is some evidence that the first syllable /em-/ of /em-paka/ is etymologically a causative prefix (this might conceivably also be the case for /ennokha/ and /entahka/, though there is no evidence at present); morphology may be a factor to take into account. On /anktä/, however, there seems to be no prefixing morphology.

\(^{44}\) Again in this case, the absence of the /h/ in the reduplicant agrees with the restrictions in the distribution of this phoneme: it only occurs preceding obstruents (cf. 1.4.2.2). It is also hard to decide whether the long vowel in the reduplicant is underlyingly long or not, since it is in a position in which it would be lengthened by the stress system anyway.

\(^{45}\) cf. previous footnote.
reduplication examples instead; cf. above (65), (66). There was also one example in which the first syllable was CVh: /w-ahkæ-ja-e/ ‘I am cutting’ → /wa-hka-hkæjæ/ (this looks like the pattern in (70)).

In some other words, the reduplicative process skipped the first two moras; these examples look like cases of reduplication applying to the verb stem before prefixation. Example (73c) and (73d), which have the same stems as (72d) and (72e), suggests that the same analysis might be valid for all the examples in (72). Example (73b) is strange in that it has a heavy first syllable but a light second syllable; it is as though the weight of the first syllable were part of the reduplicant ([사회; maybe the remnant of a /hs/ cluster; cf. 2.4.2.2).

(73a) ‘I am urinating’ /jii-suhta-e/ → [yii-súu-súhtæ]
(b) ‘I am taking O out’ /wii-sika-e/ → [wii-ﬁ-[i][kae]
(c) ‘We are losing O’ /kii-tahka-e/ → [kii-táh-táhkae]
(d) ‘S/he beat O’ /kin-tuuka/ → [kin-túuí-túúka]
(e) ‘S/he jumped’ /n-eeseka/ → [né-ﬁ-ée-ʃeka]
(f) ‘didn’t close O’ /n-entapuu-sewa/ → [iné-ntá-ntapúújeua]

Finally, there are idiosyncratic irregular cases that apparently obey no pattern:

(74a) ‘went; gone’ /tii-të-e/ → [tí-tóe-tæe]
(b) ‘said’ /tii-ka-e/ → [tí-káa-kae]
(c) ‘didn’t say’ /ka-ewa/ → [káa-kaewa]
(d) ‘didn’t go’ /të-ewa/ → [tëë-tëëwa]
(e) ‘S/he/it bit O’ /n-eeka/ → [né-kaa-ka]

46 Curiously enough, all the examples in which this kind of internal reduplication was possible had the suffix /-ka/ ‘transitivizer’.
More research (and some comparative work with reduplication in other Cariban languages) will hopefully help explain this state of affairs.

2.6.4. Reduction of trivocalic sequences. Certain morphological processes can lead to the occurrence \( V_i V_j \) sequences (e.g. the second-person prefix /é/- and its assimilated allomorphs /o-/, /a-/), when added to an /e/-initial stem). However, except for the cases mentioned in 2.3.1.1, these processes do not lead to trivocalic \( (V_i V_j V_k) \) sequences of any kind; instead, one of the vowels involved disappears, so that the result is merely bivocalic.

\[
\begin{align*}
(75a) & \quad \text{/è/-} \ '2' \ + \ /\text{eire}/ \ 'angry at' \rightarrow /\text{eire}/ \ 'angry at you' \quad (*/\text{eei} > /\text{ei}/) \\
(\text{b}) & \quad /\text{eeka}/ \ 'bite O' \rightarrow /\text{eeka}/ \ '(it) bit you' \quad (*/\text{ee} > /\text{e}/) \\
(\text{c}) & \quad /\text{eemi}/ \ 'daughter' \rightarrow /\text{eemi}/ \ 'your daughter'^{47} \\
(\text{d}) & \quad /\text{o-/-} \ '2' \ + \ /\text{oona}/ \ 'nose' \rightarrow /\text{oona}/ \ 'your nose' \quad (*/\text{o} > /\text{o}/) \\
(\text{e}) & \quad /\text{a-/-} \ '2' \ + \ /\text{aame}/ \ 'hating' \rightarrow /\text{aame}/ \ 'hating you' \quad (*/\text{aa} > /\text{a}/) \\
(\text{f}) & \quad /\text{wité}/ \ 'I'm going' + /\text{iré}/ \ 'really' \rightarrow /\text{wité}_\text{iré}/ \ 'I'm really going' \quad (*/\text{eei} > /\text{ei}/) \\
(\text{g}) & \quad /\text{méé}/ \ 'this one' + /\text{ıhta}/ \ 'really' \rightarrow /\text{méé}_\text{ıhta}/ \ 'really him!' \\
(\text{g}) & \quad /\text{ekei}/ \ 'snake' + /\text{imé}/ \ 'Aug' \rightarrow /\text{ekeimé}/ \ 'anaconda' \quad (*/\text{eei} > /\text{ei}/) \\
(\text{h}) & \quad /\text{rupe}/ \ 'lizard sp.' + /\text{imé}/ \ 'Aug' \rightarrow /\text{rupeimé}/ \ 'big lizard' \quad (*/\text{eei} > /\text{ei}/)
\end{align*}
\]

2.6.5. Nasal assimilation across word boundaries. Syllable-final nasal consonants assimilate in point of articulation to a following consonant, so that only homorganic nasal clusters are generated (cf. 2.4.2.1). Within the phonological word, this happens

^{47} Some speakers make the second vowel in these words much more noticeable than in other words, as if they were distinguishing e.g. /đeemi/ 'your daughter' from /đeenu/ 'your eye' by pronouncing [đe(ː).mi], but [đe.nu]. In fact, the latter is often heard as [đi.nu] in fast speech, which is never the case for /đeemi/. This suggests that the above cases of trivocalic reduction are recent, and some remnants of earlier syllable types (i.e. /đee.mi/, with a \( V_i V_j V_j \) sequence) are still preserved.
obligatorily; but it can also happen optionally even across word boundaries, as is shown in (76). The conditioning factor appears to be slow vs. fast speech.

(76) /irë_mao_rëken papa w-ene-ne/  
    [i.rë:.máo.rë.kén papa ve.né:.ne]~  
    that_time_only 2.father 1A-see-Pst.Prf  
    [i.rë:.máo.rë.kén papa ve.né:.ne]~  
    ‘At that moment I saw your father.’

2.6.6 Sporadic processes: vowel harmony and assimilation. These processes are not very widespread; they concern only the following morphological elements:

(a) The possessive suffix /-(r̪i)/, which becomes /-(ru)/ if the last vowel of the preceding root is /u/ (vowel harmony), as in (77) (/j)i-/ is a first-person marker):

(77a) /pawana/  ‘friend’  \rightarrow  /ji-pawana-r̪i_ja/  ‘by my friend’
(b) /pakoro/  ‘house’  \rightarrow  /ji-pakoro-r̪i/  ‘my house’
(c) /kaari/  ‘strength’  \rightarrow  /ji-kaari-r̪i/  ‘my strength’
(d) /moiti/  ‘relative’  \rightarrow  /ji-moḭtḭ-r̪i_ja/  ‘by my relative’
(e) /nmuku/  ‘son’  \rightarrow  /ji-nmuku-ru/  ‘my son’
(f) /enu/  ‘eye’  \rightarrow  /j-enu-ru/  ‘my eye’

(b) The clitic particle /r̪e/ ‘Exactly’, which becomes /ro/ if the last vowel of the preceding word is /o/ (vowel harmony):

(78a) /mēe/  ‘3AnPx’  \rightarrow  /mēe_r̪e/  ‘really, precisely him/her’
/wḭḭ/  ‘1’  \rightarrow  /wḭḭ_r̪e/  ‘really, precisely me’
/emë/  ‘2’  \rightarrow  /emë_r̪e/  ‘really, precisely you’
/paaruru/  ‘banana’  \rightarrow  /paaruru_r̪e/  ‘really, precisely banana’
/tüka/  ‘tobacco’  \rightarrow  /tüka_r̪e/  ‘really, precisely tobacco’
/napi/  ‘potato’  \rightarrow  /napi_r̪e/  ‘really, precisely potato’
/tıwërëno/ ‘other’ → /tıwërëno_ro/ ‘really different’
/sen_po/ ‘here’ → /sen_po_ro/ ‘really here’
/tıpato/ ‘aligned’ → /tıpato_ro/ ‘well aligned; correct’

If the final /o/ is the second element of a vowel sequence, the harmony does not occur:

(79) /irë_mao/ ‘at that time’ → /irë_mao_rë/ ‘exactly at that time’

The particle /rëke(ne)/ ‘only’, diachronically related to /rë/, can still optionally undergo vowel harmony:

(80) /irë apo/ ‘like that’ → /irë_apo_rëken/ ‘only like that’
     /irë_apo_roker/

(c) The second-person prefix /ë-/, which becomes vowel length (i.e. assimilates completely) if it is prefixed to a word that begins with /a/ or /o/:

(81a) /pakoro/ ‘house’ → /ë-pakoro/ ‘your house’
(b) /ekë/ ‘pet’ → /ë-ekë/ ‘your pet’
(c) /uru/ ‘beiju’ → /ë-uru/ ‘your beiju’
(d) /apë/ ‘arm’ → /a-apë/ ‘your arm’
(e) /otë/ ‘meat food’ → /o-otë/ ‘your meat food’

Nothing changes if the word already starts with /aë/ or /oo/ sequences:

(82a) /oonë/ ‘nose’ → /oonë/ ‘your nose’
(b) /aame/ ‘hating (Postp)’ → /aame/ ‘hating you’
3. INTRODUCING TIRIYÓ MORPHOLOGY

3.1. Introduction. The morphological complexity of Tiriyó is typical of the Cariban family, which lies somewhere between the highly polysynthetic Arawakan languages and the fairly isolating Jê languages (Doris Payne 1990). A quick count on the first 100 phonological words of one of the texts (Taru; cf. Appendix) revealed an average of 2.01 morphemes per phonological word (or 1.7 morphemes per grammatical word) — an average similar to that of the Romance languages.

Both prefixes and suffixes occur. Prefixes usually mark person and valence change (intransitivization, reciprocity); suffixes mark number, tense-aspect-mood, class change, valence change (causativization, transitivity) and meaning change. Certain cases of co-occurring prefix-suffix pairs have apparently evolved into synchronic circumfixes. No cases of infixation were found. Two reduplicative processes occur in the language, external and internal reduplication; the former is very productive and regular, the latter is less productive and more irregular (cf. 2.6.3). Stem allomorphic patterns include ablaut (cf. 2.6.1) and syllable reduction (cf. 2.6.2). There are some marginal cases of vowel harmony and assimilation (cf. 2.6.6), either as side-effects of a certain morphological process, or as one of its instantiating allomorphs. There are many clitics (particles, postpositions and some verb forms), as well as some words that can optionally cliticize (usually bisyllabic; cf. 3.2.1).

In this chapter, the formal units used in the description of Tiriyó morphology and their properties are listed and discussed (3.2). Some recurrent semantic distinctions
(argument and number marking) are also considered here, because of their cross-categorial importance (3.3). A basic characterization of the lexical classes and their properties is then introduced (3.4). The detailed description of the morphology of every class is the topic of chapters 4 to 9.

3.2. **Morphological units.** Morphology is concerned with the description and analysis of *words* and the smaller units which compose them (the *morphemes*). In the preceding chapter, the concept of *phonological word* was introduced as the domain of rhythmic stress (cf. 2.3.2) and described as a sequence of syllables with certain distributional constraints (cf. 2.4.1). However, as is the case in most languages, the phonological word in Tiriýó is not always equivalent to the *grammatical* word, due to the existence of clitic elements:

(1a) \textbf{m-eta}_pa?  
2A-hear:Prs.Prf Rpt  
‘Did you hear it again?’

(b) \textbf{m-ënë-i}_mo  
2A-eat-Hyp Irr  
‘You would eat it.’

(c) \textbf{pahko}_pa \textbf{m-eta}?  
1:father Rpt 2A-hear:Prs.Prf  
‘Did you hear my father again?’

(d) \textbf{i-pun}_mo \textbf{m-ënë-i}  
3-meat Irr 2A-eat-Hyp  
‘You would eat its meat.’

The particles \_pa ‘Repetition’ and \_mo ‘Irrealis’ are *clitics*; their status is marked by the underscore character which separates them from the preceding word. Instead of being a necessary element of a specific word in a sentence, they are placed in a specific *position* within the sentence (in this case, after the first constituent; cf. 10.1.2). However,
they form a single phonological word with the preceding element, according to both the
rhythmic stress (2a) and to syllable reduction (cf. the coda grade of mēneh of mēne(pī)
‘you came’ in 2b).

(2a) meta + _pa → meta_paha [me.tá:.pa]  ‘you heard again’
* [mē(i).ta pa]
(b) mēne(pī) + _pa → mēneha_paha [mə.neh.фа]  ‘you came back’
* [mə.ne:.pī pa]

Such phenomena make it clear that a distinction between grammatical and
phonological word must be recognized. The phonological word, as previously defined,
remains as the basic unit of higher-level phonology (stress, intonation, phonological
phrases, etc.; but cf. 2.6.3.1.2 for reduplication as an exceptional case). A grammatical
word will be defined here as either (a) a clitic, or (b) a phonological word without any
clitic material. This allows clitics to remain independent from the words to which they
attach (their host). In addition, clitics tend to have morphosyntactic properties that are
sufficient to place them in one of the definable lexical classes (usually particles or
postpositions, but also a few verbs), together with other elements that are not clitics.
Thus, the examples in (2) contain each one phonological word but two grammatical
words.

As in most other languages, grammatical words can be further segmented into
meaningful subelements (morphemes). For the purposes of the present description, the
following types of morphemes and morpheme combinations are used (the word
combination is used to include any number of elements, from zero to a reasonable maximum):

— root: a morpheme with lexical meaning, not synchronically segmentable;

— stem: a combination of one (or more) roots with (none, one or more) derivational affixes;

— word: a combinations of a stem with inflectional affixes (a grammatical word) and/or, optionally, clitics (a phonological word);

— affixes (prefixes if they precede the root or stem, suffixes if they follow it): bound morphemes (i.e. incapable of occurring by themselves) with grammatical meaning; the most productive and regular ones are called inflectional, while the more irregular, less productive ones are called derivational;

— clitics: phonologically bound but morphosyntactically free morphemes, usually conveying grammatical content.

The terms defined above will be used to qualify the structural status of morphemes. In addition to them, the word formative will be used for submorphic elements that have no synchronic morphological status but are still identifiable and may have been independent morphemes in the past (cf. 12.2).

The prototypical hierarchical structure of these elements within the phonological and grammatical words is illustrated in Fig. 3.1 below.
The structure of Fig. 3.1 cannot be always strictly obeyed (hence the term prototypical). Clitics and affixes, or inflectional and derivational affixes, are best seen not as disjoint sets, but as the extreme poles of a form-meaning continuum. Even roots and stems may become difficult to distinguish, as older derivational affixes become less transparent and the resulting stem more root-like. For descriptive purposes, however, these categories are useful tools; the formal continuum is thus partitioned in disjoint subsets at convenient points. This partitioning is examined in further detail in the following sections.

3.2.1. Clitics and Affixes. As far as their morphophonological properties are concerned, clitics and affixes behave alike: the criteria in 2.3.2 and 2.4 (rhythmic stress, syllable reduction, phonotactic restrictions, etc.) do not distinguish them. The difference between them is their level of independence: clitics are freer, more ‘word-like’, than affixes, and
typically play a higher-level role on the morphosyntactic plane. For instance, the particle 
_{pa} 'Repetition' and the suffix _po 'Causative' are morphophonologically
indistinguishable, but _pa, being a second-position particle (cf. 9.1.3, 10.1.2), has a
specific position within the sentence, following the first constituent regardless of its
lexical class, while _po, being a suffix, cannot be separated from the stem on which it
occurs.

Taking this into account, the features listed below will be considered as relevant
for evaluating the level of morphosyntactic independence:

— sentence-level distributional restrictions;
— phrase-level phenomena;
— morphological possibilities;
— separability;
— categorial specificity.

Sentence-level distributional restrictions refer, for instance, to preferred positions
within the sentence structure that clitics must occupy (e.g. the first, the last, or the second
position). The particles in (1-2) above exemplify the case of restriction to second
position.

Phrase-level phenomena characterize elements which can have scope over more
than a single grammatical word. Typically, this is the case for postpositions such as _pēe
'Ablative', as in (3) (brackets indicate scope boundaries):
(3a) [pata]_pēe  ‘from the village’
(b) [pata mono]_pēe  ‘from the big village’
(c) [pata mono kurano]_pēe  ‘from the big beautiful village’

It may seem possible to argue that _pēe is a suffix on the last noun of the sequence, with the preceding ones as ‘modifying’ nouns in apposition (cf. 10.2.1.3 for nominal apposition in Tiriyó). Notice, however, that the term to which _pēe cliticizes must be the last one in the group; if, e.g. in an afterthought, a speaker wishes to add another applicative noun, _pēe must be repeated after it:

(4a) [pata mono]_pēe  ‘from the big village’
(b) [pata mono]_pēe, [kurano]_pēe  ‘from the big, beautiful village’
(c) *[pata mono]_pēe, [kurano]

This can be compared to the behavior of a suffix like -npē ‘Past’, which is not limited to the last noun of a group of nouns in apposition:

(5a) pata-npē  ‘old, abandoned village’
(b) mono pata-npē  ‘big abandoned village’
(c) pata-npē mono  ‘big abandoned village’

The meaning of the whole can also help in the determination of the scope of a given element. Thus, (4a) above shows that, although _pēe cliticizes to mono ‘big (one)’, it does not refer only to it, but to the entity referred to as ‘big village’, pata mono. However, in (6b) below, the suffix -npē refers only to pijanpisi(kē) ‘small (one)’, not to
**pata** 'village' (i.e. **pata pjanpisikë-npê** means 'a village that used to be small', not 'a small abandoned village'); in (6a), it refers only to **pata**, not to **pjanpisi(kê)**. Note that (6a) thus makes sense in a sentence like (6c), while (6b) does not (a small village that was abandoned and thus no longer exists cannot become big). Thus, comparing (4) with (6), it can be said that **pjanpisikë-npê** 'one which used to be small' can be seen as being in apposition to **pata** in (6c), but **mono_pêe** in (4a) cannot.

(6a)    **pjanpisi pata-npê**                            'small abandoned village'
(6b)    **pata pjanpisikë-npê**                          'a village which used to be small'

(c) **pata pjanpisikë-npê menjaarë mono_me t-ee-se**
      village small-Pst now big.one_Attr Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst
      'The village that used to be small has become big.'

(d) *pjanpisi pata-npê menjaarë mono_me t-ee-se

*Morphological possibilities* refer to the capacity of taking affixes, of behaving like a stem. If a certain element cannot be a phonological word by itself but can become a phonological word in combination with affixes, it must be more than a simple affix. In fact, this capacity makes it a **root** or **stem** (i.e. a base to which affixes can be attached) which can be further classified in one of the lexical classes (cf. 3.4). For instance, the clitic postposition _pêe can take affixes to mark person (7a-b), number (7c), and class change (nominalization, 7d); in this, it perfectly parallels the behavior of e.g. **akêrê** 'Comitative', a postposition which constitutes an independent phonological word. This fact argues in favor of _pêe as an independent **grammatical** word, differing from certain
other members of the postpositional class only in that it is not at the same time an independent *phonological* word.

(7a) ji-pêe ‘from me’
(b) kî-pêe ‘from us’
(c) kî-pêe-ne ‘from all of us’
(d) kî-pêe-n ‘something from us’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{j-akêërê} & \quad \text{‘with me’} \\
\text{k-êkêërê} & \quad \text{‘with us’} \\
\text{k-êkêërê-ne} & \quad \text{‘with all of us’} \\
\text{k-êkêërê-n} & \quad \text{‘something with us’}
\end{align*}
\]

*Separability* refers to the possibility of introducing intervening material. For instance, if a certain morpheme of doubtful status can be separated from the preceding (or following) word by a clearly independent element (e.g. a particle), then the morpheme in question is not an affix, but a clitic. Thus, the particle _pa *‘Repetitive’, which was shown to be a clitic on account of its sentence-level distributional constraints ((1-2) above), can also be separated from the preceding noun by other particles, such as _pitê ‘for a second’:

(8) \[\text{pata_po_pitê_pa k-ei-ne} \]
\[\text{village_Loc_a.sec_Rpt 1+2-Cop-Hort} \]
\[\text{‘Let us be/stay in the village again a little (and then go do something else).’} \]

Separability is the main argument for treating _hpe *‘Indefinite’* as a particle rather than a suffix occurring on interrogatives. (9c) shows the identificational interrogative aano *‘which’* followed by a noun, with _hpe occurring at the end (a combination such as *wêri_hpe, without a preceding interrogative, is not possible):

(9a) \[\text{aki_hpe} \]
(b) \[\text{aano_hpe} \]
(c) \[\text{aano wêri_hpe} \]
\[\text{wh:An_Indef} \]
\[\text{which_Indef} \]
\[\text{which woman_Indef} \]
\[\text{‘Whoever.’} \]
\[\text{‘Whichever.’} \]
\[\text{‘Whichever woman.’} \]
Categorial specificity refers to the degree of freedom that a certain element has to follow (or precede) morphemes from different lexical classes (nouns, verbs, adverbs, postpositions, etc.). In this respect, clitics tend to be freer than affixes (though class-crossing affixes do exist; cf. 3.3); thus, _pa can follow a verb or a noun, as in (1), another particle, as in (8), or a postposition or an adverb, as in (10).

(10a) pata_noa_pa nii-tēn
village_Dir_Rpt 3S\_go:Prs.Prf
&S/he went back to the village.'

(b) kure_pa n-ee-ja-n
well_Rpt 3S\_Cop-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
&S/he is recovering (=getting well again).'

As a general rule in the present work, cliticization will be indicated by an underscore character between the host and the clitic, and affixation, when appropriate, by a hyphen.

3.2.1.1. A problematic case: nominal affixes vs. scope particles. Using the features discussed in the previous sections, it is possible to classify conveniently most phonologically dependent morphemes. However, since clitics and affixes are extremes of a single continuum, certain contradictory cases remain; due to their intermediary status, the decision to treat them as either clitics or affixes is somewhat arbitrary. This situation obtains for certain postnominal elements which will be examined in detail below.

There is a series of phonologically dependent elements that occur after nouns and modify their meanings. The ones which show one of the first three features that were
listed above (sentence-level distributional restrictions, phrase-level phenomena, or morphological possibilities) also have the other two (separability, [lack of] categorial specificity), and thus are clearly clitics (e.g. _pa ‘Repetitive’). There are elements, however, which do not have any of these first three features, and for which only the last two are relevant. Some examples are rē ‘exactly’, rēke(ne) ‘only’, rēn(ne) ‘truly’, sepi ‘Predilective’, riipi ‘Pejorative’, imē ‘Augmentative’, pisí(kē) ‘Diminutive’, etc. (cf. 4.2.1, 9.1.4).

Some of them, like rēn(ne), are separable (11a-b) and have low categorial specificity, occurring after nouns (11a), verbs (11d), adverbs (11e), postpositions (11c), interrogatives (11f), particles (11g-h). Other elements in this category are rē ‘Exactly’, rēke(ne) ‘Only’, marē ‘too’, etc.

(11a) ji-nmuku_rēn  (b) kan_muku_ne_rēn  (c) ë-moiti’  apo_rēn
   l-son Pos:Truly     god-son_Attr_Truly     2-people:Pos like_Truly
   ‘My real son.’       ‘A true son of God.’     ‘Really like your people.’

(d) n-ëtihkā_rēn  (e) kure_rēn_man-a-e  (f) eeke_rēn
   3S_A-be.over:Prs.Prf_Truly  good_Truly_2S_A-Cop-Cty  how_Truly
   (=There isn’t any left.)    (i.e. really a good person)
   ‘It’s really over.’

(g) owa_rēn_ken  (h) kura-no ahkene_rēn
   Neg_Truly_Cont     good-Nzr as.if_Truly
   ‘No way!’           ‘Just as if it were good.’

However, some dependent elements are quite specific to nouns; they cannot occur after members of any other lexical class. These include npē ‘Past’, imē ‘Augmentative’, pisí(kē) ‘Diminutive’, sepi ‘Predilective’, and riipi ‘Pejorative’. Let us consider sepi as a
representative member of this class. It can follow a noun (12a), but not a verb (12b) or a postposition (12c).

(12a) \[ \text{ji-majaa } \text{sepī} \quad \text{(b) *wī-tē-∅-e } \text{sepī} \quad \text{(c) *maja apo } \text{sepī} \] 
1-knife:Pos Prdl 1SA-go-Prs.Ipf-Cty Prdl knife Like Prdl 'My favorite knife; (The way I like to go.) (Like a knife.)
the knife I like/want.'

This suggests that sepī could be conveniently treated as a suffix. However, it can still be separated from the noun that it refers to by rēn(ne), which was analyzed as a clitic particle (13a). Thus, sepī seems too separable to be treated as a simple suffix; this implies considering also other elements, separable by sepī, as non-suffixal (like npē in 13b).

(13a) \[ \text{ji-majaa_rēn } \text{sepī} \quad \text{(b) ji-maja } \text{sepī npē} \] 
1-knife:Pos_Truly Prdl 1-knife:Pos Prdl Pst 'Really my favorite knife, 'The one which was my favorite knife, really the knife I want.' the knife I used to like/want.'

However, sepī can be followed by morphemes that apparently have affixal status, such as t- -ke ‘Having’, or i- -nna ‘Privative’ (the ∅- allomorph of i- occurs with vowel-initial stems; cf. 6.2.1.1-2):

(14a) \[ \text{t-ofī-ke } \text{t-ee-se} \quad \text{(b) ∅-ofī-nna } \text{t-ee-se} \] 
T-meat-Hav Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst ∅-meat-Priv Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst '(He) had meat food.' '(He) didn’t have meat food.'
(c) \[ \text{t-ofī sepī-ke } \text{t-ee-se} \quad \text{(d) ∅-ofī sepī-nna } \text{t-ee-se} \] 
T-meat Prdl-Have Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst ∅-meat Prdl-Priv Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst '(He) had (his) favorite meat food.' '(He) didn’t have (his) favorite meat food.'
One possible explanation is that t- -ke and i- -nna might not be affixes, but something more independent. The fact that they can sometimes take objects more complex than one word argues in favor of considering them as clitics, e.g. as ‘complex postpositions’ (15a-b). However, the number of complex objects that t- -ke or i- -nna can take is severely limited, with many forms disallowed (15c) and others causing disagreement among the speakers (15d). This does not happen with a true postposition like _pē(kē) ‘about, busy with’ (15e-f).

(15a) Ø-otī wē-ne-nna t-ee-se
Ø-meat kill-A.act:Nrz-Priv Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst
‘(He) had nobody to hunt for (him).’
(=He was without a meat-killer.)

(b) t-orokī i-po-ke
T-penis 3-clothes-Have
‘Having/wearing a condom.’

(c) *Ø-panpīra i-menuhtē-ne-nna
Ø-book 3-write-A.act:Nrz-Priv
(Without a book-writer.)

(d) ?ti-maja mono-ke
T-knife big:one-Have
(Having a big knife.)

(e) panpīra i-menuhtē-ne pē
book 3-write-A.act:Nrz_busy.with
‘Busy with the book writer;
(talking) about the book writer.’

(f) maja mono_pē
knife big:one_busy.with
‘Busy with the big knife;
(talking) about the big knife.’

It is difficult to know exactly what to do with the above evidence if elements like sepī or t- -ke are to be analyzed as one specific kind of formal unit. Their degree of freedom appears to be intermediary between that of an affix and that of a clitic, as shown in Fig. 3.2.
Figure 3.2
Scale of formal freedom.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affixes</th>
<th>'?'</th>
<th>Clitics with phrasal scope</th>
<th>Position Clitics</th>
<th>Free words, phrases, utterances...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lexically specific</td>
<td>lexically non-specific</td>
<td>Without Morphology</td>
<td>With Morphology</td>
<td>_pa, _mo, _pitə...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sepī, npē, imē...</td>
<td>rēn(ne), rēke(ne), marē...</td>
<td>_ke, _marē...</td>
<td>_pē(kē), _pēe...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t- -ke, i- -nna...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, the elements that have been considered in the preceding paragraphs are less free than e.g. phrasal clitics (in that they cannot, or can only to a limited extent, take phrases as their object), and yet freer than affixes (in that they are either, like rēn(ne), lexically non-specific, or, like sepī, separable from the preceding word by a lexically non-specific element). It is not even clear that they all occupy the same position in the continuum; a detailed analysis of their co-occurrence and positional restrictions would certainly spread them out.

Linguists might differ as to where they would draw the line separating clitics from suffixes in Fig. 3.2. In the present work, this line will be drawn between lexically specific and lexically non-specific elements, so that -sepī will be a suffix and _rēn(ne) a clitic. The main reason for this decision is that elements like _rēn(ne) can occur after too many

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1 This state of affairs seems to be the result of diachronic change. For some of the above elements, free-word sources can probably still be found (e.g. wiripē ‘evil thing, sin’ for rīpī; cf. 4.2.1); others have phonologically free cognates in sister languages (e.g. the collective markers to(mo), ko(mo); cf. 3.3.2).
lexical classes, including particles (cf. owa ‘Negative’ in 11g, ahke(ne) ‘as if’ in 11h); analyzing _rën(ne) as a suffix would imply positing morphology for particles, which is otherwise unnecessary. The cost of this decision is that cases like 13a, in which _rën(ne) separates -sepî from the noun maja ‘knife’, must be considered exceptional (maybe remnants of a previous historical stage at which -sepî was freer). This labeling is adopted as a convenient presentation device; the ‘reality’, insofar as it is knowable, is closer to Fig. 3.2, in which structural labels such as ‘clitic’ or ‘affix’ delimit prototypical cases.

3.2.1.2. The case of n(i)- ‘3AO’. One of the verbal person markers, n(i)- (used on transitive verbs when both participants are third persons), has the syntactic peculiarity of being in complementary distribution with an overt preverbal object (cf. 5.4.1.1.1, 10.2.2). (16a-c) illustrate this fact:

(16a) A  n-V      O
  pahko n-eta ji-pawana
  1:father 3AO-hear:Prs.Prf 1-friend
  ‘My father heard my friend.’

(16b) A  O      V
  pahko ji-pawana eta
  1:father 1-friend hear:Prs.Prf
  ‘My father heard my friend.’

This fact is interpreted as an indication that n(i)- occupies the same syntactic slot as a preceding object (forming a single constituent with the verb; cf. 10.2.2 for the OV phrase). Such behavior is reminiscent of e.g. French pronominal clitics such as il ‘him/it’, which is obligatory as a subject marker, but cannot co-occur with an overt subject (unless a pause is inserted between the subject and the verb):
(17a) Pierre est parti. 'Peter is gone.'
(b) Il est parti. 'He is gone.'
(c) *Pierre il est parti.
*Peter he is gone.

Gilda 1998:34ff considered morphemes with this kind of behavior to be pronominal clitics. In fact, n(i)- is occupying a higher-level position within the sentence rather than a simple morphological slot within the verb word. However, it has none of the properties that were mentioned in 3.2.1: it does not occupy a specific position within the sentence, it does not have phrasal scope, it takes no morphology, it cannot be separated from the verb word by any clitics, and it is specific to the verb class. It seems simpler to analyze it as a prefix, rather than to introduce new criteria so as to be able to add n(i)- to the set of clitics. Since the other person-marking prefixes already occupy the same syntactic slot as a freer morpheme (clitic or independent word; cf. 10.2.2) within the verb phrase, assuming the same for n(i)- does not entail any extra costs.

3.2.2. Inflection and derivation. Inflectional and derivational categories are notoriously difficult to define rigorously (cf. e.g. Bybee 1985; Thomas Payne 1997). Intuitively, derivational morphology creates 'new words' (e.g. the English verbalizer -ize, as in relativize, from relative), whereas inflectional morphology creates 'different forms of the same word' (e.g. the English plural -s, as in birds, from bird). Thus, inflectional morphology is usually to be found where syntax requires 'a different form' of a certain word (e.g. agreement, as in English the cat run-s, not *the cat run), whilst derivational morphology occurs in 'non-obligatory' contexts (e.g. diminutives, as in Spanish hombre-cito 'little man', from hombre 'man'). The 'obligatoriness' of inflection often
correlates with more productive and regular processes, while derivation tends to be less productive and more irregular. Operations often expressed derivationally include *class change* (nominalization, verbalization, etc.), *valence change* (transitivization, causativization, reflexivization, etc.), and *meaning change* (diminutives, distributives, etc.). Processes usually expressed inflectionally mark *person, number, gender, tense, aspect, mood, etc.*

These intuitive ideas are relatively vague, leaving room for many ambiguous and difficult cases. As Bybee 1985 argues, it is better to view inflection and derivation as part of a *continuum*, with boundaries drawn at convenient points. For the purposes of the present description, the features of *productivity* and *regularity* (which often occur in association, though there are exceptions; cf. e.g. plural markers in Germanic and Nilo-Saharan languages) will be used to characterize the inflection-derivation continuum.

*Productivity* refers to the degree of exhaustiveness with which a morphological process covers its potential domain of application. Thus, the English third-person *-s* is very productive, since it applies to all verb stems (except modal auxiliaries); on the other hand, the English abstract nominalizer *-th* is very unproductive, since it occurs only in a few dozen nominalizations (*depth, breadth, greenth*, etc.). *Regularity* refers to the degree of predictability of the result of a certain morphological process. The third-person *-s*, for instance, can be applied to verb stems with predictable results, both semantically and morphophonologically; the nominalizer *-th*, on the other hand, has morphophonological irregularities (*depth*, not *deeptht; width*, not *wideth*). Irregularity can also be semantic, as in English noun-noun compounds, in which the exact kind of relationship is not
predictable (part-whole as in *rabbit paw*, material as in *stone knife*, ‘environment’ as in *star ship*, purpose as in *garbage can*, etc.).

In general, low productivity and low regularity (i.e., ultimately, a higher degree of *lexicalization*) lead to the derivational end of the continuum; high productivity and high regularity, to the inflectional side. Using these features as relatively measurable symptoms, the following classification of morphologically-expressed categories is proposed for descriptive convenience:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inflectional Categories</th>
<th>Derivational Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>— Person</td>
<td>— Class-changing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Number</td>
<td>— Valence-changing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Tense-aspect-mood</td>
<td>— Meaning-changing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Person, number, and tense-aspect-mood, for all the lexical classes to which they apply, show the highest degree of productivity and regularity (but see the case of certain number markers below); they are the best candidates for inflectional morphology in Tiriýó.

Class-changing morphology has a more intermediate status. There are class-changing affixes that are very productive and very regular (e.g. verbal nominalizers -to(po) ‘Circumstance’ [4.2.2.1.5], nominal adverbializers like t- -ke ‘Having’ [6.2.1.1.1] or i- -nna ‘Privative’ [6.2.1.2.1]); others, however, are quite unproductive (e.g. nominal adverbializers like t- -pore ‘Having a good N’ [6.2.1.1.2], nominal transitive verbalizers
like the beneficitive -ma [5.3.3.1.2]). The verbal nominalizers are the most productive and regular of all; it is an interesting question whether or not it would be better to consider them inflectional (marking e.g. ‘translational inflection’) and the less productive, more irregular class-changers derivational. This is certainly a point at which linguists of different theoretical orientations would disagree. However, for expository purposes, it is simpler to be able to speak of class-changing morphology (nominalizers, verbalizers, adverbializers) as a whole, and to describe them in the same section, regardless of the level of productivity and regularity of specific processes. Thus, in general, when a group of morphological processes is more conveniently described as a single set, but has both productive/regular and unproductive/irregular members, it will be considered derivational.²

Valence-changing morphology in Tiriyó is usually very productive, but its irregularity is already noticeable. For instance, the verbal intransitivizer prefix (cf. 5.3.1.1., 5.2.2) has many different allomorphs (ē-, ēēs-, ēt-, ēi-, e-, et-, es-), some of which cannot be predicted from their environment (the O in the glosses indicates that the verb is transitive):

(18a) ainka ‘to run off with O’ → et-ainka ‘to run (away)’
(b) apēi ‘to catch/seize O’ → ēt-apēi ‘to catch oneself, to hold on’

² A presentational problem with class-changing morphology is whether it should be part of the description of the source class or of the target class (i.e. are affixes that nominalize verbs verbal or nominal morphology?). A ‘mixed’ solution was adopted here, in which the affixes are presented twice (once under the target class and once under the source class), but explained only once (in the target class). Thus, affixes that nominalize verbs will be listed in the summary tables of both the noun and verb sections, but their meanings and uses will be exposed only in the noun section.
Semantic irregularity comes from cases of lexicalization with idiosyncratic meanings (19a), or cases in which some aspect of the resulting meaning is not predictable (the ‘surviving argument’ in 19b-c).

(19a)  iwa  ‘to look for O’  →  ē-iwa  ‘to hunt’
(b)  uru  ‘to talk to O’  →  ēt-uru  ‘to talk’  (agent survives)
(c)  pahka  ‘to break O’  →  e-pahka  ‘to break’  (patient survives)

Considering this kind of lexicalization, it seems more convenient to view the intransitivizing prefix (and meaning-changing morphology in general) as derivational.

Meaning-changing morphology has an even higher level of semantic irregularity. For instance, the nominal augmentative suffix -imē occurs in a number of cases of lexicalization (20a-c), sometimes even twice (20e); in some cases, the original word apparently does not exist anymore (20f). Such facts make it more convenient to see -imē (and other meaning-changing affixes) as derivational.

(20a)  kanawa-imē  ‘airplane’  ←  kanawa  ‘canoe; vehicle’
(b)  onono-imē  ‘tuberculosis’  ←  onono  ‘cold’
(c)  arimina-imē  ‘liana sp.’  ←  arimina  ‘electric eel; cramps’
(d)  pimokoko-imē  ‘helicopter’  ←  pimokoko  ‘dragonfly’
(e)  pireimē-imē  ‘cane sp.’  ←  pireimē  ‘cane sp.’  (cf. pireu ‘arrow cane’)
(f)  katami-imē  ‘liana sp.’  ←  *katami

Of course, these distinctions are not without problems, and, in certain cases, arbitrary decisions were necessary. For instance, the verbal number marker _to(o) is not an affix, but a clitic particle (cf. 9.1.3.3). The nominal number suffixes -to(mo)
'Collective' and -ko(mo) 'Possessor Collective' should, as number markers, be considered inflectional; however, meaning-changing (and thus derivational) affixes like -sepī 'Predilective' can occur both before (21a-b) and after (21c-d) it, which goes against the hierarchical structure in Fig. 3.1 (according to which inflectional suffixes should, as the last layer, never be followed by inflectional ones).

(21a)  ē-majaa-kon-sepī
2-knife:Pos-P.Col-Prdl
‘You all’s favorite knives;
the knives you all like/want.’

(b)  ji-majaa-ton-sepī
2-knife:Pos-Col-Prdl
‘My favorite knives;
the knives I like/want.’

(c)  ē-majaa-sepī-kon
2-knife-Prdl-P.Col
‘You all’s favorite knives;
the knives you all like/want.’

(d)  ji-majaa-sepī-ton
2-knife:Pos-Col-Prdl
‘My favorite knives;
the knives I like/want.’

This interchangeability suggests that -to(mo) and -ko(mo) may belong in the same formal category as -sepī, unlike e.g. verbal number markers like -ti(i), -hki(i), -tē which are more obviously inflectional (-tē, for instance, precedes the inflectional suffix -ne 'past perfective'; cf. 5.4.1.3.3).³ That would imply derivational status for -to(mo) and -ko(mo), given that -sepī, a meaning-changing suffix, is considered derivational. As a consequence, there is a 'formal schism' in the number category, which includes particles (_to(o)), derivational affixes (-to(mo), -ko(mo)) and inflectional affixes (-ti(i), -hki(i),

³ At one point, it seemed possible that -to(mo) and -ko(mo) (especially the latter) would mark a boundary between affixes (which precede them) and clitics (which follow them). In view of examples like (21a-d), however, this idea was abandoned. Notice also that not all speakers agreed with the interchangeability; some speakers preferred one of the orders, others preferred the other one, and others yet accepted both. This agrees with the hypothesis of a transitional status for these morphemes. Comparative evidence further supports this idea: cognates of -ko(mo) in other Cariban languages (e.g. komo in Hixkaryana [Derbyshire 1985:245], kumu in Kaxuyana [Gildea, pers.comm.]) were analyzed as independent particles.
-tē), i.e. the number category is more widely spread out on the inflection-derivation continuum. Situations such as these militate against the use of ‘inflectional’ or ‘derivational’ as polar opposites.

3.2.3. Formatives, Stems, and Roots. Diachrony often makes certain derivational relations more obscure, and can even create new roots from old ones. For instance, Portuguese verbs such as receber ‘receive’, conceber ‘conceive’ or perceber ‘perceive’ (as well as their English glosses, all borrowings from French), were, at an earlier stage of the language, formed with prefixes on a single root (from Latin capio ‘to catch’; thus, e.g. re-cipio, from *re-capio, meant ‘to catch back’, and later ‘to receive’). At present, however, there is no verb *ceber to which the other ones could be derivationally related. Although a historical linguist can still identify a root and several affixes, from the synchronic viewpoint, these verbs are monomorphic roots: receb-, conceb- and perceb-.

Some elements with characteristics similar to Portuguese -ceb- can be found in Tiriýó. For instance, the syllable ku occurs at the end of a series of lexemes for liquids (e.g. etaku ‘saliva’, eramuku ‘sweat’, suku ‘urine’, eeku ‘sap, stream’); it also seems to be present in the word ikutupé ‘lake’ (with -tupé possibly being related to an old nominal past-tense suffix, reconstructed for Proto-Cariban in Gildea 1998:120 as *-tupu). There is, however, no word ku in present-day Tiriýó. Such elements, which are here called formatives, are not really part of the synchronic morphology of the language; rather, they seem to be (as in the Spanish case) fossilized remnants of earlier morphemes.
Formatives are potentially important for historical reconstruction; they are discussed in 12.2.

There are cases of elements, however, for which some degree of synchronic analyzability remains. Thus, in the field of spatial postpositions (cf. 7.3.1), certain elements can be related to certain aspects of the meaning of the postposition of which they are part (e.g. (ka), on directional postpositions like _ta(ka) ‘into (closed space)’ _hka(ka) ‘into (water)’; o or wē on locate postpositions like _tao ‘in (closed space)’, _hkao ‘in (water)’, _juuwē ‘on top of (flat surface)’). There may be several elements for the same meaning feature (e.g. directional postpositions can also have na, na(kū) or hkū, such as _pona ‘into (a generic space)’, rawēna(ka), rawēna(kī) ‘into the middle part of’, or _juhku ‘onto’), and every element is usually limited to a couple of postpositions.

For these elements, the question of whether or not they are affixes does not seem to depend on any substantive issues, but merely on how far the analyst is willing to push the unproductivity and irregularity scales for affixes. In the present work, they will be considered formatives, i.e. diachronically traceable elements that are not part of synchronic postpositional morphology; different analyses, however, probably remain possible.⁴

Finally, there is the case of analyzable stems which have developed idiosyncratic meanings. Sources of such cases are e.g. the ‘Augmentative’ suffix -imē, or the verbal intransitivizer prefix mentioned in the previous section. Here the problem is that the

⁴ Cf. Derbyshire 1985:205ff, in which the postpositions of a related language, Hixkaryana, are analyzed as combinations of postpositional stems and various spacial suffixes; cf. also Tavares (pers. comm.), who analyzes Wayana, another related language, in a similar way. In both cases, the degree of regularity seems to be higher than in Tiriyó.
degree of lexicalization varies from case to case. Cases in which the semantic divergence between the original root and the derived stem are not too pronounced (e.g. the unpredictability of the ‘surviving argument’ with the intransitivizer; cf. 4.3.1.1) will be treated as synchronic derivation. More divergent cases such as ëiwa ‘to hunt’, from iwa ‘to look for O’, will be treated as new roots (cf. 4.3.1.1 for further details, and for a list of the idiosyncratic cases found in the available corpus). In the glossary in the Appendix, intransitivized stems, regardless of degree of divergence, will be listed as entries, with explicit mention of any significant semantic deviations and references to their transitive sources.

3.3. Cross-categorial phenomena. Two recurring semantic categories are important enough in Tiriyó (and in the Cariban languages in general, for which Tiriyó is, in this respect, a typical example) to deserve an independent introduction: person and number. The three major lexical classes—nouns (including pronouns), postpositions, and verbs—are sensitive to these categories.

3.3.1. Argument marking. The three major classes — nouns, postpositions, and verbs — can be thought of as those which are compatible with argument marking. For these three classes, certain morphological processes are used to mark the presence or absence of an argument, and to further identify it if it is present, either by explicitly marking its person category (e.g. a first- or second-person argument), or by relating it to other entities already known to the hearer (e.g. ‘the same as the subject’, ‘different from the subject’, etc.).
Some of these morphological processes are very widespread (e.g. the first-person marker j(i)- occurs on most nouns, most verbs, and most postpositions), whereas others are restricted (e.g. the first-person marker s- only occurs on a specific subclass of verb stems), but the semantic categories which they instantiate have the same degree of generality (e.g. all possessible nouns and conjugatable verbs and postpositions have a first-person form).

Table 3.1 below offers an overview of the distribution of the morphological processes that correspond to each semantic category. The labels used for each category are explained in the following sections, in which a discussion of the more general characteristics of each category, common to all lexical classes which share it, is sketched. Specificities and irregularities are discussed in the chapter dedicated to the lexical class in which they occur.⁵

Table 3.1
An overview of the distribution of argument-marking processes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pron.</th>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Postp.</th>
<th>Supine</th>
<th>Neg.</th>
<th>V e r b s</th>
<th>S O</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>S A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>wi(i)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j(i)-</td>
<td></td>
<td>w(i)-</td>
<td>s-/t-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ℓemē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-/a-/o-</td>
<td></td>
<td>m(i)-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>kīmē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k(i)-</td>
<td></td>
<td>k(ː)/kīt-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+3</td>
<td>anja</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(identical to 3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(...)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i-/Ø-</td>
<td>in-</td>
<td></td>
<td>n(i)-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3R</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t(i)-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R/Rc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-/ēi-/ēt-/ēēs-/es-/et-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁵ For certain verb forms (e.g. the t- se ‘remote past’ discussed in 5.4.3.1.2 and 10.3.3), argument marking is not instantiated in verb morphology, but by other means (e.g. overt marking of the A participant with the postposition _ja)._
3.3.1.1. **Zero-argument** (‘0’). The absence of an argument — the possessor of a noun, the object of a postposition, or one of the arguments (usually the O participant) of a verb — is signaled via ablaut. Ablaut stems have two forms, the *front grade* and the *back grade*, differentiated by their initial vowels (cf. 2.6.1). The front grade indicates that the argument structure of the stem is as expected; the back grade, that an argument is missing. Examples are non-possessed nouns (22a-b), objectless postpositions (22c-d), or ‘generic’ negative or supine verb forms (22e-h).

(22a)  j-apēi
      1-seat:Pos
      ‘My seat.’

(b)  ēpēi
    seat:Back.Grade
    ‘Seat.’ (without a possessor)

(c)  j-ewaaje_n-ai
    1-Apprec_3S_A-Cop
    ‘S/he is happy about me, s/he likes me.’

(d)  ēwaaje_n-ai
    Apprec:Back.Grade_3-S_A
    ‘S/he is a nice/jolly person, s/he likes everyone.’

(g)  in-apēē-sewa_n-ai
    3Neg-catch-Neg_3S_A-Cop
    ‘S/he doesn’t catch it.’

(h)  ēpēē-sewa_n-ai
    catch:Back.Grade-Neg_3S_A-Cop
    ‘S/he does not (know how to) catch.’

(e)  mēe   n-ee-ja-n      j-eta-e
    3AnPx  3S_A-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt  1O-hear-Prp
    ‘S/he is coming to listen to me.’

(f)  mēe   n-ee-ja-n      ēta-e
    3AnPx  3S_A-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt  hear:Back.Grade-Sup
    ‘S/he is coming to hear/listen.’ (= to exercise hearing).

3.3.1.2. **Person.** Semantically, five different persons can be distinguished: a *first person* (‘1’), a *second person* (‘2’), a *third person* (‘3’), a *first person dual inclusive* (‘1+2’, i.e.
'you' and 'I' but nobody else) and a *first person exclusive* ('1+3', i.e. 'others' and 'I' but not 'you'). To each of these corresponds a different pronoun (third person has more than one; cf. 3.1.2). However, only the first four persons are morphosyntactically relevant, the first person exclusive being treated as a third person, as can be seen in (23a-c), concerning nominal possession (cf. 3.1.1), and in (23d-e), concerning person marking on the verb (with n(ī)- '3S₄'):

\[(a) \quad \text{ipakoro} \quad \text{pahko} \quad \text{anja}\]
\[3\text{-house:Pos} \quad 1\text{:father} \quad 1+3 \quad \text{3-house:Pos}
\[\text{his/her house'} \quad \text{'my father's house'} \quad \text{'our (excl.) house'}\]

\[(d) \quad \text{pahko ni-tēn} \quad \text{anja ni-tēn}\]
\[1\text{:father} \quad 3S₄\text{-go:Prs.Prf} \quad 1+3 \quad 3S₄\text{-go:Prs.Prf}
\[\text{My father has gone.'} \quad \text{'We (excl.) have gone.'}\]

Table 3.1 above gave an overview of the distribution of the various person-marking prefixes. Among these, j(ī)- '1', ē/-a/-o- '2' and k(ī)- '1+2', given their similar distribution, form a natural subgroup (which Meira 1998 called 'O-oriented prefixes'). The allomorphic patterns of these prefixes are discussed under Nouns, in 4.3.1.2.

\[3.3.1.3. \textbf{Coreferentiality ('3R')}.\] For the third person, Tiriýó morphology distinguishes from the normal third person ('3') the *third person reflexive* ('3R'), which marks coreferentiality with the subject of the sentence. Similar distinctions exist in other languages: Latin, for instance, distinguishes two third-person possessive adjectives, the
coreferential *suus* and the non-coreferential *eius* (cf. 24a-b). In Tiriyó, the 3R marker occurs on nouns (24a-b) and on postpositions (24c-d).

(24a) i-pakoro-h_ta nī-tēn
3-house-Pos_III 3Sₐ-go:Prs.Prf
'S/he; went into his/her; house.'
(cf. Latin *In domum eius it*)

(24b) tī-pakoro-h_ta nī-tēn
3R-house-Pos_III 3Sₐ-go:Prs.Prf
'S/he; went into his/her; house.'
(cf. Latin *In domum suam it*)

(c) i-rē_mao tī-w-ē-ehpee-se tī-ñkae
3InAn_Tmp Rm.Pst-Sₐ-Detr-look-Rm.Pst 3R-behind
'Then s/he; looked behind him/herself;.'

(d) i-rē_mao tī-w-ē-ehpee-se i-ñkae
3InAn_Tmp Rm.Pst-Sₐ-Intr-look-Rm.Pst 3-behind
'Then s/he; looked behind him/herself;.'

3.3.1.4. Reflexivity and Reciprocity (‘Recp/Detr’). Verbs, postpositions and some nouns can take various prefixes to mark reflexivity and/or reciprocity. In most cases, their distribution is predictable, but there are cases of apparent free variation. In addition, while some of the prefixes can be found on verbs, postpositions and nouns, others are specific to one class. Table 3.2 summarizes the main facts (specific details are given in the chapters dedicated to each lexical class).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Postpositions</th>
<th>Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>/ _e</td>
<td>ē-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēt-</td>
<td>/ _V</td>
<td>ēt-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēs- ~ e-</td>
<td>/ _j</td>
<td>ēis-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēi- ~ e-</td>
<td>/ _C</td>
<td>ēi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irreg.: et-, ēh-, ētū-,...</td>
<td>irreg.: ēē-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2
An overview of the distribution of the various reflexive/reciprocal prefixes.
The semantic coherence of these prefixes (see below), together with their obvious family resemblance, suggests that they are better seen as constituting one morpheme. The irregularities and differences in detail seem to be the result of historical changes. For instance, the forms étēi- and étē-, found on nouns, certainly result from the co-occurrence of two prefixes, ét- + ēi- and ét- + ē-, presumably for emphasis.\(^6\)

The meaning of the reflexive/reciprocal prefix is relatively homogeneous. On verbs, it derives an intransitive from a transitive verb stem, potentially covering the semantic range from ‘true’ reflexive/reciprocal situations to middle ones (25a-d; cf. also Kemmer 1993), with cases of lexicalization. On postpositions, the meaning is more clearly reciprocal (25e-f); cases of lexicalization also occur (25g). Only a few nouns — kinship terms or kinship-like relations (‘brother’, ‘relative’, ‘friend’, etc.) — can take the reciprocal/reflexive prefix, the result being reciprocity (‘brothers to each other’, ‘mutual relatives’, etc.; cf. 25h). When a postposition follows, however, almost any noun can bear the reflexive/reciprocal marker (cf. 25i-j). In both cases, it occupies the same slot as a possessor-marking prefix (cf. the possession suffix -(rī), in its coda grade -h, in 25h).

(25a) s-e-konka  
1SA-Detr-pierce:Prs.Prf  
‘I have pierced myself.’

(b) n-e-tuuka-n_to  
3SA-Detr-hit:Prs.Ipf-Dbt_3Col  
‘They are hitting each other.’

---

\(^6\) The forms with ē, found only on verbs, are more difficult to explain. One possible idea—still speculative—is that they actually correspond to an earlier independent morpheme *et-, which would have merged with ét-. In this respect, it is interesting to notice that Tupi-Guaraní languages, with which Cariban languages may perhaps be related, distinguish two morphemes in this semantic area, je- ‘reflexive’ and jo- ‘reciprocal’, which are reminiscent of ét- and ét- (especially if one thinks that Tiriyiō ét- probably reconstructs to Proto-Carib as *ot- [Gildea, pers. comm.]). Rodrigues 1985:380 (cognate set 10) had already noted this possibility.
The fact that the reflexive/reciprocal prefix occupies the same slot as the person-marking prefixes on nouns and postpositions suggests that it might be one of them. As a synchronic analysis, this hypothesis is clearly unsatisfactory: the limitations on the use of the reflexive/reciprocal prefix on nouns clearly differentiate it from the person markers.

In addition, it can occur on finite and nominalized verb stems in a position where no person markers are found (cf. 25a-d above). As a diachronic hypothesis, however, the idea that the reflexive/reciprocal prefix may have been part of the person-marking prefix set certainly deserves further investigation.
3.3.2. **Number.** The category of number is morphologically distinct from the category of person in Tiriyó. Number is marked by suffixes, whereas person-marking is done with prefixes. The semantics of number opposes ‘all’ to ‘less than all’ (instead of the Indo-European ‘one’ vs. ‘more than one’), with ‘less than all’ being the morphologically unmarked member of the pair. Caribanists have generally used the terms ‘collective’ and ‘non-collective’ for ‘all’ and ‘less than all’, respectively, a rather unfortunate choice, since the word ‘collective’ already has other uses in Linguistics. The term ‘totalitative’ instead of ‘collective’ would probably be a better label; however, since ‘collective’ is already familiar to Caribanists, it will be adopted here.

The collective number indicates a reference to all the members of a certain group (which was mentioned by, or is somehow obviously relevant to, the speaker or the hearer). The non-collective number is used when not all the members of a certain group are meant, or else when there is no obviously relevant group. This means that a non-collective form can be used to refer to more than one entity, as in (26a). In (26b), the collective suffix -to(mo) indicates that all the members of some relevant group of people were eaten.

(26a) \textit{tařēnō irē\_po t-ee -se, tuwe\_me, tīreisi\_me tahken}  
Tiriyō 3AnAna_Loc Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst two_attr three_attr maybe  
‘There were Tiriyō Indians there, two, maybe three.’

(b) \textit{witoto-ton ēnē-ne, ameraarē}  
person-Col eat-Pst.Prf every.one  
‘S/he ate the people, every one of them.’
An interesting feature of Cariban (and thus Tiriýó) collective number markers is that they cannot occur on first-person forms. If it is necessary to build a collective that includes the first person, it must be based on a first person dual inclusive form. Thus, the 1+2 pronoun kímé has a collective form kímé-njamo ‘all of us (including me and you)’; the first-person pronoun wíʔí, on the other hand, does not. This pattern holds true for all collective forms.

A noteworthy fact about collective forms in Tiriýó is that they can be used to refer to single individuals with whom the speaker has an ‘avoidance’ relationship (basically, his/her affines; cf. Rivière 1969:197ff). Thus, the collective pronoun émēnjamo ‘you all’, instead of émē ‘you’ (cf. 4.1.1), is used talking to an affine, as well as the corresponding collective verb forms (e.g. mēnēhtii_pa ‘have you all come?’ as a greeting, instead of mēnēh pa ‘have you come?’; cf. 5.4.1.2) and postpositional forms (e.g. é-pēkēe-ne ‘about you all’ instead of é-pē ‘about you’; cf. 7.1.1).

Table 3.3 maps the distribution of the various collective markers in the major lexical classes. Notice that collective markers tend to be more class-specific than person markers. In the verb system, the different suffixes are conditioned by the tense-aspect-modality (TAM) inflections: -ti(i) occurs with -Ø ‘present perfective’, -ja ‘present imperfective’, and -i ‘hypothetical’ (P.I.H.), -hki(i) with the -ta ‘Future Imperfective’, and -tē with the -ne ‘Past Perfective’, -ne(nu) ‘Warning’, -je(pe) ‘Incredulitive’, and the -kē and -ta ‘Imperative’ (P.W.I.I.). Overlaps imply semantic differences (e.g. -ko(mo) collectivizes the possessor, -to(mo) the possessed, and -kontoko(mo) both; _to(o) collectivizes a third person participant, while -ne, -ti(i), -tē, and -hki(i) collectivize a
non-third-person participant; in 3AO situations, _to(o) collectivizes the O participant; cf. 5.4.1.2).

Table 3.3
An overview of the distribution of collective markers

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ja(mo),</td>
<td>-ja</td>
<td>-ja</td>
<td>-ja</td>
<td>-ja</td>
<td>-ja</td>
<td>-ja</td>
<td>-ja</td>
<td>-ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sa(mo)</td>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>-to(o)</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>-to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-to(mo)</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>-to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ko(mo)</td>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kontoko(mo)</td>
<td>-kontoko</td>
<td>-kontoko</td>
<td>-kontoko</td>
<td>-kontoko</td>
<td>-kontoko</td>
<td>-kontoko</td>
<td>-kontoko</td>
<td>-kontoko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4. **Lexical classes.** On syntactic and morphological grounds, Tiriýó stems can be divided in six lexical classes, to each of which names are given according to the semantic content of the majority of its members: nouns (including pronouns), verbs, adverbs, postpositions, particles, and ideophones (including interjections). Each class has prototypical members, which display all characteristic properties, and less prototypical members, which fail to have some of the expected properties. For instance, derived members of a class are often less prototypical than underived ones in that they participate in fewer morphological processes.

Figure 3.3 gives a preliminary overview of the degree of morphological overlap between the morphology-bearing classes (nouns, verbs, postpositions, and adverbs). The various features describe processes that can be applied to prototypical stems of a given
class. These features are introduced in the following sections, and explained in detail in the chapters about each lexical class.

In addition, there is a group of words from two different lexical classes, nouns and adverbs, which share certain characteristics: the interrogatives. These are words like ati ‘what (inanimate)’, aki ‘who (animate)’, with nominal properties, or eke ‘how’, anpo ‘where’, etc., with adverbial properties. They will be treated as an independent class (described in Chap. 11)

(27a) **maja**  ‘knife’
(b) **ji-maja**  ‘my knife’
(c) **ji-maja-hpē**  ‘my former knife’
(d) **maja-npē**  ‘old, worthless (ex-)knife’
(e) **maja-ton**  ‘all the knives’
(f) **maja-imē**  ‘big knife’
(g) **maja-pisi**  ‘little knife’
(h) **maja-sepī**  ‘very good / favorite knife’
(i) **maja-rīpī**  ‘bad knife’

Syntactically, prototypical nouns can instantiate subjects (A, S) and direct objects (O) of verbs (28a), and objects of postpositions (28b). In possessive constructions, they instantiate the possessor and the possessed (28c). In copular sentences, only nouns can occur in the predicate followed by the attributivizer postposition _me (28d). When a direct object noun precedes a transitive verb with a third-person subject, it fills the same slot as the third-person prefix n-, which means that they cannot co-occur (28e-f). Thus, a noun immediately preceding the prefix n-, like **ji-pawana** ‘my friend’ in 28f, cannot be a direct object.

(28a) 

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
A & V & O \\
ji-pawana & n-ene & wēri \\
1\text{-friend} & 3\text{AO-see:Prs.Prf} & \text{woman} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘My friend has seen a/the woman.’

(b) 

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
A & PP & V \\
ji-pawana & pata_pona & nī-tēn \\
1\text{-friend} & \text{village}\_\text{All} & 3\text{SA-go:Prs.Prf} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘My friend has gone to the village.’

(c) 

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
ji-pawana & i-pī \\
1\text{-friend} & 3\text{-wife} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘My friend’s wife.’
(d) **enpa-ne_me_n-ai** ji-pawana
3:teach-A.act:Nzr_Atr_3S_A-Cop 1-friend
‘My friend is a teacher (of something/someone)’

(e) **A** O** V**
ji-pawana wēri ene
1-friend woman see:Prs.Prf
‘My friend has seen a/the woman.’

(f) **O** A V
wēri ji-pawana n-ene
woman 1-friend 3AO-see:Prs.Prf
‘My friend has seen a/the woman.’

Many of the ‘adjectival’ notions of standard Indo-European languages—property concepts like ‘big’, ‘small’, ‘new’, ‘old’, etc.—are nouns in Tiriyó (others are adverbs; cf. below). This is not typologically unusual (cf. e.g. Dixon 1982, Bhat 1994). (29) shows that the word **mono** ‘big’ is actually a noun, since it takes the attributivizer _me_

(29) **mono_me_n-ai** mēe
big:one_Atr_3S_A-Cop 3:D.Pro
‘This one is big.’

Pronouns are considered to be a subclass of nouns. They are different from prototypical nouns in that they cannot bear possessive morphology, and they do not take the predilective suffix -sepî; they are also generally not used with postpositions, since the latter can bear person-marking prefixes. In other regards, however, they behave as nouns. Due to the verbal person-marking system, overt pronouns are not obligatory.

(30a) **A** V O
(wi) w-ene kaikui (optional S pronoun)
1 1A-see:Prs.Prf jaguar
‘I saw the jaguar.’
3.4.2. **Verbs.** Verbs can be identified morphologically by the set of tense-aspect-modality and person-marking inflectional affixes that they take; most of their derivational morphology is also not found elsewhere (cf. Sec. 5.4.1.3 for details and examples). Syntactically, they have the leading role in most predicate types; thus, most of the cases of single-word sentences are verbs.

(31a) **w-ēepī**

1S_{A}-come:Prs.Prf

'I have come.'

(b) **ē-ene**

(Single verb sentences)

2O-see:Prs.Prf

'S/he has seen you.'
3.4.3. Adverbs. Unlike verbs, nouns and postpositions, non-derived adverbs cannot take any person-marking or collective affixes (derived adverbs are usually similar to non-derived ones in this respect). Their morphology is limited to nominalizing suffixes, usually -(no), but also -to (both of which are also used to nominalize postpositions).

(32a) kure ‘well, good, pretty’ → kura-no ‘good one, pretty one’
(b) pija ‘small, little’ → pija-n ‘small one, little one’
(c) pena ‘long ago’ → pena-to ‘someone from long ago, an ancestor.’

As for syntactic properties, adverbs tend to modify the verb in non-copular sentences (33a); in order to refer to a noun, they must be nominalized (33b). Unlike nouns, adverbs cannot occupy the same slot as the third-person verbal prefix n-, which remains in place when they are placed before the verb (33e-f). Adverbs also cannot be followed by postpositions, or by the attributizer _me (33c-d).

(33a) kure w-ene wēri (Adverb modifying a verb)
well 1A-see:Prs.Prf woman
‘I saw a/the woman well.’

(b) kura-no w-ene wēri (Nominalized adverb modifying a noun)
well-Nzr 1A-see:Prs.Prf woman
‘I saw a/the good/beautiful/healthy woman.’

(c) kure_n-ai mēērē (Copular sentence without _me)
well_3S_A-Cop 3AnMd
‘That one is well.’

(d) * kure_me_n-ai mēērē (_me impossible)
well _Attr_3S_A-Cop 3:D.Pro
(e) kure n-ene  (3rd-person n- co-occurs with pre-verbal adverb)
    well 3AO-see:Prs.Prf  ‘S/he has seen (it) well.’

(f) kura-no ene ji-pawana  (3rd-person n- does not co-occur with pre-
    well-Nzr see:Prs.Prf  i- friend verbal nominalized adverb)
    ‘My friend saw a/the good/beautiful/healthy one.’

As can be seen above, nominalized adverbs frequently have ‘adjectival’ meanings.
In fact, most of the basic adjectives of European languages correspond to adverbs or nouns in Tiriýo (cf. 6, 6.1).

3.4.4. Postpositions. Postpositions can inflect for person (with the same markers used to indicate the possessor on nouns, the object on transitive verbs, and the subject on one subgroup of intransitive verbs; cf. 3.3.1); they also have a reciprocal form (with a prefix also found on verbs and on some nouns; cf. 3.3.1.4). They can be morphologically distinguished from nouns and verbs in that they do not take typical noun or verb affixes other than person markers; moreover, the collective number of the object of a postposition is indicated with the suffix -(no) (instead of -ko(mo), used on nouns, or -ti(i), -tē, -hki(i), used on verbs). Like adverbs, postpositions can take the nominalizing suffixes -(no) and (more rarely) -to.

(34a) k-ěwē  ‘inside of us (=me and you)’  (collective marker -(no))
(b) k-ěwē-nee  ‘inside of us (=all of us)’
(c) k-ěwē-n  ‘something inside of us’  (nominalizer -(no))
(d) ki-waare  ‘known to us (=me and you)’
(e) ki-waare-to  ‘something known to us’  (nominalizer -to)
Syntactically, postpositions must always form a postpositional phrase, either by taking prefixes or an overt nominal object. Postpositional phrases behave like adverbs; therefore, they cannot be subjects or objects of verbs, or of other postpositions, without being nominalized.

(35)  * j-epine_pe
       1-under_Abl
       (from under me)

3.4.5. Interrogatives. The most obvious morphosyntactic property of interrogatives is their occurrence in wh-questions (which could be called a-questions in Tiriyó, since most interrogatives start with a; cf. (36a-b)). In addition, they are the only words than can be affected by the particle _hpe ‘Indefinite’ (36c-d).

(36a)  akiri n-eturu-ja-n?
       wh:An 3SA-talk-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
       ‘Who is talking?’

(b)    aja  kîn-tên?
       wh:Dir  3Pst.Prf-go
       ‘Where did s/he go?’

(c)    akiri_hpe
       wh:An_Indef
       ‘Whoever, I don’t know.’

(d)    aja_hpe
       wh:Dir_Indef
       ‘Wherever, I don’t know.’

Some interrogatives have nominal properties (atî ‘what (Inanimate)’, akiri ‘who (Animate)’, aano ‘which’); these are the interrogative pronouns. Others have adverbial properties (aja ‘where to’, anpo ‘where’, eeke ‘how’, atitoome ‘why’, etc.); these are the interrogative adverbs.
3.4.6. Particles. This class includes all words which take part in no morphological processes, either inflectional or derivational: they do not inflect for person or number, and cannot be nominalized, verbalized, or adverbialed.

Some particles have a more ‘grammatical’ meaning, and usually cannot occur by themselves as a single utterance. Others, however (‘ideophones’, ‘sound-symbolic words’, ‘interjections’), can, and often do, occur by themselves, or together with the verb ka ‘say, do’. They form a rich and varied class, sometimes with very specific meanings (e.g. mèmèi ‘joke’, kapi ‘blink’; cf. 9.2.2).

(37a) wi-tè-e_marè
   1S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty_too
   ‘I am going, too.’

(b) *marè
   (Particles cannot be single-word utterances)

(c) toran n-kan
   Ideo 3S_A-say:Prs.Prf
   ‘S/he arrived.’
   (lit. ‘S/he said ‘toran!’)

(d) toran!
   Ideo
   ‘There s/he is!’
   ‘S/he has come!’

(Ideophones can be single-word utterances)

Certain more obviously onomatopoeic words, sometimes involving sounds not elsewhere attested in Tiriyó, are probably not really words but interjections (e.g. aha ‘yes’, a word which can vary in pronunciation from [aha] to a sequence of voiceless nasals). For ease of exposition, they will be considered as a subgroup of ideophones.
4. NOUNS

The properties that define the nominal class, which were first mentioned and exemplified in 3.4.1, are listed below.

(A) Morphology: nouns can bear

(a) possession morphology;


(B) Syntax: nouns can

(a) occupy the possessor and/or possessed slot in possessive constructions;

(b) be subjects and objects of verbs, and objects of postpositions (including _me);

(c) occupy the O slot in the OV phrase.

As expected, the nominal category includes the more time-stable concepts, such as: natural elements (1a-c), natural phenomena (1c-d), animals and plants (1f-i), implements and manufactures (1j-k), people and personal relations (1l-m). Some of the ‘property concepts’ (using Dixon’s 1982 term) which, in European languages, belong to the class of adjectives, are also members of the nominal category in Tiriyo (1n-o; cf. also adverbs in 5.1).

(1a) tuna ‘water’ (f) pai ‘tapir’ (k) kewe ‘fishhook’
(b) tēpu ‘stone, rock’ (g) aanai ‘corn’ (l) wēri ‘woman’
(c) weewe ‘tree, wood’ (h) kana ‘fish’ (m) pawana ‘friend’
(d) konopo ‘rain’ (i) oro ‘cashew’ (n) mono ‘big (one)’
(e) nunnē ‘moon’ (j) wētapi ‘hammock’ (o) kaina(no) ‘new (one)’
Given the prototypical nature of lexical classes, it is not the case that all nouns satisfy all the properties in (A-B) above. As a matter of fact, only (Bb-c), two of the syntactic properties, can be said to be valid for all nouns (but cf. next section for some restrictions concerning pronouns). Understandably, for semantic and/or cultural reasons, certain combinations of nouns and nominal suffixes were not accepted (e.g. a noun which already had the augmentative suffix -imë could not take the diminutive -pisi(kë); pronouns cannot take the predilective -sepî; etc.), so that (Ab) is not universally valid. The other two properties, (Aa) and (Ba), relate to the same phenomenon, possession, and affect the same set of words, unpossessible nouns (cf. 4.3.1).

4.1. Pronouns. As was said in 3.4.1, pronouns differ from prototypical nouns in that they cannot bear possessive morphology, and in that they cannot take the predilective suffix -sepî (and, for non-third-person pronouns, the acceptability of the augmentative -imë and of the diminutive -pisi(kë) varied from speaker to speaker). Within the pronominal subclass, a distinction can be made between speech act participant (SAP) pronouns and third-person pronouns. SAP pronouns (listed in Table 4.1) can occupy the argument slot of postpositions, and the O slot in OV phrases, just like all other nouns (2a). Third-person pronouns (listed in Table 4.2) are generally not used with postpositions, since the option of using the corresponding person-marking prefix is much more comfortable (2b-c); the few available examples, such as (2b), have a dubious status.¹

¹ The postposition _ke is exceptional: it takes intralocutive pronouns as objects instead of person-marking prefixes (cf. 7.3.4.2).
(2a) mée_pë n-ëturu-ja-n
3AnPx_About 3S])*talk-Pres-Dbt
'S/he is talking about this one.'

(b) ?ëmë_pë n-ëturu-ja-n (c) ë-pë n-ëturu-ja-n
2Pro_About 3S)*talk-Pres-Dbt 2-About 3S)*talk-Pres-Dbt
'S/he is talking about you.' 'S/he is talking about you.'

4.1.1. SAP (Speech Act Participant) Pronouns. There are SAP pronouns corresponding
to every one of the non-third-person distinction mentioned in 3.3.1.2. They are listed in
Table 4.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Non-Collective</th>
<th>Collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>wî(i)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ëmë</td>
<td>ëmënjango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>kûmë</td>
<td>kûmënjango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+3</td>
<td></td>
<td>anja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since person-marking prefixes are usually sufficient to indicate all non-third-
person participants, SAP pronouns (except for anja; cf. below) have an emphatic value
(much like e.g. Spanish and Italian pronouns).

(3a) ëmë ë-pata (b) wî j-ene (c) wî j-akëërë
2 2-village:Pos 1 1O-see:Prs.Prf 1 1-with
'Your village.' 'S/he saw me.' 'With me.'
Formally speaking, the first-person pronoun wi(i) stands out as having a final long vowel that can only be heard if a clitic particle follows ((4); cf. 2.6.2.4 for other such cases), and for not having a derived collective form: kimēnjamo and anja occupy this place. The second and first-person dual pronouns āmē and kimē are morphologically parallel: both have a final syllable mē, and both have collective forms in -njamo (cf. -ja(mo), without the initial n and with a reducing final syllable, for SAP pronouns).

(4a) wiī_re
    1_Exact
    ‘(Really) me.’
(b) wiī_ta
    1_Neg
    ‘Not me.’
(c) wiī_pa
    1_Rpt
    ‘Me again’;
    ‘What about me?’

The first person exclusive (1+3) pronoun anja has an intermediate status between third-person and SAP pronouns. Semantically, it includes a first person, which brings it closer to other third-person pronouns; however, like the third-person pronouns, it is treated as a third person morphosyntactically (cf. (5a-b) for possession and (5c-d) for person marking on the verb). Moreover, it can be freely used with postpositions (5e). In fact, the morphosyntactic third-person behavior of anja frequently makes its use necessary; if it were not used in (5b) and (5d), a speaker’s first interpretation would be ‘his/her village’ or ‘s/he has arrived’. On the other hand, anja is not sensitive to any of the semantic features that affect third-person pronouns; it clearly has no slot in Table 4.2.

For this reason, it was placed with the SAP pronouns in Table 4.1 above.

---

2 Cf. Witä, the name of an inhabitant of Kuwamarasamutu, which forms a minimal pair with wiī_ta.
(5a) mēe i-pata  (b) anja i-pata
3AnPx 3-village:Pos 1+3 3-village:Pos
‘This one’s village.’ ‘Our (excl.) village.’

c) mēe ni-tunta  (d) anja ni-tunta
3AnPx 3Sₐ-arrive:Prs.Prf 1+3 3Sₐ-arrive:Prs.Prf
‘This one has arrived.’ ‘We (excl.) have arrived.’

e) anja_pē n-ēturu-ja-n
1+3_About 3Sₐ-talk-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘S/he is talking about us (excl.).’

4.1.2. Third-Person Pronouns. Third-person pronouns form a small closed subsystem sensitive to features such as animacy, visibility, and proximity. All attested forms are listed in Table 4.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anaphoric Demonstrative</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
<th>Animate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visible Proximal Medial Distal Invisible</td>
<td>Non-Collective</td>
<td>Collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irē</td>
<td>irēto(mo)</td>
<td>nērē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se(nǐ)</td>
<td>sento(mo)</td>
<td>mēe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serē</td>
<td>serēto(mo)</td>
<td>mēērē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mērē</td>
<td>mērēto(mo)</td>
<td>ohkī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ooni</td>
<td>oonito(mo)</td>
<td>mē(kī)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mē(nǐ)</td>
<td>mēnto(mo)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

3 The pronouns in Table 4.2 have certain recurrent similarities that suggest quasi-segmentable submorphemic elements (se, mē, kī, rē, etc.) — cf. 12.2 on formatives.
The first obvious formal distinction separates *animate* from *inanimate* pronouns. Semantically, animate pronouns are used to refer to animate entities, including human beings and animals (and, unexpectedly, *sirikē* ‘star’), whereas inanimate pronouns are used to refer to everything else. Formally, inanimate pronouns form their collective like most nouns, with *-to(mo)*, whereas animate pronouns have special forms, with the suffix *-ja(mo), -sa(mo)* (occasionally found on other nouns; cf. 4.3.2); the anaphoric form *namo* looks related, but is not clearly segmentable. Furthermore, inanimate pronouns are used with the spatial postpositions *_po* ‘locative’, *_pona* ‘directional’, *_pēe* ‘ablative’ to express the equivalent of English deictic adverbs: *irē*_ *po* ‘in the place that has been mentioned’, *sen*_ *po* ‘here’, *mērē*_ *po* ‘there’, *ooni*_ *po* ‘there (far away)’ (*mēn*_ *po* did not occur in the available corpus, but it does not seem impossible); similarly, *irē*_ *pona* ‘to the place that has been mentioned’, *sen*_ *pona* ‘hither’, etc.; *irē*_ *pēe* ‘from the place that has been mentioned’, *sen*_ *pēe* ‘from here’, etc.

The anaphoric pronouns are used to refer to portions of previous discourse, or to participant(s) mentioned in it (6a-b).

(6a) — **tamutupē_wi, tūi-ka-e,** Pērēpērēwa_wi, tūi-ka-e  
     old.man_1    Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst    Pērēpērēwa_1    Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst  
     ‘I am an old man,’ (he) said, ‘I am Pērēpērēwa,’ (he) said.

    — aha, **irē_rē**    w-eta,    tūi-ka-e  
     yes, 3InAna_Exact 1A-hear:Prs.Prf  Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst  
     ‘Yes, that is exactly what I heard (=was told),’ (she) said.

(b) **irē_po-n** wēri, w-apēi-ne, ji-pī_me_n-ai    nērē menjaarē  
     3InAna_Loc-Nzr woman 1A-catch-Pst.Prf 1-wife_Attr_3S_A-Cop 3AnAna now  
     ‘A woman from there, I caught (=married) her, now she is my wife.’
The combination of the animate anaphoric pronoun nērē with the scope particle _rē 'exact' is irregularly realized as nēērē, instead of the expected but non-existent form *nērērē.\(^4\)

The demonstrative pronouns distinguish visible from invisible referents. (7a) was uttered in a conversation in the speaker's house to ask about the identity of someone who was singing in an adjacent room; (7b) was used to ask about the cause of a certain noise (in this case, it was the noise made by the electricity generator of the village of Kuwamarasamutu).\(^5\) In both cases, the visible referent pronouns were not accepted instead of the invisible referent ones. The reduced (zero) grade form mē of mē(ki) could have been used in (7a), but it is not obligatory; on the other hand, the reduced (coda) grade mēn of mē(ni) is the usual form, with mēnī occurring only in emphatic situations, or when it is followed by a C.CV-initial clitic (cf. 2.6.2 on syllable reduction).

\[(7a) \quad \text{akī mēkī?} \quad \text{wh.An 3AnInv} \quad \text{'Who is that?'}
\]
\[(7b) \quad \text{affī mēn?} \quad \text{wh.In 3InInv} \quad \text{'What is that?'}
\]

---

\(^4\) There are cases of nēērē_rē, in which the particle _rē occurs twice. Although relatively rare, this phenomenon occurs with other words as well (cf. 9.1.4 on _rē). However, there were no cases of *nērē_rē; this form (which would be pronounced [nə.rē.rē]) was consistently refused. There is no phonological or phonotactic restriction in Tiriyo that makes nērē_rē impossible (compare e.g. the perfectly acceptable combination of the medial inanimate demonstrative mērē with _rē, mērē_rē, pronounced [mə.rē.rē]). Its non-occurrence apparently results from the idiosyncratic realization of the sequence nērē + _rē as nēērē.

\(^5\) It seems that 'hearability' is an important factor in the use of mē(ki) and mē(ni); situations in which the presence of a referent was noticed by means other than hearing (e.g. smell) produced inconsistent results.
The visible referent pronouns distinguish three degrees of deixis: proximal, medial and distal. The existence of three degrees is reminiscent of deictic systems of some European languages, which are based on person: proximal = close to first person, medial = close to second person, and distal = close to third person, or far away from the speech act situation (cf. e.g. Spanish *este, ese, aquel*). However, the Tiriyó demonstratives apparently depend on distance alone, not on person. (8a) was used by a character in a mythical narrative to show the way to a different village to another character who did not know where it was; obviously, mērē in this sentence cannot have second-person deixis, since the hearer is not yet there. (8b) was used by a speaker who was watching the hearer taking notes in a notebook; se(nti) refers to the hearer’s writings, which were closer to the hearer than to the speaker.

(8a)  mērē_po pai i-pata  
3InMd_Loc tapir 3-village  
‘Tapir’s village is over there.’

(b)  wapo w-εi-ne pēera, panpira ji-wame_marē, sen, i-menuhtē-to  
First 1S_A-Cop-Pst.Prf ignorant book 1-Ignor_also, 3InPx 3-write-Circ.Nzr  
‘First I was ignorant, I also did not know books, (nor) this, writing.’

Thus, mēe refers to an animate being close to the center of the speech event, mērē to a more distant animate being, and ohkĩ to a far-away one. Notice, by the way, that ohkĩ still contrasts with mē(ki) with respect to the visibility of its referent: aki' ohkĩ

---

6 It is occasionally possible to find mēe used in texts as an anaphoric pronoun, apparently in competition with nērē. The semantic difference between them in this context is not clear.
‘who is that?’, but not *akī mēkī*, could be used to ask about someone who is on top of a distant hill.

The inanimate visible referent pronouns *se(nī) / serē, mērē*, and *oonī* are analogous to their animate counterparts. In the proximal area, there is an extra distinction: two pronouns, *se(nī)* and *serē*, correspond to the animate *mēe*. The difference between them seems to be that *serē* has some ‘presentational’ force. It may refer to something that is going to be introduced in the context of the conversation: something that the speaker is going to show to the hearer, or something that he is going to say (9b-c).

(9a)  pīhtē-kē!  serē ē-mahto,  serē ē-erēpa,  tūī-ka-e  nīrīi
    descend-Imper 3InPx 2-fire:Pos 3InPx 2-food:Pos Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst cricket
    “Come down! This is your fire, this is your food,” said Nīrī, the cricket.

(b)  serē_n-ai  panpira i-ponoh-to
    3InPx_3S_A-Cop book 3-tell-Circ.Nzr
    ‘This is to explain about the book:...’

(c)  serē_n-ai  manko i-jomi-hpē
    3InPx_3S_A-Cop 1:mother 3-words-Pst:Pos
    ‘These are my mother’s words:...’ (=‘That’s what she told me to do.’)

Se(nī), on the other hand, refers to a close inanimate object which is not being introduced, but is already present (10a-b). In (10a), the speaker was asking the hearer about a book which had been presented a few minutes before; in (10b), the same speaker was asking about one of the photographs in the book. An utterance like *Araraparu serē* ‘this is Araraparu’ would have been more appropriate if the photograph was being
presented. Also in (10b) above, sen refers to the hearer’s writing, which had been going on for almost half an hour and was thus not being presented.

(10a) aki pëe m-apëi-ne sen?
    wh.An_Abl 2A-get-Pst.Prf 3InPx
    ‘Who did you get this from?’

(b) — Mataware sen?
    Mataware 3InPx
    ‘Is this (the village of) Mataware?’

— Owa, Araraparu sen.
    Neg Araraparu 3InPx
    ‘No, this is (the village of) Ararapu.’

4.2. Derivation. Table 4.3 offers a summary overview of the meaning- and class-changing affixes; their uses and meanings are explored in the following sections. Note that denominalizing affixes (verbalizers, adverbializers) are treated under the target category; only nominalizers will be treated in detail here.
### Table 4.3
A summary overview of Tiriyó nominal derivational morphology.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning-changing</th>
<th>Class-changing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nominalizing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-npē/-hpē</td>
<td>From all verbs:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-imē</td>
<td>-∅ ‘Specific Infinitive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pisi(kē)</td>
<td>-to(po) ‘Circumstantial’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sepi</td>
<td>-nē ‘Generic Infinitive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ripi</td>
<td>t- -se(mi) ‘Actual O/S’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From transitive verbs:
- -ne ‘Actual A’
- n- ‘Actual O’

From intransitive verbs:
- i- -ke(tī) ‘Potential S’

From adverbs/postpositions:
- -(no), -to ‘Entity’

From (derived) adverbs:
- -(mi) ‘Entity’
- i- -mi(nī) ‘Privative’
- i- -pī(nī) ‘Inefficient’
- i- -pōrī(nī) ‘Defective’

To intransitive verbs:
- -ke(pī) ‘Cessative’
- ta ‘Inchoative’
- na, -pa(mi), -ma(mi)

To adverbs:
- t- -ke ‘Having’
- t- -pore ‘Having good’
- t- -je, t- -re
- i- -nna ‘Privative’
- i- -rā ‘Inefficient’
- i- -poora ‘Defective’
- i- -kinjo ‘Undersized’
- i- -tūse ‘Having a lot’

4.2.1. Meaning-changing Morphology.

4.2.1.1. -npē, -hpē ‘Past’. This suffix is used on a given stem to signal that the referent in question can no longer be accurately described by that stem. With non-possessed forms, this usually implies that the referent is a ‘degraded’, ‘no longer usable’, ‘former’, ‘ex-’
member of the category designated by the stem (11a-d). The ‘former’, ‘ex-’ meaning is compatible with pronouns (11e-f). With possessed forms, the ‘old’, ‘no longer usable’ meaning is still possible, but a more frequent interpretation is that of past possession, i.e. something which used to belong or be related to the possessor. In this case, the word still designates a member of the category in question; it is its relation to its possessor that is no longer valid ((11g-i), with ji- ‘first person’). With a proper noun, the usual interpretation is ‘old’, ‘no longer existent’, ‘the one which used to be’ (cf. (11j), which was said of a photograph of an old village, Araraparu, which was abandoned several decades ago).

(11a) maja ‘knife’ → maja-ñpē ‘old, worthless knife’
(b) pata ‘village’ → pata-ñpē ‘abandoned village; ruins’
(c) pîrèu ‘arrow’ → pîrèu-ñpē ‘broken arrow’
(d) wewe ‘wood, stick’ → wewe-ñpē ‘broken, useless stick’
(e) irē ‘that (anaph.)’ → irē-ñpē ‘the thing which was that’
(f) ēmē ‘you (sing.)’ → ēmē-ñpē ‘the one which used to be you; your former self’

(g) ji-maja ‘my knife’ → ji-maja-ñpē ‘my old, broken knife; the knife that used to be mine.’
(h) ji-pata ‘my village’ → ji-pata-ñpē ‘the ruins of my village; the village where I used to live.’
(i) ji-pi(ti) ‘my wife’ → ji-pi(ti)-ñpē ‘my ex-wife; my former wife; my late wife’
(j) Araraparu ‘Araraparu’ → Araraparu-ñpē ‘the (no longer existing) village of Araraparu’

In (12), the speaker means ‘our future descendants’. The use of -ñpē is justified by the fact that the present-day ancestors of these children will certainly be dead in the distant future, so that the ‘child(ren)-of’ relationship designated by munkē will no longer
hold. As in (11i) above, this does not imply that the children themselves are degraded (e.g. dead).

(12) **ki-munkë-npë-kon**
1+2-child(ren)-Pst-P.Col
‘Our future children, our descendants’

The semantics of ‘former’, ‘ex-’ entities can be used with nominalized verbs to form past nominalizations (13a-e).

(13a) **ji-të-topo-npë**
1-go-Circ.Nzr-Pst
‘My former/past going.’

(b) **enpa-ne-npë**
3:teach-A.act.Nzr-Pst
‘Someone’s former teacher.’

(c) **emeta-keti-npë**
change-S.act.Nzr-Pst
‘Something/someone which used to change.’

(d) **ji-w-eh-topo-npë**
1-S_A-Cop-Circ.Nzr-Pst
‘My former way of being.’
(Also: ‘my story, the story of my life’)

(e) **i-konka-hpë**
3-pierce:N-Pst
‘His/her past piercing; the one who was pierced;’
the one who was vaccinated’

(f) **ii-të-hpë**
3-go:N-Pst
‘His/her past going; the one who went.’

The distribution of -**npë** and -**hpë** is discussed in detail in 4.3.1.5. Briefly, -**hpë** occurs on possessed (rî)-class nouns, while -**npë** occurs elsewhere (i.e. on possessed Ø-class nouns, and on all non-possessed nouns). Although there are a few exceptions, these are probably due to the ongoing disappearance of the possessive suffix -(rî).
4.2.1.2. -imē ‘Augmentative’. This suffix derives a noun with a larger, or more impressive, or more threatening and scary referent than that of the original noun (14a-e; note that -imē becomes -mē if the original stem ends in an i-diphthong; cf. 2.6.4). In many cases, imē-nouns have lexicalized to varying degrees (14f-j).

(14a) pakoro ‘house’ → pakoro-imē ‘big house; building; chief’s house’
(b) ékereu ‘disease’ → ékereu-imē ‘dangerous/scary disease’
(c) arive ‘cayman’ → arive-imē ‘big, threatening cayman’
(d) rupei ‘lizard sp.’ → rupei-mē ‘big, threatening lizard sp.’
(e) oota ‘hole’ → oota-imē ‘big, scary hole/cave’

(f) ékēi ‘snake’ → ékēi-mē ‘anaconda’
(g) oroi ‘cashew’ → oroi-mē ‘jambo (a different fruit)’
(h) otono ‘cold; snot’ → otono-imē ‘tuberculosis’
(i) kanawa ‘canoe’ → kanawa-imē ‘airplane’
(j) pimokoko ‘dragonfly’ → pimokoko-imē ‘helicopter’

(k) *iiiso → iiiso-imē ‘monkey sp.’

4.2.1.3. -pisi(kē) ‘Diminutive’. This suffix derives a noun with a smaller, more fragile referent than that of the original noun (15a-d). Affective overtones are possible (15e).

(15a) kaikui ‘dog’ → kaikui-pisi ‘little dog, puppy’
(b) pawana ‘friend’ → pawana-pisi ‘little friend’
(c) tonoro ‘bird’ → tonoro-pisi ‘little bird’
(d) maja ‘knife’ → maja-pisi ‘little knife’
(e) ji-nmuku ‘my son’ → ji-nmuku-pisi ‘my little / dear son’

16a-b exemplifies the coda and full grades of -pisi(kē).

(16a) maja-pisih ke
knife-Dim_Inst
‘With a small knife.’
(b) ēkēi-pisikē ja
snake-Dim_Agt
‘By a tiny snake.’
4.2.1.4. -sepī ‘Predilective’. When it occurs on a possessed noun stem, -sepī indicates that it refers to something which the possessor particularly likes or prefers, something which he sees as good for him (17a-c). A possible context for (17a-b) is negotiation with a salesman. With the attributivizer postposition _me, -sepī reduces, forming -see me (17a); in other contexts, -sepī occurs unreduced.

(17a) ji-majaa-sepī / ji-majaa-see me
1-knife:Pos-Prdl 1-knife:Pos-Prdl_Attr
‘The knife I like/want, the knife which is useful to me; my favorite knife.’

(b) ji-po-sepī
1-clothes:Pos-Prdl
‘The clothes I like/want, which are useful to me; my favorite clothes.’

(c) aano_hkatē oti-sepī
which_Ptc 3:meat.food-Prdl
‘But what could his favorite (meat) food be?’

On non-possessed noun stems, some speakers did not allow the occurrence of -sepī. Others, however, accepted it with a generic meaning (‘which everybody likes or needs, which would be useful for anyone’). The question marks in (18) represents this variation.

(18a) ?maja-sepī
knife-Prdl
‘A knife which everybody likes/wants’

(b) ?pakoro-sepī
house-Prdl
‘A house which anyone would like.’
In spite of its similarity in form and meaning with the desiderative postposition _se (cf. 7.3.3), there does not seem to be any derivational relation between it and the predilective suffix -sepĩ. It would be interesting to investigate if a historical connection is plausible.

4.2.1.5. -ripi ‘Pejorative’. This suffix derives a noun stem with a referent that is a ‘bad’, ‘flawed’, ‘inefficient’ member of the category labeled by the original noun stem.

(19a) maja ‘knife’ → maja-ripi ‘a bad knife (a dull one)’
(b) ji-pawana ‘my friend’ → ji-pawana-ripi ‘a bad friend’

Unlike the past suffix -npẽ (cf. 4.2.1.1), which designates a referent that no longer belongs to the category, -ripi marks a noun that still refers to a member of the category, although it performs poorly. Thus, maja-npẽ is ‘something which used to be a knife’ but now is not a member of this category anymore, while maja-ripi is ‘a bad, dull knife’, and thus still a member, albeit very imperfect, of the category.

When applied to animate nouns, -ripi may imply character flaws, or a propensity for evil:

(20) wïtoto ‘person, human being’ → wïtoto-ripi ‘evil person; bandit’

The suffix -ripi is certainly related to the noun (wi)rïpe ‘evil, sin, crime; bad one’, which has -rïpi as its possessible stem.
(21a) \( \text{wiripē}_\text{me} \)  
\text{evil}\_\text{Attr}  
'Bad, evil, wicked.'  
(b) \( \text{ii-rīpē-kon} \)  
3-sin-P.Col  
'Their sin(s), evil deed(s), bad thing(s)/act(s)'

The reason for distinguishing -rīpē 'Pejorative' from the possessed form of (wī)rīpē (which could conceivably be seen as forming a nominal compound with the preceding noun in (19-20)) is that the suffix -rīpē does not cause any lengthening on the preceding stem, whilst the possessed form of (wī)rīpē is accompanied by lengthening of the final vowel of the person prefix (i.e. (wī)rīpē has a length grade; cf. 2.6.2.1 for stem-initial syllable reduction). Their connection must be of a diachronic nature.7

4.2.2. Nominalization. Noun stems can be derived from all morphology-receptive classes (verbs, adverbs, postpositions). Some derived nouns (e.g. the 'entity' nominalizations for adverbs) do not have some of these morphological properties (e.g. the capacity of bearing person-marking morphology), i.e. they are less prototypical; the syntactic properties, however, are always present.

The various nominalizing affixes listed in Table 4.3 above are described below. Different subsections refer to different source categories (verbs, postpositions, adverbs).

4.2.2.1. Verb Nominalization. Tiriyó verb nominalizations are very sensitive to event structure. Given a certain verb stem, different affixes are used to derive nouns for the

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7 The exact historical development is not clear (i.e. whether -rīpē 'comes from' (wī)rīpē, or (wī)rīpē 'from' -rīpē, or both from some third source). Similar connections may exist for other meaning-changing suffixes (e.g. the augmentative suffix -imē and the noun mono 'big one', which looks like an old -no nominalized form).
event itself and for nuclear and peripheral participants; furthermore, for every ‘targeted’ element, there usually is more than one nominalization, the difference between them being their degree of specificity or ‘actuality’. For instance, there are, for transitive verbs, two A-nominalizations (cf. 10.1.3 for the labels A, O and S, inspired by Dixon 1979, ): one, glossed as ‘A.act’, describes an actual A participant in a real situation with a well-defined, actual O participant (‘hunter of something’, ‘teacher of someone’), while the other, glossed as ‘A.pot’, describes a potential A participant in a less well-defined situation, with a generic O participant (‘someone who hunts, who can hunt, who is good at hunting’, ‘someone who teaches, who can teach, who is good at teaching’).

Table 4.4 lists the various verbal nominalizers according to their transitivity restrictions. Table 4.5 lists them according to their participant- or event-orientedness. The -to(-no) nominalizer, which can still be synchronically analyzed as the nominalized form of -tē ‘potential A adverbializer’ (cf. 6.2.2.1, 4.2.2.1), is included in order to fill a gap in the semantic field in question. All affixes listed here are totally productive within their domain of definition (all verb stems, all transitive verb stems, or all intransitive verb stems).

Table 4.4
Nominalizers classified according to the transitivity of the stems on which they occur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive and Intransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>i- -ke(tī)</td>
<td>-∅ ‘Specific Infinitive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-to(-no)</td>
<td>‘Potential A’</td>
<td>-nē ‘Generic Infinitive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-</td>
<td>‘Actual O’</td>
<td>-to(po) ‘Circumstance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t- -se(mī) ‘Potential Absolutive (S/O)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.5
Nominalizers classified according to their event- or participant-orientedness.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>Event / Circumstance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Front Grade</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>-∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back Grade</td>
<td>-to-(no)</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>-to(po)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(‘-Poss’, ‘Generic’, ‘Potential’)</td>
<td>‘A.pot’</td>
<td>-se(mī)</td>
<td>-se(mī)</td>
<td>‘Circumstance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-nē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘Generic Infinitive’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Back-grade affixes take the back grade of the verb stem (the e-initial allomorph of e- and aCē-stems, etc.; cf. 2.6.1 for Tiriyó ablaut). As is typical of back-grade forms, the resulting nominalizations are non-possessible and semantically less specific, with one or more participant(s) being ‘less sharp’, ‘generic’, ‘out of focus’. Front-grade affixes, on the other hand, take the front grade (the e-initial allomorph of e-initial stems, etc.) of the verb stem. The resulting nominalizations are possessible (except for i- -ke(tī)) and semantically more specific.

Some general morphological observations are in order, for which examples will be given in the following sections:

— detransitivized (‘S_A’) verbs take an additional class-marking prefix w- (cf. 5.2.2) when nominalized with -∅ (32c), -to(po) (39f-h), or -nē (34f-i, n), but not with i- -ke(tī) (28d-g);
In the prefixless (i.e. non-possessed) form of -∅ and -to(po) nominalizations, and in the -nē ‘Generic Infinitive’ form, t- adding verbs (cf. 5.1.3) occur with the extra initial t(i)- (39d-e), and stem-initial reducing verbs occur in their full grade (34e);

the possessible nominalizations are not all in the same possession class: n- and ∅ nominalizations belong to the -(rī) class (26a-b), whereas -to(po) and -ne nominalizations are members of the -∅ class (40a-b, 24a; cf. 4.3.1.5.1).

4.2.2.1.1. A nominalizers: -ne ‘Actual A’, -to(-no) ‘Potential A’. Only transitive verb stems can take A nominalizers. The suffix -ne derives a noun denoting an actual A participant with a corresponding specific, well-defined O participant, usually occurring as the possessor (22a-b). The resulting noun is possessible and belongs to the -∅ class (cf. (23), where the absence of the coda grade -h of -(rī) after -ne identifies a -∅ class stem; cf. 4.3.1.2).

(22a) enpa ‘teach O (=student)’ → enpa-ne ‘someone’s teacher’
(b) eta ‘hear O’ → eta-ne ‘hearer of something’
(c) arimika ‘raise, bring up O’ → arimika-ne ‘someone’s tutor’
(d) apē(i) ‘catch O’ → apēi-ne ‘catcher of something’
(e) entahka ‘deceive O’ → entahka-ne ‘deceiver of someone’
(f) [t]wē ‘shoot O’ → i-wē-ne ‘shooter of something’
(g) pono(pî) ‘tell O’ → i-ponoo-ne ‘teller of something’
(h) (mi)taka ‘translate O’ → i-ntaka-ne ‘translator of something’
(i) (pi)tarēnma ‘warn/worry O’ → i-htarēnma-ne ‘causer of worries’

8 The S₄ stem ka ‘say’ is the only known exception. Several bird names are formed by an onomatopoeic bird call and the word kane ‘sayer’. One possible word for ‘lightning’ is manan-kane, i.e. ‘manan-sayer’. In these words, ka is apparently occurring with the Actual A nominalizer -ne. No examples of ka with -to(-no) have been found.

9 It is not known whether these forms can occur without possessors, e.g. ?ēnpa-ne ‘teacher (in general)’. If this happens to be possible, this form would come closer in meaning to ēnpa-ton ‘someone who teaches’, but one may still expect to find some semantic difference relating e.g. to the possibility of there being implied specific students whose identity is irrelevant or non-topical.
The suffix -to(-no) is actually the nominalized version of the potential A adverbializer -të (hence its occurrence with the back grade of the stem; cf. 6.2.2.1, 4.2.2.1). It contrasts semantically with the actual A nominalizer -ne in that it is non-possessible and has a potential, non-realized meaning, with a generic O (‘someone who is capable of, good at V-ing’).

(24a) pai eeka-ne-npê
tapir 3:bite-A.act-Pst
‘One who had bitten a/the tapir.’

(b) ēeka-to-n
bite-A.Pot-Nzr
‘Someone, some animal capable of biting, good at biting.’

(c) enpa-ne
3:teach-A.act
‘Someone’s teacher.’

(d) ēnpa-to-n
teach-A.Pot-Nzr
‘Someone capable of teaching, someone who teaches well.’

The word ēekato(no) was used by a speaker, in one occasion, to refer to a wild dog, as a warning to a child who was coming too close to him. Another speaker used the same word to describe a certain species of insect, well-known for its painful sting. The word eekane, on the other hand, was used in a story to describe a dog who had killed a tapir with one bite (he was described with (24a), translatable as ‘the one who had bitten the tapir’). Likewise, enpane is the word for a professional teacher, someone who actually teaches people, while ēnpato(no) is used for someone who teaches well, who has experience, who has a lot to teach, but has no specific, well-defined apprentices.
4.2.2.1.2. O nominalizers: n- ‘Actual O’, t- -se(mī) ‘Potential O’. These affixes also occur on transitive verbs (n- —but not t- -se(mī)—being exclusive to transitives). The prefix n- has no epenthetic vowel,\(^\text{10}\) which implies that it assimilates in point of articulation to the following stop (i.e. the clusters in (25ac, d, i, e, f, g) are pronounced with [mp], [nt], [ŋk], [ŋn], [nn], [mm]). It is used to derive a noun denoting an actual O participant with a corresponding specific, well-defined A participant. The resulting noun, which belongs to the -(rī) class (cf. the occurrence of the coda and length grades of -(rī) in (26), and of the -(rī) class past suffix -hpē in (25c-h)), is obligatorily possessed by the A participant.

\[(25a)\]
\[\text{eta} \quad \text{‘hear O’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{i-n-eta} \quad \text{‘something s/he hears’}\]
\[(b)\]
\[\text{ene} \quad \text{‘see O’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{i-n-ene} \quad \text{‘something s/he sees’}\]
\[(c)\]
\[\text{pono(pī)} \quad \text{‘tell O’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{i-n-ponopī-hpē} \quad \text{‘something s/he told’}\]
\[(d)\]
\[\text{tuuka} \quad \text{‘hit O’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{i-n-tuuka-hpē} \quad \text{‘something s/he hit’}\]
\[(e)\]
\[\text{jahka} \quad \text{‘burn O’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{i-n-jahka-hpē} \quad \text{‘something s/he burned’}\]
\[(f)\]
\[\text{nonta} \quad \text{‘abandon O’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{i-n-nonta-hpē} \quad \text{‘something s/he abandoned’}\]
\[(g)\]
\[\text{menuhtē} \quad \text{‘write O’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{i-n-menuhtē-hpē} \quad \text{‘something s/he wrote’}\]
\[(h)\]
\[\text{[t]rī} \quad \text{‘make O’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{i-n-rī-hpē} \quad \text{‘something s/he made’}\]
\[(i)\]
\[\text{[t]ka(pī)} \quad \text{‘weave O’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{i-n-kapi-hpē} \quad \text{‘something s/he wove’}\]

\[(26a)\]
\[\text{ji-n-kapi-h-ton} \quad \text{1-O.act.Nzr-weave-Pos-Col} \quad \text{‘The things I weave.’}\]
\[\text{ji-n-eaa-kon} \quad \text{3-O.act.Nzr-hear-Pos-P.Col} \quad \text{‘The thing(s) they hear.’}\]

\(^{10}\) With the monosyllabic t-adding stem [t]rī ‘do, make O’, the vowel ĩ occurs (cf. 25g). This is not the case for all t-adding verbs (cf. [t]ka(pī) in (25h), (26a)) This vowel presumably occurs with the other monosyllabic t-adding stems ([t]pī ‘bathe O’, [t]kī ‘grate O’); unfortunately, however, the relevant forms are not attested in the available corpus.
The t- -se(mî) nominalizer is historically related to the verbal remote past form in t- -se (cf. 5.4.3.1.2). Gildea 1998:24ff (also 140ff, 218ff, 233ff) shows that t- -se and t- -se(mî) are modern reflexes of an old Proto-Cariban participial form and its nominalization (cf. 4.2.2.2 for the still extant adverb nominalizer -(mî)); in fact, the allomorph pattern of the prefix t- and of the suffix -se(mî) are precisely the same as those for the two parts of t- -se (27). However, the synchronic semantic differences between them are so striking (t- -se is an eventive verb tense, a ‘remote’ or ‘narrative past’, while t- -se(mî) has remained closer to the etymological meaning of a participial) that it does not seem appropriate to treat them as derivationally related anymore.

(27) | verb stem | Remote Past | Potential O |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) eta</td>
<td>'hear O'</td>
<td>t-êta-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) ënë</td>
<td>'eat O (meat)'</td>
<td>t-ênë-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) apë(i)</td>
<td>'catch O'</td>
<td>t-ëpë-se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) apuru</td>
<td>'close O'</td>
<td>t-apuru-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) tuuka</td>
<td>'hit O'</td>
<td>tï-tuuka-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) pono(pî)</td>
<td>'tell O'</td>
<td>tï-ponoo-se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) ona(mî)</td>
<td>'hide/bury O'</td>
<td>t-onan-je</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Semantically, n- and t- -se(mî) contrast in actuality, i.e. the degree to which the resulting O participant is seen as ‘being affected’ (in a certain specific event, with a well-determined A participant) or as ‘being affectable’ (in any event, with a generic, non-specified A participant). A n- nominalization describes an actual O participant, which was, is, or will be affected by an actual specific A participant (which occurs as the obligatory possessor of the nominalized form). A t- -se(mî) nominalization of a transitive
verb stem is non-possessible and has a potential, non-realized meaning, with a generic A participant (‘something which can be or is fit for being V-ed, by any plausible A participant’), as (27) illustrate. This difference parallels the distinction between -ne and -to-(no) discussed in the previous section (cf. also 4.4.2.1.4 below for a comparison with Ø-nominalizations with O-oriented semantics).

\[(27a)\] ji-n-ênê  
\[\text{I-O.act-eat.meat}\]  
‘Thing which I eat; thing for me to eat.’

\[(27b)\] t-ênê-e-n  
\[\text{PrtcP-eat.meat-PrtcP-Nzr}\]  
‘Meat food; meat which is good to eat, fit to be eaten’

**4.2.2.1.3. S nominalizers: i- -ke(tī) ‘Actual S’, t- -se(mī) ‘Potential S’**. Only intransitive verb stems (both S\(_A\) and S\(_O\), S\(_A\) ones without the class-marking prefix w-) can take the nominalizer i- -ke(tī), which derives a non-possessible noun referring to the S participant of the original verb stem.\(^{11}\) The i- prefix has the same allomorphs as the i- ‘3’ (cf. 4.3.1.2) or the prefix on i-adverbs (cf. 6.2.1.2): i- on C-initial stems, Ø- on vowel-initial stems. Note that the i- -ke(tī) form of the verb stem ēē(pī) has an irregular t- prefix (also found in the Negative form; cf. 5.4.3.1.3), possibly related to—but not identical with—the unexpected prefix on t-adding verb stems (cf. 5.1.3).

\[(28a)\] emeta ‘change’ (S\(_O\))  \(\rightarrow\) emeta-ke ‘one who changes (a shaman)’

\[(b)\] urakana ‘stroll’ (S\(_O\))  \(\rightarrow\) urakana-ke ‘one who strolls, wanders around’

\[(c)\] kēhtu(mu) ‘scream’ (S\(_O\))  \(\rightarrow\) i-kēhtun-ke ‘one who screams’

\[(d)\] tē ‘go’ (S\(_A\))  \(\rightarrow\) tē-ke ‘one who goes’

\[(e)\] ēturu ‘talk’ (S\(_A\))  \(\rightarrow\) ēturu-ke ‘one who talks’

\[(f)\] ēē(pī) ‘come’ (S\(_A\))  \(\rightarrow\) tēeh-ke ‘one who comes’

\[(g)\] ēinenma ‘get drunk’ (S\(_A\))  \(\rightarrow\) ēinenma-ke ‘one who gets drunk’

\(^{11}\) This nominalizer is not mentioned in Gildea 1998.
The full grade -ketí can be observed with a following CCV-initial suffix:

(29) eësapëkëma-ketí-npè
be.in.need-S-Pst
'Someone who used to be in need.'

For intransitive verbs, the t- -se(mí) nominalizer is an alternative way of creating a noun that refers to the S participant (i.e. it is, in fact, an absolutive nominalizer; cf. 4.2.2.1.2-3). Semantically, t- -se-(mí) and i- -ke(tí) are very close; many speakers considered them synonymous. Two speakers, however, mentioned a difference between (30a) and (30b) below.

(30a) akí mëe, Makapa_pona të-ke
wh.An 3AnPx Macapá_Dir go-S.act
‘Who is this guy who goes to Macapá?’

(b) akí mëe, Makapa_pona tû-të-e-n
wh.An 3AnPx Macapá_Dir Prtcp:Sgo-Prtcp-Nzr
‘Who is this guy who goes to Macapá?’

One speaker remarked that, if (30a) and (30b) were used to refer to a salesperson who is going to Macapá to buy merchandise and sell it in the Tiriýó village, then (30a) would be compatible with a situation in which the salesperson already goes regularly to Macapá, while (30b) would suggest that s/he is now going to begin this routine. The other speaker agreed that (30a) is about a salesperson who regularly goes to Macapá, while in (30b) s/he ‘is going to go’ to Macapá. The latter speaker offered two further examples:
Thus, it seems that i- -ke(ți) describes the S participant of an actual event, while t- -se-(mĩ) refers to the S participant of a future, not-yet-started (and thus still potential) event. In this sense, the difference between i- -ke(ți) ‘Actual S’ and t- -se-(mĩ) ‘Potential S’\textsuperscript{12} parallels the one between -ne ‘Actual A’ and -to-(no) ‘Potential A’.

4.2.2.1.4. Event nominalizers (‘infinitives’): ∅ ‘Specific’, -nē ‘Generic’. The forms considered in this section, event nominalizations, cover an area in semantic space that is usually the realm of ‘infinitives’. In fact, Gildea 1998:134ff used the word ‘infinitive’ for cognates of the -nē form. Considering the parallelism between possessible and non-possessible nominalizations in Table 4.5, it would seem more appropriate, all other things being equal, to give all of them, including the ∅ and -nē forms, labels that reflect this parallelism. Thus, calling only the -nē form an infinitive, which Gildea justifies by comparing its ‘non-specific participant’ semantics with that of the Spanish infinitive, would hide the similar behavior found with other nominalizations: all of them have

\textsuperscript{12} Note that ‘potentiality’, ‘not-yet-ness’ is a feature of t- -se(mĩ) both as an S-nominalizer and as an O-nominalizer, i.e. t- -se(mĩ) can be described as a ‘potential absolutive nominalizer’. Compare the examples in (27) with (30b) and (31b).
‘specific’ and ‘non-specific’ forms. The label ‘infinitive’ is thus used here to qualify both \( \emptyset \) and \(-n\emptyset \) forms. Furthermore, there does not seem to be any strong reason not to consider the \( \emptyset \) and \(-n\emptyset \) forms as nominalizations. There do not seem to be any reasons for considering them less ‘nominalizing’ than their A-, O- and S-oriented counterparts in Table 4.5; again, the non-possessibility of \(-n\emptyset \) seems to run parallel to that of \( t\)- \(-se(mi)\) and \(-to(-no)\), and thus does not really set it apart from them. In fact, even among non-derived nouns there are some which are never possessed (cf. 4.3.1.1), so that no new niches need to be created for nominalizations. The situation in Spanish seems to be rather different, since there are morphosyntactic properties which distinguish infinitives from nouns (e.g. the accusative pronominal clitic \( la \), from Gildea’s Spanish example \( conocer\ emptyset \ es \ emptyset \ emptyset \ emptyset \emptyset \ emptyset \ emptyset \emptyset \emptyset \ emptyset \) ‘to know her is to love her’, cannot be used on simple nouns). Therefore, ‘infinitive’ and ‘event nominalization’ would seem to be equivalent terms for Tiriyo, the former having the advantage of being shorter.\(^{13}\)

All verb stems, transitve or intransitive, can be used as \(-(T)\) class nouns, without any overt nominalization marker. Strictly speaking, it is pointless to ask whether or not there is a ‘non-realized’, ‘abstract’ nominalizer; the observed facts are the same, to wit, that verb stems can occur with nominal possessive morphology. In order to indentify these cases, a “:\( :N\)” will be added to the gloss (e.g. \( see:N\)). For ease of exposition, the term

\(^{13}\) Of course, one could also take the position that all the forms in Table 4.5 are not nominal. They could all be seen as ‘participials’, ‘gerundials’, ‘infinitives’, etc. It is not clear, however, that there would be any advantage in doing that.
\(\emptyset\) nominalization and derived expressions are used to refer to the nominal use of verb stems.\(^{14}\)

\(\emptyset\)-nominalized verbs are usually possessed by the O participant, if they are transitive (32a-b), and by the S participant, if they are intransitive (32c-d); the transitive agent can be expressed in a postpositional (_ja-)phrase if necessary (32e-f). Cases of non-possessed \(\emptyset\) nominalizations occurred with the attributivizer postposition _me: in (32g), the length grade ponoo of pono(pî) ‘tell O’ implies the absence of the possession suffix -(rî), which would have forced the full grade to occur (cf. 33b with _ke below, in which the final syllable of the verb stem does not reduce, presumably—since it is a possessed form—due to the (non-realized) suffix -(rî)).

(32a) i-ponopî_se_w-a-e

<3-tell:N:Pos_Desid_1S_A-Cop-Cty>

‘I want to tell (it).’

(b) ē-ene_se_w-a-e

<2-see:N:Pos_Desid_1S_A-Cop-Cty>

‘I want to see you’

(c) ē-w-epî_se_w-a-e

<2-S_A-bathe:N:Pos_Desid_1S_A-Cop-Cty>

‘I want you to bathe.’

(d) ē-kēhtumu_se_w-a-e

<2-shout:N:Pos_Desid_1S_A-Cop-Cty>

‘I want you to shout.’

(e) mēe  eta_se_w-a-e  ēē-ja

<3AnPx 3-hear:N:Pos_Desid_1S_A-Cop 2-by>

‘I want you to hear him/her.’

\(^{14}\) Certain analyses of cognate forms in other Cariban languages consider the cognates of the possessive marker -(rî) as nominalizers when they occur on verbs (cf. Gildea 1998:119ff). The reasons why this is not done here for Tiri'yô are:

(a) -(rî) is a marker of possession on nouns; analyzing it as a marker of possession on \(\emptyset\)-nominalized verbs keeps its function consistent;

(b) the nominal past marker -hpê occurs on \(\emptyset\)-nominalized verbs to mark past possession; rather than analyze -hpê as yet another nominalizer (which is Gildea’s viewpoint), it seems simpler to view its occurrence as as consequence of the fact that \(\emptyset\)-nominalized verb stems belong to the -(rî) class;

(c) \(\emptyset\)-nominalizations have a non-possessed form, obviously without -(rî), but still clearly nominal (cf. (32g-h), in which pono(pî) ‘tell O’ and ene ‘see O’ are followed by the attributivizer _me).
The meaning of the possessed forms in (32a-f) is that of a specific event, with well-defined and usually identifiable participants. Although cases like (32g-h) suggest that this ‘specificity’ of Ø nominalizations is a consequence of their possessed status (the non-possessed forms in (32g-h) have a ‘generic’ A participant, like t- -se(mè) nominalizations [cf. 4.2.2.1.2]), it is still true that Ø nominalizations can be, and most often are, possessed, which is never the case for -nè nominalizations (hence the difference between a specific(-participant) infinitive and a ‘generic(-participant) infinitive’). The most frequent uses of Ø nominalizations in the available corpus involve the desiderative postposition _se, as in (32a-e). Occurrences with other postpositions are also attested: _ke ‘Instrumental’, marking causality (33a-b), and _htao ‘Locative’, marking simultaneity or condition (‘when, while’ or ‘if’: (33c-d)). Cases such as (32f) above, without any postposition, were very infrequent.\(^\text{15}\)

\[^\text{15}\] The higher frequency of Ø-nominalizations in constructions with _se, _ke and _htao suggests that they may eventually grammaticalize as desiderative, causal and temporal verb forms (cf. 10.4). In the case of the third-person form of the Ø-nominalized copula with the instrumental postposition _ke, a new word iweike ‘because’ has resulted, which can now be used to introduce finite causal clauses (cf. 10.4.1.1.2).
(b) saasaame pahko  t-ee-se  ti-w-ē-ewetē_ke
happy 1:Pst-Cop-N.Pst 3R-S-Detr-feed:N:Pos_Instr
‘Father was happy because he was eating.’ (lit. ‘with his own eating’).

(c) ē-etahta-ri₇_htao
2-drool:N-Pos_Loc
‘If/when you drool...’ (Lit. ‘in your producing spittle...’)

(d) Suurinam_po ji-w-ei-ri₇_htao
Surinam_Loc 1-S-Cop:N-Pos_Loc
‘When I was in Surinam...’

The né-nominalized ‘Generic Infinitive’ form exists for both transitive (34j-l) and intransitive (34a-i) forms. It takes the back grade of the stem, thus indicating the absence (or ‘genericity’) of participants. Sₐ verbs occur with their class-marking prefix w- (34f-i), and stem-initial reducing verbs occur in their full grade (34d). Notice that the irregular Sₐ stems oeka / weka ‘defecate’ occurs with the initial consonant k-, but ihtē ‘descend’ has a wĩ- instead of a p- (34n-o). The resulting noun describes a ‘generic event’ in which participants are unimportant, unspecified.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(34a)</th>
<th>eremina</th>
<th>‘sing’ (S₀)</th>
<th>→</th>
<th>ēremina-nē</th>
<th>‘singing’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>eramuhta</td>
<td>‘sweat’ (S₀)</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>ēramuhta-nē</td>
<td>‘sweating’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>anota</td>
<td>‘fall’ (S₀)</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>onota-nē</td>
<td>‘falling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>tunta</td>
<td>‘arrive’ (S₀)</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>tunta-nē</td>
<td>‘arriving’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>(wĩ)rihta</td>
<td>‘sweat’ (S₀)</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>wĩrihta-nē</td>
<td>‘sweating’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>ēēnii(ki)</td>
<td>‘sleep’ (Sₐ)</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>w-ēēnii-nē</td>
<td>‘sleeping’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g)</td>
<td>ēturu</td>
<td>‘talk’ (Sₐ)</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>w-ēturu-nē</td>
<td>‘talking’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h)</td>
<td>etuuka</td>
<td>‘beat self’ (Sₐ)</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>w-etuuka-nē</td>
<td>‘beating; fight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>ētahkē(tē)</td>
<td>‘cut self’ (Sₐ)</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>w-ētahkē-nē</td>
<td>‘self-cutting (by accident)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(j)</td>
<td>eta</td>
<td>‘hear O’</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>ēta-nē</td>
<td>‘hearing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k)</td>
<td>pono(pī)</td>
<td>‘tell O’</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>pono-nē</td>
<td>‘telling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(l)</td>
<td>erahtē</td>
<td>‘find O’</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>ērahtē-nē</td>
<td>‘finding’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(m)</td>
<td>arē</td>
<td>‘take O’</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>ērē-nē</td>
<td>‘taking’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(n) ihtē 'descend' (S\textsubscript{A}) \rightarrow w-ihtē-nē 'descending'
(o) oeka/weka 'defecate' (S\textsubscript{A}) \rightarrow koeka-nē 'defecating'

In certain Cariban languages, cognates of -nē are so frequent in certain contexts that they seem to have grammaticalized as new verb tenses (cf. Gildea 1998:23, 134ff, 197ff). In Tiriwó, however, -nē is very infrequent. It occurred only a couple of times in the entire text corpus; most of the examples used here were obtained in elicitation (cf. (35), which illustrates a construction that, as Gildea has shown, served as the source for a progressive in other languages). Occasionally speakers referred to -nē nominalizations as 'more elegant speech' typical of older people. It may be the case that -nē is dropping out of usage in modern Tiriwó, being replaced by non-possessed -to(p) nominalizations (cf. next section).

(35a) ērē-nē_pēē_w-a-e
    take-G.Inf_Busy.with\_1S\textsubscript{A}-Cop-Cty
    'I am taking (things).'</n
(b) ēmamina-nē_pēē_w-a-e
    play-G.Inf_Busy.with\_1S\textsubscript{A}-Cop-Cty
    'I am playing.'

The meaning of -nē is that of a generic nominalization that stresses the process itself, with very little attention or importance given to the participants or to any of the circumstances. With intransitive verbs, this semantic operation is simpler, since the events that they describe only have one participant. Thus, (36a-b) describe situations in which the speaker has heard nearby singing (or beating) without knowing anything about who is performing the action or why (36b).
(36a)  ēremina-nē  w-eta-ne
      ©G.Inf  1A-hear-Pst.Prf
      ‘I heard singing.’
(b)  w-e-tuuka-nē  w-eta-ne      (c)  w-ēt-ahkēē-nē  epi
  $A_{Detr}$-beat-G.Inf  1A-hear-D.Pst
  S_A-Detr-cut-G.Inf  3:medicine:Pos
  ‘I heard beating.’
  ‘Medicine for wounds that result
  from cutting.’

The Ø-oriented flavor of the non-possessed forms in (32g-h), however, suggests
that Ø-nominalizations can also refer to participants. In fact, a Ø-nominalization with the
past suffix -hpē can be used to refer to the S (37a-b) or Ø (37c) participant. This
absolutive (S/O-oriented) semantics apparently does not occur without -hpē: the Ø-
ominalizations in (32a-f) cannot participants.

(37a)  i-w-ēpē-hpē-ton      (b)  i-tatē-hpē
  3-S_A-come:N:Pos-Pst-Col
  ‘The visitors (lit. those who came).’
  3-get.lost:N:Pos-Pst
  ‘S/he who got lost.’
(c)  i-tuuka-hpē-ton
  3-beat:N:Pos-Pst-Col
  ‘Those who were beaten.’

A comparison between a Ø-nominalization and the other Ø-oriented forms
discussed in 4.2.2.1.2 above reveals interesting semantic differences.

(38a)  an-po_n-ai  kaikui, pahko  i-n-tuuka-hpē
  ‘Where is the dog which my father beat?’
(b)  an-po_n-ai  kaikui,  i-tuuka-hpē  *(pahko_ja)
  wh-Loc_3SA_Cop  dog  3-beat:N:Pos-Pst  1:father_Agt
  ‘Where is the dog which was beaten (?by my father) ?’
The t-se-(mi) 'Potential O' nominalization in (38c) yields a potential, not yet affected O participant. This can be opposed to n- 'Actual O' (37a) and Ø (38b) nominalizations, which both describe an actual O participant of a specific event. The difference between them is the level of 'well-formedness' of the corresponding A participant. As in (38a), n- nominalizations are always possessed by the A participant, which is specific and usually identifiable. The Ø nominalization in (38b), however, makes this A participant less relevant, less specific. An attempt at reintroducing the A participant with an oblique phrase was met with some resistance from the speakers: the _ja phrase was considered awkward, and (38a) was offered as a 'much better' solution. This was not the case in (32e-f), in which the 'specific event' meaning was perfectly compatible with an oblique A participant.

One possible interpretation of the above facts is that past events in Tiriyyó have a special relationship, a 'conceptual closeness' to their absolutive (O/S) participant. The Ø nominalization with -hpë could then refer to either the 'specific event in the past' (as in (33a)) and the S or O participant (37a-c, 38b), viewed as the 'result' of the event, as 'tangible evidence' of the event having taken place. With non-past (non-hpë-marked) Ø nominalizations, this 'result'/tangible evidence' relationship becomes less clear, since the event is not seen as having fully happened. As for the A participant, it is apparently
less central, more removed from the conceptual core of the event; accordingly, it needs its own nominalizations (-ne, -to-(no); cf. 10.1.3 on roles and participants).

4.2.2.1.5. Circumstance nominalizer: -to(po) ‘Circumstantial’. All verb stems, transitive (39a-e) or intransitive (39f-j), can take the prefix -to(po). The resulting noun denotes: an instrument used for the event described by the verb stem, a place where the event described by the verb stem is supposed to take place, or the specific event itself, with uses comparable to those of the Ø-nominalized form described in the preceding section.

(39a) ene ‘see’ → ene-to ‘instrument for seeing (e.g. glasses, a TV set)’
(b) pono(pù) ‘tell’ → ponoh-to ‘instrument for telling (e.g. a leaflet)’
(c) apēi ‘catch’ → apēh-to ‘instrument for catching (e.g. a trap)’
(d) rī ‘do’ → tiri-to ‘instrument for doing (e.g. a plan, a blueprint)’
(e) je ‘cook’ → tije-to ‘instrument for cooking (e.g. a stove)’
(f) ēenpa ‘learn’ → w-ēenpa-to ‘place for learning (e.g. school)’
(g) ēturū ‘talk’ → w-ēturū-to ‘conversation; speech’
(h) ei ‘Cop’ → w-eh-to ‘way of being (cf. Port. jeito)’
(i) tunta ‘arrive’ → tunta-to ‘arrival; place of arrival’
(j) enuru ‘be born’ → enuh-to ‘birth; place of birth; birthday’

Thus, -to(po) nominalizations seem to occupy a relatively wide semantic range: at one extreme, an entity-like instrument (glasses, trap); at the other extreme, an action-like ‘generic’ meaning (conversation, way of being). The more entity-like uses can be described as purposive: an instrument, or a place, for the purpose of carrying out the action described by the verb. In this respect, -to(po) can be seen as a means of generating a noun for a peripheral participant, one which is important to the event, but not central to
it, unlike the *nuclear* participants A, O, and S (cf. 10.1.3). The exact nature of this peripheral or circumstantial participant can vary widely. For instance, in different occasions, the word *wëturuto(po)* ‘(something) for talking’ was used for: a written text that was going to be read aloud, the tape recordings of people from other villages, a megaphone (used for diffusing news), and a radio.

The more action-like uses refer to the event as a whole (‘arrival’; ‘conversation’), and are frequent as titles of narratives with the past-marking suffix -npë (40a-b).

(40a) **kaikui entahka-topo-npë masiwë Ja**  
     jaguar 3:deceive-Circ.Nzr-Pst anteater_Agt  
     ‘(The story of) the deceiving of Jaguar by Anteater.’

(b) **Tëkujenë i-w-ëeh-topo-npë**  
     De.Goeje 3-S_A-come-Circ.Nzr-Pst  
     ‘(The story of) De Goeje’s coming.’

In these uses, -to(po) nominalizations can be possessed or non-possessed. The possessed cases are more ‘specific’ and can be compared with Ø nominalizations, as in (41a-b) below.

(41a) **ë-w-ëturu w-ekanîpî**  
     2-S_A-talk:N:Pos 1A-think:Prs.Prf  
     ‘I thought it was you talking.’

(b) **ë-w-ëturu-to w-ekanîpî**  
     2-S_A-talk-Circ.Nzr 1A-think:Prs.Prf  
     ‘I thought it was your talk.’

The meaning of *ëwëturuto(po)* in (41b) can vary from more object-like to more event-like. An object-like interpretation would make (41b) clearly different from (41a). If,
for instance, the speaker had seen a transcription of a speech supposedly written by the hearer but later found out that someone else had written it, s/he could say (41b), using ēwēturuto(po) to refer to the actual written document. Under such circumstances, (41a) would not be acceptable.

A more event-like reading, however, makes (41a-b) more similar. Both can be used to describe a situation in which the speaker heard someone delivering a speech (e.g. at a village meeting) and assumed that this person was the hearer, but later found out that this had not been the case. Under these circumstances, (41a-b) appear to be nearly equivalent. However, considering the slightly different glosses given to (41a) (‘talking’) and (41b) (‘talk’), -tō(po) still looks like a more ‘concrete’ event nominalizer than -∅. Ėwēturuto(po) ‘your talk’ is apparently more ‘point-like’ or ‘time-stable’, while ēwēturu ‘you talking’ sounds more ‘line-like’, more ‘time-structured’. One might say that -tō(po), in spite of having more abstract uses, still conserves some of its concreteness. This difference is also reflected in the very frequent occurrence of -tō(po) nominalizations as story titles (41a-b): being more ‘point-like’, they are convenient ‘summaries’. Also, the almost exclusive use of ∅ nominalizations in postpositional constructions indicating desire, cause, or simultaneity (i.e. cases of concatenation of events) seems more compatible with their more ‘time-structured’ semantics.

Circumstantial -tō(po) nominalizations have a non-possessed (back grade) form; the resulting semantics imply non-specificity of the S or O participant, as the case may be.
The non-possessed form of a circumstantial -to(po) nominalization has non-specific-participant (S or O) semantics. With intransitive verbs, the resulting form is quite close to that of the suffix -nē ‘generic infinitive’. However, as was the case for the possessed form, the non-possessible noun usually conserves a more object-like, time-stable flavor.

(42a) w-ēturu-to w-ekanīpī  
Sₐ-talk-Circ.nar 1A-think:Prs.Prf  
‘I thought it was a talk.’

(42b) w-ēturu-nē w-ekanīpī  
Sₐ-talk-Inf 1A-think:Prs.Prf  
‘I thought it was talking.’

In its more concrete, object-like interpretations, wēturuto(po) makes (41a) clearly different from (42b). For instance, it could refer to a written or recorded speech, or even to an instrument for speaking (e.g. a megaphone or a radio), which wēturunē in (42b) cannot do. However, the slightly different glosses appear to tell the same story as in the comparison with ∅ nominalizations in the preceding section: wēturuto(po) is more ‘point-like’ or ‘time-stable’ than wēturunē. According to one speaker, (42b) sounds more like a misinterpretation of noises heard in the forest (i.e. the speaker thought that s/he had heard people talking, but found out that the noises had come from animals), while (42a) could be a mistake about the purpose of a certain gathering (i.e. the speaker saw people gathering in a place and thought that they were there to talk, to discuss some important topic, but then found out that they were partying).

Because of the ‘purposive’ meaning of -to(po) nominalizations mentioned in the discussion of their more ‘concrete’ or ‘participant-like’ interpretation, one of their most
frequent uses is the indication of purpose, together with the attributivizing postposition _me (cf. 10.4.1)

(43) irē_mao n-ee-jan kaikui a-apēh-too_me
    3InAn_Time 3S_A-come-Pres jaguar 2-catch-Circ_Attr
    ‘At that time, a jaguar comes to catch you.’

One -to(po) nominalizations has special uses: wehto(po) (from the copula ei). Wehto(po) is frequently used as a syntactic means of ‘nominalizing’ adverbs (44a), postpositions and postpositional phrases (44b), or even particles (44c), with which it forms a construction (cf. 10.4.1).

(44a) irēme_n-ai sen ikuruma aeneme ē-w-eh-topo_ja
    thus_3S_A-Cop 3InPx dangerous alive 2-S_A-Cop-Circ_Dat
    ‘Thus, this is dangerous to your life.’ (=lit. ‘to your being alive’)

(b) sen_po ji-wehto kure wīja
    3InPx_Loc 1-being good 1::to
    ‘I like being here (lit. My being here is good to me).’

(c) naka i-w-eh-to
    finish 3-S_A-Cop-Circ
    ‘Its end; its being over.’

4.2.2.2. Adverb and postposition nominalization. Although there are several nominalizing suffixes that can be used on adverbs and postpositions, they do not differ in meaning: all of them are used to derive nouns for individual entities which have the
semantic features of the original adverb or postposition. Thus, to pija ‘small, little’, corresponds pija-n ‘small one, little one’; to pena ‘long ago’, pena-to ‘someone from long ago, an ancestor’; to tēpērike ‘having wings, winged’, tēpērike-n ‘winged one’.

The most frequent prefix is -(no), which occurs on most non-derived adverbs (44a-h) and postpositions (44i-j). It usually occurs in its coda grade -n, but there were apparently unpredictable exceptions (45b-d). Notice that -(no) causes a stem-final e to change into a (44b-c), but not if the e is part of a diphthong (44e).

(44a) pija ‘small, little’ → pija-n ‘small, little one’
(b) kurē ‘good; beautiful’ → kura-no ‘good, beautiful one’
(c) tintüje ‘short’ → tintüja-n ‘short one’
(d) ma(a) ‘long; far’ → ma-a-n ‘long one; far-away one’
(e) kawē ‘high, tall’ → kawē-no ‘high, tall one’
(f) aerē ‘true’ → aerē-n ‘true thing/statement’
(g) tupae ‘lying down’ → tupae-n ‘one who is lying down’
(g) koko ‘night’ → koko-n ‘one who works at night’
(h) eēkenē ‘two; in twos’ → eēkenē-n ‘a pair’
(i) makapa_po ‘in Macapá’ → makapa_po-n ‘one who lives in Macapá’
(j) tuna_hkao ‘in the river’ → tuna_hkao-n ‘one who lives in the river’

Adverbs derived from verbs with -tē ‘potential A’ (cf. 6.2.2.1) are nominalized as -to-(no); this could be analyzed as a slightly irregular (given the ē > o change) case of the -(no) nominalizer.

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16 Notice that tupae does not seem to be derived from a verb (or noun) with t- -se (cf. 5.4.3.1.2), since a t- -se form would require the nominalizer -(mi) instead of -(no) but tupae does not (cf. tupae-no-npē, not *tupae-mi-npē, ‘one who was lying down’). Besides, there seems to be no synchronic source: a verb (or noun) *upa. It is not excluded, however, that tupae was an old t- -se form at some point in the past, but lost its properties via diachronic change.
(45a) ęnpa-tē ‘who can teach’ → ęnpa-to-n ‘someone who can teach’
(b) ęeka-tē ‘who can bite’ → ęeka-to-n ‘one which can bite’
(c) wē-tē ‘who can shoot’ → wē-to-n ‘someone who can shoot’

The nominalizing non-reducing suffix -to occurs with a smaller number of non-derived adverbs (46a-c) and most (but not all) experiencer postpositions (46d-g; notice that both -to and -(no) were accepted for the desiderative _se). Notice the e > a change for e-final stems (46e-5), which occurs even if the final e is part of a reducing syllable (e.g. wame(ke) ‘not known’, aame(ke) ‘hate’, in (46e-f).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(46a)</th>
<th>pena</th>
<th>‘long ago’</th>
<th>→ pena-to</th>
<th>‘someone from long ago’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>ēēseena</td>
<td>‘sick, ill’</td>
<td>→ ēēseena-to</td>
<td>‘sick, ill person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>ēēnihpo</td>
<td>‘sleepy’</td>
<td>→ ēēnihpo-to</td>
<td>‘sleepy person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>ji-waarē</td>
<td>‘known to me’</td>
<td>→ ji-waarē-to</td>
<td>‘someone known to me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>ji-wame</td>
<td>‘not known to me’</td>
<td>→ ji-wameka-to</td>
<td>‘something not known to me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>j-aame</td>
<td>‘hating me’</td>
<td>→ j-aameka-to</td>
<td>‘someone who hates me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g)</td>
<td>j-eire</td>
<td>‘angry at me’</td>
<td>→ j-eira-to</td>
<td>‘someone who is angry at me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h)</td>
<td>tuna_se</td>
<td>‘liking water’</td>
<td>→ tuna_sa-to</td>
<td>‘someone who likes water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tuna_sa-n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the sake of completeness, all known adverbs and postpositions that take the nominalizer -to are listed in (47). The in brackets are believed to nominalize with -to, in spite of being unattested in a nominalized form in the available corpus, because of some structural similarity with other adverbs which do take -to (cf. 6.1.1) for the formal subgrouping of primitive adverbs).\(^\text{17}\) Two interesting details stand out in the list: it has all

\(^\text{17}\) Speakers sometimes disagreed on this. For instance, the nominalized form of kokonje ‘afternoon’ was given by one speaker as either kokonja(no) or kokonjato ‘someone who e.g. works during the afternoon’ while another speaker refused kokonja(no) and corrected kokonjato to kokonjeto (i.e. he preferred a form
postpositions that end in (ke) (and some adverbs that seem to have a ke, too), and it has almost all the experiencer postpositions (cf. 7.3.3). In fact, the instrumental _ke (which also ends in ke) is only nominalizable in its more experiencer-like uses (i.e. pü·ke ‘ashamed’, from pü ‘shame’, nominalizes as pü·kato; but maja·ke, ‘with a knife’, has no nominalized form: *maja·kato, *maja·ka-(no); cf. 7.3.4.2).

(47) A list of all attested adverbs and postpositions that take the -to nominalizer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>adverbs</th>
<th>postpositions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eënhipho</td>
<td>aame(ke)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[suhtapo]</td>
<td>‘Odiative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[koekapo]</td>
<td>eire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēēseēnē</td>
<td>‘Irascitive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēnjeenē</td>
<td>ewaaje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onke(ne)</td>
<td>‘Appreciative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oorake(ne)</td>
<td>_no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēēera</td>
<td>(__)piēnē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pena</td>
<td>‘Protective’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menjaarē</td>
<td>_se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokonje</td>
<td>(__)waarē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokonjaarē</td>
<td>‘Desiderative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokoro</td>
<td>(__)wame(ke)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aarerenna</td>
<td>‘Cognoscitive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>_ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Ignorative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>_pe(ke)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Instrumental’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Negative attributivizer’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nominalizing suffix -(mi) usually occurs in its reduced grade -n, which is homophonous with the reduced grade of -(no); in order to distinguish them, it is necessary to add a suffix or clitic that conditions the full grade (e.g., with the past suffix -npē; without the e > a change). Similar disagreement occurred with kokoro/ro and kokoro(no) ‘someone from tomorrow, who will work tomorrow’ (from kokoro ‘tomorrow’), and between sato and sa(no) ‘one who wants’ (from the desiderative _se; cf. (46h)). The postpositions (__)waarē ‘know’ and (__)wame(ke) ‘not know’ also have two attested forms (waarē-to, waarē-n ‘one who knows’; wameka-to, wameka-n ‘one who does not know’), but the forms in -to are clearly preferred. A first impression about these cases is that there may be a tendency to transfer some adverbs from the -to class to the (larger and thus more regular) -(no) class.
compare pi̱ja-no-npē 'one which was small' with tī-pa̱na-ke-mī-npē 'one which had ears'). It only nominalizes derived t-adverbs: t- -ke, t- -je, t- -e 'having' (48a-c), t- -se 'participial' (48d), etc. 6.2.1.1.1).

(48a) tī-pa̱na-ke 'having ears' → tī-pa̱na-ke-n 'one who has ears'
(b) tī-pi̱-je 'having a wife' → tī-pi̱-je-n 'one who has a wife'
(c) tī-pa̱na-e 'hearing' → tī-pa̱na-e-n 'a hearing person'
(b) t-e̱eni̱i-sē 'drunk' → t-e̱eni̱i-sē-n 'drink (N.)'

The i-adverbs i- -nna 'Privative', i- -ra 'Inefficient' and i- -poora 'Defective' are nominalized as i- -mī(nī), i- -pi̱(nī) and i- -popi̱(nī), respectively. The nominalized forms of other i-adverbs (i- -ti̱i̱se, i- -kinje) are not known.

(49a) i-pa̱na-nna 'earless' → i-pa̱na-mīn 'earless person'
(b) i-pa̱na-ra 'deaf' → i-pa̱na-pi̱n 'deaf person'
(c) i-pa̱na-poora 'ugly-eared' → i-pa̱na-poopi̱n 'ugly-eared person'
(d) enu-nna 'eyeless' → enu-mīn 'eyeless person'
(e) enu-ra 'blind' → enu-pi̱n 'blind person'
(f) enu-poora 'ugly-eyed' → enu-poopi̱n 'ugly-eyed person'

Finally, here are the irregular nominalized forms found in the available corpus (cf. 5.1.1.2 also for the irregular nominalized forms of -a(ka) adjectives; cf. also 5.1 on possible reasons for the irregularities listed below).

(50a) menjaarē 'now; today' → menja-to(ro) 'someone from today'
(b) onke(ne) 'calm, peaceful' → onka-to 'a calm, quiet person'
(c) oorake(ne) 'calm, quiet' → ooraka-to 'a calm, peaceful person'
(d) akipē 'hard' → akipēri 'hard one' (also akipē-(no))
4.3. Inflection.

4.3.1. Possession. All languages have strategies for relating two or more nouns, for various semantic purposes: to indicate ownership (Mary’s luggage), kinship (John’s sister-in-law), part-whole relation (the leg of the table), argument relation (animal tamer), etc. (cf., among others, Langacker 1991:167ff, and Thomas Payne 1997:40ff, 104ff). Similar, usually the same, strategies also link nouns to pronouns (e.g. your luggage, her sister-in-law, etc.). The strategies can vary quite a lot, even within one language, as the English examples show. In Tiriyó, the data support the existence of only one strategy for all these situations. The label ‘possession’ will be used as a convenient cover term for all of them.

The morphology of possession in Tiriyó is relatively simple. The possessed status of a noun is indicated by a possession-marking suffix, -(rí), -hpē, or -∅; an additional prefix indicates the person of the possessor. Fig. 4.1 summarizes this situation, and the following sections describe the morphological details. The syntax of possession is treated in 10.2.1.1.

![Figure 4.1](image)

Structure of the possessed noun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person prefix</th>
<th>NOUN STEM</th>
<th>possession suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(expressing the possessor)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(marking possessed status)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.1.1. Possessibility. It is a frequent feature of languages to classify nouns with respect to possession, as e.g. possessible and non-possessible, obligatorily and optionally possessed, or alienably and inalienably possessed (cf. e.g. Thomas Payne 1997:40). In this section, the possible relevance of the first two distinctions for Tiriyó is examined; cf. 4.3.1.4.2, 4.3.1.5 for the question of alienability.

In Tiriyó, while certain nouns were always required to bear possessive morphology, others were never allowed to occur in their possessed form. These nouns are listed in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6
Non-possessible and obligatorily possessed nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Never Possessed</th>
<th>Always Possessed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Pronouns (cf. 4.1)</td>
<td>1. Kinship terms: e.g. <strong>eemi</strong> ‘daughter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Proper nouns: <strong>Nasau</strong> (a man’s name)</td>
<td>(cf. 12.3.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mataware</strong> (a village)</td>
<td>2. Generic nouns: e.g. <strong>ekí</strong> ‘pet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Human groups: <strong>karaiwa</strong> (Brazilian)</td>
<td>(cf. below; cf. 10.2.1.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Animal names: <strong>ékéi</strong> ‘snake’ (but cf. below)</td>
<td>3. Certain nominalizations:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Ø ‘Specific Infinitive’ (cf. 4.2.2.1.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Certain nominalizations:</td>
<td>-<strong>ne</strong> ‘Actual A’ (cf. 4.2.2.1.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-<strong>to</strong>(-<strong>no</strong>) ‘Potential A’ (cf. 4.2.2.1.1)</td>
<td>-<strong>n</strong> ‘Actual O’ (cf. 4.2.2.1.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-<strong>(no)</strong>, -<strong>to</strong> ‘adv.1 nominalizers’ (cf. 4.2.2.2)</td>
<td>4. Certain unclassified nouns:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>t</strong>- <strong>se</strong>(mí) ‘Potential O/S’ (cf. 4.2.2.1.2-3)</td>
<td><strong>ari</strong> ‘leaf; contents’, <strong>eperu</strong> ‘fruit’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>i</strong>- <strong>ke</strong>(tí) ‘Actual S’ (cf. 4.2.2.1.3)</td>
<td><strong>epí</strong> ‘tree; plant’, <strong>ení</strong> ‘container’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-në</strong> ‘Generic Infinitive’ (cf. 4.2.2.1.4)</td>
<td><strong>jo</strong>(mí) ‘wrapping’, <strong>po</strong> ‘clothes’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The non-possessible class includes, as might be expected, pronouns and proper nouns; languages which allow phrases such as English ‘my Johnnie’, ‘your little Mark’ or ‘our New York’ are few.
The non-possessibility of animal names (from large mammals like kaikui 'jaguar' to small insects like okomo 'wasp') may seem at first unexpected, but not so much once one realizes that only direct possession, i.e. possessive inflection, is not acceptable. Indirect possession, by means of apposition to a possessed generic noun, remains possible. Thus, (51a) is used to say 'my bird' if the bird in question is the speaker's pet; (51b), if it is the food that the speaker is going to eat; and (51c), if it is the game that the speaker has killed.\(^{18}\)

(51a)  j-ekiri tonoro  \(\text{\`b}\)  j-oti tonoro  (c)  ji-kaimo tonoro
1-pet bird  1-meat.food bird  1-game bird
'My pet bird.'  'My bird (for eating).'</c  'My game, bird.'

It must be said that certain cases of directly possessed animal names occurred in the available corpus, but their status is doubtful. For instance, (52a) was accepted by one speaker as a way of saying 'the birds of this area, the birds of your country' (as opposed to the birds of the speaker's native region). However, most other speakers categorically refused it, offering (52b) instead. On account of this, (52a) is marked with a question mark. (52c-d) represent further cases of direct possession, accepted by the same speaker who accepted (52a); interestingly enough, he treated them as /ji/-adding stems (i.e. stems

\(^{18}\) One might feel tempted to analyze possession via generic nouns as a grammatical instantiation of alienable possession (with the directly possessible nouns being the inalienable class); this is the viewpoint of e.g. Carlson & Payne 1989. However, the more widespread pattern of apposition must be taken into account; cf. 10.2.1.1 for details on the analysis of possessive phrases.
which have an extra initial /j/ in their possessed form [cf. 4.3.1.4.2]). Other speakers reacted negatively to them.\(^\text{19}\)

(52a) \(\text{ʔ-\text{tonoro-kon}}\)  
2-bird-P.Col  
‘You all’s birds.’

(b) \text{tonoro ʔ-pataa_po-n}  
bird 2-village:Pos_Loc-Nzr  
‘The birds who live in your village/area.’

(c) \(\text{ʔ-ji-jariwe}\)  
1-cayman  
‘My cayman’

(from \text{ariwe ‘cayman’})

(d) \(\text{ʔ-ji-jaimara}\)  
1-fish.sp  
‘My aimara fish.’

(from \text{aimara ‘fish sp.’})

The non-possessibility (or marginal possessibility) of animal names makes them look somewhat like proper nouns. In fact, the animate-inanimate distinction in the pronoun system (cf. 4.1) ensures that animals receive the same pronominal forms as human beings. Examples like (53a-b) below seem to parallel the indirect possession cases with generic words illustrated in (52a-c) above for animals. In fact, while reading Tiriyó texts, one has the impression that animal names are not simple nouns, but really represent sometimes ‘animal tribes’, similar to e.g. \text{tarēno ‘Tiriyó’}, \text{waijana ‘Wayana’}, etc., and sometimes individuals, like personal names (cf. the animal texts in the Appendix). In this respect, it is interesting to notice that, in some stories, vocative terms for animals occurred (e.g. \text{iwa ‘iguana-Voc’}, corresponding to \text{iwana ‘iguana’}); kinship terms are the only other group of nouns with vocative forms (cf. 4.3.3 for vocatives).

\(^{19}\) One case was accepted by several speakers, but it turned out to be a case of lexicalization: the word \text{arimina ‘electric eel’}, when possessed, means ‘cramp’ (e.g. \text{ji-jarimina ‘my cramp’, the first-person form}). There may be other such cases.
(53a) **j-enpa-ne tarëno**  
1-teach-A:Nzr Tiriyó  
‘My Tiriyó teacher.’

(b) **ji-pawana karaiwa**  
1-friend Brazilian  
‘My Brazilian friend.’

The obligatorily possessed class includes, as expected, kinship terms (e.g., in the third-person form, **i-pipi** ‘his/her older brother’, **i-mama** ‘his/her mother’, etc.). Generic nouns, as was mentioned above, are lexemes such as **ekë** ‘pet’, **kaimo** ‘game’, or **otë** ‘meat food’, which can be used in possessive constructions to show the relationship between (as in (51a-c); cf. 10.2.1.3 for a list and further details). One conspicuous missing class is body parts, which languages frequently treat as obligatorily possessed; in Tiriyó, however, they can occur without a possessor (cf. below). The obligatorily possessed nominalizations are discussed in 4.2.2.1.

The non-possessible and the obligatorily possessed nouns listed above form relatively small groups. Most nouns belong to the intermediate class of *optionally possessible* nouns: e.g. body parts, certain relational terms (**pawana** ‘friend’, **moitë** ‘relative, member of the same group’, etc.), manufactures, plant names, etc.

It is tempting to propose a simple three-class analysis based on the existence of non-possessible, optionally possessible, and obligatorily possessed nouns. This analysis would nevertheless hide an important feature of Tiriyó possession: upon closer inspection, it becomes clear that the optionally possessible nouns are not possessible to the same degree. Some of them are much more frequently possessed than others, which suggests that the optionally possessed nouns occupy different positions along a
continuum that goes from non-possessible to obligatorily possessed nouns. Let us consider some specific cases as illustrations of this idea.

Body parts are usually possessed. Only in certain specific contexts, such as (54b, d) below, is it possible to find non-possessed body parts (even incorporated body parts are in the third-person form; cf. 5.3.2). (54b, d) were accepted by all consulted speakers; many of them also accepted simple non-possessed forms (e.g. ēnu ‘eye’) as being ‘just the name’ of the body part, but it was clear that they were more comfortable with possessed forms. Human relation words are in a similar situation: e.g. pawana ‘friend’ occurs almost always possessed (54e), but it can occur with the postposition _me ‘Attributivizer’, as in (54f), which means ‘friendly, peaceful’.

(54a) enu (b) ēnu apo (c) apē (d) ēpē apo
3:eye:Pos eye:Npos like 3:arm:Pos arm:Npos like
‘His/her eye.’ ‘Like an eye.’ ‘His/her arm.’ ‘Like an arm.’

(e) ji-pawana (f) pawana _me
1-friend:Pos friend:Npos_Attr
‘My friend.’ ‘Friendly; peaceful.’

Manufactured and cultural items are as often possessed as they are non-possessed.

Both forms occur frequently in various contexts.

(55a) kanawa (b) i-kanawa (c) ēwa (d) ewa
canoe:Npos 3-canoe:Pos rope:Npos 3:rope:Pos
‘A canoe.’ ‘His/her canoe’ ‘A rope.’ ‘His/her rope.’
Plant names are usually non-possessed. Like animal names, they can also occur in a possessive construction with a generic noun (56a); unlike animal names, however, they can also be directly possessed (56b). Notice that the meaning of ‘food’, as in (56a), can only be obtained with the generic term nnapi; (56b) describes either a cashew tree that belongs to the hearer, or cashew fruits which s/he was carrying around (to sell, to take home, etc.). (56c-d) illustrate the same situation with paaruru ‘banana’ (which has an irregular possessed stem japaruru).

(56a)  ji-nnapi  oroi  
1-fruit.food cashew  
‘My cashew (=food).’

(b)  ē-joroi  
2-cashew  
‘Your cashew (e.g. tree).’

(c)  ji-nnapi  paaruru  
1-fruit.food banana  
‘My banana (=food).’

(d)  ē-japaruru  
2-banana  
‘Your banana.’

Elements of nature are almost always non-possessed. However, a few cases of possession did occur. (57a) refers not to the real moon, but to a drawing of it, made by the hearer. A different speaker offered (57b) as an alternative way of referring to the same drawing, but still accepted (57a). (57c), which is the first-person possessed form of wei ‘sun; dry season’, is an idiomatic way of saying ‘my clock, my watch’.20 Like plant names, the word tuna ‘water, river’ can occur in a possessive construction with a generic noun (jokī ‘drink’) to mean ‘water for drinking’ (57e); if the speaker wishes to refer to

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20 This form is typical of Missão Tiriós, an H-Tiriyó community in Brazil. At Kuwamarasumutu, a different H-Tiriyó community in Surinam, the word oroisi ‘clock’ (a borrowing from either Sranantongo or Dutch) is used instead.
e.g. his bath water, or to the part of the river where s/he bathes, or where s/he lives, then a
directly possessed form can be used ((57d); notice that tuna reduces to its length grade
form :na).

(57a) ă-nunnê   (b) nunnê ĕ-nī-rī-hpē   (c) ji-wei
2-moon       moon 2-O.act.Nzr-make-Pst.Pos   l-sun
‘Your moon.’ ‘Your made thing, a moon.’ ‘My clock/watch.’

(d) jii-na   (e) ji-joki tuna
1-water       1-drink water
‘My water.’ ‘My water (=drink).’
(e.g. bathing)

Thus, body parts, human relations, manufactured and cultural items, plant names,
and elements of nature are all optionally possessible, but to different degrees. Fig. 4.2
shows their places along the possibility continuum.

Figure 4.2
Nominal possibility continuum.

- Kinship terms - Body parts - Manufactures - Plants - Pronouns
- Generic words - Human - Cultural items - Elements - Proper nouns
- Nominalizers relations - Nominalizers - Nominalizers of nature - Animals
(-ne, n-)   (-∅, -to(po))

Fig. 4.2 represents an approximation of the actual distribution. There certainly are
finer possibility distinctions between the various semantic fields (body parts,
nominalizers, cultural items, elements of nature, etc.), and probably even between different words from the same semantic field.

The above continuum seems to be a better way of visualizing the situation in Tiriýó than categorial distinctions. Even the three-category analysis mentioned above, which is more detailed than traditional two-way distinctions such as possessible-non-possessible or obligatorily vs. optionally possessed, would, as was seen, obscure the rather impressive differences in possessibility between optionally possessible nouns. Of course, one could also multiply the number of classes; but such adding of epicycles is less appealing than the continuum analysis, which captures in a simpler way the correlation between the degree of possessibility and the semantics of the noun.

4.3.1.2. Person Markers. The five persons discussed in 3.3.1.2 (1, 2, 3, 1+2 and 1+3) correspond to four person-marking prefixes (since anja ‘1+3’ is treated as a third person). The reflexive possessive (3R) prefix discussed in 3.3.1.3 also occurs, marking possession by the subject. The non-possessed (‘0’) form discussed in 3.3.1.1 exists for the nouns which are not obligatorily possessed.

The person markers have different allomorphs, depending on the form of the stem to which they attach; moreover, the stem may also undergo certain changes, depending on which person marker attaches to it. The relevant factors are listed below; Table 4.7 and the examples following it illustrate the patterns (notice that stems which are always possessed have no non-possessed ‘0’ form).
(1) C- vs. V-initial stems: the prefixes j- '1', k- '1+2' and t- '3R' become ji-, ki-, ti- on C-initial stems, and i- '3' becomes Ø- on V-initial stems;

(2) quality of the first vowel of V-initial roots: ē- '2' assimilates to a- or o- on a- and o-initial stems;

(3) ablaut: the front grade occurs with the prefixes j- '1', ē- '2' and i-/Ø- '3', while the back grade occurs with k- '1+2' and t- '3R', and in the non-possessed form. This implies the changes e > ē, aCē > ēCē and aCo > oCo for stems which begin with e, aCē or aCo; cf. 2.6.1 for the mechanics of Tiriyó ablaut).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>C</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>aCē</th>
<th>aCo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ji-</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>j-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>k+e &gt; kē</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k+a &gt; kē</td>
<td>k+a &gt; ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3R</td>
<td>ti-</td>
<td>t+e &gt; të</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>t+a &gt; të</td>
<td>t+a &gt; to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>e &gt; ē</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>a &gt; ē</td>
<td>a &gt; o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.7
The allomorphic pattern of person markers

(58) nono munu jahta wereena suku pata kanawa
'land' 'blood' 'armpit' 'knee' 'urine' 'village' 'canoe'

1 ji-nono ji-munu ji-jahta ji-wereena ji-suku ji-pata ji-kanawa
2 ē-nono ē-munu ē-jahta ē-wereena ē-suku ē-pata ē-kanawa
1+2 ki-nono ki-munu ki-jahta ki-wereena ki-suku ki-pata ki-kanawa
3 i-nono i-munu i-jahta i-wereena i-suku i-pata i-kanawa
3R ti-nono ti-munu ti-jahta ti-wereena ti-suku ti-pata ti-kanawa
0 nono munu jahta wereena suku pata kanawa
Stems with an initial long aa or oo, or with an initial diphthong, do not distinguish ‘0’, ‘2’ and ‘3’ forms; those with an initial long ee shorten it in the second-person form, following phonotactic restrictions which do not allow a êee sequence (cf. 2.6.4). The word ēema ‘path’ has a possessed stem of this kind, eema, but its non-possessed form has only one ê rather than two (i.e. ēema, not ēēma). Ėema is thus the only stem with two back grade forms (cf. 2.6.1).

Two stems have an irregular prefixless first-person form, in variation with a regular ji-marked alternative: pîrēu ‘arrow’, with pîre and jii-re for ‘my arrow’ (the change in the ending is also irregular; cf. 4.3.1.4 for other such cases), and pa ‘grandson’,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(59)</th>
<th>ewa</th>
<th>ofû</th>
<th>arî</th>
<th>apē</th>
<th>amoi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>j-ewa</td>
<td>j-ofû</td>
<td>j-arî</td>
<td>j-apē</td>
<td>j-amoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ē-ewa</td>
<td>o-ofû</td>
<td>a-arî</td>
<td>a-apē</td>
<td>a-amoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>k-ēwa</td>
<td>k-ofû</td>
<td>k-arî</td>
<td>k-ēpē</td>
<td>k-ōmoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ėwa</td>
<td>ofû</td>
<td>arî</td>
<td>apē</td>
<td>amoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3R</td>
<td>t-ēwa</td>
<td>t-ofû</td>
<td>t-arî</td>
<td>t-apē</td>
<td>t-ōmoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>ėwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ēpē</td>
<td>ōmoi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(60)</th>
<th>oona</th>
<th>aaji</th>
<th>aohpî</th>
<th>eemi</th>
<th>ēema</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>j-oon</td>
<td>j-aaji</td>
<td>j-aohpî</td>
<td>j-eemi</td>
<td>j-eema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>oona</td>
<td>aaji</td>
<td>aohpî</td>
<td>ē-emi</td>
<td>ē-ema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>k-oon</td>
<td>k-aaji</td>
<td>k-aohpî</td>
<td>k-ēemi</td>
<td>k-ēēma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>oona</td>
<td>aaji</td>
<td>aohpî</td>
<td>eemi</td>
<td>eema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3R</td>
<td>t-oon</td>
<td>t-aaji</td>
<td>t-aohpî</td>
<td>t-ēemi</td>
<td>t-ēēma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>oona</td>
<td>aaji</td>
<td></td>
<td>ēema</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
with ji-pa and pari for ‘my grandson’. These forms, together with the first-person dative postposition wîja ‘to me’ (cf. 7.1.1, 7.3.4.1), are probably remnants of an earlier first-person marker *∅- (cf. Meira 1998a:80, 93ff). In fact, pîre and pari occurred in stories told by older people; younger speakers have referred to them as ‘old men’s language’, and explained them with the more regular forms jîire and jîpa.

4.3.1.3. Reciprocal forms. The reciprocal/reflexive prefix introduced in 3.3.1.3 occurs on nouns to mark reciprocity, but only in two specific cases: with certain kinship and kinship-like terms (‘relational’ nouns), and in postpositional phrases. The attested allomorphs are listed below.

- e- with e-initial stems (e- ~ etê- occurs in the postpositional cases)
- et- with other V-initial stems
- êês- with j-adding stems
- êi- with other C-initial stems (êi- ~ etêi- occurs in the postpositional cases)

The number of ‘relational’ stems which occurred with the reciprocal prefix in the attested corpus is rather small; (61) lists them all, and sentence examples are given in (62). There may of course be other stems in this category which happened not to be attested (e.g. other kinship terms like wêi ‘older sister’; cf. 12.3.1 for some general considerations on kinship terms), but their number must be rather small; this is not a
productive process. Notice that words like ēi-pipi ‘each other’s older brother’, ēt-akēmi ‘each other’s younger sibling’ (which appear to be nearly synonymous; cf. (62c-d)) and ēi-wēri ‘each other’s younger sister’ are reminiscent of the cases of non-symmetrical reciprocity in postpositions mentioned in 7.1.3 (i.e. it is contradictory to say that A is B’s older brother and B is A’s older brother at the same time).

\[
\begin{align*}
(61a) \quad & \text{pipi} \quad \text{‘older brother’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ēi-pipi} \quad \text{‘each other’s older brother’} \\
(b) \quad & \text{akēmi} \quad \text{‘younger sibling’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ēt-akēmi} \quad \text{‘each other’s younger sibling’} \\
(c) \quad & \text{wēri} \quad \text{‘younger sister’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ēi-wēri} \quad \text{‘each other’s younger sister’} \\
(d) \quad & \text{moitē} \quad \text{‘relative’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ēi-moitē} \quad \text{‘each other’s relative’} \\
(e) \quad & \text{pawana} \quad \text{‘friend’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ēi-pawana} \quad \text{‘each other’s friend’} \\
(f) \quad & \text{tīpī} \quad \text{‘continuation’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ēi-tīpī} \quad \text{‘each other’s continuation’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(62a) \quad & \text{irēme} \quad \text{ēi-tīpī}_\text{me} \quad \text{kīt-a-ti} \\
\text{thus} \quad & \text{Recp-continuation Attr 1+2S}_A\text{-Cop-Col} \\
\text{‘Thus we are continuations of each other (=i.e. we are linked in time).’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(b) \quad & \text{ēi-pawana}_\text{me} \quad \text{kī-w-ei}_\text{ke} \\
\text{Recp-friend Attr 1+2-S}_A\text{-Cop-Inst} \\
\text{‘Because we are friends.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(c) \quad & \text{ēt-akēmi-h}_\text{ton} \quad \text{mēējan} \\
\text{Recp-yngr.sblng-Pos Col 3AnMdCol} \\
\text{‘Those guys are (each other’s) siblings/brothers.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(d) \quad & \text{ēi-pipi-h}_\text{ton} \quad \text{kīt-a-ti} \\
\text{Recp-oldr.brthr-Pos Col 1+2S}_A\text{-Cop-Col} \\
\text{‘We are all (each other’s) brothers.’}
\end{align*}
\]

The cases of reciprocal nouns followed by a postposition are apparently much less constrained. (63a-f) illustrate the possibilities. The majority of the examples involve the postposition _pē(kē) ‘about; busy with’ (63b-f); they can always be used with a form of
the copula, as in (63b). Notice that the allomorph ēēs- occurs in (63a) with the j-adding stem (j)omi ‘language’, but that ēi- occurs win (63b) with the j-initial stem jokī ‘drink’. An extra ēt- can be added to the allomorphs ē- and ēi-, forming ētē- and ētēi- (63c-d), without any apparent change of meaning, but not to ēt- or ēēs- (*ētēt- and *ētēēs- were considered incorrect; (63e, a)).

(63a) ēēs-omi-h tae ta kit-a-ti
Recep-language-Pos_Prl_Neg 1+2-Cop-Col
‘We do not speak the same language.’ (Lit. ‘We are not by the same language.’)

(b) ēi-jokī_pē kit-a-e
Recep-drink:Pos_About 1+2-Cop-Cry
‘We are busy with (=lit. ‘about’) each other’s drinks.’

(c) ēi-maja_pē, ētēi-maja_pē ‘busy with each other’s knives (maja)’
(d) ē-ekī_pē, ētē-ekī_pē ‘busy with each other’s pets (ekī)’
(e) ēt-apēi_pē ‘busy with each other’s seats (apēi)’
(f) ēi-re_pē, ētēi-re_pē ‘busy with each other’s arrows ((pī)re)’

As in the case of reciprocal postpositions, one wonders whether the reciprocal prefix should not be considered one of the person markers. Notice that it occurs on the possessed form of a noun stem (cf. e.g. the -h in (63a), the coda grade of the possessive suffix -(rū), and that it occupies the same slot as the person markers. However, their use is much more constrained than that of the person markers; they can only occur with postpositions. Consider (64) below, in which a reciprocal form as the direct object of a
transitive verb was considered incorrect. There are no clear semantic reasons for that ((64) could have meant, ‘we have seen each other’s knives’).  

(64) *ēi-maja k-ee-ne
    Recp-knife 1+2-see:Prs.Prf

Another possible idea is to see the reciprocal forms above as cases of incorporation of a noun stem by a reciprocal postposition: ēi-pē ‘busy with each other’ → ēi-maja_pē ‘busy with each other’s knives’, lit. ‘busy with each other, with respect to knives’. It is not clear that there would be any advantages in this analysis, especially since less syntactically constrained nominal reciprocal forms exist independently (i.e. the ‘relational’ terms mentioned above).

4.3.1.4. Irregular possessed stems. In addition to the regular and predictable stem changes caused by the prefixes k- ‘1+2’ and t- ‘3R’, which can be treated as morphophonological properties of these suffixes, there are irregular changes which are best viewed as properties of the stems. These stems are marked in the glossary (cf. Appendix).

4.3.1.4.1. Syllable-reducing stems. The first class of irregular stems contains those which follow the syllable reduction pattern. The non-possessed form has the full grade,

---

21 It is not unthinkable, however, that the present-day restrictions may not have existed in the past. As a diachronic hypothesis, the link between the reciprocal prefix and the person markers deserves further comparative investigation.
while the possessed forms have one of the reduced grades, depending on the following consonant: the coda grade (h, n) before stops, and the length grade otherwise (cf. 2.6.2.1, for stem-initial syllable reduction).

(65)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(pǐ)taï</th>
<th>(si)pari</th>
<th>(wì)wì</th>
<th>(si)warapa</th>
<th>(pǐ)repa</th>
<th>(mi)ta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ji-htaï</td>
<td>ji-hpari</td>
<td>jìi-wìi</td>
<td>jìi-warapa</td>
<td>jìi-repa</td>
<td>ji-nta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ē-htaï</td>
<td>ē-hpari</td>
<td>ēē-wìi</td>
<td>ēē-warapa</td>
<td>ēē-repa</td>
<td>ē-nta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>kì-htaï</td>
<td>kì-hpari</td>
<td>kìi-wìi</td>
<td>kìi-warapa</td>
<td>kìi-repa</td>
<td>kì-nta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>i-htaï</td>
<td>i-hpari</td>
<td>ii-wìi</td>
<td>ii-warapa</td>
<td>ii-repa</td>
<td>i-nta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3R</td>
<td>tì-htaï</td>
<td>tì-hpari</td>
<td>tìi-wìi</td>
<td>tìi-warapa</td>
<td>tìi-repa</td>
<td>tì-nta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>pìtaï</td>
<td>sipari</td>
<td>wìwìi</td>
<td>siwarapa</td>
<td>pìrepa</td>
<td>mìta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.1.4.2. J-adding stems and alienability. The second class of irregular stems contains those which add an extra stem-initial j in their possessed form. This is exemplified in (66) below. Notice that akëreu ‘disease’, in addition to adding the stem-initial j, also occurs in its back grade ēkëreu in the non-possessed form (but not with the prefixes k- ‘1+2’ and t- ‘3R’; the stem-initial j apparently ‘blocks’ the ablaut). A parenthetical (j) marks these stems.

(66)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(j)omi</th>
<th>(j)ako</th>
<th>ēikēēkë</th>
<th>akëreu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘voice; language’</td>
<td>‘mortar’</td>
<td>‘wound’</td>
<td>‘disease’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ji-jomi</td>
<td>ji-jako</td>
<td>ji-jēikēēkë</td>
<td>ji-jakëreu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ē-jomi</td>
<td>ē-jako</td>
<td>ē-jēikēēkë</td>
<td>ē-jakëreu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>kì-jomi</td>
<td>kì-jako</td>
<td>kì-jēikēēkë</td>
<td>kì-jakëreu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>i-jomi</td>
<td>i-jako</td>
<td>i-jēikēēkë</td>
<td>i-jakëreu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3R</td>
<td>tì-jomi</td>
<td>tì-jako</td>
<td>tì-jēikēēkë</td>
<td>tì-jakëreu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>omi</td>
<td>ako</td>
<td>ēikēēkë</td>
<td>ēkëreu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A list of the j-adding noun stems attested to date.\textsuperscript{22}

\begin{itemize}
\item (j)aipí ‘speed’
\item (j)akëreu ‘disease’
\item (j)akusa ‘needle’
\item (j)ako ‘mortar’
\item (j)ankai ‘comb’
\item (j)arimina ‘electric eel; cramp’
\item (j)eripo ‘stone for cooking cassava’
\item (i)êikëêkë ‘wound’
\item (j)ëmëinë ‘thorn; thorny shrub’
\item (j)isirëti ‘razor blade’
\item (j)osi ‘rash, skin disease’
\item (j)o ‘carpentry tool’
\item (j)omi ‘voice; words; language’
\item (j)oro ‘cashew’
\item (j)oroisi ‘clock; watch’\textsuperscript{23}
\item (j)oroko ‘work’
\item (j)orontî ‘wax’
\item (j)otono ‘cold; snot’
\item (japaruru ‘banana’ (cf. next section)
\end{itemize}

The stems listed in (67) include tools and cultural items, plant names,\textsuperscript{24} and certain substances (‘wax’, ‘snot’). To them, one might marginally add animal names (for which direct possession, although highly doubtful, included adding a stem-initial j; cf. (j)arimina ‘electric eel; cramp’, and 4.3.1.1). The semantics of these stems is compatible with that of ‘alienably (i.e. non-inherently) possessed nouns’: all of them refer to entities which are not seen as dependent on (i.e. as a part of, as an inherent possession of, as conceivable only in terms of) some other entity. Languages which distinguish alienable from inalienable stems would place the stems in (67) in the alienable category. In view of that, it would not be impossible to analyze the stems in Table 4.6 as forming the alienable noun class in Tiriýô, with j- (Ø- on vowel-initial stems) as a marker of alienable possession.

\textsuperscript{22} The postposition (j)apo is also j-adding; cf. 7.1.1.
\textsuperscript{23} This borrowing, ultimately from Dutch horlange, is apparently limited to Surinam. In the Brazil villages, the possessed form of the word weí ‘sun; dry season’ is used instead (cf. (57c) above).
\textsuperscript{24} Since not all vowel-initial plant names were checked, it is not necessarily true that they are all j-adding.
The reason why this analysis is not adopted here is that the j-adding class is relatively small, and does not include a series of stems which are semantically just as ‘alienable’ as any of those listed in Table (67) (e.g. aaji ‘necklace’, erimakè ‘plate, dish’, ewa ‘rope’). Thus, alienability does not seem to be the common thread here. Given the currently available data, what can be said is that this j occurs on vowel-initial plant (and marginally animal) names, and on many (but not all) borrowings from Western languages: (j)akusa, (j)isireti from Portuguese agulha ‘needle’, gilete ‘razor blade’, (j)oroko, (j)oroisi from the creole languages of Surinam, ultimately from English work or Dutch werk, and Dutch horloge ((j)o probably belongs here as well, though its source is unknown); but arakapusa ‘rifle’ (Portuguese, Spanish arcabuz).25

4.3.1.4.3. Idiosyncratic cases. There are stems with idiosyncratic alternations that range from small segment changes to full suppletion. These are listed below, in order of increasing irregularity. Only the non-possessed and the third-person possessed forms are given. If the stem is reducing, its citation form, in parentheses, follows the third-person form.

25 There is some comparative evidence that the ‘prefix’ j is actually the remnant of a more regular dependence marker (cf. the relator prefix y- [i.e. j-] which Gildea 1998:112ff reconstructed for Proto-Cariban as a marker of contiguity to a preceding possessor / object / argument: it occurred between any possessor, nominal or prefixal, and the possessed stem). Meira 1998a:39 suggests that this prefix was lost in Tiriyo, except when it was followed by a (proto) w (compare e.g. Tiriyo omi with Wayana (w)omi; cf. also oroko ‘work’, a borrowing from one of the creole languages of Surinam [Sranantongo wroko, Ndyuka woomo, ultimately from English work]. In one obligatorily possessed noun (the generic noun jokī ‘drink’; cf. Wayana wokî), this j has apparently solidified as part of the stem, given the impossibility of obtaining a synchronic non-possessed stem *okî.
The lexical field of kinship is particularly rich in possessive irregularities, all listed below (the glosses are only approximative; cf. 12.3.1). Notice that, for several terms, the possessed stem changes unexpectedly from one person-marked form to another. (Since kinship terms never occurred without a possessor, no ‘0’ form is given). Smaller irregularities can be seen in the paradigms for ‘younger brother (female ego)’, in which the 2, 1+2 and 3R forms have diphthongs (ēi, ĕi) instead of the expected long vowels (ēē, ĕi) that occur on i-initial stems, and ‘brother-in-law-2’, in which the first-person form has no prefix. The stem for ‘grandson’, pa, which is regular, has a more conservative first-person form parī ‘my grandson’, in alternation with the regular ji-pa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>father</th>
<th>mother</th>
<th>older brother</th>
<th>older sister</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pahko</td>
<td>manko</td>
<td>pihko</td>
<td>wēiko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>papa</td>
<td>mama</td>
<td>pipi</td>
<td>ĕē-wēi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>kī-papa</td>
<td>kī-mama</td>
<td>kī-pipi</td>
<td>ii-wēi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>i-papa</td>
<td>i-mama</td>
<td>i-pipi</td>
<td>kūi-wēi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3R</td>
<td>tī-papa</td>
<td>tī-mama</td>
<td>tī-pipi</td>
<td>tūi-wēi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26 The allomorphs paaruru ~ j aparuru ‘banana’ suggest that the long vowel of the non-possessed form probably results from the loss of an initial a, which was preserved in the possessed form. Thus, an original j-adding *aparuru [a.pā.ru.ru] becomes paaruru [pā.ru.ru].

27 Some of these stems may contain old de-possessivizing suffixes. For instance, the tē-final stems watē, ērentē, and tīpitē are reminiscent of the Kaxuyana suffix -to, which derives non-possessed stems from obligatorily possessed ones (Gildea, pers. comm., and the author’s own field data).
(70) grandfather grandmother brother-in-law brother-in-law

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>tamo</th>
<th>nosi(npē)</th>
<th>konoka</th>
<th>piito</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>kī-tamu</td>
<td>kūi-no(tī)</td>
<td>akono</td>
<td>kī-piito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>i-tamu</td>
<td>ii-no(tī)</td>
<td>k-okono</td>
<td>i-piito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3R</td>
<td>tī-tamu</td>
<td>tīi-no(tī)</td>
<td>t-okono</td>
<td>tī-piito</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(71) younger brother (female ego)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ji-iḵiiri</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>kī-iḵiiri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>i-iḵiiri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3R</td>
<td>tī-iḵiiri</td>
<td></td>
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For some of the above paradigms, more regular forms were occasionally mentioned by some informants: e.g. ji-tamu and ji-no(tī) for ‘my grandfather’ and ‘my grandmother’. They were attributed to ‘younger speakers’, and may represent a tendency toward regularization. Unfortunately, these more regular forms did not occur in the available corpus of spontaneous speech; their status needs further research.

4.3.1.5. Possessive Suffixes. In most Cariban languages, the possessed status of a stem is obligatorily marked by one of a group of possession-marking suffixes (-rī, -tī, -nī, -∅). The nominal subclasses defined by each suffix sometimes have a certain semantic coherence (e.g. -nī occurs on instruments and manufactured and cultural items) and
sometimes not (e.g. -tī occurs on a small group of nouns without an obvious semantic link; cf. Derbyshire 1985:201 for Hixkaryana).

In Tiriyó, this system has been greatly eroded. There is no sign of a suffix -ni. The suffix -tī has apparently lexicalized as part of the root in a small number of cases, since it does not disappear in the non-possessed form of the root, and thus cannot be considered as part of the possession morphology synchronically.\(^{28}\) The -e(tī) abstract nouns that correspond to ma(ka)-adjectives apparently belong here, too (cf. 6.1.1.1), and also stems such as ehke(tī), the possessed suppletive allomorph of wēitapi ‘hammock’.

\[(72a) \quad \text{i-pi(tī)} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{no non-possessed form} \quad \text{‘wife’} \\
(b) \quad \text{e-pi(tī)} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ē-pi(tī)} \quad \text{‘medicine’} \\
(c) \quad \text{irepē(tī)} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{repe(tī)} \quad \text{‘payment, reward’} \\
(d) \quad \text{ihpo(tī)} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ihpo(tī)} \quad \text{‘body hair’} \]

The suffix -(rī) (-ru) with stems ending in \(u\) does occur on the overwhelming majority of the possessed stems. However, it is a reducing morpheme; since it is word-final, it occurs in its full grade only if a -C(CV) suffix or clitic follows.\(^{29}\) If a different kind of suffix or clitic follows, it will occur in one of its reduced grades (the coda grade -h, or the length grade -ː). If no suffix or clitic follows, it occurs in the zero grade. The latter is the most frequent case. On account of that, the few previous analyses of Tiriyó

\(^{28}\) Traces of the former independence of the final (tī) can be found in certain stems derived from these roots, in which there is no sign of a final syllable: tēpi-je ‘medicated’, ‘having taken medicine’; tē-pē-je ‘married to a woman’, ‘having a wife’, tē-hpo-e ‘hairy’; (i)repe-ntē ‘to give payment/reward’. There is one case in which the final tī is not a reducing syllable: oťī ‘meat food’, o-pa ‘give O meat food’.

\(^{29}\) In emphatic contexts, it can occur without any following clitic or suffix: ji-nmuku-ru! ‘oh, my son!’ (a mother’s lamentative cry used during the ritual mourning of her deceased son).
possession (my own initial manuscripts, and also Carlin 1997) did not notice its presence. (73a-d) below, however, clearly show its synchronic existence. Notice that -(rī) assimilates to a stem-final u by becoming -(ru) (73d; cf. 2.6.6).

(73a)  ji-pawana-rī ja  (b)  ji-pawana-h-ton  (c)  ji-pataa po
      1-friend-Pos_Dat    1-friend-Pos-Col    1-village:Pos_Loc
      'To my friend.'    'All my friends.'    'In my village.'

(d)  ji-nmuku-ru ja
      1-son-Pos_Dat
      'To my son.'

There are some clear cases of the -∅ suffix (i.e. words that can be possessed without any overt marking of possession such as -(rī)). The clearest monomorphic roots are shown below. The stress pattern of the 1+2 forms of petī 'thigh', wetī 'excrement', and (mī)ko 'throat; palate' show no trace of length on the vowel preceding the possessor collective suffix -ko(mo); with pata 'village' and (mī)ta 'mouth', however, the length grande of -(rī) is there.30

(74a)  kī-petī-kon  [kī.pēē.ti.koŋ]  (b)  kī-pataa-kon  [kī.pāa.tāa.koŋ]
       1+2-thigh-P.Col    1+2-village:Pos-P.Col
       'Our thigh(s).'

(c)  kī-wetī-kon  [kī.veē.ti.koŋ]
       1+2-excrement-P.Col
       'Our excrement(s).'

30 Notice that -(rī) does not reduce to h when the following syllable starts with p or k; cf. 2.6.2.2.1 for this behavior of reducing -rV syllables in verb stems.
(d) kī-nko-kon [kín.ko.kon]  
1+2-throat-P.Col  
‘Our throat(s).’

(e) kī-ntaa-kon [kín.táá.kon]  
1+2-mouth-P.Col  
‘Our mouth(s).’

The words in -(tī) mentioned above synchronically take the -∅ suffix. In (75b), if there were a suffix -(rī) after the -(tī), it should occur in its coda grade -rī (cf. (73a) above), thus yielding a sequence *ji-pītī-rī_ja in (75b); but this is not the case. In (75c), -(rī) should occur in its length grade, which should be able to force the full grade of the stem pī(tī) ‘wife’, generating the sequence *kī-pītī-kon, but this is not what occurs.\(^{31}\)

(75a) ji-pī  
1-wife  
‘My wife.’

(b) ji-pītī_ja  
1-wife_Dat  
‘To my wife.’

(c) kī-pī-kon  
1+2-wife-P.Col  
‘Our wife/wives.’

Curiously enough, the first-person forms pahko ‘my father’ and manko ‘my mother’ do not take -(rī) (cf. the absence of the coda grade h in (76a-b) and of the full grade -rī in (76c-d)), while the other forms do (76e-f).\(^{32}\)

(76a) pahko-ton  
father-Col  
‘My fathers.’  
(=my father and his brothers)

(b) manko-ton  
mother-Col  
‘My mothers.’  
(=my mother and her sisters)

(c) pahko_ja  
1:father_Dat  
‘To my father.’

(d) manko_ja  
1:mother_Dat  
‘To my mother.’

\(^{31}\) One example involving the stem ofī ‘meat food’ seems to place it in the -∅ class: k-otī-ton ‘our meat foods’. Note that, if it were present, the -(rī) suffix should occur in its coda grade -h, but *k-otī-h-ton was not accepted. It would be interesting to check if ofī, as expected, cannot take -hpē (cf. next section).

\(^{32}\) Considering that the kinship terms with first-person forms ending in ko all take -npē rather than -hpē (cf. next section), they all seem not to take -(rī). This is an indication that the ko-forms may once have been non-possessed (possibly vocative).
Nominal stems derived from verbs with the suffixes -ne ‘Actual A’ and -to(po) ‘Circumstance’ also belong to the -Ø class. This can be seen in (77a) by the absence of the coda grade h of -(rǐ) after -ne, which should occur in the environment of a following t (cf. e.g. (73b) above). As for -to(po), if it could co-occur with -(rǐ), then, in an environment which conditions the coda grade h, one would expect the form -topo-h-ton (i.e. the coda grade h, being a -C suffix, would condition the full grade of -to(po)). In (77b), however, what occurs is -toh, the coda grade of -to(po), without any sign of a following -(rǐ). Compare these two cases with (77c-d), which show that Ø-nominalized verbs can be followed by -(rǐ).

(77a)  i-jokooroka-ne-ton  
3-gather-A.act.Nzr-Col  
‘Those who gather it; gatherers of it.’

(77b)  ē-erih-toh-ton  
2-be.dangerous-Circ.Nzr-Col  
‘Things dangerous to you.’

(77c)  j-eremina  
1-sing:N  
‘My singing.’

(77d)  ji-eremina-ri_htao  
1-sing:N-Pos_Loc.Surr  
‘During (lit. in) my singing.’

The existence of a -Ø class is formally reminiscent of an alienable-inalienable distinction. In fact, languages which make this distinction usually have the inalienable class as (morphosyntactically) unmarked. It would be tempting to see the -Ø class as the
inalienable category and thus unmarked. However, the class is too restricted, and the semantics of its known members too far from the expected alienable areas (three body parts: 'thigh', 'throat, palate', 'body hair'; 'wife'; 'payment/reward'; 'medicine'; and agent and circumstance nominalizations) for this hypothesis to be seriously entertained.

Some cases of synchronic variation were observed. Certain words occurred both with and without -(rī) (e.g. (78a-b); both forms in each example were produced by a younger speaker). Such cases suggest that the possession classes are becoming unstable by means of the loss of the non-zero grades of the possessive suffix -(rī).

(78a)  ki-munu-kon / ki-munuuu-kon
       1+2-blood-P.Col     1+2-blood:Pos-P.Col
       'Our blood.'

(b)   i-pawana-ri_ja / i-pawana_ja
       3-friend-Pos_Dat    3-friend_Dat
       'To his/her friend.'

In sum, the only productive possessive suffix is -(rī). More often than not, possessed words are not followed by C(CV)-initial suffixes or clitics, so that -(rī) occurs in its zero grade. Adding to this the symptoms of incipient loss of -(rī) described above, one cannot avoid the impression that the average speaker probably relies more on the presence or absence of a person-marking prefix, or in the front and back ablaut grades, when they exist, than on the presence of -(rī) to distinguish a possessed from a non-possessed form of a given stem.33

33 Cf. for instance languages like German, in which case marking is mostly done via postpositions and the forms of the articles, with the few remaining nominal declension suffixes having very little importance.
4.3.1.5.1. Past possession. Cariban languages usually mark the cases of ‘expired relations’ between two nouns with specific suffixes on the possessed stem (the ‘past possession markers’). Their semantic effect is the indication that the relation which used to hold between the two nouns, whatever it was, is no longer valid. In Tiriyo, the past suffix -npē/-hpē has precisely this effect. The two variants distribute as follows:

(a) -(rī) class stems take -hpē, which can be followed by -(rī) in the appropriate conditioning environment.34

(79a) ji-pakoro-hpē
   1-house-Pst
   ‘My ex-house.’

(b) ji-pawana-hpē-(rī)_ja
   1-friend-Pst(-Pos)_Dat
   ‘To my ex-friend.’

(b) -Ø class stems take -npē:

(80a) ji-pitti-npē
   1-wife-Pst
   ‘My ex-(or deceased) wife.’

(b) j-epiti-npē
   1-medicine-Pst
   ‘My former medicine.’

(c) j-ehketi-npē
   1-hammock-Pst
   ‘My former hammock.’

(d) pahko-npē
   1:father-Pst
   ‘My late father.’

(e) j-arimika-ne-npē
   1:raise-A.Nzr-Pst
   ‘The one which raised me.’

(f) j-arimika-topo-npē
   1:raise-C.Nzr-Pst
   ‘The way I was raised.’

Any attempts at using -hpē instead of -npē in (80a-f) are consistently refused. In fact, this property (the capacity of taking -npē, but not -hpē, when possessed) is probably

34 Even in such environments, -(rī) is optional; (79b) can occur as ji-pawana-hpē_ja, without the -(rī).
a good test for membership in the -Ø class. Compare (80e-f) above with (81a-b), Ø-nominalizations that belong to the -(rī) class and thus must take -hpē:

(81a)  i-konka-hpē  (* i-konka(-rī)-npē *)
3-pierce:N-Pst
‘His/her past piercing; the one who was pierced/vaccinated.’

(b)   ii-tē-hpē  (* ii-tē(-rī)-npē *)
3-go:N-Pst
‘His/her former going; the one who went.’

Consider also the kinship terms in (82a-d), with the irregular first- and second-person forms taking -npē while the third-person and first-person dual forms take -hpē. More regular terms (82e) take only -hpē. The word for ‘wife’, pī(tī) (82f), belongs to the -Ø class and thus takes -npē in all its forms.35

(82a)  manko-npē  ‘my ex-mother’
mama-npē  ‘your ex-mother’
i-mama-hpē  ‘his/her ex-mother’
kī-mama-hpē  ‘our ex-mother’

(b)   pahko-npē  ‘my ex-father’
papa-npē  ‘your ex-father’
i-papa-hpē  ‘his/her ex-father’
kī-papa-hpē  ‘our ex-father’

(c)   pihko-npē  ‘my ex-older brother’
pip-pi-npē  ‘your ex-older brother’
i-pipi-hpē  ‘his/her ex-older brother’
kī-pipi-hpē  ‘our ex-older brother’

(d)   wēiko-npē  ‘my ex-older sister’
wēi-npē  ‘your ex-older sister’
i-wēi-hpē  ‘his/her ex-older sister’
kī-wēi-hpē  ‘our ex-older sister’

(e)   ji-nmuku-hpē  ‘my ex-son’
é-nmuku-hpē  ‘your ex-son’
i-nmuku-hpē  ‘his/her ex-son’
kī-nmuku-hpē  ‘our ex-son’

(f)    ji-pēi-npē  ‘my ex-wife’
é-pēi-npē  ‘your ex-wife’
i-pēi-npē  ‘his ex-wife’
kī-pēi-npē  ‘our ex-wife’

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35 One example involving the word munkē ‘offspring, descendants’ suggests that it is also a member of the -Ø class: kī-munkē-npē-kon ‘our future descendants’ (cf. (12) in 4.2.1.1 above).
Considering that -npē can also occur with all non-possessed stems, regardless of their possession class (as was seen in 4.2.1.1), the distribution of the two Pst suffixes can be represented as in Fig. 4.3.

Figure 4.3
Distribution of the past suffixes -npē and -hpē.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Possessed</th>
<th>Non-possessed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-(rī)</td>
<td>-hpē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>-npē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Given the ongoing breakdown of the possession classes mentioned in the previous section, the occurrence of exceptions to the above distributional rule is not surprising. In (83a-b) below, both noun stems (pakoro ‘house’ and maja ‘knife’) belong to the (rī) class and should take only -hpē.

(83a)  ji-pakoro-hpē / ji-pakoro-npē  (b)  ji-maja-hpē / ji-maja-npē
1-house:Pos-Pst 1-house:Pos-Pst       1-knife:Pos-Pst / 1-knife:Pos-Pst
'My ex-house; the ruins of my house.' 'My ex-knife; my broken knife.'

(c)  kū-tamu-ru-npē
1+2-grandfather-Pos-Pst
'Our (late?) grandfather.'

At first sight, these forms suggest the existence of a contrast between -npē and -hpē. Though this may eventually happen, if the loss of -(rī) continues to its completion (with -
**hpê** probably assuming the semantics of ‘past possession’, and **-npê** the meaning of ‘old, degraded’), the following facts make a synchronic contrast seem unlikely:

(a) Ø class nouns simply cannot take **-hpê**, and -(rũ) class nominalizations cannot take **-npê** (cf. (80a-f), (81a-b)); there is no possibility of a contrast here.

(b) Examples like (83a-b) cause suspicious reactions in Tiriyó speakers. Some consider the **-npê** forms impossible and deny that anyone uses them; others attribute them to ‘speakers from other villages or tribes’. Some say that the **-npê** forms are possible, but less good. Few people felt comfortable with them, and only in elicitation.

(c) Examples like (83c) were accepted by all consulted speakers, and sometimes spontaneously produced. However, besides involving only a handful of kinship terms, the semantics is surprisingly different (the grandfather in (83c) is not necessarily dead, or ‘degraded’ in any sense; rather, the **-npê** seems to be adding a touch of respect). It is not clear that this is the past **-npê** (cf. 12.3.1).

**4.3.2. Number.** The general marker of the collective form of a nominal stem is the suffix **-to(mo):**

(84a) tonoro ‘bird’ → tonoro-ton ‘(all the) birds’
(b) panpira ‘book’ → panpira-ton ‘(all the) books’
(c) wēri ‘woman’ → wēri-ton ‘(all the) women’
(d) tēpu ‘stone’ → tēpu-ton ‘(all the) stones’
(e) tarēno ‘Tiriyó’ → tarēno-ton ‘(all the) Tiriyó’
There are three exceptional cases, which take different suffixes, -sa(mo), -ja(mo) (already known from pronominal collectives; cf. 4.1.2), and -hti(l). A fourth exception has an unexpected stem-final n before the suffix -to(mo) (85d, with the first-person prefix ji-). Notice that these cases involve a certain degree of lexicalization, since -to(mo) can be added to the plural forms (which, in the case of ‘grandfathers’ and ‘children’, happens frequently).  

(85a) tamu ‘grandfather; old man’ → tamu-san, tamu-san-ton ‘ancestors’
(b) notipē ‘grandmother; old woman’ → noti-ja, noti-ja-ton ‘old women’
(c) mure ‘child’ → mure-hti, mure-hti-ton ‘children’
(d) pa ‘grandchild’ → ji-pan-ton ‘my grandchildren’

The collective suffix -to(mo) does not necessarily imply a multiplicity of equivalent individual entities. It can also denote a group which is characterized with respect to a certain individual entity, as in (86), which implies a group of people often seen together around Sérgio.

(86) Sesu-ton
Sérgio-Col
‘Sérgio’s people (family; friends; ‘gang’; etc.)’

On possessed nouns, -to(mo) is still used to mark the collective of the possessed stem (87a). For the collective of the possessor, the suffix -ko(mo) is used (87b). If both

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36 The word munkē ‘offspring, descendants’ is a clear example of a lexicalized collective form (corresponding to eemi ‘daughter’ and nnuku ‘son’, which can also take -to(mo).)
37 As was mentioned in 7.1.1, when followed by the desiderative postposition _se, the suffix -ko(mo) can occur in its full grade, in its reduced grade, or in a special irregular form -koe:
the possessor and the possessed stem are collective, then these two suffixes merge into the form -kontoko(mo) (87c).

(87a) ë-pawanaa-h-ton
2-friend:Pos-Col
'(All) your friends.'

(b) ë-pawanaa-kon
2-friend:Pos-P.Col
'The friend of (all) of you.'

(c) ë-pawanaa-kontokon
2-friend:Pos-PP.Col
'(All) the friends of (all) of you.'

The fact that almost all nouns take -(rī) when possessed implies that -ko(mo) is almost always preceded by a long vowel. This fact has lead to previous analysis of -ko(mo) as having a lengthening effect (e.g. a ‘floating mora’) that automatically affects the preceding stem-final vowel. (87a, c) above are, of course, counterarguments to this hypothesis. Given, however, that the overwhelming majority of noun stems belong to the -(rī) class, -ko(mo) may end up, as a side effect of the loss of -(rī), having precisely this lengthening effect (thus becoming -:ko(mo)).

4.3.3. Vocatives. Vocative is not a pervasive category in the Tiriýó nominal system. However, certain kinship terms do have a special vocative form. As can be seen below,

(a) ë-pawanaa-komo_se_w-a-e
2-friend:Pos-P.Col_Desid_1S_A-Cop-Cty
'I want/need you all’s friend(s).'

(b) ë-pawanaa-kon_se_w-a-e
2-friend:Pos-P.Col_Desid_1S_A-Cop-Cty
'I want/need you all’s friend(s).'

(c) ë-pawanaa-koe_w-a-e
2-friend:P.Col:Desid_1S_A-Cop-Cty
'I want/need you all’s friends.'
there is an interesting correlation between a ‘reduced’ vocative form, and the presence of
the suffix -ko in the first-person form. The vocative of the other kinship terms coincides
with the first person form (cf. 12.3.1).

(88a) tamo ‘my grandfather’ → tamo ‘grandfather!’
(b) noosi(npë) ‘my grandmother’ → noosi ‘grandmother!’
(c) pahko ‘my father’ → pa(a) ‘father!’
(d) manko ‘my mother’ → ma(a) ‘mother!’
(e) pihko ‘my older brother’ → pi(i) ‘older brother!’
(f) wëiko ‘my older sister’ → wëi ‘older sister!’

For spouses, there are a few address formulas: mi, minko, ae, aenpë, which can
be used both by a woman to refer to her husband (i-njo) and by a man to refer to his wife
(i-pë(tì)). They look more like endearment terms (‘darling’) than real vocatives.

Certain terms are used to address people, regardless of the existence of a true
kinship relation between the speaker and the hearer. Thus, an older man can be addressed
as tamo, or an older woman as noosi. For younger people, the words paapotì ‘girl!
daughter!’ and muupiro ‘boy! son!’ are frequently used; they look more like general
terms of address than specific vocative forms of j-eemi ‘my daughter’ and ji-nmuku ‘my
son’. Finally, men address other men of roughly the same age as jako, a term apparently
related to akono ‘brother-in-law’, while women address other women of roughly the
same age as kori or korinpë. A man cannot address a woman as kori, nor can a woman
address a man as jako, without causing general hilarity. In such situations, the speaker
must use the addressee’s name, some other kinship term (e.g. ji-wëri ‘my younger sister!
(male ego)’), or a more neutral word (e.g. kërr ‘man!’).

The full grade of the collective suffix -to(mo) (and presumably of -ko(mo) and
-kontoko(mo) as well, though no examples occurred in the available corpus) can have a
vocative value:

(89a) ji-wëri-h-ton
     l-yngr.sis-Pos-Col
     ‘My younger sisters.’

(b) ji-wëri-h-tomo
    l-yngr.sis-Pos-Col
    ‘Younger sisters!’

Finally, in mythical stories with animal characters, certain special vocative forms
of animal names occurred; the observed cases are listed below. Notice that most cases are
formed by the loss of the final syllable of the non-vocative form. A special generic
vocative jai, apparently equivalent to jako, also occurred in these stories.

(90a) aware ‘opossum’ → awa ‘opossum!’
(b) iwana ‘iguana’ → iwa ‘iguana!’
(c) kurija ‘turtle (sp.)’ → kuri ‘turtle!’
5. VERBS

Of all Tiriyó lexical classes, the verbal class is the easiest to characterize. A number of different grammatical markers indicating person, number, tense-aspect-modality (cf. 5.4), as well as a number of derivational affixes (cf. 5.3) are exclusive to verbs. The same can be said about the participial or -se forms (cf. 5.4.3.1.3), including the negative form (the negative marker -sewa only occurs on verbs; the particle _ta(ike) [cf. 9.1.4] is used with other lexical classes). These morphological properties are so salient that there can be no doubts about the status of a given stem. Although there are, as could be expected, less and more prototypical verbs, the difference between them lies in details (for instance, certain verbs are semantically incompatible with speech act participants and thus can only be conjugated in the third person: e.g. ahta ‘to drip’, kaarapa(mi) ‘to ferment’, etc.), or in how regular they are (cf. e.g. 5.4.4 on the forms of the copula ei).

The verbal class, as defined by these morphological properties, corresponds very accurately to the expected set of ‘less time-stable’ concepts (cf. Givón’s 1984:51ff). Most of the expected notions are found in this class. One notable, but not surprising, exception is that of the ‘experiencer’ predicates: ‘want’, ‘believe’, ‘hate’, ‘know’, ‘not know’, ‘be afraid’ etc. are postpositions, not verbs (cf. 7.3.3). The following list is a sample of verb stems, including transitive (1a-f) and intransitive (Sa: 1g-j, So: 1k-o) stems. To differentiate transitive from intransitive verbs, the glosses of the former will include an O, making reference to the existence of an O participant. (For the [t] in [t]wē ‘to shoot’, cf. 5.1.3).
(1a) pahka ‘break O’  (f) ona(mî) ‘hide O’  (k) këhtu(mu) ‘shout’
(b) ewe(tî) ‘feed O’  (g) epî ‘bathe’  (l) potîna ‘whistle’
(c) pono(pî) ‘tell O’  (h) éturu ‘talk, advise’  (m) eerana ‘laugh’
(d) [t]wē ‘shoot O’  (i) ēnî(kî) ‘sleep’  (n) anota ‘fall’
(e) ene ‘see O’  (j) ēsena ‘cry, weep’  (o) tunta ‘arrive’

Of all Tiriyó lexical classes, the verbal class is the richest in morphological possibilities. Before looking at all the details, it is worthwhile to have a general overview. This is the purpose of Fig. 5.1, which illustrates the structure of the verb word. The innermost layer is the root (not necessarily a verb root). The various layers of derivational morphology, enclosed by the double line, form verb stems, to which either inflectional morphology (illustrated by the outer layers) or class-changing derivational morphology can be applied. Since Fig. 5.1 schematizes the verb word, it only displays inflectional morphology. To a complete verbal word, external reduplication can be applied at the left edge; internal reduplication, however, presents structural problems (cf. 2.6.3).

Figure 5.1
Overall structure of the Tiriyó verb word.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-person</th>
<th>w- ‘S’</th>
<th>Detransitivizer</th>
<th>Incorporated Noun</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Verbalizers (-ta, -ma, -ntē, -htē...)</th>
<th>Transitiveizers (-nû(pî), -ka, ...)</th>
<th>Cessative -ke(pî)</th>
<th>Causative -po</th>
<th>Tense-aspect-number</th>
<th>Evid. (-e, -(në))</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-t(î)-</td>
<td>‘Remote Past’</td>
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5.1. Stem allomorphy. Verb stems undergo various kinds of allomorphic changes when they take part in certain morphological processes. Some of these changes are quite predictable and regular (e.g. ablaut), others are quite unpredictable and idiosyncratic (e.g. t-adding stems), and some are intermediate (e.g. syllable reduction). The following sections describe the cases which have been identified thus far.
5.1.1. **Ablaut.** Initial-vowel alternations in which e, aCē and aCo allomorphs (the *front grades*) correspond to ē, ēCē and oCo allomorphs (the *back grades*) are a pervasive and highly regular phenomenon in Tiriýó morphology (cf. 2.6.1). Most verbal morphological processes occur on the front grade of a stem. The processes which condition the back grade are:

(a) the person-marking prefix k- ‘1+2O’, ‘12AO’;

(b) the prefix t- of the t- -se past;

(c) the ‘objectless’ supine and negative forms.

Here are some illustrative examples:

(2a) etā ‘hear O’ \[→ k-ēta\] ‘s/he heard us’, ‘I heard you / you heard me’
    \[t-ēta-e\] ‘heard’
    \[ēta-e\] ‘in order to hear’
    \[ēta-ewa\] ‘not (capable of) hearing’

(b) apē(i) ‘catch O’ \[→ k-ēpēi\] ‘s/he caught us’, ‘I caught you / you caught me’
    \[t-ēpēe-se\] ‘caught’
    \[ēpēe-se\] ‘in order to catch’
    \[ēpēe-ewa\] ‘not (capable of) catching’

(c) apotoma ‘help O’ \[→ k-okopotoma\] ‘s/he helped us’, ‘I helped you / you helped me’
    \[t-opotoma-e\] ‘helped’
    \[opotoma-e\] ‘in order to help’
    \[opotoma-ewa\] ‘not (capable of) helping’
In addition to that, certain deverbal forms (-tē ‘potential A adverbializer’ [6.2.2.1], -nē ‘Generic Infinitive’ [4.2.2.1.4]) also require the back grade form of the stem:¹

(3a)  eeka ‘bite O’       →   ēēka-tē    ‘capable of biting’
(b)   eerana ‘laugh’      →   ēerana-nē   ‘laughing’

5.1.2. Syllable-reducing stems. The synchronic pattern of syllable reduction, according to which certain stems have several forms (grades) differing by one syllable has been described in 2.6.2. To recapitulate briefly, the syllable that differentiates the grades (the reducing syllable, either the first or the last of the stem) can occur as a full syllable, or then reduce to one of three possible forms: a single consonant (h, if the non-reduced syllable starts with a stop, r or s; n, if it starts with a nasal), lengthening of the preceding vowel, or nothing at all. The allomorph of the stem in which the full syllable occurs is the full grade; the others (the reduced grades) are the coda grade (in which the syllable occurs as h or n), the length grade (in which the reducing syllable occurs as vowel lengthening), and the zero grade (in which the reducing syllable is dropped). The occurrence of the different grades is conditioned by affixes of different syllabic structures (cf. 2.6.2 for details and examples). In cited forms, the reducing syllable is written in parentheses.

If the reducing syllable is stem-final, the process is very regular, and was described in 2.6.2.2.1; suffice it to mention here that stems ending in r-initial syllables are not predictable (some reduce and others do not), and that there are two verbs, e(i) ‘be’ and

¹ Of course, most possessible verbal nominalizations (e.g. -to(po), -Ø) have a corresponding back-grade non-possessed form (and also with the possessor-marking prefixes k- ‘1+2’ and t- ‘3R’). This, however, is considered as a purely nominal phenomenon: these are the back grade forms of the nominalizations, not back-grade verbal stems undergoing nominalization (cf. 3.3.1.1, 4.3.1.2).
apē(i) ‘catch’, in which the final i, historically derived from a full syllable *ci, behaves as a reducing syllable (e.g. for e(i), the full grade is ei, the coda grade eh, the length grade ee; there is no zero grade). When necessary, the terms CV-reducing, NV-reducing, RV-reducing and I-reducing are used to make reference to the nature of the reducing syllable.

If the reducing syllable is stem-initial, the full grade only occurs when no prefixes are added. Since most verb forms have at least one prefix, the cases in which a stem-initial full grade would occur are indeed very rare. Only adverbs derived with the suffix -tē ‘potential A adverbializer’ (cf. 6.2.2.1), non-possessed nominalizations (i.e. non-possessed forms of possessible nominalizations, or else non-possessible nominalizations; cf. 4.2.2.1), and the objectless supine and negative forms (cf. 5.4.3.1.1, 5.4.3.1.3) have no prefixes on them, and all these forms are rather unfrequent.² (4) compares the -tē form of some of these verbs to their third-person form in the (Ø-marked) immediate past.

(4a) ni-htarēnma ‘s/he made O worry’ / pītarēnma-tē ‘worrisome’
(b) nii-rūma ‘s/he bad-mouthed O’ / wīrīma-tē ‘who spreads rumors’
(c) nii-karauma ‘s/he made O angry’ / wīkarauma-tē ‘infuriating’

Judging by the reduced grades that co-occur with the third-person prefix ni-, it would seem that cases of stem-initial syllable reduction can be found even if prefixless forms are not available: if a given stem starts with a consonant cluster (ht in (4a)), or lengthens the final vowel of a prefix (as in (4b-c)), then it will have a full syllable in one of its prefixless forms. However, this was not always found to be the case:

² It is probable that the third-person form of the hypothetical (-i) form of the verb (cf. 5.4.1.3.5), mentioned in the following section as one of the environments in which t-adding verb stems occur with the t-, would also condition the full grade of stem-initial reducing syllables. Unfortunately, no relevant examples occurred in the available corpus.
(5a) ni-hkērēnma 's/he harassed O’ / kērēnma-tē ‘who harasses’
(b) nii-sika ‘s/he removed O’ / sika-tē ‘who removes (well)’
(c) nii-suka ‘s/he washed O’ / suka-tē ‘who washes (well)’

Considering the low frequency of the prefixless verb forms, it would seem that the initial reducing syllable of these verb stems is currently being lost. The fact that some fluctuations were observed (other speakers produced the forms ihtarēnma-tē and karauma-tē and considered them equivalent to (4a) and (4c)) offers additional evidence in this direction. For this reason, these verb stems are listed in the glossary (cf. Appendix) in their full grade form only when it is known (e.g. (pū)tarēnma), and notes are added to signal that the full grade is very rare and tends to disappear.

5.1.3. T-adding stems. Certain verb stems have an unexpected prefix t- (tif-, if they are consonant-initial) in the following forms, without any change in meaning:

(a) nominalized forms without a preceding possessor (cf. 4.2.2.1);
(b) second-person imperative forms without a preceding object (cf. 5.4.2.1);
(c) third-person (prefixless) hypothetical forms (with the suffix -i; cf. 5.4.1.3.5);³
(d) supine (cf. 5.4.3.1.1) and indefinite negative (cf. 5.4.3.1.3) forms.⁴

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³ Presumably, the same is true for the other non-factual forms (e.g. the incredulitive and admonitive forms), but the necessary examples did not occur in the available corpus.
⁴ The verb stem ē(pū) has an irregularity that looks related: it takes an unexpected t- prefix in its negative (t-ēe-sewa, t-ee-sewa; cf. 5.4.3.1.3) and ‘Actual S’ nominalized (t-ēeh-ke(tī); cf. 4.2.2.1.3) forms. Note that these are not the same as (a-d) above.
The t-adding stem [t]ěnē ‘eat O (meat)’ can be used as an illustrative example. (6a-c) show a paradigm with the hypothetical inflection (including forms with the first- and second-person prefixes w- and m-, and the irrealis particle _mo), (6d-f) have imperative forms, (6g-j) have nominalizations, (6k-l) have supine forms, and (6m) has an indefinite negative form. Notice that, in (6g, i), the t- cannot be the third-person reflexive prefix, since the A participant is a first person.

(6a)  w-ěnē-i_mo 'I would eat / have eaten'  (d)  t-ěnē-kē!  'eat it!'  
(b)  m-ěnē-i_mo 'you would eat / have eaten'  (e)  t-ěnē-ta!  'go eat it!'  
(c)  t-ěnē-i_mo 's/he would eat / have eaten'  (f)  oofē ěnē-kē!  'eat your meat!'  

(g)  t-ěnē_se_w-a-e  (h)  j-otī  ěnē_se_w-a-e  
t-eat.meat:N_Desid_1SA-Cop-Cty  1-meat.eat.meat:N_Desid_1SA-Cop-Cty  
'I want to eat meat.'  'I want to eat my meat food.'  

(i)  sen_po_w-a-e  t-ěnē-too_me  
3InPx_Loc_1SA-Cop-Cty  t-eat.meat-Circ.Nzr_Attr  
'I am here in order to eat meat.'  

(j)  sen_po_w-a-e  j-otī  ěnē-too_me  
3InPx_Loc_1SA-Cop-Cty  1-meat.food eat.meat-Circ.Nzr_Attr  
'I am here in order to eat my meat food.'  

(k)  měrē_pona  wī-tē-e  t-ěnē-e  
3InMd_Dir  1SA-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty  t-eat.meat-Sup  
'I am going over there to eat meat.'  

(l)  měrē_pona  wī-tē-e  j-otī  ěnē-e  
3InMd_Dir  1SA-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty  1-meat.food 3:eat.meat-Sup  
'I am going over there to eat my meat food.'  

(m)  t-ěnē-ewa_w-a-e  
t-eat.meat-Neg_1SA-Cop-Cty  
'I do not eat meat.'
If the t-adding stem is consonant-initial, the extra element is a full syllable ti-. In addition, when a person-marking prefix occurs, its final vowel is i instead of i (i.e. wii-, mii-, etc. instead of the usual wi-, mi-, etc.). Aside from t-adding stems, only three other intransitive verbs, tê[mî] 'go', and ka 'say', have this effect (cf. 5.4.1.1). The stem [t]pî 'bathe O' is used in the examples below, which parallel the ones given above with [t]ênê 'eat O (meat)'.

(7a) wii-pî-i mo 'I would bathe / have bathed'
(b) mii-pî-i mo 'you would bathe / have bathed'
(c) tî-pî-i mo 's/he would bathe / have bathed'
(d) tî-pî-kê! 'bathe it!'
(e) tî-pî-ta! 'go bathe it!'
(f) êêêêî pî-kê! 'bathe your pet!'

(g) tî-pî_se_w-a-e
   t-bathe:N_Desid_1SA-Cop-Cty
   'I want to bathe (something).'
(h) j-êêêêî pî_se_w-a-e
   1-pet bath:e:N_Desid_1SA-Cop-Cty
   'I want to bathe my pet.'

(i) sen po_w-a-e tî-pî-too_me
    3InPx_Loc_1SA-Cop-Cty t-bathe-Circ.Nzr_Attr
    'I am here in order to bathe (something).'

(j) sen po_w-a-e j-êêêî pî-too_me
    3InPx_Loc_1SA-Cop-Cty 1-pet bathe-Circ.Nzr_Attr
    'I am here in order to bathe my pet.'

(k) mîêëêêî pona wi-tê-e tî-pê-e
    3InMd_Dir 1SA-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty t-bathe-Sup
    'I am going over there to bathe (something).'

(l) mîêëêêî pona wi-tê-e j-êêêî pê-e
    3InMd_Dir 1SA-go:Prs.Ipf 1-pet bathe-Sup
    'I am going over there to bathe my pet.'

(m) tî-pê-ewa_w-a-e
    t-bathe-Neg_1SA-Cop-Cty
    'I do not (know how to) bathe (something).'

\[ Because of this, one might want to analyze these stems as i-initial rather than as C-initial (i.e. [t]pî 'bathe O', [t]êêêêî 'do, make O' instead of [u]pî, [u]êêêêî). However, since there are forms in which the whole ti syllable is dropped, without the i being retained (7f, h, j), the consonant-initial analysis is preferred. \]
For the Hypothetical forms, the nominalizations without a preceding possessor and the imperatives without a preceding object, there was general agreement among speakers. In the cases with a preceding object or possessor, however, not all speakers left the t(ī)-element off; to some of them, (7f, h, j) were as good as (8a-c) below. Note also that the t(ī)-element cannot in general be characterized as occurring on ‘objectless’ forms, since forms that have no O-marking prefixes (as the -tē adverbialization in (8e-f)) do not have any t(ī)-.

(8a) ē-ekī tī-pī-kē!
2-pet t-bathe-Imper
‘Bathe your pet!!’

(b) j-ekī tī-pī_se_w-a-e
1-pet t-bathe:N_Desid_1SA-Cop-Cty
‘I want to bathe my pet.’

(c) sen_po_w-a-e j-ekī tī-pī-tōo_me
3InPx_Loc_1SA-Cop-Cty 1-pet t-bathe:Circ.Nzr_Attr
‘I am here in order to bathe my pet.’

(d) mērē_pona wi-tē-e j-ekī tī-pē-e
3InMd_Dir 1SA-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty 1-pet t-bathe-Sup
‘I am going over there to bathe my pet.’

(e) pī-tē ‘who bathes (well)’
(f) ēnē-tē ‘who eats meat (well)’

(*tī-pī-tē, *t-ēnē-tē were refused.)

The element t(ī) cannot be analyzed as a reducing syllable, since it occurs as a single consonant t- on vowel-initial stems, and it does not have the expected allomorphic pattern (for instance, there is no coda grade of a t-adding stem in which the t(ī) occurs as an h; forms such as *wi-hpī-i_mo and *mi-hpī-i_mo were immediately corrected to (7a-b)).

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6 Impressionistically, it seemed that the co-occurrence of t(ī)- with a preceding object was less good for the imperative forms than for the nominalizations. A speaker who accepted all the nominalization cases would find a t(ī)-marked imperative with a preceding object less felicitous.
Synchronously, it is an irregular feature of a small group of verbs, all listed in Table 5.1. To distinguish these stems, a [t] in square brackets is added to their citation form. Two interesting details may be noted about these verbs: they are all transitive, and among them are almost all the monosyllabic transitive verb stems found to date (except (mĩ) ‘tie O’ and wai ‘rub O’).

Table 5.1
The 12 t-adding stems found in the available corpus.

|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------|----------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|---------------------|----------------|---------|-------------|---------------------|--------|

5.1.4. Irregular mĩ stems. Almost all stems ending in mĩ follow the usual syllable reduction pattern, with a full grade ending in mĩ and a coda grade ending in n used in the appropriate environments (cf. 2.6.2.2.1). However, two stems, tē[mĩ] ‘go’ and nē[mĩ] ‘leave, abandon O’, have an irregular extra element (mĩ or n) in the Ø Perfective Present, the -ne Perfective Past, the Hortative, and the -i Hypothetical. This element does not occur in any other forms (Present, Future, nominalizations, etc.). To mark the difference between this intrusive mĩ / n and an ordinary reducing syllable, it is enclosed in square brackets in citation forms (i.e. [mĩ], as in tē[mĩ] ‘go’, while an ordinary reducing syllable is written (mĩ), as in wanpa(mĩ) ‘sing hymns’).

As an illustration, compare the following forms of the verbs tē[mĩ] ‘go’ and akunpa(mĩ) ‘to become/feel lazy’; the stems are in italics. Person-marked forms all have
the first-person prefixes wi- or j-. In (9a-d), both verb stems have mî or n; in (9e-j), only akunpa(mî) does.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfective Present</th>
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<th>Perfective Past</th>
<th></th>
<th>Hortative</th>
<th></th>
<th>Hypothetical⁷</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>wi-têm, wi-têmî</td>
<td></td>
<td>wi-tên-ne</td>
<td></td>
<td>ki-tên-ne</td>
<td></td>
<td>wi-têmî-i_mo</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I have gone</td>
<td></td>
<td>I went</td>
<td></td>
<td>let us go⁸</td>
<td></td>
<td>I would go</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>j-akunpan, j-akunpami</td>
<td>I have become lazy</td>
<td>j-akunpan-ne</td>
<td>I became lazy</td>
<td>k-akunpan-ne</td>
<td>let us become lazy</td>
<td>j-akunpami-i_mo</td>
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<td>(d)</td>
<td>wi-tê-e</td>
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<td>wi-h-tae</td>
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<td>wi-têê-kên, -kêmî</td>
<td>wi-têê-kên, -kêne</td>
<td>I often went, I used to go</td>
<td>tê-ewa</td>
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<td></td>
<td>I am going</td>
<td></td>
<td>I will go</td>
<td></td>
<td>I will go (for a second)</td>
<td>I will become lazy (for a second)</td>
<td>I used to become lazy</td>
<td>not going</td>
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<tr>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>j-akunpan-jae</td>
<td>I am becoming lazy</td>
<td>j-akunpan-tae</td>
<td>I will become lazy</td>
<td>j-akunpan-jakên, -jakêmî</td>
<td>j-akunpan-jakên, -jakêne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>(g)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(h)</td>
<td>j-akunpan-jewa</td>
<td>I used to become lazy</td>
<td>j-akunpan-to, j-akunpan-topo</td>
<td>my becoming lazy</td>
<td>akunpan-ke</td>
<td>one who becomes lazy</td>
<td>j-akunpami-se</td>
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<tr>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>Non-conjugated Forms</td>
<td>(e.g. Negative)</td>
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⁷ For tê[mî] 'go', wiêmî_mo was the only possibility. For the other mî stem, nê[mî] 'leave, abandon O', both winêmî_mo and winêi_mo were accepted. Presumably, the ineradicative hypothetical -je(pe) would pattern with -i in co-occurring with the syllable [mî], but no relevant examples were recorded.

⁸ Note that the collective hortative, which takes the collective suffix -tê before the final suffix -ne, shows no sign of an extra n or mî: ki-tê-tê-ne 'let us all go'. Only when the suffix -ne immediately follows the verb stem does the n occur. The same is valid for Completive Past forms, which also have the collective marker -tê; e.g. mî-tê-tê-ne 'you all went'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a)</th>
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<th>Hortative</th>
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<th>Hypothetical⁷</th>
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<td>I went</td>
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<td>let us go⁸</td>
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<td>I would go</td>
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<td>(b)</td>
<td>j-akunpan, j-akunpami</td>
<td>I have become lazy</td>
<td>j-akunpan-ne</td>
<td>I became lazy</td>
<td>k-akunpan-ne</td>
<td>let us become lazy</td>
<td>j-akunpami-i_mo</td>
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<td>wi-tê-e</td>
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<td>wi-h-tae</td>
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<td>wi-têê-kên, -kêmî</td>
<td>wi-têê-kên, -kêne</td>
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<td>I will become lazy</td>
<td>j-akunpan-jakên, -jakêmî</td>
<td>j-akunpan-jakên, -jakêne</td>
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<td>(h)</td>
<td>j-akunpan-jewa</td>
<td>I used to become lazy</td>
<td>j-akunpan-to, j-akunpan-topo</td>
<td>my becoming lazy</td>
<td>akunpan-ke</td>
<td>one who becomes lazy</td>
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5.1.5. The problem of i- vs. C-initial stems. Almost all possible candidates to the status of consonant- or i-initial stems show certain morphological ambiguities which make it difficult to decide which analysis is more adequate. To summarize the problem briefly, if these stems are analyzed as consonant-initial, then a certain number of verb forms that show no prefixes for vowel-initial stems will have an unexplained i- prefix; if, on the other hand, these stems are analyzed as i-initial, then there will be a certain number of verb forms in which the initial vowel i is dropped or undergoes unexpected changes, while other initial vowels do not.

In the following paragraphs, the various relevant morphological processes are briefly considered (more details can be found in the appropriate sections). For each hypothesis, the processes that its adoption would render irregular are listed, so that the consequences of both options can be compared. Since transitive and intransitive stems undergo different processes, two stems are used in the examples, the transitive (i)tuuka 'hit O' and the intransitive (i)tunta 'arrive'. Processes which are not affected by either hypothesis are excluded (e.g. the first-person forms wituuka 'I have hit O' and jitunta 'I have arrived' are neutral, since there is no a priori reason to chose between wi-tuuka, ji-tunta and w-ituuka, j-itunta, i.e. between the C-initial and the i-initial analysis for the stems).

The following processes would become less regular with the adoption of the i-initial hypothesis (i.e. ituuka, itunta), since the initial i would have to be unexpectedly dropped or changed into ī:
The allomorph ėēs- of the verbal detransitivizer prefix (cf. 5.3.1.1) would also become less regular with the adoption of the i-initial hypothesis. It occurs on (i)j-initial stems, and has the effect of making the j disappear (e.g. ėēs- + (i)jaima ‘scatter O’ → ėēsaima ‘get scattered’). It is easier to accept that the cluster sj simplifies to s (ʻēēs)jaima > ėēsaima) than it would be to consider the same change for sj (ʻēēs)jaima > ėēsaima).  

---

9 The generic infinitive -nē (cf. 4.2.2.1.4) was not attested on this stem in the available corpus; the form in parentheses is hypothetical, based on examples such as in ponoone ‘telling (stories)’, from (i)pono(p) ‘to tell O (stories)’, also a member of the group of ambiguous i-/C-initial stems.

10 Diachronically, old intervocalic s’s have been lost in Tiriyó (cf. Meira 1998a:31); this should have happened in a hypothetical sequence Vsj. The C-initial analysis for verb stems like (i)jaima at the time of intervocalic s-loss would have provided the s in this allomorph of the detransitivizer with the necessary environment for survival. Of course, a C-initial analysis in the past does not necessarily entail a C-initial analysis for the present.
The following processes would become less regular with the adoption of the C-initial hypothesis (i.e. tuuka, tunta), since an unexpected prefix i- would occur:

(a) -se ‘Supine’ i-tuuka-e ‘in order to hit’ i-tunta-e ‘in order to arrive’
(b) -se ‘Hab.Pst’ i-tuuka-e ‘used to hit’ i-tunta-e ‘used to arrive’
(c) Negative i-tunta-ewa ‘not arriving’
(d) -i ‘Hyp’ i-tuuka-i_mo ‘s/he would hit’ i-tunta-i_mo ‘s/he would arrive’
(e) -je(pe) ‘Incrd’ i-tuuka-je ‘s/he won’t hit!’ i-tunta-je ‘s/he won’t arrive!’
(f) -ke(ti) ‘S.Nzr’ i-tunta-ke ‘one who arrives’

There is one ambiguous process. In third-person A / third-person O situations, when an overt O participant is immediately preverbal, a conjugated (Set I) transitive verb stem occurs without the n- prefix (i.e. the O participant occupies the syntactic slot of the prefix; cf. 10.2.2). In this situation, the verb stem can occur as i- or C-initial, without any apparent change in meaning.

(10a) j-ekī tuuka
    1-pet hit:Prs.Prf
    ‘S/he has hit my pet.’

(b) j-ekī ituuka
    1-pet hit:Prs.Prf
    ‘S/he has hit my pet.’

Inspecting the lists, it becomes obvious that both hypotheses fail to eradicate irregularity. Of the two, the C-initial hypothesis has fewer problems: not only would (1-10) become all regular, but also the transitive cases in (a-b) could be explained by assuming
that the i- is a third-person marker (any of the O-marking prefixes described in 5.4.1.1—j(i)- ‘1’, ō- ‘2’, k(i)- ‘1+2’, and thus also i- ‘3’—could occur here, to indicate the O participant). Furthermore, the -i ‘hypothetical’ and -je(pe) ‘incredulitive’ forms could be analyzed as taking a prefix i- (with allomorph Ø- for vowel-initial stems) instead of nothing, which would parallel the other i-final prefixes (wi-, mi-, ni-, kii-, etc.). This analysis is adopted here. Of course, this has the consequence that the intransitive forms in (a-c) and (f) must be seen as having an unexpected i- prefix ((d-e) would have the same third-person i- prefix that the transitives take in the -i ‘Hypothetical’ form).

The origin of this problem is not known. It may have been the case that there were two groups of stems, i-initial and C-initial ones, and that they merged, producing a mixed morphological pattern. Comparative research may shed some light on this issue.

5.1.6. Further stem irregularities. Before this section is over, several idiosyncratic irregularities remain to be mentioned.

The verb stem ena(pī) ‘eat O (fruit)’ can lose its initial vowel without any apparent change in meaning when it occurs in the third-person A and O form and with an overt O immediately preceding the verb (11a-b). The stem ema ‘throw O, catch O (fish)’ does the

---

11 One might wonder if it would not be possible to analyze the transitive stems as C-initial and the intransitive stems as i-initial. However, they are so parallel in behavior that a unified analysis seems truer.

12 It is perhaps worthwhile to mention that there are, among other neighboring members of the Cariban family, languages which, like Tiriyo, have i-final A-marking prefixes (Wayana [Tavares, pers. comm.], Kali’na [Hoff 1968]), while others have only i-final A-marking prefixes (Waiwai [Hawkins 1998], Hixkaryana [Derbyshire 1985], Katuyana [Gildea, pers. comm.], Apalai [Koehn & Koehn 1986]). A detailed comparative study of the allomorphic pattern of C- and i-initial stems may yield new useful criteria for subclassification.
same (11c-d). The stem eramuhta ‘sweat’ can also lose its initial e, but only when it has an incorporated S (cf. 5.3.2).

(11a) **paaruru enaa-ja-n**  
banana eat-Prs.Ipf-Dbt  
‘S/he is eating bananas.’

(b) **paaruru naa-ja-n**  
banana eat-Prs.Ipf-Dbt  
‘S/he is eating bananas.’

(c) **kana ema-e nī-tēn**  
fish throw-Sup 3S_A-go:Prs.Prf  
‘S/he went fishing.’

(d) **kana ma-e nī-tēn**  
fish throw-Sup 3S_A-go:Prs.Prf  
‘S/he went fishing.’

An expression formed by the negative particle wa(a) ‘not, nothing, nobody’ and the verb [t]īrī ‘do, make O’ to express the idea of ‘killing’ or ‘destroying’ (literally, ‘make nothing’), is apparently in the process of giving rise to a new verb stem aawīrī ‘kill O’. This can be seen by comparing the two immediate past (-Ø) conjugations in (12a-b), and the two ‘Actual O’ nominalizations in (12c-d), which were considered equivalent by several speakers.

(12a) **waa_wī-rī**  
‘I killed O’

**waa_mī-rī**  
‘you killed O’

**waa_nī-rī**  
‘s/he killed O’

**waa_kītī-rī**  
‘we (dual) killed O’

(b) **w-aawīrī**  
‘I killed O’

**m-aawīrī**  
‘you killed O’

**n-aawīrī**  
‘s/he killed O’

**kīt-aawīrī**  
‘we (dual) killed O’

(c) **wa ji-nī-rī-hpē**  
Neg 1-O.act.Nzr-make-Pst  
‘Someone whom I killed.’

(d) **ji-n-aawīrī-hpē**  
1-O.act.Nzr-kill-Pst  
‘Someone whom I killed.’

With respect to the dropping of the third-person A/O prefix n- with an overt nominal O immediately preceding the verb (cf. 10.2.2), it is interesting to note that the n- is
dropped for waa_[t]rî in spite of the intervening waa (13a-b); the form nûûjan in (13b) would imply that the snake was killing someone. With the lexicalized aawîrî, since the waa has become part of the stem, the non-occurrence of n- is regular (13c-d).

(13a)  
\[
\text{waa_nî-rî-ja-n} \\
\text{Neg _3AO-make-Prs.Ipf-Dbt} \\
\text{‘S/he is killing it.’}
\]

(b)  
\[
\text{ëkëi waa_rî-ja-n} \\
\text{snake Neg_make-Prs.Ipf-Dbt} \\
\text{‘S/he is killing a/the snake.’}
\]

(c)  
\[
\text{n-aawîrî-ja-n} \\
\text{3AO-kill-Prs.Ipf-Dbt} \\
\text{‘S/he is killing it.’}
\]

(d)  
\[
\text{ëkëi aawîrî-ja-n} \\
\text{snake kill-Prs.Ipf-Dbt} \\
\text{‘S/he is killing the snake.’}
\]

The verb for ‘defecate’ has two unpredictable allomorphs, oeka and weka, which occur with different person markers. All non-conjugated forms have weka.

(14a)  
\[
\text{k-oeka} \quad \text{‘I defecated’}
\]

(b)  
\[
\text{m-oeka} \quad \text{‘you defecated’}
\]

(c)  
\[
\text{n-oeka} \quad \text{‘s/he defecated’}
\]

(d)  
\[
\text{kî-weka} \quad \text{‘we (dual incl.) defecated’}
\]

The verb stem eku ‘have sex with O’ irregularly changes to eko in its -se forms (Remote Past, Negative, Supine / Habitual Past; (15a-d)). The non-reducing ru-final stems also change their last vowel from u to ê (e.g. uru (15e-h)). (Cf. 5.4.3.1)

(15a)  
\[
\text{w-eko} \quad \text{‘I have had sex with O’} \\
\text{Present Perfective}
\]

(b)  
\[
\text{t-êko-e} \quad \text{‘had sex with O’} \\
\text{Remote Past}
\]

(c)  
\[
\text{in-eko-ewa} \quad \text{‘not having sex with O’} \\
\text{Negative}
\]

(d)  
\[
\text{eko-e} \quad \text{‘in order to have sex with O; used to have sex with O’} \\
\text{Supine / Habitual Past}
\]

(e)  
\[
\text{w-uru} \quad \text{‘I have advised, talked to O’} \\
\text{Present Perfective}
\]

(f)  
\[
\text{t-urë-e} \quad \text{‘advised, talked to O’} \\
\text{Remote Past}
\]

(g)  
\[
\text{in-urë-ewa} \quad \text{‘not advising, talking to O’} \\
\text{Negative}
\]

(h)  
\[
\text{urë-e} \quad \text{‘in order to advise, talk to O; used to advise, talk to O’} \\
\text{Supine / Habitual Past}
\]
The verb stem te[mí] ‘go’ reduces to a simple h with the suffix -ta ‘Future’ (16a-d); with the -(ja) ‘Present’, however, it is the suffix that reduces (represented by a $\emptyset$ in (16e-h)). In the collective form of the hortative (16i), both the stem and the suffixes -te ‘Collective’ and -ne ‘Hortative’ remain unreduced.

(16a) wi-h-ta-e ‘I will go’
(b) mi-h-ta-e ‘you will go’
(c) ki-h-ta-e ‘we (dual) will go’
(d) ni-h-ta-n ‘s/he will go’
(e) wi-te-$\emptyset$-e ‘I am going’
(f) mi-te-$\emptyset$-e ‘you are going’
(g) ki-te-$\emptyset$-e ‘we (dual) are going’
(h) ni-te-$\emptyset$-n ‘s/he/it is going’
(i) ki-të-te-ne ‘let us all go’

The verb stem [t]ri ‘do/make O’ tends to reduce to a simple vowel in the 1+2A form of the present imperfective: kiïrijae – kiïjæ ‘we are making O’. Both forms are acceptable, but the shorter one is considered better.

The initial w of verb stems [t]wë ‘shoot O’ and wa ‘dance’ can optionally assimilate to a preceding n (i.e. with the 3AO past prefix kïn- [cf. 5.4.1.1] and, for [t]wë, also with the negative third-person O-marking prefix in- [cf. 5.4.3.1.3]):

(17a) wa ‘dance’ → kïn-wa, kïn-na ‘s/he danced’
(b) [t]wë ‘shoot O’ → kïn-wë, kïn-në ‘s/he shot O’
in-wë-ewa, in-në-ewa ‘not shooting him/her/it’

5.2. Morphosyntactic subclasses. Based on morphosyntactic properties, a clear division between transitive and intransitive verb stems can be posited for Tiriyó. Morphosyntax also suffices to subdivide the intransitive verb class into two further subclasses, which, on
account of certain morphological parallelisms, are termed $S_A$ and $S_O$. Fig. 5.2 represents this subcategorization of verb stems; the details are discussed in the following sections.

![Figure 5.2](image)

_A morphosyntactic classification of Tiriýó verb stems._

### 5.2.1. Transitive and intransitive verb stems.

The following properties can be used to distinguish verb stems according to transitivity:

--- _Person and number marking._ Transitive verb stems can take both A-oriented and O-oriented prefixes (the former when the O is a third person, the latter when the A is a third person; cf. 5.4.1.1); moreover, the collective suffixes on transitive verbs refer to a non-third-person whenever one is involved, and to the O if both the A and the O are third persons (cf. 5.4.1.2). Intransitive verb stems can only take one set of person markers (either the A-oriented or the O-oriented prefixes, but not both), and the collective suffixes always refer to the S, the only available participant. As a further difference, transitive verb stems take the prefix k- '12AO' (i.e. 'I → you' or 'you → me') on the imperative form (e.g. k-êne-kê 'help me!'), whereas intransitive verb stems do not.
— *Class-changing morphology.* Transitive verb stems take the nominalizers n- ‘Actual O’ (cf. 4.2.2.1.2) and -ne ‘Actual A’ (cf. 4.2.2.1.1), as well as the adverbializer -tē ‘Potential A’ (cf. 6.2.2.1), while intransitive verb stems take the nominalizer i- -ketē ‘Actual S’ (cf. 4.2.2.1.3). These affixes are rigorously specific to each subclass.\(^\text{13}\)

— *Case marking.* In the Remote Past (the t- -se form; cf. 5.4.3.1.2), transitive verb stems mark one of their participants (the A) with the postposition _-_ja, while the other participant (the O) remains unmarked. Intransitive verb stems cause no marking on their only participant (the S).

Semantically speaking, transitive verb stems make implicit reference to two participants, A and O, while intransitive verbs imply only one participant, S (cf. 10.1.3 for semantic roles and grammatical relations). This becomes especially noticeable when derived forms are considered in which one of the arguments is ‘erased’ or ‘made generic’, such as -nē ‘Generic Infinitive’ (cf. 4.2.2.1.4), t- -se(mī) ‘Potential O/S’ (cf. 4.2.2.1.2-3), or -tē ‘Potential A’ (cf. 6.2.2.1). Except for these forms, the O participant is always semantically present; to indicate this, the glosses of transitive verb stems include an O (e.g. ona(mī) ‘hide/bury O’).

The class of Tiriyó transitive verb stems has a large semantic span, from prototypical cases (e.g. tuuka ‘hit, beat O’) to less obvious ones such as sensory perception (ene ‘see O’, eta ‘hear O’, amorehtē ‘dream of O’). One noteworthy case, already

\(^{13}\) One apparent exception is the verb stem ka ‘say’, which has all the properties of an intransitive verb, but can apparently take the Actual A nominalizer -ne, at least in certain cases (many bird names are apparently a combination of an onomatopoeic word imitating the bird’s voice and kane: e.g. pipikane, kakhakane, sisikane, tonotonokane, etc., literally ‘pipi-sayer’, ‘kahka-sayer’, ‘sisi-sayer’, ‘tonoto-sayer’, etc.).
mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, is that of 'experiencer' predicates such as 'like',
dislike', 'know', 'not know', 'be afraid of', etc., which are not verbs but postpositions (cf.
7.3.3).

5.2.2. $S_A$ and $S_O$ stems: the epiphenomenal split-$S$ system. Two classes of intransitive
verb stems can be defined with the following properties:

— Person marking. One class of intransitive verbs (the $S_O$ class) takes the O-oriented
prefixes to indicate the person of the S, while the other class (the $S_A$ class) takes the A-
oriented prefixes (with some irregularities) for this purpose. Sec. 5.4.1.1 contains a detailed
analysis of the person-marking prefixes. For the sake of convenience sake, they are listed in
Table 5.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>$A$</th>
<th>$S_A$</th>
<th>$O$</th>
<th>$S_O$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>w-, wi-, wi-</td>
<td>w-, wi-, s-, t-</td>
<td>j-, ji-</td>
<td>j-, ji-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>m-, mi-, mi-</td>
<td>m-, mi-</td>
<td>ē-, a-, o-</td>
<td>ē-, a-, o-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>kî-, kî-, k(·)-</td>
<td>kî-, kî-, k(·)-</td>
<td>kî-, k(e)-</td>
<td>kî-, k(e&gt;ē)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>n-, ni-, ni-</td>
<td>n-, ni-</td>
<td>n-, ni-, nī-</td>
<td>n-, ni-, nī-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

— Imperatives. The imperative forms are marked on all verbs by the suffixes -(kē) 'Static
Imperative' and -ta 'Allative Imperative' (cf. 5.4.2.1). For $S_A$ verb stems, nothing more is
necessary; $S_O$ stems, however, add an extra second-person prefix (ē-, a- or o-, depending on
the first vowel of the stem).
Nominalizations and the w- prefix. S\(_A\) verb stems take an additional prefix w- (a 'class marker') when being nominalized by one of the following processes:

(a) -Ø 'Specific Infinitive' (cf. 4.2.2.1.4)

(b) -në 'Generic Infinitive' (cf. 4.2.2.1.4)

(c) -to(po) 'Circumstantial' (cf. 4.2.2.1.5)

(d) t- -se(mř) 'Potential O/S' (cf. 4.2.2.1.2-3; and also the t- -se 'remote past' form [cf. 5.4.3.1.2], from which t- -se(mř) is historically derived).

The following examples are based on the stems ēturu 'talk, converse' (S\(_A\)) and emamina 'play' (S\(_O\)); the possessed forms have the first-person prefix j(I)-. The various allomorphs of the class-marking prefix w- are illustrated in (19f-s): w- occurs on vowel-initial stems (19f-i, m-n), while lengthening of the preceding (prefix-final) vowel occurs on consonant-initial stems (19j-k, r-s); when preceded by the t- prefix, found in the t- -se 'remote past' and in the t- -se(mř) 'Potential O/S' forms, the w- prefix becomes vowel length not only on consonant-initial (19r-s), but also on e-initial stems (19o-q).

(19a) ji-w-ēturu 'my talking'  j-emamina 'my playing'

(b) w-ēturu-në 'talking'  ēmamina-në 'playing'

(c) ji-w-ēturu-to '(for) my talking'  j-emamina-to '(for) my playing'
(d) tī-w-ēturē-en 'who will talk' t-ēmamina-en 'who will play'
(e) tī-w-ēturē-e 'talked' t-ēmamina-e 'played'

(f) ēe(pī) 'come' → ji-w-ēeh-to 'my coming'
(g) ēēnī(kī) 'sleep' → ji-w-ēēnīh-to 'my sleeping (place)'
(h) e(i) 'be' → ji-w-ēeh-to 'my way of being'
(i) ēpī 'bathe' → ji-w-epī-to 'my bathing (place)'
(j) erama 'return' → ji-w-erama-to 'my returning'
(k) tē[mī] 'go' → jii-tē-to 'my going'
(l) ka 'say' → jii-ka-to 'my saying; my thing'

(m) ēe(pī) 'come' → tī-w-ēe-se 'came'
(n) ēēnī(kī) 'sleep' → tī-w-ēēnī-se 'slept'
(o) e(i) 'be' → t-ee-se 'been; was, were'
(p) ēpī 'bathe' → t-eepē-e 'bathed'
(q) erama 'return' → t-eeerama-e 'returned'
(r) tē[mī] 'go' → tīi-tē-e 'gone; went'
(s) ka 'say' → tīi-ka-e 'said'

— Transitive verbs. S₀ verb stems can be made transitive with at least one (often two) of four different suffixes: -ka, -nē(pī), -nī(pī) and -nīka (cf. 5.3.1.2), which parallel the transitive causativizer -po (cf. 5.3.1.4). Sₐ verb stems, however, do not take any transitivity, and their occurrence with -po has unexpected semantic consequences.

(20a) jah(tu) 'burn' (S₀) → jah-ka 'burn O'
(b) kēhtu(mu) 'shout' (S₀) → kēhtun-nē(pī) 'make O shout'
(c) munta 'bleed' (S₀) → munta-nī(pī) 'make O bleed', munta-nīka 'make O bleed'
(d) ēpī 'bathe' (Sₐ) → ēpī-po 'make someone bathe S'

Based on the above properties, the two classes of intransitive verbs can be clearly defined, and all intransitive verb stems belong unambiguously to one of these classes.¹⁴ At

¹⁴ The only exception is the verb wa 'dance', which can be used as Sₐ or S₀ (cf. 5.4.1.1.2 for conjugations). No semantic difference was discernible between the Sₐ and the S₀ uses; the different conjugations seem to be in free variation. The fact that the speakers who used the Sₐ conjugation in my presence were older, and that
this point, the idea of analyzing the two intransitive classes as a ‘split-S system’ in Dixon’s 1979, 1994 terminology becomes very tempting. Precisely this analysis has already been claimed for other Cariban languages (e.g. Hall 1988:285 for De’kwana, Tavares 1994 for Wayana, Gildea 1994b for Kaxuyana, Hixkaryana, Kari’na, Apalaí, and maybe Tamanaku; cf. also Gildea 1998:88ff). The above properties suggest a striking parallelism between the S of an S_A verb and the A of a transitive verb, and between the S of an S_O verb and the O of a transitive verb:

(a) O and S_O are marked with the same prefixes; A and S_A are marked with prefixes that are similar enough to suggest a common categorization.

(b) S_O verbs take a second-person prefix in addition to the imperative suffix. On transitive verbs, prefixes on the imperative can occur to mark the O (e.g. k-êta-kê ‘hear me!’; cf. 5.4.2.1). Thus, both O and S_O are apparently marked by prefixes on imperative forms, while A and S_A are not.

(c) Possessible nominalizations of transitive verbs take the O participant as a possessor; the only exception is the n- ‘Actual O’ nominalizer, which is possessed by the A participant. An S_O verb can be directly possessed by its S when nominalized, but an S_A verb takes a class-marking prefix w-. Thus, S_A parallels A in that both need an intermediate prefix (w- and n-, respectively) to possess a nominalized verb stem, while S_O and O do not.

one Kaxuyana speaker was surprised to hear wa conjugated as an S_A verb, suggest that this verb may be shifting from the S_A to the S_O subclass. (The Kaxuyana are relative newcomers; they have been living with the Tiriýó for only about 30-40 years. They all speak both Kaxuyana, also a Cariban language, and Tiriýó.)
(d) The transitive causativizer -po is found on S_A stems (despite the surprising semantics, which will be considered again below), but not on S_O stems, which take different transitivizing suffixes. Syntactically speaking, S_O parallels O in that both become the O of the verb stem that results from transitivisation (of the S_O stem) or causativization (of the transitive stem). S_A likewise parallels A in that neither becomes the O of the verb stem derived with the suffix -po (compare (20a-d) with the transitive eta ‘hear O’, eta-po ‘make (someone) hear O’, ‘explain O’; cf. 5.3.1.3-4 for more detailed examples).

Formally speaking, the two intransitive classes fit very well Dixon’s 1979, 1994 definition of a split-S system. However, Dixon explains such systems as largerly semantically based: although there can be exceptions, and the specific features vary from language to language, an S_A should be more ‘active’, ‘agentive’, ‘volitional’ than an S_O, which is why they are treated as an A. Meira (to appear) argues at length against a correlation between meaning and class membership for several Cariban languages, including Tiriyó. Table 5.3 below summarizes the main points of Meira’s argument. It contains various features that were considered important for the semantic characterization of split-S systems in the literature. For every feature, intransitive verb stems with and without that feature from both classes are listed, in order to show that it does not help in predicting class membership. The lists contain samples; they could be made longer without too much difficulty.
Table 5.3
Semantic inconsistency of the two intransitive classes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>$S_A$ + Feature</th>
<th>$S_A$ - Feature</th>
<th>$S_O$ + Feature</th>
<th>$S_O$ - Feature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Activities vs. Non-activities</strong> (Van Valin 1990)</td>
<td>'ée(pī) 'come'</td>
<td>'éemuuma 'get sad'</td>
<td>'eremina 'sing'</td>
<td>'aamita 'blush'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'éenī(kī) 'sleep'</td>
<td>'epahka 'break'</td>
<td>'emamina 'play'</td>
<td>'akinta 'get tired'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'etainka 'run'</td>
<td>'esaraka 'slip'</td>
<td>'eerana 'laugh'</td>
<td>'ta(tē) 'get lost'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'éewe(tī) 'feed'</td>
<td>'erowaka 'open'</td>
<td>'arina 'grow'</td>
<td>'au(mu) 'stand up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'tē[mī] 'go'</td>
<td>'epatakə 'go out'</td>
<td>:suhta 'urinate'</td>
<td>'ke(pī) 'stop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'wa 'dance'</td>
<td>'etohka 'burst'</td>
<td>'wa 'dance'</td>
<td>'tunta 'arrive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'étamorehte 'dream'</td>
<td>'emo(kī) 'move away'</td>
<td>urakana 'walk around'</td>
<td>njota 'marry a man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Agentive vs. Patientive</strong> (Mithun 1991)</td>
<td>'tē[mī] 'go'</td>
<td>'e(l) 'be (copula)'</td>
<td>'potīna 'whistle'</td>
<td>'ja(tu) 'burn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'éturu 'talk'</td>
<td>'éenī(kī) 'sleep'</td>
<td>'tunta 'arrive'</td>
<td>arina 'grow up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'ēiwa 'hunt'</td>
<td>'epahka 'break'</td>
<td>'emii(tī) 'dive'</td>
<td>anīhta 'grow up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'erama 'return'</td>
<td>'éemuuma 'get sad'</td>
<td>'eremina 'sing'</td>
<td>aki(ki) 'harden'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'entapo 'yawn'</td>
<td>'epiīna 'get ashamed'</td>
<td>wenahta 'vomit'</td>
<td>akinta 'get tired'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'ēesena 'weep'</td>
<td>'ētamēre(mī) 'be mistaken'</td>
<td>wejahta 'fart'</td>
<td>mīrī(tī) 'choke'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'epī 'bathe'</td>
<td></td>
<td>urakana 'walk around'</td>
<td>eri(ki) 'be in danger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Agentive with Control vs. without Control</strong> (Mithun 1991)</td>
<td>'ka 'say'</td>
<td>'entapo 'yawn'</td>
<td>'emamina 'play'</td>
<td>eerana 'laugh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'tē[mī] 'go'</td>
<td>'ēesena 'weep'</td>
<td>'eremina 'sing'</td>
<td>ahpota 'burrp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'epiī 'bathe'</td>
<td>'esaraka 'slip'</td>
<td>potīna 'whistle'</td>
<td>wenahta 'vomit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'éturu 'talk'</td>
<td>'etohka 'burst'</td>
<td>'tunta 'arrive'</td>
<td>wejahta 'fart'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'eeseka 'jump'</td>
<td>'emoihka 'feel envy'</td>
<td>'wa 'dance'</td>
<td>aeruta 'be noisy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'ēmi(mī) 'enter'</td>
<td>'ētamorehte 'dream'</td>
<td>:suhta 'urinate'</td>
<td>anota 'fall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'ēññintē 'go on board'</td>
<td></td>
<td>urakana 'walk around'</td>
<td>tētēpa(mī) 'tremble'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Animate vs. non-animate S</strong> (Merlan 1985)</td>
<td>'epiī 'bathe'</td>
<td>'epahka 'break'</td>
<td>'enta 'wake up'</td>
<td>kahta 'drip'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'ēesena 'weep'</td>
<td>'etohka 'burst'</td>
<td>'jomita 'speak'</td>
<td>mēmē(tī) 'boil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'ekaika 'scratch'</td>
<td>'ejiika 'ooze'</td>
<td>'enuta 'remember'</td>
<td>ūna 'pulsate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'epoka 'undress'</td>
<td>'ekirītūka 'shorten'</td>
<td>kēhtu(mu) 'shout'</td>
<td>akuta 'dissolve'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'eeseka 'jump'</td>
<td>'ēentama 'spill (liquids)'</td>
<td>eerana 'laugh'</td>
<td>karapa(mī) 'ferment'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'ēenpa 'learn'</td>
<td>eturuka 'spill (grains)'</td>
<td>emamina 'play'</td>
<td>amenta 'get moldy'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15 Cf. preceding footnote.
Of course, it must be said that the argument of semantic inconsistency is only as good as the understanding of the semantics of the stems. It is not impossible that a more refined semantic analysis of intransitive stems would reveal a unifying thread for each subclass. However, Meira (to appear) points out that there is a more obvious analysis, based on morphology: almost all the members of the $S_A$ subclass are derived from transitive verbs with the help of the detransitivizer prefix ṇt- / ḏ- / ḫ-, as in (21).

(21a) amoreḥtē ‘dream of O’  $\rightarrow$  ṇt-amoreḥtē ‘dream’
(b)  enpa ‘teach O’  $\rightarrow$  ḏ-enpa ‘learn’
(c) tohka ‘explode O’  $\rightarrow$  e-tohka ‘explode, burst’
(d) [t]pī ‘bathe O’  $\rightarrow$  e-pī ‘bathe’

It would seem that the overwhelming majority of the $S_A$ verb stems are derived, and that their meanings are the result of the evolution of the uses of the detransitivizer from reflexive/reciprocal to middle (cf. 5.3.1.1 for a treatment of the form and meanings of the detransitivizer prefix). Incidentally, this provides an explanation for the surprising semantics of $S_A$ stems with the causative -po (cf. (20d) above) if it is assumed that causativization has precedence over detransitivization (the causee is marked by the postposition -ja; cf. 10.3.2.3 for the syntax of causatives):

Causativization

\[
\begin{array}{c}
A \text{ bathe } O \rightarrow A \text{ make CAUSEE bathe } O \rightarrow A \text{ make CAUSEE bathe } A
\end{array}
\]
There are a few underived S_A verbs. Table 5.4 lists the 12 non-detransitivized S_A stems found in the available corpus. For some of them (especially the ë-initial ones), a no longer extant transitive source is not implausible; the others, however, look very old and were probably never derived from transitive stems.

| ka ‘say’     | ihtë ‘go down’ | ëmë(mí), ëmí(mí) ‘enter’ |
| tê[mí] ‘go’  | ë(e[pí]) ‘come’ | ëësena ‘weep’ |
| e(i) ‘be (copula)’ | oeka / weka ‘defecate’ | ënau(ku) ‘go up’ |
| wa ‘dance’ (also S₀) | ëënë(kí) ‘sleep’ | ëu(mu) ‘become warm’ |

Table 5.4
Synchronically non-detransitivized S_A verb stems.

In view of these facts, the S_A subclass can be seen as the class of detransitivized or ‘middle verbs’, similar to the group of verbs that bears this name in Classical Greek. All the properties used above to define the S_A subclass (person-marking, imperatives, causatives, nominalization) appear to be an automatic consequence of detransitivization; they are probably consequences of the (still unknown) diachronic process which gave birth to the detransitivizer prefix.¹⁶ ‘Middle verbs’ are then derived from transitives via detransitivization, but would cover a wide range of meanings, going much beyond simple reflexivity, including cases of lexicalization (e.g. ëìwa ‘hunt’, from wa ‘look for O’; cf. 5.3.1.1). The verbs in Table 5.4 form a group of irregular stems within the middle verb

¹⁶ Notice that the S_A-marking prefixes are not exactly the same as the A-marking prefixes (first person t-, s- is only found on middle verbs and never on transitives). This weakens semantics as explanation for prefix choice: if speakers simply wanted to indicate semantic roles more clearly, why should they not use the same first-person A-marking prefix found on transitive verbs, i.e. w-? They even do it for the non-middle S_A verbs të[mí] ‘go’, ka ‘say’, and ëe(pí) ‘come’. The unexpected first-person prefixes are probably better seen as yet another consequence of the (still unknown) origins of the detransitivizer.
subclass, given their morphological specificities (irregular person markers, such as first-person \textit{w}-, \textit{tī}-, \textit{k}-, or \textit{p}-, second-person \textit{mēn}- and \textit{man}-, first person dual \textit{kī}- and \textit{kīh}-; unexpected stem changes; irregular causative forms; cf. the appropriate sections).

The label `S_A' for the middle subclass, and for the argument of a middle verb (as well as `S_0' in the case of non-middle intransitives) will continue to be used as a reminder of the striking morphological parallelisms with transitive verb stems, but without any semantic implications. The similarities with split-S or Agent-Patient systems as described in the literature are, as far as is known, not an attempt at a more transparent marking of semantic roles, but simply an accident, epiphenomenal to the evolution of detransitivization.

5.3. Derivation. Table 5.5 offers a brief overview of the meaning- (in this case, valence-) and class-changing affixes; their uses and meanings are discussed in the following sections. Note that deverbalizing affixes (nominalizers, adverbializers) are treated under the target category; only verbalizing affixes are described here. A special case is that of the -\textit{se}, -\textit{tuuwē} and -\textit{tēkērē} forms; although they have some adverbial properties, they are best seen as verb forms and are thus discussed in 5.4.3.
Table 5.5
A brief overview of Tiriyo verbal derivational morphology.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning-changing (i.e. Valence-changing)</th>
<th>Verbalizing (from nouns)</th>
<th>Class-changing</th>
<th>Deverbalizing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e(t)-, e- ‘Detransitivizer’</td>
<td>To transitive verbs:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-po ‘Causativizer’</td>
<td>-ka ‘Privative’</td>
<td>To nouns, from all verbs:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka, ‘Transitivizers’</td>
<td>-htë ‘Beneficiative’</td>
<td>-∅ ‘Specific Infinitive’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nì(pì), -në(pì), -nìka</td>
<td>-ntë ‘Beneficiative’</td>
<td>-në ‘Generic Infinitive’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-pa, -ma, (-në(pì), -nì(pì))</td>
<td>-to(po) ‘Circumstantial’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To intransitive verbs:</td>
<td>t- -se(mì) ‘Potential O/S’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ke(pì) ‘Cessative’</td>
<td>from transitive verbs:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ta ‘Inchoative’</td>
<td>-ne ‘Actual A’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-na, -wa,</td>
<td>n- ‘Actual O’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-pa(mì), -ma(mì)</td>
<td>from intransitive verbs:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i- -ke(tì) ‘Actual S’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>To adverbs:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-të ‘Potential A’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( -se forms,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-tuuwë,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-tëkërë )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.1. Valence-changing morphology. The meaning-changing morphology characteristic of verb stems in Tiriyro affects the number of participants that are involved in the event described by the original stem (i.e. it is valence-changing morphology). Three operations are attested: detransitivization, transitivization and causativization.

5.3.1.1. Detr ansitivization (ē- / ēt- / ēës- / ēi- / e- / et-). The reflexive/reciprocal prefix described in 3.3.1.4 can be used on transitive verbs with a detransitivizing effect (i.e. to generate intransitive ‘middle’ verb stems). These stems form the overwhelming majority of the S_A subclass (cf. 5.2.2). The various allomorphs of the detransitivizing prefix and their
distribution are listed below. (Vowel-initial t-adding stems, as well as [t]pî ‘bathe O’ and
[t]je ‘cook O’ [cf. 5.1.3], behave as normal stems (22g, p); the other consonant-initial t-
adding stems have exceptional forms (22e-h)).

ē-  with e-initial stems (22a-c)
ēt-  with other V-initial stems (22d-g)
ē̌s- ~ e-  with j-initial stems (the j is dropped) (22h-l)
ēi- ~ e-  with other C-initial stems (22m-q)

(22a)  ene ‘see O’  →  ē-ene ‘see oneself’
(b)  enpa ‘teach O’  →  ē-enpa ‘teach oneself; learn’
(c)  ewe(tı) ‘feed O’  →  ē-ewe(tı) ‘feed oneself, eat’
(d)  apē(i) ‘catch, seize O’  →  ēt-apē(i) ‘seize, grab oneself / each other’
(e)  ona(mı) ‘hide, bury O’  →  ēt-ona(mı) ‘hide, bury oneself / each other’
(f)  uru ‘talk to O’  →  ēt-uru ‘talk’
(g)  [t]jenë ‘eat O (meat)’  →  ēt-ënë ‘eat oneself / each other’
(h)  jonpa ‘address O’  →  ē̌s-onpa, e-jonpa ‘talk to oneself’
(i)  jontë ‘wrap O’  →  ē̌s-ontë, e-jontë, ēi-jontë ‘wrap oneself’
(j) jahka ‘burn O’  →  ē̌s-ahka, e-jahka ‘burn oneself’
(k)  jaima ‘scatter O’  →  ē̌s-aima, e-jaima ‘get scattered’
(l)  [t]je ‘cook O’  →  ē̌s-e ‘cook for oneself”
(m)  nonta ‘abandon O’  →  ēi-nonta, e-nonta ‘abandon each other’
(n)  rowaka ‘open O’  →  ēi-rowaka, e-rowaka ‘open’
(o)  kaika ‘scratch O’  →  ēi-kaika, e-kaika ‘scratch (oneself)’
(p)  pok’a ‘undress O’  →  ēi-poka, e-poka ‘undress (oneself)’
(q)  [t]pî ‘bathe O’  →  e-pî ‘bathe (oneself)’

Thus, one must notice a general pattern of free variation between e- and ēi-, ē̌s- on
C-initial stems; sometimes, all of the three are considered possible (22i). Speakers all agree
that the meaning of the resulting verb is not affected: the e- and ēi-/ē̌s-forms in (22h-o)
were all considered synonymous. On the other hand, different speakers varied on their
preferences. In some cases, both forms were accepted, but one was described as ‘better’; in other cases, one speaker considered a form incorrect, while another considered it acceptable.\(^{17}\) There were very few cases of universal agreement (one example was (23q); all speakers agreed that epį ‘bathe’ is possible, but not *ēpį). The factors, social or otherwise, which underlie this variation are unknown.\(^{18}\)

A certain number of irregularities occurred, involving idiosyncratic allomorphs of the detransitivizer like et- (23a), ēh- (23b-g),\(^{19}\) ēti- (23h), and even apparent suppletion (23i). All known cases are listed below.

\[(23a)\] ainka ‘run off with O’ \(\rightarrowē\text{-}ānika, et\text{-}ānika\) ‘run (away)’

\[(b)\] ku(ku) ‘try, taste O’ \(\rightarrowē\text{-}ku(ku)\) ‘try, taste (for oneself)’

\[(c)\] kuhtuntę ‘mark, measure O’ \(\rightarrowē\text{-}kuhtuntę\) ‘measure (for oneself)’

\[(d)\] tiHKa ‘scare O’ \(\rightarrowē\text{-}tiHKa\) ‘get scared’

\[(e)\] puunę(pį) ‘think about O’ \(\rightarrowē\text{-}puunę(pį),\)
\[ēi\text{-}puunę(pį)\] ‘think, meditate’

\(^{17}\) Two speakers agreed that the j-initial stems juuka ‘to curve, bend O’ and jiįka ‘to move O along a line’ could only take the allomorph e- (ejuuka ‘to bend’, ejįka ‘to ooze, to trickle’), but not ėēs- (*ēsůuka, *ēsůika). Unfortunately, other speakers were not consulted about these stems. Another irregular case was mo(mį) ‘gather O’, which unexpectedly took ė- (ēmo(mį) ‘get together, gather’) instead of ėi- or e-.

\(^{18}\) One may speculate whether this situation might be the result of the merging of two erstwhile independent prefixes, *e- and *ē-. It is difficult to resist the temptation of mentioning here the existence of two intransitivizing prefixes in Tupí-Guaraní languages, a reflexive and a reciprocal, which Jensen 1998:534ff reconstructs as *je- and *jo-, respectively. Rodrigues 1985, in which substantial evidence in favor of Tupí-Cariban relationships is given, also lists the prefix e- from Hixkaryana and Taulipang as cognate to Tupí-Guaraní (1985:380–381). Taking into account that the Tiriyo vowel ė seems to be a reflex of an earlier *o, the similarity between Tupí-Guaraní *je-, *jo- and the e- and ė-allomorphs of the Tiriyo detransitivizer is at least suggestive.

\(^{19}\) Considering the phonological changes which have occurred in Tiriyo (cf. Meira 1998a), the form of the prefixes ēh- and ėi- suggests that they may have had the same historical source, something like *ēc(į), with two different developments: *ēcį > ėi- by intervocalic *c-loss, and *ēc(į) > ēh- by syllable reduction. Notice that there are some cases of variation between ēh- and ėi- (e.g. ėi-puunę(pį) ~ ēh-puunę(pį) ‘think, meditate’). It would be interesting to analyze the available evidence from a diachronic perspective to try to determine what factors may have conditioned this divergent evolution (e.g. there may be a relation between them and the merger of i- and C-initial stems; maybe the *c in *eći- remained intervocalic with i-initial stems, but not with C-initial ones). It is not known whether the choice of ėi- vs. ēh- correlates with the dialect of the speaker. Which evolution was followed may have depended on the status of the following i; cf. 5.1.5 for the apparent merging of the (formerly independent) i- and C-initial stem classes.
As the above lists of examples have certainly already made clear, the meaning of the detransitivized stem is not completely predictable from the meaning of the transitive source stem. The most frequent result, with ‘prototypically’ transitive verbs, has reflexive or reciprocal semantics, but this is often not true. Table 5.6 illustrates the possible ways in which participants of the original transitive stem ‘survive’ in the derived detransitivized stem. There are cases of stems with clear reflexive / reciprocal meanings ($S_A=(A=O)$), stems which refer to the original $O$ ($S_A=O$, ‘medio-passive’), and stems which refer to the original $A$ ($S_A=A$, ‘antipassive’; this includes ‘benefactive’ cases such as ēh-kī ‘grate (cassave) for oneself’, ēēs-e ‘cook (food) for oneself’; cf. 10.3.2.3 for their syntactic behavior).

Table 5.6
Some examples of detransitivization with different surviving arguments.
‘Self’ in the gloss = both ‘oneself’ (reflexive) and ‘each other’ (reciprocal).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$S_A = (A = O)$ (‘Reflexive’)</th>
<th>$S_A = O$ (‘Medio-passive’)</th>
<th>$S_A = A$ (‘Antipassive’)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e-pī  ‘bathe self’</td>
<td>e-pahka ‘break’</td>
<td>ēt-amorehtē ‘dream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē-ene ‘see self’</td>
<td>e-rowaka ‘open’</td>
<td>ēh-puunē(pū) ‘think’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē-eta ‘hear self’</td>
<td>e-pūma ‘get ashamed’</td>
<td>ē-ehtē ‘plan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēt-aarama ‘adorn self’</td>
<td>e-turuka ‘spill (grains)’</td>
<td>et-ainka ‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēt-ona(mī) ‘hide self’</td>
<td>ē-entama ‘spill (liquids)’</td>
<td>ēt-uru ‘talk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-tuuka ‘hit/beat self’</td>
<td>e-tohka ‘explode’</td>
<td>ēh-kī ‘grate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē-eku ‘have sex with self’</td>
<td>ēt-amī(tī) ‘snap’(^{20})</td>
<td>ēēs-e ‘cook’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{20}\) From amī(tī) ‘cut O (rope, wire’); ēt-amī(tī) can refer to e.g. a rope that spontaneously snaps.
Often more than one meaning is possible. For instance, apē(i) ‘catch, seize O’ corresponds to ēt-apē(i), which can mean ‘catch, seize oneself / each other’, ‘to fight’, ‘to have sex’ (i.e. ‘reflexive’), but also ‘to hold on to something’ (i.e. ‘antipassive’).

(24a) n-ēt-apēē-ja-n_to
3SA-Detr-catch-Prs.Ipf-Dbt_3Col
‘They are grabbing each other, they are fighting / having sex’

(b) ēt-apēh-ḵē aapēi_pē
Detr-catch-Imper 2:seat:Pos_Ad
‘Hold on to your seat!’

In certain cases, the meaning can change more dramatically (without necessarily excluding a more ‘regular’ interpretation in the appropriate context). Aside from (24) above, the following cases were found:

(25a) wa ‘look for O’ → ēi-wa ‘hunt; get game’
(b) akaama ‘scold O’ → ēt-akaama ‘refuse to cooperate’
(c) ame(mi) ‘roll O up’ → ēt-ame(mi) ‘come very close’
(d) jahpēntē ‘help O’ → ēēs-ahpēntē ‘get out of trouble’

The semantic latitude of detransitivized verb stems is comparable to that of ‘middle verbs’ (as e.g. in Classical Greek). In Kemmer’s 1993:24ff terminology, Tiřiyó has a one-form middle system, i.e. it has the same morpheme as a marker of prototypical reflexivity / reciprocity and middle semantics. Table 5.7 shows how detransitivized verbs can be found in all semantic fields which Kemmer found in languages with middle morphology. Only logophoric middle cases are missing (i.e. ‘s/he said that s/he was going’...).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grooming / body care</th>
<th>Translational motion</th>
<th>Indirect (self-benefactive)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e-pi‘i</td>
<td>‘bathe’</td>
<td>‘buy for oneself’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ee-suka</td>
<td>‘wash’</td>
<td>‘cook for oneself’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-ponté</td>
<td>‘get dressed’</td>
<td>‘work for oneself’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-poka</td>
<td>‘undress’</td>
<td>‘grate cassava’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-ehpoka</td>
<td>‘shave’</td>
<td>for oneself’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-et-aarama</td>
<td>‘adorn oneself’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-ekurima</td>
<td>‘comb’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-ewe(tí)</td>
<td>‘eat, feed oneself’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Change in body posture</th>
<th>Naturally reciprocal events</th>
<th>Emotion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e-tahpaka</td>
<td>‘sit down’</td>
<td>e-pi‘i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-ntapo</td>
<td>‘yawn’</td>
<td>‘get ashamed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-pinwilka</td>
<td>‘nod, shake head’</td>
<td>e-enuuma ‘get sad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-tinma</td>
<td>‘shrug shoulders’</td>
<td>e-meneka ‘be surprised’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-translational motion</th>
<th>(Medio)-passive</th>
<th>Spontaneous events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e-panama</td>
<td>‘turn around’</td>
<td>e-pahka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-juuka</td>
<td>‘bend, bow’</td>
<td>‘break’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-es-ekinë(pí)</td>
<td>‘grit teeth’</td>
<td>e-ntaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-menuhë</td>
<td>‘be/get written’</td>
<td>e-tałaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-enepo</td>
<td>‘show oneself;</td>
<td>e-tamë(tí)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘be seen’</td>
<td>‘snap’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 5.7**

Semantic fields usually covered by middle-marked verbs (from Kemmer 1993)

In Kemmer’s view, the middle/reflexive marker in a one-form system has as one of its defining properties the ‘relatively low elaboration of events’, which is distinguished from the higher elaboration typical of two-participant, transitive events. As far as is known, this holds true for Tiriyo, with the following additional remarks:

(a) The middle/reflexive prefix is found outside of the verb system as a marker of reflexivity and/or reciprocity on postpositions and some nouns.
(b) On verbs, this morpheme is the only marker for the area defined by reflexive, reciprocal, and middle semantics, all the way from prototypical direct reflexive cases (e-tuuka ‘hit oneself / each other’) to all the middle cases listed in Table 5.7. No other markers of e.g. reflexivity were found, nor do there seem to be morphosyntactic tests that can distinguish ‘more reflexive’ from ‘more middle’ uses of the detransitivizer.

(c) The morpheme in question is a detransitivizer in that all verbs on which it was found seem to be fully intrasitive and to have transitive counterparts. There were no cases in which it occurred on verbs that remained transitive (i.e. capable of taking an overt O participant, such as e.g. Latin hortor ‘exhort’), or on an originally intransitive stem (i.e. like Old Norse grønask ‘become green’, or Spanish caerse ‘fall disastrously’, irse ‘go away’).\(^{21}\) Moreover, ‘emphatic’ situations, in which reflexive or middle markers often occur without affecting the valence of the verb (e.g. English ‘she did it herself’), do not contain the detransitivizer in Tiriyó (adverbs such as ėikarē ‘by oneself’, ‘without help’, or particles like _rē ‘exactly’, are used instead).

5.3.1.2. S₀ transitivization (-ka, -nē(pī), -nū(pī), -nūka). Transitive verb stems can be derived from all intransitive S₀ verb stems with the help of four different transitivizing suffixes. They distribute as follows:

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\(^{21}\) Among the exceptional Sₐ verbs in Table 5.4 there were some ē-initial stems; it is not impossible that at least some of them were derived from no longer extant stems. One of them, ēenō(ki) ‘sleep’, has non-detransitivized (S₀) cognates in other Cariban languages (e.g. Wayana ūník(i)); it may thus have been a case of extension of the detransitivizer prefix to an originally intransitive stem. More comparative research is necessary to clarify the history of this stem.
-nĩ(pĩ) ~ -nũka  with non-reducing stems (26a-d)

-nẽ(pĩ) ~ -nũka  with NV-reducing stems (26e-g)

-ka  with CV-reducing stems (26h-m)

(26a) ereeta ‘rest’  → ereeta-nĩ(pĩ), ereeta-nũka  ‘make O rest’
(b)  munta ‘bleed’  → munta-nĩ(pĩ), munta-nũka  ‘make O bleed’
(c)  enuta ‘remember’  → enuta-nĩ(pĩ), enuta-nũka  ‘make O remember’
(d)  emamina ‘play’  → emamina-nĩ(pĩ), emamina-nũka  ‘make O play’
(e)  kẽhtu(mu) ‘shout’  → kẽhtun-nẽ(pĩ), kẽhtun-nũka  ‘make O shout’
(f)  wanpa(mĩ) ‘sing hymns’  → wanpan-nẽ(pĩ), wanpan-nũka  ‘make O sing hymns’
(g)  jemipa(mĩ) ‘be hungry’  → jemipan-nẽ(pĩ), jemipan-nũka  ‘make O be hungry’
(h)  ja(tu) ‘burn’  → jah-ka  ‘burn O’
(i)  mĩri(tĩ) ‘choke’  → mĩrih-ka  ‘make O choke’
(j)  ta(tĩ) ‘get lost’  → tah-ka  ‘loose O’
(k)  emĩ(tũ) ‘dive’  → emĩh-ka  ‘make O dive’
(l)  aru(ku) ‘run aground’  → aruh-ka  ‘make O run aground’
(m)  apẽe(pĩ) ‘get tired’  → apẽeh-ka  ‘make O get tired’

Between -nĩ(pĩ), -nẽ(pĩ) and -ka, there is complementarity: a stem can never take
more than one of them. On the other hand, -nũka seems to be in free variation with -nĩ(pĩ)
and -nẽ(pĩ): no discernible difference in meaning was found. Moreover, there was much
variation. To some speakers, certain intransitive stems could take -nũka but not -nĩ(pĩ) or
-nẽ(pĩ); to others, exactly the opposite was true. The same speaker would sometimes prefer
one possibility and sometimes the other; contradictions were not infrequent. An additional
complicating factor is the fact that, in most cases, the causative suffix -po is added to the
transitivizers: both in elicitation and in texts, the sequences -nĩhpo, -nẽhpo, -nũkapo (and
also, but less so, -kapo) are the most frequent ways of forming a causative, while the
‘simpler’ -nĩ(pĩ), -nẽ(pĩ) are very infrequent in texts, and usually not the first translation
even in elicitation. Syntactically, however, they remain different (the forms with -po can have an intermediate oblique causee, marked with the postposition _:ja [cf. 10.3.2.3]; this is impossible for the forms without -po).

The sources of these suffixes, as well as the reason for their phonologically predictable distribution, are still unknown. It is interesting to observe, however, that there are four cases of -ni(pî) or -nê(pî) being apparently added to a nominal stem. This suggests that they may have been verbalizers (or then independent transitive verbs taking incorporated objects). As for -ka, the similarity with the 'Remove' verbalizer -ka (cf. 5.3.3.1.1) and with the lexical verb ka 'remove O' is tantalizing, but it is not clear how the meanings of these forms could be connected.

(27a) epi[nê(pî)] 'medicate O’ (epi[tî] 'medicine’)
(b) pani[nê(pî)] ‘listen to O’ (pana ‘ear’)
(c) eka[nî(pî)] ‘think; suppose O’ (eka ‘name; denomination’)
(d) emamî[nê(pî)] ‘make O play’ (emamî ‘toy’; cf. emamina ‘play (S_o)’)

5.3.1.3. S_A transitivization. For the overwhelming majority of S_A verb stems, the transitive source (the original transitive stem without the detransitivizing prefix described in 5.3.1.1) is available for use in the contexts where 'transitivized' S_o verbs would be needed (cf. (22-23) and Table 5.6 above). The cases of the suffix -po occurring on these stems do not represent instances of transitivization, but simply the result of detransitivization applied to a causativized transitive stem (cf. 5.2.2). For some of the non-detransitivized S_A stems listed in Table 5.4, irregular causative forms have been found; these are listed in (28).
(28a) čēnī(kī) ‘sleep’ → ininnē(pī), ininnē(kī) ‘put O to sleep’
(b) ihtē ‘go down’ → enihtēpo, enihtēnīh(po) ‘make O go down’
(c) oeka / weka ‘defecate’ → inekeanīhpo ‘make O defecate’
(d) wa ‘dance’ → ennāpo, ennanīhpo22 ‘make O dance’
(e) ēnanu(ku) ‘go up’ → aanu(hpo, ēnanu) hpo ‘make O go up’
(f) ēmi(mī), ēmē(mī) ‘enter’ → eemīhpo, eemīnēhpo ‘make O enter’
(g) ēe(pī) ‘come’ → ene(pī) ‘bring O’

No transitivized form was asked for ēu(mu) ‘warm up’. For ka ‘say’, some people accepted kapo ‘make O say’, but others did not. For the other non-detrasitivized S_A cases, an apparently unrelated S_A verb was given:

(29a) tē[mī] ‘go’ → enno(kī) ‘send O, make O go’
(b) e(i) ‘be’ → [t]rī ‘make O (be)’
(c) ēēsena ‘cry’ → amo, amonīhpo ‘cry about O, lament O’

Here are some examples of how they are used:

(30a) manko j-ennoo-ne makapa pona
1:mother 1O-send-Pst.Prf Macapā.Dir
‘My mother sent me to Macapá.’

(b) saasaame jī-rī-ne
happy 1O-make-Pst.Prf
‘(That) made me happy.’

(c) j-amo
1O-lament:Prs.Prf
‘S/he has cried about me.’

(d) w-amonīhpo
1A-make.cry:Prs.Prf
‘I made O cry.’

22 Two speakers accepted also the form wanihpo, which would be regular for an S_O verb; this seems related to the fluctuation between treating wa ‘dance’ as an S_A or as an S_O stem. A different speaker, however, considered only the irregular forms ennāpo, ennanīhpo (or eenāpo, eenanīhpo) possible.
These irregular forms are interesting from the historical perspective. In some of them, there is evidence for an ‘old causativizer’ en- or in- (cf. formatives in 12.2). Notice also that, quite surprisingly, some of them have the suffix -po, or even -ni(pí) or -nē(pí). Synchronously, they are simply irregular; however, one can hope that these irregular occurrences will find their place in the larger diachronic picture as comparative research probes deeper into the history of transitivizers in Cariban languages.

5.3.1.4. Causativization (-po). Causativized transitive verb stems can be derived from any transitive verb stem with the suffix -po. Formally speaking, there are no irregularities (reducing verb stems reduce as expected). Syntactically, the O of the original verb stem remains as such with the causativized stem; the original A becomes a causee (represented as C in the glosses), and appears in an oblique phrase (marked with the postposition :_ja). The new A corresponds to the causer. In semantic terms, the resulting verb indicates ‘general causation’ (like ‘make O do something’ in English), without emphasizing e.g. resistance by the causee (as in English ‘force O to do something’). The syntax and semantics of causative constructions are explored in 10.3.2.3.

(31a)  eta    ‘hear O’    →    eta-po  ‘make C hear O; explain O to C’
(b)  ene    ‘see O’    →    ene-po  ‘make C see O; show O to C’
(c)  tuuka  ‘hit O’    →    tuuka-po ‘make C hit O’
(d)  ene(pí) ‘bring O’ →    enehe-po ‘make C bring O’
(e)  pono(pí) ‘tell O’ →    ponoh-po ‘make C tell O; ask C about O’
(f)  ona(mí) ‘hide, bury O’ →    onan-po ‘make C hide/bury O’
5.3.2. **Noun incorporation.** The phenomenon of noun incorporation in Tiriyó is limited to certain specific cases. The most productive of them involves a body part as the highly affected object of a transitive verb (not e.g. experiencer verbs like *ene* ‘see O’, or *eta* ‘hear O’, but more ‘physical’, ‘contact’ verbs like *piimo* ‘hit O’ or *kūka* ‘rub, wipe O’); in these cases, any body part can be incorporated, as long as the resulting verb makes sense. The process thus derives, from a transitive verb stem V and a body part N, a new transitive verb stem, meaning ‘to V O on the N’ (32a). The new transitive verb stem has all the properties of a normal transitive stem (cf. (32b), in which it is causativized and in the t-se ‘remote past’ form).

(32a) *ji-pawana w-en-tēēka-e*
1-friend:Pos 1A-eye-hit.gently:Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘I am going to hit my friend on the eye.’

(b) *iwana fī-hpu-taaka-po-e kaikui_ja*
iguana T-foot-hit/tread-Caus-Rem.Pst jaguar_Agt
‘Jaguar hit/trod Iguana on the foot.’

(33) shows further examples, based on *enu* ‘eye’ (which shortens to *en* when incorporated), *pana* ‘ear’, *oona* ‘nose’, *apē* ‘arm’, *enja* ‘hand’, *(pu)pu* ‘foot’, *(mī)ta* ‘mouth’, *putupē* ‘head, hair’, *pīmī* ‘neck’ (which shortens to *pīn*), *ere* ‘liver’, *(mī)ka* ‘back’.23 Stems derived from initial-reducing nouns are shown in the reduced (coda) grade; there are, however, a few verb forms in which a full grade would occur (cf. 5.1.2).

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23 Incorporation can sometimes preserve what looks like an earlier form of the incorporated noun. The verb *nma-piimo* ‘hit O on the buttocks, spank O’ contains an element *nma* which is not synchronically meaningful. Considering, however, that the present-day word for ‘buttocks’ is *nmapu(nu)*, (e.g. *kī-nmapun-kon* ‘our buttocks’) and that *pu(nu)* by itself means ‘flesh, meat, body’, it is not hard to see that *nma* must have been the noun stem for ‘buttocks’ in the past.
(33a) piimo ‘hit (hard)’ → enja-piimo ‘hit O on the hand’
(b) en-piimo ‘hit O on the eyes’
(c) pana-piimo ‘hit O on the ears’
(d) apē-piimo ‘hit O on the arm’
(e) kiika ‘wipe/rub O’ → en-kiika ‘wipe O’s eyes’
(f) oona-kiika ‘wipe O’s nose’
(g) enja-kiika ‘wipe O’s hands’
(h) pana-kiika ‘wipe O’s ears’
(i) hpu-kiika ‘rub (something) on O’s foot’
(j) nta-kiika ‘wipe O’s mouth’
(k) putupē-kiika ‘rub O’s head’
(l) apē-kiika ‘rub O’s arm’
(m) wihka ‘throw O’ → pīn-wihka ‘make O nod’
(n) tunka ‘break O (egg)’ → en-tunka ‘pop O’s eyes’
(o) tihka ‘frighten O’ → ere-tihka ‘scare the hell out of O’
(lit. ‘liver-scare O’)  

Notice that the incorporated body parts are always simple roots; a derived stem (with e.g. the augmentative -imē, the diminutive -pisi(kē), the predilective -sepī, etc.) cannot be incorporated.

A less frequent, yet apparently productive incorporation process involves a body part as the S of an intransitive (S₀) verb, as in (34) below (note that the verb stem eramuhta ‘sweat’ unexpectedly loses its initial e). (35) has further examples.

(34) j-enja-ramuhta-e  
1S₀-hand-sweat:Prs.Ipf-Cty  
‘My hand is sweating.’

(35a) eramuhta ‘sweat’ → apē-ramuhta ‘arm-sweat’
(b) en-ramuhta ‘eye-sweat’
(c) nka-ramuhta ‘back-sweat’
(d) hpu-ramuhta ‘foot-sweat’
(e) piujuhta ‘excrete’ → oona-pijuhta ‘have a running nose’
There are sporadic cases of incorporation of noun roots other than body parts. They do not seem to be productive;\textsuperscript{24} apparently, they are better seen as cases of lexicalization (note that (36b) is detransitivized).

(36a) \textit{w-oota-puu-ja-e} \hspace{1cm} (b) \textit{t-ee-kamisa-pina-e_ken}  
1A-hole-fill-Prs.Ipf-Cty \hspace{1cm} Rm.Pst-S\textsubscript{A};Detr-loincloth-drag-Rem.Pst\_Cont  
'I am filling O's holes.' \hspace{1cm} 'He was always dragging his loincloth.'

Certain verbalizing suffixes (e.g. \textit{-ke(pī)} 'Cessative' [5.3.3.2.2], \textit{-ka} 'Prative' [5.3.3.1.1]) have corresponding independent verb stems (the S\textsubscript{o} \textit{ke(pī)} 'stop, end', and the transitive \textit{ka} 'remove O'). This suggests an alternative analysis of the occurrences of these suffixes as cases of nominal incorporation (of the S, for \textit{ke(pī)}, and of the O, for \textit{ka}). However, the distribution of \textit{-ke(pī)} and \textit{-ka} is not as should be expected if they were cases of incorporation: \textit{-ka} is much more productive, occurring on practically any noun root, and \textit{-ke(pī)}, while less productive, is also found on verb stems. On account of this, they are described as suffixes here. However, the relationship between the verb stems and the suffixes is obvious: the suffixes must have arisen from the verb stems, probably via nominal incorporation (either because there were fewer constraints in the past, or because the constraints were reduced for \textit{ke(pī)} and \textit{ka} as they grammaticalized).

5.3.3. Verbalization. Verb stems can only be derived from noun stems; adverbs and postpositions must be nominalized before they can be verbalized (cf. (44k-l); these are the

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\textsuperscript{24} One speaker was much freer in his willingness to accept the incorporation of non-body-parts (e.g. \textit{maja} 'knife', \textit{ehke(tī)} '(someone's) hammock' $\rightarrow$ \textit{maja-piimo} 'hit O's knife', \textit{maja-pahka} 'break O's knife', \textit{ehke-kiīka} 'rub (something) on O's hammock'. Other speakers clearly disagreed with him. One wonders if incorporation could be one of the possible venues for the expression of personal style and creativity in Tiriylő.
only cases in which a derived noun stem, rather than a noun root, can be verbalized). Depending on the verbalizing process, the resulting verb stem can be transitive or intransitive (S₀), with all the morphosyntactic and semantic properties associated with the subclass.

Formal and semantic similarities between the various verbalizers suggest the following (imperfect) parallelisms (for -nī(pī), -nē(pī) with nouns, cf. 5.3.1.2 above).

Table 5.8
Preliminary classification of Tiriyó verbalizers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Negative'</td>
<td>-ka 'Privative'</td>
<td>-ke(pī) 'Cessative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Positive'</td>
<td>-htē, 'Beneficiative'</td>
<td>-ta, 'Inchoative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ntē</td>
<td>-na, (-wa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abstract Positive'</td>
<td>-pa, 'Abstract Beneficiative'</td>
<td>-pa(mī), 'Abstract Inchoative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-ma(mī)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the formal viewpoint, it is noteworthy that most of the verbalizers (except -ka, -ke(pī), and -wa) can be divided into pairs with a nasal and a non-nasal member: -htē/-ntē, -pa/-ma, -ta/-na, and -pa(mī)/-ma(mī). Such pairings are reminiscent of the nominal past suffixes -hpē and -npē, which are distributed according to possessed noun classes: -hpē occurs on possessed -rī class nouns, -npē on possessed -Ø class nouns or on non-possessed nouns (cf. 4.3.1.5.1). Unfortunately, a similar distribution does not seem to hold for the verbalizers: nouns of both classes can be found with any verbalizer, nasal or non-nasal (cf. the examples in the following subsections). Although one may speculate that some
connection with the final syllable of the stem exists (cf. the explanation for koo-mamī ‘spend the night’ in 5.3.3.2.1 below), it appears that a better understanding of the situation will have to wait for further comparative research.

From the semantic viewpoint, there are certain tantalizing similarities between the transitive and intransitive verbalizers. All of them concern the relationship between one of the participants of the derived verb stem (O or S) and the source noun (N), in a ‘negative’ (‘depriving’, ‘ceasing’) or ‘positive’ (‘giving’, ‘having/getting’) manner. If the parallelisms were perfect, one might say that the transitive verbalizers are close to being causative versions of the intransitive verbalizers: the ‘positive’ beneficiative suffixes -htē/-ntē and -pa/-ma would describe the action of ‘giving N to O’, while the ‘positive’ inchoative suffixes -ta/-na (-wa) and -pa(mū)/-ma(mū) would correspond to the event of ‘producing/getting N’; the ‘negative’ privative suffix -ka would indicate the action of ‘taking N away from O’, while the ‘negative’ cessative -ke(pī) would express the idea of ‘losing N’, ‘not having N anymore’. There are, however, details which deviate from this parallelism: -ke(pī), for instance, is much less productive on nouns than -ka, and its meaning does not really imply ‘being deprived’ as much as ‘ceasing to function’, ‘stopping’; moreover, it is more frequently used with verb stems. In addition, though the distinction between -ta/-na and -pa(mū)/-ma(mū) roughly correlates with the distinction between -htē/-ntē and -pa/-ma (e.g. both -pa/-ma and -pa(mū)/-ma(mū) occur on ‘more abstract’ noun roots like emu(ku) ‘sadness’, akunu ‘laziness’, etc., while -ta/-na and htē/-ntē occur on ‘more concrete’ roots), the overlap is imperfect at best (e.g. nmuu-ma ‘impregnate O’, from nmuku ‘son’, corresponds not to *nmuh-pa(mū), but to nmuh-ta,
'have, give birth to a son'). Although Table 5.8 still looks suggestive, and may have consequences for diachronic studies, it seems that, in present-day Tiriyó, the exact process used to verbalize a noun root is, to a large extent, an idiosyncratic lexical matter.

5.3.3.1. Transitive verbalizers. The meaning of transitive verbs derived from noun roots (N) is always related to transferring possession (in its most generic sense) of this N: verbs for 'depriving O of N' or for 'providing O with N'. For each meaning, there is a fully productive suffix (-ka 'Privative' and -nté 'Beneficiative', respectively); for the 'provide' meaning, there are also several other less productive suffixes.

5.3.3.1.1. The privative verbalizer -ka. From any noun root N, a transitive verb meaning 'deprive O of N' can be derived with the privative suffix -ka. (37) shows a ka-verb used in a sentence; further examples are in (38).

(37) ji-nmuku wi-po-ka-e
1-sun 1A-clothes-Pri.Vzr:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am undressing my son.'

(38a) maja 'knife' → maja-ka 'deprive O of his/her knife'
(b) pī(fī) 'wife' → pīh-ka 'steal O’s wife'
(c) jo(mi) 'wrapping' → jon-ka 'unwrap O'
(d) :mo 'egg' → :mo-ka 'get O’s eggs (O=hen)'
(e) eperu 'fruit' → eperu-ka 'get O’s fruit (O=tree)'

A relation with the transitivizer -ka, used with syllable-reducing So stems (cf. 5.3.1.2), is perhaps not impossible, but seems hard to justify. A more obvious connection can be made with the transitive stem ka 'remove O', which is the obvious diachronic
source of the suffix -ka; cf. (39). It is not known whether or not there is a relationship with
the intransitive (SA) ka ‘say’ (notice that wĩ-ka-e ‘I am removing’ has wĩ-, with a final i, as
a first-person marker, which is also the case for ka ‘say’, tē[mĩ] ‘go’, and for the t-adding
verb stems of 5.1.3; it is not known whether ka ‘remove O’ is a t-adding verb, which would
distinguish it from ka ‘say’).

(39) i-mun wĩ-ka-e
    3-tuberous.root 1A-remove:Prs.Ipf-Cty
    ‘I am plucking out the (=its) roots.’

5.3.3.1.2. The beneficative verbalizers -ntē, -htē, -pa, and -ma. From any noun root N, a
transitive verb meaning ‘provide O with N’ can be derived with the suffix -ntē. (40) has a
sentence illustrating the use of a ntē-verb; (41) lists further examples.

(40) ji-pawana wi-pakoro-ntē-e
    1-friend 1A-house-Ben.Vzr:Prs.Ipf-Cty
    ‘I am (going to) give my friend a house.’

(41a) maja ‘knife’ → maja-ntē ‘provide O with a knife’
(b) panpira ‘paper; book’ → panpira-ntē ‘provide O with paper / a book’
(c) po ‘clothes’ → po-ntē ‘provide O with clothes; dress O’
(d) sopu ‘soap’ → sopu-ntē ‘provide O with soap; soap O up’
(e) pihpē ‘skin’ → pihpē-ntē ‘cover O with skin’
(f) kairi ‘stew’ → kairi-ntē ‘provide O with stew’
(g) repe(ti) ‘payment, reward’ → repe-ntē ‘pay, reward O’
(h) pata ‘village; place’ → pata-ntē ‘provide O with a place/village;
   help O settle down’

As (41h) suggests, in some cases, ntē-verbs have developed new meanings. Another
example is jahpē-ntē ‘to help O’, derived from jahpē, a noun that refers to all things that a
person needs in everyday life (clothes, utensils, firewood, rope, etc.), but which can be used for more abstract kinds of helping, as in the following example, in which an old man wants not to be given something, but to be taken somewhere (cf. also (25d), in which the detransitivized form ēēsahpēntē is used to mean ‘to get out of trouble’):

(42) kure, ji-pa-rī,  irēme kī-jahpēntē-kē,  k-ērē-h_pa!
    OK 1-grandson-Pos so 12AO-help-Imper 12AO-take-Imper_Rept
    ‘All right, my grandson, so please help me, take me there!’

(43) lists all the available examples of -htē, a suffix probably related to -ntē but much less productive.

(43a) menu ‘pattern; drawing’ \(\rightarrow\) menu-htē ‘paint O, write O’
(b) ewa ‘rope, thread’ \(\rightarrow\) ewa-htē ‘put a rope on O (bow, hammock)’
(c) jara ‘temporary shelter’ \(\rightarrow\) jara-htē ‘make shelter at O (e.g. tree)’
(d) wini ‘trick’ \(\rightarrow\) wini-htē ‘trick, deceive, outsmart O’
(e) tīpi ‘continuation’ \(\rightarrow\) tīpi-htē ‘continue O’
(f) amore ‘spirit; soul; shadow’ \(\rightarrow\) amore-htē ‘dream of O’
(g) arī ‘content’ \(\rightarrow\) arī-htē ‘fill O up’
(h) eka ‘name’ \(\rightarrow\) eka-htē ‘name O; give O a name’
(i) amoi ‘nails, claws’ \(\rightarrow\) amoi-htē ‘hang O’

As can be seen, htē-verbs tend to be less benefactive than ntē-verbs (compare (43b) and ewa-ntē ‘give O a rope’, or (43i) and amoi-ntē ‘give O nails, provide O with nails’). The suffix -htē is certainly more restricted: most noun stems cannot take it. However, it is not ‘dead’ morphology, since it can be used on new stems (in (43d), wini ‘trick’ is a relatively

\[25\] Also name of the plant from which a type of paint is made (Genipa americana, Rubiaceae).

\[26\] In one case, however, the reverse was observed: the verb stems eka-htē ‘name O, give O a name’, and ekanntē ‘indicate O, show where O is’, from eka ‘name’. It would be interesting to check the semantics of ntē-verbs corresponding to all the htē-verbs in (43).
recent borrowing from Sranantongo wini ‘win’, ultimately from English win). There are
also in the corpus three verbs ending in -htë (erahtë ‘find O’, amohtë ‘call O’, ehtë ‘think
about O, plan O’); they may turn out to be derived from older, perhaps no longer extant
noun roots.

(44) and (45) are exhaustive lists of the clear cases of the verbalizers -ma and -pa in
the available corpus (wapo-no ‘first one’ and epona-n ‘one who believes’ are the
nominalized form of the postposition wapo ‘before, in front of’ and epona ‘fidelitive’);
there may be others, among the verb stems ending in ma (e.g. ekarama ‘give O’, aarama
‘adorn O’, erekonma ‘harass O’, etc.), but further research is necessary to determine
whether or not they have synchronic nominal sources.

Judging by these words, the semantics of ma-verbalizations are less clearly
definable than was the case for ntë-verbalizations: not really ‘provide O with N’, but rather
‘affect O with N’, ‘affect O by being N’, ‘affect O so that it gets/feels N’, with N frequently
being rather abstract. As for pa-verbalizations, they are much fewer, but, curiously enough,
closer in meaning to ntë-verbalizations: ‘provide O with N’ (except for (45b)). The lists of
eamples do not clarify the issue of whether or not -ma and -pa are, or ever were, the same
suffix.

| (44a) | emu(ku) | ‘sadness’ | → | emuu-ma | ‘sadden O’ |
| (b)   | pii     | ‘shame’   | → | pii-ma  | ‘shame O’ |
| (c)   | ratoe   | ‘enemy’   | → | ratoe-ma| ‘attack O’ |
| (d)   | apoto   | ‘friend’  | → | apoto-ma| ‘help O’  |
| (e)   | akoro(nî)| ‘companion’| → | akoron-ma| ‘help O’ |
| (f)   | nmuku   | ‘son’     | → | nmuu-ma | ‘impregnate O’ |
| (g)   | sokîî   | ‘boiling water’ | → | sokîî-ma| ‘boil O’  |
| (h)   | wa(no)  | ‘power, magic’ | → | wan-ma  | ‘advise O’ |
(i) (wĩ)karau ‘anger’ → (wĩ)karau-ma ‘infuriate O’
(j) (wĩ)rāpē ‘evil; sin’ → (wĩ)rāi-ma ‘bad-mouth O’
(k) wapo-no ‘first one’ → wapon-ma ‘overtake / go past O’
(l) epona-n ‘believer’ → eponan-ma ‘help O’
(m) amū(ni) ‘weight’ → amū-ma ‘make O heavy’
(n) kutu(nu) ‘pain, bitterness’ → kutun-ma ‘irritate O’
(o) ikuru(nu) ‘weapon; danger’ → kurun-ma ‘make O be a guard, watcher’

(45a) (j)omi ‘language, voice’ → jon-pa ‘address O’
(b) enu ‘eye’ → en-pa ‘teach O’
(c) jokī ‘drink (N)’ → joh-pa ‘give O a drink’
(d) oti ‘meat food’ → o-pa ‘give O meat food’

There are, in addition, ma-derived verbs for which the synchronic nominal source is missing, but has apparently been used to form other words. This was the case for two color words:27

(46a) sikime ‘black’ (Adv.) sikin-ma ‘make/paint O black’
(b) tikorojo ‘white’ (Adv.) koroo-ma ‘make/paint O white’

5.3.3.2. Intransitive (S₀) verbalizers. The meaning of an S₀ verb stem derived from a noun root N involves the definition of a relationship between the subject (S) and the N: either the S is getting or producing N (in a general sense), or then the S is losing the N (or its N is not working). For the first sense, which describes the beginning of a state (inchoative), there is one productive suffix, -ta, and several less productive ones; for the

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27 The Sₐ verb stem emēnparēma ‘have an accident’ looks as if it were derived from the noun root mēnparē ‘belongings, baggage’ (with the verbalizer -ma and the detransitivizer e-); but the meaning should be ‘provide oneself with things’ (which is unattested), not ‘have an accident’. This may be another case of lexicalization. Another similar example may be panama ‘turn O’, which looks as though it should be derived from pana ‘ear’. 
second sense, which describes the end of a state (*cessative*), there is one (not very productive) suffix `-ke(pi).`

5.3.3.2.1. *Inchoative verbalizers* (*-ta*, *-na*, *-wa*, *-pa(mi)*, *-ma(mi)*). From any noun root N, an *S_0* verb stem meaning ‘having N’ or ‘producing N’ can be derived with one of the suffixes *-ta*, *-na*, *-wa*, *-pa(mi)* and *-ma(mi)*. These suffixes do not seem to contrast with each other; rather, they occur on different classes of nouns.

The most frequent of all is *-ta*, which is used to derive several hundred verb stems. (47) contains a sentence example (notice the possibility of a *ke* complement; cf. 10.3.2.3); (48) lists further lexical examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(47)</th>
<th>kokoro ji-pih-ta-e</th>
<th>karaiwa_ke</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tomorrow 1S_0-wife-Have.Vzr-Cty Brazilian_Inst</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Tomorrow I am getting a Brazilian wife.’ (=I am getting married with a Brazilian.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| (48a) | njo ‘husband’ → njo-ta ‘get a husband’ |
| (b) | nmuku ‘son’ → nmuh-ta ‘give birth to a son’ |
| (c) | eemi ‘daughter’ → eemi-ta ‘give birth to a daughter’ |
| (d) | eperu ‘fruit’ → eperu-ta ‘produce fruit (e.g. a tree)’ |
| (e) | eramu(ku) ‘sweat’ → eramuh-ta ‘sweat’ |
| (f) | suku ‘juice; urine’ → suh-ta ‘urinate’ |
| (g) | eta(ku) ‘spittle’ → etah-ta ‘drool’ |
| (h) | jomi ‘language’ → jomi-ta ‘speak, produce speech (e.g. a child)’ |
| (g) | eta(ku) ‘spittle’ → etah-ta ‘drool’ |
| (i) | kaimo ‘game’ → kaimo-ta ‘have (killed) game’ |
| (j) | munu ‘blood’ → mun-ta ‘bleed’ |
| (k) | (wï)karau ‘anger’ → (wï)karau-ta ‘be angry’ |
The suffix -wa occurred only once, on the same stem as (48k), (wî)karau 'anger', yielding (wî)karauwa 'be angry'. No difference in meaning between the two S0 verb stems was detected.

The clearer instances of occurrence of the suffix -na were the following:

(49a) awain 'clear, light' → awai-na 'dawn; rise (sun)'
(b) eremi 'song' → eremi-na 'sing'
(c) potî 'upper lip' → potî-na 'whistle'
(d) emamin 'toy' → emami-na 'play'
(e) erei(mî) 'smoke' → erei-na 'smoke (e.g. fire)'

Judging by (49a) and (49d), there seems to be some relation between a noun root ending in a nasal and its corresponding verbalization taking -na. However, this correlation is not entirely satisfactory: there are nasal-final roots that take the -pa(mî) verbalizer (cf. akunu in (49a)).

(50) and (51) list the clearer cases of -pa(mî) and -ma(mî), respectively, found in the available corpus.

(50a) akunu 'laziness' → akun-pa(mî) 'be/feel lazy'
(b) emu(ku) 'sadness' → emuh-pa(mî) 'be/feel sad'
(c) jemi 'hunger' → emi-pa(mî) 'be/feel hungry'
(d) kaara 'bitter taste' → kaara-pa(mî) 'ferment'
(e) fino(fî) 'cold; dew' → :nôh-pa(mî) 'be/feel cold'
(f) joro(ko) 'spirit; maraca' → jorô-pa(mî) 'be/feel dizzy, crazy'
(g) kêi 'fever' → kêi-pa(mî) 'have fever'

(51) koko 'night' (Adv) → koo-ma(mî) 'spend the night'
Thus, the only clear instance of -ma(mî) occurred on an adverb, koko ‘(at) night’. One explanation for this would be to assume that koko was nominalized with the suffix -(no) (koko-n ‘someone/something who works, lives etc. at night’), and that -ma(mî) is the result of the interaction between -pa(mî) and the nominalized form koko-(no).

5.3.3.2.2. The cessative -ke(pî). This suffix derives So verbs from nouns with the meaning ‘to stop having N’, ‘to stop being able to use N’. In most (but not all) examples, the source noun was a body part.

(52a) enu ‘eye’ \[→\]  en-ke(pî) ‘to be in the dark; to stop seeing’
(b) pana ‘ear’ \[→\]  pana-ke(pî) ‘to become deaf; to stop listening’
(c) apê ‘arm’ \[→\]  apê-ke(pî) ‘to lose one’s arms’
(d) mu(nu) ‘tuberous root’ \[→\]  mun-ke(pî) ‘to stop putting out roots’
(e) maja ‘knife’ \[→\]  maja-ke(pî) ‘to stop having knives, to lose one’s knives’

Examples based on other noun stems, including body parts, were often considered unappropriate (one speaker said about (52c) that it was ‘not very good, because people don’t usually lose their arms’; another speaker said that it could refer to a maimed person).

One case of an apparently lexicalized form has been found: 29

(53) erepa ‘food’ \[→\]  erepa-ke(pî) ‘to stifle; to be unable to breathe’

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28 Cf. the glossary (Appendix) for doubts concerning the final syllable of this stem.
29 The case of ewanê-keh-ka ‘to cheer O up’, with both -ke(pî) and the transitivizer -ka, apparently from the noun stem ewanê ‘heart’, possibly reflects a culture-specific connection between the heart and certain emotional states: in case they happen to see the heart as the source of ‘negative emotions’ (fear, anguish, nervousness etc. tend to accelerate the heartbeat), then ‘to stop O’s heart’ could become ‘to cheer O up’.

One speaker accepted (53) as also meaning 'to have no food', but pointed out that the 'stifle' meaning is much more frequent. A different speaker, however, did not accept the reading 'to have no food'; he noted that this verb can even be used idiomatically to say that one feels tired of staying home and wants to go out for a walk. These facts make the productivity of -ke(pī) seem low; unfortunately, there were not enough examples in the available corpus to reach a definitive conclusion. More research is necessary here.

A more frequent use of -ke(pī) is with verb stems, to indicate that the action described by the original stem has ceased. This may imply the completion of a task (54a-c), but also an interruption (54d). Notice that the kepī-derived stem belongs to the same subclass (transitive, S_A or S_O) as the original stem.

(54a) akē(tē) ‘cut/clear O (e.g. field)’ → akēh-ke(pī) ‘finish clearing O’
(b) apēēna ‘finish up (task)’ (S_O) → apēēna-ke(pī) ‘end finishing up’ (S_O)
(c) ḫēmo(mū) ‘get together’ (S_A) → ḫēmon-ke(pī) ‘finish getting together’ (S_A)
(d) jahpēntē ‘help O’ → jahpēntē-ke(pī) ‘stop helping O’

The verb stem ke(pī) ‘stop’ (55) is the obvious source for the cessative suffix -ke(pī). It is an S_O verb, as is illustrated in (55) by its occurrence with the first-person prefix ji-.

(55) ji-kee-ja-e
1SO-stop-Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘I am stopping.’
One might wonder whether or not the cases of the suffix \textit{-ke(pí)} on nominal stems could not be better analyzed as nominal S-incorporation by the verb stem \textit{ke(pí)}. However, the distribution of \textit{-ke(pí)} is different from what one would expect from cases of incorporation such as the ones described in 5.3.2 (e.g. \textit{-ke(pí)} occurs on verb stems). For this reason, it seems better to consider \textit{-ke(pí)} as a suffix, the verb stem \textit{ke(pí)} simply being its historical source.

5.4. Inflection. The inflectional morphology of Tiriyó verbs is typical of the Cariban family; in level of complexity, it can be compared to Indo-European languages. The main semantic categories which are morphologically expressed in the verb are: Person (cf. 5.4.1.1), Number (5.4.1.2), and Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM; 5.4.1.3). The formal means of expressing these categories lead to a classification of verb forms in three groups:

— The \textit{conjugated} or \textit{Set I} forms (cf. Gildea 1998:16ff, 57ff), which are characterized by the overt marking of A, O and S with person-marking prefixes and number-marking suffixes. The TAM categories show a factual vs. non-factual distinction, with the factual category further distinguishing three tenses (present, past, future) with two aspects each (imperfective, perfective).

— The \textit{non-conjugated} forms, which are characterized by the lack of person- and number-marking affixes for S or A (certain forms can take O-marking affixes indicating
person and number). These forms include negation, supine ('purpose of motion'), a remote past (also distinguishing imperfective from perfective), and two circumstantial forms indicating Posteriority and motive. They are less finite than the conjugated forms.

— The imperative forms, which are intermediate between conjugated and non-conjugated forms in that they can take certain (but not all) A- and S-marking prefixes. The second-person imperative includes static and allative ('Go') forms, while the non-second-person imperative has a hortative ('let us') form. Special venitive ('Come') and jussive ('let me', 'let him') constructions are based on the supine with specific particles.

The allomorphic pattern and meanings of the various forms are discussed in detail in the following section. As a first map to orient the reader, Table 5.9 presents the forms of the verb stem pono(pî) 'tell O' for second-person A and third-person O (prefix mi- on conjugated forms, i- or in- on non-conjugated forms), except for the hortative ('let us') and jussive ('let me', 'let him') forms. The arrow represents an ongoing case of replacement; cf. the respective sections. Unnecessary details are not indicated.
Table 5.9
A first map of the Tiriyó verb system. (Cty = Certainty, Dbt = Doubt)
Less used tenses are shaded.

### Conjugated (Set I) Factual

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Collective</td>
<td>Collective</td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Collective</td>
<td>Collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cty Future</td>
<td>mi-ponoh-tae</td>
<td>mi-ponoh-tahki(i)</td>
<td>you will tell</td>
<td>mi-ponoo-jake(mi)</td>
<td>mi-ponoo-jatekë(mi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dbt</td>
<td>mi-ponoh-ta(nc)</td>
<td>(maybe) you all will tell</td>
<td>(for a second)</td>
<td>you all will tell</td>
<td>(for a second)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cty Present</td>
<td>mi-ponoo-jae</td>
<td>mi-ponoo-jat(i)</td>
<td>you have told</td>
<td>mi-pono(p)</td>
<td>mi-ponoh-ti(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dbt</td>
<td>mi-ponoo-ja(në)</td>
<td>(maybe) you all are telling</td>
<td>you all have told</td>
<td>mi-ponoo-ne</td>
<td>mi-ponoh-tene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>mi-ponoo-ja(kë)ne</td>
<td>you used to tell</td>
<td>you all used to tell</td>
<td>mi-ponoo-ne</td>
<td>you told</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Conjugated (Set I) Non-Factual

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-Collective</th>
<th>Collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hypothetical</td>
<td>mi-ponop(i)</td>
<td>mi-ponoh-ti(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you would tell /</td>
<td>you all would tell /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>have told</td>
<td>have told</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increduitive</td>
<td>mi-ponop(i)-je(pe)</td>
<td>mi-ponoh-te(e)(pe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you won’t tell!</td>
<td>you all won’t tell!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I don’t believe</td>
<td>I don’t believe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you would tell</td>
<td>you all would tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admonitive</td>
<td>mi-ponoo-ne(nu)</td>
<td>mi-ponoh-tene(nu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(watch out), lest</td>
<td>(watch out), lest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you tell</td>
<td>you tell</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Non-Conjugated

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Habitual</th>
<th>Non-Collective</th>
<th>Collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i-ponoo-se (ëmë)</td>
<td>(you) used to tell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supine</td>
<td>i-ponoo-se (ëja)</td>
<td>(for you) to tell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>in-ponoo-sewa (ëmë)</td>
<td>(you) not telling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote</td>
<td>ti-ponoo-se (ëja)</td>
<td>(you) told</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>i-ponoh-tuwë (ëja)</td>
<td>after you tell/told</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posteriority</td>
<td>i-ponoh-tëkë (ëja)</td>
<td>because you tell/told</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-Collective</th>
<th>Collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Static</td>
<td>i-ponoh-kë</td>
<td>i-ponoh-të(kë)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you tell!</td>
<td>you tell!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative (‘Go’)</td>
<td>i-ponoh-ë</td>
<td>i-ponoh-tatë(kë)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you go tell!</td>
<td>you all go tell!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venitive (‘Come’)</td>
<td>i-ponoo-se mëi</td>
<td>i-ponoo-se mëko(mo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you come tell!</td>
<td>you all come tell!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-Second-Person</th>
<th>Collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hortative</td>
<td>ki-ponoo-ne</td>
<td>ki-ponoh-tene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>let us tell!</td>
<td>let us all tell!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jussive</td>
<td>ëwë wi-ponoo-jae</td>
<td>let me tell!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ëwë(h_to)</td>
<td>ni-ponoo-jan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>let him (them) tell!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4.1. The conjugated (Set I) system. The characterizing feature of the conjugated (Set I) system is the occurrence of person- and number-marking affixes referring to A, O and S participants, along with certain morphosyntactic properties (overt nominal participants are not case-marked, the third-person A and O prefix n- is in complementary distribution with an overt preverbal O nominal; cf. 10.3.2.3).

5.4.1.1. Person marking. Different prefixes are used to distinguish four basic persons: first person singular (‘1’), second person (‘2’), first person dual inclusive (‘1+2’) and third person (‘3’), as was introduced in 3.3.1.2 (recall that the first person exclusive [‘1+3’] behaves morphosyntactically like a third person). The person-marking prefixes refer to the various participants (A, O and S) of the event described by the verb stem on which they occur. The form, number and usage of these prefixes clearly distinguish transitive from intransitive verb stems.

Transitive verb stems have a richer person-marking system: they can take a total of eight different prefixes to indicate the A and O participants. Gildea 1998 describes such systems as based on a two-level person hierarchy.

Intransitive verb stems fall into two groups, according to the subset of person-marking prefixes that they can take to mark their S participant. The first (or S_O) group uses the O-marking prefix set, also used for the O participant on transitive stems; the second (or S_A) group uses prefixes very similar to the transitive A-marking set. These parallelisms resemble quite closely what Dixon 1979, 1994 calls a ‘split-S system’; however, this analysis is not felicitous for Tiriyó, on semantic and morphological grounds (cf. 5.2.2). The
terms ‘Sa’ and ‘So’ are used here as convenient labels for the two subclasses of intransitive verb stems, without any implied semantic consequences.

5.4.1.1.1. Transitive stems: the two-level person hierarchy. On transitive verb stems, a total of eight person-marking prefixes can be used: the A-marking (Gildea’s 1998 *direct*) prefixes, the O-marking (Gildea’s *inverse*) prefixes (also used on nouns [cf. 4.3.1.2] and postpositions [cf. 7.1.1]), the SAP-only (Gildea’s *local*) prefix, and the non-SAP or third-person (Gildea’s *3A3O*) prefixes. Table 5.10 lists these prefixes (symbols in parentheses refer to morphophonological effects; cf. below). In addition, there is a *prefixless* form, which is used instead in the third-person-only situation with an immediately preverbal O nominal. A conjugation of the stem *eta* ‘hear O’ in the Present Perfective (suffix -Ø), with a few additional Past Perfective and Hypothetical forms, is given in (56) as an illustrative example. Irregularities are discussed at the end of this section.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A-marking</th>
<th>O-marking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>w-, wi-, wi-</td>
<td>1A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-, mi-, mī-</td>
<td>2A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k(ː)-, kī-, kīt-</td>
<td>1+2A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(56) *eta* ‘hear O’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SAP-only</th>
<th>Non-SAP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k(e&gt;%), kī-</td>
<td>12AO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-, ni-, nī-</td>
<td>3AO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ø-, i-; kīn-, kīnī-)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.10
Transitive person-marking prefixes.

A-marking:
- **w-eta** ‘I have heard O(3rd)’
- **m-eta** ‘you have heard O(3rd)’
- **k-eeta** ‘we (1+2) have heard O(3rd)’

O-marking:
- **j-eta** ‘s/he/it has heard me’
- **ē-eta** ‘s/he/it has heard you’
- **k-ēta** ‘s/he/it has heard us (1+2)’
Non-SAP

\textbf{n-eta} 's/he/it has heard O(3rd)'
\textbf{kín-eta} 's/he/it heard O(3rd) long ago'
\textbf{eta-i} 's/he/it would hear O(3rd)'

SAP-only

\textbf{k-ëta} 'I heard you',
\textbf{you heard me'}

\textbf{tonoro eta} 's/he/it has heard the bird' (=\textbf{tonoro})
\textbf{tonoro eta-ne} 's/he/it heard the bird long ago'

As can be seen in the above examples, the A-marking prefixes occur when the O
participant is a third person ('I → him/her/it', etc.), while the O-marking prefixes are used
when the A participant is a third person ('s/he/it → me', etc.). When both participants are
third persons, \textbf{n-} is used (or \textbf{kín-} in the Past Perfective, or \textbf{Ø/-i-} in the Non-factual forms),
extcept if an overt O nominal immediately precedes the verb, in which case the prefixless
form occurs (cf. 10.2.2; notice that the Past Perfective suffix -\textbf{ne} reappears if \textbf{kín-}
is dropped, as in the \textbf{eta-ne} example above). When neither participant is a third person, the
SAP-only prefix is used, resulting in either 'I → you' or 'you → me'.

Similar systems are frequent in the Cariban family (cf. Gilda 1998:57ff on Set I
languages). The two main accounts of these systems found in the literature are: the
\textit{portmanteau} analysis (cf. Hoff 1968, 1995, for Carib of Surinam), which considers all
prefixes to refer to both the A and O participant (which implies that the A- and O-marking
prefixes also include a reference to a third-person participant, so that e.g. the first-person A-
marking prefix \textbf{w-} actually is '1A3O' rather than simply '1A'), and the \textit{person hierarchy} or
\textit{inverse} analysis (cf. Derbyshire 1987, Gilda 1994, 1998), which treats the A- and O-

---

\textsuperscript{30} Notice that this prefix has exactly the same allomorphic pattern and morphophonological effects as the
1+2O prefix (both are k(ê,ô)- / kî-). One could unify both, claiming that this prefix is used to indicate 'first-
and/or second-person affectedness': the O participant is either a first person, or a second person, or both.
Given the existence of other A- and O-marking prefixes, considering there to be two \textbf{k-} prefixes has the
advantage of keeping the two prefix sets parallel, which is why this analysis is adopted here. Of course, a
historical connection between them is not excluded.
marking prefixes as referring to only one participant. The main argument for the person hierarchy analysis is the existence of non-transitive uses for the prefixes (the A-marking set, with modifications, can mark the S participant on \( S_A \) verbs; the O-marking set is used to mark the S participant on \( S_O \) verbs, the possessor on possessed nouns [cf. 4.3.1.2] and the object on inflected postpositions [cf. 7.1.1]) without any third-person reference; one immediately feels compelled to admit the same lack of third-person reference for the transitive uses. For the portmanteau analysis, the existence of the non-transitive uses of the prefixes has no explanation; it is, \textit{lato sensu}, a coincidence. However, the inverse analysis has its problems as well. First, there is at least one prefix (the k- '12AO') which has to be analyzed as making reference to both the A and the O participants. Furthermore, if the third-person participant is not part of the meaning of the A- and O-marking prefixes, then where in the verb word is it expressed? Explanations such as e.g. 'the O-marking prefixes are used when the A participant is a third person', or 'in the context of a third-person A participant' suggest the \textit{de facto} assumption of the existence of a \( \emptyset \)-third-person marker.

An intermediate interpretation is proposed here. The A- and O-marking prefixes are seen as referring to both participants, but with one of them being clearly dominant, in that it is preserved in non-transitive uses. This situation is reminiscent of cases of semantic markedness: just as, in gender languages, the masculine gender is unmarked and can thus be used in generic or genderless contexts (as e.g. the—currently under attack—English 'generic he'), person-marking prefixes in Cariban languages have one unmarked participant (the dominant A or O) that determines which person reference survives in neutralized (i.e.
non-transitive) contexts. In this sense, the A- and O-marking prefixes are really A- and O-marked, or A- and O-dominant.

Bearing this interpretation in mind, it becomes possible to accept the basic characterization of transitive person-marking according to the participant hierarchy analysis: a SAP which is involved in a given event is always marked on the verb stem that describes this event (with an A-dominant prefix, if it is the A participant, or with an O-dominant prefix, if it is the O participant). If both A and O are SAPs, the SAP-only prefix k- is used; if neither A nor O is a SAP, one of the non-SAP alternatives (n-, kín-, i-, a prefixless form) is used. This situation can then be analyzed as what Gildea 1994 terms inverse alignment with a two-level person hierarchy in which SAPs outrank third persons:31

\[ 1 = 2 \quad > \quad 3 \]

For the O-marking prefixes, the distribution of the various allomorphs is exactly the same as was the case with possessed nouns (4.3.1.2) and inflected postpositions (7.1.1). The A-marking, SAP-only and non-SAP prefixes are also sensitive to the same factors. For ease of understanding, these factors are listed here as well:

(i) C- vs. V-initial stems (the vowel-final allomorphs occur on consonant-initial stems, while the consonant-final allomorphs occur on vowel-initial stems; the 1+2A prefix is k- if the stem starts with an eC syllable, it is k- with lengthening (k:-) if the stem starts

---

31 It is debated whether or not the word inverse, traditionally associated with the Algonquian person and voice system, should be extended to all situations that involve participant hierarchies, as was done in Givón 1994. No position is taken here; it shall only be observed that, whatever viewpoint one has in this debate, it is clear that the Tiriyó system is very different from the Algonquian one.
with a coda-less e, it is kît- if it starts with a vowel other than e, and kii- if it starts with a consonant);

(ii) quality of the first vowel in V-initial stems: ę- '2O' assimilates to vowel length on a- and o-initial stems;

(iii) ablaut (cf. 2.6.1): the k- prefixes ('12AO' and '1+2O') cause e-, aCē- and aCo-initial stems to occur in their back grade form (i.e. with e > ę, aCē > ęCē, and aCo > oCo).

Table 5.11 and the (past perfective) examples following it in (57) illustrate the patterns. English translations are not provided for the examples, since they are all as would be expected (cf. the forms of eta in (56) above).

Table 5.11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>C-stems</th>
<th>eC-stems</th>
<th>e-stems</th>
<th>o-stems</th>
<th>a-stems</th>
<th>aCē-stems</th>
<th>aCo-stems</th>
<th>others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1A</td>
<td>wi-</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>w-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2A</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2A</td>
<td>kii-</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>kêt-</td>
<td>kêt-</td>
<td>kêt-</td>
<td>kêt-</td>
<td>kêt-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1O</td>
<td>ji-</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>j-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2O</td>
<td>ě-</td>
<td>ě-</td>
<td>ę-</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ě-</td>
<td>ě-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3AO</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2O, 12AO</td>
<td>kî-</td>
<td>k-e &gt; k-ę</td>
<td>k-e &gt; k-ę</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-a &gt; k-ę</td>
<td>k-a &gt; k-o</td>
<td>k-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(57) konka enpa ene ono(pī) apuru arē amo uro
    pierce O teach O see O paint O lock O take O mourn O warn O

1A wi-konka w-enpa w-ene w-onopī w-apuru w-arē w-amō w-uro
2A mi-konka m-enpa m-ene m-onopī m-apuru m-arē m-amō m-uro
1+2A kii-konka k-enpa k-ene kît-onopī kît-apuru kît-arē kît-amō kît-uro
1O ji-konka j-enpa j-ene j-onopī j-apuru j-arē j-amō j-uro
2O ě-konka ě-enpa ě-ene o-onopī a-apuru a-arē a-amō ě-uro
3AO ni-konka n-enpa n-ene n-onopī n-apuru n-arē n-amō n-uro
1+2O, 12AO kî-konka k-ënpa k-ënē k-onopī k-apuru k-ërē k-omō k-uro
The prefix ë- disappears with a- and o-stems with an initial diphthong or long vowel (i.e. it assimilates and is completely absorbed by the stem). With ee-initial stems, it does not assimilate, but the long vowel shortens to e, so that the result is a diphthong (ëe). With ei-initial stems, the initial e is dropped, so that the result is ėi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(58)</th>
<th>aitë</th>
<th>oima</th>
<th>aarama</th>
<th>eeka</th>
<th>eiraano(pī)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>push O</td>
<td>mix O</td>
<td>adorn O</td>
<td>bite O</td>
<td>get angry at O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1A</td>
<td>w-aitë</td>
<td>w-oima</td>
<td>w-aarama</td>
<td>w-ceka</td>
<td>w-eiraanopī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2A</td>
<td>m-aitë</td>
<td>m-oima</td>
<td>m-aarama</td>
<td>m-ceka</td>
<td>m-eiraanopī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2A</td>
<td>kit-aitë</td>
<td>kit-oima</td>
<td>kit-aarama</td>
<td>n-ceka</td>
<td>n-eiraanopī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1O</td>
<td>j-aitë</td>
<td>j-oima</td>
<td>j-aarama</td>
<td>j-ceka</td>
<td>j-eiraanopī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2O</td>
<td>aitë</td>
<td>oima</td>
<td>aarama</td>
<td>ė-eka</td>
<td>ėiraanopī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3AO</td>
<td>n-aitë</td>
<td>n-oima</td>
<td>n-aarama</td>
<td>n-ceka</td>
<td>n-eiraanopī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2O,</td>
<td>k-aitë</td>
<td>k-oima</td>
<td>k-aarama</td>
<td>k-ēeka</td>
<td>k-ēiraanopī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With consonant-initial t-adding stems (cf. 5.1.3), the ū-final allomorphs of the person-marking prefixes are used. Notice the lengthening of the 2O prefix ė. Vowel-initial t-adding stems are regular. Stems with an initial reducing syllable (cf. 5.1.2) will produce the appropriate grade, depending on the following consonant (cf. 2.6.2 for syllable reduction). Notice that the 1+2A prefix kii- occurs as ki- if the initial reducing syllable occurs in the coda grade (e.g. hpa 'water O').

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32 For some speakers, the 1O allomorph ji- could be used with t-adding stems instead of ji- (i.e. ji-rū, ji-pī, ji-wē, in variation with ji-rū, ji-pī, ji-wē). The 1+2A form kitūrījae 'we are making it' is in variation with kitūijae (the latter being apparently more frequent).
The various allomorphs of the 3AO prefix are used in different TAM forms. The form kën- occurs in the past (perfective and imperfective), and i-/Ø- occurs in the non-factual forms. The prefixless form, which occurs when an O nominal immediately precedes the verb (cf. 10.2.2), can optionally have an i- on consonant-initial stems without any apparent change in the meaning (60c-e). This optionality differentiates it from the i-/Ø-forms in the Hypothetical and Incredulitative, for which the i- allomorph on consonant-initial stems is obligatory.

(60a) **n-apëi**  
3AO-catch:Prs.Prf  
'S/he has caught (it).'

(b) **pakira apëi**  
peccary.sp 3AO:catch:Prs.Prf  
'S/he has caught the peccary.'

(c) **ni-pahka**  
3AO-break:Prs.Prf  
'S/he has broken (it).'

(d) **ti-nasu-h-ton ipahka**  
3R-toy-Pos-Col 3AO:break:Prs.Prf  
'S/he has broken his/heri toys.'

(e) **ti-nasu-h-ton pahka**  
3R-toy-Pos-Col 3AO:break:Prs.Prf  
'S/hei has broken his/heri toys.'
No occurrences of this i- on t-adding stems were observed in the available corpus. Unfortunately, speakers were not asked whether this i- was at all possible; presumably, it is not. The examples below have the stems [t]wē ‘shoot O’, [t]rī ‘make O’, and [t]pē(ū) ‘gather O (fruit)’.

(61a) akī wē-n ?
    wh.An 3AO:shoot:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
    ‘Who (=which animal) is s/he (trying to) shoot?’

(b) pakoro rī-ja-n
    house 3AO:make-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
    ‘S/he is making a house.’

(c) eperu pē-ja-n
    fruit 3AO:gather-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
    ‘S/he is gathering fruit.’

The presence of this optional i- still lacks a clear explanation. One may suggest it as one of the consequences of the past merger of i- and consonant-initial stems that was hypothesized in 5.1.5: former i-initial stems optionally lost their i as the merger progressed, and this optionality was later extended to the former consonant-initial stems. Another possibility is that OV constituents are parallel to genitive phrases: with the coming of the innovative possessive construction NPSR i-NPSD (cf. 10.2.2), the OV phrase also became (optionally) O i-V. If this is true, then maybe there are certain parallel nuances (i.e. maybe an O V phrase is sometimes more ‘semantically integrated’ than an O i-V phrase; cf. 10.2.2 for the genitive cases). Further research, both synchronic and diachronic, is necessary.

5.4.1.1.2. Intransitive stems: the epiphenomenal split-S system. Person marking is one of the four independent parameters that define the two subclasses of intransitive verbs (S_A
and $S_O$; cf. 5.2.2). The parallelism between S-marking on these stems and A- and O-marking on transitive verb suggests a split-S (‘Active-Stative’ or ‘Agent-Patient’) analysis of the person-marking system. The reasons why this analysis was not adopted are discussed in 5.2.2; the present section aims only at describing the prefixes and their allomorphic patterns. Table 5.12 contains a summary of the prefixes, including all conditioned allomorphs; (62) illustrates with two stems conjugated in the Present Perfective.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>$S_A$</th>
<th>$S_O$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>w-, wi-, s-, t-</td>
<td>j-, ji-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>m-, mi-</td>
<td>ê-, a-, o-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>n-, ni-, (kîn-)</td>
<td>n, ni-, ni-, (kîn-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2S</td>
<td>kî-, kît-, k(ː)-</td>
<td>kî-, k(e&gt;ê)-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(62) tê[mi] ‘go’  
emamina ‘play’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>S-marking prefixes.</th>
<th>A-marking prefixes.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>wi-tēn ‘I have gone’</td>
<td>j-emamina ‘I have played’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>mi-tēn ‘you have gone’</td>
<td>ê-emamina ‘you have played’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2S</td>
<td>kî-tēn ‘we (1+2) have gone’</td>
<td>k-ēmamina ‘we (1+2) have played’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>ni-tēn ‘s/he has gone’</td>
<td>n-emamina ‘s/he has played’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the $S_O$-marking prefixes, the allomorphic pattern is exactly the same as for O-marking prefixes on transitive verb stems, and for the person-marking prefixes on possessed nouns (4.3.1.2) and inflected postpositions (7.1.1). The $S_A$-marking prefixes are very similar to the A-marking prefixes on transitive verb stems, but there are some differences, especially for first person. Table 5.13 below summarizes the distribution of the phonologically predictable allomorphs; present perfective examples are given in (63) and (64). As its A-marking counterpart, the 1S$_A$ prefix k(ː)- only causes lengthening on e-stems
if the initial syllable is of the V type (VV and VC syllables do not lengthen; cf. examples in (63)). Empty cells imply that the relevant group is not attested (e.g. there are no ē-initial S₀ stems).

Table 5.13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C-stems</th>
<th>e-stems</th>
<th>ē-stems</th>
<th>a-stems</th>
<th>o-stem</th>
<th>aCē-stems</th>
<th>aCo-stems</th>
<th>others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sₐ</td>
<td>wī-</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sₐ</td>
<td>mī-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2Sₐ</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>k:i-</td>
<td>kit-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1S₀</td>
<td>ji-</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>j-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S₀</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ē-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2S₀</td>
<td>kī-</td>
<td>k+e&gt;k-ē</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k+a&gt;k-ē</td>
<td>k+a&gt;k-o</td>
<td>k-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S(ₐ₀)</td>
<td>nū-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(63)  
thetic go  
epī bathe  
entapo yawn  
ehtarēnma get ready  
eeseka jump  
ēturū talk  

1Sₐ     | wī-tēn | s-epī | s-entapo | s-ehtarēnma | s-eeseka | t-ēturū |
| 2Sₐ     | mī-tēn | m-epī | m-entapo | m-ehtarēnma | m-eeseka | m-ēturū |
| 1+2Sₐ   | ki-tēn | k-epī | k-entapo | k-ehtarēnma | k-eeseka | kīt-ēturū |
| 3Sₐ     | nū-tēn | n-epī | n-entapo | n-ehtarēnma | n-eeseka | n-ēturū |

(64)  
ta(tī) get lost  
entapo wake up  
akinta get tired  
osita have rash  
apēēna finish  
anota fall  
urakana stroll  

1S₀     | ji-tatī | j-enta | j-akinta | j-osita | j-apēēna | j-anota | j-urakana |
| 2S₀     | ē-tatī | ē-enta | a-akinta | o-osita | a-apēēna | a-anota | ē-urakana |
| 1+2S₀   | kī-tatī | k-ēnta | k-akinta | k-osita | k-ēpēēna | k-onota | k-urakana |
| 3S₀     | nī-tatī | n-enta | n-akinta | n-osita | n-apēēna | n-anota | n-urakana |
Like its O-marking counterpart, the 2SO prefix ė- also assimilates totally (i.e. disappears) with a- and o-stems that have an initial diphthong or long vowel; it also merges with an initial long ee to form a diphthong ėe.

(65)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>aamiita</th>
<th>aeruta</th>
<th>oonapijuhta</th>
<th>eerana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S0</td>
<td>j-aamiita</td>
<td>j-aeruta</td>
<td>j-oonapijuhta</td>
<td>j-eerana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SO</td>
<td>aamiita</td>
<td>aeruta</td>
<td>oonapijuhta</td>
<td>ė-erana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2SO</td>
<td>k-aamiita</td>
<td>k-aeruta</td>
<td>k-oonapijuhta</td>
<td>k-ēerana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S0</td>
<td>n-aamiita</td>
<td>n-aeruta</td>
<td>n-oonapijuhta</td>
<td>n-eerana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most striking exceptional cases were found among the non-detransitivized SA verbs listed in Table 5.4 (Sec. 5.2.2); they are conjugated in (66) below. All the cases of first-person w(i)- are in this table: tē[mī] ‘go’ (conjugated above), e(i) ‘Copula’, ka ‘say’, and ēe(pī) ‘come’. The copula e(i) has an irregular conjugation, with a suppletive stem a, and a regular conjugation, with the stem ei (cf. 5.4.4 for meaning differences). The stem ka ‘say’ has two irregularities: the 1+2 prefix kīh-, and the 3 prefix n- (without a final vowel). There are three irregular first-person markers: tī- on wa ‘dance’, p- on ihtē ‘go down’, k- on oeka / weka ‘defecate’. The stem wa ‘dance’ can be conjugated as SA or SO, without any apparent change in meaning (cf. 5.2.2). The stem for ‘defecate’ is weka with the 1+2 prefix, and oeka with the others (cf. 5.1.6). The stems ēēnī(kī) ‘sleep’, ēmē(mī) or ēmī(mī) ‘enter’, ēēsena ‘weep’, ēnanu(ku) ‘go up’, and ēu(mu) ‘warm up’, conjugate as regular SA stems; ēēnī(kī) is given as an example.

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33 The stems ihtē ‘go down’ and oeka / weka ‘defecate’ also occur with, respectively, an initial p- or k- in other forms: the second-person imperative (5.4.2.1), the supine and habitual past (5.4.3.1.1), and the negative form (5.4.3.1.3). This suggests that these consonants were originally part of the stem.
5.4.1.2. **Number.** As is the case with other lexical classes, collective number (cf. 3.3.2 for the number category) is marked on the verb word by means of suffixes. The collective markers can occur before, after, or in the middle of a TAM suffix. The simplest way to present them is to list, side by side, the non-collective and the collective forms of all Set I TAM suffixes. This was done in the general map of the verb system in Table 5.9 above; for the sake of convenience, a shorter version, containing only the Set I forms, is given in Table 5.14 below. The TAM suffixes are treated in detail in the next section; the collective markers are segmented out and italicized. As can be seen, -**hki(i)** is used in the Future forms, -**ti(i)** in the Present and Hypothetical forms, and -**tē** elsewhere. Both -**hki(i)** and -**ti(i)** have long vowels when followed by a CV clitic (cf. 2.6.2.4), as exemplified by the irregular stress cases in 67 (cf. 2.5.1 for the iambic stress system).

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34 Instead of **n-ka**, the Present Completive form is **n-kan** (probably an extension from the Durative Present).
Table 5.14
Non-collective and collective forms of the various Set I TAM suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-Collective</th>
<th>Collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Certainty</td>
<td>Doubt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FACTUAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Imperfective</td>
<td>-tae</td>
<td>-ta(ne)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Perfective</td>
<td>-(ja)kë(mi)</td>
<td>-(ja)-të-kë(mi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Imperfective</td>
<td>-(ja)e</td>
<td>-(ja)(nê)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Perfective</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>-∅-ti(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Imperfective</td>
<td>-(ja)kë(ne)</td>
<td>-(ja)-të-kë(ne)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Perfective</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>-të-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NON-FACTUAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothetical</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-ti(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increduivitive</td>
<td>-je(pe)</td>
<td>-të:-je(pe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admonitive</td>
<td>-ne(nu)</td>
<td>-të-ne(nu)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(67a) **m-eta-∅-tii_pa** [m.e.t.:t♣:p]  (b) **m-eta-tahkii_pa** [m.e.t::tah.h£:p]
2A-hear-Prs.Prf-Col_Rpt                2A-hear-Fut.Ipf_Rpt
‘You all have heard again?’             ‘You all will hear again.’

As usual, the collective marker cannot co-occur with first-person (1) prefixes; a
collective form that includes the speaker must be based on a 1+2 prefix.

(68a) **k-eeta-ti**
1+2A-hear:Prs.Prf-Col
‘We all (incl.) have heard O.’

(c) **kît-ëturu-ti**
1+2SA-talk:Prs.Prf-Col
‘We all (incl.) have talked.’

(e) **k-ëmamina-ti**
1+SO-play-Col
‘We all (incl.) have played.’

(b) **w-eta-ti**
1A-hear:Prs.Prf-Col

(d) **t-ëturu-ti**
1SA-talk:Prs.Prf-Col

(f) **j-emamina-ti**
1SO-play-Col
When a SAP is involved (in this case, that means 2 or 1+2), the collective form always refers to it. On intransitive verbs, that means the S participant ((68c, e) above, (69a-b) below). On transitive verbs, that means either A or O, depending on the role filled by the SAP participant (69c-f). To collectivize the other participant, the particle _to is used (69g-i), which can co-occur with the verbal collective form (69i). When both participants are SAPs (i.e. when the SAP-only prefix k- ‘12AO’ occurs), the collective form can refer to either participant, or both; the particle _to cannot occur (69j).

(69a) m-ëturu-ja-ti
2S_A-talk:Prs.Ipf-Col
‘You all are talking.’

(b) ë-emaminaa-ti
2S_O-play:Prs.Ipf-Col
‘You all are playing.’

(c) m-eneh-ti
2A-bring:Prs.Prf-Col
‘You all have brought O.’

(d) ë-eneh-ti
2O-bring:Prs.Ipf-Col
‘S/he has brought you all.’

(e) k-eneh-ti
1+2A-bring:Prs.Prf-Col
‘We all (incl.) have brought O.’

(f) k-ëneh-ti
1+2O-bring:Prs.Prf-Col
‘S/he has brought us all (incl.).’

(g) m-eneh-to
1A-bring:Prs.Prf_3Col
‘You have brought them all.’

(h) ë-eneh_to
1+2O-bring:Prs.Prf_3Col
‘They all have brought you.’

(i) m-eneh-tii-to
2A-bring:Prs.Prf-Col-3Col
‘You all have brought them all.’

(j) k-ëneh-ti
12AO-bring:Prs.Prf-Col
‘We (all) are bringing you (all).’

When both participants are third persons, the collective form refers to the O participant, and the collective particle _to to the A participant (70a-b). This implies that the collective form cannot co-occur with the third person on intransitive verbs; only _to is possible (70c-d). On transitive verbs, both collective markers can co-occur (69i, 70e).
The above facts be summarized as follows: the verbal collective markers (-tì(i), -të, -hëkì(i)) always refer to any (non-first-person) SAP present in the event being described; if only third persons are involved, then they must refer to the O participant: they can never refer to a third-person A or S participant. The particle _to is used in the complementary cases: for the third person participant when a SAP is present, and for the third person A or S participant if no SAP is present.

5.4.1.3. Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM). The analysis of the Tiriyo Tense-Aspect-Mood system outlined in Tables 5.9 and 5.14 above recognizes a first subdivision between a factual mood, which treats the event as grounded in reality, and an non-factual mood, which sees the event as unconnected to reality. Notice that the factual mood treats the event as real, but not necessarily as certain: some factual forms can indicate that the subject is not sure about whether or not the event is, or will be, taking place, but there is always a modicum of reality in the event which is absent in the non-factual forms.
Within the factual mood, there is a temporal distinction between past, present and future, each of which distinguishes a imperfective (or unbounded) from a perfective (or bounded) form. The perfective forms describe well-delimited actions; its clearest expression is in the past (‘walked’, ‘did’). In the present, the ‘boundedness’ of the perfective is seen as implying a recently finished action still relevant for the present (‘has (just) walked’, ‘has (just) done’). In the future, the ‘boundedness’ results in the idea of a short time limit for the end of the action (‘will walk for a minute’, ‘will do for a minute’, and then turn to some other activity), i.e. it is a momentaneous future. The imperfective forms, in turn, describe non-delimited events.

In the non-past tenses, there is a further distinction based on the speaker’s assessment of the event: the doubt forms describe events about which the speaker feels unsure, while the certainty forms are used for events that leave no doubts in the speaker’s mind. Notice that the certainty-doubt distinction always concerns a SAP as the A or S participant: with third-person A or S participants, only the doubt form can be used. In fact, the only situation in which the certainty suffix can occur on a 3A3O or 3S verb form (i.e. with the prefix n-) is when the A participant is the first-person exclusive pronoun anja ‘1+3’.

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35 Different accounts are certainly possible. In other Cariban languages, cognates of what is being termed here the Present Perfective have been called past tenses (usually ‘immediate’ or ‘recent’; Gildea 1998:98 uses ‘Recent Past’). It can also be argued that this form has more of the semantics of Perfect (as defined in e.g. Comrie 1976:52ff). Exactly because the Perfect seems to have something of both past and present (it is a ‘perfective past with present relevance’), it is imaginable that languages may differ as to whether they put it together with the past forms or with the present forms. Of course, every verbal form in Tiriýó, as in any other language, has many facets; however, it is hoped here that the present classification is still capturing the main dimension of the Tiriýó verbal system without obscuring any others too much.
One final remark about the Set I TAM forms in Tiriýó is that, like any dynamic system, they seem to be changing. Roughly speaking, the -(ja)kë(ne) past imperfective has been all but replaced by the (non-conjugated) -se Habitual Past, while the -(ja)kë(mũ) Future Perfective is in competition with the second-position particle _pitë ‘for a second’ (cf. the respective sections for details).

5.4.1.3.1. Present: -(ja)-e, -(ja)-(ne) ‘Imperfective’, -Ø ‘Perfective’. These forms are very frequent in the Cariban family; Gildea 1998:98 lists cognates (under the names ‘Nonpast’ and ‘Recent Past’) from all Set I languages. The present imperfective is the unmarked form for events that center around the moment of speech. It can be used for events that are ongoing (i.e. as a ‘progressive’; (71a)), habitual or typical (71b-c), and also for ‘general truths’ (i.e. as a ‘gnomic’; cf. (71d)). It can be also used in an ‘immediate future’ sense, though not frequently (71e).

(71a) atĩ mĩ-ri-ja-n? tunuku wĩ-kaa-ja-e
wh.Inan 2A-make-Prs.Ipf-Dbt basket 1A-weave-Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘What are you doing? / I am making a basket.’

(71b) fevereiro_po tarẽno-ton eperu pẽe-ja-n
February_Loc Tiriýó-Col fruit gather-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘In February, the Tiriýó gather fruits.’

(71c) wei wararẽ j-urakana-e
day every 1A-stroll:Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘I go walking around every day.’

(71d) wĩtoto seri ipuunẽe-ja-n, pẽera_ta i-w-eh-too_me
people 3InAna think-Prs.Ipf-Dbt stupid_Neg 3-SA-become-Circ.Nzr_Attr
‘People think/meditate about these things in order to become wise.’
The present perfective has the semantics of a perfect (as defined in Comrie 1976:52ff; Bybee et al. 1994 use the term ‘Anterior’): it indicates that an event has just finished, leaving ‘effects’ that are still relevant (72a-d). One could say that, in Tiriýó, seeing a present event as ‘bounded’ means treating it as having just finished.36

(72a) **pahko ni-tēn**
1:father 3S\textsubscript{A}-go:Prs.Prf
‘Father is gone.’

(72b) **ērepa n-ēthka**
food 3S\textsubscript{A}-finish:Prs.Prf
‘The food is over / has just finished.’

(72c) **t-ēpēi ipahka**
3R-seat break:Prs.Prf
‘S/he has just broken his/her seat.’

(72d) **anja pa n-epī**
1+3\textsubscript{Rpt} 3S\textsubscript{A}-come:Prs.Prf
‘We have just come back.’

As concerns their form, Present Imperfective suffixes have an initial syllable (ja), also found, with the same allomorphic pattern described below, in the Past Imperfective and in the Future Perfective. Formally speaking, it can be seen as an irregular reducing syllable: its full grade ja co-occurs with the reduced (length) grade of the verb stems to which it is attached (73a-d). It also occurs with non-I-reducing i-final stems (73e).

(73a) **puunē(pī)**  ‘think about O’ →  **wi-puunē-e-ja-e**  ‘I am thinking about O’
**wi-puunē-ja-n**  ‘Am I thinking about O?’

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36 It would seem that languages find it difficult to deal with a ‘bounded present event’: if a language allows perfective and present morphology to co-occur at all, the result will tend to be either ‘a past with present relevance’, as in the English Present Perfect, or a ‘future with clear present intention of finishing the action’, as in Slavic languages (as in e.g. Russian я прочитал [I Perfective-read-Pres.1sg] ‘I will (definitely) read it’), i.e. forms that connect a non-present event to the present.
If the verb stem is non-reducing, then (ja) is automatically reduced to either the zero or length grade (but never to the coda grade, which it does not have), depending on what follows. With the certainty suffix -e, or with the reduced (coda) grade of the doubt suffix -(nē), the zero grade of (ja) occurs (74a-c). With the collective marker -ti(i), the length grade occurs, which becomes perceptible when the lengthened syllable occurs in an unstressed position, i.e. any odd-numbered position from the beginning of the phonological word (cf. 2.5.1 for the iambic stress system). Notice that, in (74d-g), the length grade of (ja) is the only difference in pronunciation between the Present Perfective and the Present Imperfective of enepo ‘show O’ (actually, ene ‘see O’ with the causative suffix -po) and amohtē ‘call O’. The length grade of (ja) also occurs with the full grade -nē of the doubt suffix, which is, as usual, conditioned by the following r-initial clitic ((74h-i); cf. 2.6.2 on syllable reduction).

(74a) tuuka ‘hit O’ → wi-tuuka-e ‘I am hitting O’
              wi-tuuka-n ‘Am I hitting O?’
(b) pīhta ‘get a wife’ (S₀) → ji-pīhta-e ‘I am getting a wife’
              ji-pīhta-n ‘Am I getting a wife?’
(c) erama ‘return, go back’ (Sₐ) → s-erama-e ‘I am returning’
              s-erama-n ‘Am I returning?’

(d) **m-enepoo-ti** [me.né:.pó:.ti] 2A-show:Prs.Ipf-Col 'You all are showing O.'

(e) **m-enepo-ti** [me.né:.po:.ti] 2A-show:Prs.Prf-Col 'You all have shown O.'

(f) **m-amohće-tii_to?** [ma.móh.tó:.tii:.to] 2A-call:Prs.Ipf-Col_3Col 'Are you all calling them all?'

(g) **m-amohće-tii_to?** [ma.móh.tó:.tii:.to] 2A-call:Prs.Prf-Col_3Col 'Have you all called them all?'

(h) **j-eekaa-nē_reken** [jé:.ká:.nē:.rē:.ken] (not *[jé:.ka.né:.rē:.ken]*) 1O-bite:Prs.Ipf-Dbt Only 'S/he/it was only biting me.'

(i) **n-erahtće-nē_repe** [ne.ráh.tó:.nē:.rē:.pe] (not *[ne.ráh.tó:.nē:.rē:.pe]*) 3AO-look.for:Prs.Ipf-Dbt_Frust 'S/he is looking for O (but will not find it).'

There are a few irregular cases: **(ja)** unexpectedly occurs in its full grade with the monosyllabic **t**-adding stems **[t]rī** 'make, do O', **[t]kī** 'grate O', and **[t]pi** 'bathe O' (but not the glide-initial ones, **[t]wē** 'shoot O' and **[t]je** 'cook O'; cf. 5.1.3), with the stems that end in a non-reducing **ru**, like **uru** 'talk to O, advise O', **apuru** 'close/lock O' (cf. 2.6.2.2.1), and with the transitive stems **eku** 'have sex with O' and **[t]jēu** 'remove O', as well as with the detransitivized forms of all of the above.

(75a) **[t]rī** 'do, make O' \(\rightarrow\) **wī-ri-ja-e** 'I am making O'
\(\rightarrow\) **t-ēf-ri-ja-e** 'I am working (= making myself things)

(b) **[t]pi** 'bathe O' \(\rightarrow\) **wī-pi-ja-e** 'I am bathing O'
\(\rightarrow\) **s-epi-ja-e** 'I am taking a bath'

(c) **[t]kī** 'grate O' \(\rightarrow\) **wī-kī-ja-e** 'I am grating O'
\(\rightarrow\) **t-ēhki-ja-e** 'I am grating stuff for myself'

(d) **[t]wē** 'shoot O' \(\rightarrow\) **wī-wē-e** 'I am shooting O'
\(\rightarrow\) **t-ēhtē-e** 'I am shooting myself'
(e) [t]je ‘cook O’ \(\rightarrow\) wɨ-je ‘I am cooking O’
t-ēēse ‘I am cooking something for myself’

(f) uru ‘advise O’ \(\rightarrow\) w-uru-ja-e ‘I am advising / talking to O’
t-ētur-ja-e ‘I am talking’

(g) ek ū ‘have sex’ \(\rightarrow\) w-eku-ja-e ‘I am having sex with O’
n-ēku-ja-n ‘They are having sex (with each other)’

(h) [t]ēu ‘remove O’ \(\rightarrow\) w-ēu-ja-e ‘I am removing O’
t-ētēu-ja-e ‘I am coming out (e.g. of the river)’

As for the Present Perfective, it is formally expressed by the bare stem, without any extra affixes. If no clitics follow, reducing stems usually occur in one of their reduced grades. CV-reducing stems can occur the zero grade and NV-reducing stems in the reduced (coda) grade; I-reducing stems, on the other hand, must occur in the full grade. No difference in meaning has been observed between a full-grade and a reduced-grade Present Perfective form. As was the case with the possessive suffix -(rī), the full grade is often found in ‘emphatic’ contexts: (76d) was repeated many times, in very sad tone of voice, by a mother who was lamenting a recently deceased son. If a suffix or clitic follows, the appropriate grade will occur, as in (76e), which shows the transitive stem ene(pī) ‘bring O’ with the collective marker -ti(i).

(76a) irē w-ēkanī (~ w-ēkanīpī) (b) ji-hëinkapan ~ ji-hëinkapamī 3InAna 1A-think:Prs.Prf 1So-forget:Prs.Prf
‘I thought so.’

(c) maja w-apē (* w-apē)
knife 1A-catch:Prs.Prf
‘I have caught (=bought) the knife (, here it is).’

(d) aja mi-tēmi ?
whither 1SA-go:Prs.Prf

(e) m-eneh-ti ?
2A-bring:Prs.Prf-Col
5.4.1.3.2. Future: -\textit{ta-}, \textit{-ta-(ne)} ‘Imperfective’, -(\textit{ja})\textit{kē(mī)} ‘Perfective’. Set I Future forms are not common in the Cariban family; usually, Present (‘Non-Past’) forms are used to describe future events. Gilea 1998:102ff lists, in addition to Tiriyó, only six other languages out of a total of nineteen as having Future markers.\textsuperscript{38} In Tiriyó, the Future Imperfective is the most frequently found. It can be used to express future events, either as predictions (77a-b), or as intentions (77c-d).

(77a) \texttt{konopo n-eh-ta-n \hspace{1cm} kokoro}
\texttt{rain 3S\_A-come-Fut.Ipf-Dbt tomorrow}
\texttt{‘It will rain tomorrow.’}

(b) \texttt{in-puunē-sewa ē-w-ei_mahtao, ēlikarē ē-erihi-ta-e}
\texttt{3O-think-Neg 2-S\_A-Cop:N\_Temp by.yourself 2So-be.in.danger-Fut.Ipf-Cty}
\texttt{‘If you don’t think about that, you will run the risk of dying without help.’}

(c) \texttt{ji-npo kī-rī-ta-e}
\texttt{1-on.back 1+2A-do-Fut.Ipf-Cty}
\texttt{‘I will put you on my back.’}

(d) \texttt{enta-tuuwē ahtao, w-eneh-ta-e_pa}
\texttt{3:wake.up-Post when 1A-bring-Fut.Ipf-Cty_Rpt}
\texttt{‘After s/he wakes up, I will bring him/her back.’}

\textsuperscript{37} Note that, for the verb \texttt{tē[mī]} ‘go’, the Present Perfective and the Present Imperfective Doubt forms are usually homophonous: \texttt{wītēn ‘I have gone’ (=wī-tēn), ‘will I go?’ (=wī-tē-n). An utterance such as \texttt{aja mītēn?} could mean either ‘where have you gone?’ or ‘where are you going?’ The full grade of these forms, however, remains different, as can be seen when they followed by a CCV-initial clitic like \texttt{nkērē ‘still’: aja mītēmi\_nkērē\_pa ‘where have you gone again?’ [Present Perfective], aja mītēnē\_nkērē\_pa ‘where are you going again?’ [Present Imperfective, Doubt form]).

\textsuperscript{38} The languages are: Carib of Surinam, Carijona, De’kwana, Tamanaco, Waimiri-Atroari and Wayana.
In the above situations, the future event was portrayed without any special emphasis on its limits. When Future Perfective forms are used, however, the semantic effect stresses the fact that there will be an end point, after which other events will take place. The result is generally translated as ‘will... for a minute’, ‘will... and then will do something else’. The effect of seeing a future event as ‘bounded in Tiriyó is that it looks like a temporary situation, soon to be changed.

(78a) ëturē-e_pa wi-tēē-ken
talk-Prp_Rpt 1SA-go-Fut.Prf
‘I will go and talk (to him) for a minute (, and then I will come back).’

(b) wi-tēē-kēmī nkērē_pā akēērē
1SA-go-Fut.Prf_Still_Rpt 3:with
‘I will go again with him for a little while (, and then I will do something else).’

It is interesting to note that there is a particle, _pitē ‘A.little’, which can be used, generally with the present imperfective, to express the same meaning as the future perfective (cf. 5.4.1.3.2). Thus, (79a-b) below seem to be equivalent; no obvious differences in meaning were found. Apparently, _pitē is in competition with the Future Perfective; given its much higher frequency, it may be the case that _pitē is replacing the Future Imperfective (much as the habitual past seems to be replacing the past imperfective; cf. 5.4.1.3.3, 5.4.3.1.1).

(79a) wi-tēē-kēn akēērē (b) wi-tē-e_pitē akēērē
1SA-go-Fut.Prf 3:with 1SA-go:Prs.Ipf_Cty:A.little 3:with
‘I will go with him for a little while (, and then I will do something else).’

The Future Imperfective suffix has the form -ta, which never changes; reducing stems occur in the appropriate reduced grade. The Future Perfective suffix -(ja)kē(mī) has
an initial syllable (ja), with the same allomorphic pattern that was described for the Present Imperfective: the full grade ja occurs with reducing stems, and the length grade with non-reducing stems. The final syllable (mi) usually occurs in its reduced grade n, which makes it homophonous to the Past Imperfective (both occurring as -(ja)kēn); only when followed by a C(CV)-initial clitic do they become different (cf. next section). The collective marker -hki(i) follows the Future Imperfective marker -ta, while the collective marker -tē occurs between the first two syllables of the Future Imperfective marker -(ja)kē(mi) becomes -(ja)tēkē(mi); (80c)).

(80a) eta ‘hear O’ → m-eta-ta-e ‘you will see O’
m-eta-ta-hki ‘you all will see O’
m-etaa-kēn ‘you will see O (for a minute)’
m-etaa-tēkēn ‘you all will see O (for a minute)’

(b) kēhtu(mu) ‘shout’(So) → ji-kēhtun-ta-e ‘you will shout’
ji-kēhtun-ta-hki ‘you all will shout’
ji-kēhtun-jakēn ‘you will shout (for a minute)’
ji-kēhtun-ja-tē-kēn ‘you all will shout (for a minute)’

c) pono(pī) ‘tell O’ → wi-ponoh-ta-e ‘you will tell O’
wi-ponoh-ta-hki ‘you all will tell O’
wi-ponoh-jakēn ‘you will tell O (for a minute)’
wi-ponoh-ja-tē-kēn ‘you all will tell O (for a minute)’

5.4.1.3.3. Past: -(ja)kē(ne) ‘Imperfective’, -ne ‘Perfective’. The Past Perfective -ne39 is very well represented in the Cariban family; Gildea 1998:98 lists cognates (under the name ‘Distant Past’) from all Set I systems. As for the past imperfective -(ja)kē(ne), although a

39 With the stem epo(rī) ‘find, meet O’, -ne irregularly geminates its initial n in the non-collective (but not in the collective) form: m-epo-nne ‘you found/met O’, m-epoh-tē-ne ‘you all found/met O’.
fair number of potential cognates, some even glossed as ‘Continuative’, can be found in
Gildea’s lists, their relatedness is often far from obvious.

The past perfective is used in Tiriyó to describe past events without implying any
‘present relevance’. Its translations are often accompanied by adverbials implying a ‘distant
past’: ‘long ago’, ‘when I was a child’, etc. It is the most frequent tense in first-person
narratives (but not in third-person narratives, where the t-se ‘Remote Past’ is the usual
verb form; cf. 5.4.3.1.2, and the texts in the Appendix).

(81a) **suurinan_po w-ei-ne, wi-tēn-ne serē_pēe**
    Surinam_Loc 1SA-Cop-Pst.Prft 1SA-go-Pst.Prft 3InPx_Abl
    ‘I was in Surinam (then, long ago), I went there from here.’

(b) **irē apo m-ei-ne wapo,**
    3InAna like 2SA-Cop-Pst.Prft before
    ‘That is what you were like before.’ (=but now you are different)

(c) **akī j-eemi arē-ne**
    wh.An 1-daughter:Pos take-Pst.Prft
    ‘Who took (=stole, kidnapped) my daughter?’

(d) **noosinpē_rēken j-arimika-ne**
    1:grandmother:Only 1O-raise-Pst.Prft
    ‘It was my grandmother, by herself, who brought me up.’

(e) **tēpēpuru-npē_po j-anīhta-ne**
    Tēpēpuru-Pst_Loc 1SO-grow-Pst.Prft
    ‘I grew up in the (no longer extant) village of Tēpēpuru.’

As for the past imperfective, it describes an unbounded event, usually interpreted as
a habitual ((82a-b); cf. Bybee et al. 1994:127).
(82a) irë_mao wi-tëe-këne_nkërë_re i-pakoro_pona
3InAna_Temp 1SA-go-Pst.Ipf_Again_Frust 3-house:Pos_Dir
‘In those days I would often go in vain to his house.’ (i.e. he was never there)

(b) irë_mao j-ehkeh_po w-ah-kën, kure...
3InAna_Temp 1-hammock:Pos_Loc 1SA-Cop-Pst.Ipf well
‘I stayed / used to stay a long time in my hammock, feeling well...’

An interesting fact about the past imperfective is that it was extremely rare in the available corpus. Most speakers expressed the judgement that it was ‘old people’s language’, and that ‘younger people do not use it anymore’. In fact, the two above examples came from older speakers, who, whenever semantic explanations were asked, would immediately describe past imperfective examples with sentences containing the (non-conjugated) habitual past ((83); cf. 5.4.3.1.1). One cannot help but thinking that the past imperfective has all but disappeared, replaced by the Habitual Past.

(83) mure_me_nkërë wë_ahtao, kutuma emamina-e wë
child_Attr_Still 1 when a.lot play-Pst.Hab 1
‘When I was still a child, I used to play a lot.’

Formally speaking, both past forms have in common an idiosyncratic 3AO prefix kën-, which replaces the final syllable -ne of both suffixes (84a-d); for the Past Perfective with reducing stems, the same kind of variation between zero and full grade that occurs in the Present Perfective is also found (84c). An immediately preverbal O nominal makes the prefix kën- disappear (as happens to all 3AO prefixes; cf. 10.2.2) and brings back the final syllable -ne or -(ne) (84e-h). With the verb stem [t]rë ‘do, make O’, kën- occurs as këni-.
The initial w of the stems [t]wē ‘shoot O’ and wa ‘dance’ can optionally assimilate to the final n of kīn-, generating a geminate nn (84j-k).

(84a) *w-eta-ne* kīn-eta
     ‘I heard O’ ‘s/he heard O’

(b) *w-etaa-kēn* kīn-etaa-kē
     ‘I used to hear O’ ‘s/he used to hear O’

(c) *wi-ponoo-ne* kīn-pono, kīn-ponopī
     ‘I told O’ ‘s/he told O’

(d) *wi-ponoo-jakēn* kīn-ponoo-jakē
     ‘I used to tell O’ ‘s/he used to tell O’

(e) *tonoro eta-ne* bird 3AO:hear-Pst.Prf
     ‘S/he heard the bird.’

(f) *tonoro etaa-kēn* bird 3AO:hear-Pst.Ipf
     ‘S/he used to hear the bird.’

(g) *ji-pawana iponoo-ne* 1-friend:Pos 3AO:tell-Pst.Prf
     ‘S/he told about my friend.’

(h) *ji-pawana ipono-jakēn* 1-friend:Pos 3AO:tell-Pst.Ipf
     ‘S/he used to tell about my friend.’

(i) [t]rī ‘do, make O’ → kīnī-rī ‘s/he made O’

(j) [t]wē ‘shoot O’ → kīn-wē, kīn-nē ‘s/he shot O’

(k) wa ‘dance’ → kīn-wa, kīn-na ‘s/he danced’

The first syllable (ja) of the past imperfective -(ja)kē(ne) has the same allomorphic pattern described for the present imperfective -(ja): its full grade occurs with reducing stems, while its reduced (length or zero) grade occurs with non-reducing grades. The final syllable (ne) also usually occurs in its reduced grade form -n, making the Past Imperfective and the Future Perfective homophonous except when followed by a C(CV)-initial clitic (cf. 2.6.2). The collective marker -tē, as was the case for the future perfective, occurs between the first and second syllables of the past imperfective marker (-ja)-tē-kē(ne)). With both Pasts, CV- and NV-reducing stems occur in the appropriate reduced grade; the I-reducing
stems, however, do not reduce when followed directly by the past perfective suffix -ne. The copula e(i) has a suppletive stem ah in the past imperfective (cf. 5.4.4).

(85a) eremina ‘sing’ (S₀) → ē-eremina-ne ‘you sang’
     ē-eremina-tē-ne ‘you all sang’
     ē-ereminaa-kēn ‘you used to sing’
     ē-ereminaa-tē-kēn ‘you all used to sing’
(b) pono(pī) ‘tell O’ → mi-pono-o-ne ‘you told O’
     mi-pohon-tē-ne ‘you all told O’
     mi-pono-jakēn ‘you used to tell O’
     mi-pono-ja-tē-kēn ‘you all used to tell O’
(c) ona(mī) ‘hide O’ → m-onan-ne ‘you hid O’
     m-onan-tē-ne ‘you all hid O’
     m-onan-jakēn ‘you used to hide O’
     m-onan-ja-tē-kēn ‘you all used to hide O’
(d) apē(i) ‘catch O’ → m-apēi-ne ‘you caught O’
     m-apēh-tē-ne ‘you all caught O’
     m-apējā-kēn ‘you used to catch O’
     m-apējā-tē-kēn ‘you all used to catch O’

5.4.1.3.4. Certainty (-e) and Doubt (-nē, -(ne)) forms. The two suffixes that reflect the speaker’s level of certainty in the present imperfective are -e ‘Certainty’ and -(nē)/-(ne) ‘Doubt’, which are used with non-collective present and future imperfective forms (in the collective forms, the distinction is neutralized). When followed by the second-position particle _pa ‘Repetition’, -e can optionally reduce to h (cf. 9.1.3.1 for _pa and its uses, and also for the tendency of -e and _pa to switch places). This allows the detection of this suffix, even when the verb stem already ends in e (compare (86b) and (86c)).

---

40 This can be seen as the remnant of an earlier reducing syllable. The suffix -e is probably the reflex of an older *-ce or *ći (cf. languages like Katxuyna [Gildea, pers. comm.] and Waiwai [Hawkins 1998], where the cognate form is -sī). The situation is similar to that of I-reducing verb stems (cf. 2.6.2.2.1), with the exception that -e only becomes -h with _pa, and not obligatorily.
41 Presumably, the final e also becomes long. However, e-final stems in Tiriyo are rather rare, and no unambiguous examples occurred in the corpus.
(86a) \( \text{wī-tē-e}_\text{pa} \sim \text{wī-tē-h}_\text{pa} \) \( [\text{wī.tē.e}.\text{pa}] \sim [\text{wī.tē.h}.\text{pa}] \)
\( 1S_{A-\text{go:Prs.Ipf-Cty_Rpt}} \)
‘I am going away.’

(b) \( \text{w-ene-h}_\text{pa} \) \( [\text{wē.nē:(h)}.\text{pha}] \)
\( 1A-\text{see:Prs.Ipf-Cty_Rpt} \)
‘I see / am looking at it again (now).’

(c) \( \text{w-ene}_\text{pa} \) \( [\text{wē.nē}.\text{pa}] \)
\( 1A-\text{see:Prs.Prf-Rpt} \)
‘I have seen it again.’

The Certainty suffix -e occurs in both the present and future imperfectives (87a-b).

The Doubt suffix has the form -(nē) in the present imperfective and -(ne) in the Future Imperfective; in most cases, they occur in their (homophonous) reduced grade -n (87c-d), but they can still be distinguished when a C(CV)-suffix follows (87e-f). Surprisingly, the ‘gnomic’ or a-stem forms of the copula (cf. 5.4.4) also take -(ne) rather than -(nē) (87g).

(87a) \( \text{ene(þ)} \) ‘bring O’ \rightarrow \( \text{w-enee-ja-e} \) ‘I am bringing O’
(b) \( \text{w-eneh-ta-e} \) ‘I will bring O’
(c) \( \text{w-enee-ja-n} \) ‘am I bringing O?’
(d) \( \text{w-eneh-ta-n} \) ‘will/should I bring O?’

(e) \( \text{n-apēē-ja-nē}_\text{nkērē}_\text{pa} \)
\( 3A0-\text{catch-Prs.Ipf-Dbt_Still_Rpt} \)
‘S/he is catching O once more.’

(f) \( \text{n-apēh-ta-ne}_\text{nkērē}_\text{pa} \)
\( 3A0-\text{catch-Fut.Ipf-Dbt_Still_Rpt} \)
‘S/he will catch O once more.’

(g) \( \text{aja}_\text{rē} \quad \text{kīt-a-ne}_\text{npa} \)
\( (*\text{kīt-a-nē}_\text{npa} \text{ was refused}) \)
\( \text{where}_\text{Exct} \quad 1+2-\text{Cop-Dbt_Ptc} \)
‘Where on Earth are we?’

The suffixes -e and -(nē)/-(ne) are clearly cognate with some of the forms that Hoff 1986 has described as an evidential system for Carib of Surinam (cf. the suffixes -Ø ‘Extraspective evidence’, -n ‘Introspective Evidence’). However, Hoff’s system is
semantically richer than its Tiriyó counterpart: there are more forms (including a prefix kî-, used to mark ‘strong introspective evidence’ with third persons), and there is an opposition between -Ø and -n in the third person: -Ø is used when the subject is actually witnessing the event in question. This opposition does not exist in Tiriyó. Compare (88a), a Carib of Surinam example (the segmentation and glosses were added), with (88b), its Tiriyó equivalent:

(88a) ene:-ko! nu:no n-o:ne-ya-Ø! (Carib of Surinam, from Hoff 1986:53)
    look-Imper moon 3SA-become.visible-Prs-Extra
    ‘Look! The moon is becoming visible!’

(b) ene! nunnê n-ê-ene-n! (*n-ê-ene)
    look:Imper moon 3SA-Detr-see:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
    ‘Look! The moon is becoming visible!’

Both utterances refer to a context in which the speaker and the hearer are in the dark, waiting for the moon to appear from behind a cloud. In Carib of Surinam, the ‘Extraspective’ form was found acceptable; in Tiriyó, however, the corresponding certainty form was categorically rejected. (89) contains another couple of equivalent sentences in Carib of Surinam (with added segmentation and glosses) and Tiriyó.

(89a) n-oh-take konopo (Carib of Surinam, from Hoff 1986:79)
    3AO-come-Fut.Ipf:Cty rain
    ‘The rain will come.’

(b) n-ch-ta-n konopo (*n-eh-ta-e)
    3AO-come-Fut.Ipf-Dbt rain
    ‘The rain will come.’
Both utterances are acceptable if the speaker and the hearer can both see black clouds announcing the coming of rain. In Carib of Surinam, the extraasive form -take occurs; in Tiriýó, several speakers have categorically denied the possibility of using the certainty form in this context. One speaker went so far as to claim that n-ee-ja-e and n-eh-ta-e should not be used in (88b) and (89b), but instead with the 1+3 pronoun anja to mean ‘we are coming’, ‘we will come’ (i.e. he immediately interpreted them as referring to anja, despite the absence of any contextual clues). Thus, Tiriýó apparently went further than Carib (in which, according to Hoff, third-person extraasive forms are difficult to obtain) in having simply eliminated the certainty-doubt opposition in the third person. This contrasts strikingly with how easy it is to obtain contrasting pairs such as (90a-b), with the 1+3 form.

(90a) anja nî-tê-e pata_pona
1+3 3SA-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty village_Dir
‘We (1+3) are going to the village.’

(b) irêmaare_tahken anja nî-tê-n, ji-wame
soon_maybe 1+3 3SA-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt 1-Ignor
‘Maybe we (1+3) will leave soon, I don’t know.’

For non-third persons, the Doubt form is used when the speaker is not sure whether or not the event is taking place. It is thus the right form for questions (91a-d) and with dubitative particles such as tahke(ne) ‘maybe’, or _mo ‘irrealis’ (91e-f). Certainty forms are used when the event leaves no doubts in the speaker’s mind (91g-h). In these cases, it does not seem that the speaker is trying to specify the source of his information concerning the event, but rather to clarify doubts about it. For instance, in (91c), the speaker and the
hearer are hunting together, so the speaker has obvious visual evidence that the hearer is
trying to shoot at something; he simply misses one piece of information, viz. the intended
target. The same is valid for (91d), where both speaker and hearer are going together to a
neighboring village, but the speaker does not know the particular shortcut that the hearer is
taking. Therefore, the Tiriýó suffixes -e and -(nē)/(ne) apparently do not carry evidential
(i.e. information source) meaning; rather, they concern how the speaker feels about his/her
level of knowledge of the situation.

(91a) kure man-a-n ?
well 2S_A-Cop-Dbt
‘Are you OK?’

(b) ē-waare_w-a-n ?
2-Cogn_1S_A-Cop-Dbt
‘Do you know me?’

(c) akī mi-wē-n ?
wh.An 2A-shoot:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘What animal are you shooting?’

(d) an-tae kī-tē-n ?
Intg-Perl 1+2S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘Where are we going by?’

(e) wī-h-ta-n tahken
1S_A-go-Fut.Ipf-Dbt maybe
‘Maybe I will go.’

(f) atī_hpe_mo w-epoh-ta-n
wh.Inan_Indef_Irr 1A-find-Fut.Ipf-Dbt
‘Unless I find something.’

(g) mahto w-urē-e
fire 1A-light:Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘I am lighting the fire.’

(h) irē_mao AIDS m-erahtē-ta-e
3InAna_Temp AIDS 2A-find-Fut.Ipf-Cty
‘Then you will find the AIDS virus.’

The non-factual forms share the semantic property of referring to events that the speaker
does not consider to be real or factual: hypotheses (‘If I had more time, I would...’),
statements of disbelief (‘What? Are you joking?’), or warnings (‘It may happen! Watch
out!’). Formally, they are distinguished by the fact of not taking the 3AO prefix n-; Ø-/i-
occurs instead, except on t-adding verbs, which occur with the extra t(i) (cf. 5.1.3).\(^{42}\) The collective markers precede the non-factual suffixes; -ti(i) occurs (and merges with) -i, while -tē occurs with -tje(pe) and -ne(nu). Consider the Hypothetical paradigms below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(92)</th>
<th>eremina</th>
<th>kēhtu(mu)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sing ((S_0))</td>
<td>shout ((S_0))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>j-eremina-i_mo</td>
<td>ji-kēhtumu-i_mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ē-eremina-i_mo</td>
<td>ē-kēhtumu-i_mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>eremina-i_mo</td>
<td>i-kēhtumu-i_mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>k-ēreminai_mo</td>
<td>kī-kēhtumu-i_mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Col</td>
<td>ē-eremina-tii_mo</td>
<td>ē-kēhtun-tii_mo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(93)</th>
<th>epī</th>
<th>puunē(pī)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bathe ((S_A))</td>
<td>think (about) (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>s-epī-i_mo</td>
<td>wi-puunēpī-i_mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>m-epī-i_mo</td>
<td>mi-puunēpī-i_mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>epī-i_mo</td>
<td>i-puunēpī-i_mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>k-ēpīi_mo</td>
<td>kī-puunēpī-i_mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Col</td>
<td>m-epī-tii_mo</td>
<td>mi-puunēh-tii_mo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(94)</th>
<th>ēnē ((t\text{-}\text{adding}))</th>
<th>wē ((t\text{-}\text{adding}))</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eat (O) ((\text{meat}))</td>
<td>shoot (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>w-ēnē-i_mo</td>
<td>wi-wē-i_mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>m-ēnē-i_mo</td>
<td>mī-wē-i_mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>t-ēnē-i_mo</td>
<td>ti-wē-i_mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>kīt-ēnē-i_mo</td>
<td>kū-wē-i_mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Col</td>
<td>m-ēnē-tii_mo</td>
<td>mī-wē-tii_mo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{42}\) Presumably, stems with an initial reducing syllable (cf. 5.1.2) occur in their full grade in the non-factual third persons; there are, however, no examples involving these stems in the available corpus.
If the verb stem already ends in i, the Hypothetical suffix -i will merge with it.

(95a) e(i) ‘Copula’ \[\rightarrow\] w-ei_mo ‘I would be’
(b) apē(i) ‘catch O’ \[\rightarrow\] w-apē_mo ‘I would catch O’

The Hypothetical forms are used in irrealis and counterfactual conditional clauses, in which they always co-occur with the irrealis particle _mo. There seem to be no uses of Hypothetical forms without _mo; all attempts were refused by more than one speaker.

(96a) wei wararē karaiwa sen_po ahtao,
    day every Brazilian 3InPx_Loc if
    anja i-waarē_mo ei    karaiwa i-jomi
    1+3 3-Cogn_Irř 3S_A:Cop:Hyp Brazilian 3-language:Pos

    ‘If there were / had been Brazilians here every day, we would learn / have learned
the Brazilian language’

(b) same_ken apēh-tuuwē wišt, ameraarē_mo anota-i
    fast_Cont 3:catch-Post 1:by all_Irr 3S_O:fall-Hyp
    ‘If I had caught them fast, they would all have fallen.’

The Incredulitive form is a strong means of expressing the speaker’s disbelief. In
(97a), for instance, the speaker was surprised to hear that a certain kind of toad was
supposed to have the magical capacity of changing into other animals. In (97b), he is stating
that he could not possibly have heard a certain sound, because he was too far away. (97c)
can be used to state incredulity at the hearer’s capacity to bring something (maybe it is too
heavy), but it can also be a criticism of a past event (equivalent to ‘I can’t believe you did
that!’); the same is true for (97e) and, mutatis mutandis, (97d). The suffix -je(pe) looks
similar to the Frustrative particle _re(pe), which leads one to wonder whether it could not be analyzed as a particle _je(pe) following the Hypothetical form in -i. The reasons why this analysis was not followed were: (a) separability: _je(pe) cannot be separated from the verb stem by any clitics or independent words; (b) its collective form has the suffix -ti, instead of -ti(i). It is plausible, however, that _je(pe) might have been a clitic at some point. In (97d), a t-adding verb occurs in its t(i) form. The final reducing syllable of -je(pe) is apparently being lost; cf. (97f), where it fails to resurface in spite of the presence of the appropriate suffix.

(97a) aano emetaa-je ? pijan-pisi_n-ai
    which 3S\_change-Incr small-Nzr-Dim_3SA-Cop
    ‘What!? This thing, change? It’s so small, so weak!’

(b) eeke w-etaa-je ?
    how 1A-hear-Incr
    ‘How could I hear this?’

(c) eeke m-enepii-je ?
    how 2A-bring-Incr
    ‘How could you bring this?’

(d) eeke t-enee-je ?
    how t-eat.meat-Incr
    ‘How could s/he eat this’

(e) eeke m-enenh-tee-jepe_nkere_pape ?
    how 2A-bring-Col-Incr\_Still\_Rpt
    ‘How could you all bring this again?’

(f) eeke mi-ponopi-je_nker_rape ?
    how 2A-tell-Incr\_Still\_Rpt
    ‘How could you tell this again?’

The Admonitive forms are used to warn about possible dangers. (98f), for instance, can be said by someone about to enter a dangerous spot, where he might die. The suffix -ne(nu), like _je(pe), may have been an independent clitic particle co-occurring with the -i
'Hypothetical', but, again like -je(pe), it seems to have become a suffix, since (a) it cannot be separated from the verb stem and (b) its collective form has -të, not -të(i).

(98a) a-anota-nen !
2S₀-fall-Admon
'Watch out! You may fall!'

(b) a-anota-të-nen !
2S₀-fall-Col-Admon
'Watch out! You all may fall!'

(c) i-tuuka-të-nen !
3AO-hit-Col-Admon
'Watch out! S/he might hit them all!'

(d) wi-tuuka-nen !
1A-hit-Admon
'Watch out! I might hit him/her!'

(e) kii-tuuka-të-nen !
1+2A-hit-Admon
'Watch out! We all might hit him!'

(f) j-erii-nenu !
1S₀-be.in.danger-Admon
'I may be in danger! I may die!'

5.4.2. Imperatives. The various imperative forms can be distinguished by their inability to co-occur with a full set of A- or Sₐ-marking prefixes. Typically, a certain imperative form will accept O-marking prefixes, and at most one A/Sₐ-marking prefix (the second-person ë-on S₀ verb stems), but no more than that.

The second-person imperatives are used to give orders. There is a distinction between forms that do not imply motion (Static Imperative) and forms that do imply motion (Dynamic Imperatives, one of which — the Allative or 'Go' Imperative — is inflectional, while the other — the Venitive or 'Come' Imperative — is actually a construction based on the venitive particle _mii).

The non-second-person imperatives refer to people other than the hearer and are usually not orders stricto sensu. A special hortative ('let us') form is attested; for other persons, a construction with the jussive ('let him') particle ëwë(h) is used.
5.4.2.1. Second-person imperatives. The Static Imperative and the Allative Imperative are respectively marked by the suffixes -(kē) and -ta. The Static Imperative expresses an order that does not imply any displacement (‘do it [here]!’ (99a-b)), whereas the Allative Imperative gives an order that must be carried out somewhere else (‘go do it [over there]!’:

(99a) tīwaarrē eh-kē !
    careful Cop-Imper
    ‘Be careful!’

(b) mēe apēh-kē ĕ-njo me
    3AnPx 3O:take-Imper 2-husband:Pos_Attr
    ‘Take this guy as your husband!’

(c) papa pa i-wa-ta !
    2:father_Rpt 3O-fetch-Go.Imp
    ‘Go get your father!’

(d) Taru waa ti-rī-ta !
    Taru Neg 3O:t-make-Go.Imp
    ‘Go kill Taru!’

An imperative can also be used when agreeing with someone’s wishes:

(100a) — ē-jomii pē
        2-language:Pos_About 1-SA-Detr-teach:N_Desid 1SA-Cop-Cty
        ‘I want to learn (about) your language.’

— ē-enpa-kē !
    Detr-teach-Imper
    ‘Well, learn!’

(b) — ē-pata  ene_se_w-a-e
    2-village:Pos 3O:see:N_Desid 1SA-Cop-Cty
    ‘I want to see your village.’

— ene-ta !
    3O:see-Go.Imp
    ‘Well, go see it!’
A non-actual (future, habitual) imperative construction can be formed with the irrealsis particle _mo. For instance, (101a), can be said to a visitor who is leaving and whom one wishes to see again someday. (101a-b) are from medical recipes. In (101b), the speaker is explaining how to prepare a certain medicine; most of the steps are accompanied by ‘when you are ill’ (‘When you are ill, go get this plant... boil it, when you are ill... then add this other plant, when you are ill...’ etc.).

(101a) oh-kē_pea_mo !
come-Imper_Rpt_Irr
‘Come back, someday!’

(b) irē_ke_mo ē-epinēh-kē, kēi_ke ēmē ahtao
3InAna_Inst_Irr Detr-medicate-Imper fever_Inst 2 when
‘Medicate yourself with this when/if you have fever.’

(c) irē_mao_pea_mo ene-ta, ēēseenē ēmē ahtao
3InAna_Temp_Rpt_Irr 3O:see-Go.Imp ill 2 when
‘Then (=at that moment) go look at it again, when/if you are ill.’

A Venitive (‘Come’) Imperative construction exists, based on the Supine form of the verb stem (cf. 5.4.3.1.1) and the particle _nū (collective form nūko(mo)).

(102a) epē-e_mū !
bathe-Prp_Ven
‘Come bathe!’

(b) eta-e_mū !
3O:hear-Prp_Ven
‘Come listen to O!’

(c) ēh-puunē-se_mūkon serē_pona
Detr-think-Prp_Ven:Col 3InPx_Dir
‘Come here to think about this!’

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43 To some speakers, this particle had the form _nū(i) (collective _nūko(mo)). This was especially true in the K-Tiriyó-speaking village of Tepoe (Surinam). It is not clear whether or not this is a dialectal feature typical of K-Tiriyó areas.
With reducing verb stems (103a-b), the Static Imperative suffix -(kē) is obligatorily present. With non-reducing stems, however, -(kē) often reduces to zero (103c-d), except in emphatic contexts or when a C(CV)-initial clitic follows (cf. next paragraph).

(103a) ku(ku)  ‘try/taste O’ → i-kuh-kē!  ‘try/taste O!’
(b) ona(mū)  ‘hide/bury O’ → onan-kē!  ‘hide/bury O!’
(c) tē[mī]  ‘go’ → tē! ~ tē-kē!  ‘go!’
(d) ene  ‘see/look at O’ → ene! ~ ene-kē!  ‘look at O!’

In several European languages, the Infinitive form of the verb can be used in an imperative-like sense (e.g. German hier aussteigen! ‘(you must) get off here!’), or the Italian negative imperative, as in e.g. non dire queste cose! ‘don’t say such things!’). Looking at the forms, one may wonder whether the Tiriyó imperatives without -(kē) could be analyzed as a possible ‘modal’ use of Ø nominalizations. There are three reasons, however, not to do that. First, as was said above, the suffix -(kē) is obligatory with reducing stems; for these stems, there simply are no ‘bare stem’ imperatives (104a-b). Second, if the imperatives without -(kē) were nominalized forms, it should be possible for a C(CV)-initial clitic to occur after them without causing any changes; however, this is not the case (in (104b), ene ‘see, look at O’ in the imperative sense cannot be directly followed by _nkērē ‘still’). Third, (104c) is a clear case of the 12AO suffix k- with the meaning ‘you → me’; this suffix does not occur on nominalized forms. Consider also (104d), in which the imperative suffix is reduced to its coda grade h.

(104a) apēh-kē! (* apē! ) 3O:catch-Imper ‘Catch it!’
(b) ene-kē_{nkērē}_pa! (* ene_{nkērē}_pa! ) 3O:see-Imper_{Still_Rpt} ‘Look at it once more!’
Negative imperatives are generally formed by using the imperative form of the copula e(f) with the negative form of the verb stem (105a; cf. 5.4.3.1.3). There is, however, one construction based on the an 1+2 conjugated form of the verb with the particle _ke(ne) ‘Continuative’ (cf. 9.1.5), which is translated as a negative imperative (105b).\footnote{The verb form in this construction is reminiscent of the Carib of Surinam vetative form (cf. Hoff 1968:188ff).} Only a couple of examples occurred in the available corpus; more research is necessary for a better understanding of this construction.

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(105a)] sen in-onan-jewa eh-kë!
\begin{tabular}{rl}
3InPx & 3O-bury-Neg Cop-Imper
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
‘Don’t bury this!’
\end{tabular}
\item[(b)] pipi-ton_ken kii-rūma, ka-e manko wi'ja
\begin{tabular}{rl}
older.brother-Cont Col_Cont 1+2S\_speak:ill & say-Hab l:mother 1:Dat
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
‘Don’t speak ill of your brothers’, my mother used to tell me.’
\end{tabular}
\end{enumerate}

Transitive verb stems in the imperative forms can take one out of two person-marking prefixes: the third-person i-/Ø- (i- with C-initial stems and Ø- with V-initial stems, as usual), or the 12AO prefix k-/kū-, already mentioned in the preceding paragraph (106a-c).\footnote{No cases of the 12AO prefix k- co-occurring with the Allative Imperative -ta were found in the available corpus, presumably on semantic grounds: it is difficult to give an order that implies going away and at the same time have the speaker as the O participant.} So stems must take the second-person prefix e-/a-/o- (with its usual allomorphic
pattern; cf. e.g. 4.3.1.2) in addition to the imperative marker (106d-f). $S_A$ stems take only
the imperative marker, without any extra affixes (106g-i).

(106a) epinē(pī) ‘medicate O’ → epinēh-kē! ‘medicate him/her/it!’

(b) arē ‘take O’ → arē-kē! ‘take him/her/it!’

(c) tuuka ‘hit O’ → i-tuuka-kē! ‘hit him/her/it!’

(d) kēhtu(mu) ‘shout’ (SO) → ē-kēhtun-kē! ‘shout!’

(e) emamina ‘play’ (SO) → ē-eremina-kē! ‘sing!’

(f) apēēna ‘finish’ (SO) → a-apēēna-ta! ‘go finish!’

(g) epī ‘bathe’ (SA) → epi-kē! ‘bathe!’

(h) ēturu ‘talk’ (SA) → ēturu-kē! ‘talk!’

(i) ēēni(kī) ‘sleep’ (SA) → ēēnih-ta! ‘go sleep!’

The collective form of the Stative and Allative Imperatives has an extra marker -tē, which occurs after the Allative -ta but before the Stative -(kē). Notice that, in the non-collective form, -ta cannot co-occur with -(kē), but this co-occurrence becomes possible in the collective form; cf. (107d-e), where the CCV-initial clitic _nkērē ‘still’ can cause the full grade -kē to occur in the collective, but not in the non-collective form. The collective forms always refer to the addressee, never to the O participant. In the collective imperative form of tē[mī] ‘go’, the -(kē) seems to be obligatory: tē-tē-kē! ‘you all go!’.

(107a) pono(pī) ‘tell O’ → i-ponoh-tē! i-ponoh-tē-kē! ‘you all tell O!’

(b) anota ‘fall’ (SO) → a-anota-tē! a-anota-tē-kē! ‘you all fall!’

(c) ēturu ‘talk’ (SA) → ēturu-tē! ēturu-tē-kē! ‘you all talk!’

(d) eta-ta_nkērē_pa! (* eta-ta-kē_nkērē_pa)
(e) eta-ta-tē-kē nkērē pa!
3O:hear-Go.Imp-Coll-Imper_Still_Rpt
‘You all, go listen to him/her/it again!’

T-adding stems occur with the extra t(i)- in the Imperative forms (108a-l). As mentioned in 5.1.3, there is some variation as to whether or not a preceding overt O nominal can co-occur with the extra t(i)- (108m-n). Notice that, the forms without the t(i)- cannot take the (optional) third-person marker i-, unlike other consonant-initial stems (108n).

(108a) [t]ē(ku) ‘eat O (flour)’ → tēh-kē! ‘eat it (flour)!’
(b) [t]ēnē ‘eat O (meat)’ → tēnē-kē! ‘eat it (meat)!’
(c) [t]ēu ‘take O out’ → tēu-kē! ‘take it out!’
(d) [t]urē ‘light O (fire)’ → turē-kē! ‘light it (fire)!’
(e) [t]ka(pī) ‘weave O’ → tū-kah-kē! ‘weave it!’
(f) [t]kī ‘grate O’ → tū-kī-kē! ‘grate it!’
(g) [t]papo ‘throw O out’ → tū-papo-kē! ‘throw it out!’
(h) [t]pē(tī) ‘gather O (fruit)’ → tū-pēh-kē! ‘gather it!’
(i) [t]pī ‘bathe O’ → tū-pī-kē! ‘bathe it!’
(j) [t]rī ‘do, make O’ → tū-rī-kē! ‘do, make it!’
(k) [t]wē ‘shoot O’ → tū-wē-kē! ‘shoot it!’
(l) [t]je ‘cook O’ → tū-je-kē! ‘cook it!’

(m) tarīpi ti-wē-kē! monkey.sp t-shoot-Imper
‘Shoot the monkey!’
(n) tarīpi wē-kē! monkey.sp shoot-Imper
‘Shoot the monkey!’

Among the non-detransitivized S_A (cf. Table 5.4), the following have irregular imperative forms:
(109a) ēe(pī) ‘come’ → oh-kē! ‘come!’
(b) ĩntē ‘go down’ → pīhtē-kē! ‘go down!’
(c) oeka ‘defecate’ → koeka-kē! ‘defecate!’

5.4.2.2. Non-second-person imperatives. In this category, there is only one inflected form:
the Hortative, which is formed with the suffix -ne (collective form -tē-ne) and a 1+2 prefix,
kīt- / k(ː)i- / kī- ‘1+2A/Sa’ with transitive and Sa stems, but k(ē)- / kī- ‘1+2O/So’
with So stems; cf. 5.4.1.1, Table 5.11 for their allomorphic pattern) and the suffix -ne
(collective form -tē-ne). The result is homophonous with the 1+2 form of the Past
Perfective (including the irregular gemination with epo(rī) ‘meet, find O’ in (110c)), so that
(110a-l) also have Past Perfective readings (‘we hid’, ‘we abandoned’, etc.).

(110a) ona[mī] ‘bury/hide O’ → kīt-onan-ne
kīt-onan-tē-ne ‘let us hide O’
‘let us all hide O’
(b) nona ‘abandon O’ → kīi-nonta-ne
kīi-nonta-tē-ne ‘let us abandon O’
‘let us all abandon O’
(c) epo(rī) ‘meet, find O’ → k-eepo-nne
k-eepoh-tē-ne ‘let us find O’
‘let us all find O’
(d) [ɛ]wē ‘shoot O’ → kīi-wē-ne
kīi-wē-tē-ne ‘let us shoot O’
‘let us all shoot O’
(e) epataka ‘go out’ (Sa) → k-eepataka-ne
k-eepataka-tē-ne ‘let us go out’
‘let us all go out’
(f) ēēnī(kī) ‘sleep’ (Sa) → kīt-ēēnī-ne
kīt-ēēnīh-tē-ne ‘let us sleep’
‘let us all sleep’
(g) tē[mī] ‘go’ (Sa) → kīt-tēn-ne
kīt-tē-tē-ne ‘let us go’
‘let us all go’
(h) ka ‘say’ (Sa) → kīh-kaa-ne
kīh-kaa-tē-ne ‘let us say’
‘let us all say’
(i) emamina ‘play’ (So) → k-ēmamina-ne
k-ēmamina-tē-ne ‘let us play’
‘let us all play’
(j) apēṇa ‘finish’ (So) → k-ēpēṇa-ne
k-ēpēṇa-tē-ne ‘let us finish’
‘let us all finish’
(k) pīhta ‘get wife’ (So) → kī-pīhta-ne
kī-pīhta-tē-ne ‘let us get a wife’
‘let us all get wives’
(l) jomita ‘speak’ (So) → kī-jomita-ne
kī-jomita-tē-ne ‘let us speak’
‘let us all speak’
In addition to the Hortative, there is a Jussive construction, based on the conjugated (present perfective or imperfective) forms and the particle ĕwē(h) (cf. 9.1.1). The stem-final h suggests the existence of a reducing syllable, but there are no examples in the corpus in which it occurred in its full grade (e.g. with a following C(CV)-initial clitic).

(111a) ĕwē wī-tē-e
     Jus 1S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
     ‘Let me go!’
(b) ĕwē anja nī-tē-e
     Jus 1+3 1S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
     ‘Let us (excl.) go!’ (i.e. ‘Allow us to go!’)

(c) ĕwē nī-tē-n
     Jus 3S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
     ‘Let him/her go!’
(d) ĕwēh_to nī-tē-n
     Jus_3Col 3S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
     ‘Let them go!’

(e) ĕwēh_to n-apēi
     Jus_3Col 3AO-catch:Prs.Prf
     ‘Let them catch it.’

5.4.3. Non-conjugated forms. This group includes forms that cannot take A/S_A-marking prefixes. They may be seen as ‘less finite’, though some have acquired eventive semantics and are used as full-fledged verb tenses, to the point of even replacing older conjugated forms. However, diachronically, they are all probably derived from old adverbials.

An interesting characteristic of these forms is that, if the original verb stem is transitive, they can all take postpositional morphology (O-marking prefixes and the collective suffix -ne) referring to the O participant (cf. the specific sections for paradigms). The only exception is the Distant Past form, which is invariable. It would be rather odd to consider these verb forms as ‘derived postpositions’, resulting from a process of ‘verbal postpositionalization’. In spite of the similarities (which, in the case of negative forms,
extend even to the existence of corresponding nominalized forms), it seems wiser not to consider these forms as derived postpositions, which is the viewpoint taken here.

On formal grounds, the following subgroups of non-conjugated forms can be distinguished:

— the -se forms, which are all based on a special suffix -se; these forms include the Supine (or ‘Purpose-of-motion’), the Habitual Past, the Remote Past, and the negative forms;

— the adverbial forms, of which there are two: the Cause and the Posteriority forms. They have probably come from earlier postpositional phrases.

5.4.3.1. The -se forms. This subgroup includes the Supine (or ‘Purpose-of-motion’), the Habitual Past, the Remote Past, and the negative forms. All of them are formally characterized by the presence of a suffix -se, which has the following idiosyncratic allomorphic pattern (the illustrative examples are in the Supine form, except for the final example, in the negative form; notice that t-adding verbs occur in their t-form [113i, 113o]):

- se
  with CV- and I-reducing stems (which occur in their length grade; 113a-g)
- je
  with NV-reducing stems (which occur in their coda grade; 113h-j),
  with non-I-reducing i-final stems (112k), and with the stem [f]ēu (112l);
- e
  with vowel-final stems, if the final vowel is not e (112m-p)
length
  with e-final stems (unrealized word-finally; 113q)
(112a) **ahkë(të)** ‘cut O’ → **ahkë-se** ‘in order to cut O’
(b) **ennó(kí)** ‘command O’ → **ennoo-se** ‘in order to command O’
(c) **annë(pí)** ‘fill’ (S₀) → **annë-se** ‘in order to fill’
(d) **ja(tu)** ‘burn’ (S₀) → **jaa-se** ‘in order to burn’
(e) **enmë(tí)** ‘dive’ (S₀) → **enmë-se** ‘in order to dive’
(f) **enu(ru)** ‘be born’ → **enuu-se** ‘in order to be born’
(g) **apë(i)** ‘catch O’ → **apë-se** ‘in order to catch O’
(h) **aokë(mí)** ‘hug O’ → **aokiin-je** ‘in order to hug O’
(i) **këhtu(mu)** ‘shout’ (S₀) → **i-këhtun-je** ‘in order to shout’
(j) **ëmë(mí)** ‘enter’ (S₃) → **ëmen-je** ‘in order to enter’
(k) **moi** ‘obey O’ → **i-moi-je** ‘in order to obey O’
(l) **t[j]ëu** ‘take O out’ → **t-ëu-je** ‘in order to take O out’
(m) **eera** ‘laugh’ (S₀) → **eera-ë** ‘in order to laugh’
(n) **etahpaka** ‘sit down’ (S₃) → **etahpaka-ë** ‘in order to sit down’
(o) **t[j]ëné** ‘eat O (meat)’ → **t-ëné-ë** ‘in order to eat O (meat)’
(p) **amo** ‘mourn O’ → **amo-ë** ‘in order to mourn O’
(q) **ene** ‘see O’ → **ene** ‘in order to see O’
*(cf. in-enee-wa* ‘not seeing O’)*

There are some irregular forms. Some verb stems change their final vowels: non-reducing stems ending in **-ru** undergo **u > e**; the stem **eku** ‘have sex with O’ undergoes **u > o**; the **i**-final monosyllabic stems **[t]pí** ‘bathe O’, **[t]rī** ‘do, make O’, and **[t]kí** ‘grate O’ undergo **i > e**.

(113a) **apuru** ‘close, lock O’ → **apurë-e** ‘in order to close/lock O’
(b) **ëturu** ‘talk’ → **ëturë-e** ‘in order to talk’
(c) **eku** ‘have sex with O’ → **eko-e** ‘in order to have sex with O’
(d) **[t]pí** ‘bathe O’ → **të-pë-e** ‘in order to bathe (O)’
(e) **[t]rī** ‘do, make O’ → **të-rë-e** ‘in order to make (O)’
(f) **[t]kí** ‘grate O’ → **të-kë-e** ‘in order to grate (O)’

Synchronously, the suffix **-se** is not a semantically consistent morpheme; it is best seen as part of complex morphemes (**-se** ‘supine’, ‘habitual past’, **-sewa** ‘negative’, **t-** **-se**
'remote past'). Diachronically, however, it is quite possible that -se was an adverbializer (or 'Participial'; cf. Gilda 1998:140ff).

5.4.3.1.1. Supine and Habitual Past. The Supine and Habitual Past have almost exactly the same form. Both are made by simply adding the suffix -se to the verb stem (taking into account the allomorphic pattern of -se, as described above). With transitive stems, the O participant can be indicated with an O-marking prefix; a collective O is indicated with the marker -:ne. For the Supine form, it is further possible to mark the absence of any definite O participant by choosing the back grade form of the stem (cf. 2.6.1 on Tiriyo ablaut); it is not known whether or not this possibility exists for the Habitual Past. With S\textsubscript{A} stems, no further prefix is necessary; with S\textsubscript{O} stems, a 'generic' prefix i- is added to consonant-initial stems. (114) exemplifies the forms with the transitive stem pono(pǐ) 'tell about O'; (115a-e) has S\textsubscript{A} stems, and (115f-k) shows S\textsubscript{O} stems.

(114) pono(pǐ) 'tell O'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-collective</th>
<th>Collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ji-ponoo-se in order to tell about me</td>
<td>ē-ponoo-see-ne in order to tell about you all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ē-ponoo-se in order to tell about you</td>
<td>ki-ponoo-see-ne in order to tell about us all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>ki-ponoo-se in order to tell about us</td>
<td>i-ponoo-see-ne in order to tell about them all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>i-ponoo-se in order to tell O</td>
<td>ponoo-se in order to tell (stories)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>ponoo-se in order to tell (stories)</td>
<td>ponoo-se in order to tell (stories)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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46 This surprising similarity is a strong indication of a diachronic connection. Cf. Meira 1998a:130ff for the idea that the Habitual Past may have come from an earlier construction involving the Supine.
47 Presumably, t-adding stems (cf. 5.1.3) should occur in their t(f) form in the 'indefinite O' Supine (as well as in the 'indefinite O' negative; cf. 5.4.3.1.3), but the relevant data is unfortunately missing.
T-adding verbs have the extra t(i)- in the Supine and Habitual Past form. As mentioned in 5.1.3, there is some variation as to whether a preceding overt O nominal can co-occur with the extra t(i)- or not (116m). Notice that, in the forms without the t(i)-, they cannot take the (optional) third-person marker i-, unlike other consonant-initial stems (116m).

| (116a) | t[ε]k(u) | ‘eat O (flour)’ | → | t-εe-se | ‘in order to eat O (flour)’ |
| (b) | t[ε]nε | ‘eat O (meat)’ | → | t-εnε-e | ‘in order to eat O (meat)’ |
| (c) | t[ε]u | ‘take O out’ | → | t-εu-je | ‘in order to take O out’ |
| (d) | t[ε]rε | ‘light O (fire)’ | → | t-εrε-e | ‘in order to light O (fire)’ |
| (e) | t[ε]a(pι) | ‘weave O’ | → | tι-kaa-se | ‘in order to weave O’ |
| (f) | t[ε]ki | ‘grate O’ | → | tι-κε-e | ‘in order to grate O’ |
| (g) | t[ε]papο | ‘throw O out’ | → | tι-papε-e | ‘in order to throw O out’ |
| (h) | t[ε]pε(tι) | ‘gather O (fruit)’ | → | tι-pεεe-se | ‘in order to gather O (fruit)’ |
| (i) | t[ε]pι | ‘bathe O’ | → | tι-pε-e | ‘in order to bathe O’ |
| (j) | t[ε]rι | ‘do, make O’ | → | tι-rεe-e | ‘in order to do/make O’ |
| (k) | t[ε]wε | ‘shoot O’ | → | tι-wε-e | ‘in order to shoot O’ |
| (l) | t[ε]je | ‘cook O’ | → | tι-je | ‘in order to cook O’ |

(m) | t[wε] | ‘shoot O’ | → | tarιπι | tι-wε-e | ‘in order to shoot a/the monkey’
| | | | tarιπι | wε-e | ‘in order to shoot a/the monkey’
The stems ihtë ‘go down’ and oeka ‘defecate’ occur with the stem-initial consonants p- and k-, respectively, in the Supine and Habitual Past form.

(117a) ihtë ‘go down’ → pihté-e ‘in order to go down’
(b) oeka ‘defecate’ → koeka-e ‘in order to defecate’

The Supine is used as a subordinate form to indicate the purpose of a motion predicate. Most cases involve the verb stems të[mî] ‘go’ and ëe[pi] ‘come’; the hortative motion particle npa is also not infrequent. A different construction is used to mark purpose in non-motion cases (cf. 10.4.1.3.3 on -too_me).

(118a) epë-e wî-të-e
    bathe-Sup 1SA-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
    ‘I am going (to the river) to bathe.’
(b) pahko n-ee-ja-n ė-ene
    1:father 3SA-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 2-see:Sup
    ‘My father is coming to see you.’
(c) mërë_pona wî-të-e i-wanpan-je
    3InMd.Dir 1SA-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty i-sing.hymn-Sup
    ‘I am going over there to sing hymns.’
(d) sen_pona n-ee-ja-n karakuri apëë-se
    3InPx_Dir 3SA-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt money 3O:get-Sup
    ‘S/he is coming here to get money.’
(e) npa epë-e!
    Hort bathe-Sup
    ‘Let’s go bathe!’

The Habitual Past form is used to describe habitual or repetitive events that do not take place any longer (cf. the English ‘used to’). Note that (119c) has the t-adding verb stem [t]wê ‘shoot O’. Note also that the verb të[mî], which never occurred in the Supine
(probably for semantic reasons: ‘I went there in order to go’ sounds rather odd), has "tê-e as its Habitual Past (119d). For the nominative syntax of Habitual Past sentences, cf. 10.3.4.

(119a) pena ahtao, ji-tuuka-e ẽmê
long.ago when 1O-hit-Hab 2
‘Long ago, you used to hit me.’

(b) 'tīwaarē eh-kē’, ka-e manko wīja
careful Cop-Imper say-Hab 1:mother 1:Dat
‘Be careful”, my mother used to tell me.’

(c) irē apo pahko tī-wē-e, mure_me nkērē_wī ahtao
3InAna like 1:father t-shoot-Hab child_Attr_Still_1 when
‘That’s how my father used to shoot, when I was still a child.’

(d) pena_marē koeri_me tê-e anja pata wararē
long.ago too stroll_Attr go-Hab 1+3 village every
‘Long ago, we used to go walking around, (to visit) every village.’

In today’s Tiriýó, the Habitual Past has all but replaced the -(ja)kē(ne) Past Imperfective. In several occasions, a Past Imperfective form was explained by speakers with its Habitual Past equivalent, because it was ‘easier’ or ‘simpler’. An older speaker claimed that ‘young people don’t speak like this anymore’ (referring to a Past Imperfective form). Although further sociolinguistic research would certainly be necessary, a preliminary impression is that the Past Imperfective in Tiriýó has a status similar to that of the Subjunctive in English, or the passé simple in spoken French: it is recognized and understood, but not really used.
5.4.3.1.2. Remote Past. In addition to the suffix -se, the Remote Past form has a prefix which basically has the form t- with vowel-initial stems and ti- with consonant-initial stems, with the following additional details:

— transitive and So stems must occur in their back grade if there is one (which implies the changes e > ē, aCē > ēCē, and aCo > oCo; cf. 2.6.1 for Tiriýó ablaut);

— Sa stems take the class-marking prefix w- before the prefix t-. On ē-initial stems, the result is the sequence tū-w- (120m-n); on e-initial stems, the result is t- + lengthening of the initial e (120o-p; notice that this is idiosyncratic to combinations with the t- prefix, since the w- occurs as such on nominalizations without t- [cf. 4.2.2.1]). The two consonant-initial non-detransitivized stems ka ‘say’ and tē[mī] ‘go’ take a ‘lengthened’ prefix tū- (cf. 122q-r); the length can be seen as another realization of the class marker w-. The irregular stems ihtē ‘go down’ and oeka / weka ‘defecate’, which take irregular initial consonants in certain forms (cf. 5.4.1.1.2), do not have them in the Remote Past (120s-t).

(120a) aminē(pī)  ‘steal O’  →  t-aminē-se  ‘stole; stolen’
(b) aitē  ‘push O’  →  t-aitē-e  ‘pushed’
(c) apē(i)  ‘catch O’  →  t-ēpē-se  ‘caught’
(d) akoroka  ‘sweep O’  →  t-okoroka-e  ‘swept’
(e) ema  ‘throw O’  →  t-ema-e  ‘threw; thrown’
(f) ona(mī)  ‘hide O’  →  t-onan-je  ‘hid; hidden’
(g) moi  ‘obey O’  →  tī-moi-je  ‘obeyed’
(h) konka  ‘pierce O’  →  tī-konka-e  ‘pierced’
(i) apēe(pī)  ‘get tired’ (So)  →  t-ēpē-se  ‘got tired’
(j) enta  ‘wake up’ (So)  →  t-ėnta-e  ‘woke up; awake’
(k) ihtēinkapa(mī)  ‘forget’ (So)  →  tī-htēinkapan-je  ‘forgot; forgotten’

48 It was never clear whether or not the stem wa ‘dance’ had a long i in the Remote Past (i.e. if it was tū-wa-e or tī-wa-e). This may be a part of the oscillation in the treatment of this stem as Sa or So (cf. 5.2.2, .5.4.1.1.2).
The prefix t- has the same allomorphic pattern as the prefix found on t-adverbs (cf. 6.2.1.1); in fact, the original meaning of the remote past form probably was that of an ‘adverbial participle’ (cf. Gildea 1998:140ff). The t- -se(mi) nominalizer (cf. 4.2.2.1.2-3) is probably a nominalized form of this older t- -se participle. It is still possible to find rare occasional occurrences of the remote past form used as an adverbial (121); its meaning is then quite compatible with that of t- -se(mi) nominalizations. Note that the A participant is marked by the postposition _:ja (i.e. the t- -se form has ergative syntax; cf. 10.3.3).

(121a) wēri nī-tēn ti-pakoro-h_ta t-ēek̂a-e ēkēi_ja
woman 3SA-go:Prs.Prf 3R-house-Pos_III Prtcp-bite-Prtcp snake_by
'The woman; went into her; house bitten by a snake.'

(b) apēi_n-ai t-ee-pahka-e
3:seat_3SA-Cop Prtcp-SA:Detr-break-Prtcp
'His/her seat is broken.'

However, the overwhelming majority of instances of the Remote Past are narrative texts, especially those that deal with mythological events; (122a-d) are representative examples. The best characterization of this situation seems to be that the Remote Past marks a past event which is as removed as possible from the present, with which it has little
or no connection. It is the ‘mythological tense’ par excellence, describing events that
happened in a ‘distant, far-away past’, in illo tempore. Note, in (122c), that the verb in the
quotation is in the Perfective Past (it was said by one of the main characters of a narrative
text, for whom, obviously, the events of the story would not be remote), while the quotative
verb ka ‘say’ is in the Remote Past. 49

(122a) kaikui t-éntahka-e akuri_ja
    jaguar  Rm.Pst-fool-Rm.Pst agouti_Agt
    ‘The agouti fooled the jaguar.’

(b) wée-pëni-npë t-épinëë-se nëri_ja
    shoot:N-Priv.Nzr-Pst  Rm.Pst-medicate-Rm.Pst  cricket_Agt
    ‘The cricket medicated the bad shooter.’

(c) irë_mao_pa tì-w-ëe-se Jaraware
    3InAna_Temp_Rpt  Rm.Pst-S_A-come-Rm.Pst  Jaraware
    ‘At that moment, Yaraware came back.’

(d) ‘ji-nmuku m-ene-ne?’ tìi-ka-e Taru
    1-son:Pos 2A-see-Pst.Prf  Rm.Pst:S_A-say-Rm.Pst  Taru
    ‘Have you seen my son?’ Taru said.

5.4.3.1.3. Negative forms. Negative constructions in Tiriyó are copular clauses with a
‘negative adverbial’ verb form (cf. 10.3.5). The negative form has a suffix which is
historically derived from -se with the negative particle wa (cf. 8.1.4); the result is a verbal
negative suffix -sewa, which follows, for the first syllable, the allomorphic pattern of the

49 There are certain occurrences of the t- -se form without a ‘Remote Past’ semantics. For instance, a man who
had been asked if he had seen two other people whom the speaker wanted to meet replied:

(i) t-ëne_tëa wijìa
    t-see-se_Neg 1:Agy
    ‘I haven’t seen (them).’

Some other cases of negative t- -se answers to questions have been collected. Their motivation remains
unknown.
suffix -se described in 5.4.3.1 above.\(^{50}\) With \(S_A\) stems, no further prefixes occur; with \(S_O\) stems, an additional prefix i- occurs on consonant-initial stems. On transitive stems, the O participant can be marked by means of the O-marking prefixes and the collective suffix -:ne (with an exceptional third-person prefix in- [ini- if the stem starts with a consonant cluster (123g)] instead of the expected i-/∅-), or it can also be left unmarked (in which case the verb stem occurs in its back ablaut grade). (123) below shows the object-marking paradigm for the negative form of a transitive stem, with further examples of the third-person negative form of transitive stems (the \(it\) in the glosses stands for him/her/it); (124) lists examples of negative intransitive stems.

(123) \textbf{eta} ‘hear O’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-collective</th>
<th>Collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>j-eta-ewa</td>
<td>not hearing me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ē-eta-ewa</td>
<td>not hearing you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>k-ēta-ewa</td>
<td>not hearing us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>in-eta-ewa</td>
<td>not hearing him/her/it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>ēta-ewa</td>
<td>not (capable of) hearing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) pataka ‘take O out’ → in-pataka-ewa ‘not taking it out’
(b) akoroka ‘sweep O’ → in-akoroka-ewa ‘not sweeping it’
(c) aokī(mī) ‘hug O’ → in-aokīn-jewa ‘not hugging it’
(d) menuhtē ‘write, paint O’ → in-menuhtē-ewa ‘not writing, painting it’
(e) juuka ‘bend O’ → in-juuka-ewa ‘not bending it’
(f) kuku ‘try, imitate O’ → in-kuu-sewa ‘not trying, imitating it’
(g) ntaka ‘break O’ → ini-ntaka-ewa ‘not breaking it’

(124a) anota ‘fall’ (\(S_O\)) → anota-ewa ‘not falling’
(b) kooma(mī) ‘become night’ (\(S_O\)) → i-kooman-jewa ‘not becoming night’
(c) akunpa(mī) ‘get lazy’ (\(S_O\)) → akunpan-jewa ‘not getting lazy’

\(^{50}\) Other negative forms can be built with a ∅-nominalized verb stem and negative adverbializers; cf. 6.2.1.2.
Among the non-detransitivized $S_A$ stems, the following irregular forms were found:

(125a) ṣeb(pī) ‘come’ → t-ëe-sewa ~ t-ee-sewa ‘not coming’
(b)  întē ‘go down’ → p-ïhtē-ewa ‘not going down’
(c) oeka / weka ‘defecate’ → k-oeka-ewa ‘not defecating’

Negative constructions in Tiriyo are copular clauses with the negative verb form as the predicate. (126) is only an illustrative example; further details can be found in the discussion of the syntax of negative constructions in 10.3.5.

(126) ĕ-jomii-kon in-kuu-sewa nkērē w-a-e
2-language:Pos-P.Col. 3O-imitate-Neg_still_1SA-Cop-Cty
‘I still don’t speak your language.’

5.4.3.2. The adverbial forms: -tuwwē ‘Posteriority’, -tēkērē ‘Cause’. The two suffixes that characterize these forms are probably old postpositions (compare the final wē in -tuwwē with the derived locative postpositions in -wē / -o in 7.3.1.2; notice also the class marker w-, typical of nominalizations, in (128), which suggests that the verb form was etymologically $Ø$-nominalized and used as the object of a postposition). Synchronically, however, it seems better to treat them as verbal suffixes, for the following reasons:

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51 The ‘Actual S’-nominalized form of ṣeb(pī) also has an unexpected t-: t-ēh-ke ‘one who comes’ (cf. 4.2.2.1.3). This t- is reminiscent of—but not identical with—the t- prefix of t-adding verb stems.
(a) the resulting verb word conjugates as a unit, taking (if the verb stem is transitive) O-marking prefixes and the collective suffix -ne (127) illustrates this with a paradigm with -tuuwé on the transitive verb stem eta ‘hear O’; (128) gives only one example with -tëkërë, since a full paradigm is unfortunately missing):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(127)</th>
<th>Non-Collective</th>
<th>Collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>j-eta-tuwë</td>
<td>‘after hearing me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>e-eta-tuwë</td>
<td>‘after hearing you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>k-eta-tuwë</td>
<td>‘after hearing us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>eta-tuwë</td>
<td>‘after hearing him/her/it’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(128) **irë apo_n-ai, oro_ko_me e-w-eh-tëkërë-ne**
3lnAna like_3S_A-Cop work_Attr 2-S_A-Cop-Caus-Col
‘It’s like this because all of you are working.’

(b) the alternative of considering -tuuwé and -tëkërë as postpositions has problems: they cannot take nominal objects (e.g. *irë-tuwë ‘after that’ and *irë-tëkërë ‘because of that’, with the third-person anaphoric pronoun irë), and the verb stems occurring with -tuuwë and -tëkërë do not seem to be nominalized, since they can reduce, and a possessed Ø-nominalized verb stem should not be able to reduce on account of the presence of the possessive suffix -(rī) (compare (129a-b) with (129c), in which a Ø-nominalized syllable-reducing verb stem remains in its full grade with the Instrumental postposition _ke).

(129a) **i-ponoh-tuwë ii-ja**
3O-tell-Post 3-by
‘after s/he told about O,...’

(129b) **i-ponoh-tëkërë ii-ja**
3O-catch-Post 3-by
‘because s/he told about O,...’

(129c) **i-ponoh_ke ii-ja**
3O-tell:Pos_Inst 3-by
‘because s/he told about O...’
As can be seen in the above examples, the Posteriority and the Cause forms are used as subordinate adverbials, indicating an event that is anterior to, or the cause of, the event in the main clause. (Cf. also 10.4.1.1.2 for the syntax of such constructions).

5.4.4. Forms of the copula e(i). The copula e(i) 'be, become' (cf. 10.3.2.1 for its uses) has all the forms and tenses of a regular verb Table 5.15, the full conjugation of e(i), serves as a guide.

**Table 5.15**

Conjugation of the copular verb e(i).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONJUGATED (SET I) FACTUAL</th>
<th>CONJUGATED (SET I) NON-FACTUAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PRESENT GNOMIC</strong></td>
<td><strong>HYPOTHETICAL</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Non-collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>Collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 w-a-e, -(ne)</td>
<td>1 w-ei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 man-a-e, -(ne)</td>
<td>2 m-ei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2 kit-a-e, -(ne)</td>
<td>1+2 m-ei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 n-ai</td>
<td>3 m-ei (nu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 w-ee-ja-e, -(ne)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m-ee-ja-e, -(ne)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2 k-ee-ja-e, -(ne)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 n-ee-ja-(ne)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PRESENT IMPERFECTIVE</strong></td>
<td><strong>INCREDULITIV</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-collective</td>
<td>Non-collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>Collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 w-ei</td>
<td>1 w-ei (nu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m-ei</td>
<td>2 m-ei (nu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2 k-ei</td>
<td>1+2 k-ei (nu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 n-ei</td>
<td>3 n-ei (nu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PRESENT PERFECTIVE</strong></td>
<td><strong>ADMONITIVE</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Non-collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>Collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 w-ei</td>
<td>1 w-ei (nu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m-ei</td>
<td>2 m-ei (nu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2 k-ei</td>
<td>1+2 k-ei (nu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 n-ei</td>
<td>3 n-ei (nu)</td>
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</table>

**FUTURE IMPERFECTIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONJUGATED (SET I) FACTUAL</th>
<th>CONJUGATED (SET I) NON-FACTUAL</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FUTURE IMPERFECTIVE</strong></td>
<td><strong>PAST IMPERFECTIVE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-collective</td>
<td>Non-collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>Collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 w-eh-ta-e, -(ne)</td>
<td>1 w-ah-kē(ne)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m-eh-ta-e, -(ne)</td>
<td>2 m-ah-kē(ne)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2 k-eh-ta-e, -(ne)</td>
<td>1+2 kit-kē(kè)(ne)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 n-eh-ta-(ne)</td>
<td>3 kīn-ahkē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 w-eh-jakē(mī)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m-eh-jakē(mī)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2 k-eh-jakē(mī)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 n-eh-jakē(mī)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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**FUTURE PERFECTIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONJUGATED (SET I) FACTUAL</th>
<th>CONJUGATED (SET I) NON-FACTUAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FUTURE PERFECTIVE</strong></td>
<td><strong>PAST PERFECTIVE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-collective</td>
<td>Non-collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>Collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 w-ei</td>
<td>1 w-ei-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m-ei</td>
<td>2 m-ei-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2 k-ei</td>
<td>1+2 k-ei-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 n-ei</td>
<td>3 n-ah-è-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 w-ei (nu)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m-ei (nu)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2 k-ei (nu)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 n-ah-è-ne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERATIVE</td>
<td>NON-CONJUGATED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Static: ‘be!’</td>
<td>eh-kē eh-tē-kē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative: ‘go be!’</td>
<td>eh-ta eh-ta-tē(kē)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venitive: ‘come be!’</td>
<td>ee-se_mīī ee-se_mīīko(mo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hortative: ‘let us be’</td>
<td>k-ei-ne k-eh-tē-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jussive: ‘let him be’</td>
<td>ēwē ēwēh_to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n-ee-ja-(nē) n-ee-ja-(nē)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The copula has one additional form: the present gnomic, with a suppletive stem a (also found in the past imperfective). The present gnomic is used in a more stative sense (‘be’), while the present imperfective has inchoative uses (‘become’). Note that the present gnomic forms are clitics and behave syntactically like second-position particles (cf. 9.1.3, 2.3.2).

(130a) **kure_w-a-e**
       well_1SA-Cop-Cty
       ‘I am well.’

(b) **kure w-ee-ja-e**
    well 1SA-Cop-Prs.Ipf-Cty
    ‘I am getting better.’

The a-stem forms are different enough from the normal e-stem forms that one wonders if they could be analyzed as independent verbs (e.g. a ‘be’ and e(i) ‘become’). Hoff 1968:212ff analyzes cognate forms in Carib of Surinam as belonging to two different verbs; Gildea 1989 does the same for Panare. Notice, however, that the ‘stative’ vs. ‘inchoative’ distinction is not really consistent: e-stem forms can have non-inchoative uses, as in (131b) below, the past tense equivalent of (131a).

(131a) **Tēpu_po_w-a-e**
      Tēpu_loc_1SA-Cop-Cty
      ‘I am at Tēpu.’

(b) **Tēpu_po kapohta w-ei-ne**
    Tēpu_loc long.time 1SA-Cop-Pst.Prf
    ‘I was at Tēpu for quite a while.’
In addition to that, there is only one past imperfective form (cf. Table 5.15). Also, all nominalizations have only one form. For instance, \textit{w-eh-to(po)} is an e-stem form, but it can have stative (a-stem) semantics, as in (132). For these reasons, it seems better to treat the a- and e-stem forms as belonging to the same verbal paradigm.

(132) \textbf{tarêno\_me} \textbf{ê-w-eh-to} \textbf{wi-pono} \textbf{ii-ja}  
\textit{Tiríyó\_Attr 2-S\textsubscript{A}-Cop-Circ.Nzr 1A-tell-Pst.Prf 3-Dat}  
‘I have (just) told him/her that you are a Tiríyó.’

An interesting detail from the comparative Cariban perspective is the existence of only one third person form in the Present Gnomic. Many other Cariban languages have at least two forms: \textit{mana} and \textit{(h)nae} in Apalaí (Koehn & Koehn 1986:101), \textit{maŋ} and \textit{nai} in Akawayo (Fox, pers. comm.), \textit{man} and \textit{nai} in Wayana (Jackson 1972:54), \textit{maŋ}, \textit{na} and \textit{naŋ} in Carib of Surinam (Hoff 1968:212), \textit{nas(i)} and \textit{nay} in Waiwai (Hawkins 1998:167ff), etc. These two forms usually mark the difference between visual and nonvisual evidence. In Tiríyó, however, the form \textit{nai} is used in all contexts. It can be used for both questions and answers (133a-b). Furthermore, (133b) is the only way to say about a box that it is empty, regardless of whether the speaker opened it to look inside, or just weighed it in his/her hands, or is telling someone else that s/he need not open the box. (But cf. 9.1.3.2., on the particle \textit{nara}, for possible remnants of another third-person form).

(133a) \textbf{ařî-ra\_n-ai} ?  
\textit{content-Priv\_3S\textsubscript{A}-Cop}  
‘Is it empty?’

(b) \textbf{aha, ařî-ra\_n-ai}  
\textit{yes content-Priv\_3S\textsubscript{A}-Cop}  
‘Yes, it is empty.’
6. ADVERBS.

The morphological and syntactic properties which define the adverbial class (first mentioned and exemplified in 3.4.3) are listed below. As can be seen, they are mostly negative: they describe what adverbs cannot do.

(A) Morphology: adverbs

(a) do not inflect for person, number, or tense-aspect-modality;

(b) take the nominalizers -(no), -to (also found on postpositions), and -(mi);

(B) Syntax/Semantics: adverbs

(a) tend to modify the verb, or to add circumstantial (time, place) information;

(b) fail nominal tests:

— they cannot be the possessor nor the possessed in possessive constructions;
— they cannot be subjects or objects of verbs, nor objects of postpositions;
— they cannot occupy the O slot in the OV phrase (i.e. they can immediately precede a transitive verb with the third-person prefix n-).

Basically, adverbs (a) are not verbs, because they cannot be conjugated; (b) are not nouns, because they do not inflect for person and number, and do not behave like nouns syntactically; (c) are not particles or ideophones, because they can be nominalized.

A look at the stems which can be identified as adverbs with the above criteria reveals an open class with a large number of numbers. Most of them, however, are
derived with one of the various (fully productive) morphological adverbializing processes (cf. 6.2). Derived adverbs are identified by the presence of adverbializing morphology, and also by their nominalizations: monomorphic adverbs take -(no) or -to (-a(ka) adverbs are a special case; cf. 6.1.1.1), while derived adverbs take -(mi), or undergo idiosyncratic changes (-:ra > -pi(mi), -nna > -mi(mi), etc.).

Semantically speaking, Tiriyó adverbs include most of the concepts which are adjectives and adverbs in European languages, i.e. ‘property concepts’ (in the sense of Dixon 1977) and ‘circumstances’ (time: today, later,...; location: here, there, far,...; manner: well, badly,...; etc.).

Typological studies on adjectives have stressed that the link between ‘property concepts’ and a specific lexical class is subject to cross-linguistic variation. Some languages (e.g. English) have a clear adjectival class, while others tend to distribute ‘property concepts’ elsewhere: in the nominal class (e.g. Sanskrit, Quechua, most Australian languages), in the verbal class (e.g. Iroquoian and Siouan languages), or in both (e.g. Japanese, according to Wetzer 1996:50). Discourse-pragmatic explanations for this split (such as Hopper & Thompson 1984, Thompson 1988, or Bhat 1994) have stressed the functional basis of the category: adjectives are used for predication and modification. Interestingly enough, Tiriyó adverbs can be used for predication, but must be nominalized before they can be used for modification (cf. 10.2.1.3). This suggests that

1 There are two ‘property concepts’ outside of this category: the nouns mono ‘big (one)’ and kaina(no) ‘new/young (one).’ However, they are rather exceptional, and may have been diachronically derived (their final syllable looks like the -(no) nominalizer [cf. 4.2.2.2]; for mono, a connection with the augmentative suffix -imê [cf. 4.2.1.2] may be suggested).
Tiriyó treats modification as 'nouny', though Tiriyó is still different from languages like Sanskrit or Quechua in that 'property concepts' are not originally nouns, but adverbs.

In what follows, the members of the adverbial class will be studied in detail. Section 6.1 lists all attested monomorphemic adverbs and describes their semantic and formal regularities. Section 6.2 treats derived adverbs by offering a description of all known morphological processes which can form adverbs out of nouns or verbs.

6.1. Monomorphemic adverbs. Approximately one hundred monomorphemic adverbial stems occurred in the available corpus. In many cases, the stem shows signs of having been derived from a non-adverbial source which no longer exists. Adverb stems which show no signs of productive adverbializing morphology will be termed primitive; those which show such signs will be called non-primitive. Of course, that does not mean that primitive adverbs are not diachronically derived; in fact, certain primitive stems appear to be the result of derivation, with affixes that are no longer productive.

6.1.1. Primitive adverbs. Table 6.1 lists the 44 attested primitive adverbs, classified, as much as possible, according to Diixon's 1977 semantic types (with additions when necessary).
Conspicuously absent are two of the four types which Dixon considered near universal (the other two being Dimension and Value): Age (young, new, old,...) and Color (red, green, black,...). However, the fact that these types are not represented among primitive adverbs does not mean that they are absent from the adverbial class: color terms are non-primitive adverbs, and age terms are either nouns (kaina(no) ‘new, young’), affixes (-npē ‘past’, interpretable as ‘old, ex-’), or adverbial expressions (tamutupē_me...
‘old, aged’, literally ‘old-man-like’, formed by tamutupē ‘old man’ and the attributivizing postposition _me). Also interesting is the presence of Quantity/Order, Time, and Place, which are more typically adverbial. Notice the somewhat surprising absence of ‘simple’ locative adverbials such as ‘here’ or ‘there’. They correspond in Tiriyo to combinations of inanimate demonstrative pronouns with the postposition _po ‘Locative’ (e.g. sen_po, serē_po ‘here’, mērē_po ‘there’, ooni_po ‘there (far away)’). Temporal expressions can similarly be built with the temporal postposition _mao: serē_mao ‘nowadays’, irē_mao ‘then’, etc.

Certain formal regularities among primitive adverbs stand out, suggesting the subgrouping depicted in Table 6.2.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formal subgrouping of primitive adverbs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>-a(ka) adverbs</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aesa(ka) ‘sharp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amíma(ka) ‘heavy, difficult’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amíma(ka) ‘stingy, selfish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atuma(ka) ‘hot, warm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikuruma(ka) ‘dangerous’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutuma(ka) ‘painful; bitter; a lot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-áarë adverbs</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ameraarë ‘all; everyone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irémaarë ‘soon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menjaarë ‘now, today’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokonjaarë ‘yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mjarë ‘thither’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sarë ‘hither’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-po adverbs</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eëniho ‘sleepy, tired’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suhtapo ‘wanting to urinate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koekapo ‘wanting to defecate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-ke(ne) adverbs</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kooseke(ne) ‘slow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oorake(ne) ‘calm, quiet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onke(ne) ‘calm, peaceful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-(n)je adverbs</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mënje ‘beyond’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>senje ‘this side of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokonje ‘afternoon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipipinje ‘thin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pohpooje ‘light’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emije ‘soft’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarëنجe ‘later’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-në adverbs</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eëseenë ‘sick, ill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eëjeenë ‘hungry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teenë ‘one; alone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eëkëné ‘two; in pair(s)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>others</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aerë ‘true’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akëpë ‘hard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aoja ‘crooked’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ewë ‘later’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawë ‘high, tall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koko ‘(at) night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kure ‘good, pretty, well’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma(a) ‘far, long’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mëenna ‘calm, satiated, satisfied’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mënne ‘healed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pëera ‘stupid, ignorant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pena ‘long ago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pijja ‘small, little’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þire ‘upright’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>same ‘fast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taanë ‘there’ (far away)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.1.1.1. **-a(ka) adverbs.** The members of this subgroup share certain morphological parallelisms which clearly set them apart. They have a number of related forms without the final -a(ka):⁴ negative forms, generally in -nna (adverbial) and -nmi(m) (nominal), and two nominalized forms, a more abstract one in -ne(ti) or -e(ti), and a more concrete

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² There is a near-homophonous particle ewë(h), which marks jussives (cf. 5.4.2.2, 9.1.1).  
³ There is a homophonous particle pena ‘already’; cf. 9.1.5.  
⁴ The final syllable (ka) of these adverbs is apparently being lost. When a CCV-initial clitic follows, the full grade form should always occur, but many informants (especially younger people) accept both a full and a zero grade: atumaka nkëré and atuma nkëré ‘still warm, hot’, kutumaka nkëré and kutuma nkëré ‘still painful’, amímak nkëré and amíma nkëré ‘still stingy, selfish’, etc.
one in -(nu). These forms are listed in (1). Aesa(ka) 'sharp' seems to have slightly deviant forms; the (nu)/(ni) form is not attested for aesa(ka) and for aima(ka)).

(1) Various words related to -a(ka) adverbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atuma(ka)</td>
<td>'hot, warm'</td>
<td>atunna</td>
<td>'not warm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutuma(ka)</td>
<td>'painful, bitter'</td>
<td>kutunna</td>
<td>'not painful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amínma(ka)</td>
<td>'heavy, difficult'</td>
<td>amínna</td>
<td>'not heavy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amína(ka)</td>
<td>'stingy, selfish'</td>
<td>amínna</td>
<td>'not stingy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aima(ka)</td>
<td>'hot (pepper)'</td>
<td>aína</td>
<td>'not hot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikuruma(ka)</td>
<td>'dangerous'</td>
<td>ikurunna</td>
<td>'not dangr.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aesa(ka)</td>
<td>'sharp'</td>
<td>aera</td>
<td>'not sharp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atune(tí)</td>
<td>'warm thing (e.g. coffee)'</td>
<td>atu(nu)</td>
<td>'warming thing (e.g. blanket)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutune(tí)</td>
<td>'painful thing (e.g. poison)'</td>
<td>kutu(nu)</td>
<td>'pain; bitterness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amíne(tí)</td>
<td>'heavy thing'</td>
<td>amí(ni)</td>
<td>'weight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amíne(tí)</td>
<td>'stingy person'</td>
<td>amí(ni)</td>
<td>'stinginess'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aíne(tí)</td>
<td>'hot thing (e.g. pepper)'</td>
<td>ikurune(tí)</td>
<td>'dangerous/authorized person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikurun(tí)</td>
<td>'sharp thing'</td>
<td>ikuru(nu)</td>
<td>'authorization; weapon; danger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aeke(tí)</td>
<td>'sharp thing'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Judging by (1), -a(ka) is an old adverbializer (probably a cognate of Wayana -hak(a)⁷), -nna is the privative adverbializer and -mí(ni) its nominalized form. Also, -e(tí) or -ne(tí) seems to be an old nominalizer; the k in aeke(tí) makes one wonder about possible connections with the verbal nominalizer i- -ke(tí) 'Actual S' (cf. 4.2.2.1.3). It is not clear whether the -(nu)/(ni) forms were the original stems, or whether -(nu)/(ni) was also a suffix (in favor of the latter hypothesis, compare atu(nu) with the verb stem jatu 'burn [intr.]'). For the meaning of ikuruma(ka), cf. the glossary in Appendix B.

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⁵ One speaker found amínna, amínmi(ni) a bit artificial, and suggested poopooja, poopooja(na) instead. There may be variation in this respect.

⁶ The more regular aesaano 'sharp thing', with the -(na) nominalizer, is also attested.

⁷ Meira 1998:29 reconstructs *atumaka 'warm', *kutumaka 'painful' and *amí(e)čisaka 'heavy' to Proto-Taranao, a sub-branch of Cariban. Notice that this *c was apparently retained as s in aesa(ka) 'sharp'. There is a regular correspondence between Tiriöö s (Proto-Taranao *c) and Wayana ëmëmhak(a) 'stingy, selfish'. Compare e.g. amína(ka) 'stingy, selfish' with Wayana ëmëmhak(a) 'stingy, selfish'.
6.1.1.2. -aarē adverbs. Certain comparisons between these adverbs and other words suggest that -(nj)aarē may have been an independent morphological element.

The word kokonjaarē ‘yesterday’ is certainly derived from koko ‘night’ (cf. also kokonje ‘afternoon’, kokoro ‘tomorrow’, kokonkērē ‘morning’); considering the other words in this group, one may even suggest that it was derived from kokonje ‘afternoon’. Irēmaarē ‘soon’ and menjaarē ‘now, today’ are also temporal expressions; possible sources would be irēme ‘thus, therefore’ and mēnje ‘this side of’ (the ē > e vowel change in menjaarē is admittedly puzzling). Mijarē ‘thither’ suggests a possible source *miij(a), which is not attested. However, Meira 1998:177, 50 reconstructs a word *mi(c/j)a ‘far, long’ to Proto-Taranoan (of which Tiriyo ma(a) ‘far, long’ is a reflex), which is a good candidate for a diachronic source. An underlyingly long aa in mijarē, from -aarē, would be masked by the iambic stress system (cf. 2.5.1). Cognates of ameraarē without the -aarē can be found in other languages (cf. Apatani emero ‘all, everything’). Sarē is a bit doubtful, since the a is clearly short; but the existence of a proximal deictic formative se (as in se(ni), serē ‘this’, senje ‘this side of’, etc.; cf. 4.1.2, 12.2) makes it less unthinkable to accept sarē as se + arē.

The meaning of this earlier suffix -aarē is not clear. It may contain more than one morpheme: notice that, in the nominalized forms of some of these words, the nominalizer is inserted between rē and the preceding syllable (e.g. menjaarē ‘now, today’ → menjato(ro) ‘someone from today’; kokonjaarē ‘yesterday’ → kokonjato(ro) ‘someone from yesterday’). This final rē may come from the identificational particle _rē ‘exactly’.
6.1.1.3. -po adverbs. The only three adverbs in this category are listed below, together with the intransitive verb stems from which they seem to be related. The first of them, ēēnīhpo ‘sleepy, tired’, can be nominalized with the suffix -to (ēēniḥpoto ‘someone who is tired, sleepy’; cf. 4.2.2.2); presumably, the same holds true for the other two -po adverbs.

(2a) ‘sleep’ ēēnī(ki) → ēēnīhpo ‘sleepy, tired’
(b) ‘urinate’ suhta → suhtapo ‘wanting to urinate’
(c) ‘defecate’ (k)oeka/weka → koekapo ‘wanting to defecate’

The relationship between the original verb stems and the corresponding -po adverb is so straightforward that it is even possible to analyze -po as a low-productivity desiderative suffix. Possible cognates are attested in other languages: Wayana (Tavares, pers. comm.) has a desiderative suffix -po which is used to derive a new verb stem (compare the Wayana words j-iṅik-jai ‘I am sleeping’, a conjugated verb, and j-iṅik-po-jai ‘I feel like sleeping’ [originally from Jackson 1972], also a conjugated verb). In Tiriyó, however, -po is not a verb-deriving suffix, but at best an adverbializer.

6.1.1.4. -ke(ne) adverbs. There are a few cases of non-primitive, ‘segmentable’ adverbs ending in -ke(ne) [-kəŋ] (e.g. kure-ke(ne) ‘slow(ly)’, a synonym of kooseke(ne), which seems to be derived from kure ‘good, well, pretty’). Considering the similar ending found on the -ke(ne) adverbs (kooseke(ne) ‘slow(ly)’, oorake(ne) ‘calm, quiet’, onke(ne) ‘calm, peaceful’), including the final reducing syllable (ne), which is rare (cf.
2.6.2 on syllable reduction), the idea of interpreting -ke(ne) adverbs as derived readily springs into mind, in spite of the absence of synchronic sources (presumably *koose, *oora, *on).

The probable source of the final -ke(ne) is the continuative particle _ke(ne) (cf. 9.1.5). In fact, although certain adverbs can occur without _ke(ne), they are much more frequently found with it (e.g. same ‘fast’, more frequently same_ke(ne); teënë ‘one, once, alone’, more frequently tēinKen; tiwērē ‘other, different’, more frequently tiwērēKe(ne) in the sense of ‘separate’, ‘isolated’). These would not be cases of derivation with a suffix, but of lexicalization of earlier expressions with _ke(ne), comparable to, among others, English to- in tomorrow, today, tonight, or even together and toward. The semantics are irregular, but not implausible. For instance, tiwērēKe(ne) ‘separate, isolated’, from ‘continuously different’, ‘continuously other’, is not very surprising. SameKe(ne) ‘fast’ and teënKen ‘one, once’ probably contained, and maybe still contain, an emphatic element (‘real fast’, ‘only one’), which could result from the bleaching of ‘continuously fast’, ‘continuously one’; using the more emphatic term instead of the neutral one in cases like ‘fast’ or ‘alone’ is hardly surprising. Even kureKen ‘slow(ly)’ from kure ‘good, well, pretty’ is reminiscent of cases in which words for ‘slow(ly)’ came from the semantic area of ‘good’, ‘nice’, ‘smooth’ by metaphorical extension (e.g. French doucement ‘sweetly’ > ‘slowly’, or Italian piano ‘flat, smooth’ > ‘slowly’). In fact, an adverb such as English smoothly can be used to describe an elegant movement; since elegance and slowness are often associated, it would not be hard for it to develop the meaning ‘slowly’, like Italian piano. Of course, it remains
necessary to find the diachronic sources of the -ke(ne) adverbs (*koose, *oora, *on), e.g. by looking for similar stems in related languages, but it does not seem too far-fetched to suppose that they are also lexicalizations (‘slow(ly)’, ‘quiet’, and ‘peaceful’ seem quite compatible with the continuative meaning of the particle _ke(ne)). Synchronically, of course, they are no longer segmentable and must be treated as monomorphemic stems.

6.1.1.5. -(n)je and -në adverbs. This group of adverbs is less homogeneous than the previous one: although some of them are probably derived, others may have similar endings by coincidence.

Mënje ‘beyond’ and senje ‘this side of’ are probably related to the demonstrative pronouns më(ni) ‘that (inanimate, invisible)’ and se(ni) ‘this (inanimate, visible)’. The final je can be compared to the final e of ‘perlative’ postpositions like ae, _tae, etae (cf. 7.3.1.1, 12.2). One might hypothesize that mënje and senje were, at some point, combinations of demonstratives and postpositions (much like present-day sen_po ‘here’, a combination of se(ni) with the locative postposition _po).

Kokonje ‘(in the) afternoon’ is clearly related to koko ‘night’, apparently with a suffix -nje, possibly related to the -je of the preceding paragraph. One possibility that would put them closer is to hypothesize that kokonje was derived from the nominalized form koko(no) ([kokoŋ], in isolation) ‘someone/something from the night’, ‘nocturnal one’, thus having the diachronic segmentation koko-n-je, not koko-nje. It is not clear, however, how one could link a word for ‘(in the) afternoon’ to a suffix which presumably
had a perative meaning (‘along the nocturnal one’?). One might include tarënje ‘later’ here, which may be related to taanë ‘far away’.

Ipipinje ‘thin, not thick’, pohpooje ‘light, not heavy’ and ūmije ‘soft’ are good candidates for coincidences. Although one cannot exclude the hypothesis that they were diachronically derived with the help of an element (n)je, it would be no surprise to find out that they are actually underived and belong with the ‘pure’ primitive adverbs of the next section. This seems especially likely for ūmije ‘soft’.

The -në adverbs form a heterogenous group. Ėēseenë ‘sick, ill’ seems to be related to the SO verb stem ēesena (var. ēesina) ‘cry, weep’; ēnjeenë ‘hungry’ has a family resemblance with ēseense, but there seems to be no corresponding relatable verb stem. The two numerals teënë ‘one, alone’ and ēkēnë ‘two, in pair(s)’, are good candidates for coincidences (though the initial t and ēē bring to mind the third-person reflexive [cf. 3.3.1.3] and reflexive/reciprocal prefixes [cf. 3.3.1.4]). In any case, it is not clear that there even was a suffix -në, and that these words, if indeed derived, exemplify the same process.

6.1.1.6. ‘Pure’ primitive adverbs. The list of others in Table 6.2 contains the 15 best candidates for diachronically underived, ‘pure’ primitive adverbs. Not all of them are beyond suspicion: the -ra in pēera ‘stupid, ignorant’ is reminiscent of the negative adverbializer -ra of 6.2.1.2.2; the final syllable of akipēe ‘hard’ is suspicious (cf. the irregular nominalized form akipūri ‘hard one’, and the verb stem aki(ki) ‘get hard’; the

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8 A connection with [t]ēnē ‘eat O (meat)’ is not impossible, but not very convincing either.
final pêe, or at least the final e, may have been independent elements in the past); mênne and mëna look related, though the available data on these two forms is hardly conclusive. On the other hand, words like kure ‘good, well, pretty’ or kawê ‘high, tall’ are probably undervived, and also apparently very old, since they have clear monomorphemic cognates in many other Cariban languages (kure ‘good’ in Apalaf, kurep ‘good’ in Arara, kore ‘big’ in Wayana; kao ‘high’ in Apalaf, kaawu in Waiwai, kawê in Wayana, kawo in Hixkaryana). They seem to belong to a ‘Cariban core’ of undervived adverbs that may turn out to be reconstructible for Proto-Carib.

6.1.2. Non-primitive adverbs. In this category are the adverbs which present signs of productive derivational morphology without having a synchronic source stem in the available corpus. Of course, future research on Tiiryó might uncover synchronic stems for some of these adverbs, in which case they would be listed as synchronically derived in 6.2. But it may also happen that only comparative evidence will be able to tell what the source stems were (by e.g. finding a cognate stem existing synchronically in a related language). Table 6.3 classifies the 35 non-primitive adverbs according to the derivational process that seems to have created them.
Table 6.3
Non-primitive adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-me adverbs</th>
<th>apiπiμe</th>
<th>‘shallow’</th>
<th>poopoome</th>
<th>‘soft; fluffy’</th>
<th>tapiμe</th>
<th>‘many (An.)’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>junme</td>
<td>‘adult;wise’</td>
<td>sikime</td>
<td>‘black’</td>
<td>tīpīme</td>
<td>‘thick’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaarame</td>
<td>‘bitter’</td>
<td>siririme</td>
<td>‘blue’</td>
<td>tīriririme</td>
<td>‘curd(ed)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kananame</td>
<td>‘yellow’</td>
<td>siweme</td>
<td>‘slippery’</td>
<td>wapēme</td>
<td>‘bluish’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mokame</td>
<td>‘round’</td>
<td>suume</td>
<td>‘sweet’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papome</td>
<td>‘seldom’</td>
<td>tāhpame</td>
<td>‘sitting’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-adverbs</td>
<td>taamiire</td>
<td>‘red’</td>
<td>tīkapiire</td>
<td>‘w/red wounds’</td>
<td>tiwērē</td>
<td>‘other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>takune</td>
<td>‘troubled’</td>
<td>tīkuije</td>
<td>‘dirty’</td>
<td>tīponje</td>
<td>‘tasty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>takure</td>
<td>‘muddy’</td>
<td>tīpuse</td>
<td>‘many’</td>
<td>tupae</td>
<td>‘lying down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tapire</td>
<td>‘wet’</td>
<td>tīpokīne</td>
<td>‘smelly’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tīkorooroje</td>
<td>‘white’</td>
<td>tīntūje</td>
<td>‘short’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negative adverbs</td>
<td>aarerenna</td>
<td>‘weak’</td>
<td>iijeeta</td>
<td>‘many (Inan)’</td>
<td>isunna</td>
<td>‘insipid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>akēreera</td>
<td>‘w/out time’</td>
<td>ipoinna</td>
<td>‘insipid’</td>
<td>kapohta</td>
<td>‘long time’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The process which gave rise to -me adverbs seems obvious: the lexicalization of _me postpositional phrases (cf. 7.3.4.3 on the postposition _me and its uses; note that two particles [conjunctions], irēme ‘then’ and mērēme ‘but’ [cf. 9.1.1], are certainly also lexicalized _me phrases). In two cases, although the stem does not occur by itself, there are other lexical items based on it: the su in suume ‘sweet’ also occurs in the negative isunna ‘insipid’, and the tahpa in tahpame ‘sitting’ is also found in the verb e-tahpa-ka ‘to sit down’). In one case, a possible cognate stem has been found in a related language: compare tapiμe ‘many (animate beings)’ with Apalaif tapiμ ‘house’ (spelled tapyi; cf. Koehn & Koehn 1986:45). A possible path of evolution is ‘house’ > ‘a “houseful” of people’ > ‘many (animate beings)’.

The synchronically monomorphemic t-adverbs must have also come into existence via one of the processes that involve the t- prefix (cf. 6.2.1.1). Interestingly, none of them involves the most productive and regular processes such as t- -ke; they all
involve more irregular alternatives (t- -e, t- -je, t- -ne, t- -re). In some cases, the original stem can still be found in other words. For instance, the color terms taamiire ‘red’ and tikoroije ‘white’, which can be compared to the verb stems aamiiri ‘reddening O, paint O red’, aamiita ‘redden, ripen, blush’, and korooma ‘whiten O, paint O white’; sikime ‘black’ corresponds to two verb stems, sikanma and :kuuma ‘blacken O, paint O black’, of which only the first looks related; cf. 5.3.3 for verbalizers. Tukuije ‘dirty’ can be compared to verb stems like kuita ‘to be dirty’ or kuima ‘to make O dirty’ (cf. 5.3.3.2.1, 5.3.3.1.2 for the verbalizers -ta and -ma), tipokine ‘smelly’ with the verb stem pokinta ‘to smell O’, and tiponje ‘tasty’ with the negative ipoinna ‘insipid, tasteless’. For the remaining monomorphemic t-adverbs, no other traces of the stem were found.

The negative adverbs show clear signs of negative adverbializers (cf. 6.2.1.2 for i- -nna ‘privative’, i- -ra ‘inefficient’, ‘negative’) or particles (cf. 9.1.4 for the negative _ta(ike)). As was pointed out above, isunna and ipoinna ‘insipid, tasteless’ share a stem with other adverbs (suume ‘sweet’, tiponje ‘tasty’). The adverb iijeeta ‘many, a lot (inanimate)’ has a nominalized form iijanta (iijanopéta with the past -npé) which clearly identifies ta as an independent element; however, *iije or *iijan cannot be used

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9 The stem seems to be po(n) in tiponje and poi in ipoinna. This can be explained by assuming that the stem was *poi, and that tiponje (pronounced [t.i poi n.ne]) is the result of palatalization (V/n/ > [V'n]), which, in accordance with the analysis of the sequence [n] (cf. 2.4.2.1), is reinterpreted as /nj/. In this case, the adverbializer would be t- -ne, not t- -je: *tipoinne > tiponje. Notice that the sequence /in/ does not automatically result in [n] (e.g. weinc ‘I was’ [wein.ne], apéine ‘catcher, one who catches (it)’ [a.poi.ne], etc.), but cases such as tiponje (and maybe also ponjeke ‘collared peccary’; cf. Apalaí poinoko, Wayana peiničé) suggest that this may have been the case at an earlier stage. Another possibility is that *poi may have come from *pojV, so that it really was *poj, with a final consonant, and that the sequence *jn, but not the sequence *in, underwent palatalization (the verb stems ei ‘copula’ and apéi ‘catch’, from which weine and apéine derive, are reflexes of *eci and *apéci [cf. Meira 1998:165, 183], i.e. their i was not a glide).

10 The pronunciation of these forms, [ii.jan.ta] and [ii.ja.nom.pö.ta] (not *[i.ja.nom.pö.ta]), constitute the justification for the spelling iijeeta (cf. 2.5.1 for rhythmic stress). This form is usually pronounced [i.jee.ta], an apparent homophone of ije.ta ‘not wanting it’ (the third-person form of the desiderative postposition
as free words. No related words were found for aarerenna ‘weak, exhausted’, akërereera ‘having no time, busy’, and kapohta ‘a long time’.

6.2. Derived adverbs. Like all known Cariban languages, Tiriyó has a rich system of adverbializations, thus making the adverbial class potentially unlimited in spite of the relatively small number of monomorphemic members (cf. 6.1). Table 6.4 lists all adverbializing processes known in Tiriyó.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>From nouns</th>
<th>From verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t-adverbs:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t- -ke</td>
<td>‘having’ (proprieteive)</td>
<td>-tê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>also t- -ne, t- -je, t- -e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t- -pore</td>
<td>‘having a good N’</td>
<td>-tônwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>also t- -re</td>
<td>-têkêre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-adverbs:</td>
<td>se-forms:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i- -nna</td>
<td>‘not having’ (privative)</td>
<td>-se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i- -ra</td>
<td>‘having an inefficient N’</td>
<td>t- -se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i- -poora</td>
<td>‘unable of N, without N’</td>
<td>-sewa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i- -kinje</td>
<td>‘having an undersized N’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i- -tüse</td>
<td>‘having a lot of N’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.1. Nominal adverbialization. The first striking feature of nominal adverbializers is their formal division into t-adverbs and i-adverbs. Their meaning is centered in the area of possession (‘having’ or ‘not having’ the objects, properties, etc. denoted by the original

_se, followed by the negative particle _ta(ike)). Some speakers considered them distinct in pronunciation, but no consistent differences were found.
noun stem), without any clear semantic differentiation between the two subgroups. Basically, any noun stem can be adverbialized with at least some of these affixes, including derived stems (cf. 6a-c), and those with nominal meaning-changing suffixes (7a-b). A few cases in which a structure higher than a stem was adverbialized were found; they show signs of lexicalization (cf. 3.2.1.1).

The similarity between the two prefixes i- and t- and the third-person markers i- '3' and t- '3R' is quite remarkable, going down to the allomorphic pattern (i- is ø- on vowel-initial stems, t- takes the back grade form). It is impossible to analyze the adverbializing i- and t- as third-person markers, since they can be used in contexts (e.g. copular sentences) where there is no third person; however, a diachronic connection between them and the third-person markers does not seem implausible.

6.2.1.1. T-adverbs. These adverbs are characterized by the prefix t- and one of several possible suffixes. It has the allomorphs tī-, with consonant-initial stems, and t-, with vowel-initial stems. Changes in certain stems also occur:

— vowel-initial stems must be in their back grade form if they have one (this implies the stem-initial changes e > ĕ, aČē > ēCē, aCo > oCo; cf. 2.6.1 for the ablaut pattern);
— stems with any irregularities in their possessed forms (cf. 4.3.1.4) must occur in the form that they have when possessed (but without any remnant of the possession suffix -(rī)); thus:
(a) j-adding stems occur with the initial j (5k-l);
(b) initial syllable-reducing stems occur in the adequate reduced grade (5h-i);
(c) stems with idiosyncratic changes occur with these changes (5i);
   — kinship stems with irregular possessed paradigms occur in the non-first-person form
     (i.e. for 'mother', the stem mama is used, not the first-person manko) (5m-o).

A further formal feature of t-adverbs is that they all take the nominalizer -(mī)
instead of -(no) (cf. 4.2.2.2), as can be seen in (3), in which the CCV suffix -npē ‘Past’
forces the full grade -mī to occur:

(3)  tī-pakoro-ke-mī-npē
     T-house-Having-Nzr-Pst
     ‘One who used to have a house.’

The similarities of some of the suffixes that occur on t-adverbs (-pore, -re; cf.
also the l-adverb suffixes -:ra, -poora) suggests that they are related. The element po in
-pore and -poora is reminiscent of the -po adverbs mentioned in 6.1.1.3, but it is hard to
see how a synchronic connection between them could be established. Diachronically,
however, it is likely that -pore and -poora result from the fusion of an earlier *-po with
the suffixes -re and -:ra.

6.2.1.1.1. t- -ke, t- -ne, t- -je, t- -e ‘Having’. Of these four forms, only the first is truly
productive, while the others are restricted to a small set of noun stems. In some
occurrences of the less productive affixes, the resulting meaning was slightly different
from that of the corresponding t-ke form (‘having more intimately’ vs. ‘having more superficially’; cf. below); it may be that similar differences exist for all cases.

The meaning of t-ke is basically ‘having’. When a t-ke adverb is predicated to a noun, the relationship between this noun and the noun in the t-ke adverb can be any of those usually associated with possession (ownership, part-whole, kinship relation, etc.), without a fixed time limit (i.e. not necessarily permanent possession). (4a-c) exemplify the use of t-ke adverbs, and (5a-p) contain further lexical examples.

(4a) tî-maja-ke_w-a-e\(^\text{11}\)  
T knife Having_1S\_A Cop-Cty  
'I have a knife.'

(b) tî-maja-ke-mû-npê_wî  
T-knife-Having-Nzr-Pst_1Pro  
'I used to have a knife.'  
(Lit. ‘I am one who used to have a knife.’)

(c) ēiwa-e tû-tê-e,  
t-êkî-ke  
t-ee-se_marê  
hunt-Sup Rm.Pst:S\_A-go-Rm.Pst T-pet-Having Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst_Also  
'He went hunting, and he had his pet dog with him.'

(5a) panpira ‘paper; book’  →  tî-panpira-ke  ‘having paper, a book’
(b) po ‘clothes’  →  tî-po-ke  ‘having clothes, clothed’
(c) oota ‘hole’  →  t-oota-ke  ‘having a hole’
(d) ofî ‘meat food’  →  t-ofî-ke  ‘having meat food’
(e) ekî ‘pet’  →  t-êkî-ke  ‘having a pet’
(f) erepa ‘food’  →  t-êrepa-ke  ‘having food’
(g) amoi ‘nail’  →  t-omoï-ke  ‘having nails’
(h) (wî)raapa ‘bow’  →  tî-raapa-ke  ‘having a bow’
(i) (pî)rêu ‘arrow, weapon’  →  tî-re-ke  ‘having a weapon’  (poss. (pî)re)
(j) tîpîtê ‘field, garden’  →  tî-tupi-ke  ‘having a field’  (poss. tupi)
(k) oroko ‘work’  →  tî-joroko-ke  ‘having work’  (j-adding stem)
(l) âmeìnê ‘thorn’  →  tî-jâmêìnê-ke  ‘having thorns’  (j-adding stem)

\(^{11}\) Note that this sentence is pronounced [tî.ma:j.a.ke.uae], i.e. there is no length in the second syllable of maja ‘knife’. This is a further difference between the adverbializing prefix t- and the third-person reflexive t-: the latter would require the possessive suffix -(rô) to occur, which, in this case, would surface as the lengthening of the second a of maja, whereas the former does not.
Nominalizations can also take t- -ke, as in the following cases, involving the
postpositions pē(kē) ‘about; busy with’ and akēērē ‘with’ (comitative), and the verbs rī
‘make’ and ka(pī) ‘weave, make by weaving’ with the n- ‘actual O’ nominalizer (‘made
thing’, ‘woven thing’):

(6a) tī-pēkē-n-ke_w-a-e
T-about-Nzr-Having_1SA-Cop-Cty
‘I am persecuted; someone is harassing me.’

(b) tēkēērē-n-ke_w-a-e
T-with-Nzr-Having_1SA-Cop-Cty
‘I have company.’

(c) tī-nī-rī-ke
T-O:Nzr-make-Having Cop-Imper
eh-kē, tī-n-kah-ke
T-O:Nzr-weave-Having Cop-Imper
‘Provide yourself with all kinds of manufactured goods.’

(7a-b) exemplify the occurrence of t- -ke on nouns with class-preserving suffixes
like -pisi(kē) ‘Diminutive’ or -sepi ‘Predilective’.

(7a) maja-pisi(kē) ‘knife-Diminutive’ → tī-maja-pisih-ke
‘having a small knife’

(b) oti-sepi ‘favorite meat food’ → t-oti-sepi-ke
‘having the favorite meat food’

The other affixes, t- -ne, t- -je, t- -e are restricted to a small set of stems. In
certain cases, a semantic contrast between t- -ke ‘having N’ and t- -e ‘having a working
N’ was found. The attested examples involve three body parts, enu ‘eye’, pana ‘ear’, and
oonə ‘nose’, which are related to the senses of vision, hearing, and smell (unfortunately,
no examples with nore ‘tongue’ are available). This difference corresponds exactly to the
distinction between i- -nna and i- -ra, for the same body parts (cf. 6.2.1.2.1-2). Two additional pairs, involving the related stems hpo(tí) ‘hair’ and ehpo(tí) ‘beard’ (8d-e), did not seem to be semantically distinguishable.

(8a) enu ‘eye’ → t-ēnu-ke ‘having an eye’
     t-ēno-e ‘not blind; having an eye that works’
(b) pana ‘ear’ → tí-pana-ke ‘having an ear’
     tí-pana-e ‘not deaf; having an ear that works’
(c) oona ‘nose’ → t-oona-ke ‘having a nose’
     t-oona-e ‘able to smell; having a nose that works’
(d) hpo(tí) ‘hair’ → tí-hpo-ke ‘having hair’
     tí-hpo-e ‘having hair’
(e) ehpo(tí) ‘beard’ → t-ēhpo-ke ‘having a beard’
     t-ēhpo-e ‘having a beard’

All other cases of t- -ne, t- -je and t- -e in the available corpus are listed below.

Notice the irregular stem-final tu in tiwakutuje ‘satiated’ (10d). Their meaning tends to be more abstract (e.g. not ‘having/carrying medicine’, but ‘medicated’; ‘fat, fleshy’, not ‘having/carrying fat’); it would not be surprising if corresponding t- -ke adverbs existed, with more transparent meanings (‘carrying medicine’, ‘carrying fat’), and their absence from the available corpus may be a coincidence.

(9a) etu(nu) ‘pain’ → t-ētu-ne ‘painful’
(b) kati ‘fat’ → tí-kati-ne ‘fat; having fat’
(c) mu(nu) ‘tuberous root’ → tí-mu-ne ‘having tuberous roots’
(d) kupu(nu) ‘flesh’ → tí-kupu-ne ‘fat; fleshy’

(10a) piitta ‘wife’ → tí-pi-je ‘having a wife’
(b) nmuku ‘son’ → tí-nmuu-je ‘having a son’
(c) epi(tí) ‘medicine’ → t-ēpi-je ‘medicated; having (taken) medicine’
(d) waku ‘belly, stomach’ → tí-wakutu-je ‘satiated; with a full belly’
(11a) eenakë ‘lie’ → t-ēenakë-ē ‘who tells lies; liar’
(b) nmo(tī) ‘pubic hair’ → tī-nmo-e ‘having pubic hair’

6.2.1.1.2. t- -pore, t- -re ‘Having a good N’. An adverb formed with t- -pore or t- -re asserts, in addition to possession of the original noun stem, also a qualitative judgment (‘good’, ‘nice’, ‘beautiful’, ‘agreeable’). Of the two affixes, t- -pore is the productive one; t- -re occurs with fewer stems. (12a-c) illustrate the use of a t- -pore adverb in a sentence.

(12a) tī-maja-pore_w-a-e
T-knife-Having.good_1Sₐ-Cop-Cty
‘I have a good/pretty knife.’

(b) tī-panpira-pore_w-a-e
T-book-Having.good_1Sₐ-Cop-Cty
‘I have a good/pretty book.’

(c) tī-pakoro-pore_w-a-e
T-house-Having.good_1Sₐ-Cop-Cty
‘I have a good/pretty house.’

Cases of t- -pore with nominalized verb stems are not infrequent. (13a-b) show verb stems with the n- ‘actual O’ nominalizer (‘thing made’, ‘thing heard’; cf. 4.2.2.1.2); (13c-e) have Ø-nominalized verb stems, transitive (13c-d) and intransitive (S₀) (13e).

(13a) tī-nī-rī-pore-n_mēe
T-O:Nzr-make-Having.good-Nzr_3AnPx
‘This person knows how to make good things.’

(b) mēe tī-n-eta-pore
3AnPx T-O:nzr-hear-Having.good
‘S/he listens to good things, good music.’

(c) t-ēta-pore wīja
T-hear:N-Having.good 1:Dat
‘I like to hear this.’

(d) t-ēne-pore_mēe
T-see:N-Having.good_3AnPx
‘This person is good-looking.’
(e)  **tū-tunta-pore_w-a-e**
T-arrive:N-Having.good.1S_A-Cop-Cty
'I arrive well.' (e.g. not tired)

The attested cases of **t**- **re** are listed below. Notice the irregularities in **totoro**
'covered with holes', and also the apparent lack of the 'good, pretty' element in its
meaning; one wonders if it is not derived from some stem other than **oota**.

(14a)  **eka**  'name'  \(\rightarrow\)  **t-ēka-re**  'famous; renowned'
(b)  **menu**  'plant (sp.); painting'  \(\rightarrow\)  **tū-menu-re**  'painted (e.g. with a pattern)'
(c)  **oota**  'hole'  \(\rightarrow\)  **t-oto-re**  'covered with holes'

6.2.1.2. **I**-adverbs. These adverbs are characterized by the prefix **i**- and one of several
possible suffixes. The prefix has the allomorphs **i**-, for consonant-initial stems, and \(\emptyset\)-,
for vowel-initial ones. As was the case for the **t**- adverbializer, changes occur on certain
stems:

— stems with any irregularities in their possessed forms (cf. 4.3.1.4) must occur in the
form that they have when possessed; thus:

(a) **j**-adding stems occur with the initial **j** (16j);
(b) initial syllable-reducing stems occur in the adequate reduced grade (16l-m);
(c) stems with idiosyncratic changes occur with these changes (16l);
— kinship stems with irregular possessed paradigms occur in the non-first-person form
(i.e. for 'mother', the stem **mama** is used, not the first-person **manko**; cf. (16n)).
Nominalization of i-adverbs is irregular. I- -nna, i- -ra and i- -poora adverbs correspond to i- -mī(nī), i- pī(nī) and i- -popī(nī) nouns respectively (cf. 4.2.2.2).

Presumably, there are also nominalized forms of i- -kinje and i- -tiise; unfortunately, no examples of either are attested in the available corpus.

6.2.1.2.1. i- -nna ‘Not having’ (Privative). This affix is the exact opposite of the 'proprietary' t- -ke: it signifies negative possession ('not having', 'not provided with', 'without'). (15a-c) illustrate the use of i- -nna, and (15a-n) contain further lexical examples.

(15a) i-pata-nna_w-a-e
     I-village-Priv_1SA-Cop-Cty
     'I have no village.'

(b) irēme tīi-tē-e,  
    eema-nna
    then Prtcp:S_A-go-Prtcp, I:path-Priv
     'Then they went, without any clear path.'

(c) wēri-pisi ahtao, oota-nna nkērē n-ai
     woman-Dim when, I:hole-Priv_still_3SA-Cop
     'When (she) is a little girl, (she) is still virgin (lit. without a hole).'

(16a) apoto ‘helper’ → apoto-nna  'without a helper'
(b) epi(tī) ‘medicine’ → epi-tī-nna  'without medicine; incurable'
(c) erepa ‘food’ → erepa-nna  'without food'
(d) ofī ‘meat food’ → ofī-nna  'without meat food'
(e) ofī-sepī ‘favorite food’ → ofī-sepī-nna  'without one’s favorite meat food'
(f) ēema ‘path, way’ → ēema-nna  'without a path' (poss. ēema)
(g) petī ‘thigh’ → i-petī-nna  'without a thigh'
(h) kūpu(nu) ‘flesh, body’ → i-kupunu-nna  'without flesh; thin; weak'
(i) wūse ‘anatto’ → i-wūse-nna  'without anatto'
(j) nmuku ‘son’ → i-nmuku-nna  'without a son / sons'
(k) ēikēkē ‘wound’ → i-jēikēkē-nna  'without wounds' (J-adding stem)
(l) (pī)rēu ‘arrow, weapon’ → ii-re-nna  'without arrows' (poss. (pī)re)
(m) (wī)raapa 'bow' → ii-raapa-nna 'without a bow'
(n) mama 'mother' → i-mama-nna 'without a mother'

In general, the noun stem occurs in its possessed form (i.e. its front grade, if it has one), but without the possession suffix -(rī), as can be seen in (16a-n) above, in which the CCV suffix -nna should cause any hidden -(rī)'s to surface in their full grade. The same absence of -(rī) had already been mentioned for t- -ke (cf. 6.2.1.1). However, in two examples (17a-b), -(rī) did occur ((17a) was also accepted without it, i.e. as i-hpu-nna, without any apparent change of meaning). When forms with -(rī) were asked for other stems, they were refused. It is not clear whether (17a-b) represent mistakes, incipient analogical extension of -(rī), or remnants of an earlier stage.

(17a) i-hpu-ru-nna
   I-foot-Pos-Priv
   'Without a foot.'
(b) i-tūpi-rī-nna
   I-continuation-Pos-Priv
   'Without continuation/offspring; isolated.'

(18) illustrates the occurrence of i- -nna on a noun bearing the class-preserving suffix -sepi 'Predilective'.

(18) i-maja-sepi-nna_w-a-e
   I-knife-Prdl-Priv_1SA-Cop-Cty
   'I am without my favorite knife.'

6.2.1.2.2. i- ::ra 'Inefficient'. This affix is much less productive than i- -nna. On sensory body parts (enu 'eye', pana 'ear', oona 'nose'), it is opposed to i- -nna in a way that parallels the opposition between t- -ke and t- -e (cf. 6.2.1.1.1): i- -nna marks the simple non-existence of the body part, whereas i- ::ra marks its existence in a way that fails to
serve its purpose. In the case of the j-adding stem (j)omi ‘language’ (19d), following the
general pattern, one would expect the i- -nna form to mean ‘mute, incapable of speaking’,
while the i- -ra might mean ‘capable of speaking, but inefficiently; babbling person’;
however, this difference was not confirmed by the consulted speakers, who considered
both forms equivalent to ‘mute’.

(19a) enu ‘eye’ → enu-nna ‘without eyes, eyeless’
      → enu-ra ‘blind; having inefficient eyes’
(b) pana ‘ear’ → i-pana-nna ‘without ears, earless’
      → i-panaa-ra ‘deaf; having inefficient ears’
(c) oona ‘nose’ → oona-nna ‘without nose, noseless’
      → oona-ra ‘unable to smell; having an inefficient nose’
(d) (j)omi ‘language’ → i-jomi-nna ‘mute; without language’
      → i-jomii-ra ‘mute; without language’

Aside from these three cases (and from aera ‘not sharp’ [cf. 6.1.1.1], and possibly
pëera ‘ignorant, stupid’ [6.1.1.6]), only two further cases of i- -ra on underived nouns
were observed: akunuura ‘diligent’, from aku(nu) ‘laziness’, and arïra ‘empty’, from
arï ‘contained thing(s)’, ‘content’.

Several occurrences of i- -ra with Ø-nominalized verb stems were attested (e.g.
(20a-b)). The meaning is that of an O-oriented negative potential adverb (‘cannot be V-
ed’, ‘in-V-able’), the opposite of the meaning that non-possessed Ø-nominalizations have
when followed by the attributivizer postposition _me (cf. 7.3.4.3). This meaning is quite
close to that of i- -poora. The difference seems to lie in the degree of specificity of the A
participant: while i- -ra has a generic A, i- -poora has a more readily identifiable one.

(20a) koko_rëken n-etapan-ja-n_mëe, aanao enee-ra
      night_Only 3Sg-chirp-Pres-Dbt_3AnPx day I:see:N-Ineff
      ‘It (=a species of cricket) only chirps at night; during the day, it cannot be seen.’
6.2.1.2.3. *i*-poora ‘Defective; Negative Abilitative’. This affix occurred on several body parts to indicate that an obvious physical defect was present. It is not clear whether or not it can occur on other undervived nouns. (20) below compares *i*-poora to *i*-nna and *i*-ra; (21) has further examples.

(20) pana ‘ear’ → i-pana-nna ‘without ears; earless’
i-panaa-ra ‘deaf; having an inefficient ear’
i-pana-poora ‘having a defective, ugly-looking ear’

(21) enu ‘eye’ → enu-poora ‘having a defective, ugly-looking eye’
(mu)n ‘mouth’ → i-nta-poora ‘having a defective, ugly-looking mouth’
ap ‘arm’ → ap-poora ‘having a defective, ugly-looking arm’
enja ‘hand’ → enja-poora ‘having a defective, ugly-looking hand’
oona ‘nose’ → oona-poora ‘having a defective, ugly-looking nose’
peti ‘thigh’ → i-peti-poora ‘having a defective, ugly-looking thigh’

This affix can also be applied to nominalized verb stems. (23a) and (23b) exemplify its occurrence with nouns derived from verb stems with the ∅ ‘Specific Infinitive’ and n- ‘Actual O’ nominalizers (cf. 4.2.2.1.4, 4.2.2.1.2). The most frequent cases, however, are those in which *i*-poora occurs on a circumstantial -to(po) nominalization, with the resulting semantics of ‘impossibility’ (‘cannot be V-ed’). This meaning is comparable to that of *i*-ra, from which it seems to differ only in that the A

---

12 Since the more concrete meaning of -to(po) is ‘instrument’ (cf. 4.2.2.1.5), its co-occurrence with *i*-poora should result in something like ‘a bad, defective instrument for V-ing’. The more clearly modal semantics observed, e.g., in (23c) suggest that we may be dealing with a new affix *i*-tohpoora ‘negative abilitative’.
participant is more specific ('sharper'). (23a-e) contain illustrative sentences. (24a-e) offer some further examples (the verb stems are Ø-nominalized in (24a-b) and to(po)-nominalized in (24c-e)).

(23a) mēe witoto ene-poora  
3InPx person I:see:N-Defc  
'This person is not well regarded.'  
(Lit. ''This person is badly seen.'')

(23b) mēe witoto i-n-ene-poora  
3InPx person 3-O.act-see-Defc  
'This person only sees bad things.'

(23c) ēremi n-ai eta-poora  
song_3S A-Cop I:hear:N-Defc  
'This song is ugly, not good to hear.'

(23d) mēe witoto i-n-eta-poora  
3InPx person 3-O.act-hear-Defc  
'This person only hears bad things.'

(23e) mēre.me eri oota-nya t-ee-se,  
eku-toh-poora ii-ja  
'But her vulva did not have a hole, he could not penetrate it.'

(24a) eta 'hear (N)'  
→ eta-poora 'not good to hear'

(b) entapuru 'close (N)'  
→ entapuru-poora 'not good to close'

(c) eta-to(po) '(something) for hearing'  
→ eta-toh-poora 'cannot be heard'

(d) ene-to(po) '(something) for seeing'  
→ ene-toh-poora 'cannot be seen'

(e) wē-topo '(something) for shooting'  
→ tiwē-toh-poora 'cannot be shot'

6.2.1.2.4. i- -kinje 'Having an undersized N'. This affix appears to have its range primarily restricted to the set of body parts, deriving an adverb with the basic meaning 'having a small N', 'small-N-ed'. (25) shows its use in a sentence; (26a-e) contain further lexical examples.

(25) i-putupē-kinje ēmē  
I-head-Small:Azr 2Pro  
'You have a small head; you are small-headed.'

(26a) (pu)pu 'foot'  
→ i-hpu-kinje  
'having a small foot; small-footed'

(b) enja 'hand'  
→ enja-kinje  
'having a small hand; small-handed'

(c) pēfī 'thigh'  
→ i-pēfī-kinje  
'having a small thigh; small-thighed'

(d) (mē)ka 'back'  
→ i-nka-kinje  
'having a small back; small-backed'

(e) waku 'belly'  
→ i-waku-kinje  
'having s small belly; small-bellied'
6.2.1.2.5. **i- tilise** ‘Having a big N / a lot of N’. Only a few examples of this suffix occurred; at least with body parts, it seems to mean the opposite of what i- -kinje means.

(27a) i-maja-tilise_w-a-e  
I-knife-Mult_1SA-Cop-Cty  
‘I have a lot of knives.’

(b) i-peti-tilise_w-a-e  
I-thigh-Mult_1SA-Cop-Cty  
‘I have a big / a lot of thigh.’

(c) enu-tilise_w-a-e  
I:eye-Mult_1SA-Cop-Cty  
‘I have big eyes.’

6.2.2. **Verbal adverbialization.** Of all candidates to verbal adverbializers, only the potential A suffix -tē fully deserves the title. All the others have certain problems. For instance, t- -pore and i- -poora, the two affixes used to form modal adverbials indicating ability and inability (‘can V’ and ‘cannot V’) are best seen as nominal adverbializers which can also be applied to nominalized verb stems (Ø-nominalized stems for t- -pore, to(po)-nominalized stems for i- -poora; cf. 6.2.1.1.2 and 6.2.1.2.3, respectively). The -se forms, and the -tuuwē ‘After’ and -tēkērē ‘Because’ forms, have certain non-adverbial features such as person marking that make them better candidates for verb forms; they are discussed in 5.4.3.

6.2.2.1. **-tē ‘Potential A’.** This suffix only occurs on transitive verb stems. It derives a ‘Potential Agent’ (‘A.pot’) adverb, which can be used to predicate the general capacity of carrying out the action described by the verb, without a clearly specified O participant.
A -tē adverbial can be nominalized with the suffix -(no), becoming -to-(no) (cf. 4.2.2.1.1 for a comparison of the meaning of -to-(no) with that of the actual A nominalizer -ne).

Formally, the suffix -tē is attached to a prefixless form of the verb stem; no initial i- or t- co-occur with it. If the original verb stem is vowel-initial, then it must occur in its back grade (implying the changes e > ē, aCē > ēCē, aCo > oCo, as in (28e-h); cf. 2.6.1 for details on ablaut).\(^\text{13}\) T-adding verb stems occur without the t- (28i-k). Initial syllable-reducing stems occur in their full grade (28l-m)

(28a) ponop(pī) ‘tell O’ → ponoh-tē ‘who tells; who is good at telling’
(b) tuuka ‘beat O’ → tuuka-tē ‘who hits well/often’
(c) ainka ‘run off with O’ → ainka-tē ‘who runs off with things; thief’
(d) uru ‘talk to O’ → uru-tē ‘who talks, advises well’
(e) enpa ‘teach O’ → ēnpa-tē ‘who teaches well’
(f) eta ‘hear O’ → ēta-tē ‘who hears well’\(^\text{14}\)
(g) apēi ‘plant O’ → ēpēh-tē ‘who catches well’
(h) amohtē ‘call O’ → omoh-tē ‘who calls well’
(i) wē ‘shoot O’ → wē-tē ‘who shoots well’
(j) pī ‘bathe O’ → pī-tē ‘who bathes well’
(k) ka(pī) ‘weave O’ → kah-tē ‘who weaves well’
(l) (pī)tarēnma ‘make O jealous’ → pītarēnma-tē ‘who causes jealousy’
(m) (wī)ruima ‘call O names’ → wīruima-tē ‘who calls names’\(^\text{15}\)

\(^\text{13}\) There was some fluctuation in the aCē > ēCē and aCo > oCo cases with two younger speakers: e.g. amohtē ‘call O’ → omoh-tē ‘good at calling’, akoronma ‘help O’ → akoronmatē ‘okoronmatē. The older speakers who were consulted changed the vowels more consistently.

\(^\text{14}\) Ėtātē has an unexpected variant tātē ‘who hears well’, without the initial vowel.

\(^\text{15}\) There is a tendency to forget what the full grade of the reducing syllable was, probably because forms in which it occurs are few and infrequent. One speaker accepted ihtārēnmatē instead of pītarēnmatē, which suggests that he has reanalyzed this verb stem as ihtārēnma instead of (pī)tarēnma.
7. POSTPOSITIONS.

Postpositions form a relatively small class, with approximately ninety members in the available corpus. The properties relevant to distinguishing them from other classes are listed below.

(A) Morphology: postpositions can bear

(a) person morphology (the nominal person markers, and the collective -\text{ne});

(b) nominalizing suffixes: -\text{no}, sometimes -\text{to};

(B) Syntax: postpositions

(a) must form postpositional phrases (PPs), which behave like adverbs;

(b) can take nouns, or noun phrases, but nothing else, as their objects to form PPs.

Despite the relatively small size of the postpositional category, its members do not form a coherent whole with respect to the above properties. In fact, the best description seems to be that of a \textit{prototype category}: there are more, or less, prototypical postpositions, which can be ordered along a continuum. This situation is described in section 7.2. Before that, however, it is useful to examine the morphological possibilities of postpositions; this is the goal of section 7.1. Section 7.3. contains a presentation of all postpositions known thus far, classified according to semantic and formal criteria.
7.1. Postpositional morphology. Postposition stems, like verb stems, never occur in isolation. They must always have an object, either in the form of person/number affixes, or of an overt nominal (cf. 10.2.3 for postpositional phrases). These two possibilities are usually mutually exclusive: inflected postpositions do not have overt nominal objects (but cf. 7.3 below). Fig. 7.1 represents the morphological possibilities of the postpositional word.

![Figure 7.1](image)

The postpositional word.

| Person-marking prefixes | POSTPOSITION STEM | (Number-marking suffix) |

7.1.1. Person and number marking. The *person-marking prefixes* are the same as those used to mark the possessor on nouns, including the third-person prefixes i- ‘3’ and t(i)- ‘3R’, with exactly the same allomorphic pattern, except when a stem with a certain specific shape happens to be missing (e.g. there are no o- or aCo-initial postpositions\(^1\)). For a certain subgroup — the *experimenter* postpositions —, an argumentless ‘0’ form exists, based on their back grade (cf. 3.3.1.1, 7.3.3 for details). The *number-marking suffix* is ·ne (with lengthening of the final vowel of the preceding stem if it is not part of a diphthong), also found in non-conjugated verb forms (cf. 5.4.3). For ease of understanding, the list of factors that condition the allomorphs of the person markers and of the stems are repeated below; illustrative examples follow.

\(^1\) Presumably, the postposition amohtë ‘upstream’ (and its directional counterpart amohtë) should follow the aCo pattern, but the relevant forms (e.g., with k- ‘1+2’, presumably k-omohtë ‘upstream from both of us’) are unfortunately absent from the corpus and thus cannot be confirmed.
The allomorphic pattern of the person markers and of the stems is sensitive to the following factors:

1. C- vs. V-initial stems: the prefixes j- ‘1’, k- ‘1+2’ and t- ‘3R’ become ji-, kĩ-, tĩ- on C-initial stems, and i- ‘3’ becomes ∅- on V-initial stems;

2. Quality of the first vowel of V-initial roots: ĕ- ‘2’ assimilates to a- or o- on a- and o-initial stems;

3. Ablaut: the front grade occurs with the prefixes j- ‘1’, ĕ- ‘2’ and i-/∅- ‘3’, while the back grade occurs with k- ‘1+2’ and t- ‘3R’, and in the non-possessed form.

This implies the changes e > ĕ, aCē > ĕCē and aCo > oCo for stems which begin with e, aCē or aCo; cf. 2.6.1 for the mechanics of Tiriyó ablaut).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>C</em></th>
<th><em>e</em></th>
<th><em>o</em></th>
<th><em>a</em></th>
<th><em>aCē</em></th>
<th><em>aCo</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ji-</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>j-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ĕ-</td>
<td>ĕ-</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>kĩ-</td>
<td>k+e &gt; kê</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k+a &gt; kê</td>
<td>k+a &gt; ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>∅-</td>
<td>∅-</td>
<td>∅-</td>
<td>∅-</td>
<td>∅-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3R</td>
<td>tĩ-</td>
<td>t+e &gt; tē</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>t+a &gt; tē</td>
<td>t+a &gt; to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>∅-</td>
<td>e &gt; ĕ</td>
<td>∅-</td>
<td>∅-</td>
<td>a &gt; ĕ</td>
<td>a &gt; o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) _pēe_ ‘from’  
   _epinē_ ‘under’

1 ji-pēe  
2 ĕ-pēe  ĕ-pēe-ne  
3 i-pēe  i-pēe-ne  
1+2 kĩ-pēe kĩ-pēe-ne  
3R tĩ-pēe tĩ-pēe-ne
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aCe-stems</th>
<th>other V-stems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akéere 'with'</td>
<td>aka 'into'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>j-akéere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a-akéere a-akéere-nee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>akéere akéere-nee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>k-ékéere k-ékéere-nee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3R</td>
<td>t-ékéere t-ékéere-nee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aside from the regular stem changes illustrated above, there are some more irregular patterns. Some postpositions, for instance, are syllable-reducing (cf. 2.6.2 for the syllable reduction pattern):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>_pë(kë) 'about; busy with'</th>
<th>wame(ke) 'Ignorative'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ji-pë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>e-pë e-pëkë-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>i-pë i-pëkë-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>kí-pë kí-pëkë-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3R</td>
<td>tì-pë tì-pëkë-ne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some irregular cases deserve mention. The postposition _:ja (used to mark datives, allatives, agents and causees; cf. 7.3.4.1) has an irregular first-person form wi:ja ‘to/by me’². The desiderative postposition _se has the allomorph je when inflected, and

² At first sight, wi:ja seems to be the first-person pronoun wi(f) followed by the postposition _:ja, i.e. wi:ja. Notice, however, that, if this were the case, one would expect a long vowel form *wi:ja (cf. e.g. the negative wi:ta 'not me', the emphatic wi:rë 'really me', etc.). Gildea 1998:121ff reconstructs *wi:ja as a dative/goal postposition for Proto-Cariban; Meira 1998:93ff reconstructs *(wi)ja for Proto-Taranoan. Apparently, *wi:ja was conserved in Tiriyó as a first-person form (probably via an earlier first-person marker *-j; this old marker could also explain the unexpected first-person markers p-, with the verb stem ihtë 'go down', and k-, with oeka / weka 'defecate', as old stem-initial consonants; cf. the end of 5.4.1.1.2). Reduction of the initial syllable wi is also the probable explanation of the lengthening which _:ja causes on the final vowel person-marking prefixes. One might even wonder if a synchronic analysis of this postposition as (wi)ja (with an irregular O-marked first person) could not be more adequate. Since, however, the prefixless form that occurs with free nominals is ja, and the first-person form would remain irregular anyway (a form such as *jii:ja is unacceptable), the analysis _:ja is preferred here.
an irregular second-person form ēije ‘wanting you’.\(^3\) (J)apo ‘like, similar to’ belongs to
the j-addition class (i.e. like the j-adding nouns [cf. 4.3.1.4.2], it has a j-initial allomorph
japo when inflected: ji-japo ‘like me’, etc.). Finally, the directional postposition _pona
‘toward’ becomes epona when conjugated.

\[(4)\] _-ja _se (j)apo
\[
1 \quad \text{wi}ja \quad \text{ji}-je \quad \text{ji-japo} \\
2 \quad \text{ēē-ja ēē-jaa-ne} \quad \text{ēi-je ēi-jee-ne} \quad \text{ē-japo ē-japoo-ne} \\
3 \quad \text{īi-ja īi-jaa-ne} \quad \text{i-je i-jee-ne} \quad \text{i-japo i-japoo-ne} \\
1+2 \quad \text{kīi-ja kīi-jaa-ne} \quad \text{kī-je kī-jee-ne} \quad \text{kī-japo kī-japoo-ne} \\
3R \quad \text{ūū-ja īū-jaa-ne} \quad \text{ūi-je īi-jee-ne} \quad \text{ūi-japo īi-japoo-ne}
\]

\[(5)\] _pona
\[
1 \quad \text{j-epona} \\
2 \quad \text{ē-epona ē-eponaa-ne} \\
3 \quad \text{epona eponaa-ne} \\
1+2 \quad \text{k-ēpona k-ēponaa-ne} \\
3R \quad \text{t-ēpona t-ēponaa-ne}
\]

A further irregularity of the postposition _se is its optional coalescence with the
possessor collective suffix -ko(mo) to form -koe. (6a-c) were all found acceptable. It is
not known whether or not these forms represent dialectal or stylistic variation.

\[(6a)\] ē-pawanaa-komo_se_w-a-e
\[
\text{2-friend:Pos-P.Col_Desid_1Sₐ-Cop-Cty} \\
'\text{I want/need you all's friend(s).}'
\]

\[(6b)\] ē-pawanaa-kon se w-a-e
\[
\text{2-friend:Pos-P.Col Desid 1Sₐ-Cop-Cty} \\
'\text{I want/need you all's friend(s).}'
\]

---

\(^3\) Cf. the minimal pair formed by ēi-je ‘wanting you’ and ē-je ‘your tooth’. Other inflected forms of _se
apparently are not distinguishable from inflected forms of je(e) ‘tooth’; e.g. kīje, both ‘wanting us’ and ‘our
tooth’. 
(c) ę-pawanaa-koe_w-a-e  
2-friend-P.Col:Desid_1S_A-Cop-Cty  
'I want/need you all’s friends.'

7.1.2. Nominalization. Postpositions can be nominalized with the suffixes -(no) and -to, also found on adverbs. A few illustrations of their use are given in (7a-c); further details can be found in 4.2.2.2. Constructions with wehto(po) are also used to form 'syntactic nominalizations' of postpositional phrases (7d).

(7a) karaiwa i-nonoo_po-n_ke ji-pihta-ne  
Brazilian 3-land:Pos_Loc-Nzn_Inst 1-marry-Pst.Prf  
'I married someone from the land of the Brazilians.'

(b) tēpu n-anota, kariwa ekatao-no-npē  
stone 3SO-fall:Prs.Prf gourd beside-Nzn-Pst  
'The stone that was next to the gourd fell.'

(c) mēe_n-ai tuna_sa-to  
3AnPx_3S_A-Cop water_Desid-Nzn  
'S/he is one who likes water.'

(d) makapa_po ji-w-eh-topo-npē kure  
Macapa_Loc 1-S_A-Cop:C:Nzn-Pst good  
'My stay (lit. past being) in Macapa was good.'

7.1.3. The reciprocal prefix. Postpositions can take the reflexive/reciprocal prefix introduced in 3.3.1.4 to mark reciprocity.⁴ The attested allomorphs, with their distributions, are listed below and illustrated in (8).

⁴ Certain cases of the reflexive/reciprocal prefix on nouns are only possible if a postposition follows; they are described in 4.3.1.3, as part of the nominal morphology.
\[ \begin{align*}
&\text{é-} \quad \text{with } e\text{-stems} \quad (a, b) \\
&\text{ët-} \quad \text{with other } V\text{-stems} \quad (c, d) \\
&\text{ëis-} \quad \text{with } j\text{-adding stems} \quad (e) \\
&\text{ëè-} \quad \text{with } se \text{ ‘wanting’} \quad (f) \\
&\text{ëi-} \quad \text{with } C\text{-stems} \quad (g, h, i, j)
\end{align*} \]

\[
\begin{aligned}
(8a) & \quad \text{epinë} \quad \text{‘under’} & \rightarrow & \quad \text{ë-epinë} \quad \text{‘one under the other’} \\
(b) & \quad \text{epoe} \quad \text{‘over’} & \rightarrow & \quad \text{ë-epoe} \quad \text{‘one over the other’} \\
(c) & \quad \text{akërë} \quad \text{‘with’} & \rightarrow & \quad \text{ët-akërë} \quad \text{‘with each other; together’} \\
(d) & \quad \text{avë} \quad \text{‘in(side)’} & \rightarrow & \quad \text{ët-avë} \quad \text{‘one inside the other; in the same room’} \\
(e) & \quad \text{(j)apo} \quad \text{‘like’} & \rightarrow & \quad \text{ëis-apo} \quad \text{‘like each other’; ‘the same’} \\
(f) & \quad \text{se} \quad \text{‘Desiderative’} & \rightarrow & \quad \text{ëè-se} \quad \text{‘wanting each other’}\footnote{This is one of the words in which the \(hs\)-cluster pronunciation /ëhse/ was consistent for those speakers who had it (cf. 2.4.2.2).} \\
(g) & \quad \text{pë(kë)} \quad \text{‘about’} & \rightarrow & \quad \text{ëi-pë(kë)} \quad \text{‘about each other’} \\
(h) & \quad \text{ja} \quad \text{‘to; by’} & \rightarrow & \quad \text{ëi-ja} \quad \text{‘to each other’} \\
(i) & \quad \text{wenae} \quad \text{‘after’} & \rightarrow & \quad \text{ëi-wenae} \quad \text{‘one after the other’} \\
(j) & \quad \text{waarë} \quad \text{‘known.to’} & \rightarrow & \quad \text{ëi-waarë} \quad \text{‘known to each other’; ‘intelligent’} \\
\text{(Cognoscitive)}
\end{aligned}
\]

Notice that the reciprocal relation can be \textit{symmetrical}, when the elements involved are in a ‘mirror-image’ relationship (9a), but it can also be \textit{analogical}, when the elements involved are not symmetrically related (9b):

\[
\begin{aligned}
(9a) & \quad \text{ëi-ja} \_\text{to} \_\text{nî-tên} & \quad \text{Recp-Dir} \_\text{3Col} \_3\text{S}_A-\text{go:Prs.Prf} \\
& \quad \text{'They went to(ward) each other.'} \\
(b) & \quad \text{ëi-wenae} \_\text{to} \_\text{nî-tên} & \quad \text{Recp-after} \_\text{3Col} \_3\text{S}_A-\text{go:Prs.Prf} \\
& \quad \text{'They went one after the other.'}
\end{aligned}
\]

Thus, while in (9a) the relationship is such that both A is going toward B and B toward A, in (9b), if B is going after A, then A is \textit{not} going after B, but after another.
entity C. In fact, (9b) presupposes that there are several entities going in line, one after the other, so that A and B are, in a sense, in the same situation (both are following other entities), but they are not ‘after each other’ in a mirror-image sense. The same non-symmetrical relationship obtains for ṇ-epinë ((8a) above), which could be used to describe e.g. a stack of books.

In certain cases, the reciprocal prefix has given rise to more lexicalized meanings. In (8c), the reciprocal meaning ‘with each other’, and the more adverb-like meaning ‘together’ are still very close; however, in (8d), ṇt-awë can be used to mean ‘one inside the other’ (like e.g. Russian dolls), but also ‘in the same room or house’, as in the following exchange (in which (10b) was a reaction to (10a)):

(10a) kure i-pakoro-nna_w-a-e
      well Priv-house-Priv_1SA-Cop-Cty
      ‘I am really homeless...’

(b) iræme_npa ṇt-awë k-eh-të-ne !
    then_Ptc Recp-in(side) 1+2-Cop-Col-Hort
    ‘Then let’s live together, in the same house!’

Notice also that the reciprocal form of the cognoscitive postposition waare ‘known:to’ can mean both ‘known to each other’, and ‘intelligent, smart’. Both interpretations are possible if the subject is non-singular (11a), but only the ‘intelligent’ one if the subject is singular (11b).

(11a) ẹi-waare_to_n-ai
      Recp-Cogn_3Col_3SA-Cop
      ‘They know each other.’
      ‘They are intelligent.’

(b) ẹi-waare mêe
     Recp-Cogn 3AnPx
     ‘This guy is smart.’
The morphological status of the reciprocal prefix deserves some comments. This prefix may have been part of the person-marking system at some point; notice that it occupies the same slot as the person markers. In 3.3.1.4, it was argued that, as a whole, the reflexive/reciprocal prefix was best analyzed as synchronically independent from the person markers. For postpositions, notice that it cannot co-occur with the collective suffix -:ne (a speaker corrected (12a) to (12b)):

\[(12a) \quad \text{*ët-akëërë-ne} \quad \text{Recep-with-Col} \]
\[(12b) \quad \text{ët-akëërë_to_n-ai} \quad \text{ameraarë} \quad \text{Recep-with_3Col_3SA-Cop} \quad \text{everyone} \quad \text{‘They are all together.’} \]

Given cases of lexicalization such as the ones discussed above, one wonders if the reciprocal prefix should not be considered derivational. It could be analyzed, for instance, as deriving a ‘reciprocal adverb’ from a postposition. In fact, at least one adverb, ëikarë ‘by him/herself, without help’, looks like a lexicalized reciprocal form apparently without a synchronic source (presumably *karë, which is unattested). Since, however, prefix-bearing postpositions are postpositional phrases with adverbial distribution, it is not clear that there would be a difference between the labels ‘derived reciprocal adverb’ and ‘reciprocal form of the postposition’. A little point in favor of the ‘reciprocal form’ analysis is the fact that derived adverbs are usually nominalized with -(mū) instead of -(no), while the reciprocal form does take -(no), sometimes -to (cf. (13a-b)), but this hardly looks decisive.
7.2. The postpositional class as a prototype category. The preceding sections have described the morphological properties relevant to postpositions. Together with the syntactic properties (mentioned in 3.4.4, and again in the beginning of this chapter), they are enough to define a postpositional class. However, not all members of this class display all these properties; in fact, different subgroups will possess them to different degrees. Moreover, some of these properties are shared by other classes (nouns, adverbs), to the point that certain morphemes appear ambiguous as to their class membership. In fact, based on the properties of the category, the various postpositions can be disposed on a continuum that touches, at one extremity, the noun category, and at the other, adverbializing affixes.

In order to see this prototypicality continuum, let us consider all relevant properties.

(1) **Phonological properties**: independent words vs. clitics vs. affixes (cf. 2.3.2 for the phonological word and its criteria);

(2) **Morphological properties**: the capacity to participate in the morphological processes described in the previous sections (person/number marking; reciprocal marking; nominalization)

(3) **Syntactic properties**: the capacity to take noun phrases as their objects to form postpositional phrases (with or without a third-person marker i-/Ø- on the postposition).
Table 7.3 describes the prototypicality behavior of the different postpositional subgroups with respect to the above properties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Property</th>
<th>Longer Experiencer PPs (2+ syl)</th>
<th>Other Longer PPs (2+ syl.)</th>
<th>Shorter PPs (1, 2 syl.)</th>
<th>Special Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phon. properties</td>
<td>mostly INDEP. WORDS</td>
<td>mostly INDEP. WORDS</td>
<td>DEP. WORDS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pers/num marking</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominalization</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O-less form</td>
<td>mostly YES</td>
<td>rarely YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrase formation</td>
<td>YES, mostly w/ i-/Ø-</td>
<td>YES, mostly w/ i-/Ø-</td>
<td>YES, mostly no pr</td>
<td>YES, no pr.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the left extreme of the scale, there are postpositions that have several nominal properties. As an example, let us consider waarë ‘Cognoscitive’. It has a derived ‘objectless’ adverbial form waarë, without any prefix, meaning ‘understandable’. This form is analogous to the non-possessed form of a noun. Compare the behavior of waarë with that of the noun pakoro ‘house’:
(14a) ji-waarë
1-Cogn
‘I know.’
(b) waarë_n-ai
understandable_3SA-Cop
‘It is clear / understandable.’
(c) ji-pakoro
1-house
‘My house.’
(d) pakoro_n-ai
house_3SA-Cop
‘It is a house.’; ‘There is a house.’

In addition, waarë has a tendency not to take an overt nominal object directly; it usually has a third-person prefix i- on it when it takes an overt object. Although speakers accept and use the form without i-, it is far less frequent than the form with i- (cf. 10.2.3 on postpositional phrases). This state of affairs is indicated with a parenthetical question mark (?). To indicate this fact, an underscore character in parentheses will be written before the postposition in its citation form: (_,)waarë. The same pattern obtains with possessed nouns (15c-d).

(15a) ji-pawana i-waarë
2-friend 3-Cogn
‘My friend knows it.’
(b) (?) ji-pawana waarë
1-friend Cogn
‘My friend knows it.’
(c) ji-pawana i-pakoro
1-friend 3-house
‘My friend’s house.’
(d) (?) ji-pawana pakoro
1-friend house
‘My friend’s house.’

It would not be a surprise if waarë (and others like it) had been originally a noun. However, it now has two postpositional properties that clearly distinguish it from other nouns. First, it takes -:ne as a collective marker (16a); second, it can be entity-nominalized with -to (16b). These properties—particularly the latter—make it difficult to
classify waarē as a noun; they are the main reason why it (and others like it) is included in the postpositional class.⁶

(16a) ě-waarē-ne_noi 2-Cogn-Col_3SA-Col
      ‘You all know it.’

(b) ě-waarē-to 2-Cogn-Nzr
     ‘Someone whom you know.’

On the other extreme of the scale, there are postpositions which are almost like particles or suffixes. For instance, let us consider the general locative _po. It cannot take any inflectional morphology: neither person-marking prefixes, nor the collective marker _-ne.⁷ It cannot take the reciprocal prefix ēt-. One might feel tempted to consider it as a particle, or as a ‘locative suffix’ (comparable to e.g. the ‘definite locative’ -pe found in Tupi-Guaranian languages; cf. Rodrigues 1985), or as a nominal-scope particle. There are, however, two reasons that have motivated the decision of analyzing _po as a postposition.

First, _po can be nominalized with -(no), which is not true for any nominal-scope particle like _rē ‘Exactly’ or _rēni(ne) ‘Truly’:

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⁶ An interesting case is that of eenakē ‘lie, lying, telling lies’, which has nominal (i-ii) and postpositional (iii) properties. Speakers vary as to whether they prefer (ii) or (iii). It may be the case that eenakē is a noun currently in the process of becoming a postposition, probably by analogy with the experiencer postpositions (7.3.3).

(i) ē-enakē_me man-a-n 2-lie_Attr_1SA-Cop-Dbt
    ‘You are lying, you are a liar.’

(ii) ē-enakē-ken 2-lie-P.Col
    ‘You all are lying.’

(iii) ē-enakē-ne 2-lie-Col
     ‘You all are lying.’

⁷ This impossibility is also valid for the other non-derived spatial postpositions (cf. 7.3.1.1 below), except for awē and aka. In certain special cases, speakers did allow person markers to occur; for instance, one speaker accepted the first-person marker on the aquatic inessive postposition, forming ji-hkao ‘in me, water’, if I imagine myself to be a river—a rather odd circumstance. One might wonder whether or not such forms should be considered ‘correct’; they are at best extremely context-dependent.
(17a) **Kuwamara_po_w-a-e**  
Kuwamara_Loc _1SA-Cop-Cty  
‘I am in Kuwamara.’  

(b) **Kuwamara_po-n**  
Kuwamara_Loc-Nz  
‘Someone who is in Kuwamara.’  

Second, _po can take a whole phrase as its object, as in (18) below. If _po were analyzed as a locative (adverbializing) suffix, then (18) would have to be an instance of a phrase formed with a noun (pahko) and a following adverb (i-pata-po), an otherwise unattested construction.

(18) **pahko i-pata_po**  
1:father 3-village_Loc  
‘In my father’s village.’

7.3. **Formal and semantic classes.** The various postpositions found in the available corpus can be classified on semantic and morphosyntactic criteria into several different subgroups, which also correlate, to some extent, with the ‘degree of prototypicality’ discussed in the preceding section. Table 7.4 summarizes these subgroups, which are described in the following sections.

Table 7.4  
Semantic/morphosyntactic subgroups of postpositions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subgroup</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spatial Postpositions</td>
<td>_po, _pēe, _tao, _hkao, _hka(ka),...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple</td>
<td>_pohtē, _juuwē, cnjao, cnpatae,...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derived</td>
<td>akēērē, (_wenje, (_wenae, (j)apo,...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational Postpositions</td>
<td>(_waarē, (_wame(ke), eire, ewaaje,...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experiencer Postpositions</td>
<td>_ja, _me, _pe(ke), _ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Cases</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.3.1. Spatial postpositions.

7.3.1.1. Simple spatial postpositions. Postpositional systems which distinguish position ('inessive'), movement to ('illative') and movement from ('ablative'), and sometimes even movement along or by a certain path ('perlative') have been described for several Cariban languages. Typically, a postpositional root, containing information about the nature of its object (or Ground, to use TALMY'S 1988 terminology) as e.g. a liquid, a container, a surface, etc., takes a number of different suffixes to indicate the various positional or directional possibilities (cf. e.g. Derbyshire 1985:205-219 for Hixkaryana postpositions).

In comparison to languages such as Hixkaryana, Tiriyó simple locative and directional postpositions seem to form a rather impoverished system. There are fewer postpositional roots (i.e. less information is given about the Ground). Locative and illative postpositions are consistently distinguished, but there are only a few remnants of ablative and perlative.

Formally speaking (cf. Table 7.5), recurrent similarities can be found in the various spatial positions, suggesting further segmentation. Most of the locative postpositions end in -o, most of the directionals in -ka or -(ka), and the 'perlatives' in -e. These elements have cognates in the richer systems of other Cariban languages, and probably were at some point independent elements (e.g. -o as a reduced form of ñwe, conserved in awé 'inessive'). They also occur in other postpositions, especially -o and -(ka) (in the form -na(ka) 'directional'), but also -e (cf. 7.3.1.1.3 below); however, these cases are limited and irregular enough to suggest lexicalization. For instance, potential
postpositions such as e.g. *_hkae ‘along (a river)’ (cf. _tae ‘by, along’), *enjæ ‘along (the hand of)’ (cf. enjao ‘in the hands of’), *oonao ‘on the nose of’ (cf. enpatao ‘in front of’) were judged unacceptable.

The initial elements of these postpositions are also quasi-segmentable; their occurrence depends on certain characteristics of the Ground: a-, ta- ‘container’, hta- ‘extensive, surrounding Ground’; hka- ‘water; river’; ma- ‘time’ (cf. 12.2 on formatives).

The p-initial postpositions form a special subgroup. They are formally more irregular: _pona does not have a missing syllable, which means that its final syllable na is not the element na(ka/kii), _pee does end in -e but has an unexpected vowel change (looking at _po, one would have expected *_poe), and the final syllable of _pee(ke) looks unrelatable to other formative elements such as -o/-wë, -(ka) or -e.8

Table 7.5
Tiriyó simple spatial postpositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Directional</th>
<th>‘Perlative’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>general Adessive / Theme</td>
<td>_po</td>
<td>_pona</td>
<td>_pee ‘Ablative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside (3D container)</td>
<td>awë</td>
<td>aka; awëna(ka/kii)</td>
<td>awëe ‘across’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in(side) (container)</td>
<td>_tao</td>
<td>_ta(ka)</td>
<td>ae ‘Perlative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>surrounded by</td>
<td>_htao</td>
<td>_hta(ka)</td>
<td>_tae ‘Perlative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in water / river</td>
<td>_hkaao</td>
<td>_hka(ka)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in time</td>
<td>_mao</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8 The p-initial postpositions are probably older than the others; _po may even have cognates in other language families (cf. Rodrigues 1985, who compares it to the Tupi-Guaranian ‘diffuse locative’ /(u)pe/).
7.3.1.1. Locatives. The general locative _po can indicate contact on the upper surface (19a), but also mere proximity (19b); it is also used for geographic locations (19c), and for time (19d). It apparently cannot be conjugated (except if the satisfactive postposition _epo ‘enough’ is analyzed as its conjugatable allomorph; cf. 7.3.3).

(19a) kankamuri_n-ai  apēi _po  
gecko 3S_A-Cop 3:stool_Loc  
‘The gecko is on (his/her) stool.’

(b) pakoro_po_n-ai  
house _Loc 3S_A-Cop  
‘S/he is at/by the house.’

(c) Kuwamara_po_n-ai  
Kuwamara_Loc 3S_A-Cop  
‘S/he is in the village of Kuwamara.’

(d) majo_po mono tuna oi_po  
May_Loc big:one water savanna_Loc  
‘In May there are floods in the savanna.’

The general adessive (‘at, on, about’) _pē(kē), when used with locative meaning, marks contact with a non-horizontal surface (20a-d). Notice that contact with a horizontal surface would be indicated with _po or _juuwē. Compare _pē(kē) in (20b) with _po in (19a-b) (bearing in mind that a traditional Tiriyo house, or pakoro, has no walls, but only a roof and supporting posts).

(20a) kankamuri_n-ai  ēpu_pē  
gecko 3S_A-Cop post_Ad  
‘The gecko is on the post.’

(b) kankamuri_nai pakoro_pē  
gecko 3:Cop house _Ad  
‘The gecko is on the ceiling.’

(c) k-ēpēi  a-apēē_pē  
12AO-catch:Prf 2-arm:Pos_Ad  
‘I caught you by the arm.’

(d) nunnē_n-ai  kapu_pē  
moon 3S_A-Cop sky_Ad  
‘The moon is in the sky.’
Its most frequent uses, however, are non-locative: ꝉgetWindow) can mark the topic of a conversation or statement ((21a); cf. English ‘about’), and it can mark the ‘target of attention’ (‘busy with’, ‘working on’; (21b-d)).

(21a)  Ḳe[p]GLIGENCE-na-tur-ju-n
       paper_position _About 3S_A-talk-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
       ‘S/he is talking about the letter/book.’

(b)  atiGetWindow-man-an
     what_Busy:with_2S_A-Cop-Dbt
     ‘What are you doing (=busy with)?’

(c)  pakoroGetWindow-ju-wa-e
     house_position _Busy:with_1S_A-Cop-Cty
     ‘I am busy with a house.’
     (i.e. building it, repairing it, etc.)

(d)  wēriGetWindow-ju-pēh-ta
     woman_BUSY:with_Neg Cop-Imper
     ‘Don’t be chasing women!’

The remaining locative postpositions are characterized by the element -o (with the wē in awē being probably a longer form). The inessive postposition awē indicates position inside some sort of container. It may be closed (22a) or open (22b). Note that the reciprocal form ētawē can have the idiosyncratic meaning ‘in the same house / room’ ((22c); cf. 7.1.3).

(22a)  Ḳe[p]STONE-nai pakara awē
       stone_3:Cop bag In
       ‘The stone is in the bag.’

(b)  Ḳe[p]STONE-nai kariwa awē
     stone_3:Cop gourd In
     ‘The stone is in the gourd.’

(c)  ēt-awē kit-a-e
     Recp-In 1+2-Cop-Cty
     ‘We live together in the same house/room.’
The inessive postposition _tao also implies a container. It seems to be more ‘general’ than awē, since metaphorical uses were possible only with _tao, but not with awē ((23b); cf. English in, richer in meaning, and inside, more specific). Also, only awē can take person markers (23c). However, in non-metaphorical uses, awē and _tao were considered equivalent (23d-l).

(23a) pakoro_tao_n-ai
    house_In_3SA-Cop
    ‘S/he is in the house.’
(b) otono_tao_w-a-e
    cold_In_1SA-Cop-Cty
    ‘I have a cold.’ (*otono awē_wae)

(c) ji-nmuku_n-ai j-awē (*ji-tao)
    1-son_3SA-Cop 1-In
    ‘My son is inside of me.’

(d) wēene_n-ai kariwa_tao
    mirror_3SA-Cop gourd_In
    ‘The mirror is in the gourd.’
(e) wēene_n-ai kariwa awē
    mirror_3SA-Cop gourd In
    ‘The mirror is in the gourd.’

(g) tēpu_tao_n-ai kootu
    stone_In_3SA-Cop gold
    ‘The gold is in(side) the stone.’
    ‘There is gold in(side) the stone.’
(h) tēpu awē_n-ai kootu
    stone In_3SA-Cop gold
    ‘The gold is in(side) the stone.’
    ‘There is gold in(side) the stone.’

(i) pakoro_tao_n-ai j-eki
    house_In_3SA-Cop 1-pet
    ‘My pet is in the house.’
(j) pakoro awē_n-ai j-eki
    house In_3SA-Cop 1-pet
    ‘My pet is in the house.’

(k) ji-mēnparē_n-ai pakara_tao
    1-things_3SA-Cop bag_In
    ‘My belongings are in the bag.’
(l) ji-mēnparē_n-ai pakara awē
    1-things_3SA-Cop bag_In
    ‘My belongings are in the bag.’

Most cases of the sequence htao actually consist of the postposition _tao following a possessed noun, with the h being the coda grade of the possessive suffix -(rī) ((24a-b); cf. 4.3.1.5). However, there are certain cases for which this explanation does not
work, since the nouns in questions are not possessed (24c-k). These instances provide
evidence for an independent postposition _htao, conveying the idea of ‘being surrounded’
by the object: in (24j), I am among the Wayana; in (24d), the meat is in direct contact
with the surrounding fire (which is not the case for the stew in (24f), hence the use of a
different postposition); in (24k), being ‘in the forest’ can be seen as being ‘surrounded by
the forest’ (notice that ‘in the village’, ‘on the island’ are pata_po, pau_po, not
*pata_htao, *pau_htao, i.e. if the area is small enough to look more like a point than a
‘surrounding’, _htao is not used); even in (24c), the stone is ‘surrounded by’ the garden
(cf. (24h), in which _po puts the stone ‘by’ or ‘close to’ the garden; notice that _po would
be used if the speaker were talking about a human being rather than a stone). The
speakers who were consulted could not distinguish (24e) from (24g); but this may be
because the difference between being ‘surrounded’ by the ground and being ‘placed on it’
(as ‘on a table’, in (24a) above) is not very noticeable. It is interesting to note that it was
not possible to use _htao with one of the words for ‘table’, taafara (a borrowing,
ultimately from Dutch tafel ‘table’): *taafara_htao was corrected to taafara_po (cf.
(24a) above) or taafara_juwwë. Notice also the contrast between nono_tao ‘inside the
earth’ (24i) and nono_htao ‘on the ground’ (24e). In its conjugated form, _htao can be
used to predicate possession (24l); cf. also wenje in 7.3.2.

(24a)  pakoro_tao_n-ai
       house_Loc_3SA-Cop
       ‘S/he is in the house.’

(b)  ti-pakoro-h_tao_n-ai
   3R-house-Pos_Loc_3SA-Cop
   ‘S/he is in her/his own house.’
The aquatic inessive postposition _hkao can only be used if the Ground is water (rivers, lakes, water in containers, etc.). With other liquids, there was some variation: according to some speakers, it was not possible to use _hkao with munu ‘blood’ (cf. _htao in (25d)); for others, _hkao was possible if the blood was in a container, like water ((25c); the question mark represents this variation). Apparently, _hkao (and also _po) can be used with river names to indicate place; the consulted speakers could not differentiate (25d) from (25e).

(25a) tuna_hkao nī-tē-n kana
    river_Aq.In 3S-A-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt fish
    ‘The fish swims in the river.’
(b) ?tēpu_n-ai munu_hkao
stone 3S\_A-Cop blood_Aq.In
'The stone is in the blood.'

(c) munu_htao_n-ai AIDS i-pata
blood_Surr_3S\_A-Cop AIDS 3-place
'AIDS lives in the blood.'

(d) Paru_hkao_n-ai i-pata
Paru_Aq.In 3S\_A.Cop 3-village
'His village is on the Paru river.'
'He lives on the Paru river.'

(e) Paru_po_n-ai i-pata
Paru_Loc_3S\_A-Cop 3-village
'His village is on the Paru river.'
'He lives on the Paru river.'

The temporal postposition _mao is used to indicate a certain period of time, defined by its object, which can describe: a feature typical of the period (26b), a person who characterizes it (26d), an action performed at that time (26d), or even how long the period of time lasts (26e). It is probably related to the temporal particle mahtao 'while'.

(26a) serē_mao / ire_mao
3InPx_Tmp 3InAna_Tmp
'Now(adays); at that time.'

(b) kfonopo_mao kana saasaame_n-ai
rain_Tmp fish happy_3S\_A-Cop
'The fish are happy in the rainy season.'

(26d) Jezu_mao
Jesus_Tmp
'In Jesus’ times...'

(d) tiwē-to_mao_rē_pa
shoot-C:Nzr_Tmp_Extct_Rpt
'when/while s/he was shooting it again...'

(26e) aeneme_nkērē_w-a-e, toisi_me i-ranta-too_mao tahken
alive_still_1S\_A-Cop-Cty two_Attr Gen-year-C:Nzr_Tmp Dbt
'I will still be alive, maybe for another two years.'

7.3.1.1.2. Directionals. As a rule, the directional postpositions listed in Table 7.5 are equivalent to their locative counterparts (recognizable by their common initial element: po, t(a), hk(a), etc.), except for the fact that they indicate motion toward their object (the Ground) rather than static position with respect to it. Formally, they are marked by ‘directional formatives’ (cf. 12.2) such as -na (for _pona), -(ka) for the others (notice
that -(ka) can reduce [cf. 2.6.2 for syllable reduction], except in aka, where it never reduces), and exceptionally one -na(ka/kii) (cf. 7.3.1.2). The absence of a temporal directional, which might have been *ma(ka), is noticeable. Its expected meaning, ‘until’, is actually expressed with _pona.

The directional _pona indicates motion toward a target without implying that the target will be entered (27a), just as _po does not imply ‘inside’. It is also used with geographic locations (27b), and to mark an upper limit (‘until, up to’; (27c)), usually co-occurring with the particle _rên(ne) ‘true, genuine’ (27d). Its conjugatable allomorph is epona (27e), which has developed an additional meaning of ‘in favor of’, ‘believing in’ (27e).9

(27a) pakoro_pona wi-tê-e
     house _Dir 1S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
     ‘I am going to(ward) the house.’

(b) Kuwamara_pona kîn-tên
     Kuwamara_Dir 3:Pst.Prf-go
     ‘S/he went to Kuwamara.’

(c) seti_pona ni-ranta ahtao
    seven_Dir 3SO-year:Prs.Prf when
    ‘When up to seven years had passed...’

(d) majo_pona_rên
     May_Dir _Exactly
     ‘Until May.’

(e) j-epona n-ee-ja-n
    1-Dir 3S_A-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
    ‘S/he is coming toward me.’

(f) kan epona kît-a-ôti
    god believe 1+2S_A-Cop-Col
    ‘We (all) believe in God.’

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9 Given its formal properties (the existence of a ‘generic’ objectless form épona, and its contrast with _pona when there is a preceding object—compare (27c-f) and (27a-b) above), epona is analyzable as an independent experiencer postposition (the ‘Fidititive’ in 7.3.3). However, because of examples such as (27e), in which the (original) directional meaning of epona remains, _pona and epona are analyzed as having homophonous conjugated forms.
The other directional postpositions, all characterized by the formative element ka (a reducing syllable, with full, coda and zero grades, for all directionals except aka), are the expected counterparts of the corresponding locatives.

The illative aka 'into (a container)' seems to be dropping out of usage: younger speakers tend to use awē instead even if motion is implied (28a-b). One young man from the village of Tepoe (Tēpu) said about (28a) that it was 'older people's language', and did not seem to be sure about the meaning of aka in this context. Notice also the possibility of forming an illative awēna(ka/kīi) (28c), on the model of the derived spatial postpositions (cf. 7.3.1.2).

(28a) j-aka nī-tēn ēpi  (b) j-awē nī-tēn ēpi
   1-III 3Sₐ-go:Prs.Prf medicine
   'The medicine went into me.'

(c) tēpu n-anota kariwa awēna
   stone 3SO-fall:Prs.Prf gourd III
   'The stone fell into the gourd.'

The illative _ta(ka) 'into' corresponds to _tao in meaning, indicating motion into some sort of container (compare (23a) above with (29a-b) below). The same closeness in meaning that was noticed between awē and _tao also exists for aka and _ta(ka), with similar restrictions: like _tao, _ta(ka) cannot be conjugated. If person-marked forms are

---

10 The tendency to use a locative instead of a directional in spite of motion being implied, although markedly stronger for awē/aka, was noticed for all spatial postpositions. For instance, both the directional _ta(ka) and the locative _tao can occur instead of awēna in (28c); the same can be said about _hta(ka) and _htao in (30a), or _hka(ka) and _hkao in (31a) below, all of which have the verb anota 'fall'. This is less likely to happen with a verb like tē 'go', probably because of possible ambiguities ('I am going in the park' vs. 'I am going into the park'). This point needs further research.
necessary, aka (or awē) is used, as in (28a-b) above (in which _ta(ka) and/or _tao would be impossible).

(29a) pakoro ta nī-tēn
     house_III 3Sₐ-go:Prs.Prf
     ‘S/he went into the house.’

(b) pakoro_taka_nkērē pa nī-tēn
     house_III_Still_Rpt 3Sₐ-go:Prs.Prf
     ‘S/he went into the house again.’

The illative _hta(ka), ‘into a surrounding area’ is the expected counterpart of _htao (cf. (30a-b), in which the same contrast observed between nono_tao and nono_htao [cf. (24e, i)] is found between nono_ta(ka) and nono_hta(ka)):

(30a) tēpu n-anota nono_hta
     stone 3Sₒ-fall:Prs.Prf ground_Surr
     ‘The stone fell onto the ground.’

(b) tēpu n-anota nono_ta
     stone 3Sₒ-fall:Prs.Prf ground_ILL
     ‘The stone fell into the earth (e.g. into a hole).’

The aquatic illative _hka(ka) ‘into water/river’ has the same semantic presuppositions as its locative counterpart _hkao. (31c) shows a full-grade example, conditioned by the CCV-initial particle _nkērē ‘still’:

(31a) tēpu n-anota tuna_hka
     stone 3Sₐ-fell:Prs.Prf water_Aq.ILL
     ‘The stone fell into the river/water.’

(b) tuna_hka wī-tē-e
     water_Aq.ILL 1Sₐ-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
     ‘I am going into the river/water.’

(31c) tuna_hkaka_nkērē pa wī-tē-e
     water_Aq.ILL_still_Rpt 1Sₐ-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
     ‘I am going into the river/water again.’
7.3.1.3. ‘Perlatives’. The postpositions in the third column of Table 7.5 all end in the formative element -e. Semantically, they are less coherent than the locatives and directionals: the perlative (‘by’, ‘along’) meaning, present in some (ae, _tae), is vaguer or less frequent in others (_pēe, awēe).

The ‘general ablative’ postposition _pēe can, in fact, have a perlative meaning, in situations where the locative equivalent would be _pē(kē) (32a-b; cf. 7.3.1.1.1); this is probably its oldest meaning. As its gloss indicates, however, its most frequent use is by far that of an generic ablative without the distinctions found in the locative and directional cases. It can be used to mark motion from an interior (32c-d; cf. _tao), a geographic location (32e; cf. _po), and also liquids (32f-g; cf. _hkao). It can also mark the beginning of a period of time (32h), anteriority in time (32i), or the person from whom an object was obtained (32j).

(32a) weepe_n-ēnanuu-ja-n tree_Prl 3SA-go:up-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 'S/he/it is climbing up the tree.'
(b) nunnē ni-tën kapu_pēe moon 3SA-go:Prs.Prf sky_Prl 'The moon goes along the sky.'

(c) pakoro_pēe w-ēpī house_Abl 1SA-come:Prs.Prf 'I have come from the house', or 'from inside the house' (=_po / _tao)
(d) panpira wii-sika pakara_pēe paper 1A-take:Prs.Prf bag_Abl 'I took the paper out of the bag.'

(e) Misauŋ_pēe wī-tēn-ne Mission_Abl 1SA-come:Pst.Prf 'I went from the Mission village.'
(f) tēpu w-ēu-ja-e tuna_pēe stone 1A-take-Prs.Ipf-Cty water_Abl 'I take the stone from the water.'

(g) i-munu-hpē_pēe ē-munu-h tao n-ee-ja-n 3-blood-Pst.Pos_Abl 2-blood-Pos_Dir 3SA-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 'It (=AIDS) goes from someone else’s blood into yours.'
(h) majo_pêe agosto_pona_rên
May_Abl August_Dir_Exactly
‘From May to August.’

(i) ji-w-epî-hpêê_pêe, wî-tên_pa
1-S_A-bathe-Pst_Abl 1S_A-go:Prs_Prf_Rpt
‘After I finished my bath, I went away.’
(Lit. ‘from my past bathing,...’)

(j) akî_pêe m-apêi-ne sen
who_Abl 2A-get-Pst_Prf 3:InPx
‘Who did you get this from?’

_Ae_ and _tae_ are true perlatives. The more frequent is _tae_, both in spatial (33a-b)
and metaphorical (33c) uses; although both can be used with ēema ‘path’ (33a, d), _tae_
ocorrection{occurs} in nine tenths of the relevant examples. In this case, they were considered
synonymous; in (33e), however, _ae_ implied motion in the river (i.e. the speaker was
physically in the river, walking with his feet in the water), while _tae_ in (33b) can be used
if the speaker is in his canoe, or if he is walking along the river bank.

(33a) sen ēema_tae wî-tê-e
3InPx path_Perl 1S_A-go:Prs_Ipf_Cty
‘I am going by/along this path.’

(b) tuna_tae wî-tê-e
river_Perl 1S_A-go:Prs_Ipf_Cty
‘I am going along the river (bank).’

(c) tarêno_tae
Tiriyô_Perl
‘In the Tiriyô way/language’

(d) ēema _ae_ wî-tê-e
path_Perl 1S_A-go:Prs_Ipf_Cty
‘I am going by/along the path.’

(e) tuna _ae_ wî-tê-e
river_Perl 1S_A-go:Prs_Ipf_Cty
‘I am going along the river (inside of it).’

_Awëe_ is, strictly speaking, a locative postposition. It indicates a ‘hanging’ position
(34a-d). A vague connection with perrelative semantics may come from the fact that the
hanging object (the ‘Figure’) can often be seen as ‘going along’ or ‘following’ the surface
of its support (the ‘Ground’).\(^{11}\) For instance, (34c) was used to describe a situation in which the two extremities of a piece of rope were hanging off opposite sides of a table, i.e. the rope was ‘going across’, or ‘following’, the surface of the table. Cf. also (34e), in which the demonstrative serë ‘this’ refers to a big headphone in its normal position on the speaker’s head. This rationale becomes less acceptable if the support is point-like, as in (34d); but, even in this case, the rope is hanging from its midpoint, with two loose extremities.

\[(34a)\]  
\[
j-aaji\_n\_ai\quad j-awëe  
1\text{-necklace}_3S_A\text{-Cop 1\text{-hanging}}
'My necklace is around my neck.'
\]

\[(b)\]  
\[
ji\text{-mënparë}_n\_ai\quad ēwa\quad awëe  
1\text{-things}_3S_A\text{-Cop rope hanging}
'My things are hanging from the rope.'
\]

\[(c)\]  
\[
ēwa\_n\_ai\quad ēpēī\quad awëe  
3\text{-rope}_3S_A\text{-Cop table hanging}
'His/her rope is hanging from the table.'
\]

\[(d)\]  
\[
ēwa\_n\_ai\quad putuputuri\quad awëe  
3\text{-rope}_3S_A\text{-Cop nail hanging}
'His/her rope is hanging from a nail.'
\]

\[(e)\]  
\[
serë\_n\_ai\quad ji\text{-putupë}\quad awëe  
3\text{InPx}_3S_A\text{-Cop 1\text{-head:Pos hanging}}
'It (=headphone) is on my head.'
\]

7.3.1.2. Derived spatial postpositions. Structurally, derived spatial postpositions are similar to the simple pospositions discussed in the previous section. There are two main series (locative and directional) and remnants of a third (perative). The directionals are characterized by the final suffixes -\text{hkii} and -\text{na(ka)}/-\text{na(kiī)}, apparently equivalent in meaning. Most of the locatives also have a characteristic ending: -\text{o, -wë, -të; epinë}

\(^{11}\) In view of its semantics, it is not obvious that, despite the obvious formal similarity, awëe should be seen as related to awë ‘Inessive’ rather than as one of the ‘derived’ spatial postpositions described in 7.3.1.2. The decision to leave awëe here was based on the absence of a directional form *awëena(ka/kiī), which distinguishes it from the other ‘derived’ spatial postpositions.
'under' has no specific ending. The few perlatives end in -e; some of them do not have an -o counterpart (e.g. _nkæ ‘behind’, epoe ‘above’; their locative rather than perlate meaning is reminiscent of awée ‘hanging’, from the previous section). Notice that -o, -wë, -e, and the final syllable (ka) of -na(ka), also occur on simple spatial postpositions.

The reason for calling these postpositions (listed in Table 7.6 below) ‘derived’ is that their initial element is, in most cases, a synchronically attested morpheme (e.g. enpatao ‘in front of, opposite’, from enpata ‘face’; nkae ‘behind’ from (mɪ)ka ‘back’; etc.). The formation of other postpositions of the same kind, however, is severely restricted; the list in Table 7.6 is probably not far from being exhaustive. In fact, some of them are not even accepted by all speakers: e.g. apëo ‘beside’, which an older speaker used but a younger one from the same village (Kuwamalasamutu) failed to recognize (notice that it is also the only example in the available corpus of the diphthong /ëo/ [cf. 2.4.3.1]).

Semantically, it is interesting to note that these postpositions either denote position or movement toward (or, in a few cases, along) the Ground, but not motion from it (i.e. none of them is ablative). Ablatives corresponding to these postpositions can be built periphrastically, e.g. by using a nominalized form of the postposition with the nominal past suffix -npë:

(35a) ji-nkae-no-npë n-anota
1-behind-Nzr-Pst 3So-fall:Prs.Prf
(It) fell from behind me.’ (Lit. ‘(That which) was behind me fell.’)

---

12Comparative evidence suggests that -na(ka/kii) may have been an independent postposition at some point, with a corresponding locative -nao (as in e.g. hpiïnao ‘at the back of’, from pïukí ‘anus; posterior part’ and nai). Apparently, only the few lexicalized cases listed in Table 7.6 have survived in Tiriyó. Evidence in favor of an earlier freer status comes from the fact that the collective marker -ne (cf. 7.1.1) can optionally occur before -na(kii): e.g. kii-roowënakii-ne or kii-roowë-ne_nakii ‘into the middle of all of us’.
(b) **tēpu n-anota** kariwa ekatao-no-ŋpē  
stone $3S_O$:fall::Prs.Prf gourd beside-Nnz-Pst  
'The stone fell from beside the gourd.'  
(Lit. 'The stone that was beside the gourd fell.')

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### Table 7.6

**Tiriyó derived spatial postpositions**

Forms in square brackets were not attested in the corpus but are presumed to exist.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Directional</th>
<th>'Perlative'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-wē</td>
<td>_juuwē</td>
<td>_juhki; _juuwēna(ka/kīī)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on top of</td>
<td>_-roowē</td>
<td>_-rohki; _-roowēna(ka/kīī)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the middle of</td>
<td>_rawē</td>
<td>_rawēna(ka/kīī)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the half of,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halfway through</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o/-na(ka/kīī)</td>
<td>etao</td>
<td>etaona(ka/kīī)</td>
<td>etae 'by/along the margin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on the margin/bank of</td>
<td>enjao</td>
<td>enjaona(ka/kīī)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the hand(s) of</td>
<td>enpatao</td>
<td>enpataona(ka/kīī)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beside</td>
<td>apēo</td>
<td>apēona(ka/kīī)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at the back/rear of</td>
<td>hpiṭūnao</td>
<td>( )hpiṭūna(ka/kīī)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lying with; holding</td>
<td>enao</td>
<td>[ enaona(ka/kīī) ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beside; next to, near</td>
<td>ekatao</td>
<td>ekataona(ka/kīī)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by; near</td>
<td>renao</td>
<td>rena(ka/kīī)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deep in</td>
<td>antiīnao</td>
<td>antiīna(ka/kīī)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under (completely)</td>
<td>anmao</td>
<td>[ anmaona(ka/kīī) ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>behind</td>
<td>notonnao</td>
<td>notonna(ka/kīī)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on the back of</td>
<td>(_npo)</td>
<td>( )npona(ka/kīī)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tē</td>
<td>_pohtē</td>
<td>_pohtēna(ka/kīī), _pohkīī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at the beak/tip of</td>
<td>_rehtē</td>
<td>_rehtēna(ka/kīī), _rehkīī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on the horn/top of</td>
<td>amohtē</td>
<td>[ amohtēna(ka/kīī) ], amohkīī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upstream</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e/-na(ka/kīī)</td>
<td></td>
<td>( )nkaena(ka/kīī)</td>
<td>( )nkae 'behind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>behind</td>
<td></td>
<td>epoena(ka/kīī)</td>
<td>epoe 'above, over'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>above, over</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-né/-na(ka/kīī)</td>
<td>epinē</td>
<td>epinēna(ka/kīī)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under, below</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.3.1.2.1. The -wē/-hkī group. These postpositions are characterized by the locative ending -wē (probably the same as -o; notice that, although the occurrence of -wē in _juuwē and _roowē may be explainable in terms of the preceding vowel, this is not so for _rawē, where, following /a/, -o would be expected, yielding an unattested *_rao), and by the directional ending -hkī (except for rawēna(ka/kī); rahkī is not attested). -Na(ka) and -na(kī) are also possible, without apparent change in meaning. Postpositions of this group do not occur in the third-person form (with the prefix i-) when there is a preceding object (cf. 7.2), unlike the ones in the next section.

_Juuwē 'on top of' can be used, like _po, for position on a horizontal surface (36a-b; cf. 19b, 20b above for _po and _pē(kē)), including sand (36c) or water (36d). The source of its initial element juu is still unknown. Note that _juuwē is more precise than the general _po (cf. 19c-d, where the _po-phrases are less precise than the _juuwē-phrases). _Juhkīl and juuwēna(ka/kī) (36e) are the corresponding directionals.

(36a) kankamuri_n-ai taafrica_juuwē
gcko_3S_A-Cop table_on.top‘The gecko is on (top of) the table.’

(b) kankamuri_n-ai pakoro_juuwē
gcko_3S_A-Cop house/roof_on.top‘The gecko is on (top of) the roof.’

(c) irē_po ken t-ee-se kīto, samu_juuwē ken
3InAna_Loc_Cont N.Pst-Cop-N.Pst toad_sp sand_on.top_Cont‘There the toad was, (all the time) on the sand.’

(d) irē_mao-rēken arīwe ja t-ērē-e, tuna_po, tuna_juuwē
3InAna_Temp_Only cayman_Agt N.Pst-take-N.Pst water_Loc, water_on.top‘At that moment, the Cayman took him, on the water, on top of the water.’

(=i.e. so that he would not drown)

---

13 The final syllables of -na(kī) and in hkī are probably the same element kī etymologically.
(e) têpu-pisi n-anota wewe_juhkii / wewe_juuwêna
    stone-Dim 3S0-fall:Prf stick_on.top / stick_on.top
    'The little stone fell on top of the stick.'

The meaning of _roowê is 'in the middle/center of', 'surrounded by'. The initial
element roo looks like a reduced form of (pi)ropi 'chest', with the two lengthenings (the
/oo/, and that of the final vowel of the person-marking prefixes, marked by the colon)
resulting from the missing /pi/ syllables. It is more specific than _htao: for instance, (37c)
suggested that people were forming a circle in the center of which the subject stood (cf.
24j above, in which the subject lives 'among the Wayana', waijanatomo_htao). The
directional equivalents are _rohkii and _roowêna(ka/kii), apparently without semantic
distinction (37d-e).

(37a) ma kutuma, itu_roowê
      far a.lot,  forest_mid
      'It is very far, in the middle of the forest.'

(b) tuna_roowê
    river_mid
    'in the middle of the river'

(c) itu_rohkii wi-të-e
    forest_to.mid 1S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
    'I am going to the middle of the forest.'

(d) itu_roowêna wi-të-e
    forest_to.mid 1S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
    'I am going to the middle
     of the forest.'

(e) kii-roowê-ne_n-ai
    1+2-mid-Col 3S_A-Co
    '(S/he) is in the middle of us.'

As for _rawê 'in the middle part of', 'in the half of', 'halfway through', it is
apparently derived from ra 'middle part; front of the body'. For instance, (38a) was said
of a stone that was lying close to a stick and approximately equidistant from its two
extremities; (38b), of someone who was sitting close to the center of the canoe. For (38b), (__)roowë would have been possible; but not for (38a). The difference seems to be that (__)rawë is essentially unidimensional (i.e. it applies to the middle part or center of things that are comparable to straight lines), while (__)roowë is bi- or tridimensional. Notice the difference between (37e) above, in which (__)roowë suggests a spatial distribution of people, with (38d) below, in which (__)rawë suggests a line of people; cf. also the metaphorical use of the directional (__)rawëna(ka/kii) in (38e) (since a story can be compared to a straight line). A hki-directional did not occur in the corpus, but it would not be surprising if it existed.

(38a) tēpu_n-ai wewe_rawë
stone 3SA-Cop stick_Hlf
'The stone is in the middle of the stick.'

(b) kanawa_rawë_n-ai
kanoe_hlf 3SA-Cop
'(S/he) is in the middle of the canoe.'

(c) kanawa i-rawënakīi wi-tē-e
canoe 3-to.hlf 1SA-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am going to the middle of the canoe.'

(d) ki-rawë-nee_n-ai
1+2-hlf-Col 3SA-Cop
'S/he is in the middle of our line.'

d) tahken i-rawëna_reken w-arē-n
maybe 3-to.hlf Only 1A-take:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Maybe I'll tell only half of it (=this story).' (Lit. 'Maybe I'll take it only to the middle.')

7.3.1.2.2. The -o/-na(ka/kii) group. These postpositions are characterized by the locative -o and the directional -na(ka/kii) (but not -hki) endings. The reducing syllables ka and kii are very irregular, and sometimes occur even in the absence of a conditioning environment (a following C(CV)-initial suffix or clitic; cf. 2.5.1 on rhythmic stress).
Many of these postpositions are clearly derived from nouns, like etao ‘at the margin of’ (from eta ‘margin, bank’), enjao ‘in the hands of’ (from enja ‘hand’), enpatao ‘in front of’ (from enpata ‘face’), (h)pitīnao ‘in the back of’ (from (h)pitīki ‘anus’), apēo ‘beside’ (from apē ‘arm’), and enaο ‘holding (close to chest); lying together with’ (apparently from eena ‘neck; throat’, but without the long vowel); their meaning is clearly related to their source. All such postpositions found in the available corpus are in Table 7.6 above; this list, however, is probably not exhaustive. Note that apēo, which contains the only example of the /ēo/ diphthong in the available corpus, was controversial: an older speaker used it, but a younger speaker from the same village did not accept it.

(39a) ji-pakoro_n-ai tuna etao
1-house_3S-A-Cop river at.bank
‘My house is by the river.’

(b) j-enjao_n-ai tēpu-pisi
1-in.hand_3S-A-Cop stone-Dim
‘I have the little stone in my hands.’

(c) j-enpatao_n-ai mēe
1-in.front_3S-A-Cop_3AnPx
‘S/he is in front of me.’

(d) i-pitīna wī-te-e
1-in.back 1S-A-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘I am going to the back (of the canoe).’

(e) kanawa (i-)pitīnao_n-ai
canoe 3-in.back_3S-A-Cop
‘S/he is in the back of the canoe.’

(f) j-apēo_n-ai mēe
1-beside_3S-A-Cop_3AnPx
‘S/he is beside me.’

(g) j-enao_n-ai ji-joto
1-lying.with_3S-A-Cop 1-bride/lover
‘My bride/lover is lying together with me (in the same hammock).’

(i) j-enao_n-ai ji-nmuku
1-holding_3S-A-Cop 1-son
‘I am holding my son (e.g. nursing).’

---
14 In the case of the ‘lying together (in the hammock)’ meaning of enaο, the semantic connection with eena ‘neck; throat’ seems to be that the usual position for couples to lie together in a hammock has the woman in the man’s arms, with her face close to his chin-neck-chest area.
No synchronic sources were found for ekatao ‘beside, next to, near’, renao ‘by; near’, antūnao ‘deep in’, anmao ‘under (completely)’, notonnao ‘behind’, and (_)npo ‘on the back of’. The semantic difference between apēō (39f above, 40b below), ekatao ‘beside, next to, near’ (40a, c), renao ‘by; near’ (40b), and further wenje, ranme (cf. next section) is not clear and needs further investigation. The same is true for notonnao ‘behind’ (40e) and (_)nkae ‘behind’ (cf. next section, (45a)). Anmao (40f-g) is glossed as ‘under’, like epinē (cf. next section, (46b)); the difference between them, as the examples show, is that anmao implies a situation in which the object being placed (the Figure) is no longer visible: it is completely covered by the Ground (cf. (40g); if the stone were still visible, the speaker would say tuna_hkao). Antūnao ‘deep in’ implies depth (40h); it can be used metaphorically to mean ‘difficult to understand’ (40i). Prototypically, _npo ‘on the back of’ describes the carrying of game on one’s shoulder, or of a traditional basket (called kataari) which is carried on one’s back and supported by a woven band that goes around the carrier’s head (40j).

(40a)  j-ekatao_n-aï_mêe
1-beside_3S_A-Cop_3AnPx
'S/he is beside me.'

(b)  mahto apēō  s-etahpaka-e
fire  beside 1S_A-sit:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I sit down close to / by the fire.'

(c)  mahto ekatao  s-etahpaka-e
fire  beside 1S_A-sit:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I sit down close to / by the fire.'

(d)  mahto_renao  s-etahpaka-e
fire_beside 1S_A-sit:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I sat close to / by the fire.'

(e)  wewe notonnao_n-aï
tree  behind_3S_A-Cop
'S/he/it is behind the tree.'

(f)  panpira anmao_n-aï  tēpu-pisi
paper  under_3S_A-Cop  stone-Dim
'The little stone is under the paper.'
(g) tēpuₙ-ai tuna anmao
stone₃Sₐ-Cop water under
'The stone is under water.'
(I cannot see it anymore).

(h) tuna antiinaoₙ-ai tēpu
water deep.in₃Sₐ-Cop stone
'The stone is deep in the water.'

(i) antiinao wija
3:deep.in 1:Dat
'(It/This) is difficult to me.'

(j) ji-npo kī-ri-ta-e
1-on.back 12AO-put-Fut-Cty
'I will put you on my back.'

Two postpositions ending in the perative element -e occurred in this group: etae
'by / along the bank / margin of', and enpatae 'along (the face of)'. They are obviously
derived from eta 'bank, margin' and enpata 'face'. Etae is a true perative, and describes
motion along e.g. a river bank (41a), and presumably also along other objects that have
edges or rims; unlike _tae, it cannot be used if the speaker is in a canoe. Enpatae, on the
other hand, is a locative; its few attestations were descriptions of the position of a certain
house (41b), which was located on a hill slope. This may be interpreted as a metaphor
based on seeing the slope as the 'face' of the hill, which agrees with the use of (_)rehtē,
from retī 'horns, antlers, top of the head' (cf. next section), for a house located on the top
of the hill.

(41a) tuna etae wi-tē-e
river by.bank 1₃A-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am going by/along the river bank.'

(b) pi enpatae_n-ai
hill on.slope₃Sₐ-Cop
'(It) is on the slope of the hill.'

7.3.1.2.3. Minor groups. The postpositions _pohē 'at the beak/tip of; ahead of; almost'
and _rehtē 'on the top of; on the head of' appear to be derived from potī 'beak; lips' and
retī 'horns; antlers; top of the head' with the help of a suffixal formative element -tē of
unknown origin. _Rehtē means, as its source might have indicated, 'on top of' something round, head-like. (42a) describes a stone that is on top of an upside-down hemispheric gourd; (42b) refers to a house which is on the top of a hill (cf. the previous section, 41b, for a comparison with enpatae 'on the slope of'). When used with a person-marking prefix, _rehtē refers to the head of the person in question (42c). The expression in (42d), literally 'it's on top of it', means 'it's noon'; presumably, it refers to the sun being 'on top of the sky' (which can be seen as a head, or an upside-down gourd). (42e) has a directional example.

(42a) tēpu-pisi_n-ai kariwa_rehtē
stone-Dim_3SA-Cop gourd_on.top
'The stone is on top of the gourd.'

(42b) pīu_rehtē_n-ai
hill_on.top_3SA-Cop
'(It) is on the top of the hill.'

(42c) ji-rehtē_n-ai tonoro
1-on.top_3SA-Cop bird
'The bird is on top of my head.'

(42d) i-rehtē_n-ai
3-on.top_3SA-Cop
'It's noon. (Lit. it's on top of it)'

(42e) ji-rehtēnakiī n-anota
1-on.top 3SO-fall:Prf Prf
'S/he/it fell on top of my head.'

The basic meaning of _pohtē is 'ahead of', or 'in the front part of'. For instance, (43a) places an object (the Figure) either in the front part of a canoe (e.g. a passenger sitting in the prow), or ahead of it (e.g. a fish in the river, right in front of the canoe). Notice that, since a canoe has an obvious front-back asymmetry, _pohtē cannot refer to a Figure placed in its back (in which case, _hpitinao would be used); but, in the case of an object without such an asymmetry, _pohtē can refer to a Figure placed at either
extremity (e.g. (43b) may refer to a stone placed close to either extremity of the stick).

Metaphorically, _pochtē can be used with nominalizations to indicate an event that is about to happen (43c). (43d) contains an example of the directional _pochtēna(ka/kū), and (43e) of its apparent synonym pohkīi.

(43a) kanawa i-pochtē n-ai  
    canoe 3-ahead.of_3SΛ-Cop  
    'It is ahead of / in the prow of the canoe.'

(b) tēpu n-ai wewe pohtē  
    stone_3SΛ-Cop stickAhead.of  
    'The stone is in front of the stick.'

(c) tī-tunta-toh pochtē n-ai  
    3R-arrive-C:NzrAhead.of_3SΛ-Cop  
    'S/he is about to arrive, close to arriving.'

(d) i-pochtēna wī-tēn  
    3-to.the.front.of 1SΛ-go:Prs.Prf  
    'I went to the front of the canoe.'

(e) ji-pawana pohkīi wī-tē-e  
    1-friend_to.the.front.of 1SΛ-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty  
    'I am going to stalk / follow my friend.'

The postposition amohtē means ‘upstream from’. The directional equivalent that occurred in the corpus was amokīi, though the occurrence of amohtēna would not be surprising.\(^\text{15}\)

(44a) i-pata n-ai ē-pata amohtē  
    3-village_3SΛ-Cop 2-village upstream  
    'His village is upstream from yours.'

(b) amokīi kī-tē-e  
    3:upstream 1+2-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty  
    'We are going upstream (of it).'

The postposition (_nkae is a locative postposition, meaning ‘behind’, apparently derived from (mī)ka ‘back’. The final vowel -e would suggest a perlative meaning; but, if there is or ever was such a meaning, its connection with the current meaning seems even

\(^{15}\) A word for ‘downstream’, aarena, occurred once; it is probably a postposition (a directional, judging by its form, ending in -na), but this has not been checked yet.
vaguer than was the case for awēe and enpatae. The consulted speakers could not see any meaning difference between (__)nkae and notonnao (cf. (40e) above), both of which were acceptable in (45a-b); this question needs further research. (45c) illustrates the corresponding directional (__)nkaena(ka/kii).

(45a) ē-pakoro i-nkae
2-house 3-behind
‘Behind your house.’

(b) wewe i-nkae
tree 3-behind
‘Behind the tree.’

(c) mēe n-ee-ja-n ji-nkaenakii
3AnPx 3SA-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 1-to.behind
‘S/he is coming behind me.’ (Lit. to[ward] behind me)

The postpositions epoe ‘above, over’ and epinē ‘under, below’ are semantic opposites. Epoe implies lack of contact between the Figure and the Ground (46a). Its final vowel -e suggests the perlative element; however, like (__)nkae, the connection between ‘above’ and ‘perlative’ is hard to see. It is not clear that epoe is a derived postposition — in any case, no obvious source seems to exist. The same is true of epinē, which does not even end in any of the known formative elements. Both postpositions are included in this list, however, because of their directional form in -na(ka/kii). Epinē can be semantically distinguished from anmao in that it does not imply that the Figure is necessarily totally covered by the Ground ((46b); cf. anmao in the previous section, (46f)). (46c-d) illustrate the directional forms.

(46a) wewe-pisi n-ai tēpu epoe
stick-Dim_3SA-Cop stone over
‘The stick is over/above the stone.’

(b) tēpu n-ai wewe-pisi epinē
stone_3SA-Cop stick-Dim under
‘The stone is under/below the stick.’
7.3.2. Relational postpositions. The main characteristic of these postpositions is the absence of a directional form in -na(ka/kū) or -hkii. Semantically, they usually mark relations that are not clearly spatial (though (__)ranme and (__)wenje seem to be quite close in meaning to ekatao ‘beside’), and do not involve experiencers such as the ones in 7.3.3. They are listed in Table 7.7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Postposition</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Postposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>comitative (‘with’)</td>
<td>akēērē</td>
<td>next</td>
<td>pēkehērē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comparative (‘like’)</td>
<td>(j)apo</td>
<td>close, beside; having</td>
<td>(__)wenje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totalitative (‘all’; ‘each’)</td>
<td>wararē</td>
<td>close, beside</td>
<td>(__)ranme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>characteristic (‘having’)</td>
<td>hpije</td>
<td>in parallel</td>
<td>(__)rato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>before, first</td>
<td>(__)w apo</td>
<td>in alignment</td>
<td>(__)pato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>after, last</td>
<td>(__)wenae</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The comitative postposition is akēērē ‘(together) with’. The nominal scope particle _marē ‘together; too’ is often synonymous (cf. _marē in 9.1.4 for a comparison).

(47a) ē-pawana akēērē ē-urakanun-ja-e  (b) wī-h-ta-e a-akēērē
2-friend Comt 2So-stroll-Prs.Ipf-Cty 1S̱-go-Fut-Cty 2-Comt
‘You are going for a walk with your friend.’ ‘I will go with you.’

(c) pahko akēērē wī menjaarē
1:father Comt 1Pr now
‘I am with my father now.’
The comparative postposition (j)apo ‘like’ (which, as was mentioned in 7.1.1 above, is j-adding) means ‘like’, ‘similar to’, ‘in the manner of’. Combination of (j)apo and inanimate demonstratives to indicate manner (irē apo ‘like that’, serē apo ‘like this’; cf. 9.1.4) are very frequent in narrative texts. An interesting comparison can be made between the meanings of (j)apo, the postposition _me ‘Attributive’ (which implies a true identification between two terms), and the particle ahke(ne) ‘as if’ (which indicates such an identification would be a mistake); cf. 7.3.4.3. on _me, 9.1.4 on ahke(ne).

(48a) kīja_n-ai taparara apo  (b) kaikui apo n-ee-ja-n
cricket_3SA-Cop grasshopper Like  jaguar Like 3SA-Cop-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘The kīja cricket is like a grasshopper.’  ‘S/he becomes like a jaguar.’

(c) wapo w-ei-ne pēera, ponjeko apo
before 1SA-Cop-Pst.Prf stupid peccary.sp like
‘I used to be stupid, like a white-lipped peccary.’

(d) serē apo kīn-ka Taru, “ji-nmuku m-ene-ne?”
3InAna Like 3:Pst.Prf-say Taru, 1-son 2A-see-Pst.Prf
Taru spoke like this, ‘Have you seen my son?’

The postposition wararē ‘totalitative/distributive’ indicates that the totality of the referent of its object is involved. If, in a certain context, the object can have multiple referents, wararē indicates that all of them are involved, each individually (49a, c-d); if only one referent is possible, then it is wholly involved, in all of its parts (49b). Wararē is probably related to the adverb ameraarē ‘all, everyone, everything’, which is often used as a synonym. Notice that, while in (49a-b) wararē has only its ‘totalitative’
meaning, in (49c) it also indicates direction (‘to every village’), without an additional postposition (like e.g. _pona); in (49e), it has the dative meaning usually expressed with the postposition _ja (cf. 7.3.4.1).

(49a) **kí-wararē-ne kít-a-ti ééseenē**
1+2-Distr-Col 1+2-Cop-Col ill
'We are ill, every one of us.'

(b) **ji-pun wararē**
1-body Total
'My whole body.'

(c) **pata wararē wi-tēn**
village Distr 1SA-go:Prs.Prf
'I have gone to every village.'

(d) **wei wararē s-epi-ja-e**
day Total 1SA-bathe-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I bathe every day.'

(e) **ē-wararē-ne w-ekarama-e ankai**
2-Total-Col 1A-give:Prs.Ipf-Cty comb
'I am giving combs to all/each of you.'

The postposition _hpije ‘characterizative’ indicates that its object characterizes the present state of the subject (usually of a copular sentence). Its meaning range includes ‘being covered with’ (50a-b), ‘being infested with’ (50c), ‘having (a lot)’ (50d), ‘characterized by’ (50e). These uses, especially the latter, are not far from that of adverbializers like t- _ke ‘having’ (the difference apparently being that t- _ke has a more specific, individuated object: ‘having a house’ rather than ‘having houses’; cf. examples in 6.2.1.1.1). However, since a third-person form occurred in the corpus (50f), _hpije is analyzed here as a postposition rather than as an adverbializing suffix.

(50a) **watē_hpije_n-ai apēi**
excrements_Char_3SA-Cop seat
'The seat is all dirty with excrement.'

(b) **munu_hpije_n-ai**
blood_Char_3SA-Cop
'(It) is all smeared with blood.'
The postpositions _wapo_ ‘before, first’ and _wenae_ ‘after, last’ mark, respectively, anteriority and posteriority, both in space and in time (51a-b). They have non-conjugated adverbial forms _wapo_ ‘before’, ‘first’, nominalizable as _wapo-no_ ‘the first one’, and _wenae_ ‘afterward’, ‘last’, nominalizable as _wenae-no_ ‘the last one’; these forms are similar to the objectless form of the experiencer postpositions (51e-f; cf. next section). _Wenae_ is probably related to _wena_, a nominal stem found only in its past-possessed form, e.g. _i-wena-hpē_ ‘his/her footprints’, ‘his/her trail’.

(51a) **ji-wapo n-ee-ja-n**
1-before 3SA-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘He came before / ahead of me.’

(b) **irē i-wenae, nī-tēn-pa**
3InAna 3-after, 3SA-go:Prs.Prf_Rpt
‘After this, s/he went away.’

(c) **wapo_pitē n-ē-ehpoka**
before_a.little 3SA-Detr-shave:Prs.Prf
‘First he shaved.’

(d) **aano wi-ponoo-ja-e wapo ?**
which 1A-tell-Prs.Ipf-Cty before
‘Which (story) do I tell first?’

(e) **mēe_n-ai wapo-no, mēe_n-ai wena-no**
3AnPx_3SA-Cop before-Nzr 3AnPx_3SA-Cop after-Nzr
‘This one is the first; this one is the last (of my brothers and sisters).’
(i.e. the oldest and the youngest, respectively)

The postposition _pēkērē_ ‘next, following’ indicates the following element in a sequence. For instance, the oldest of a group of brothers and sisters could be described as
wapo-no 'the first one'; the following ones could be called i-pêkkeêrê-no, up to the one before the last; the last one would be called wenaê-no (cf. (52e) above). If a sequence has only two elements, .mas wapo and .mas wenaê are used; pêkkeêrê apparently presupposes longer sequences.

(52a)  ji-pêkkeêrê_n-ai  (b)  ë-pêkkeêrê-ë-ne_w-a-e
      1S$_A$-next_3S$_A$-Cop           2-next-Col_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty
      ‘S/he comes after me (in the sequence)’  ‘I come after all of you.’

The postpositions .mas wenaê and .mas ranme are semantically close (and also close to ekatao, .mas renao, and apêo); further research is necessary to clarify their differences (53a, c). Like _htao, .mas wenaê can be used to predicate possession (53b, d); in fact, this is one of its most frequent uses. The final syllable -nje is reminiscent of the adverbs senje ‘this side of’, mênje ‘that side of, beyond’ (cf. 6.1.1.5), to which .mas wenaê is probably related. .mas Ranme may also be related to .mas rato (cf. below).

(53a)  ji-htai_n-ai  piiwa wenaê / ekatao / apêo  (b)  mahto ë-wenaê ?
      1-shoes_3S$_A$-Cop broom close  fire  2-close
      ‘My shoes are close to the broom.’  ‘Do you have matches?’

(53b)  ë-ranmee-ne_w-a-e,  ë-ekatao-ne_w-a-e  (d)  panpira_n-ai  ji-wenje
      1-close-Col_1S$_A$-Cop-Cty 1-close-Col_2S$_A$-Cop-Cty
      ‘I am beside / close to all of you.’

The postposition .mas rato means ‘in parallel’; it can be used to describe e.g. hammocks (54a-b), but also other ‘line-like’ objects (54c).

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16 For one speaker, .mas wenaê represented a more ‘diffuse’ closeness, similar to English ‘in the area that surrounds X’, ‘more or less at X’, etc.
(54a) ē-ehkee_n-ai ji-rato
2-hammock_3S_A-Cop 1-parallel
‘Your hammock is beside (parallel to) me.’

(b) kī-ratoo-ne_n-ai_mēe
1+2-parallel-Col_3S_A-Cop_3AnPx
‘His hammock is parallel to ours.’

(c) wewe-pisi_n-ai saran i-rato
stick-Dim_3S_A-Cop hose 3-parallel
‘The little stick is/lies parallel to the hose.’

The postposition (_-)pato means ‘in alignment with’, ‘in the direction of’. For instance, (55a) was said to someone who was in the speaker’s way as he tried to shoot a white-lipped peccary. With the third-person reflexive prefix tī-, it can mean ‘straight’, ‘correct’ (i.e. ‘in alignment with itself’; (55b)).

(55a) ji-pato_ta eh-kē!
1-align_Neg Cop-Imper
‘Get out of my way!’
(Lit. ‘Don’t be in alignment with me!’)

(b) tī-pato_ro i-jomi
3R-align_Ext 3-language
‘S/he speaks well.’
(Lit. ‘His/her language is in alignment with itself.’)

7.3.3. Experiencer postpositions. A somewhat surprising feature of Tiriýó is the existence of a set of postpositions that have an ‘experiencer’-like argument. Notions such as ‘knowing’, ‘not knowing’, ‘liking’, ‘wanting’, ‘hating’, ‘being superior to’, etc. are expressed by postpositions, usually in conjunction with the copula. Table 7.8 lists all the experiencer postpositions found thus far.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Postposition</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Postposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Desiderative (‘want’)</td>
<td>_se</td>
<td>Irascitive (‘angry, wild’)</td>
<td>eire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognoscitive (‘know’)</td>
<td>(_)-waarē</td>
<td>Odiative (‘hate’)</td>
<td>aame(ke)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ignorative (‘not know’)</td>
<td>(_)-wame(ke)</td>
<td>Appreciative (‘like’)</td>
<td>ewaaje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protective (‘pity, jealousy’)</td>
<td>(_)-piinē</td>
<td>Difficultive (‘difficult’)</td>
<td>enkume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprehensive (‘afraid’)</td>
<td>(_)-no</td>
<td>Fidelitive (‘being loyal’)</td>
<td>epona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superioritive (‘more’)</td>
<td>(_)-wae</td>
<td>Satisfactive (‘enough’)</td>
<td>epo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
An interesting characteristic of most of these postpositions (except for _se, _no, _wae and, possibly, _po) is the existence of an ‘objectless’ form—the back grade, if the postposition is vowel-initial (e.g. ēwaje, ēire, aame(ke)) or a prefixless form, if it is consonant-initial (e.g. ēnē, waarē)—with the properties of an adverb. It is used to predicate a generic quality (e.g. ēwaje ‘who likes everybody, easy to please’, ēire ‘wild, who easily becomes angry’, etc.). Two of the relational postpositions described in the previous section—(_wapo ‘before; first’ and _wenae ‘after; last’—also have objectless adverbial forms. Another characteristic of experiencer postpositions is that almost all of them take the _to nominalizer (except _po, _pona which take -(no); no data are available on enkume and _wae). For _waarē and _wame(ke), some speakers accepted both waarē-to, wameka-to and waarē-n, wameka-n; however, even for them, the _to-forms were better.

The desiderative postposition _se is used to express the ideas of ‘wanting, desiring, needing’. For instance, (56d) can be used to express sexual impulses (‘I desire you’), or a general need to see the person (‘I want (to talk) to you’, ‘I need you (e.g. to help me)’).

The postposition _se has several formal irregularities (cf. 7.1.1).

(56a) pakoro _se_w-a-e

  house_Desid_1S-A-Cop-Cty

  ‘I want/need a house.’

(b) ē-ene _se_n-ai

  2-see:Nzr_Desid_3S-A-Cop

  ‘S/he wants to see you.’

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17 An interesting phonological fact about _se is that the last syllable of the preceding word invariably becomes stressed, but without length: (56a) is pronounced [pa.ko.tg.se.væ], not [pa.ko.tg.se.væ] (cf. 2.5.1 for the iambic stress system). One possible explanation would be to assume that _se is actually _hse (cf. 2.4.2.2 for the instability of /hs/ clusters); this would agree with the fact that the reciprocal form of _se, ēēse ‘wanting each other’, is consistently given as having an /ēhse/ by those speakers who had /hs/ clusters. There is no apparent reason for this /h/; comparative evidence has thus far failed to show any evidence of there having ever been an extra syllable which might have reduced to /h/ in this position. One possibility is that this behavior may have been an indirect consequence of intervocalic /s/ loss (cf. Meira 1998:31ff): since word-internal /s/ was preserved only if the preceding syllable had reduced (presumably by becoming /h/), /s/ and a preceding /h/ would have ‘blended’; and this blend would then have been extended analogically to cases such as the postposition _se. This hypothesis needs further research.
The cognoscitive and ignorative postpositions (__)waarë and (__)wame(ke) express the ideas of ‘knowing’ and ‘not knowing’. The object of these postpositions represents the ‘knower’ (or ‘not-knower’, ‘ignorer’). The objectless adverbs waarë ‘understandable, clear’ (57e) and wame(ke) (57f) ‘difficult to understand’ (synonymous with antiinao [cf. 7.3.1.2.2.] and ėnkume [cf. below]). The reciprocal forms ėiwaarë and ėiwame(ke) can also mean ‘intelligent, smart’ and ‘stupid’, respectively (57g-h; cf. 7.1.3 for the reciprocal usage). The adverb tiwaarë ‘careful; worried; jealous’, which looks like the reflexive (‘3R’) form of waarë (cf. 7.1.1 above), is quite different in meaning (57i-j); it is probably best analyzed as an independent t-adverb (cf. 6.2.1.1).

(57a)  īrē    ki-waarë-ñe menjaarë  
3InAna  1+2-Cogn-Col  now
‘Now we all know that.’

(b)  īrē_n-ai    ki-wamekee-ñe  
3InAna_3SA-Cop  1+2-Ignor-Col
‘That we do not know.’

(c)  ji-waarë man-a-e  
1-Cogn  2SA-Cop-Cty
‘I know you.’

(d)  ji-wame karaiwa  ī-jomi  
1-Ignor  Brazilian 3-language
‘I do not know Portuguese.’

(e)  waarë_n-ai  serē  
Cogn_3SA-Cop  3InPx
‘This is clear / understandable.’

(f)  wamee_n-ai  serē  
Ignor_3SA-Cop  3InPx
‘This is hard to understand.’

(g)  ėiwaarë_mée  
smart_3AnPx
‘S/he is smart.’

(h)  ėiwame_w-a-e  
stupid 1SA-Cop-Cty
‘I am stupid!’

(i)  tiwaarë t-ee-se  Taru  
worried N.Pst-Cop-N.Pst  Taru
‘Taru became worried.’

(j)  tiwaarë eh-kë!  
careful Cop-Imper
‘Be careful!’
The protective postposition (_püne) expresses the idea of ‘pitying’, ‘trying to protect’, ‘caring about’ or ‘feeling jealous about’ its object. The objectless adverb püne means ‘protective’, ‘who defends’.

(58a) ji-pawana (i-)püne_w-a-e  (b) ki-püñee-ne_n-ai  kan
1-friend  (3-)Prot_3S_A-Cop-Cty  1+2-Prot-Col_3S_A-Cop  god
‘I pity / try to protect my friend.’  ‘God pities / protects us.’

(c) pahko_n-ai  püne
1:father_3S_A-Cop protective
‘My father is protective.’ (=He does not let people attack/mock others)

The apprehensive postposition (_no) expresses the idea of fear with respect to its object. A synonym is the expression nari_ke, which occurs in a different construction, with the source of fear marked by the postposition _p(e)(kē) (cf. 59a, c)

(59a) ëkëi  i-no_w-a-e
snake 3-Apprh_3S_A-Cop-Cty
‘I am afraid of snakes.’

(b) ki-noo-ne_mée
1+2-Apprh-Col_3AnPx
‘S/he is afraid of us all.’

(c) ëkëi_pë  nari_ke_w-a-e
snake_Ad  fear_Instr_1S_A-Cop-Cty
‘I am afraid of snakes.’

The superioritive postposition (_wae) expresses the idea of ‘more than’, ‘bigger than’, ‘stronger than’ (60a-c). It can be used to form comparatives if it co-occurs with a ‘property word’ (adverb or noun in apposition; cf. (60d)). The third-person form iwae can be used as an adverb meaning ‘a lot’ (60e).18

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18 There seemed to be variation among speakers as to whether or not (_wae should lengthen the prefix-final vowel: jii-wae – ji-wae, etc.
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(60a) ji-wae_man-a-e
1-Super_2SA-Cop-Cty
‘You are bigger/stronger than I.’

(b) ē-wae_w-a-e
2-Super_1SA-Cop-Cty
‘I am bigger/stronger than you.’

c) pai i-wae t-ee-se wīraapa
tapir 3-Super N.Pst-Cop-N.Pst bow
‘The bow was stronger than the tapir.’

(d) kawē-no mēe, ji-wae
tall-Nzr 3AnPx 1-Super
‘S/he is taller than I.’

e) i-wae pahko ti-wē-eresaraama-e
3-Super 1:father N.Pst-SA-Detr-gladden-N.Pst
‘My father became happier than s/he.’ / ‘My father became really happy.’

The irascitive postposition eire expresses the idea of ‘angry at’, ‘wild at’ its object. The objectless adverb ēire means ‘wild’, ‘non-civilized’. Note that the second-person form ēire ‘angry at you’ (homophonous with the objectless form) results from the simplification of VVV sequences (ē- ‘2’ + eire > ēire, not *ēeire; cf. 2.6.4)

(61a) j-eire_n-aï
1-Irasc_3SA-Cop
‘S/he is angry at me.’

(b) eiree-ne_w-a-e
3:Irasc-Col_1SA-Cop-Cty
‘I am angry at them all.’

(c) mēesan_n-aî ēire
3AnPxCol_3SA-Cop wild
‘They are wild, non-civilized.’

The odiative postposition aame(ke) apparently expresses a strong dislike toward its object. The objectless adverb aame(ke) can also be used to mean ‘angry, wild’ (though less often than ēire; a speaker from Missão Tiriós considered (62c) to be ‘old people’s language’).

(62a) j-aame_n-aï
1-Odi_3SA-Cop
‘S/he hates me / is very angry at me.’

(b) k-aameke-ee_n-aî
1+2-Odi-Col_3SA-Cop
‘S/he hates / is very angry at us all.’
(c) aamee_wi
wild_1Pr
'I am wild / angry / ferocious.'

The appreciative postposition ewaaje indicates positive feelings toward its object: the subject is ‘glad’, ‘happy with/about’ it. The objectless adverb ewaaje means ‘who is a good person’, ‘who treats others well’, ‘who has a nice attitude’; waaje also occurs.

(63a) ë-ewaaje_w-a-e kutuma
2-Apprec_1SA-Cop-Cty a.lot
'I am very happy with you.'

(b) j-entu_n-ai j-ewaaje
1-boss_3SA-Cop 1-Apprcc
'My boss likes / is happy with me.'

(c) ji-nmuku ëwaaje
1-son nice
'My son is a nice person,
he likes everybody.'

(d) ji-nmuku waaje
1-son nice
'My son is a nice person,
he likes everybody.'

The difficultative postposition enkume indicates that its object finds something difficult to understand (notice that it is not used to say that something is difficult to do; this meaning is expressed with the adverb amíma(ka) ‘heavy; difficult’). The objectless form ënkume means ‘difficult to understand (to anyone)’; speakers considered it synonymous with antúnao, and with the objectless form wame(ke). The form kuume ‘difficult to understand’ also occurs.

(64a) j-enkume_n-ai
1-Diff_3SA-Cop
'This is difficult for me to understand.'

(b) ënkume_n-ai ë-jomi
difficult_3SA-Cop 2-language
'Your language is difficult.'

(c) kuume_n-ai ë-jomi
difficult_3SA-Cop 2-language
'Your language is difficult.'
The fidelitive postposition epona ‘being loyal to, believing in’ expresses belief or trust in its object. If the object is an event, epona expresses the belief that it will happen (65c). The objectless adverb épōna means ‘who believes in everything; credulous; who helps everybody’ (65d).

(65a) kan epōna kīt-a-ti  
god Fidel 1+2-Cop-Col  
‘We all trust/believe in God.’

(65b) j-epōna man-a-e  
1-Fidel 2SA-Cop-Cty  
‘You trust/believe in me.’

(65c) ii-tēē-to epona ta kokonje i-w-ēi_ke  
3-go:C:Nzr Fidel_Neg evening 3-SA-Cop.Inst  
‘His going was not possible because it was getting dark.’  
(I.e. it was not a favorable moment for his going)

(65d) épōna w-a-e  
credulous 1SA-Cop-Cty  
‘I am credulous; I believe in anything; I help everybody.’

Epona apparently comes from the conjugated form of the directional postposition _pona (cf. 7.3.1.1.2); in fact, a form like j-epōna is still ambiguous between ‘toward me’ and ‘trusting/believing in me’. Given the existence of the objectless form épōna (65d), and the contrast between epona and _pona in the context of an overt nominal object (e.g. compare (65a) to pakoro_pona ‘to(ward) the house’), epona and _pona will be analyzed as independent postpositions which become homophonous when conjugated.

The satisfactory postposition epo is used to express the idea of ‘enough’, ‘sufficient’. Thus, (66a-c) can be used to say that a certain shoe fits the subject well, or that a certain pair of glasses is of the right kind to correct his/her visual handicap, or that a
certain amount of food is enough to satisfy him/her, or that a certain amount of money is sufficient payment. Attempts at finding an objectless form failed; ėpo was interpreted as the homophonic form ē-po ‘your clothes’. Apparently epo itself can be used as if it were an objectless form (meaning ‘OK, all right’), even taking a :ja-complement (66d).

(66a) j-epo_n-ai
    1-Satis_3SA-Cop
    ‘It is enough for me.’

(66b) ė-epoo-ne_n-ai
    2-Satis-Col_3SA-Cop
    ‘It is enough for all of you.’

(66c) sen_n-ai ji-pawana epo
    3InP_3SA-Cop 1-friend Satis
    ‘This is enough for my friend.’

(66d) kī-h-ta-hki koeri_me, epo ē-ja?
    1+2-go-Fut-Col stroll_Attr OK 2-Dat
    ‘We (incl.) will all go for a walk, is that OK with you?’

The apparent relationship between the fidelitative epona and the directional _pona brings to mind the possibility of a similar relationship between the satisfytive epo and the locative _po (cf. 7.3.1.1.1). In fact, the usage of (66a) to refer to a shoe or a T-shirt that fit the subject well is tantalizingly close to a locative (‘this shirt is on me’ = ‘this shirt fits me’). However, as no clear locative cases of epo have been found so far, corresponding to clear directional uses of epona such as (65b) above, this possibility remains speculative.

7.3.4. Special cases. Four special postpositions have not been covered in the preceding sections: :ja ‘Dative/Agent/Causee/Allative’, _ke ‘Instrumental’, _me ‘Attributive’, and _pe(ke) ‘Negative Attributivizer’. Their postpositional status has been discussed in 7.2; here, their semantic values are examined.
7.3.4.1. The postposition _-ja ‘Directional/Dative/Causee/Agent’. This postposition (with conjugation irregularities that were described in 7.1.1) has four main uses.

(i) Directional (allative, without implying that the target will be entered). In this sense, it is quite close to _pona; however, it is used only with animate targets (e.g. ‘to the village’ can only be pata_pona, not *pata_ja).

(67a) ire-_npë_pëe Paumira kín-tën Mirikë_ja
3InAna-Pst_Abl Paumira 3Pst.Prf-go Mirikë_Dir
‘After that Paumira went to Mirikë.’

(b) menjaarë ni-tunta kainan ūkēreu kii-jaa-ne, serē nono_pona
now 3SO-arrive:Prs.Prf new disease 1+2-Dir-Col 3InPx land_Dir
‘Now a new disease has come to us, to this land.’

(ii) Dative (indirect objects (68a-b), experiencers (68c-d), beneficiaries (68e)):

(68a) namo_ro kín-ekarama wi já wëri (b) ma, wi-ka manko_ja
3PrCol_Exxt 3Pst.Prf-give 1:Dat woman Ptc 1SA-say:Prs.Prf 1:mother_Dat
‘They gave me a woman.’ "Well," I said to my mother."

(c) tarēno_ton, pananakiri_ton, karaiwa_ton, meekoro_ton, kure wi já
Tiriyo_Col, European_Col, Brazilian_Col, Bushnegro_Col, good 1:Dat
‘I like all peoples: Tiriyós, Europeans, Brazilians, Bushnegroes...’

(d) tēinken_n-ai kī-munuu-kon ikuruma kii-jaa-ne
Only_3SA-Cop 1+2-blood:Pos-P.Col dangerous 1+2-Dat-Col
‘Only our blood is dangerous to us.’

(e) sen wī-rī ēe-ja
3InPx 1A-make:Prs.Prf 2-Dat
‘I made this for you.’
(iii) Causee (cf. 10.3.2.3 for the syntax of causative constructions):

(69a) ji-nmuku m-erahtē-po wīja (b) wi-ponoh-po ii-ja
1-son 1A-find-Caus 1:Causee 1A-tell-Caus:Prs.Prf 3-Causee
‘You made me find my son.’ ‘I have asked him (=made him tell).’

(iv) Agent, with nominalizations (70a-b; cf. 10.4.1.3), adverbial verb forms (70c; cf. 10.4.1.2), and the Narrative Past (t- -se) form of the verb (70d; cf. 5.4.3, 10.3.3):

(70a) ēkēi_ja ēeka-to apo-n (b) j-emmi ēnē-hpē_ke Taru_ja
snake_Agt bite-C:Nzr like-Nzr 1-daughter eat:N-Pst_INST Taru_Agt
‘(It is) like a snake’s bite / biting.’ ‘Because Taru had eaten my daughter.’

(c) irē eta-tuuwē nīrīi_ja (d) āmēēnē t-ēpoo-se ii-ja
3InAna hear-After cricket_Agt thorn N.Pst-find-N.Pst 3-Agt
‘After the cricket heard this,...’ ‘S/he found thorns.’

It is noticeable that all these uses have :ja occurring with a ‘sentient’ participant, capable of feeling and acting. In (a) -(c), :ja marks an ‘affected’ participant; in (d), it marks an ‘affecting’ participant (cf. 10.1.3 on semantic roles). Similar connections between ergative/agent markers and markers of affected sentient participants (datives, causees, etc.) exist in other languages (e.g. Circassian languages, in which the ‘oblique’ case has ergative and dative functions; cf. Comrie 1981:209).

7.3.4.2. The postposition _ke ‘Instrumental’. The main use of this postposition is to relate a more peripheral participant, typically an instrument, to an event (cf. 10.1.3 on semantic roles). Some cases are more prototypically instrumental (71a-b) than others
(71c-d). It can occur on nominalized verbs to mark the cause of an event (71e). It is used in certain expressions involving an experiencer (71e-f; cf. enari ‘fear’, pìi ‘shame’), which belong semantically together with the experiencer postpositions discussed in 7.3.3. These expressions can be nominalized with -to (i.e. pìi_kato ‘one who is ashamed’; nari_kato ‘one who is afraid’). Since other _ke phrases are not nominalizable (e.g. maja-_ke ‘with the knife’ cannot become *maja_kato, *maja_ka-(no)), this is probably a symptom of lexicalization.

(71a) mì-wê-e pîrêu_ke kaikui
   2A-shoot:Prs.Ipf-Cty arrow.Inst jaguar
   ‘You shoot the jaguar with an arrow.’

(b) wïïse_ke m-e-muhka-ne
    anatto.Inst 2SA-Detr-paint-Pst.Prf
   ‘You painted yourself with anatto.’

(c) kâriwa w-arîhtê-e tuna_ke
    gourd 1A-fill:Prs.Ipf-Cty water.Inst
    ‘I am filling the gourd with water.’

(d) mëe_ke ji-pïhta-ne
    3AnPx.Inst 1S0-get:wife-Pst.Prf
    ‘I married this person.’

(e) j-urakana-e, mure_me ji-w-ei_ke
    1-stroll:Prs.Ipf-Cty child_Attr 1-SA-Cop:N.Inst
    ‘I am just walking around (instead of e.g. working), because I am a child.’

(f) nari_ke_w-a-e
    fear.Inst 1SA-Cop-Cty
    ‘I am afraid.’

(g) pìi_ke_w-a-e
    shame.Inst 1SA-Cop-Cty
    ‘I am ashamed.’

7.3.4.3. The postposition _me ‘Attributivizer’. The basic function of this postposition can be characterized as that of allowing a noun to be used as an adverb (a function shared by _pe(ke); cf. next section). Semantically, the features that characterize the noun become ‘attributable’ to one of the participants via predication. The noun does not denote a participant anymore. Thus, if the postposition _me were deleted from (72a) and (72b),
the nouns jipī (ti) 'my wife' and karaiwa 'Brazilian' would be identified as participants, as in (72c-d).

(72a) wēri w-apēi ji-pī me
woman 1A-get:Prs.Prf 1-wife_Attr
'I married this woman.'
(Lit. 'I got this woman as my wife.')

(b) karaiwa_me w-ekanī-ja-e
Brazilian_Attr 1A-think-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I think that s/he is Brazilian.'
(Lit. 'I think him Brazilian-like').

(c) wēri w-apēi ji-pī
woman 1A-get:Prs.Prf 1-wife
'I caught this woman, my wife.'

(d) karaiwa w-ekanī-ja-e
Brazilian 1A-think-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I think the Brazilian (is.../did...);' also 'I think it is a Brazilian.'

It is interesting to compare the meaning of _me with that of the comparative postposition (j)apo 'like' (cf. 7.3.2) and that of the particle ahke(ne) 'as if' (cf. 9.1.4); they differ in the degree to which the properties of their object coincide with the properties of one of the participants.

(73a) sen_po_w-a-e enpa-ne me
3InPx_Loc_1S_A-Cop-Cty teach-A:Nzr_Attr
'I am here as a teacher.'

(b) sen_po_w-a-e enpa-ne apo
3InPx_Loc_1S_A-Cop-Cty teach-A:Nzr Like
'I am here, like a teacher.'

(c) sen_po_w-a-e enpa-ne ahken
3InPx_Loc_1S_A-Cop-Cty teach-A:Nzr as.if
'I am here, as if I were a teacher.'

In (73a), _me indicates that I really am a teacher; this is my job, and that is the reason why I am here. In (73b), (j)apo indicates that I am behaving like a teacher, without
necessarily implying that I am one. In (73c), ahke(ne) indicates that, although I may look like a teacher, I am not one (e.g. I may be standing in front of a classroom full of students, as if I were a teacher). In other words, _me implies that all the essential properties of its objects are ‘attributable’ to me, (j)apo implies that some of the properties are lacking, but not necessarily any of the essential ones, while ahke(ne) implies that the essential properties are lacking, although the superficial ones may be present.

With nominalized verbs, _me can indicate ‘feasibility’ (non-possessed Ø-nominalizations (‘specific infinitive’): (74a-b); cf. 4.2.2.1.4), or purpose (-to(po) ‘Circumstantial’ nominalizations, (74c-d); cf. 4.2.2.1.5, or n- ‘actual O’ nominalizations, 73e; cf.4.2.2.1.2).

(74a)  
serē n-ai ēne _me  
3InPx_3SA-Cop see:N_Attr
'This is visible.'

(b)  
pakira _n-ai ēnē _me  
peccary_3SA-Cop eat:N_Attr
'Peccary is edible.'

(c)  
kaikui n-ee-ja-n  
a-apēh-too _me  
jaguar 3SA-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 2-catch-C:Nzr_Attr
'A jaguar comes to catch you.' (Lit. ‘as something/someone for catching you’)

(d)  
serē pona w-ē, ē-ene-toh-kon _me  
3InPx_Dir 1SA-come:Prs.Prf 2-see-C:Nzr-P.Col_Attr
'I have come here to see you all.' (Lit. ‘as something/someone for seeing you’)

(e)  
serē w-enepī, ē-n-ene-n _me  
3InPx 1A-bring:Prs.Prf 2-O:Nzr-see-Pos_Attr
'I have brought this for you to see.' (Lit. ‘as your seen thing’)

There is a significant number of adverbs ending in -me for which a noun + _me source is very likely but not synchronically plausible, given the non-existence of a source
noun (e.g. sikime ‘black’, siririme ‘blue’, but no *siki, no *siriri; cf. 6.1.2). In some cases, there was doubt as to whether or not a source noun existed (e.g. saasaame ‘happy’, with some speakers accepting saasa as ‘happiness; happy one’, and others denying the possibility).

7.3.4.4. The postposition _pe(ke) ‘Negative Attributivizer’. Like _me, _pe(ke) also allows a noun to be used as an adverb (i.e. both are ‘denominalizers’), and both are concerned with attributing properties of their object to some other participant. The difference lies in the fact that, while _me attributes all the properties of its object, _pe(ke) does not; in fact, it implies that important properties of its object are not to be attributed (75c-d). The end result is that of attributing the status of a ‘bad’, ‘imperfect’, ‘wrong’ or ‘unsatisfactory’ member of the category in question.

(75a) ě-pawanaa pee_w-a-e
2-friend:Pos_N.Attr 1S₅-Cop-Cty
‘I am a bad friend to you.’

(b) maja_pee_n-ai
knife_N.Attr 3S₅-Cop
‘(It) is a bad, worthless knife.’

(c) pakoro_pe serë, kēpēewa mērē, pakoro_me
house_N.Attr 3InPx, but 3InMd, house_Attr
‘This one is a bad house, (you can’t live here); but that one is a (good) house.’

(d) pena kau i-pun ofi_pe, menjaarē ofi_me
long.ago cow 3-meat meat.food_N.Attr nowadays meat.food_Attr
‘At first, cow meat was not food (to us); nowadays, it is.’

Semantically, _pe(ke) comes very close to two meaning-changing nominal suffixes, -npē ‘Past’ and -rīpī ‘Pejorative’. These two suffixes were already compared in 4.2.1.1, 4.2.1.5; the examples are repeated here for clarity.
(76a) maja_pe serē
knife_N.Att 3InPx
‘This is a bad, worthless knife.’

(d) witoto_pe mēe
person_N.Att 3AnPx
‘This one is a bad, worthless person.’

(b) maja-npē serē
knife-Pst 3InPx
‘This is an old, bad, worthless knife.’

(e) witoto-npē mēe
person-Pst 3AnPx
‘This one is a dead person.’

(c) maja-ripī serē
knife-Pej 3InPx
‘This is a bad, worthless, evil knife.’

(f) witoto-ripī mēe
person-Pej 3AnPx
‘This one is a bad, evil person.’

The first noteworthy difference is that maja-npē and maja-ripī are nouns, while maja_pe is not a noun; maja-npē and maja-ripī can be subjects or objects of verbs, objects of postpositions, etc., while maja_pe cannot. Maja_pe is not an entity, but rather a set of properties based on the category maja ‘knife’.

Furthermore, the ‘Past’ suffix -npē indicates an entity that used to be a good member of the category but has lost its quality; therefore, a change is implied. Thus, a maja-npē is not a good knife anymore, but it used to be one; it is now degraded. Something which is maja_pe is not necessarily degraded; it may at some point have been a good knife, but this is not a necessary implication. This difference comes out clearly in (76d-e).

The meaning of _pe(ke) thus comes very close to that of -ripī. They only differ in that -ripī may have moral connotations (‘evil’, ‘sinful’) which _pe(ke) does not. Thus, in (76f), witoto-ripī may denote a sinner, a bandit, i.e. a person who does not follow the accepted moral code; this would not be the case for someone who is witoto_pe.
8. INTERROGATIVES

Interrogative words in Tiriyó do not really form a lexical class in the same sense that nouns, verbs or postpositions do; rather, they are a group of elements from the nominal and adverbial class that share the following properties (first introduced in 3.4.5):

(A) sentence-initial occurrence in wh- (rather, a-) questions;

(B) co-occurrence with the indefinite particle _hpe (cf. 9.1.4).

Table 8.1 lists the known interrogatives. (1) and (2) contain examples illustrating properties (A) and (B); (3) gives two sentence examples of indefinite forms (cf. 9.1.4 for further examples).

Table 8.1
Tiriyó interrogatives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Adverbial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>akī</strong> Animate: ‘who?’ (Collective akī-ja(mo))</td>
<td>Non-spatial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atī Inanimate: ‘what?’</td>
<td>eeke ‘how?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aano Definite: ‘which?’</td>
<td>eekanmao ‘when?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>atitoome ‘why?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ahtaarē ‘how many / how much?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Spatial</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aja ‘where? whither?’</td>
<td>**where at?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anje ‘whence?’</td>
<td><strong>an-po</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an+Simple Spatial Postposition:</td>
<td><strong>an-pona</strong> ‘where to?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-pēe ‘where from?’</td>
<td><strong>an-tae</strong> ‘where by?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| an-mao ‘when?’ | (...)

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(1a) akī ēmē?  
wh.An 2  
‘Who are you?’

(b) atī sen?  
wh.In 3InPx  
‘What is this?’

(c) aja mī-tē-n?  
whither 2Sₐ-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt  
‘Where are you going to?’

(d) eekanmao_pa mēn-e-ja-n?  
when_Rpt 2Sₐ-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt  
‘When are you coming back?’

(e) aano_se_man-a-n?  
which_Desid 2Sₐ-Cop-Dbt  
‘Which one do you want?’

(f) an-tae kī-tē-ti?  
wh-Perl 1+2Sₐ-go:Prs.Ipf-Col  
‘Where are we going by?’

(g) atītoome_man-a-n narī_ke?  
why 2Sₐ-Cop-Dbt fear_Inst  
‘Why are you afraid?’

(h) eekē_man-a-n, ēnjeenē_re_man-a-n?  
how 2Sₐ-Cop-Dbt hungry_Exact 2Sₐ-Cop-Dbt  
‘How are you? Are you very hungry?;’

(2a) atī_hpe  
‘whatever’, ‘I don’t know what’

(b) akī_hpe  
‘whoever’, ‘I don’t know who’

(c) aano_hpe  
‘whichever’, ‘I don’t know which’

(d) eeke_hpe  
‘however’, ‘I don’t know how’

(e) eekanmao_hpe  
‘whenever’, ‘I don’t know when’

(f) atītoome_hpe  
‘for whichever reason’, ‘I don’t know why’

(g) ahtaare_hpe  
‘some amount’, ‘I don’t know how much / how many’

(h) aja_hpe  
‘to some place’, ‘I don’t know whither’

(i) an-po_hpe  
‘at some place’, ‘I don’t know where’

(3a) mēē_n-aι   notīpē, akī_hpe, ji-wame  
3AnPx_3Sₐ-Cop old.woman wh.An Indef 1-Ignor  
‘This one is an old woman, someone, I don’t know.’

(b) eekanmao_hpe_to j-enē-ne, ji-wame  
when_Indef 3Col 1O-bring-Pst.Prf 1-Ignor  
‘They brought me here at some date, I don’t know when.’

Formally speaking, interrogatives have the interesting characteristic of beginning

with the vowel a. Much like English interrogatives are often mentioned as ‘wh-words’,

one could speak of Tiriyo interrogatives as a-words. The one exception, eeke ‘how?’ (as

well as the historically related eekanmao ‘when?’), apparently comes from an earlier
*aeke* (cf. Meira 1998a:71ff). Tiriyó seems to be the only known Cariban language in which (almost) all interrogatives start with a. Meira 1998a reconstructs ē-initial forms for the nominal interrogatives (*ēfē, ēnīkī*), and explains the initial a as the result of analogy, with aano 'which?' as the probable source. Older adverbial interrogatives were replaced by combinations of aano with simple spatial postpositions (e.g. *aano_po* 'in which one?' > an-po 'where?).

In spite of their common characteristics, interrogatives do show different (nominal or adverbial) morphological properties. For instance, the (nominal) animate interrogative akī has a collective form akī-ja(mo), exemplified in (4a) (cf. Spanih ¿quién? and ¿quiénes?), which is not true for any of the adverbial interrogatives. Conversely, the (adverbial) non-spatial interrogative eeke 'how' has a nominalized form eeka-no (4b), with the adverbial/postpositional nominalizer -no (cf. 4.2.2.2), while none of the nominal interrogatives can even be nominalized. (4c) has the nominalized form of anpēe 'where from'.

(4a) akī-ja(mo) n-eja (mo) ?
wh.An-Col 3SA-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Who all is coming?'
'Who are those who are coming?'

(4b) ee-kō-ja(mo) serē ?
how-Nzr 3InPx
'What (kind of thing) is this?'

(4c) anpēe-ja(mo) ēmē, kirī ?
wh-Abl-Nzr 2 man
'Where are you from, man?'
(Lit. you are someone from where?)

1 Unfortunately, such differences are only known to exist for akī, eeke and anpēe. Presumably, the other nominal and adverbial interrogatives pattern with either akī or eeke, but no collective forms for ațī 'what?' and aano 'which?' or nominalized forms of ațī-toome 'why?', ahtāarē 'how many/much?', anpo 'where?', etc. occur in the available corpus.
8.1. **Nominal interrogatives.** There are only three interrogatives in this category, akī ‘who? (animate)’, atī ‘what (inanimate)’, and aano ‘which?’. The first two, akī and atī, instantiate the same animacy distinction that was observed for demonstrative pronouns (cf. 4.1.2).

Akī is used to ask about any animate being, human or animal. For instance, (5a) is a possible (and quite frequent) question to ask someone who is coming back home from a hunting expedition; a Westerner who is tempted to translate the interrogative with ‘who?’ is, at first, quite bewildered. (5b) can be used to ask who someone is, but it can also be a question about an animal (e.g. if the speaker does not know what a certain animal is called). Interestingly, it is possible to use akī to ask about the animate possessor of the word eka ‘name’ (5d); this is not true for other inanimate-referent words (5e).

(5a) akī mī-wē?
wh.An 2A-shoot:Prs.Prf
‘What kind of game have you shot?’
(Lit. ‘Whom have you shot?’)

(b) akī mēe?
wh.An 3AnPx
‘Who is this one?’
Also: ‘What kind of animal is this?’

(c) akī mēe eka?
wh.An 3AnPx 3:name:Pos
‘What’s this one’s name?’

(d) akī ē-eka?
wh.An 2-name:Pos
‘What (lit. Who) is your name?’

(e) *akī serē?
wh.An 3InPx
(who is this thing?)

Atī is used to ask about inanimate entities, in a complementary way to akī. It is incompatible with an animate referent (as in (6e)).
(6a) atī m-erahtē?
wh.In 2A-find:Prs.Prf
'What did you find?'

(b) atī serē?
wh.In 3InPfx
'What is this?'

(c) atī se_man-a-n?
wh.In_Desid_2SA-Cop-Dbt
'What do you want?'

(d) atī peē man-a-n?
wh.In_Busy.with_2SA-Cop-Dbt
'What are you doing?'

(e) * atī mēe?
wh.In 3AnPfx
what is this [animate] one?

An interesting fact is the existence of two ‘hesitation’ terms, atīna and naana, used when the speaker cannot recall a word, or a name (i.e. they correspond to the English ‘what-do-you-call-it?’ and ‘what’s-his-name’). The final na in these forms looks suspiciously like the third-person present gnomic copula nai; it may be a remnant of an older form (cf. 8.1.3.2 for a similar observation concerning the particle nara).

(7a) mēe_n-ai naana...
3AnPfx_3SA-Cop who.Indef
'This is, what’s-his-name,...'

(7b) — an-po mēe?
wh-Loc 3AnPfx
'Where is this one now?'

— atīna... ooni_po... Mataware_po.
what.Indef 3InRm_Loc Matawaré_Loc
'What-do-you-call-it... in that place... in Matawaré.'

Aano ‘which’ is used to ask about both animate (8c) and inanimate (8a) entities when there is an implicit group of referents which limits the possible choices, much like its English gloss which.
8(a)  sen_se_man-a-n?  serë_se_man-a-n?
     3InPx_Desid_2S_A-Cop-Dbt  3InPx_Desid_2S_A-Cop-Dbt

     aano_se_man-a-n?
     which_Desid_2S_A-Cop-Dbt

     ‘Do you want this one? Do you want this other one? Which one do you want?’

(b)  ma, aano wi-ponoo-ja-e  waipo?
     Attn which 1A-tell-Prs.Ipf-Cty first

     sen_po  ji-w-eh-to?  ji-w-eh-topo-npë?
     3InPx_Loc 1-S_A-Cop-Circ.Nzr  1-S_A-Cop-Circ.Nzr-Pst

     ‘Which one do I tell first? (The story) of my being here? (The story) of my past?’

(c)  aano  më-wë?  pakira?  ponjeke?
     which 1A-shoot:Prs.Prf  peccary.sp  peccary.sp

     ‘Which one have you shot? A collared peccary? A white-lipped peccary?’

8.2. Adverbial interrogatives. Formally, it is easy to divide adverbial interrogatives in
two groups, one formed by words characterized by a special ‘interrogative’ prefix aand
all related to simple spatial postpositions, which may be termed ‘spatial’ or ‘a-and-
interrogatives’, and the remaining four, which may be termed ‘non-spatial interrogatives’.

8.2.1. Non-spatial interrogatives. The first one in this class, eeke ‘how?’, is used to ask
about the manner in which a certain action is performed (9b) or about the characteristics
of a certain state (9a). Notice its use with ka ‘say’ in (9c), in which the English gloss has
a nominal interrogative (‘what?’); this question was said to someone who had come from
a local clinic, where she had been examined by a nurse. The use of eëke in (9d-e) also diverges from that of the English how.

(9a) eëke t-ee-se pena?
    how Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst long.ago
    ‘How was it, long ago?’

(b) eëke m-êpani'i-ja-n?
    how 2A-avenge-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
    ‘How are you going to avenge (her)?’

(c) eëke n-kan, otono-imë?
    how 3S_A-say:Prs.Prf cold-Aug
    ‘What did s/he say, is it tuberculosis?’

(d) eëke kîni-rî mëe?
    how 3Pst.Prf-do 3AnPx
    ‘What did he do to this one?’
    (Lit. how did he do this one?)

Eekenmao ‘when?’ (10a-b) is clearly related to eëke. There are two possible etymologies for it: a nominalized form of eëke, eekano, with the temporal postposition _mao (cf. 7.3.1.1.1), i.e. *eekano_mao > eekenmao, or then eëke with the interrogative anmao (cf. next section), i.e. *eëke anmao > eekenmao. The existence of ‘blends’ between eëke and apo ‘like’ (10c-d) seems to favor the latter hypothesis. Notice that eekaapon is also used to mean ‘how’, but in a sense closer to ‘like what’, i.e. appearance or state rather than manner; it usually occurs with apo, forming a rather redundant eekaapon apo ‘like someone/something which is like what?’ = ‘how?’ (cf. 10c-e).

(10a) eekenmao ni-tunta?
    when 3S0-arrive:Prs.Prf
    ‘When has s/he arrived?’

(b) eekenmao_pa nî-të-n?
    when_Rpt 3S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
    ‘When is s/he going (=leaving)?’

(c) eekaapon apo_n-ai ji-nmuku?
    like.what like 3S_A-Cop 1-son:Pos
    ‘How is my son?’ (i.e. is he well, etc.?)

(d) eekaapon apo_n-ai meri?
    like.what like 3S_A-Cop squirrel.sp
    ‘What is Meri, the squirrel, like?’
(e) **eekaapon apo_n-ai, serë, tamo i-pata?**
like.what like_3SA-Cop 3InPx 1:grandpa 3-village:Pos
‘What is it like, Grandpa’s village?’

**Atītoome**, like its English gloss ‘why?’, is used to ask about causes and motives. It is clearly related to the nominal inanimate interrogative atī ‘what?’, and the ending toome immediately brings to mind the combination of the circumstantial nominalizer -to(po) with the postposition _me, forming the purpose construction -too_me (cf. 10.4.1.3.3).²

(11a) **atītoome irē apo mī-ka-n?**
why 3InPx like 3SA-say:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘Why are you talking like that?’

(b) **atītoome anja m-arē-nē?**
why 1+3 2A-take:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘Why are you taking us?’

(11c) **atītoome m-ēh-tīhka-n?**
why 2SA-Detr-frighten:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘Why are you afraid?’

(d) **atītoome k-akaama-nē?**
why 12AO-scold:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘Why are you scolding me?’

**Ahtaarē** is used to ask about amounts, be they countable (‘how many?’) or uncountable (‘how much’). Its ending -aarē is reminiscent of -aarē adverbs like menjaarē ‘now, today’ (cf. 6.1.1.2).

(12a) **ahtarē_n-ai ė-erepa?**
how.many_3SA-Cop 2-food:Pos
‘How many are your (kinds of) food?’
(i.e. how many different things do you eat?)

(b) **ahtarē a-amiin?**
how.much 2-weight
‘How much is your weight?’

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² A simple combination of atī and -too_me would seem quite shocking, since atī is clearly not a verb stem. One may suggest an intermediate stage in which there was a verb stem (cf. e.g. Wayana atī ka-tohme ‘why?’, in which the verb ka ‘say, do’ occurs [i.e. it is literally ‘to say/do what?’, ‘what for?’]). A development like *atī ka-too_me > atī-toome* does not look too far-fetched, although no evidence in its favor has been found so far.
8.2.2. Spatial (an-) interrogatives. Formally, the members of this group of interrogatives are characterized by the presence of an ‘interrogative prefix’ an- (probably historically related to aano ‘which’) on a postpositional stem. Two of them, aja and anje, stand out as slightly irregular. Aja still seems related to the postposition _:ja, which can be an allative; however, it does not start with an-, the word anja being, not an interrogative, but the 1+3 pronoun (‘we [excl.]’). The meaning of aja is usually directional (‘where to’, ‘whither’; cf. (13a-b)), but it can also be used as a ‘less precise’ equivalent of an-po ‘where’ (as in e.g. (13c), in which it means ‘where on earth’, ‘where could s/he have ended up’). Anje also seems to have this ‘imprecise “where”’ meaning (13d). Formally, it seems to have a final element -(n)je, reminiscent of perlicative postpositions (cf. 7.3.1.1, 7.3.1.1.3) and of -(n)je adverbs (cf. 6.1.1.5). In fact, looking at mënje ‘beyond’ and senje ‘this side of’, one suspects that anje is the corresponding interrogative (‘what side of?’, ‘in which region?’).

(13a) aja ji-nmuku kîn-tën? whither 1-son:Pos 3Pst.Prf-go ‘Where did my son go?’
(b) aja nî-rî mëe? whither 3A-do/put:Prs.Prf 3AnPx ‘Where did s/he put it?’

(c) aja ji-nmuku, aja j-emi, akî kîn-arë? whither 1-son:Pos whither 1-daughter:Pos wh.An 3Pst.Prf-take ‘Where is my son? Where is my daughter? Who took them?’

(d) anje pa nî-tën mërë wei? where_Rpt 3SA-go:Prs.Prf 3InMd sun ‘Where did that one go, the sun?’
The other spatial interrogatives are more automatically relatable to known postpositions. Presumably, all simple spatial postpositions (cf. 7.3.1.1) have a corresponding an-interrogative, but not all of them are attested in the available corpus. The attested cases are exemplified below: anpo ‘where’ (14a), anpée ‘where from’ (14b), anpona ‘where to’ (14c), antae ‘where by’ (14d), anmao ‘when’ (possible, but less frequent than eekanmao; cf. (14e)).

(14a) an-po j-enuh-topo-npē?
wh-Loc 1-be.born-Circ.Nzr-Pst
‘Where is my birth place?’

(b) an-pēe-n ēmē, kīrī?
wh-Abl-Nzr 2 man
‘Where are you from, man?’

(c) an-pona nī-tē-n?
wh-Dir 3S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘Where is s/he going?’

(d) an-tae ji-nmuku kīn-tēn?
wh-Perl 1-son:Pos 3Pst.Prf-go
‘Where did my son go by?’

(e) an-mao nī-tē-n?
wh-Tmp 3S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘When is s/he going?’
9. PARTICLES

Particle is used here as a cover term for the class of all uninflctables, i.e. words that do not take any morphology. Members of all other lexical classes can at least bear class-changing morphology; for particles, however, the only possibility (not always available) is to be ‘syntactically nominalized’ by occurring in construction with wehto(po) or kato(po), the to(po)-nominalized forms of the copula e(f) and of the $S_A$ verb ka ‘say’.

On syntactic and semantic grounds, they can be divided in various subclasses, which are listed below.

1. Grammatical particles:
   (a) Conjunctions usually occur clause-initially to relate a given sentence to others in discourse (‘then’, ‘but’, ‘likewise’, etc.; cf. 9.1.1).
   (b) Subordinators occur at the end of finite adverbial clauses, marking them as subordinate (‘when’, ‘if’, ‘because’, etc.; cf. 9.1.2).
   (c) Second-position particles, defined by their position after the first syntactic constituent, fall into three subgroups:
      (c-1) Predicational particles, which modify the meaning of the predicate by expressing notions such as ‘again’, ‘for a second’, ‘irrealis’ (cf. 9.1.3.1);
      (c-2) tahka-, hka- and -ka particles, usually expressing evidential values (cf. 9.1.3.2);
(c-3) on a group by itself, the third-person collective particle _to(o); one
might also include here the present gnomic forms of the copula e(i) (cf.
9.1.3.3).

d) **Scope particles**, which follow the constituent to which they refer (their
'scope'), forming a higher-level constituent (cf. 9.1.4; cf. 10.2.1 on noun
phrases).

2. **Lexical particles**:

a) **Independent particles**, which usually consitute, by themselves, an utterance.

   (a-1) **Sentence equivalents** are more clearly lexicalized; they are a quick means
to convey the speaker's reaction to a given situation ('yes', 'no', 'all
right', etc.; cf. 9.2.1).

   (a-2) **Interjections** tend to have emotional or dramatic content; they are
frequently onomatopoeic, sometimes including sounds or sound
sequences not otherwise found in the language, and some of them seem
to be nonce creations ('oh!', 'hm-hm', etc.); cf. 9.2.2).

b) **Ideophones**, though sometimes showing signs of an onomatopoeic origin, are
more conventionalized than interjections; they occur in constructions with the
Sₐ verb stem ka 'say' with lexical meaning ('sneeze', 'drizzle', 'joke', etc.; cf.
9.2.2).
In spite of all these subclasses, particles form a smallish class, with probably not much more than 100-151 members. There do not seem to be any particle-creating processes (with the possible exception of onomatopoeia for ideophones). Tables 9.1 and 9.2 list all the known members of the various subclasses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONJUNCTIONS</th>
<th>ëwë(h) ‘jussive’</th>
<th>këpëewa ‘but’</th>
<th>sehke(ne) ‘likewise’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>irëme ‘then’</td>
<td>ma ‘new theme’</td>
<td>sekenkërë ‘likewise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>irënehka ‘finally, at last’</td>
<td>mërëmë ‘but’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| SUBORDINATORS | ahtao ‘when, if’ | iweike ‘because’ |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SECOND-POSITION PARTICLES</th>
<th>Predicational</th>
<th>Formal Groups</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>_pa</td>
<td>‘Repetition’</td>
<td>tahka-group ‘maybe’</td>
<td>_to(a) ‘3rd-person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_pitë</td>
<td>‘Temporary’</td>
<td>hka-group ‘really’</td>
<td>collective’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_mo</td>
<td>‘Irrealis’</td>
<td>ka-group ‘?’</td>
<td>_wae, Copula forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nara</td>
<td>_nai, ... (Pres. Gnomic)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCOPE PARTICLES</th>
<th>_hpe ‘indefinite’</th>
<th>_rë (_ro) ‘exactly’</th>
<th>_san, ‘?’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>_ihta ‘?’</td>
<td>_rëke(ne) ‘only’</td>
<td>_sanne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_marë ‘too’</td>
<td>_rën(ne) ‘genuine’</td>
<td>_ta(ike) ‘Negative’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_nkërë ‘still, yet’</td>
<td>_kahta ‘for sure’</td>
<td>_wa(a) ‘Negative'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_npa ‘?’</td>
<td>_sa(a) ‘a little’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahke(ne) ‘as if’</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OTHERS (Unclassified)</th>
<th>inërë ‘Identifier’</th>
<th>_miï ‘Venitive’</th>
<th>tëérë ‘Existential’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pena ‘already’</td>
<td>_ke(ne) ‘Continuative’</td>
<td>_re(pe) ‘Frustrative’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 9.2
Tiriyó lexical particles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEPENDENT PART</th>
<th>Sentence Equivalents</th>
<th>Interjections</th>
<th>IDEOPHONES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ae?</td>
<td>‘what is it?’</td>
<td>aohao</td>
<td>asîno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aha</td>
<td>‘yes’</td>
<td>dēē, daa</td>
<td>kēsē</td>
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<tr>
<td>kena</td>
<td>‘I don’t know’</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>kapi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kone</td>
<td>‘okay’</td>
<td>eē</td>
<td>kîkîkîkîkî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>‘bye’</td>
<td>koron</td>
<td>mêmêi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naapohpa</td>
<td>‘thank you’, ‘that’s it’</td>
<td>kurun</td>
<td>minêmînî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owa</td>
<td>‘no’</td>
<td>pēē</td>
<td>pîto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naka</td>
<td>‘final’, ‘over’, ‘the end’</td>
<td>teek</td>
<td>pîke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>npa</td>
<td>‘let’s go’</td>
<td>tîkan</td>
<td>pîke</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tît</td>
<td>pîke</td>
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<td>tîtu</td>
<td>pîke</td>
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<td>toh, top</td>
<td>pîke</td>
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<td>toppon</td>
<td>pîke</td>
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<td>tora, toran</td>
<td>pîke</td>
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<td></td>
<td>toron</td>
<td>pîke</td>
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<td>tjapan</td>
<td>pîke</td>
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<td>tum</td>
<td>pîke</td>
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<td>turu</td>
<td>pîke</td>
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<td></td>
<td>sirî, sirîn</td>
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<td>tirintirin</td>
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<td>tîrîri, tîrîm</td>
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<td>tonton</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wiriri</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

As was the case with the other lexical classes, membership in the particle class is a question of degree. Thus, there are some adverbs and postpositions which can have particle functions (e.g. kure ‘good’ and kutuma(ka) ‘painful, bitter’, both usable as intensifying [‘very’] scope particles, or the postposition (j)apo ‘like’ [cf. 7.3.2]; cf. 9.1.5); even the third-person inanimate anaphoric pronoun îrî seems to do double duty as an evidential particle (cf. 9.1.4). The same is true also for membership in the above
subgroups: the distinction between an ideophone and an interjection is sometimes unclear, based almost entirely on how frequently they co-occur with ka ‘say’; certain particles (cf. _pa ‘Repetition’ below) cannot be clearly assigned to a given subclass (for _pa, the second-position or the scope subclass). As so often in grammar, gradients are the rule. The above classification should thus be seen as a reference grid superimposed on a more nuanced form-meaning continuum.

As the several question marks and the ‘unclassified’ row in the above tables indicate, there is still work to be done on the meanings and functions of particles. The following sections present what can be said about them and indicate the doubtful points. At the end of this chapter, a number of ‘possible particles’—words of doubtful status, attested once or twice in the corpus in particle-like contexts—is listed, also as a target for future research.

9.1. Grammatical particles. These are particles with more abstract meanings, ranging from discourse and pragmatics over aspect and modality to specificity and definiteness. The following sections discuss the major subclasses (listed in the introduction to this chapter and in Table 9.1).

9.1.1. Conjunctions. These particles indicate the relationship between their clause and the ongoing discourse. They are the main markers of parataxis. Their most obvious formal characteristic is occurrence in clause-initial position.
The Jussive conjunction Ḥwē(h) marks first- and third-person imperatives (‘let me...’, ‘let him/her/them...’). It is usually followed by a verb stem in the Present Perfective, but the Present Imperfective is also attested. The form Ḥwēh occurs when the collective clitic particle _to(o) follows; it is not known whether or not the h corresponds to a reducing syllable, and what its full grade might be. Note that there is also an adverb Ḥwē ‘later’, used with Present and Future forms, which contrasts with Ḥwē(h) by not having the final h when followed by _to(o) (1d-e)¹ When no clitics follow, the two words become homophonous; thus, (1a-b) could also mean ‘I am going later’ and ‘we are going later’, respectively. Hortatives (‘let us...’; cf. 5.4.2.2) and second-person imperatives (cf. 5.4.2.1) are morphologically marked. There is also a venitive (‘Come’-Imperative) particle, discussed in 9.1.5 below, since it never occurs sentence-initially.

(1a) Ḥwē wi-tē-e
    Jus 1SA-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
    ‘Let me go!’

(1b) Ḥwē anja nī-tē-e
    Jus 1+3 3SA-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
    ‘Let us go!’ (=i.e. ‘Allow us to go!’)

(c) Ḥwē n-apēi
    Jus 3AO-catch:Prs.Prf
    ‘Let him/her get it!’

(d) Ḥwēh_to n-apēi
    Jus_3:Col 3AO-catch:Prs.Prf
    ‘Let them get it!’

(e) Ḥwē_to n-apēē-ja-n
    later_3:Col 3AO-catch-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
    ‘They are getting it later.’

¹ Two H-Tiriýó speakers maintained this distinction consistently; a third one, however, failed to distinguish Ḥwē(h) from Ḥwē. This suggests the possibility of variation within H-Tiriýó. For K-Tiriýó, in which the sound h does not exist, these two words are always homophonous (cf. 2.4.2.2 for details on the differences between these two main dialects).
The conjunction *irëme*, like English ‘then’, is used to indicate the sequencing of events (2a), often with a causal flavor, like English ‘so’ (2b). Its obvious source is the third-person inanimate anaphoric pronoun *irë* ‘this (which was mentioned)’ with the attributivizing postposition *me* (i.e. ‘as this thing, ...’, ‘this being so, ...’). Since its discourse uses seem far enough from the normal uses of *me* phrases, *irëme* is here analyzed as one single conjunction. There are other sentence connectors which still seem close enough to simple postpositional phrases to warrant such an analysis, but they have clearly acquired textual cohesion functions (2c-e; cf. also 10.4.2).

(2a)  *ma, irëme, tēɪn_ken_pa wī-ka iɪ-ja,*  
NT then once_Cont_Rpt 1SA-say:Prs.Prf 3-Dat

“manko, wēri_se_w-a-e”
1:mother woman_Desid_1SA-Cop-Cty

‘Well, then I said to her once more, “Mother, I want a woman.”’

(b)  *ma, abriw_po tarēno n-urakanun-ja-n, mērēme tuna mono_me_nkērē,*  
NT April_Loc Tiriyó 3SO-stroll-Prs.Ipf-Dbt but river big:one_Attr_still,

*irēme tarēno nū-tē-n*  
tuna_tae
so Tiriyó 3SA-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt river_Prl

‘Well, in April the Tiriyó go walking around, but the river waters are still high, so the Tiriyó walk by the river (i.e. they don’t go into it).’

(c)  *irē-npē_pēe*  
3InAna-Pst_Abl
‘From this past thing...’
(i.e. ‘After that...’)

(d)  *irē_ja-n_me*  
3InAna_Dat-Nzr_Attr
‘It being for this,...’
(i.e. ‘Because of this,...’)

(e)  *irē_mao*  
3InAna.Temp
‘Then, at that time’
The conjunction irénehka ‘finally, at last’ also seems to have come from a combination of the third-person anaphoric inanimate pronoun iré, probably with an earlier particle nehka; however, since no instances of nehka by itself have been observed, irénehka is treated here as a single entity.

(3a) ma menjaarë, irénehka, wëri ṟ-apëë-ne
Attn now at.last woman 1A-catch-Pst.Prf
‘Now, at last, I had caught (=married) a woman.’

(b) ma, irénehka_pa ti-tunta-c, Matawarë i-pataa_pona_pa
Attn at.last_Rpt Rm.Pst-arrive-Rm.Pst Matawarë 3-village:Pos_Dir_Rpt
‘Well, finally, he arrived at Matawarë’s village.’

(c) irë_mao_pa ti-w-ëe-se nkëërë,
3InAna_Tmp_Rpt Rm.Pst-S come-Rm.Pst still
irénehka wëi t-ënee-se ii-ja
at.last cassava Rm.Pst-bring-Rm.Pst 3-Agt
‘Then he came back; at last, he had brought the cassava.’

The conjunctions mërëme and këpëewa both indicate that the expectations generated by previous discourse are not fulfilled (like English ‘but’). No obvious meaning difference was detected between them. Mërëme occurs more frequently with _re(pe) in the preceding clause (4a-b), but not obligatorily (cf. (2b) above). Mërëme apparently comes from the inanimate medial demonstrative mëřë ‘that one’ with the attributivizing postposition _me. The meaning change for mërëme (‘as that being’, ‘that being so’ > ‘but’) is more visible than was the case for irëme, which makes mërëme an even better case of lexicalization. Because of the ending -ewa, këpëewa looks like a negative verb
form, but there does not seem to be a synchronic verb stem *kēpē from which it could be derived.2

(4a) pananakiri-ton serē, epi, iwa-ne_re,
foreigner-Col 3InPx 3:medicine 3O:look.for-Pst.Prf_Frust
mērēme in-erahtē-ewa nkērē namo_ro, serē mao-n pona_rēn
but 3O-find-Neg still 3:Col_Exact 3InPx.Temp-Nzr_Dir_Truly

‘The foreigners have been looking for a medicine (against it), but they haven’t found it yet (=until now).’

(b) sen_po_ro_n-ai kēēma, wī-ka_wī-ka_re,
3InPx_Loc_Exact_3SA-Cop 1+2-path, E.RD-1SA-say:Prs.Prf_Frust
mērēme ma-n ae ji-jomi in-eta-ewa
but_2SA-Cop-Cty 1-words 3O-hear-Neg

‘“This is our path,” I said again and again in vain, but you didn’t listen to my words.’

(c) pijä_man-a-e, tū-ka-e,
small_2SA-Cop-Cty Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst
kēpēewa w-a-e mono_me, tū-ka-e
but_1SA-Cop-Cty big:one_Attr Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst

‘“You are small,” he said, “but (=whereas) I am big,” he said.’

(d) ma, kure, kūn-ka, kure, kēpēewa pijä_sa kure, manko_ja,
NT good 3Pst.Prf-say good but small_a little good 1:mother_Dat
‘Well, “all right,” she said, “all right,” but it wasn’t really all right (lit. it was little good) to mother.’

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2 One possibility would be to see it as a negative form of apē(i) ‘catch’, the k- being the 1+2O person marker (cf. 5.4.1.1.1); the etymological meaning would be ‘not catching us’ > ‘but’. However, the transitive stem apē(i) is I-reducing, which means that it should take the -sewa allomorph of the negative suffix. In fact, ‘not catching us’ is synchronically kēpē-sewa, not *k-epē-ewa. If kēpēewa is seen as an old negative form of apē(f), the occurrence of -ewa instead of -sewa remains unexplained.
The conjunction ma is used to call the hearer’s attention, usually to a new local theme, a change in topic. It is very frequent as the first word in a narrative story, occurring subsequently apparently to attract the listener’s attention to a change in topic when the speaker deems it necessary. It is always followed by a pause (marked by a comma). The English translation ‘well’ is very approximative. (5a) was the beginning of the speaker’s account of his own youth; (5b) contains two consecutive sentences later in the same narrative.

(5a) ma, menjaarë, ji-w-eh-topo-ŋpë w-eta-po-e ĕe-ja,
NT, now 1-SÃ-Cop-Circ:Nzr-Pst 1A-hear-Caus:Prs.Ipf-Cty 2-Dat
‘Well, now, I am going to explain (lit. make you hear) my story (lit. the way I used to be).’

(b) ma, irë_ke t-ëmamina-e_wï, pahko i-nî-ri-ŋpë_ke.
NT, 3InAna.Inst Rm.Pst-play-Rm.Pst_1 1:father 3-O.act-make-Pst_Inst
‘Well, I played with it, with the thing father had made.’

ma, irë-ŋpë_pëe, pahko i-nî-ri-ŋpë_ke t-urakana-e_wï,
NT, 3InAna-Pst_Abl 1:father 3-O.act-make-Pst_Inst Rm.Pst-stroll-Rm.Pst_1
‘Well, after that, I went walking around with the thing father had made.’

The conjunctions sehke(ne) and sekenkëré both mean ‘also’, ‘likewise’, ‘in like manner’, sometimes with a flavor of ‘as would be expected’ (6c); there was no obvious distinction between them (except that sehke(ne) is much more frequent). They are different from _marë ‘also’ in that _marë refers to some specific constituent within the clause (‘and my father, too’), while sehke(ne) and sekenkëré refer to the entire clause.

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3 It is interesting to mention that, in the Tiriyo version of the Bible, almost all narrative paragraphs start with ma; the translators seem to have felt that a new paragraph needs a ma to mark its beginning.
Both seem to be lexicalized sequences, involving an element se(ke) and the particles _ke(ne) ‘Continuative’ or _nkërë ‘still, yet’ (cf. 9.1.4).

(6a) \( \text{irë-npë}_{\text{pëe}} \quad \text{naa-ja-n}, \)
3InAna-Pst_Abl eat.fruit-Prs.Ipf-Dbt

ma sehken marasija enaa-ja-n
NT likewise watermelon 3O:eat.fruit-Prs.Ipf-Dbt

‘After this they eat fruits, and likewise they eat watermelons.’

(b) \( \text{menjarë} \quad t-\text{ënën-ja-e} \quad \text{kure}_{\text{rën}}, \)
now 1SA-sleep-Prs.Ipf-Cty well_Truly

ma sehken t-ë-ewee-ja-e_marë
NT likewise 1SA-Detr-feed-Prs.Ipf-Cty_too

‘Now I sleep really well, and I eat well too.’

(c) \( \text{irëme} \quad tï-\text{karaawa-e,} \quad \text{sehken wewe-ton} \quad t-\text{ëekaaka-e} \)
then Rm.Pst-get.angry-Rm.Pst so tree-Col Rm.Pst-IRD-bite-Rm.Pst

‘Then he (=the big alligator) got angry, so he bit the trees several times.’

(d) \( \text{ë-nmuku} \quad n-enuh-ta-n, \quad \text{tahken wëri}_\text{me} \quad \text{tahken këri}_\text{me}, \)
2-son:Pos 3SO-be.born-Fut.Ipf-Dbt maybe woman_Attr maybe man_Attr

ma sehken_pa_mo mëë tï-rë-kë, \quad \text{epinëh-kë}_\text{pa_mo}
NT likewise_Rpt_Irr 3AnPx t-make-Imper 3O:medicate-Imper_Rpt_Irr

‘Your son (child) will be born, maybe a woman, maybe a man, well, then do
the same to him/her (as I did to you), medicate him/her.’

(e) \( \text{kure} \quad \text{menu}_\text{tao}_\text{ken} \quad t-\text{ee-se} \quad \text{nërë}, \quad \text{Waraku}, \)
pretty paint_Loc_Cont Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst 3AnAna Waraku

i-nmuku-pisi sekenkërë t-ee-se
3-son:Pos-Dim likewise Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst

‘Waraku was beautifully painted, and so was her little son.’
9.1.2. Subordinators. These are particles which occur at the end of finite clauses to indicate subordinate status. The existence of finite subordination is not a frequent phenomenon in Cariban languages, and the existence of non-finite alternatives, together with plausible sources for the subordinators, suggests that finite subordination is a recent innovation in Tiriýó. For more details on the syntax, cf. 10.4.1.1; in the present section, only the subordinators themselves and their meanings are discussed.

There are only two subordinators, the temporal/conditional ahtao ‘when, if’ and the causal iweike ‘because’. Ahtao looks like a nominalized a-stem form of the copula (cf. 5.4.4) with a following postposition (_tao or _htao); in favor of this argument, there is the fact that it cannot co-occur with an overt copula form (7a). Iweike is more obviously a nominalized e-stem form of the copula e(i), with the third-person prefix i- and the Instrumental postposition _ke.

(7a) oroko_me_w-a-e koko ahtao (* koko_n-a1 ahtao)  
work_Attr_1S_A-Cop-Cty at.night when  
‘I work by night.’

(b) irē_mao, onono k-ēpē-ja-n ahtao,  
3InAna_Temp cold 1+2O-catch-Ptrs.Ipf-Cty if  
menne_pa ee-sewa kīt-a-ti  
healthy_Rpt Cop-Neg 1+2S_A-Cop-Col  
‘Then, if we catch a cold (lit. if a cold catches us), we won’t heal anymore.’

(c) irē-ton ameraarē munu_hpije ahtao, irē_mao nari_ke kīt-a-e,  
3InAna-Col all blood_Having if 3InAna_Temp fear_Ins: 1+2S_A-Cop-Cty

AIDS kīt-apē-ja-e iweike irē_pēe.  
AIDS 1+2A-catch-Ptrs.Ipf-Cty because 3InAna_Abl

‘When all these things (=body parts) are bloody, then we are afraid, because we can catch AIDS from them.’
9.1.3. Second-position particles. Under the conditions described in 3.1 and 10.1.2, there is a group of particles that occurs after the first constituent of an utterance. (8) illustrates this behavior with the Irrealis particle _mo.

(8a)  wí-tëmi-i_mo  
1SA-go-Hyp_Irr  
'I would go / have gone.'

(b) kokonjaarë_mo wí-tëmi-i  
yesterday_Irr  1SA-go-Hyp  
'I would go / have gone yesterday.'

Two groupings can be discerned: predicational (9.1.3.1) and evidential (tahka-, hka- and ka-; 9.1.3.2) particles. The collective particle _to(o) is different enough to deserve its own subgroup (9.1.3.3). In addition, the first- and third-person present gnomic forms of the copula (and optionally also the second-person and first-person-dual forms) have the behavior of second-position particles, in spite of their verbal status: they cannot occur clause-initially (9d), and they migrate towards the end of the first constituent (9a-c).

(9a)  tuna_se_w-a-e  
water_Desid_1SA-Cop-Cty  
'I want water.'

(b) menjaarë_w-a-e tuna_se  
now_1SA-Cop-Cty water_Desid  
'Now I want water.'

(c)  wí_w-a-e tuna_se  
1_1SA-Cop-Cty water_Desid  
'I want water.'

(d)  *wae tuna_se

9.1.3.1. Predicational particles: _mo 'Irrealis', _pitë 'Temporary', _pa 'Repetition'.

The meanings of the three particles in this subgroup are close enough that one feels

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The particle tahke(ne) 'maybe' cannot be considered a simple second-position particle anymore. Its behavior tends toward that of a conjunction, although its similarity in form and meaning with the tahka-particles remains quite visible (cf. 9.1.3.2).
inclined to provide a common characterization, but it is rather difficult to find a word with which to describe it ('mood' and 'aspect' seem to be involved, but are not sufficient). The label 'predicational' was chosen to indicate that they alter the meaning of the predicate, by displacing it from actual reality ('Irrealis'), by limiting it to a small time span ('Temporary'), or by suggesting, in more than one way, that it is being repeated.

The particle _mo has three apparently very different uses. It occurs in hypothetical and contrary-to-fact statements, co-occurring with the suffix -i (10a-b; cf. 5.4.1.3.5). In fact, -i cannot be used without it. _Mo is also used with the morphological imperatives, the static -(kë) and the allative -ta, to mark a 'future' imperative, i.e. an order and/or suggestion which must be carried out at a later moment (10c-d; cf. 5.4.2). Finally, it was also found once with the Doubt form of the Future Imperfective (-ta-(ne)), resulting in a counter-conditional ('unless') clause (10e). These apparently divergent uses share the feature of non-actuality. Notice, however, that 'more extremely' non-actual statements such as those implying disbelief (the incredulitive verb form, in -je(pe)) or warnings (the admonitive verb form, in -ne(nu)) are not compatible with _mo; only the hypothetical form in -i was 'weak enough' for it. For lack of a better term, the label 'Irrealis' will be employed here to refer to _mo.

(10a) takaemi_ke tî-wē-tuuwē irē, irē_mao_pa_mo ii-sika-i
kind.of.arrow_Inst t-shoot-Post 3InAna 3InAna_Temp_Rpt_Irr 3AO-remove-Hyp
'If he had shot it with a takaemi arrow (a kind of harpoon), he would (have been able to) remove it then.'
(b) *wei wararë karaiwa sen_po ahtao,*
  day every Brazilian 3InPx_Loc if

*anja i-waarë_mo ei karaiwa i-jomi*
1+3 3-Cogn_Irr 3SA:Cop:Hyp Brazilian 3-language:Pos

'If there were Brazilians here every day, we would learn the Brazilian language'

(c) *ëwë_pa_mo apëh-kë*
later_Rpt_Irr 3O:get-Imper
'Get it later (not now).'

(d) *ji-npo ki-ri-ta-e, këpëewa e-pataka-ewa_mo eh-kë*
l-on.back 12AO-put-Fut.Ipf-Cty but Detr-take.out-Neg_Irr Cop-Imper
'I’ll put you on my back, but don’t get out (of your disguise, while we are going).'

(e) *ma, ti-wë-e wi-të-e, mama otì, këpëewa,*
NT t-shoot-Sup 1SA-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty 2:mother 3:meat.food but

*ati_hpe_mo w-epoh-ta-n, irë_po, tïi-ka-e*
wh.In_Indef_Irr 1A-find-Fut.Ipf-Dot 3InAna_Loc Rm.Pst:SA-say-Rm.Pst

"'I’m going out to hunt your mother’s food... unless I find something else there,"
(he) said.'

The particle _pitë is used to indicate that the predicate describes a ‘temporary’ event; it is usually translated as ‘for a second’, ‘for a little while’, implying that the situation is not permanent, in fact it will soon come to an end. The idiom *ëwë_pitë*, literally ‘later, for a second’, deserves mention here: it is used to mean ‘wait a second!’. A present tense form with _pitë (as in e.g. (11c)) is a close and more frequent equivalent of a Future Perfective verb. However, unlike the case of the past imperfective being replaced by the habitual past (cf. 5.4.1.3.3, 5.4.3.1.1), speakers did not consider future imperfective forms as ‘old-fashioned’; rather, they seemed to be quite alive, though not very frequent.
It appears that some yet unknown difference in meaning exists between the future imperfective and the Present Imperfective with _pitë.

(a) **wi-puunëë-ja-e_pitë**
    IA-think-Prs.Prf-Cty_a.sec
    ‘I’ll think a little bit first (before taking a decision).’

(b) **mëe_pitë anja n-enpa-e, ka kî-papa-ri_ja**
    3AnPx_a.sec 1+3 3AO-teach:Prs.Ipf-Cty say:Imper 1+2-father-Pos_Dat
    ‘Tell our (incl.) father that we (excl.) will be teaching this guy for some time still.’

(c) **taaënë_pitë wi-të-e, irëmaarëë-pakoro-b_tao w-eh-ta-e**
    over.there_a.sec 1SA-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty soon 2-house-Pos_In 1SA-Cop-Fut.Ipf-Cty
    ‘I’m going over there first for a second; soon I’ll be at your house.’

(d) **i-kuh-kë_pitë**
    3O-imitate-Imper_a.sec
    ‘Imitate it (=the language of the Wayanas) a little bit.’

(e) **wapo_pitë n-ë-ehpo-ka nëërë**
    first_a.sec 3SA-Detr-beard-remove:Prs.Prf 3AnAna:Exact
    ‘First he shaved for a second (=just enough to get some blood on the blade)’

The particle _pa is frequently found in contexts where the idea of ‘again’ or ‘back’ is present (12a-d). However, when it occurs with the SA verb stem tê[mï] ‘go’, the resulting meaning is ‘go away’, ‘leave’, ‘depart’ ((12e-f); (12e) is one of the most frequent leave-taking expressions when more than one person is leaving). This can be understood if one thinks that a person who is leaving is ‘going back’ to where s/he was before, i.e. away from us. It is also used to ask about someone’s turn (12g-h); in this case, it suggests the existence of a previous sequence. There is again some shared semantics (there is a certain similarity between the ‘sequence’ implied by (12g-h), and the
‘repetition of a previous state’ implied by the ‘again/back/away’ uses in (12a-f), but it is somewhat hard to find a convenient label for the similarity. ‘Repetition’ will be used here.5

(12a) tēin_ken_pə
     once_Cont_Rpt
     ‘Once more!’

(b) w-ēeh_pə
     1SA-come:Prf_Rpt
     ‘I have come back.’

(c) menjaare_pə t-ēturu-ja-e
     now_Rpt 1SA-Detr-talk.to-Prs.Ipf-Cty
     ‘Now I’m talking again.’

(d) Asehpə_pə w-eta-e
     Asehpə_Rpt 1A-hear:Prs.Ipf-Cty
     ‘I’m listening to Asehpə again.’

(e) anja_pə nĭ-tē-e
     1+3_Rpt 3SA-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
     ‘We’re leaving.’

(f) tū-tē-e_pə
     Rm.Pst-go-Rm.Pst_Rpt
     ‘(S/he) is gone.’

(g) ëmē_pə?
     2_Rpt
     ‘How about you?’

(h) ë-karakurii_pə?
     2-money:Pos_Rpt
     ‘How about your money?’

An interesting fact about _pə is that it seems to be losing its second-position properties. On several occasions, it occurred more than once in the same sentence (13a-b). Especially with the verb stem tē[m] ‘go’, it sometimes failed to occur in its normal place after the first constituent (13c-e). It is as though _pə were changing from second-position particle to scope particle. Another interesting characteristic of _pə is that it can optionally change places with the Certainty suffix -e (13f-i), as if it were in the beginning phases of becoming a suffix. Such behavior was never possible for _mo or _pitē.

(13a) ma, wi-tēn_pə Suurinan_pona_pə
     NT 1SA-go:Prs.Prf_Rpt Surinam_Dir_Rpt
     ‘Then I went again to Surinam.’
(b) k-ërë-h_pa ji-pataa_pona_pa ji-pakoro-h_tah_pa
12AO-take-Imper 1-village:Pos_Dir_Rpt 1-house-Pos_III_Rpt
'Take me back to my village, to my house!'

(c) kēpēwa Enkiman ni-tën_pa tiwēi-no_ro tuna_hkah_pa
but Enkiman 3S_A-go:Prs.Prf_Rpt other-Nzr_Exact river_Aq.Dir_Rpt
'But Enkiman is gone to some other river.'

(d) kēpēwa anja enpa-ne-npē nī-tën_pa
but 1+3 3:teach-A.act-Pst 3S_A-go:Prs.Prf_Rpt
'But our (ex-)teacher is gone.'

(e) irē_mao meri_ja_pa ti-wē-e_nkērē
3InAna_Temp squirrel.sp_Agt_Rpt Rm.Pst-shoot-Rm.Pst_still
'Then Squirrel continued shooting.'

(f) wē-tē-e_pa
1S_A-go:Prs.Prf-Cty_Rpt
'I am leaving.'

(g) wē-tēh-pa-e
1S_A-go:Prs.Prf-Rpt-Cty
'I am leaving.'

(h) w-eta-e_pa
1A-hear:Prs.Ipf-Cty_Rpt
'I am listening to him/her/it.'

(i) w-etah-pa-e
1A-hear:Prs.Ipf-Rpt-Cty
'I am listening to him/her/it.'

9.1.3.2. Formal groups: tahka, hka and ka. The particles in these subgroups share
enough formal similarities to stand out as a group; they are listed in (14). It may even be
the case that they are actually composed of smaller particles, though the data is not
conclusive (compare them with e.g. _rē, _san from the next section). Semantically, they
all express various nuances in the areas of evidentiality and identification; they are in this
similar to many of the Carib of Surinam particles described in Hoff 1986, 1990 (although
it is not clear yet whether they form a system in Tiriyó comparable to the one found by
Hoff in Carib of Surinam). Not all of them are fully understood. In this section, what is
known is presented, and the unclear points are mentioned and left as targets for future research.

(14) **tahke**(ne)  
    tahkarë  hkaarë  karë  
    tahkara  hkaarë  kara  nara  
    hkaasan  hkatë  
    hkatëti  

The particles in the first column, the **tahka** group, all imply doubt about the statement in which they occur. Notice that they cannot co-occur with the certainty forms (in -e) of a present or future imperfective verb:

(15a) **wi-h-ta-n**  
      **tahken**  
      $1S_A$-go:Fut.Ipf-Dbt maybe  
      ‘Maybe I’ll go.’  

(b)  *wi-h-ta-e **tahken***

(c) **w-eta-n**  
    **tahkara**  
    $1A$-hear:Prs.Ipf-Dbt_Seem  
    ‘It seems I was listening to him/her/it.’  

(d)  *w-eta-e **tahkara***

In the **tahka** group, the particle **tahke**(ne) ‘maybe’ stands out as the only one which is not restricted to second position (compare (16a-b) with (16c-d)).

(16a) **nì-të-n**  
      **tahken**  
      $1S_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt maybe  
      ‘Maybe s/he is going.’  

(b)  **tahken nì-të-n**  
      maybe  $1S_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt  
      ‘Maybe s/he is going.’  

(c) **nì-të-n**  
    **tahkara**  
    $1S_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt_Seem  
    ‘Could it be that s/he is going?’  

(d)  *tahkara **nì-të-n***
The meaning of tahke(ne) does not seem to imply any deeper knowledge about
the source of information (e.g. visual, hearsay, etc.), but simply to indicate a stronger
doubt about it than does the simple Doubt form. Compare e.g. (16a) above, which means
‘maybe I’ll go’, with a simple wi-h-ta-n ‘will I go?’, which sounds like a question that
the speaker is asking himself. (17) has some text examples of tahke(ne). 6

(17a) Joi, aki_hpe munupê, ma tahken tonoro, tī-wē-e wija
lizard.sp wh.An Indef rat NT maybe bird Rm.Pst-shoot-Rm.Pst 1:Agt
‘I shot lizards, and some other animals too... rats, maybe birds.’ (The speaker is
talking about his early childhood attempts at using bows and arrows.)

(b) Eojare tahken pena-to-npē,  ki-wame
Eojare maybe long.ago-Nsr-Pst 1+2-know
‘Maybe Eojare is someone from long ago, we (incl.) don’t know him.’ (Said by a
woman to her daughter, while looking at the photograph of a Tiriyó named Eojare.)

(c) Amohpē paapa-hpē apo mēe? nērē tahken
Amohpē 3:father-Pst like 3AnPx 3InAna maybe
‘This one looks like Amohpē’s father... Maybe it’s him.’

(d) tahken tīpitē_htao  ēé-tēē-rī_htao  kaikui n-ee-ja-n
maybe field_Loc 2:SA-go:N-Pos_Loc jaguar 3SA-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
a-apēh-too_me
2-catch-Circ:Nsr_Attr
‘Maybe, when you are going to the field/garden, a jaguar will come to catch you.’

(e) tahken ē-nnapī ekeima-n,  tahken n-enaa-ja-n_to,
maybe 2:fruit.food 3O:spoil:Prs.Ipf-Dbt maybe 3AO-eat.fruit-Prs.Ipf-Dbt_3Col
tahken ni-turuka-n_to
maybe 3AO-scatter:Prs.Ipf-Dbt_3Col
‘Maybe they are spoiling your fruit, maybe they are eating it, maybe they are
scattering it.’ (A warning, so that the speaker would do something to protect
his fruit trees.)

6 An equivalent expression is tiwērēn_mao, which literally should (and sometimes does) mean ‘some other
time’ (tiwērēn ‘other’ with the temporal postposition _mao (cf. 7.3.1.11)), but is often found by itself with
the meaning of ‘maybe’. This expression is reminiscent of Portuguese talvez and Spanish tal vez ‘maybe’,
which also originally meant ‘at some time’, ‘in some occasion’.
_Tahkarë and _tahkara are connected: _tahkarë follows non-verb phrases and _tahkara verb phrases, but they seem to mean the same, viz. that the speaker is not sure, but that something in the situation is leading him/her to the conclusion stated in the sentence (‘it seems that...’, ‘I guess it is...’), sometimes with some surprise (could it be that...?).

(18a) pahko_tahkarë ni-të-n
1:father_Seam 3SA-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘It may be father going!’
‘Could it be that father is going?’

(b) nï-të-n_tahkara, paiko
3SA-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt_Seam, 1:father
‘It may be father coming!’
‘Could it be that father is coming?’

c) irë apo ahtao, tun ka-to, t-ëta-e Moomoori_ja,
3InAna like when falling say-Circ:Nzr Rm.Pst-hear-Rm.Pst Moomoori_Agt

Then (=when it was like that), Moomoori heard the sound of something falling.
‘Could this be for me?’ (=i.e. game for me), said Moomoori.’

It is harder to see a common semantics to the hka group. Formally speaking, it is interesting to notice that they all start with the consonant cluster hk (pronounced [hh] in H-Tiriyô, and [:k] in K-Tiriyô; cf. 2.4.2.2), yet do not always condition the full grade of a preceding reducing morpheme (cf. 2.6.2 for syllable reduction).

The particles _hkaarë and _hkaara are related in the same way as _tahkarë and _tahkara: _hkaarë following non-verb phrases, and _hkaara verb phrases. They express

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7 Of the three speakers who were consulted, two did not allow _tahkarë to follow verbs, while one did, saying that it ‘meant the same as _tahkara’. The same variation, with the same speakers, was found for _hkaarë and _hkaara. The reasons for this variation are not yet known.

8 Notice that pahko could not be sentence-initial, as expected from the second-position pattern of _tahkara; the sequence * pahko nï-tën_tahkara was refused.

9 This initial hk cluster may be somehow related to the—quite unexpected, from a comparative viewpoint —hk in the Aquatic postpositions _hkao, _hka(ka) (cf. 7.3.1.1).
that the speaker is now fully certain of his/her statement, but that it is surprising (i.e. it is contrary to what s/he had expected).

(19a) **pahko_hkaare n-e**

1:father_Surpr 3SA-come:Prs.Prf

‘Ah! It’s my father who has come!’

(b) **Taru_hkaare !**

Taru_Surpr

‘Ah! It’s Taru!’

(c) **tii-papa eta_hkaara**

3R-father:Pos 3O:hear:Prs.Prf_Surpr

‘Ah! It’s his father he has heard!’

(d) **ire_po_hkaare i-pata**

3InAna_Loc_Surpr 3-village

‘Ah! His/her village is there!’

(e) **ee... meeru_hkaare ji-nmuku-ru...**

Emotion 3InMd_Surpr 1-son-Pos

‘Oooh!... That one is my son!’

The particle _hkaasan is used to indicate that the clause in which it occurs contains the alternative that the speaker would have preferred, as opposed to what really happened (‘not this, but that, instead’; cf. e.g. Spanish sino, German son dern).

(20a) **pihko, j-enmin-jewa eh-ke, k-ere-ke_hkaasan, ooni_pona**

1:old.brth 10-submerge-Neg Cop-Imper 12AO-take-Imper_Instead 3InDi_Dir

‘Brother, don’t drown, take me over there instead!’

(b) **owa, eme_hkaasan_man-a-e pija, tii-ka-e**

no 2_Instead_2SA-Cop-Cty small Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst

‘“No, you are small,” he said.’ (i.e. not me).

(c) **sen_se_taike_re w-ei,**

3InPx_Desid_Neg_Frust_1SA-Cop:Prs.Prf

**sen_se_hkaasan_w-ei_re,**

3InPx_Desid_Instead_1SA-Cop:Prs.Prf-Frust but good_Only

**w-apie-ja-e**

1A-get-Prs:Ipf-Cty

‘I didn’t want this one, I wanted this one instead, but... all right, I’ll take it.’
(d) kēpēewa irē_pēh_ta  wē-pēnī-npē  t-ēiranoo-se
but  3InAna_About_Neg shoot-Ineff:Nzr-Pst  Rm.Pst-get.angry-Rm.Pst
i-moītī-h-tomo ja,  i-pīh_pēkē_hkαasan
3-relatives-Pos-Col_Agt  3-wife_About_Instead

‘But it wasn’t because of this that the bad shooter’s people were angry at him; instead, it was because of his wife.’

The meaning of the particle _hkαtē is harder to summarize under a single gloss. In equative clauses, it usually attributes responsibility (21a-b) or importance (21c) to a given participant. In other kinds of sentences, however, this is not the case, although an element of emphasis still seems to be present (20e-f).

(21a) ma, irēme, kena, mēe_hkαtē, manko_hkαtē, ji-wame
NT then Ignor 3AnPx_up.to 1:mother_up.to 1-Ignor
‘Well, then, “I don’t know, it’s up to her, to my mother, I don’t know,” (s/he said).’

(b) ēmē_hkαtē
2_up.to
‘It’s up to you.’ Also: ‘It’s your fault.’

(c) mērē_hkαtē
3InMd_up.to
‘It’s a necessary thing.’

(d) aja_hkαtē  kīn-arē,  j-eemi, tīi-ka-e  Mataware
whither_Emph 3AO:Pst.Prf-take 1:daughter:Pos Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst Matawara
‘“Where on earth did he take my daughter to?” said Matawara.’

(e) aki_hkαtē_n-ai  mēe  oti_me?
wh.An_Emph_3S_A-Cop 3AnPx meat.food_Attr
‘Which (animals) on earth are this one’s food?’
(i.e. what animals could s/he possibly like to eat?)

(f) irēme_hkαtē  “pena  t-ēpēe-se  ii-jaa-ne”  mī-ka?  t-ēnakēe...
then_? already Rm.Pst-get-Rm.Pst 3-Agt-Col 2S_A-say:Prs.Prf T-lie-Having
‘So ‘they’ve already taken it’, you said? Liar!’...’
The particle _hkatëti apparently implies that a presupposition is being countered. In (22a-b), the speaker doubts that a certain state of affairs actually is as it was described to him/her. In (22c), the speaker is trying to convince an uncooperative hearer (cf. English ‘come on’).

(22a) **w-ene_hkatëti**
1A-see:Prs.Ipf:Cty-?
‘I’ll go see if it’s true.’

(22b) **wi-ponoh-po-e_hkatëti**
1A-tell-Caus:Prs.Ipf:Cty_?
‘I’ll go ask if it’s really like that.’

(22c) **k-ëne-kë_hkatëti**
12AO-see-Imper_?
‘Just look at me, watch what I’m doing.’

The **ka** group (**karë, kara**) was attested in only a few examples, in which it apparently expresses strong doubt, verging on incredulity. Like the other ré/ra pairs, kara follows a verb phrase and karë a non-verb phrase.

(23a) **kura-no_karë_?**
pretty-Nzr_Str.Dbt
‘Is that pretty?!’ (I don’t think so!)

(23b) **mën-ee-ja-n_kara_ito_?**
2S_A-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt_Str.Dbt_?
‘Are you coming? Really?’

(23c) **oroko_me_karë_ man-a-ti_?**
work_Attr_Str.Dbt 2S_A-Cop-Col
‘Are you all really working?’

The particle _nara, like _hkatë, adds emphasis to questions. Interestingly, it cannot co-occur with a conjugated verb form (24e).^{10}

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^{10} This may result from _nara being a reflex of an older copular form *na with an element ra (possibly an old particle). In 5.4.4, it was mentioned that Tiriýoh has retained only one third-person form of the copula, _nai, while other Cariban languages have two or three. It may be the case that *na is a remnant of another one of these forms (cf. 8.1 for other possible remnants).
(24a) aja_nara ji-nmuku?
whither_Emph 2-son
'Where could my son be?'
(b) atītoome_nara mēe ēire?
why_Emph 3AnPx angry
'Why on earth is s/he so angry?'

(c) eeke_nara serē?
how_Emph 3InPx
'How exactly is that?'
(d) akī_nara enpa-ne_me?
wh.An_Emph 3:teach-A.act_Attr
'Who on earth is the teacher?'

(e) * akī_nara n-ee-ja-n
wh.An_Emph 3S_A-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
(who is coming?)

9.1.3.3. _to(o) ‘Collective’. The particle _to(o) is used to indicate that a third-person participant is collective. With transitive verbs, if one of the participants is a non-third-person (i.e. if an A- or an O-marking prefix is used), then _to(o) collectivizes the other (i.e. the third-person) participant. If both participants are third persons, then _to(o) collectivizes the O participant. With intransitive verbs, _to(o) occurs only in the third person form, indicating that the S is collective. This pattern is exemplified in 5.4.1.2 above; here, only its form and syntactic status are discussed. The fact that _to behaves as a second-position clitic can be seen in (25a-d) (note in addition that _to(o) cannot occur clause-initially). (25c) also illustrates its length grade _too.11

(25a) nī-tē_n_to
1S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt_3Col
'They are all going.'

(b) menjaarē_to nū-tē-n
now_3Col 1S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'They are all going now.'

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11 An older speaker occasionally had the form _toto instead of _to. There was variation among other speakers as to whether or not this form was acceptable or even recognizable. Diachronically, it seems that the original form actually was bisyllabic (cf. Gildea’s 1998:99 reconstruction of *toto to Proto-Carib), and this may be the source of the observed long vowel in _to(o). Synchronically, the form toto seems to be, at best, an archaism.
9.1.4. **Scope particles.** These particles are not limited to one specific position within the clause; rather, they follow a given element (their ‘scope’) with which they form a higher-level constituent.

As is mentioned in 3.4.5 and in the beginning of Chap. 8, the particle _hpe ‘indefinite’ always co-occurs with interrogatives to form the equivalent of an indefinite pronoun (‘someone/anyone’, ‘somewhere/anywhere’, etc.), with the implication that the speaker does not know—or does not care about—the specific circumstances. So, (26a) was a reply to ‘At what time is he coming?’; (26c) is a reply to ‘What is he doing?’.

In (26b), a specific person is coming, but the speaker does not know who s/he is. (26d) also refers to a period in time which was specific—the amount of time that a certain character spent in the forest—but not known to the speaker.

(26a) ati’ _juuru_hpe, ji-wame_ 
wh.In time_Indef, 1-Ignor ‘At some time, I don’t know (when).’

(b) akii_hpe  n-ee-ja-n 
wh.An_Indef 3SA-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt ‘Someone (God knows who) is coming.’

(c) _kena, ati_ rii-ja-n_hpe; bs: _pakoro_ rii-ja-n _tahken_ 
Ignor, wh.In make-Prs.Ipf-Dbt_Indef house make-Prs.Ipf-Dbt maybe ‘I don’t know, he’s doing something; maybe he’s making a house.’

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12 Notice that _hpe, in spite of beginning with a consonant cluster, fails to condition the full grade form of the preceding suffix in (26c); cf. 2.6.2.
(d) ahtaárë_hpe tì-kooman-je, irë_n-ai ji-wame, how.many_Indef Rm.Pst-spend.night-Rm.Pst 3InAna_3S_A-Cop 1-Ignor
i-kuhunté-ewa kín-ei i-ponoo-ne-npë wíja. 3O-count-Neg 3Pst.Prf-Cop 3-tell-A.act.Ñzr-Pst 1:Dat

‘He spent an indefinite number of nights (in the forest), I don’t know how many, the one who told this story didn’t count them to me.’

The particle **ihta** occurs in contexts involving surprise, i.e. the sudden realization that a given expectation was not met (27a), like the second-position particle **hkaarë** (cf. previous section; cf. 2.6.4 for the reduction of trivocalic sequences, as in (27a, c), mëe + ihta > më_ihta, kîtêe + ihta > kîtê_ihta). The difference in meaning between them seems to be attitudinal: **ihta** generally imply some anger, while **hkaarë** does not. (27b-c) were uttered in an angry tone to someone who had asked the same question several times, thus infuriating the speaker; (27d), from a folk tale, has the same meaning; it was said by Jaguar to a young man.

(27a) serë apo tì-ka-e_to, _“më_ihta, ekì n-eh_pa!”_ 3InPx like Rm.Pst:S_A-say-Rm.Pst_3Col 3AnPx_Surp 3:pe::Pos 3S_A-come::Prs.Prf_Rpt
‘They spoke like this, “Look, it’s him, his pet is coming back!”’

(b) wë-ka_ihta ! 1S_A-say::Prs.Prf_Anger
‘I’ve already told you that!’

(c) kû-të_ihta ! 1+2S_A-go::Prs.Ipf_Anger
‘We’re going—I’ve already told you that!’

(d) j-oti_ta _ëmë, wì-ka_ihta_ ëë-ja, 1-meat.food_Neg 2 _2S_A-say::Prs.Prf_Anger_ 2-Dat

**afitoome mëh-tëhka-n ?**
why 2A-Detr-frighten::Prs.Ipf-Dbt

‘I’ve already told you that you’re not my food (=that I’m not going to eat you), why are you (still) afraid?’
The particle _marë is used to indicate inclusion, corresponding quite well to the English ‘too, also’. It can have a comitative (‘with’) meaning, in which it comes quite close to akëërë ‘with’ ((28a-g); in (28g), akëërë also occurs, as a rhetorical repetition).

(28a)  ēiwa-e tii-tē-e,  t-ēki-ke t-ee-se_marë
hunt-Sup Rm.Pst:Sₐ-go-Rm.Pst  T-pet-Having  Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst too
‘He went hunting, and he had his dog, too.’

(b)  wëraapa t-ēpoo-se,  ma pai_marē t-ēpoo-se  ii-ja
bow  Rm.Pst-meet-Rm.Pst  Attn tapir too  Rm.Pst-meet-Rm.Pst 3-Agt
‘He met the bow (i.e. the plant from which bows are made), and he met tapir, too.’

(c)  ene-hpē_ke ii-ja i-japo_ta,  tīpōkīne_marē t-ee-se
3:see-Pst:Inst 3-Agt 3-like_Neg smelly too  Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst
‘From what he could see (lit. because he saw her), she wasn’t the same; she was also smelly.’

(d)  ji-kooman w-ene_marē,  karaman irē_po,  Pesaihpē
1SO-spend.night:Prs.Prf 1A-see:Prs.Prf too  chief 3InAna_Loc Pesaihpē
‘I spent the night there, and I saw him too, the local chief, Pesaihpē.’

(e)  kiri, wëri_marē,  n-ē-eku-ja-n
man, woman_with, 2-Detr-sex-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘A man, with a woman, they have sex.’

(f)  kaikui_marē_to tī-w-ē-epoo-se
jaguar_with_3Col Rm.Pst-Sₐ-Detr-meet-Rm.Pst
‘They met with Jaguar.’

(g)  Sesu_marē anja menjaarē,  kure Sesu akëërë wī menjaarē
Sérjio_with 1+3 now well Sérjio with 1 now
‘We’re with Sérjio now, I am with Sérjio now.’

The particle _nkërë is used to indicate continuation, coming quite close to the English ‘still’, in affirmative sentences, or ‘yet’, in negative sentences. It often co-occurs with _pa ‘Repetition’: _nkërë_pa is the most frequent translation of English ‘again’,
implying that the event is not being repeated for the first time (i.e. some sort of routine is implied).

(29a)  **Araraparu-npē_nkērē sen?**
Araraparu-Pst_still  3InPx
‘Is this still the old Araraparu?’
(The speaker means a second photo of the same village.)

(b)  **pijukuku_me_nkērē wē ahtao**    (c)  **wītoto w-eta-e_nkērē**
  baby_Attr_still    1 when  person 1A-hear:Prs.Ipf-Cty_still
  ‘When I was still a baby,...’  ‘I am still listening to someone.’

(d)  **tēi_nen_pa kaikui t-ēpoo-se**  **wītoto ja_nkērē**
  once_Cont_Rpt jaguar Rm.Pst-meet-Rm.Pst person_Agt_still
  ‘The person met Jaguar still once more.’ (i.e. after several previous meetings)

(e)  **mērēme in-erahtē-ewa_nkērē namo_ro,**  **serē_mao-n_pona_rēn**
  but    3O-find-Neg_yet    3:Col_Exact 3InPx_Tmp-Nzr_Dir_Truly
  ‘But they haven’t found it yet, until today.’ (The speaker means a cure for AIDS.)

(f)  **pahko_nkērē pa nē-tēn**  **ēiwa-e**
  1:father_still_Rpt 3SA-go:Prs.Prf hunt-Sup
  ‘Father went hunting again.’

The particle _rē ‘Exactly’ (which harmonizes to _ro if the preceding word ends in o (30b)—but not in a V-o sequence (30c)) indicates that the words within its scope refer to something which is exactly what the hearer thinks it is. It constitutes a means for the speaker to confirm the hearer’s assumptions about the identity of some specific entity (cf. (30a), or (30f), in which the hearer was asking himself who his enemy could be; cf. also _irē_rē ‘exactly this’, ‘right’, a very frequent affirmative answer to a question which asks for confirmation, such as ‘Is this how you do it?’). A number of words with a syllable rē may be cases of lexicalization involving _rē (e.g. sekenkērē ‘likewise’, _rēke(ne) ‘only’,
kokoro ‘tomorrow’, the -aarë adverbs of 6.1.1.2, etc.); with some postpositions, it seems to be on the verge of lexicalizing (e.g. the combination apo_ro ‘just like, exactly like’, in which the postpositional collective suffix -:ne [cf. 7.1.1] can occur after the _ro (30e), or tiwërëno_ro ‘other, different’, which is much more frequent with the _ro than without it). Notice also that the combination of the anaphoric animate pronoun nërë with _rë is, idiosyncratically, nëerë, instead of the expected *nërë_rë (30g; cf. 4.1.2). The particle _rë occurs after nouns (30a, f, g) and postpositions (30b-e); some cases of occurrence after verbs were attested, but they may also be cases of ìrë (cf. below).

(30a) — akî mëe? sipaki? (b) sen_po_ro j-enuh-topo-npë
wh.An 3AnPx Spike 3InPx_Loc_Exact 1-be.born-Circ.Nizr-Pst
‘Who is this one? Spike?’ ‘This is (precisely) my birth place.’

— aha, sipaki_rë (c) ìrë_mao_rë iijeta k-akuikaa-ti
yes Spike_Exact 3InPx_Tmp_Exact a.lot 1+20-hurt-Prs.Ipf-Col
‘Yes, it’s Spike.’ ‘Precisely then it (=disease) hurts us a lot.’

(d) serë apo_ro ëmë, ji-jomi in-eta-ewa ëmë (e) kî-japo_roo-ne
3InPx like_Exact 2 1-words:Pos 3O-hear-Neg 2 1+2-like_Exact-Col
‘You’re just like this, you never listen to what I say.’ ‘just like all of us’

(f) wëi_rë, tii-ka-e, wëi_rë aameka-to
1_Exact Rm.Pst:S say-Rm.Pst 1_Exact 2:Odi-Nzr
‘It’s me’, he said, “it’s me who is angry at you.”

(g) Amohpë paapa-hpë apo mëe? Nërë tahken... Nëerë.
Amohpë 3:father-Pst like 3AnPx 3AnAna maybe 3AnAna:Exact
‘This one looks like Amohpë’s father? Maybe it’s him... Yes, it is, it’s him.’

The particle _rëke(ne) ‘only’ indicates that the words within its scope refer to something which is ‘the only one’ of the possible or imaginable referents (31a-f). It can also have the
effect of 'diminishing the importance' of an action (31g), just like the English 'only' or 'just'. This particle may have been originally a sequence of particles: _rë ‘exact, the same’ (cf. the—now optional—vowel harmony with words ending in o, as in (31b) and _ke(ne) ‘continuously’ (cf. the reducing syllable (ne), which is rather rare [cf. 2.6.2.2.2]): the sense of 'continuously exact', 'continuously the same' is not that far from 'only'.

(31a) ma, serë_rëken wi-ponoo-ja-e  
Attn 3InPx_only 1A-tell-Prs.Ipf-Cty  
'Well, I'm telling just this (and nothing else).'

(b) irë apo_roken (~_rëken)  
3InPx like_only  
'only like this, only this way'

(c) outubro_po ahato, oroko_me_rëken tipite_pë  
October_Loc when work_Attr_only field_About  
'In October, (everybody) is busy, doing nothing else but working on their fields.'

(d) noosinpe_rëken j-arimika-ne  
1:grandma_only 1O-raise-Pst.Prf  
'My grandmother raised me alone.' (i.e. she had no help; my mother was not there).

(e) koko_rëken n-etapan-ja-n mëe, aanao ene-ra  
night_only 3S0-chirp-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 3AnPx day I:see-Ineff  
'This one (a kind of cricket) only chirps at night; during the day, it cannot be seen.'

(f) neërë_ken t-ee-se  
ti-wë-ëwee-se_ken  
3AnAna_only Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst Rm.Pst-S_A-Detr-feed-Rm.Pst_Cont  
'Only he was eating.'; 'He was alone eating.'

(g) — afi më-rë-ja-n?  
wh.In 2A-do-Prs.Ipf-Dbt  
'What are you doing?'

— owa, j-urakana-e_rëken  
nothing 1S0-stroll:Prs.Ipf-Cty_only  
'Nothing, I'm just walking around.'

The particle _rën(ne) 'truly, genuine' is used with nouns to indicate that the referent is a near-prototypical member of the category: 'a real N', 'a true, genuine N'
(32a-c). It is, however, more frequently found after verbs (32e), adverbs (32d), and even postpositions (32f), indicating that the event is real, or is really going to happen (contra any remaining doubts in the hearer’s mind). With the directional postposition _pona ‘to(ward), _rën forms the combination _pona_rën, meaning ‘until’, ‘as far as’, ‘even’ ((32g-h), also (4a); cf. 7.3.1.1.2). Notice the collocation with the particle _pa ‘repetition’ (cf. 9.1.3.1), in (32i-j), where _rën_pa conveys the idea of ‘forever’ (or ‘never’, on a negative verb).

(32a)  
\[\text{tarëno_rën émë} \quad \text{Tiriyó\_truly} \quad 2\]  
\[\text{‘You are a true Tiriyó, a real Indian.’}\]

(32b)  
\[\text{j-eemii_rën mëe} \quad \text{1-daughter:Pos\_truly} \quad 3\text{AnPx}\]  
\[\text{‘This one is my real daughter.’}\]

(32c)  
\[\text{‘ë-nmuku_n-ai mëe’, mï-ka, këpëewa ji-nmuku_rën wa_ken} \quad \text{2-son:Pos\_3S\textsubscript{A}\_Cop\_3AnPx\_2S\textsubscript{A}\_say:Prs\_Prf\_but\_1-son:Pos\_truly\_Neg\_Cont}\]  
\[\text{‘This is your son,’ you said, but my real son was not there.’}\]

(32d)  
\[\text{kure_rën_man-a-e, Taru, ji-pa-rî, tîi-ka-e} \quad \text{good\_truly\_2S\textsubscript{A}\_Cop\_Cty\_Taru\_1-grandson:Pos\_Rm\_Pst\_say-Rm\_Pst}\]  
\[\text{‘You are really good, Taru, my grandson,’ he said.’}\]

(32e)  
\[\text{n-ë-tîhka_rën pîre, tîi-ka-e} \quad \text{3S\textsubscript{A}\_Detr\_finish:up:Prs\_Prf\_truly\_1\_arrow:Pos\_Rm\_Pst\_say-Rm\_Pst}\]  
\[\text{‘My arrows are all really gone,’ he said.’}\]

(32f)  
\[\text{irëme nëërë, waa_rî_se_rën_w-a-e, kutuma} \quad \text{then\_3AnAna:Exact\_Neg\_make\_Desid\_truly\_1S\textsubscript{A}\_Cop\_Cty\_Inf\_ens}\]  
\[\text{‘So, this one, I really want to kill him (=make him nothing), I want it a lot.’}\]

(32g)  
\[\text{irë_mao rupeimë_ja same_ken ti-kuika-e_re,} \quad \text{3InAna\_Tmp\_lizard.sp\_Agt\_fast\_Cont\_Rm\_Pst\_swallow-Rm\_Pst\_Frust}\]  
\[\text{sen_pona_rën} \quad 3\text{InPx\_Dir\_truly}\]

\[\text{‘Then, very fast, the lizard tried to swallow him (in vain), up to here.’}\]  
\[\text{(the speaker makes a gesture to a body part, indicating up to what point the character’s body was swallowed by the lizard.)}\]
The negative particles _wa(a) and _ta(ike) are used as a ‘negative existential’ ('there isn’t') and a ‘negative identificational’ ('it isn’t'), respectively (33a-b). This semantic difference implies that only _ta(ike) can occur after adverbs and postpositional phrases (33c-d, f-h). Almost certainly, _wa(a) is the source of the negative (-sewa; cf. 5.4.3.1.3) form of the verb (cf. Meira 1998a:136ff), and is certainly related to the sentence-equivalent particle owa ‘no, nothing nobody’ (cf. 9.2.1); some of its frequent collocations seem also to be lexicalizing, such as wa_ken ‘there isn’t any’ (33e; notice the short a), and waa_rī ‘kill O’, which is giving rise to a new verb stem aawīrī (probably because of a misinterpretation of a first person form, e.g. waa_wi-rī ‘I killed O’ as w-aawīrī; cf. (33i-j), and also 5.1.6). The particle _ta(ike) (which occurs in its full grade _taike in (33h)) is also probably related to the tahka-particles (cf. 9.1.3.2). Some cases of adverbs negated with _ta(ike) are lexicalizing (cf. (33f), in which kawē_ta ‘not tall’ = ‘short’ can be nominalized with -no [cf. 4.2.2.2]), but this is not generally true (cf. (33g), in which pijaaTa ‘not small’ cannot be nominalized)._Taike is also used to negate the -se forms of the verb, the supine (33k) and the remote past (33l) (but not, of course, the negative form; cf. 5.4.3.1).
(33a) wítoto_taa_n-ai
   person_Neg_3SA-Cop
   'It isn’t a person (but something else).'

(b) wítoto_waa_n-ai
   person_Neg.Exist_3SA-Cop
   'There isn’t any person.'

(c) nari_ke_ta eh-kë
   fear_Inst_Neg Cop-Imper
   'Don’t be afraid.'

(d) owa, ìrë apo_ta
    no 3InAna like_Neg
    'No, not like that!

(e) — tîka ì-wenje ?
    tobacco 2-beside
    'Have you got any tobacco?'

(f) kawë_taa, kawë_taa-no
    tall_Neg, tall_Neg-Nsr
    'not tall’, ‘a short one’

— owa, wa_ken
    no Neg_Cont
    'No, there isn’t (=I don’t have) any.’

(g) pijä_taa, *piija_taa-no
    small_Neg (small_Neg-Nsr)
    'not small', (a not-small one)

(h) ee, kure kure_taike_rên mama
    Attn Intens good_Neg_truly 2:mother:Pos
    'Hey, your mother is really bad.'

(i) waa_mï-ri-ja-n ?
    Neg_2A-make-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
    'Are you going to kill O?’

(j) m-aawiri-ja-n ?
    2A-kill-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
    'Are you going to kill O?’

(k) mërë_pona wë-tën e-pë-e_ta
    3InMd_Dir 1SA-go:Prs.Prf Detr-bathe-Sup_Neg
    'I went over there in order not to bathe.'

(l) t-ëpëë-se_ta
    Rm.Pst-catch-Rm.Pst_Neg
    '(S/he) didn’t catch O.’

The particle _sa(a) ‘a little’, ‘a bit’ is used to ‘reduce the intensity’ of the
predicate (34a-b). It frequently collocates with pijä ‘small’, forming pijä_sa ‘a little bit’
(33c-d), but it can also co-occur with other adverbs (33e-f) and postpositional phrases
(33g).

(34a) ë-jomi wi-kuu-ja-e_sa
    2-language 1A-imitate-Prs.Ipf-Cty_a.bit
    'I can speak your language a little.’

(b) kit-ët-ahkëë-ja-e_sa
    1+2SA-Detr-cut-Prs.Ipf-Cty_a.bit
    'We are cutting each other a little.’

(c) pijä_sa_rêken t-ët-uru-ja-e
    small_a.bit_only 1SA-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Cty
    'I am talking just a little bit...'

(d) pijä_sa ji-waarë
    small_a.bit 1-Cogn
    'I know little.'
The particle **ahke(ne)** has the meaning ‘as if’, ‘pretending to be’; it is used to mean that the words within its scope refer to something which is similar to the members of the category that they normally designate, but is not really a member. A few examples are given in (35). This particle was compared to **_me** ‘Attributivizer’ and **apo** ‘like’ in 7.3.4.3.

(35a) **mēe_n-ai** tarēno ahken  **(b) ēēseenē-to_ta ahken kīt-a-ti**
3AnPx_3SA-Cop Tiriýó as.if  ill-Nom_Neg as.if 1+2SA-Cop-Col
‘He looks like (but is not) a Tiriýó.’  ‘You will be as if you were not ill.’

c) **t-omoi-ke_n-ai** kītō, kaikui amoi ahken awē_n-ai
T-claw-Having_3SA-Cop toad.sp jaguar 3:claw:Pos as.if 3:In_3SA-Cop
‘This toad has claws, it has something like a jaguar’s claws inside.’

The particle **kahta** ‘definitely, without fail’ is used to signify that the event must take place, at any cost (cf. e.g. French **sans faute**, Italian **senz’altro**, Esperanto **nepre**); it is often used in ‘desperate’ requests (36a-b). Sometimes it occurs with an initial **h**, for which no explanation has been found (36c).

(36a) **kokoro_mo oh-kē_kahta**
tomorrow_Irr come-Imper_definitely
‘Do come tomorrow, without fail!’

(b) **apēh-kē_kahta**
3O:hold-Imper_definitely
‘Please, hold it! Don’t let go!’
(c)  tī-rī-kē_hkahta
   t-make-Imper_definitely
   ‘Please, make it! Do make it!’

(d)  ma, kure_hkahta
   Attn well_definitely
   ‘OK, do it really well!’

The remaining particles are not well understood yet. The particle _san ~ _sanne
(or _saane) follows nouns, apparently with some identificational or presentational flavor
(‘here, it’s this one’; cf. (37a-c)); it may be related to the particle _hkaasan ‘instead’ (cf.
9.1.3.2). The particle _npa seems to express concern about the current situation (37d-g);
there is no obvious connection to the hortative sentence sentence equivalent npa ‘let’s
go’ (cf. 9.2.1).

(37a)  sen_saane  eka
       3InPx_Ident? 3:name:Pos
   ‘It’s this one’s name.’

(b)  mērē_sanne
       3InMd_Ident?
   ‘It’s that one, there it is.’

(c)  pīrēu_san_mērē!  arē!
        arrow_Ident?_3InMd  3O:take:Imper
   ‘There is the arrow! Go take it!’

(d)  irēme ‘eeke m-ee-ja-nē_npa’
       tī-ka-e_to
    then  how 2S爹-Cop-Prs.Ipf-Dbt_concern?  Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst_3Col
   ‘Then, “what will happen to you?” they said.’ (to a man who was abandoning them)

(e)  an-po_kene_nai_npa  i-mun,
       tī-ka-e
       wh-Loc_cont_3S爹-Cop_concern?  Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst
   ‘“Where do you think its roots are?” she said.’ (about a new plant).

(f)  pēē  kure  j-apēē-ja-nē_npa,
    j-erīkē  pena
    concern Intens 1O-catch-Prs.Ipf-Dbt_concern? 1S爹-be.in.danger:Prs.Prf already
   ‘Ooohh, it’s going to catch me, I may die!...’

(g)  k-ēpinēh-kē_npa,
       kunawaru, wē-ewa_w-a-e
       12AO-medicate-Imper_concern? toad.sp shoot-Neg_1S爹-Cop-Cty
   ‘Oh, medicate me, cure me (of my inability), Kunawaru, I can’t shoot well.’
9.1.5. Others. The particles in this section have not been clearly classified as belonging to any of the above classes for lack of conclusive examples. Future research should shed some light on their uses.

The particle _inēērē occurred in a couple of examples with ‘identificational’ semantics (‘That is the one!’; ‘I am the one!’). It probably contrasts with _san and _rē (cf. previous section), but the specifics are unknown. This particle looks related to the animate anaphoric pronoun nēērē (cf. 4.1.2), but is certainly not identical with it, since they can co-occur (38d).

(38a) wi_inēērē!
   1_Ident?
   ‘I am him! That’s me!’

(b) kimē_inēērē!
   1+2_Ident?
   ‘That’s us! That’s really us!’

(c) ji-pawana_inēērē!
   1-friend_Ident?
   ‘That’s him, my friend!’

(d) nēērē_inēērē!
   3AnAna_Ident?
   ‘That’s him!’

The particle _mū (collective form: _miiko(mo))\textsuperscript{13} co-occurs with the supine (or ‘purpose-of-motion’) form of the verb (cf. 5.4.3.1.1) in a ‘venitive’ (‘come’-imperative) construction (cf. 5.4.2.1). It may be a second-position or a scope particle.

(39a) — ene_se_w-a-e
   3O:see:N_Desid_1S_A-Cop-Cty
   ‘I want to see it!’

(b) ēh-puuēē-se_rēken mūkon
   Detr-think-Sup_only Ven
   ‘Come all think about this!’

— ene_mū!
   3O:see:Sup_Ven
   ‘Come see it, then!’

\textsuperscript{13} _mī(i), _miiko(mo) in some areas (maybe the entire K-Tiriyō area).
The particle teērē occurred a couple of times as an existential ('there is'). It may have been an old word for 'here' (cf. sarē ‘to here'; cf. also the possible etymology of the Tiriyō autodenomination tarēno in 1.2).

(40a) teērē tuna?  (b) teērē ipun?
Exist water    Exist meat
‘Is there water?’ ‘Is there (any) meat?’

c) ma, tiwērē_ken i-ponoh-to teērē īrē
Attn other_Cont 3-tell-Circ.Nzr Exist 3InAna
‘Well, there is another different story, too.’

The most discernible function of the continuative particle _ke(ne) ‘continuative’ is that of marking an event as ongoing, uninterrupted (40a-c). This particle is probably related to others ending in ke(ne) (e.g. ahke(ne) ‘as if’, tahke(ne) ‘maybe’, _rēke(ne) ‘only’, sehke(ne) ‘likewise’, wa_ke(ne) ‘there isn’t any’; cf. previous sections) and to the ke(ne) adverbs (which appear to be lexicalized occurrences of _ke(ne)) in 6.1.1.4. Often enough, it occurs in contexts where the idea of ‘continuation’ is very faint; in these circumstances, it comes close to being an intensifier (41e, h)

(41a) sen_po_ken_w-a-e
3InPx_Loc_Cont 1SA-Cop-Cty
‘I am here (and have been, for a while).’

(b) t-etapan-je_ken kunawaru, koa koa koa...
Rm.Pst-chirp-Rm.Pst_Cont toad.sp toad.noise
‘The kunawaru toad just kept chirping: koa, koa, koa…’

(c) ma, kēpēewa rupeimē ni-kuika-n_ken
Attn but lizard.sp 3A-swallow:Prs.Ipf-Dbt_Cont
‘In spite of that, the lizard just went on swallowing him.’

(d) ti-korohта-e_ken papa
Rm.Pst-stay.white-Rm.Pst_Cont 2:father:Pos
‘(Your father wouldn’t be painted with anatto), he (always) remained white.’
(e) **irēme i-wekena-toh-pooraken t-ee-se**
then I-follow-Circ.Nzr-Defc_Cont Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst
‘Then it was really impossible to follow him.’

(f) **ma, irē_mao t-ēne_ken ii-ja enu**
Attn 3InAna_Tmp Rm.Pst-see:Rm.Pst_Cont 3-Agt 3:eye:Pos
‘Then, he kept looking straight at his (=the alligator’s) eyes.’

(g) **irē_poken t-ee-se kīto, samu_juwwē_ken, koron koron**
3InAna_Loc_Cont Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst toad.sp sand_on.top_Cont, koron koron
‘The toad just kept being there, on top of the sand, “koron-koron”.’

(h) **irē_mao t-ērē-e ii-ja maa_tah_ken**
3InAna_Tmp Rm.Pst-take-Rm.Pst 3-Agt far_Neg_Cont
‘Then he took O not very far.’

The particle _re(pe) has a ‘frustrative’ value; i: indicates that the event described
in the sentence either did not fully occur (like English ‘almost’, as in (42a)), or that it did
not have the desired consequences (like English ‘in vain’, as in (42b)).

(42a) **j-anota_re**
1SG-fall:Prs.Prf_Frust
‘I almost fell.’

(b) **tuna_se_re w-ēi**
water_Desid_Frust 1SA-Cop:Prs.Prf
‘I wanted water (but I didn’t get any).’

Finally, a certain number of adverbs have ‘particle-like’ uses. **Pena**, which usually
means ‘long ago’, can also be used as a particle meaning ‘already’, ‘yet’ (43a); notice
that, in this sense, it cannot be nominalized (**pena-to** can only mean ‘ancestor’, ‘one from
long ago’). The adverbs **kure** ‘good, well, pretty’ and **kutumaka** ‘painful, bitter’ (cf.
Table 6.2) can, and frequently are, used as intensifying particles (43b-c); **kure** can even
occur both as an adverb and as an intensifier (cf. (33h) above). Also, the comparative

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14 One speaker compared these two uses of **pena** to the homophony between the adverb ēwē ‘later’ and the
jussive particle ēwē(h) (cf. 9.1.1), which he described as ‘two different words’.
postposition apo ‘like’ occasionally occurs by itself, without an object, apparently signaling an approximation (not unlike colloquial uses of English sort of or kind of, or even like); cf. (43d-e).

(43a) — pena mĩ-rĩ ?
      already 1A-make:Prs.Prf
      ‘Have you made (=finished) it yet?’

(b) kutuma i-waarë
     Intens 3-Cogn
     ‘S/he knows a lot.’

— aha, pena wĩ-rĩ
     yes, already 1A-make:Prs.Prf
     ‘Yes, I’ve already made (=finished) it.’

(c) irëme kure tĩwaarë eh-kë
     so Intens careful Cop-Imper
     ‘Therefore, be really careful.’

(d) irëme Suurinan_me apo w-ei-ne
     then Surinam_Attr like 1SA-Cop-Pst.Prf
     ‘Then I was sort-of like a Surinamese.’

(e) wapo w-ei-ne saasaame_ta, ma, jì-moifì_se_ta apo
     before 1SA-Cop-Pst.Prf happy_Neg Attn 1-people_Desid_Neg like
     ‘At first I was unhappy, I sort of didn’t want/like my people.’

9.2. Lexical particles. These are particles with more concrete or lexical meanings, ranging from marking the attitude of the speaker to sound symbolism.

In the introduction, a major subdivision was made between particles that can stand alone (independent particles, including sentence equivalents and interjections) and those that usually do not (ideophones). Functionally speaking, sentence equivalents stand out as having no traceable relationship to onomatopoeia or sound symbolism (with the exception of aha ‘yes’; cf. below). As for interjections and ideophones, they are sometimes very similar in meaning, and the border between them is far from being hermetic. Ideophones are, more often than not, accompanied by one of the forms of the
S\textsubscript{A} verb stem ka ‘say’. However, almost any word can, albeit infrequently, co-occur with ka; this includes interjections. Often enough, these are instances of indirect speech (‘Ouch!’, he said), but there are borderline cases, especially among sound symbolic particles and animal sounds: the fact that e.g. t\textsubscript{japan} ‘sticking’ and koron ‘toad noise’ were only found by themselves in the available corpus while manan ‘lightning’ and siri, sirin ‘cricket noise’ co-occurred with ka may have been a spurious conincidence. In certain cases, however, there is a clear preference: bodily functions (pito ‘spit’, tonton ‘cough’ etc.) almost always co-occur with ka, while certain interjections (tee ‘surprise’, péé ‘concern’) almost never do, and even these occurrences are usually indirect speech. Such extremes give a certain usefulness to the distinction, which is why it is maintained here. They should be considered, however, extremes along a continuum, as in Fig. 9.1.

Inevitably, the choice of the cutoff point is a subjective matter.

Figure 9.1
Particle co-occurrence with ka ‘say’

Almost Never
pee ‘surprise’
tee ‘surprise’
pee ‘concern’
êê ‘lament’

Almost Always
pito ‘spit’
kororo ‘snore’
poke ‘breathe’

9.2.1. Sentence equivalents. These words represent the speaker’s reaction to something that the hearer has just said. More often than not, they occur as single-word sentences; even when an explicative sentence follows, they still remain extra-sentential (compare the possible positions of _pa ‘Repetition’ with the sentence equivalent ma ‘new theme’ and the conjunction irême ‘then, so’ in (44a-d)). The clearest exception is npa, which can sometimes be followed by a dependent complement verb in the supine (see below).
Aha signals agreement (45a-b), and its opposite, owa, disagreement (45c). They are close to the English word ‘yes’ and ‘no’, but they are not entirely equivalent, since the use of aha and owa with negative questions is exactly the opposite of that of ‘yes’ and ‘no’ in English (i.e. aha agrees, and owa disagrees, regardless of the polarity of the question; cf. (45d-e)). Owa is clearly a word, obviously related to the negative particle wa(a); it can also, given the circumstances, mean ‘nothing’ or ‘nobody’ (45d). Aha, on the other hand, looks less stable. Its pronunciation can vary from [aha] to [əhə], coming sometimes quite close to the agreeing sound usually spelled as ‘m-m’ or ‘hm-hm’ in English. Notice also that it is possible to find intensifying particles after owa, but not after aha (e.g. owa_rën, owa_rën_ken ‘Not at all! Never!’, with _rën(ne) ‘truly, genuine’ and _ke(ne) ‘Continuative’, but not *aha_rën or *aha_rën_ken).

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15 When pronounced aloud, this sentence is interpreted as maa_pa tūtēe, with the adverb ma(a) ‘far’, i.e. ‘S/he went far away’, which clearly is a different sentence (the speakers themselves pointed that out).
Kena ‘I don’t know’ seems to be equivalent in meaning with the first-person form of the ignorative postposition (ji-waame ‘I don’t know’). No obvious difference was found. Jiwaame can also be used in the answer in (46).

(46) — eeka-n_mao_pa n-ee-ja-n a-akoron ?
how-Nzr.Temp_Rpt 3SA-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 2-companion
‘When is your friend coming back?’

— kena, nērē_hkatē
Ignor’ 3AnAna_up.to
‘I don’t know, it’s up to him/her.’

Kone is used to accept a suggestion or invitation; it is reminiscent of the English ‘okay’ or ‘all right’. It is usually preceded by ma, but can also occur by itself.

(47a) — ene_se_w-a-e, ene_mīi, tū-ka-e
3O-see:N_Desid_1SA-Cop-Cty 3O-see:Sup_Ven Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst
‘I want to see it, come see it,’ (she) said.’

— ma_kone
NT okay
‘All right.’
— ēwē_ pa, k-ērepa wa-e-pitē wī-tē-e, tīr-ka-e
later_Rpt, 1+2-food:Pos fetch-Sup_a.sec 1S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst
"Wait a little, I’ll go get our food and then I’ll come back,” (she) said.”

— kone
okay
'All right.'

Ma 'bye' is clearly connected to the conjunction ma; it may eventually be a better idea to analyze it as the same word. It is used as an answer to a leave-taking expression.

(48) — anja_pā nī-tē-e
1+3_Rpt 3S_A-go:Prs.Prf-Cty
i.e. as [a′njā.pān.tē])
'We're leaving.'

— ma
bye
'Bye!'

Naapohpa is the current expression for 'thank you'. Several speakers claimed that it truly meant 'that's it', but usually īrē_rē is found in this sense. It seems to be composed of the particle pohpa (still unresearched; cf. 9.3) and an element naa-, possibly an old deictic (cf. 12.2).

(49) īrēme saasaame pahko t-ee-se īr-w-ē-ewetē_ke,
then happy 1:father Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst 3R-S_A-Detr-feed:N.Inst

īrēme naapohpa kīn-ka wija pahko, naapohpa ji-nmukü
then thank.you 3Pst.Prf-say 1:Dat 1:father, thank.you 1:son:Pos

"Then my father was happy with his meal (which I had brought him), so "thank you", he said to me, "thank you, my son'.”
Naka is used to signal an end, a conclusion: ‘it’s over’, ‘enough’, ‘that’s it’. A common way of ending a story is by saying naka ‘that’s it’, or naka menjaarē ‘that’s it for now’ (50a). Naka wīja ‘enough to me’ can be used to express the idea of satisfaction with one’s portion (‘no more for me’). It can also be used to talk about the end of an activity (50b), or about running out of something (50c). In the latter cases, it looks less like a sentence equivalent and more like an adverb; however, its lack of class-changing morphology vouches for its particle status.

(50a) serē_rēken i-ponopī_se_w-a-e, naka menjaarē
3InPx_Only 3-tell:N_Desid_1SA-Cop-Cty over now
‘That’s all I want to tell, it’s over now.’

(b) irēme, naka i-w-eh-tuwwē irē, mēe i-w-ē-epañh-heh-tuuwē,
then over 3-SA-Cop-Post 3InAna 3AnPx 3-SA-Detr-revenge-Cess-Post
tēin_ken_pa kaikui t-ēpoo-se witoto ja
once_Cont_Rpt jaguar Rm.Pst-meet-Rm.Pst person_Agt
‘Then, after it was over, after he had taken his revenge, this guy met Jaguar again.’

(c) erepa naka t-ee-se
3:food:Pos over Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst
‘S/he ran out of food.’

Npa is a hortative particle, meaning ‘let’s go’ (equivalent, in this respect, to the hortative form of tē[mī] ‘go’, which is kitēnne ‘let’s go’). It is most frequently used by itself, but it can, if need be, take a supine (‘purpose-of-motion’) complement (51). Npa sentences are the only attested cases of utterance-initial consonant clusters (cf. 2.4.1-2).

(51) npa ! npa e-pē-e !
Hort Hort Detr-bathe-Sup
‘Let’s go! Let’s go bathe!’
9.2.2. Interjections and Ideophones. The most ‘interjection-like’ (i.e. less likely to occur with ka) words in this subclass are tee ‘surprise’, pēē ‘concern’ and ēē ‘lament’; cf. (52a-d). They are usually pronounced with a final long vowel and a non-level intonation (tee quick rising, pēē slow rising, ēē slow lowering). (52a) is said by a speaker who unexpectedly meets a woman who had already been mentioned to him by his guide. (52b) is said by a speaker who realizes a distressing truth (‘What am I going to do now?’); used by itself, pēē can express pity (e.g. when listening to someone’s complaints: ‘Oh, how sad/awful/bad!’). (52c) is said by Cayman, a character in a folk tale, who tried to catch a squirrel but was fooled by it instead. Notice that ēē can be prolonged quite dramatically, sounding like a wail. The call ee ‘Hey!’ probably belongs here, although it occurred much less frequently that the other three. In (52d), it signals that the speaker saw something that he liked (in this case, cassava beer).

(52a) tee! mēē ponoo-ja-n, tīī-ka-e witoto
Surprise 3AnPx tell-Prs.Lpf-Dbt Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst person
“Oh! That’s the one he was talking about,” the guy said.’

(b) pēē, menjaarē mataware ii-karau w-apēī
Concern now Mataware 3-anger 1A-catch:Prs.Prf
“Oh, now I have caused Mataware’s anger.’

(c) ēē... tīī-ka-e, ēē... m-ēēs-ahpēntē-ti, tīī-ka-e
Lament Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst Lament 1A-Detr-help:Prs.Prf-Col Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst
“Ooohh,” he said, “ooohh... you’ve saved yourself,” he said.’

(d) irē_mao t-ēne ii-ja, ee, t-ēnīi-semī_rē
3InPx_Temp Rm.Pst-see:Rm.Pst 3-Agt hey T-drink-O.pot_Exact
‘Then he saw it, (and said, ) “Hey, it’s really drink (=cassava beer)!”’

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16 ēē can also be pronounced with a rising intonation, in which case it is compatible with ‘happier’ feelings; cf. (19e) above, in which a mother finally finds her lost son.
The sound-symbolic words listed in Table 9.2 as *ideophones* were only attested with ka ‘say’. (53) has a representative sample. In some cases, the onomatopoeic character is evident (compare e.g. asino ‘sneeze’ and English *achoo*, Portuguese *atchim!*, pito ‘spit’ also quite resembles a spitting noise).

(53a) **tonton wi-ka-e**
cough 1SA-say:Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘I am sneezing (‘saying *achoo*’).’

(b) **pito wi-ka-e**
spit 1SA-say:Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘I am spitting.’

(c) **wiriri wi-ka-e**
whistle 1SA-say:Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘I am blowing a whistle.’

(d) **pērērē_n-ka-n**
drizzle_3SA-say:Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘It is drizzling.’

(e) **mīmīmī n-ka-n**
pullulate_3SA-say:Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘It is pullulating (e.g. with insects).’

(f) **tīrīrī_n-ka-n**
thunder_3SA-say:Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘It is thundering.’

(g) **mēmēi wi-ka-e**
 joke 1SA-say:Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘I am making a joke.’

The sound-symbolic words listed in Table 9.2 as *interjections* occurred generally without ka-support, but not always (54c). Some of them refer to noises related to, or produced by, the action: in (54a), Iguana is making his typical noise as he climbs up a tree; in (54b), Tapir is hitting a tree, to cause an old enemy to fall down; in (54c), a man is led back home by the barking of the dogs. In certain cases, the sound-symbolic word is similar to the lexical verb stem used to describe the action (compare kī in (54d) with kīka ‘rub O’, and perhaps also with [t]kī ‘grate O’; jum in (54e) with juuka ‘bend O’; meen in (54f) with ame[mil] ‘roll O up’), but this is not always the case (cf. (54g-h)). It is interesting to notice that some of these sound-symbolic words correspond to less ‘noisy’
notions (tora, toran ‘coming out, arriving’ in (54i), taran ‘piling up, assembling’ in (54j), kom ‘coming close’ in (54k), kurun ‘entering’ in (54l)).

(54a) suru suru, tī-w-ēnanuu-se kawē, iwana
noise noise R.Pst-S_A-climb.R.Pst high, iguana
’Suru-suru, he climbed high, Iguana.’

(b) dēē, dēē, kuuh... tum, t-onota-e i-ponoote-ne-npē
hit hit fall hit.ground Rm.Pst-fall-Rm.Pst 3-tell-A.act-Pst
[da:], [da:], [kuxx], [tum], he fell, the one who had told

(c) kaikui i-jomi t-ēta-e ii-ja, aohao ka-to
dog 3-voice Rm.Pst-hear-Rm.Pst 3-Agt wow-wow say-Circ:Nzr
’S/he heard the barking of the dogs, saying “wow-wow.”’

(d) irēme wiise tī-kiika-e ii-ja, kii...
then anatto Rm.Pst-rub-Rm.Pst 3-Agt rub
‘Then he rubbed anatto (on someone else), [kii:]...’

(e) epī tī-juuka-e ii-ja, jum, tī-w-ēt-amen-too_me_pa
tree Rm.Pst-bend-Rm.Pst 3-Agt bend 3R-S_A-Detr-roll.up-Circ:Nzr_Attr_Rpt
‘It (=snake) bent the tree down, [jum], in order to roll itself up around it again.’

(f) t-amen-po-e ii-ja, meen, mono wiri_htao,
Rm.Pst-roll.up-Caus-Rm.Pst 3-Agt roll.up big:one tree.sp_Loc

sehken akoron, meen.
likewise 3:companion roll.up

‘He made it (=snake) roll itself up against the big wiri tree, [meen], and the other (snake) too, [meen].’

(g) irē_tae_rē kikikikiki... tiu, akoron, tiu,
3InAna_Perl_Exact unrolling... end 3:other end

tī-w-ēt-amoitē-e_to
Rm.Pst-S_A-Detr-hang-Rm.Pst_Col

‘In this manner, [kikikikiki]...[tiw], it unrolled itself, and the other one too, [tiw],
they both were hanging loose (from the tree).’
(h) kepēewa, e-pēh_ken_ta, kap... tūnapan-nē, kap... tūnapan-nē,
but Recp-about_Cont_Neg [kap]... take.time-Inf.Nzr [kap]... take.time-Inf.Nzr
‘But he didn’t (shoot all the arrows) one after the other; rather, (he shot one)
[kap]..., waited a little, (then shot another) [kap]..., and waited a little,...’

(i) ma irēme tū-tē-e_pa,
ti-pataa_pona_pa,
NT then Rm.Psdt:S_A-go-Rm.Pst_Rpt 3R-village:Pos.Dir.Rpt,
toran, ti-moi ti-h-tomo_ja_pa
arrive, 3R-relatives-Pos-Col_All_Rpt
‘Then he went away, back to his village, [toran], back to his people.’

(j) t-ēpēi ti-rē-e
ii-ja kawē, jarakapu,
3R-seat:Pos Rm.Pst-make-Rm.Pst 3-Agt high kind.of.seat
taran taran taran, irē_juuwē t-ee-se
assemble assemble assemble assemble 3InAna_on.top Rm.Pst-S_A:Cop-Rm.Pst
‘(He) made a seat, a jarakapu, up there, [taran] [taran] [taran] [taran], there it
was, on top of it (=the tree).’

(k) kom, ti-w-ēe-se_pa
kaikui
back Rm.Pst-S_A-come-Rm.Pst_Rpt jaguar
‘[kom], Jaguar came back.’

(l) irē_mao_rēken t-eetainka-e
kaikui...
3InAna.Temp_Only Rm.Pst-S_A:run-Rm.Pst jaguar
kurun, ti-w-ēmēn-je
wakapu oota-h_tao
enter Rm.Pst-S_A-enter-Rm.Pst tree.sp 3:hole-Pos_In
‘Only then did Jaguar run... [kurun], he entered into hole of the wakapu tree.’

9.3. Other possible particles. The following words were attested in the corpus; although
their status is not known, they are good candidates for additional particles (although some
may turn out to be adverbs). Further research should help decide the issue.
(55a) aenepa ‘show me!’
(b) aine ‘okay (?)’
(c) alto ‘dear’
(d) ekepi ‘dead’
(e) hkaanara ‘?’ \(^{17}\)
(f) ito ‘?’
(g) konkomo ‘only (?)’
(h) mîra, sera ‘like that’, ‘like this’ \(^{18}\)
(i) neewan ‘this one (?)’
(j) nehken ‘?’
(k) nete ‘?’
(l) nka ‘?’
(m) nna ‘like this’, ‘in this manner’
(n) pohpa ‘?’
(o) tahkanara ‘?’ \(^{19}\)
(p) tê(e) ‘old, ancient (?)’
(q) weinên ‘beginning (?)’

\(^{17}\) This word must be related to the hka subgroup of second-position particles.
\(^{18}\) These particles seem to contain the proximal and distal formatives (se and më; cf. 12.2).
\(^{19}\) This word must be related to the tahka subgroup of second-position particles.
10. SYNTAX

10.1. Introduction. Of all aspects of grammar, it is in the realm of syntax that Cariban languages are least understood, in spite of having attained world celebrity with cases of OVS as the basic word order (cf. e.g. Derbyshire & Pullum 1981). There are more detailed studies for two languages, Carib (also known as Kari’na: Hoff 1968, 1978, 1986, 1990, 1995, and also Gildea 1994a) and Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1979, 1985, 1986a). The syntax of four other languages has received some attention: Apalai (Koehn & Koehn 1986), De’kwana (Hall 1988), Macushi (Abbott 1991, Carson 1981), and Waiwai (Hawkins 1998). Given this situation, any generalizations in the area of Cariban syntax are at best tentative.

As far as extant knowledge goes, however, Tiriyó is a fairly typical Cariban language. It has several recognizable phrase types (cf. 10.2): noun, verb and postpositional phrases. The possessive noun phrase in Tiriyó is different from the general Cariban pattern (cf. Gildea 1998:112-113); the others, however, seem to be almost pan-Cariban (cf. Gildea 1998:61ff for the OV verb phrase, described in terms of the morphosyntactic behavior of the 3AO prefix n-; cf. Gildea [to appear] for a diachronic perspective). The basic main clause types (cf. 10.3) include equative and conjugated or Set I (copular, intransitive and transitive), which are widely attested in the family, but also remote past (t- -se) and habitual past (-se) clauses, which are not. The most frequent subordinate clauses are verbal nominalizations, which is also the usual case in the family; there are, however, finite (conjugated) subordinate adverbial clauses (cf. 10.4.1.1). Interestingly, the preferred word order is not the same in all clause types; Tiriyó could be described as a ‘split-word-order’ language (cf. Gildea [to appear]). Identifiable semantic roles include A, O and S, as well as peripheral participants (with datives having a special status) marked with postpositions.
In the following sections, various aspects of Tiriyó syntax are examined in detail. The main formal units (phrases, clauses, sentences, etc.) are dealt with in 10.2-3, while the main semantic units (roles and grammatical relations) are treated in 10.4. A description of phrase types is given in 10.2, followed by a presentation of the main clause and sentence types in 10.3 and of complex sentences and subordination in 10.4. A first approach at higher-level problems (coordination, topic, rheme, and word order) are addressed in 10.4.2 and 10.5.

10.1.1. Formal units. Not all combinations of words are well-formed, understandable, reasonable utterances in Tiriyó. One of the main goals of a syntactic description is the characterization of the various restrictions involved in the combination of words to form acceptable Tiriyó utterances. For this purpose, the following formal units or were found useful (their relationships are shown in the schema of Fig. 10.1).

— (grammatical) **word**: a syntactic element, either a clitic or a root with or without affixes, used to form phrases;

— **phrase**: a combination of one or more words which occupies a position within a clause;

— **clause**: a combination of one or more phrases which occupies a syntactic slot within a sentence;

— **sentence**: a combination of one or more clauses which occupies a position within a text;

— **text**: a coherent group of one or more sentences.
As was the case for the other structural levels of Tiriyó (cf. 1.4.1. for the phonology and 3.2 for the morphology), the hierarchical organization of Fig. 10.1 is only an approximation, a reference grid which is superimposed on actual Tiriyó data. As always, reality is more fluid. It is not always clear whether or not a certain sequence of words is a phrase, or a clause, or something intermediate. The form-meaning continuum, which was mentioned in 3.2 in connection with morphological units, can be extended to the syntactic domain, with specific sequences of words having varying degrees of syntactic cohesion. The partitioning of this continuum suggested by Fig. 10.1 is meant as a descriptive tool, justifiable only inasmuch as it proves useful in dealing with actual Tiriyó texts.

10.1.2. Constituency criteria. In arguing for constituency structure, the following factors (inspired in Givón 1995:177ff) have been found useful:

— linear ordering;
— intonation and pauses;
— separability
— clitics and second-position particles.
Linear ordering refers to restrictions in the ordering of words. It is here assumed that a situation in which a certain sequence A B is possible, but *B A is not, as in (1e-f), is an argument in favor of A and B forming a phrase [A B]. Dramatic semantic changes, as in (1c-d), are also symptoms of constituent status (although further information on the syntactic patterns of the language is necessary to ascertain whether it is in (1c), or in (1d), or in both, that one finds a constituent).

(1a) ji-pawana w-epori
1-friend:Pos 1A-meet:Prs.Prf
'I have met my friend.'

(b) w-epori ji-pawana
1A-meet:Prs.Prf 1-friend:Pos
'I have met my friend.'

(c) pahko i-pawana
1:father 3-friend:Pos
'My father's friend.'

(d) i-pawana pahko
3-friend:Pos 1:father
'My father is his/her friend.'

(e) pahko akoronma-n
1:father help:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'S/he is helping my father.'

(f) *akoronma-n pahko

Intonations and pauses refers to the rhythmic properties of speech as revealed by the tendencies to associate elements in intonational units or to separate them with pauses. Roughly speaking, pauses (which usually delimit intonational units) should not break a syntactic constituent, but rather occur at its edges. In fact, if pauses are inserted between words that form a constituent, dramatic changes in meaning can result, as in (2a-b).¹

(2a) pahko akëerë ni-tën
1:father with 3S_A-go:Prs.Prf
'S/he has gone with my father.'

(b) pahko, akëerë niitën
1:father 3:with 3S_A-go:Prs.Prf
'My father has gone with him/her.'

¹ Sometimes (for instance, when they are unsure about what to say next, or when they cannot remember a word), speakers will make pauses between constituent elements of a phrase. When they speak fast, they may also not produce any recognizable pause between two constituents. It is a sad truth that the analyst's subjective judgment is often necessary to decide whether or not one is dealing with a 'significant pause'—or lack thereof.
(c) **pahko i-pawana nî-tên**
1:father 3-friend:Pos 3S_A-go:Prs.Prf
'Father! His/her friend has gone.'

The fact that the occurrence of a pause between **pahko** 'my father' and **akëërë** 'with (him/her)' in (2b), and between **pahko** and **i-pawana** 'his/her friend' in (2d), completely changes the meaning of the clause argues in favor of the hypothesis that these words form constituents (a postpositional phrase [**pahko akëërë**] 'with my father' and a possessive phrase [**pahko i-pawana**] 'my father’s friend').

**Separability** refers to the possibility of inserting elements between words. If a given sequence of words is not separable (or if it is separable only with a dramatic change in meaning), then it is assumed to form a constituent. For instance, (3a-b) show that the sequence **pahko i-pawana** 'my father’s friend' cannot be broken by the main verb, which is an argument in favor of considering it a single constituent [**pahko i-pawana**] (a possessive phrase). This can be contrasted with (3c-d), which shows that the sequence **pahko kanawaimê_tao** 'my father in the airplane' can be broken by **neejan** 'is coming'.

(3a) **pahko i-pawana n-ee-ja-n**
1:father 3-friend:Pos 3S_A-come:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Father's friend is coming.'

(b) * **pahko n-ee-ja-n i-pawana**

(c) **pahko kanawaimê_tao n-ee-ja-n**
1:father airplane_In 3S_A-come:Prs:Ipf-Dbt
'My father is coming by airplaine.'

(d) **pahko n-ee-ja-n** kanawaimê_tao
1:father 3S_A-come:Prs.Ipf-Dbt airplane_In
'My father is coming by airplane.'

**Clitics** can be used to define boundaries, since they must occur at phrase boundaries (cf. 3.2.1); (4a-b) exemplifies this with the clitic postposition _pêe_ 'Ablative (from)'. 
Second-position particles are especially useful clitics, since they have a predetermined position within the clause: they must follow the first constituent (but see below). The examples given in 3.2, with the particles _pa ‘repetition’ and _mo ‘irrealis’, are repeated here as (4c-f) for the sake of convenience (cf. also 9.1.3).

(4a) pahko i-pataa_pēe
    l:father 3-village:Pos_Abl
   ‘From my father’s village.’

(b) *pahko_pēe i-pata

(c) m-eta_pa?
    2A-hear:Prs.Prf_Rpt
   ‘Did you hear it again?’

(d) m-ēnē-i_mo
    2A-eat-Hyp_Irr
   ‘You would eat it.’

(e) pahko_pa m-eta?
    l:father_Rpt 2A-hear:Prs.Prf
   ‘Did you hear my father again?’

(f) i-pun_mo m-ēnē-i
    3-meat_Irr 2A-eat-Hyp
   ‘You would eat its meat.’

The examples in (4c-f) show that _pa and _mo are not suffixes: they do not have to follow a specific word. It might seem at first that they have to be placed after the first word in the clause; however, as (5) shows, it is possible for some, but not all, groups of words to occur in the position before the irrealis particle _mo. A sequence of words which has the capacity of occupying this position is assumed to form a constituent (in (5f), the possessive phrase [pahko i-pawana] ‘my father’s friend’). The examples in (6) illustrate the same kind of behavior for _nai, the third-person present gnomic form of the copula e(i) (cf. 5.4.4).

(5a) pahko_mo w-eta-i
    l:father_Irr 1A-hear-Hyp
   ‘I would hear father.’

(b) *pahko w-eta-i_mo²

² This sentence can be rendered acceptable by inserting a suitable pause: pahko, w-eta-i_mo ‘father, I would hear him.’ This was also true for (5d) (pahko, Tēpu_po_mo w-eta-i ‘my father, I would hear him in Tepoe’), but not for (5e). The same was true for (6b, d), although the necessary pause in (6b) was much less noticeable, so that it sometimes seemed that (6b) was acceptable. However, the same speaker still preferred (6a) to (6b) when both were pronounced as one intonational unit.
(c) pahko_mo Tēpu_po  w-eta-i
1:father_Irr  Tepoe_Loc 1A-hear-Hyp
‘I would hear father in Tepoe.’

(d) * pahko Tēpu_po_mo w-eta-i

(e) * pahko_mo i-pawana  w-eta-i

(f) pahko i-pawana_mo  w-eta-i
1:father 3-friend:Pos_Irr 1A-hear-Hyp
‘I would hear father’s friend.’

(6a) pahko_n-ai ē-waarē
1:father_3SA-Cop 2-Cogn
‘You know my father.’

(b) ? pahko ē-waarē_n-ai

(c) pahko_n-ai kure ē-waarē
1:father_3SA-Cop well 2-Cogn
‘You know my father well.’

(d) * pahko kure_n-ai ē-waarē

(f) pahko i-pawana_n-ai ē-waarē
1:father 3-friend:Pos_3SA-Cop 2-Cogn
‘You know my father’s friend.’

In (7), it can be seen that the position before _mo is the first one not within the sentence, but within the clause (i.e. the preceding subordinate adverbial clause mure kēi_ke ahtao ‘if a child has fever’ does not count).

(7) mure kēi_ke ahtao, katamūmē eeku_ke_mo ti-pi
child fever_Inst if liana.sp 3:sap_Inst_Irr t-bathe:Imper
‘If a child has fever, bathe him/her with katamūmē sap.’

The behavior of second-position particles needs some further qualifications. Sentences such as (5b, d) were consistently refused by all consulted speakers, even outside of elicitation (e.g. in a conversation with a speaker from Tepoe, the author once said anja neh_pa ‘we (excl.) came back’, which was immediately corrected to anja pa ne, i.e. the speaker did not like a sentence in which the particle pa ‘repetition’ occured at the end of
the clause rather than after its first constituent). However, in texts, sentences in which these particles occur in positions other than the second, albeit a minority (less than 10% of the occurrences in the available corpus), are by no means unattested, especially with the particle _pa ‘repetition’ (cf. also 9.1.3.1). (8a) has _pitē ‘temporary’, (8b) has _pa ‘repetition’, and (8c) has _nai ‘copula’ in unexpected positions.

(8a) irē apo m-ei-ne wapo_pitē, ē-pun saasaame kīn-ei
3InAna like 2S₃-Cop-Pst.Prf first_a.sec 2-body happy 3Pst.Prf-Cop
‘You were like this at first, your body was happy.’

(b) irē_mao n-ea-n_pa tē-pitī_ja_pa
3InAna_Tmp 3S₃-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt_Rpt 3R-wife_All_Rpt
‘Then he comes back to his wife.’

(c) irē-npē_pīe mēe i-nmuku anīhta-ewa_nai
3InAna-Pst_Abl 3AnPx 3-son:Pos grow-Neg_3S₃-Cop
‘After that, his/her son is not going to grow.’

About examples such as these, the following suggestions come to mind:

(a) It is conceivable that small pauses in (8a-b) actually mark the initial elements (irē_mao, irē apo, meine) as extra-sentential although they were not clearly perceptible.

(b) Some combinations involving particles seem to show a certain degree of lexicalization. Thus, as was said in 9.1.3.1, the verb tē[mi] ‘go’ and the particle _pa often seem to form a unit (meaning ‘go away’, 'leave'). Wapo_pitē ‘at first’ (implying a later change), in (8a), may be one such case.

Thus, a certain degree of care is necessary when evaluating constituency arguments involving second-position particles. The three predicational particles _pa, _pitē and _mo (cf. 9.1.3.1), and the present gnomic copula forms _nai ‘s/he is’ and _wae ‘I am’ (cf. 5.4.4),
are by far the most frequent ones in the corpus; of the three, only _mo did not deviate from
strict second-position behavior in over 200 occurrences (i.e. a hierarchy of ‘degree of
second-position-ness’ would have _mo > _pîtê, _nai, _wae > _pa). Therefore, an argument
using _mo is considered stronger than one involving any of the other second-position
clitics.

10.1.3. Semantic-syntactic units: roles and grammatical relations. All languages are
sensitive to the relationship between events and participants, a relationship which includes
both semantic and pragmatic-discourse dimensions. Individual languages can differ in the
relative importance they give to these dimensions (cf. e.g. Mithun & Chafe 1999). Some of
them give precedence to semantic considerations, so that the actual perceived
characteristics of a given participant (e.g. ‘volitionality’, ‘control’, ‘affectedness’,
‘motility’, ‘salience’, etc.; cf. e.g. Mithun 1991, Hardy 1988) explain its grammatical
behavior, while others let pragmatic, discourse-oriented categories (e.g. ‘topic’, ‘rhemé’,
‘focus’, ‘new vs. given information’, ‘determinacy’, etc.; cf. Davis 1987a-b) direct the
choice of grammatical possibilities. Classes of participants that are grammatically ‘treated
alike’ can be termed roles if they are semantically based, and grammatical relations if their
source is elsewhere (usually, discourse pragmatics). However, if it is true that a clear-cut,
all-or-nothing distinction between semantics and pragmatics is not possible (and sometimes
not even useful), it follows that no deep conceptual rift separates roles from grammatical
relations. Many theories have taken strong positions about distinguishing them, and also
about the number of categories (‘Agent’, ‘Patient’, ‘Subject’, ‘Object’, ‘Topic’, etc.) that
they should include; there might even be a ‘universal set’ of categories from which every
language would pick a subset to actualize. This, however, is not the viewpoint taken here (cf. Davis 1987a-b, 1993, 1995, 1997, for criticisms of such positions).

In the present work, roles and grammatical relations are used as *descriptive tools*. A certain categorial label (‘Subject’, ‘Agent’, etc.) is used only if enough grammatical similarities can be found to characterize a certain group of participants (i.e. when it becomes useful to think about them as a class), just as labels such as ‘noun’, ‘verb’ or ‘adjective’ are used for classes of stems that share important grammatical similarities. Thus, the important question here is not what Tiriyó subjects or agents are like, but if there are any reasons to describe certain participants as ‘subjects’ or ‘agents’ (or any other label) in Tiriyó.

The following grammatical parameters, which are discussed in detail in the sections below, have been found relevant for the classification of participants in Tiriyó:

— person marking on verbs;
— verbal nominalizations;
— case-marking patterns;
— control of coreference;
— ‘equi’ deletion

10.1.3.1. Nuclear participants. *Person marking on verbs* occurs in the conjugated (Set I) verb forms. As was said in 5.2.1, transitive and intransitive stems can be easily recognized: transitive stems can take all person-marking prefixes, implying two participants, while intransitive stems only take one of two subsets of prefixes, implying only one participant.
Any additional participants have no effect on person marking. The implicit participants that affect person marking are here called *nuclear participants*; for the others, the term *peripheral participants* is used. (9a-f) exemplify transitive verbs, i.e. those which describe events with two nuclear participants, and (9g-j) exemplify intransitive verbs, i.e. those which describe events with one nuclear participant.

(9a) **j-eemi w-epinëe-ja-e**
1-daughter:Pos 1A-medicate-Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘I am medicating my daughter.’

(9b) **w-aitë-ne**
1A-push-Pst.Prf
‘I pushed him/her/it.’

(c) **Kurapina tî-njo inonta-ne**
Kurapina 3R-husband abandon-Pst.Prf
‘Kurapina abandoned her husband.’

(d) **nî-pî**
3AO-bathe:Prs.Prf
‘S/he has bathed him/her/it.’

(e) **karaman tî-tamu eta-n**
chief 3R-grandfather:Pos hear:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘The chief is hearing/listening to his grandfather.’

(f) **n-ene-n**
3AO-see:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘S/he is seeing/looking at him/her/it.’

(g) **mure n-ëenii-ja-n**
child 3SA-sleep-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘The child is sleeping.’

(h) **ji-këhtun-ta-e**
1SO-scream-Fut.Ipf-Cty
‘I will scream.’

(i) **anja n-e-pî-ja-e**
1+3 1SA-Detr-bathe-Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘We (excl.) are bathing.’

(j) **k-onota**
1+2SO-fall:Prs.Prf
‘We (incl.) have fallen.’

In (9a, c, e), the two nuclear participants of a transitive verb stem are present as overt noun phrases; in (9b, d, f), they are not present, but their existence is implicitly assumed. Thus, in (9d), there are two participants, a more ‘motile’ or ‘active’ one (‘the one that does the bathing’), and a more ‘inert’ or ‘passive’ one (‘the one that is bathed’). The former is here termed the *A participant*, and the latter, the *O participant*. In (9g-j), there is only one participant, either explicitly (9g, i) or implicitly (9h, j) present. Tiriyô also conflates more clearly ‘agent-like’ participants (9a, c) with less obviously agentive ones.
(9e). Note that the number of nuclear participants is a crucial feature of the event described by a given stem: if participants are added or deleted, the result is treated as a different event, for which a different verb stem, usually derived from the original one with valence-changing morphology, is necessary. Compare the stem [t]pī ‘bathe O’ in (9d) with the detransitivized stem e-pī ‘bathe self’ (10a) and with the causativized stem [t]pī-po ‘make O be bathed’ (10c), or the stem kēhtu(mu) ‘scream’ in (9h) with the stem kēhtun-nē(pī) ‘make O scream’ in (10b).

(10b) s-e-pī-ja-e
1SA-Det-bathe-Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘I am bathing (myself).’

(b) mure wi-kēhtun-nē-ja-e
child 1A-scream-Trvzr-Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘I am making the child scream.’

(c) j-ekī wi-pī-po-e
1-pet:Pos 1A-bathe-Caus:Prs.Ipf-Cty 1:mother_Causee
‘I am making my mother bathe my pet.’

In 5.2.2, several morphological parameters were mentioned as criteria for dividing the class of intransitive verb stems into two subclasses, for which the labels S_A and S_O were proposed. These labels are based on the similarities between the marking of the A and O participants on transitive stems and the marking of the intransitive participant on stems of the two intransitive classes. As an illustration, Table 5.2, in which the various person-marking prefixes are compared, is repeated below as Table 10.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>S_A</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>S_O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>w-, wi-, wi-</td>
<td>w-, wĩ-, s-, t-</td>
<td>j-, ji-</td>
<td>j-, ji-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>m-, mi-, mi-</td>
<td>m-, mi-</td>
<td>ō-, a-, o-</td>
<td>ō-, a-, o-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>kĩt-, kĩi-, k(:)</td>
<td>kĩ-, kĩt-, k(:)</td>
<td>kĩ-, k(e)-</td>
<td>kĩ-, k(e&gt;ō)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>n-, ni-, nĩ-</td>
<td>n-, nĩ-</td>
<td>n-, ni-, nĩ-</td>
<td>n-, ni-, nĩ-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The parallelism between these forms immediately suggests the conflation of the A/S_A and the O/S_O categories, so as to form a (semantically based) system of the kind that Dixon 1979, 1994 calls split-S and Mithun 1991 Agent-Patient. However, as 5.2.2 and 5.3.1.1 have attempted to show, the expected semantic basis is missing; rather, S_A verbs can be more easily characterized as the class of all detransitivized stems, with a few additional exceptions. On account of that, the morphological parallelism illustrated in Table 10.1 cannot be used to define A/S_A and O/S_O as semantic roles; it remains as a purely ‘formal’ alignment, with a historical rather than a semantic explanation.

**Verbal nominalizations** add further arguments to the discussion of participant types. As was seen in 4.2.2.1, all verbal nominalization processes result in nouns that either refer to the event as a whole, or to one of the participants involved in the event. Table 4.5, which contains a summary overview of the nominalizing suffixes, is repeated as Table 10.2 below.

The examples are based on the transitive stems **eeka** ‘bite O’ and on the intransitive stems **etainka** ‘run’ (S_A) and **potina** ‘whistle’ (S_O).

### Table 10.2

Nominalizers classified according to their event- or participant-orientedness.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front Grade (‘+Poss’, ‘Specific’, ‘Actual’)</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>Event / Circumstance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ne ‘A.act’</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>-ke(ti) ‘S.act’</td>
<td>-∅ ‘Specific Infinitive’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-to-(no) ‘A.pot’</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>-se(mi) ‘S.pot’</td>
<td>-nè ‘Generic Infinitive’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(11a) **eeka-ne**  
3:bite-A.act.Nzr  
‘biter, who has bitten (something)’

(b) **ēeka-ton**  
bite-A.pot.Nzr  
‘who bites, capable of biting’

(c) **i-n-eeka**  
3-O.act.Nzr-bite  
‘bitten thing (by something)’

(d) **t-ēēka-en**  
T-bite-O.pot.Nzr  
‘thing that can/will be bitten’

(e) **etainka-ke**  
run(SA)-S.act.Nzr  
‘runner, who runs’

(f) **t-eetainka-en**  
T-run-S.pot.Nzr  
‘runner, who can/will run’

(g) **i-potina-ke**  
I-whistle-S.act.Nzr  
‘whistler, who whistles’

(h) **tī-potina-en**  
T-whistle-S.pot.Nzr  
‘whistler, who can/will whistle’

(i) **ēēka-nē**  
bite-G.Inf  
‘biting’

(j) **w-etainka-nē**  
SA-run-G.Inf  
‘running’

(k) **potina-nē**  
whistle-G.Inf  
‘whistling’

(l) **eeka_se**  
3:bite:N_Desid  
‘wanting to bite O’

(m) **i-w-etainka_se**  
3-3:run:N_Desid  
‘wanting SA to run’

(n) **i-potīna_se**  
3:whistle:N_Desid  
‘wanting to whistle’

The participant-oriented nominalizations clearly identify the A and O participants of transitive verbs, and in two different ways: (a) the semantic result refers to one of them (i.e. -ne, -to-(no) (11a-b) refer to the A participant, while n- and t- -se(mi) (11c-d) refer to the O participant), and (b) by virtue of its ‘potential’ vs. ‘actual’ semantics, it has an effect on the ‘sharpness’ (specificity, definiteness) of the other participant (e.g. -ne is A-oriented, but, by virtue of being actual, presupposes a more specific O participant, while -to-(no), being more potential, presupposes only a very generic, non-specific O participant). Furthermore, the event nominalizations also play with the ‘sharpness’ of the nuclear participants: -nē appears to ‘erase’ them (11i-k), so as to refer to a situation in which they are very
unimportant or unknown, while -∅ (111-m) keeps them still specific and usually identifiable.

For the participant of intransitive verbs, however, the picture is less clear. On the one hand, the nominalizer i- -ke(tī), which refers to an actual intransitive participant, clearly separates it from the two transitive participants (i.e. it is an S-nominalizer, not e.g. an A-nominalizer; in fact, it cannot even occur on transitive verb stems). Furthermore, t- -se(mī), which refers to a potential intransitive participant, is actually the same as the potential O nominalizer that occurs on transitive stems, i.e. it is actually an O/S or absolutive nominalizer.

The picture is further complicated if one takes into account the existence of O-V verb phrases (cf. 10.2.2). The syntactic patterns which identify a transitive verb stem with a preceding O noun phrase as a constituent also single out the O participant as different from the A and SA/SO participants—i.e. a nominative pattern.

The case-marking patterns of verb forms other than the conjugated (Set I) ones also show interesting participant alignments. In the t- -se ‘remote past’ form (cf. 10.3.1.4), an ergative pattern can be observed: A participants are overtly marked with the postposition _:ja (12a), while O and SA/SO participants remain unmarked (12b-c). The same is also true for the Cause and Posteriority forms (cf. 10.4.1.2.2).

(12a) kaikui i-jomi t-ēta-e meri_ja
jaguar 3-voice:Pos Rm.Pst-hear-Rm.Pst squirrel.sp_Agt
‘The squirrel heard the jaguar’s voice.’

(b) t-eeatanka-e pai (c) irē_po tī-kēhtun-je wītoto
Rm.Pst:SA-run-Rm.Pst tapir 3fnAna_Loc Rm.Pst-scream-Rm.Pst person
‘The tapir ran (away).’
‘There the person screamed.’
The negative, supine ('purpose-of-motion') and habitual past forms (cf. 10.3.1.4-5, 10.3.2) show another case of a *nominative* pattern. In all of them, the O participant can be marked as a prefix on the verb, while the A/S participant occurs as an independent element, not marked on the verb. In the negative form, the A/S participant can occur as an independent noun phrase, or as a person-marking prefix on an accompanying copula (13a-c); on the supine, it is marked on the verb of motion on which the supine depends (13d-f); and with habitual past forms, since no copula or auxiliary is possible, only the 'overt noun phrase' option is available (13g-i). In all these cases, the A and the $S_A/S_O$ participants pattern together, while the O participant behaves differently.

(13a) kaikui in-eta-ewa_w-ei
jaguar 3Neg-hear-Neg_1$S_A$-Cop:Prs.Prf
'I haven't heard the jaguar's voice.'

(b) etainka-ewa_w-ei
run($S_A$)-Neg_1$S_A$-Cop:Prs.Prf
'I haven't run.'

(c) i-potíña-ewa_w-ei
I-whistle($S_O$)-Neg_1$S_A$-Cop:Prs.Prf
'I haven't whistled.'

(d) é-eta-e wi-të-e
2-hear-Sup 1$S_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I'll go there to listen to you.'

(e) etainka-e wi-të-e
run($S_A$)-Sup 1$S_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I'll go there to run.'

(f) i-potíña-e wi-të-e
I-whistle($S_O$)-Sup 1$S_A$-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I'll go there to whistle.'

(g) pahko eta-e wi
1:father hear-Hab 1
'I used to listen to my father.'

(h) etainka-e wi
run($S_A$)-Hab 1
'I used to run.'

(i) i-potíña-e wi
I-whistle($S_O$)-Hab 1
'I used to whistle.'

The pattern shown by the participants that have the capacity of *controlling coreference*, i.e. being the possessors of nouns which have the 'third-person reflexive' or '3R' prefix t(i)- (cf. 3.3.1.3), is again *nominative*: the A and $S_A/S_O$ participants always
control it, while the O participant never does (14a-c). Notice that this is independent of the verb form: the remote past, in which O and S_A/S_O pattern together with respect to case marking, also groups A with S_A/S_O with respect to coreference control (14d).

(14a) ji-pawana pahko eta-n tê-pakoro-h_tao (A controls)
1-friend:Pos 1:father hear:Prs.Ipf-Dbt 3R-house-Pos_In
'My friend is listening to my father in his house.'

(b) ji-pawana n-e-pî-ja-n tê-pakoro-h_tao (S_A controls)
1-friend:Pos 3S_A-Detr-bathe:Prs.Ipf-Dbt 3R-house-Pos_In
'My friend is bathing in his house.'

(c) ji-pawana ni-poñina-n tê-pakoro-h_tao (S_O controls)
1-friend:Pos 3S_O-whistle:Prs.Ipf-Dbt 3R-house-Pos_In
'My friend is whistling in his house.'

(d) pahko t-ëta-e ji-pawana-rî_ja tê-pakoro-h_tao (A_ja controls)
1:father Rm.Pst-hear-Rm.Pst 1-friend:Pos_Agt 3R-house-Pos_In
'My friend heard my father in his house.'

Finally, the cases of what is traditionally called ‘equi-deletion’, i.e. the ‘persistence’ of a previous participant in a coordinated clause in which one explicit participant is missing (as in e.g. ‘John went home and ate lunch’) apparently follow the same pattern as that of the overt case marking: ergative in the Remote Past (15a), and nominative in the conjugated forms (15b). Thus, in (15a), the S_A participant of the first clause is identified with the O participant of the second clause, while in (15b) the same S_A participant (dependent on the S_A verb stem ë(pî) ‘come’) is identified with the A participant of the following clause.

(15a) ma, irê_mao_rêken tî-w-ëe-se ariweimë, t-ëne ii-ja.
Attn 3InAna_Tmp_only Rm.Pst-S_A-come-Rm.Pst cayman Rm.Pst-see-Rm.Pst 3-Agt
'Well, only then did the cayman come, and he saw him.'

(b) wei waraarê n-ee-ja-n, ni-tuuka-n
day every 3S_A-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 3AO-hit:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Every day he comes and then (he) hits him.'
After looking at all the above evidence, one cannot help a certain sense of disorder. It would seem that almost every possible combination of participants is instantiated in some construction. To facilitate the comparison, the various cases are summarized in Table 10.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Constructions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Split-S ((A = S_A \neq S_O = O))</td>
<td>Conjugated (Set I) person-marking prefixes Other patterns involved in the (S_A/S_O) distinction (cf. 5.2.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripartite ((A \neq S_A = S_O \neq O))</td>
<td>'Actual Participant' Nominalizations (-ne, n-, i- -ke(ti))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative ((A = S_A = S_O \neq O))</td>
<td>Verb (O-V) Phrase (when A, O are third-person) Case Marking in Negative, Supine, and Habitual Past Coreference Control Equi-deletion with Conjugated (Set I) clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative ((A \neq S_A = S_O = O))</td>
<td>'Potential Participant' Nominalizations (-to-(no), t- -se(mi)) Case Marking in Remote Past ((t- -se)) clauses Equi-deletion in Remote Past ((t- -se)) clauses(^3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, Tiriyo ends up having a rather complicated 'split-participant' system. Although not unthinkable, it would seem rather oversimplifying to claim that Tiriyo is 'merely' a tense-based split ergative system, since certain tenses/constructions have more than one pattern at the same time (Conjugated forms are 'split-S', but they have 'nominativity' in the O-V phrase and in coreference control; the Remote Past is 'ergative', but it has 'nominativity' in the coreference control). In such a situation, it does not seem useful to posit categories such as 'agent' or 'subject'; rather, the four categories in terms of which the patterns are described—A, O, S_A and S_O (the latter two often conflated as S)—look like more interesting tools.

\(^3\) It must be said that equi-deletion cases have not been studied at length yet; this particular aspect is tentative.
Of course, as research progresses and more details about the intricacies of Tiriyó grammar and semantics become known, hypotheses and generalizations are bound to change. At the current stage of our knowledge, however, the following remark seems valid:

— In order to understand the behavior of Tiriyó participants, semantic features (‘volitionality’, ‘affectedness’, ‘control’, etc.) do not seem crucial. Participants that show all kinds of combinations of these features (e.g. the A participants of stems like tuuka ‘hit O’ and ene ‘see O’, or the S participants of the S_A and S_O verb stems listed in 5.2.2 and 5.3.1.1) seem to have the same the same morphosyntactic possibilities. The various possible subgroupings of participants, and the morphosyntactic treatment that these groupings receive, seem to be more insightfully understandable as consequences of their history. Thus, once one realizes that the t- -se(m) nominalizer and the t- -se ‘Remote Past’ are historically connected (cf. 4.2.2.1.2), the fact that both are involved in ergative patterns ceases to look like a coincidence; the same is true for the Negative, Supine and Habitual Past constructions (cf. 5.4.3.1). In the spirit of Gildea (to appear), who suggests that word order for certain constructions may be a consequence of their diachronic evolution rather than the result of general discourse tendencies in the language, it may be proposed that case marking and syntactic alignment patterns may sometimes be ‘fossil remnants of older constructions’ rather than indicators of synchronic meaning. The best candidate for this interpretation is the ‘epiphenomenal split-S system’ as described in 5.2.2.

10.1.3.2. Peripheral participants. The existence of a verbal nominalization process that refers to a ‘circumstance’ (the suffix -to(po); cf. 4.2.2.1.5) suggests itself as a way of identifying peripheral participants, since, in its most concrete (i.e. participant-like) sense
(cf. 4.2.2.15 for its ‘less concrete’ uses as an event nominalization), the suffix -to(po) can derive nominalizations referring to ‘circumstances’: places (16a-b) or instruments (16c-f), but not to any nuclear participant (i.e. one that affects person marking on the conjugated verb).

(16a) mërë_tao t-ëenî-ja-e
3InMd_In 1S_A-sleep-Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘I sleep in(side) that place.’

(c) sen_ke t-ët-uru-ja-e
3InPx_Inst 1S_A-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘I can talk with this.’
(e.g. a radio, a megaphone).

(b) mërë_n-ai ji-w-ëenîh-to
3InMd_3S_A-Cop 1-S_A-sleep-Circ.Nzr
‘That is my place for sleeping.’

d) sen_n-ai ji-w-ët-uru-to
3InPx_3S_A-Cop 1-S_A-Detr-talk-Circ.Nzr
‘This is my instrument for talking.’

(e) sen_ke ji-je wi-suka-e
3InPx_Inst 1-tooth 1A-wash:Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘I wash my teeth with that.’

sen_n-ai ji-je ii-suka-to
3InPx_3S_A-Cop 1-tooth 3-wash-Circ.Nzr
‘This is an instrument for washing my teeth.’

A look at the above sentences makes one wonder if all postpositional phrases can be seen as marking peripheral participants. For most postpositions, this seems to be the case: locatives, directionals, etc. can all be seen as marking peripheral participants so as to express circumstances.\(^4\) Two postpositions, however, deserve special comments, since they mark participants that stand out as potentially nuclear-like: the instrumental _ke and the allative-dative-agent-causee postposition _ija.

The postposition _ke is usually the means for marking instruments (17a-c), a meaning from which it is easily extended to that of causation (17d-e); cf. 5.3.4.2 for further examples. An interesting construction involving _ke is exemplified in (17f-h): it seems to

\(^4\) One wonders, though, whether or not the ‘experiencer’ postpositions in 7.3.3. should be seen as marking a special class of ‘experiencer’ participants.
be a regular feature of 'inchoative' \textit{So} verbs derived from nouns with the verbalizer -\textit{ta} (cf. 5.3.3.2.1) that they can take a \textit{ke}-complement to indicate exactly which specific entity is mediating the beginning of the new state. However, there do not seem to be any noticeable differences between \textit{ke} participants and other obliques; as far as can be told, instrumentals are not distinguishable from other peripheral participants.

(17a) \textbf{maja_ke} w-ahkëe-ja-e \hspace{1cm} (b) \textbf{ma irë} iisuka-kë wapo, \textbf{soopu_ke}
\text{knife\_Inst 1A-cut-Prs.Ipf-Cty} \hspace{1cm} \text{Attn 3InAna wash-Imper first soap\_Inst}
'I am cutting O with a/the knife.' \hspace{1cm} 'Well, wash it first, with soap.'

(c) \textbf{irëme ti-pihpë-ntë-e} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{ii-ja mure i-pihpë_ke}
\text{thus Rm.Pst-skin-Ben.Vzr-Rm.Pst 3-Agt child 3-skin\_Inst}
'Then he (skin-)covered it with the child’s skin.'

(d) \textbf{AIDS\_ke} éëseenë\_taike\_rën ėmë\_ahtao
\text{AIDS\_Inst ill\_Neg\_Truly 2 if}
'If you are not sick with AIDS,...'

(e) \textbf{ji-pata apo\_n-ei} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{irë, wëri apëi-hpë\_ke wïja},
\text{1-place:Pos like\_3S\_A-Cop:Prs.Prf 3InAna woman 3:get:N-Pst\_Inst 1:Agt}
\textbf{irë\_po-n}, \textbf{Suurinan\_po-n}
\text{3InAna\_Loc-Nzr Surinam\_Loc-Nzr}
'It was like my own place, because I had gotten (=married) a woman from there, a woman from Surinam.'

(f) \textbf{ji-njo-ta-e} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{tarëno\_ke}
\text{1So-husband-Inch.Vzr:Prs.Ipf-Cty Tiriyó\_Inst}
'I am marrying a Tiriyó' (=getting a Tiriyó husband)

(g) \textbf{j-ekï-ta-e} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{kaikui\_ke}
\text{1So-pet-Inch.Vzr:Prs.Ipf-Cty dog\_Inst}
'I am getting a dog for a pet.'

(h) \textbf{ji-jokï-ta-e} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{tuna\_ke}
\text{1So-drink-Inch.Vzr-Prs.Ipf-Cty water\_Inst}
'I am going to have water for a drink.'
The postposition _:-ja, as was shown in 7.3.4.1, marks several kinds of participants: directionals (‘allatives’, especially with human participants, as (18a-b)), datives (18c-e), ‘causees’ (18f, maybe 18d), and simple A participants with certain verb forms (remote past, posteriority and cause, certain nominalized subordinate clauses, etc.; (18g-h)).

(18a) pa-hko_:-ja wi-të-e
1:father_Dir 1S_A-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘I am going to my father’s (house, village).’

(b) Asehpë_:-ja të-wëe-se
Asehpë_Dir Rm.Pst-S_A-come-Rm.Pst
‘S/he came to Asehpë.’

(c) karakuri w-ekarama manko_:-ja
money 1A-give:Prs.Prf 1:mother_Dat
‘I gave money to my mother.’

(d) serë w-ene-po ëë-:-ja
3InPx 1A-see-Caus:Prs.Prf 2-Dat
‘I showed you that.’ (=I made you see)

(e) epo wiija
3:Satis 1:Dat
‘That is enough for me.’

(f) maja wi-rii-po ii-:-ja
knife 1A-make-Caus:Prs.Prf 3-Causee
‘I had him make a knife.’

(g) karakuri t-ëpëe-se ii-jaa-:-ne
money Rm.Pst-get-Rm.Pst 3-Agt-Col
‘They all got the money.’

(h) të-njo-npë i-nonta-hpë_pëe ii-:-ja
3R-husband-Pst 3-leave:N-Pst_Abl 3-Agt
‘After she had left her husband,...’

Whether or not _:-ja should be treated as a ‘single marker’, corresponding to a relatively abstract semantics, probably depends on the theoretical orientation of the beholder. The various kinds of participants that _:-ja marks do seem to show some ‘common semantic threads’ (they are all e.g. human or sentient), and, in fact, similarly wide collections of meanings and uses are often found in ‘dative’, ‘allative’ or ‘ergative’ markers in other languages (the French preposition à is an immediate example). In this point, the personal preference of the author is to see uses like ‘marking the A participant’ (as in (18g-h)) and ‘marking a target of motion’ (as in (18a-b)) as sufficiently different to be better thought of as diachronically rather than synchronically related. To give just one example of a differentiating property, a _:-ja-marked A participant remains capable of controlling
coreference (as in (14d) above), which is not true for any other _-ja-marked participant (as in (19)). Thus, no overarching abstract semantic schema is proposed here for _-ja and the participants that it marks.

(19) pahko karakuri ekarama ji-pawana-ri-ja ti-pakoro-h_tao
 1:father money give:Prs.Prf 1-friend:Pos_Dat 3R-house-Pos_In
  ‘My father; gave money to my friend in his; house.’

A related question is whether, among the uses of _-ja, there are instances that are different enough to be given a separate status as an independent role (‘dative’) or grammatical relation (‘indirect object’). Uses like (18c) and (19), and maybe even (18d), might be good candidates for this status. But are there any morphosyntactic properties that distinguish these uses from others? The absence of features such as dative shift, or special dative pronouns, and the ambiguity of sentences like (20a-b), which was interpreted differently by different speakers, seems to argue against that.

(20a) pîtreu w-ekarama-po Asehpē_ja Simetu_ja
  arrow 1A-give-Caus:Prs.Prf Asehpē_Causee?/Dat? Simetu_Causee?/Dat?
  ‘I made Asehpe give the arrow to Simetu.’ ~ ‘I made Simetu give the arrow to Asehpe.’

(b) tí-maja t-ékarama-e i-papa-rī_ja
  3R-knife:Pos Rm.Pst-give-Rm.Pst 3-father-Pos_Agt?/Dat?
  ‘His/her father; gave his; knife (to someone).’
  ‘(S/he); gave his/her; knife to his/her; (=someone else’s) father.’

However, two reasons in favor of treating the ‘dative’ cases of _-ja as independent can be mentioned:
(a) the nominalized form of _:ja apparently has only the dative meaning (21a);

(b) although no nominalizations exist that correspond to a ‘dative’ participant, there are verbalizing processes (the ‘beneficiiative’ suffixes mentioned in 5.3.3.1.2) that generate transitive stems with ‘dative’ objects; compare (21b) and (21c). O-oriented nominalized forms of these verbs (21d-e) can be used to refer to these ‘datives’ (they are, in fact, the only way to build relative clauses referring to them; cf. 10.4.1.3.2).

(21a) TēmetaJa-no_ro
Tēmeta_Dat-Nzr_Exact
‘Something (e.g. a gift) for Tēmeta’ (not: * ‘Something done by Tēmeta’
* ‘Something Tēmeta was made to do’,
* ‘A path that leads to Tēmeta’)

(b) ji-pawana-rīJa pakoro w-ekarama-e
1-friend:Pos_Dat house 1A-give:Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘I am giving a house to my friend.’

(c) ji-pawana wi-pakoro-ntē-e
1-friend:Pos 1A-house-Prov.Vzr:Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘I am giving my friend a house.’, ‘I am providing my friend with a house.’

(d) ji-n-pakoro-ntē-hpē
‘The one I gave a house to.’

(e) i-pakoro-ntē-hpē
I-house-Ben.Vzr:N-Pst
‘The one who was given a house.’

(f) tī-pakoro-ntē-en
‘The one who can/will be given a house.’

The interesting point about ‘beneficiiative’ verbs such as (21c) is that no other peripheral participant has a corresponding ‘specialized’ verbalizing suffix; in fact, even the other uses of _:ja (‘causee’, ‘A participant’, ‘directional’) do not correlate with anything
similar. Based on these facts, a category of 'Dative participant' can be distinguished, albeit less 'sharply defined' in Tiriyó than the nuclear participants (A, O, S). 5

10.2. Phrases. With the criteria ('symptoms' is probably a better label) described in 10.3, three kinds of phrases can be proposed: noun phrases, verb phrases and postpositional phrases. Certain groups of words have an ambiguous behavior: they tend to obey certain constraints and show some symptoms of phrasal status, but not always, and not consistently. In the following sections, the three kinds of phrases are described, with the ambiguous cases being compared to the phrase that they most resemble.

10.2.1. Noun phrases. Single nouns or pronouns can be seen as one-element noun phrases. The clearest cases of phrases involving more than one word are possessive phrases, of which the two identifiable types are the N-N and the N i-N possessive phrases. Noun phrases based on nominalizations can be seen as a subtype of possessive phrases. Less clear cases are the 'appositional' nominal sequences which appear to include instances of emerging noun phrases.

10.2.1.1. Possessive Noun Phrases. These phrases occur in the order possessor-possessed with the possessed word in its third-person form (i.e. with a prefix i- on consonant-initial

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5 A similar argument can be used in favor of a 'Causee' participant: just as the Dative participant correlates with object nominalizations of -nté/-hté (benefactive) verbs, causes correlate with transitive verbs causativized with the suffix -po (cf. 10.6.2.3), in the sense that the immediate interpretation of a _-ja-phrase co-occurring with a causativized verb is that of a causee. Notice, however, that there are no 'Causee-oriented nominalizations', either from the postposition _-ja or from causativized verb stems, which weakens the claim for a Causee participant. It seems simpler to say that the 'causee reading' of _-ja-phrases in transitive sentences with causativized verb stems is a question of context, not unlike a 'preferred directional (allative) reading' of _-ja-phrases co-occurring with verbs of motion (18a-b).
words and Ø- on vowel-initial ones; cf. 4.3.1.2), thus generating a ‘John-his-house’ sequence. One example, [pahko i-pawana] ‘my father’s friend’, has already been shown to have all the characteristics of a phrase: its elements have an obligatory order (1c-d), they cannot be separated by pauses (2c-d) or by any other word (3a-b), and they can be followed by a second-position particle (5e-f, 6e-f). (22) below has equivalent examples for [pahko ekī] ‘my father’s pet’, with a vowel-initial possessed noun.

(22a) pahko ekī
   1:father 3:pet:Pos
   ‘My father’s pet’

(b) ? ekī pahko
   3:pet:Pos 1:father
   ‘My father is his/her pet.’ (!)

(c) pahko ekī nī-tēn
   1:father 3:pet:Pos 3S_A-go:Prs.Prf
   ‘My father’s pet has gone.’

(d) pahko, ekī nī-tēn
   1:father 3:pet:Pos 3S_A-go:Prs.Prf
   ‘Father! His/her pet has gone.’

(e) * pahko nītēn ekī

(f) pahko ekī_mo w-ene-i
   father 1:pet:Pos_Irr 1A-see-Hyp
   ‘I would see / have seen my father’s pet.’

(g) * pahko_mo ekī w-ene-i

Possessive noun phrases with one and two levels (23a-b) were freely produced and accepted without problems; phrases with three levels (23c) were accepted and repeated without problems, but never spontaneously produced. Further nesting resulted in awkward phrases that elicited ambiguous reactions from the speakers.

(23a) ji-pawana i-nmuku
   1-friend:Pos 3-son:Pos
   ‘My friend’s son.’

(b) ji-pawana i-nmuku i-pī
   1-friend:Pos 3-son:Pos 3-wife
   ‘My friend’s son’s wife.’

(c) ji-pawana i-nmuku i-pī ekī
   1-friend:Pos 3-son:Pos 3-wife 3:pet:Pos
   ‘My friend’s son’s wife’s pet.’
A pronoun can occur as the possessor in a possessive noun phrase with an emphatic value; in this case, the possessed word does not occur in its third-person form, but rather agrees with the possessor in person.

(24a)  ēmē  ē-nmuku,  rupeimē  kīn-arē
       2  2-song:Pos  lizard.sp  3Pst.Prf-take
       ‘As for your son, the rupeimē lizard took him away.’

(b)  menjaarē  wē  j-eemi,  wa-ken
     now  1  1-daughter:Pos  Neg_Cont
     ‘Now, my daughter, she’s gone.’

There are cases of possessive noun phrases in which the possessed word is not in its third-person form. The label ‘N-N possessive phrase’ is used here to distinguish them from the regular (or ‘N i-N’) possessive phrases. (25) has an example. Notice that [wikapau pata] ‘the deer’s village’ is not a simple sequence of nouns (cf. 10.2.1.3) since, as (25b-c) show, its constituent order is inflexible, and it has the semantics of possession (‘the deer’s village’, with ‘deer’ being one of the characters in a folk tale, not ‘a village which is (called) deer’); speakers agree in considering [wikapau pata] and [wikapau i-pata] synonyms. Furthermore, the possessive suffix -(rū) (cf. 4.3.1.5) can occur in the N-N possessive phrase (25d).

(25a)  ma,  ti-tunta-e,  mēe,  wikapau pata_pona
       Attn  Rm.Pst-arrive-Rm.Pst  3AnPx  deer.sp  village_Dir
       ‘Well, he arrived, this one, at the deer’s village.’

(b)  wikapau pata_pona
     deer  village_Dir
     ‘to(ward) deer’s village’

(c)  * pata wikapau_pona
Certain cases show an even higher degree of formal integration between the possessor and the possessed words than N-N possessive phrases, to the point that the result approaches single word status:

(26a) **ji-jaramata i-pun**
1-chin:Pos 1-flesh
'The flesh of my chin.'

(b) **ji-jaramata pun**
1-chin:Pos flesh
'The flesh of my chin.'

(c) **kī-jaramataa-kon pun**
1+2-chin:Pos-P.Col flesh
'The flesh of our chins.'

(d) **kī-jaramata-pun-kon**
1+2-chin-flesh-P.Col
'The flesh of our chins.'

(e) **kī-nka**
1+2-back
'Our back(s)'

(f) **kī-nka-pun-kon**
1+2-back-flesh-P.Col
'The flesh of our backs.'

(g) * **kī-nka-kon pun**

(h) * **kī-nma**
1+2-buttocks-P.Col
'Our buttocks.'

(i) **kī-nmapun-kon**

(j) * **kī-nma-kon pun**

(26a) contains a regular N i-N possessive phrase, while (26b-c) have N-N phrases. (26d), however, suggests compounding: **jaramata-pun** looks like a single word for 'chin flesh'. For this particular combination, the compound and the phrase options are both available; in (26e-g), however, **nka-pu(nu)** 'back flesh' has only the compound option.⁶ (26h-j) show a case of full lexicalization: not only is the N-N phrase option for **nmapu(nu)** impossible, but the original stem * **nma**, presumably 'behind', does not exist synchronically. That it must have existed can be deduced not only from a comparison with

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⁶ Unfortunately, it is not known whether the 'regular' phrase option—**kī-nka-kon i-pun**—exists.
the other examples in (26), but also from cases of incorporation such as nma-piimo ‘spank O’, from piimo ‘hit O’ (cf. 5.3.2).

The above examples (25-26) suggest the existence of a formal integration continuum, from regular possessive phrases to lexicalized compounds, as in Fig. 10.2.

```
Figure 10.2
Formal integration continuum

Single Word     Phrase
nmapu(nu)       jaramata i-pun
nka-pu(nu),     jaramata pu(nu)
jaramata-pu(nu) wikapau pata

```

Fig. 10.2 leads to the expectation that meaning should follow form. For instance, regular possessive phrases should tend to deal with ‘less integrated’ relations, in which the referents of the constituent nouns are more clearly independent in spite of their relationship (e.g. ownership), while N-N possessive phrases, compounds and lexicalized words should preferably refer to ‘more integrated’ relations (e.g. part-whole, classification, etc.; cf. Carlin 1997 for a similar suggestion). For the compound and lexicalized cases, the above examples clearly support this idea. For N-N and N i-N possessive phrases, there is some evidence that this is may also be true.

```
(27a) wii pata (b) wii i-pata (c) Taru pakoro (d) Taru i-pakoro
manioc place    manioc 3-place:Pos    Taru place    Taru 3-house:Pos
'Manioc house.' 'Manioc house.' 'Taru's house.' 'Taru's house.'

```

In elicitation, speakers usually agree that (27a) and (27b) are equally good ways of referring to the place where manioc is stored, and that (27c) and (27d) are synonymous ways of referring to Taru’s house. When these expressions are counted in texts
certain tendencies stand out. All the 5 occurrences of ‘manioc house’ were like (27a); (27b) was only attested in elicitation. Of 6 occurrences of ‘Taru’s house’, there is only one case of (27c), and five of (27d). Thus, for a less ‘integrated’ relation (ownership), the regular N i-N possessive phrase was preferred; for a more ‘integrated’ one (‘purpose’ modification), the N-N possessive phrase was the only one found. Fig. 10.3 illustrates the current hypothesis on the correlation between semantic and formal integration.

Figure 10.3
Correlations between meaning and form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>One Entity</th>
<th>Complex Entity</th>
<th>(e.g. ‘purpose’)</th>
<th>(e.g. ‘ownership’)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single Word</td>
<td>Compound</td>
<td>Integrated Entities</td>
<td>Two Entities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nmapu(nu)</td>
<td>nka-pu(nu),</td>
<td>jaramata pu(nu)</td>
<td>jaramata i-pun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jaramata-pu(nu)</td>
<td>wîkapau pata</td>
<td>wîkapau i-pata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Taru pakoro</td>
<td>Taru i-pakoro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wîi pata</td>
<td>wîi i-pata</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Given the textual evidence, Fig. 10.3 looks acceptable; however, it is at least curious that speakers so often affirm that (27a) and (27b), (27c) and (27d), (26a) and (26b) etc. ‘mean the same’. At this point, diachrony may have an important contribution to this question.

Judging by Figs. 10.2-3, one might assume that the third-person prefix i- is the ‘less integration’ marker and hypothesize that it was historically lost in the other environments. However, a comparison with other Cariban languages shows that this was not the case (cf. Gildea 1998:104ff, especially 112). The possessive suffix -(rî) (cf. 4.3.1.5), which is currently being lost, was originally obligatory on the possessed word; moreover, the third-person marker was not present (i.e. the original possessive construction was N N-rî). Gildea
convincingly shows that the N i-N construction is an innovation. It can be hypothesized that one of the motivations for this innovation was precisely the fact that the loss of the possessive suffix -(rī) was giving rise to interpretational problems. For instance, possessive phrases and 'appositional' sequences (cf. 10.2.1.3) would become homophonous: karaiwa pawana, from karaiwa 'Brazilian' and pawana 'friend', could be interpreted as 'the Brazilian friend' or as 'the Brazilian's friend'. With the innovative N i-N phrase, these two senses become distinct (karaiwa pawana and karaiwa i-pawana, respectively).\(^7\)

With this diachronic scenario in mind, it becomes possible to understand the differences between the N-N and the N i-N phrases as resulting from their ongoing competition. Presumably, the original N N-rī possessive phrase covered the area in Figs. 10.2-3 occupied by the N-N and N i-N phrases, contrasting with 'compounds' and 'single words'. With the progressive loss of the suffix -(rī), the N N-rī phrase 'became' the N-N phrase (in which -(rī) can still sometimes be realized, as in (25d) above; cf. 2.6.2.5, 4.3.1.5), and the N i-N phrase was introduced. Having now two constructions at their disposal, speakers did not simply drop the older N-N phrase, but rather seem to be in the process of reassigning it to an intermediate posisition along the (pre-existing) continuum of Figs. 10.2-3. Since the loss of the suffix -(rī) is rather recent (it has even not been completely lost yet), this semantic differentiation between N-N and N i-N phrases must still be ongoing, and it should not be surprising if speakers can consider them equivalent: not so

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\(^7\) Of course, such 'therapeutical' explanations for innovative constructions should always be accepted *cum grano salis*. The fact that the third-person marker on vowel-initial words is Ø-, not i-, means that this 'dreaded homophony' is still preserved in this context (e.g., from eemi 'daughter', karaiwa eemi, both 'the Brazilian daughter' and 'the Brazilian's daughter'), without apparent discomfort. In fact, this homophony must have always existed for possessed Ø class stems (cf. 4.3.1.5).
long ago, N i-N phrases probably were mere ‘emphatic’ versions of N-N phrases, and may even still remain so for certain speakers. Even the speakers who, presumably, distinguish more clearly between N-N and N i-N phrases may remember that their grandparents used them interchangeably.

10.2.1.2. Noun phrases based on nominalizations. As was seen in 4.2.2, all inflectable non-nominal lexical classes can be nominalized in various ways. The resulting derived nouns can also form constructions with other nouns. Often the resulting construction is a possessive noun phrase (cf. previous section), but not always.

*De-adverbial nominalizations* cannot be possessed; their only possible role in a possessive phrase is that of possessor (28). Their behavior in noun-noun sequences is discussed in 10.2.1.3.

(28) **tī-pakoro-ke-n i-papa**
    T-house-Having-Nzr 3-father:Pos
    ‘The father of the one who owns the house.’

*Deverbal nominalizations* vary in possessoribillity: some (-ne ‘Actual A’, n- ‘Actual O’, -∅ ‘Specific Infinitive’, -to(po) ‘Circumstantial’) can be possessed, while the others (-to(-no) ‘Potential A’, i- -ke(tī) ‘Actual S’, t- -se(mī) ‘Potential O/S’, -nē ‘Generic Infinitive’) cannot. The non-possessible deverbal nominalizations behave like the de-adverbial nominalizations mentioned in the preceding paragraph: they can be the possessor, but not the possessed word, in a possessive phrase.

(29) **tē-ke i-kanawa**
    go-S.act 3-canoe:Pos
    ‘The traveller’s canoe.’
The possessible deverbal nominalizations can occur both as possessors (30b) and as possessed words (30a, d-e), and even as both (30c). As far as could be ascertained, there is no syntactic difference between possessive phrases based on verbal nominalizations and those based on monomorphemic nouns (with a special semantic detail: the possessor of the nominalization must correspond to one of the participants of the event described by the original verb stem: the A participant in the case of the n- ‘Actual O’ nominalizer, and the O or S participant for the others; cf. 4.2.2.1). The parenthetical (i-) in the examples below is meant to indicate that both the N-N and the N i-N possessive phrases were accepted (and are presumably possible for the others as well).\(^8\) For the structural problems posed by the use of nominalizations as the ‘nucleus’ of subordinate clauses, cf. 10.4.

(30a) \textbf{kaikui (i-)pijok\textsubscript{i} se\_w-a-e}  
dog 3-hit:N:Pos Desid\_1SA-Cop-Cty  
‘I want to hit the dog.’

(b) \textbf{enpa-ne (i-)panpira}  
3-teach-A.act.Nzr 3-book:Pos  
‘The teacher’s book.’

(c) \textbf{i-tati\textsubscript{hp}\text{e} i-w-eh-topo-np\text{e}}  
I-get.lost:N-Pst 3-SA-Cop-Circ.Nzr-Pst  
‘The way (=the story) of the one who got lost.’

(d) \textbf{pahko (i-)n-ekarama-hp\text{e}}  
father 3-O.act.Nzr-give-Pst  
(lit. ‘My father’s given thing.’)

(e) \textbf{ponjke w\text{e}-ne-np\text{e}}  
peccary.sp shoot-A.act-Pst  
‘The one who shot the peccary.’

\textit{Nominalized postpositional phrases} can be compared to possessive noun phrases. (31a-d) show how they have all the symptoms of a phrase, with examples based on the protective postposition (\_p\textsubscript{\text{h}}} ‘pity, jealousy, concern for’. Changing the order implies

\(^8\) Interestingly, the verb stem \text{w\text{e}} ‘shoot O’ (and presumably the other monosyllabic t-adding verb stems of 5.1.3, though the necessary examples are not attested) tends to occur in the N-N possessive construction (30e). Attempts at eliciting N i-N examples generally yielded negative results.
semantic changes (31a-b), the phrase cannot be split (31c-d), must be followed by second-position particles (31f-g), and an inserted pause also has semantic effects (31e).

(31a) **pahko (i-)pūnē-to**  
1:father 3-Prot-Nzr 3S\_A-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt  
'Someone/who pities father.'

(b) **i-pūnē-to pahko**  
3-Prot-Nzr 1:father  
'My father feels pity for him/her.'

(c) **pahko (i-)pūnē-to n-ee-ja-n**  
1:father 3-Prot-Nzr 3S\_A-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt  
'The one who pities father is coming.'

(d) **pahko n-ee-ja-n i-pūnē-to**  
*I* *pahko n-ee-ja-n i-pūnē-to*  
'Father, the one who pities him/her is coming.'

(e) **pahko, i-pūnē-to n-ee-ja-n**  
1:father 3-Prot-Nzr 3S\_A-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt  
'Father, the one who pities him/her is coming.'

(f) **pahko (i-)pūnē-to mo w-ene-i**  
1:father 3-Prot:Nzr\_Irr 1A-see-Hyp  
'I would see the one who pities my father.'

(g) **pahko mo i-pūnē-to w-ene-i**  
*I* *pahko mo i-pūnē-to w-ene-i*  

Just as postpositions can vary along a continuum from more noun-like to more particle/suffix-like cases (cf. 7.2), nominalized postpositional phrases vary from the ones that look more like normal N i-N possessive phrases (31) to the ones that can only be compared to N-N possessive phrases (32). More 'particle-like' postpositions, like the locative _po, cannot be conjugated and thus do not even have a third-person form, which makes them unsuitable for the N i-N construction. Impressionistically, the latter kind looks more like the nominalization of a 'complex adverbial' than a possessive noun phrase. However, since no syntactic differences between it and the N-N possessive phrases involving more noun-like postpositions have been found so far, it seems simpler to treat them all alike.

(32a) **Tēpu po-n**  
Tepoe Loc-Nzr  
'Someone/something that is at Tepoe.'

(b) **Tēpu i-po-n**  
*I* *Tēpu i-po-n*
10.2.1.3. Emergent noun phrases: the problem of noun-noun sequences. Aside from the tighter possessive and nominalized postpositional phrases of the preceding section, there are sequences of nouns which have a weaker bond.\(^9\) Loosely speaking, they can be seen as having the common semantic feature of ‘referring to the same particular entity in the real world’. As is exemplified in (33), they fail to show most of the symptoms of phrasal status: linear order changes and inserted pauses do not imply dramatic semantic changes (33a-b, c-d), and intervening material is possible (33d-e), including second-position particles (33f-g).

(a) wēri kawē-no n-ee-ja-n
woman tall-Nzr 3S\(_A\)-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘The tall woman is coming.’

(b) kawē-no wēri n-ee-ja-n
tall-Nzr woman 3S\(_A\)-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘The tall woman is coming.’

(c) wēri, kawē-no n-ee-ja-n
woman tall-Nzr 3S\(_A\)-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘The tall woman is coming.’

(d) kawē-no, wēri n-ee-ja-n
tall-Nzr woman 3S\(_A\)-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘The tall woman is coming.’

(e) wēri n-ee-ja-n, kawē-no
woman 3S\(_A\)-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt tall-Nzr
‘The woman is coming, the tall one.’

(f) wēri pa kawē-no n-ee-ja-n
woman_Rpt tall-Nzr 3S\(_A\)-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘The tall woman is coming back.’

(g) wēri kawē-no pa n-ee-ja-n
woman tall-Nzr_Rpt 3S\(_A\)-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘The tall woman is coming back.’

\(^9\) More often than not, these sequences involve a nominalized adverb, like kawē-no ‘tall one’ in (33). One might say that adverbs have a certain ‘natural semantic vocation’ for this function. However, there are no grammatical constraints on their occurrence without other nouns (kawē-no neejan ‘the tall one is coming’), nor is there any restriction against the occurrence of two monomorphic nouns with a similar ‘coreferential’ relationship (e.g. karaïwa wēri neejan ‘the Brazilian woman is coming’).
At first sight, the lack of most phrasal properties suggests that these sequences of nouns should be analyzed as being in *apposition*. According to this analysis, (33a) would really mean ‘the woman, the tall one, she is coming’; examples such as (33d-e) would then simply be cases in which one of the two terms in apposition was displaced for pragmatic reasons (e.g. as an afterthought). However, certain details already suggest that the situation may be a little more complex than that: the absence of obvious pauses between the two nouns in (33a-b), and the possible placement of a second-position particle after the second noun in (33g). In addition, consider the following examples, involving the postposition _pē(kē) _‘about’:

(34a) wēri kawē-no_pē n-ēt-uru-ja-n
woman tall-Nzr_About 3S_A-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘S/he is talking about the tall woman.’

(b) kawē-no wēri_pē n-ēt-uru-ja-n
tall-Nzr woman_About 3S_A-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘S/he is talking about the tall woman.’

(c) wēri, kawē-no_pē, n-ēt-uru-ja-n
woman tall-Nzr_About 3S_A-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘The woman, she is talking about the tall one.’

(d) wēri_pē n-ēt-uru-ja-n, kawē-no
woman_About 3S_A-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Dbt tall-Nzr
‘The tall one is talking about the woman.’
? ‘S/he is talking about the tall woman.’

(e) kawē-no_pē n-ēt-uru-ja-n, wēri
tall-Nzr About 3S_A-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Dbt woman_About
‘The woman is talking about the tall one.’
? ‘S/he is talking about the tall woman.’

(f) wēri_pē n-ēt-uru-ja-n, kawē-no_pē
woman_About 3S_A-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Dbt tall-Nzr_About
‘S/he is talking about the woman, the tall one.’
When wēri ‘woman’ and kawēno ‘tall one’ occur together and are followed by the postposition _pē(kē), they refer to the same entity, ‘the tall woman’; the insertion of a pause (34c) modifies this, shifting the interpretation in the direction of two separate entities. If wēri and kawēno are separated by the verb, their propensity for coreferentiality is greatly reduced, which is indicated by the question mark preceding the coreferential interpretation in (34d-e). It is much easier to interpret the ‘afterthought’ as referring to the person who is talking (the S participant) than to the woman. This can be ‘corrected’ by repeating the postposition _pē(kē), as in (34f-g). This behavior suggests a closer bond between wēri and kawēno in (34a-b), where there is no need to repeat the postposition in order to prevent kawēno from referring to the person who is talking.

Consider also the examples below, which involve verb phrases (35a-d) and nominalized postpositional phrases (35e-f).

(35a) wēri kawē-no aokin-ja-n
woman tall-Nzr hug-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘S/he is hugging the tall woman.’

(b) kawē-no wēri aokin-ja-n
woman tall-Nzr woman hug-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘S/he is hugging the tall woman.’

(c) wēri, kawē-no aokin-ja-n
woman tall-Nzr hug-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘The woman, she is hugging the tall one.’

(d) kawē-no, wēri aokin-ja-n
woman tall-Nzr woman hug-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘The tall one, s/he is hugging the woman.’

(e) kainan pata_pēe-n
new.one village Abl-Nzr
‘Someone from the new village.’

(f) pata kainan_pēe-n
village new.one Abl-Nzr
‘Someone from the new village.’

(g) * pata_pēe-n kainan

(h) * kainan_pēe-n pata
The semantic difference between (35a-b) and (35c-d) again suggests a closer connection between wěri and kawěno in (35a-b). Notice that the O-V sequences in (35a-b) are verb phrases (cf. 10.2.2). It would be odd to consider that only the noun that immediately precedes the verb is part of the verb phrase in (35a-b); this analysis looks better for (35c-d), in which the inserted pause has an important semantic effect. Consider also the nominalized postpositional phrases in (35e-h). A priori, there are three possible analyses for e.g. (35f):

(i) [pata] [kainan_pěe-n] (‘apposition’);

(ii) [pata] [kainan_pěe-n] (an N-N possessive phrase);

(iii) [pata kainan]_pěe-n] (a nominalized PP with a complex object).

Analysis (i) is not compelling: it would imply that the two nouns, pata and kainan_pěen, are coreferential, which does not sound possible (? ‘the village, the one from the new one’); besides, (35g-h) show that the word order in nominalized postpositional phrases does not have the flexibility of ‘appositional’ constructions such as (35a-b). Analysis (ii) is semantically less plausible, since it suggests the kind of lato sensu possessive semantic relation between two entities that is found with the N-N possessive phrases of the preceding section (‘the new one of the village’; ‘the new one for the village’), which is not the attested meaning. Analysis (iii) looks more compatible with the attested meaning (‘someone from the new village’).

The above examples all point to the possibility that there may be emergent noun phrases in Tiriyó. Nouns in apposition can apparently be distributed along a formal integration continuum that goes from less to more syntactically bound sequences. The less tightly bound
cases tend to be separated (or at least separable) by pauses, while the more tightly bound cases tend toward being part of the same intonational unit; the latter can be referred to as ‘appositional phrases’ (with quotation marks to emphasize their ‘emergent’ status). On the semantic plane, the likelihood of coreferentiality increases with the degree of formal integration: in one extreme, there are two independent, non-coreferential entities (35c-d), while in the other the semantic relationship comes close to that of a noun with a modifying adjective in English (35a-b). This suggests a possible continuation of the form-meaning continuum (from Fig. 10.3 above) as Fig. 10.4 below.

Figure 10.4
Correlations between meaning and form: ‘appositional’ phrases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase-like</th>
<th>Syntactically Independent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N N</td>
<td>N, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probably Same Entity</td>
<td>Probably Different Entities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| \begin{align*}
  \text{kawëno} & \text{wëri} \\
  \text{wëri} & \text{kawëno}
\end{align*} |
| \begin{align*}
  \text{kawëno, wëri} \\
  \text{wëri, kawëno}
\end{align*} |

An interesting question which can be related to the present discussion is the existence of the so-called *genitive classifiers*. For Cariban languages, it has been claimed (cf. e.g. Carlson & Payne 1989) that certain non-possessible nouns can be possessed via a *genitive classifier*, an intermediate morpheme which defines the nature of the functional relationship between the possessed word and its possessor. A list of the candidates for this function in Tiriyó is given in Table 10.4; (36) has some illustrative examples.
Table 10.4
Possible candidates for the status of genitive classifier in Tiriyó.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ekī</th>
<th>‘pet’</th>
<th>nnapi</th>
<th>‘fruit/sweet food’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jokī</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
<td>ofī</td>
<td>‘meat food’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaimo</td>
<td>‘game’</td>
<td>uru</td>
<td>‘bread/grain food’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>‘nut-like food’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(36a)  
(36b) ji-ekī  kaikui  (b)  ji-kaimo  pakira  (c)  ji-ofī  pai
1-pet:Pos  dog  1-game  peccary.sp  1-meat.food  tapir
‘My pet dog.’  ‘My (game) peccary.’  ‘My tapir meat.’

(d) ji-nnapī  oroī  (e)  ji-jokī  tuna
1-fruit.food  cashew  1-drink water
‘My cashew (for eating).’  ‘My water (for drinking).’

The ‘genitive classifier’ analysis of these constructions is not adopted here, for the following reasons:

(a) Some of the nouns possessed via classifiers are not really non-possessible. For instance, oroī ‘cashew’ and tuna ‘water’ are possessible: ji-j-oroī means ‘my cashew tree’, and ji-j-na ‘my water (for bathing, etc.)’ (cf. 4.3.1.1).

(b) The possibility of an appositional analysis for (36a-d) looks more appealing, especially in view of the existence of examples such as (37a-c) below:

(37a)  
(37b) ji-pawana  tarēno  (b)  j-eemi  kawē-no  (c)  ji-nmuku  Asehpē
1-friend:Pos  Tiriyó  1-daughter:Pos  tall-Nzr  1-son:Pos  Asehpē
‘My Tiriyó friend.’  ‘My tall daughter.’  ‘My son Asehpē.’

No syntactic difference was found between (36a-e) and (37a-c) that could justify the use of a different label for (36a-e); for instance, pauses can be inserted in all these examples without dramatic semantic consequences.\(^{10}\) Although changes in order imply changes in

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\(^{10}\) It is not impossible that (36a-e) may typically be more tightly integrated than (37a-c). It would not be surprising if e.g. pauses were more frequently inserted in cases like (37a-c) than in cases like (36a-e).
meaning, even here there is no difference between ‘genitive classifiers’ and other ‘possessed appositional phrases’ (38a-d).

(38a)  j-ekī  kaikui  
1-pet:Pos dog  
‘My pet dog.’

(b)  kaikui  j-ekī  
dog  1-pet:Pos  
‘My dog is a pet.’

(c)  ji-pawana  tarēno  
1-friend:Pos  Tiriyō  
‘My Tiriyō friend.’

(d)  tarēno  ji-pawana  
Tiriyō  1-friend:Pos  
‘My friend is a Tiriyō.’

The semantic changes illustrated in (38a-d) suggest that ‘appositional phrases’ involving one possessed element are ‘tighter’ than those that only involve non-possessed words. However, the clearly phrasal status of the possessive phrase [pahko ekī] ‘my father’s pet’ with respect to a second-position particle can be contrasted with the more dubious behavior of jekī kaikui ‘my pet dog’ in the same situation. All speakers are unanimous in accepting (39a) and rejecting (39b), while (39c) is accepted only marginally, and (39d-e) are suggested as ‘much better’ than (39c).

(39a)  pahko  ekī  pa  nī-tēn  
1:father 3:pet:Pos Rpt 3S_A-go:Prs:Prf  
‘My father’s pet is gone.’

(b)  *pahko  pa  ekī  nī-tēn  
1-pet:Pos Rpt 3S_A-lo:Prs:Prf  
‘My pet is gone.’

(c)  ? j-ekī  kaikui  pa  nī-tēn  
1-pet:Pos dog Rpt 3S_A-go:Prs:Prf  
‘My pet dog is gone.’

(d)  j-ekī  pa  nī-tēn,  kaikui  
1-pet:Pos Rpt 3S_A-go:Prs:Prf  dog  
‘My pet is gone, the dog.’

(e)  kaikui  pa  nī-tēn,  j-ekī  
dog Rpt 3S_A-go:Prs:Prf 1-pet:Pos  
‘The dog is gone, my pet.’

respects the spirit of Carlson & Payne 1989: (36a-e) are certainly good candidates for becoming genitive classifiers at some point. However, there does not seem to be any grammatical (as opposed to e.g. statistical) reason yet to treat (36a-e) as different from (37a-c).
Thus, given the available evidence, it seems best to consider (39c) as an 'emergent phrase', with the special characteristic that, in order to be possessed, it has to be ordered so that the first (leftmost) word is possessible.

10.2.2. Verb phrases. The most clearly phrasal sequence of words involving a verbal element occurs when a third-person A and O (3AO) transitive verb form is immediately preceded by a noun phrase referring to its O participant. This OV phrase has an inflexible word order (40a-b), its elements cannot be separated (40c-d), and second-position particles must follow it (40e-f). According to some (but not all) speakers, pauses also affect the acceptability of the utterance (40g).

(40a) ji-pī amohtē-n
     1-wife call:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
     'S/he is calling my wife.'

(b) *amohtē-n ji-pī

(c) menjaarē_rē ji-pī amohtē-n
     now_Exact  1-wife call:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
     'S/he is calling my wife right now.'

(d) *ji-pī menjaarē_rē amohtē-n

(e) ji-pī amohtē-i_mo
     1-wife call-Hyp_Irr
     'S/he would call my wife.'

(f) *ji-pī_mo amohtē-i

(g) ?ji-pī, amohtē-n

With a non-3AO verb form, this is not the case. Compare (40a-h) above with (41a-h) below.

(41a) ji-pī w-amohtē-e
     1-wife 1A-call:Prs.Ipf-Cty
     'I am calling my wife.'

(b) w-amohtē-e ji-pī
     1A-call:Prs.Ipf-Cty 1-wife
     'I am calling my wife.'

(c) menjaarē_rē ji-pī w-amohtē-e
     now_Exact  1-wife 1A-call:Prs.Ipf-Cty
     'I am calling my wife right now.'

(d) *ji-pī menjaarē_rē w-amohtē-e
     1-wife now_Exact 1A-call:Prs.Ipf-Cty
     'I am calling my wife right now.'
(e) ji-pï mo w-amohï-e-i
1-wife_Irr 1A-call-Hyp
'I would call my wife.'

(f) * ji-pï w-amohï-e_i_mo

(g) ji-pï, w-amohï-e
1-wife 1A-call:Prs.Ipf-Cry
'My wife, I am calling her.'

The same situation obtains for all other participants overtly expressed by noun phrases. As an example, (42) illustrates the behavior of the S participant of the So verb stem eremina ‘sing’, and (43) that of the oblique Maani ja ‘to Maani’.

(42a) mure n-eremina-n
child 3So-sing:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'The child is singing.'

(b) n-eremina-n mure
3So-sing:Prs.Ipf-Dbt child
'The child is singing.'

(c) menjaarëï-re mure n-eremina-n
now_Exact child 3So-sing:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'The child is singing right now.'

(d) mure menjaarëï-re n-eremina-n
child now_Exact 3So-sing:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'The child is singing right now.'

(e) mure_mo eremina-i
child_Irr 3So:Sing-Hyp
'The child would sing.'

(f) * mure eremina-i_mo

(f) mure, n-eremina-n
child 3So-sing:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'The child, he would sing.'

(43a) Maani ja n-ekarama
Maani_Dat 3AO-give:Prs.Prf
'S/he gave it to Maani.'

(b) n-ekarama Maani ja
3AO-give:Prs.Prf Maani_Dat
'S/he gave it to Maani.'

(c) menjaarëï-re Maani ja n-ekarama
now_Exact Maani_Dat 3AO-give:Prs.Prf
'S/he gave it to Maani right now.'

(d) Maani ja menjaarëï-re n-ekarama
Maani_Dat now_Exact 3AO-give:Prs.Prf
'S/he gave it to Maani right now.'

11 This sentence can be made more acceptable with a pause: mure, ereminai_mo.
(e) Maani_ ja_ mo ekarama- i
Maani_ Dat_ lrr 3AO:give-Hyp
'S/he would give it to Maani.'

(f) *Maani_ ja ekarama- i_ mo\textsuperscript{12}
Maani_ Dat 3AO-give:Prs.Prf
'To Maani, s/he gave it.'

Thus, the combination of a prefixless 3AO transitive verb form (cf. 5.4.1.1.1) with a preceding overt noun phrase referring to the O participant is the only sequence that forms a verb phrase.\textsuperscript{13} Considering the absence of a person-marking prefix on the verb, one may further propose that the overt O noun phrase in the verb phrase is occupying the same syntactic slot as the prefix (which is probably also true for postpositional phrases). A verb phrase is thus composed of a verb word provided with either a person-marking prefix or an overt O nominal (which is only possible in 3AO cases, since all other forms would have one of the prefix). Thus, (44a-c) are examples of verb phrases, while (44d-e) are not.

(44a) [pahko amohtē-n] (b) [n-amohtē-n] (c) [w-amohtē-e]
1A-call:Prs.Ipf-Dbt 3AO-call:Prs.Ipf-Dbt 1A-call:Prs.Ipf-Cty
's/he is calling my father.' 's/he is calling him/her.' 'I am calling him/her.'

(d) [pahko] [w-amohtē-e]
1A-call:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am calling my father.'

(e) [pahko] [n-amohtē-n]
1A-call:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'My father is calling him/her.'

Non-factual verb forms do not take the 3AO prefix n-; in fact, they look very similar to the prefixless forms (except for the fact that the i- on consonant-initial stems is optional in the prefixless form, but obligatory in the non-factual forms). However, even non-factual forms apparently only form a verb phrase with a preceding O nominal, as is illustrated by the sudden semantic change caused by the insertion of the particle _mo. In

\textsuperscript{12} Again, this sentence became more acceptable with a pause: Maani_ ja, ekarama- i_ mo.

\textsuperscript{13} With consonant-initial stems, the prefixless verb form has an optional i-; cf. 5.4.1.1.1.
(45a), [Kirinti ituukai] is a verb phrase, and _mo cliticizes to it; if _mo is placed after Kirinti, the only possible interpretation is that Kirinti is the A participant, while Sipaki becomes a postposed O participant (i.e. [Kirinti_mo ituukai [Sipaki]].)

(45a) Kirinti ituuka-i_mo Sipaki
   Clint hit-Hyp_Irr Spike
   ‘Spike would hit Clint.’
   * ‘Clint would hit Spike.’

(b) Kirinti_mo ituuka-i Sipaki
   Clint_Irr hit-Hyp Spike
   ‘Clint would hit Spike.’
   * ‘Spike would hit Clint.’

Nominalized verb forms enter into nominal constructions with their arguments (N 1-N possessive phrase; cf. 10.2.1.2). Although the available data is scant, there seem to be verb phrases based on the prefixed non-conjugated verb forms (i.e. all except for the t-se ‘remote past’; cf. Table 5.9 and section 5.4.3). Second-position particles can occur after phrases based on the negative form (46a), the supine (‘purpose-of-motion’) form (46b), the habitual past form (46c), and the posteriority form (46d).

(46a) j-eeri-nenu, manko in-enee-wa_pa, pahko in-enee-wa_pa
   1SO-be.in.danger-Adm 1:mother 3O-see-Neg_Rpt 1:father 3O-see-Neg_Rpt
   ‘I’m in danger, I’m going to die, without seeing my mother and my father again.’

(b) ji-karakuri apêe-se_pite wi-tê-e
   1-money:Pos get-Sup_a.sec 1SÂ-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
   ‘I’ll go get my money (and then do something else).’

(c) j-ofi eh-e_pite wi
   1-meat.food eat-meat-Hab_a.sec 1
   ‘I used to eat my meat (and then do something else).’

(d) irantato i-punëh-tuwe_pâ kû-ja, tarëno-tomô_ja
   year 3-think-Post_Rpt 1+2-Agt Tiriyo-Col_Agt
   ‘After we, the Tiriyo, have thought about the year (i.e. what we have to do, etc.).’

14 Considering the general pattern on verb phrases, one would expect the i- on the verb in the phrase [Kirinti ituukai]_mo to be the ‘optional i-’ of the prefixless form rather than the ‘obligatory i-’ of the non-factual forms. However, the few available examples all have i-; it is not known whether or not it can be dropped.
The t-se ‘remote past’ does not form a verb phrase with an overt O noun phrase. Though usually preverbal, the O noun phrase can occur postverbally (47a-c), it can be separated from the verb by a pause or by an adverb (47c), and second-position particles can occur between it and the verb (47d-e).

(47a) pūrēu t-ee-pahka-e
    arrow Rm.Pst-S_{A}:Detr-break-Rm.Pst
    ‘The arrow is/was broken.’
(b) t-ee-pahka-e pūrēu
    Rm.Pst-S_{A}:Detr-break-Rm.Pst arrow
    ‘The arrow is/was broken.’
(c) Ti-ntantaka-e ii-ja-a-ne ii-raapa, wē-pīn ii-raapa-hpē
    Rm.Pst-I.RD:break-Rm.Pst 3-Agt-Col 3-bow:Pos shoot-Ineff 3-bow-Pst.Pos
    ‘They broke many bits off his bow (to make it useless), the bad shooter’s ex-bow.’
(d) paaruru, napi, napēkē, ameraarē t-ēnee-se ii-ja
    banana, potato yucca all(adverb) Rm.Pst-bring-Rm.Pst 3-Agt
    ‘Banana, potato, yucca, he brought all of that.’
(e) tī-wērē-no_ro_pa tī-rē-e ii-ja, pata
    other-Nzr_Exact_Rpt Rm.Pst-make-Rm.Pst 3-Agt, village
    ‘s/he made another one, (another) village.’

An imperative verb does not seem to form a verb phrase with a preceding O noun phrase either, as is shown by the obligatory positioning of the second-position particle _mo after the O noun phrase in (48) rather than after the verb (cf. 5.4.2.1 for the use of _mo in the future imperative). It is, however, true that the objects are always preverbal. Attempts to position them postverbally usually cause negative reactions (unless a pause is inserted, suggesting an afterthought; (48c-e)).

(48a) kapi_mο ahkēh-kē
    liana.sp_Irr 3O:cut-Imper
    ‘Cut (a piece of) the kapi liana.’
(b) *kapi ahkēh-kē_mο
Examples such as (48d-e) show that the link between an imperative or remote past verb and its O noun phrase, though not as strong as in a verb phrase, is still perceptible. It is not clear at present whether this fact should be treated as a consequence of more general word order properties of Tiriyó, or as evidence for an ‘emergent verb phrase’ (or, at least, for some sort of higher-level constituent at an intermediate level between verb phrase and clause).

10.2.3. Postpositional phrases. The syntactic link between a postposition and its noun phrase object is as strong as that between the elements of the noun and verb phrases. The examples below illustrate this for the more suffix-like postposition _po ‘Locative’ (49a-f) and for the more noun-like postposition akēēre ‘with’ (<9g-l): word order is rigid ((49a-b, g-h); the suggested interpretation of (49h), which treats akēēre as an independent phrase by itself, was considered awkward), they cannot be separated by intervening words without at least dramatic semantic changes (49c-d, i-j), and they are treated as a unit by the second-position particle _mo (49e-f, k-l).

(49a) manko i-pataa_po
1:mother 3-village:Pos_Loc
‘In my mother’s village.’

(b) * po manko i-pata

(49c) manko i-pataa_po  t-ēt-uru-ja-e
1:mother 3-village:Pos_Loc 1SA-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘I am talking in my mother’s village.’
(d) * manko t-ët-uru-ja-e i-pata_po

(e) manko i-pataa_po_mo t-ët-uru-i
mother 3-village_Loc_Irr 1S_A-Detr-talk-Hyp
'I would talk in my mother’s village.'

(g) manko akëërë
1:mother with
'With my mother.'

(i) manko akëërë t-ët-uru-ja-e
1:mother with 3S_A-Detr-talk-Prs:Ipf-Cty
'I am talking with my mother.'

(j) * manko t-ët-uru-ja-e akëërë

(k) manko akëërë_mo t-ët-uru-i
1:mother with_Irr 3S_A-Detr-talk-Hyp
'I would talk with my mother.'

(l) * manko_mo akëërë t-ët-uru-i

Postpositional phrases based on more noun-like postpositions have certain similarities with noun phrases. With consonant-initial postpositions, the occurrence of an optional i- (cf. 7.2) is formally comparable to the distinction between N-N and N i-N possessive phrases (cf. 10.2.2.1). In (50a-b), this is illustrated for the protective postposition (__)pûnë ‘feel pity for, feel jealous/protective about’. For certain postpositions, like the cognoscitive (__)waarë ‘know’, the presence of the i- is almost obligatory; many speakers react to (50d) as a ‘clumsy’ version of (50c). No difference in ‘semantic integration’ (cf. the N-N and N i-N phrases in 10.2.2.1) was found for between (50a, c) and (50b, d). The more suffix-like postpositions, like the locative _po, never occur with an initial i- (50e-f).

15 (49d, j) became more acceptable with a pause: manko, t-ët-uru-ja-e i-pataa_po ‘Mother, I’m talking in his/her village’ and manko, t-ët-uru-ja-e akëërë ‘Mother, I am talking with him/her’. Here, however, we are clearly dealing with different constructions.
10.2.4. Phrases with Scope Particles. The subclass of scope particles was introduced in 9.1.4. as being formed by elements which do not have a specific position in the clause (initial, final or second position); rather, they follow another syntactic element (a word, phrase or clause), here called their scope. In 3.2.1.1, their syntax was briefly introduced. Their treatment as independent particles rather than affixes was motivated by their low categorial specificity: they can occur after any of the lexical classes (including particles, which take place in no morphological processes). The examples from 3.2.1.1, based on the particle _rën(ne) ‘truly’, are repeated here for convenience. The particle occurs after: a noun (51a), a verb (51d), an adverb (51e), a postposition (51b-c), an interrogative (51f), and another particle (51g-h).

(50a) nēērē_n-ai rupeimē i-pūnē
3AnAna:Exact_3S=Cop lizard.sp 3-Prot
’S/he felt pity for the rupeimē lizard.’

(b) rupeimē pūnē
lizard Prot
‘feeling pity for rupeimē’

(c) anja i-waarē_mo ei
1+3 Cogn_Irr 3S=Cop:Hyp
‘We (excl.) would know.’

(d) ? anja waarē_mo ei
1+3 Cogn_Irr 3S=Cop:Hyp
‘We (excl.) would know.’

(e) * manko i-pata i-po

(f) manko i-pataa_po
1:mother 3:village:Pos_Loc
‘In my mother’s village.’

(51a) ji-nmuku_rën
1:son:Pos_Truly
‘My real son.’

(b) kan_muku_me_rēn
god:son_Attr_Truly
‘(As) a true son of God.’

(c) ē-moiti apo_rën
2:people:Pos like_Truly
‘Really like your people.’

(d) n-ētihka_rën
3S=be.over:Prs.Prf_Truly
‘It’s really over.’
(=‘There isn’t any left.’)

(e) kure_rēn man-a-e
good_Truly_3S=Cop-Cty
‘You are really good!’
(i.e. really a good person)

(f) eeke_rēn
how_Truly
‘How on Earth?’
Scope particles are the only members of the particle category that can occur inside phrases, separating otherwise inseparable elements (postpositional phrases in (52a-f), verb phrases in (52g-i), possessive noun phrases in (52j-k)). Cases of this phenomenon are a minority (for the particle _rē ‘Exactly’, the most frequent ‘phrase invader’, such cases represents slightly less than 4% of its occurrences in texts), and apparently not all scope particles can participate (_rē ‘Exactly’ and _rēken ‘Only’ are more likely to break into phrases than _marē ‘too’, _ke(ne) ‘continuative’ or _nkērē ‘still, yet’; _sa(a) ‘a little’ and _ihta ‘?’ apparently never do). Moreover, speakers are not always in agreement as to which cases are impossible or, at least, ‘awkward’ (a certain speaker preferred (52f) to (52e) even when confronted with a recording of (52e) from another speaker, while a third speaker considered both ‘equally good’). However, there are sufficiently many instances for the phenomenon to deserve attention.

(52a) irēme Taru i-nmuku t-ee-se,    [ [ rupeimē eemi ]_rēn     enao ]
then Taru 3:son:Pos Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst lizard.sp 3:daughter:Pos_Truly holding
‘Then Taru’s son was lying (in his hammock) with rupeimē’s daughter.’

(b) irēme [ nēērē_rē_ja ]_rēken     t-ēnaa-se,      wēri_ja_rēken
so 3AnAna:Exact_Exact_Agt_only Rm.Pst-eat.fruit-Rm.Pst woman_Agt_only
‘so it was only she who ate the fruit, only the woman.’

(c) [ pahko_rē_pē ]     t-ēt-uru-ja-e
1:father_Exact_About 1SA-Detr-talk-Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘Yes, it’s my father that I am talking about.’

16 A similar phenomenon had already been reported for Carib of Surinam in Hoff 1990.
(d) [pahko pēkē] rē tēt-uru-ja-e
1:father About Exact 1SA-Detr-talk-Prs-Ipf-Cty
'Yes, it's about my father that I am talking.'

(e) [manko rēken pē] tēt-uru-ja-e
1:mother only About 1SA-Detr-talk-Prs-Ipf-Cty
'It's only about my mother that I am talking about.'

(f) [manko pēkē] rēken tēt-uru-ja-e
1:mother About only 1SA-Detr-talk-Prs-Ipf-Cty
'It's only about my mother that I'm talking.'

(g) pahko [wēri eta-n], ma [kiri-ton marē eta-n],
1:father woman hear:Prs-Ipf-Dbt Attn man-Col-too hear:Prs-Ipf-Dbt

ma [murehti marē etan]
Attn child:Col-too

'My father is listening to the woman, and also to the men, and also to the children.'

(h) [paaruru rē enaa-ja-n] banana_Exactly eat.fruit:Prs-Ipf-Dbt
(i) [tī-papaa rēken eta-n]
3R-father:Pos_only hear:Prs-Ipf-Dbt
'Yes, it's bananas that s/he is eating.'
'S/he is hearing only his/her father.'

(j) [ji-nmuku rēn i-pata] 3:son:Pos_Truly 3-village:Pos
(k) [tarēno rēn eemi ]mo w-apēi
Tiriyō_Truly 3:daughter:Pos_Irr 1A-get-Hyp
'My true son's village.'
'I would get (=marry) the daughter of a true Tiriyō.'

After looking at the above examples, one wonders what kind of construction a scope particle forms with the preceding word(s). In most of the above examples, the scope particle follows a noun, and could be seen as forming a noun phrase with it; however, it can also follow a postposition, or even a verb (as in (51c, d) above). (52b) has an example of nesting: [ [ [nērē rē] ja ] rēken] 'only by this precise person'. On this basis, particles are analyzed here as elements that can be 'adjoined' to any of the extant constituent types.

17 Notice that nērē already corresponds to a combination of the third-person animate anaphoric pronoun nērē with the particle _rē (cf. 9.1.4), i.e. _rē 'occurs' twice in this example. In fact, some combinations involving scope particles have lexicalized to varying degrees (cf. again 9.1.4, and also 6.1.1.4 on ke(ne) adverbs).
(phrases, or, as in (52d, h) above, clauses or sentences) without altering the status of its host.

10.3. Clauses and sentences. A clause in Tiriyo is a self-sufficient sequence of phrases (composed by one or more words) which show some sign of syntactic interdependence. A sentence is a group of one or more clauses that hang together; it is usually separated from the rest of the text by pauses and by having its own intonational contour. Single-clause sentences are the most frequent case, as in (53a-b), but two-clause sentences are not rare, with the first one marked by a pause and non-final intonation (53c-e; cf. 2.5.2).

(53a) ji-pakoro wi-ri-ja-e
1-house:Pos 1A-make-Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘I am making my house.’

(b) kaikui n-eurë-n
dog 3AO-bark:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘The dog is barking at him/her/it.’

(c) mure_me_nkërë wi ahtao, pahko eta-e wi
cchild_Attr_still 1 when 1:father hear-Hab 1
‘When I was still a child, I used to listen to my father.’

(d) n-apëepë mëe, n-etainka iweike
3SO-get.tired:Prs.Prf 3AnPx 3SA-run:Prs.Prf because
‘He got tired because he ran.’

(e) ji-w-ëeh-tuuwë_pa, j-akëmi w-ene
1-SA-come-Post_Rpt 1-yngr.brother:Pos 1A-see:Prs.Prf
‘After I came, I saw my younger brother.’

The present section offers a description of simple (one-clause) sentences, which are composed of one of the following types of clauses:
(1) *equative* ('verbless') clauses (10.3.1);
(2) *conjugated* ('Set I') clauses (10.3.2);
(3) *remote past* clauses (10.3.3);
(4) *habitual past* clauses (10.3.4).

The non-equative clause types (which one might call 'verbed' clauses) can all be further subdivided into *copular, intransitive* and *transitive* clauses, depending on the argument frame of its verb. Most negative clauses are, structurally, copular or equative; however, given their functional homogeneity, and also the existence of some deviant types, they are discussed separately (10.3.5). The same is done for questions, which can arguably be placed in any of the four basic types (10.3.6).

**10.3.1. Equative ('verbless') clauses.** The combination of a two noun phrases (54a-b), or a noun phrase and a postpositional phrase (54c-h), or a noun phrase and an adverb (54i) or a particle (54j-l), can occur as a well-formed utterance in Tiriyó. The second element forms the predicate, with the first noun phrase as its 'subject'. If this 'subject' is understood, the predicate can occur by itself: (54g) is actually much more frequent as a single-word utterance.

(54a) *serē, AIDS, epiti-mīn*  
3InPx AIDS I:medicine-Priv.Nzr  
'This, AIDS, has no cure.' (lit. 'is cureless').

(b) *j-eka Ranpi*  
l-name:Pos Ranpi  
'My name is Ranpi.'

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18 As there is no verb in an equative sentence, it is difficult to assign its 'subject' to one of the participant types discussed in 10.4.1. Its similarities with copular sentences suggest that it could be considered an S participant.
(c) **pahko pįjai**  
1:father shaman  
‘My father is a shaman.’

(d) **pahko pįjai_me**  
1:father shaman_Attr  
‘My father is a shaman.’

(e) **ji-nmuku mono_me**  
1:son:Pos big.one_Attr  
‘My son is big.’

(f) **i-pata Suurinan_po**  
3-village:Pos Surinam_Loc  
‘His/her village is in Surinam.’

(g) **(irē) ji-waarē**  
3InAna 1-Cogn  
‘I know (that).’

(h) **mahto ji-wenje**  
fire 1-close  
‘I have fire.’ (=matches).

(i) **eemi kure**  
3:daughter:Pos well  
‘His/her daughter is well.’

(j) **kana wa_ken**  
fish 3Neg Cont  
‘There are no fish.’

(k) **tiwērē ken i-ponoh-to tēērē**  
other_Cont 3-tell-Circ.Nzr Exist  
‘There is something else to tell.’

(l) **tiika tēērē**  
tobacco Exist  
‘There is tobacco.’

The meaning of an equative clause is often undistinguishable from that of a copular clause (cf. 10.3.2.1): (54a-f) all have copular equivalents. It would seem that an equative clause *is* a copular clause from which the copula is missing. This seems even more clearly so for negative sentences, in which the semantics is apparently the same with or without the copula (55a-b).

(55a) **in-enee-wa wī**  
3Neg-see-Neg 1  
‘I don’t see him/her/it.’

(b) **in-enee-wa_w-a-e**  
3Neg-see-Neg_1SA-Cop-Cty  
‘I don’t see him/her/it.’

The most frequent use of equative clauses is with pronouns (54a, 55a, 56a-c), but full noun phrase ‘subjects’ are far from rare. Although certain uses are clear (‘identification’
sentences such as (56a-c) are much preferred as equatives), the exact nature of the semantic contrast between equative and copular sentences is not known.

(56a) pihko mēe
1:older.brother 3AnPx
'This is my older brother.'

(b) ēkērēpukē mērē
tayra 3AnMd
'That is a tayra.'

(c) karaiwa ēmē
Brazilian 2
'You are a Brazilian.'

(d) tiika tēērē
tobacco Exist
'There is tobacco (here).'

10.3.2. Conjugated (Set I) clauses. These clauses are characterized by the presence of a verb stem in one of the conjugated (or Set I) forms. The person-marking prefix identifies the nuclear participants involved (A/O for transitive, or S for intransitive or copular Set I clauses), which may be further identified by full noun phrases. Further peripheral participants or circumstances can occur as postpositional phrases, adverbs, or particles.

10.3.2.1. Conjugated copular clauses. These clauses have a form of the copula e(i) (cf. 5.4.4) with at least one other element; the copula cannot occur by itself or sentence-initially (57a-f).

(57a) kure_pa w-eh-ta-e
well 1SA-Cop-Fut.Ipf-Cty
'I will be well again.' (=I will recover').

(b) * w-eh-ta-e(_pa) kure
(c) * w-eh-ta-e

(d) kure man-a-ti ?
well 2SA-Cop-Col
'Are you all well?'

(e) * man-a-ti kure
(f) * man-a-ti
Copular sentences can be used to indicate existence (58a), location (58b), possession (permanent possession being indicated with kato (58c), apparently a nominalized form of ka ‘say, do’ used idiosyncratically to mean ‘possession, belonging’; the postposition wenje ‘close to, near’ (cf. 7.1.3) is used idiomatically in [temporary] predicative possession, (58d-e); a t-ke adverb (6.2.1.1.1) is also found in this context (58j)), identification/equation (58g-h) and proper inclusion or class membership (58h). Direct identification (‘that one is the chief’) seems to be more felicitously expressed with equative clauses (cf. preceding section). There are some special expressions or ‘idioms’ (e.g. (60j) does not mean ‘I am work’, but ‘I am working’).

(58a) i-tipī_n-ai tēērē_nkērē
3-continuation_3S_A-Cop Exist still ‘There is still a continuation (to the story).’

(b) tēpu_n-ai tuna_hkao
stone_3S_A-Cop river_Aq.In ‘The stone is in(side) the river.’

(c) tēpu_n-ai pakara_juwwē
stone_3S_A-Cop bag_on.top ‘The stone is on top of the bag.’

(d) serē_n-ai jii-kato
3InPx_3S_A-Cop 1-possession ‘This is mine, my thing.’

(e) manko wenje_n-ai j-ehke
1:mother close_3S_A-Cop 1-hammock ‘My mother has my hammock.’

(f) Taru i-nmuku_n-ai i-wenjee-ne
Taru 3-son:Pos_3S_A-Cop 3-close-Col ‘They have Taru’s son (in their power).’

(g) oto-ton_n-ai wīkapau, akuri, pai, kurimau, ...
game-Col_3S_A-Cop deer.sp agouti tapir paca ‘The game animals are: deer, agouti, tapir, paca, etc.’

(h) Moomoori_n-ai mēe eka
Moomoori_3S_A-Cop 3AnPx 3:name:Pos ‘Moomoori is this one’s name.’

(i) pahko_n-ai pījai_me
1:father_3S_A-Cop shaman_Attr ‘My father is a shaman.’

(j) oroko_me_w-a-e
work_Attr_1S_A-Cop-Cty ‘I am working.’

(j) tī-maja-ke_w-a-e
T-knife-Having_1S_A-Cop-Cty ‘I have a knife.’
In some Cariban languages (e.g. Panare [Gildea, pers.comm.], Akawayo [Desrey Fox, pers. comm.]), copular sentences with two noun phrases are impossible: one of them has to be adverbialed, usually with a cognate of the postposition _me (described in 7.3.4.3). In Tiriýó, however, two-NP copular clauses are perfectly acceptable (58d, 59b). Combining this with the possibility of leaving off the copula (i.e. of forming equative clauses), it becomes possible to translate ‘my father is a shaman’ in four ways (59). Some speakers have said that (59d) sounds ‘more definite’ (i.e. like an identification or equation: ‘my father is the shaman’); aside from that, the semantic distinctions between the various possibilities in (59) are not well understood.  

(59a) **pahko_n-ai pğai_me**  
1:father_3SA-Cop shaman_Attr  
‘My father is a shaman.’  

(b) **pahko_n-ai pğai**  
1:father_3SA-Cop shaman  
‘My father is a shaman.’  

(c) **pahko pğai_me**  
1:father shaman_Attr  
‘My father is a shaman.’  

(d) **pahko pğai**  
1:father shaman  
‘My father is a shaman.’  

10.3.2.2. Conjugated intransitive clauses. These clauses are characterized by the presence of a conjugated intransitive (SA or SO) verb stem, with (60b) or without (60a) a particle. Optionally, other elements can be present: one noun phrase which, together with the

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19 Copular sentences with deverbal nouns or adverbs are also the main strategy for expressing certain modal semantics such as capacity, impossibility, etc. (cf. 4.2.2.2 and 6.2.1.2). Considering that negative clauses are also copular/equative, one wonders if Tiriýó should be seen as a language in which the expression of 'verbal states' implies copular/equative predications. Unlike English, in which the suppression of one of the arguments suffices ('he hunts', 'this book sells well'), Tiriýó seems to reserve verbal predication for less 'stative' situations and copular predication for more 'stative' or 'modal' situations, including in negative sentences (cf. Givón 1984:321ff for negation as 'propositional modality').
person-marking prefix on the verb, refers to the S participant ((60c); only one noun phrase can occur in an intransitive clause, except for cases of apposition), adverbs (60c-d) and/or postpositional phrases (60e-f).

(60a) ni-tunta
3SO-arrive:Prs.Prf
‘S/he has arrived.’

(b) s-e-pī-ja-e_pītē
1SA-Detr-bathe-Prs.Ipf-Cty_a.sec
‘I am bathing for a second (i.e. before doing something else).’

(c) manko kure n-eremina-n
1:mother well 3SO-sing:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘My mother sings / is singing well.’

(d) menjaarē_rē s-e-pī
now_Exact 1SA-detr-bathe:Prs.Prf
‘I have bathed right now.’

(e) wīkapau_ja wī-tēn
deer_All 1SA-go:Prs.Prf
‘I went to Deer’s (village).’

(f) tī-pīpi akēērē n-emamina-n
3R-oldr.brthr:Pos with 3SO-play:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘He is playing with his older brother.’

Intransitive clauses based on the SA verb stem ka ‘say’ deserve special mention. They have two main uses: reported speech, with a direct quotation preceding ka (61a-b), and ‘ideophone’ clauses, in which an ideophone (cf. Table 9.2) precedes ka, often with onomatopoeic (61c), but sometimes also with a quite arbitrary, unexpectedly ‘lexical’ meaning (61d); cf. 9.2.2 for further examples.20

(61a) “aja papa?” wī-ka
whither 2:father:Pos 1A-say:Prs.Prf
‘Where is your father?’ I said.

(b) “oh-kē_pā_mo!” n-ka-n
come-Imper_Rpt_Irr 3SA-say:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘Come back again some time!’, he is saying.

(c) pīto wī-ka
spit.Ideo 1SA-say:Prs.Prf
‘I have spat.’

(d) mēmēl wī-ka
joke.Ideo 1SA-say:Prs.Prf
‘I was joking.’

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20 Ideophones, and especially interjections, are also often found without ka. Whether occurring by themselves, or inside of a larger sentence, they do not seem to be ‘a part of’ anything else, but rather independent elements, close to being predications by themselves. They often ‘summarize’ a complex event (e.g. meen ‘to wrap itself around something’, in (54), chap. 9.
10.3.2.3. Conjugated transitive clauses. These clauses are characterized by the presence of a conjugated transitive verb stem (62a). Unlike intransitive clauses, up to two independent, non-appositional noun phrases can occur (62b-c), referring to the A and O participants, which are also identifiable from the prefix on the verb stem. If both participants are third persons, an explicit O noun phrase forms a verb phrase with the verb stem, as in (62c) (cf.10.2.2). Adverbs (62d) and postpositional phrases (62e) can also occur. (62f) shows a particle occurring after the verb stem.

(a) **w-enee-ja-e**
---
1A-bring-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am bringing it.'

(b) **mama w-ene-ne**
---
2:mother:Pos 1A-see-Pst.Prf
'I saw your mother (then).'

(c) **ë-nmuku tii-raapa itahka**
---
2:son:Pos 3R-bow:Pos lose:Prs.Prf
'Your son has lost his bow.'

(d) **same_ken k-enee-ja-e**
---
fast_Cont 1+2A-bring-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'We (I+you) are bringing it fast.'

(e) **sen wi-rï j-eemi-rï_ja**
---
3InPx 1A-make:Prs.Prf l-daughter-Det
'I made this for my daughter.'

(f) **tarëno i-jomi wi-kuu-ja-e_së**
---
Tiriyó 3-language:Pos 1A-imitate-Prs.Ipf-Cty_a.bit
'I speak the Tiriyó language a bit.'

*Causative and transitivized verb stems* form the nucleus of an interesting subclass of transitive sentences. Transitivized stems are derived from **S₀** stems with one of the transitivizing suffixes -në(pì), -nï(pì), -niïka and -ka (cf. 5.3.1.2); syntactically, they are normal transitive verbs, occurring with up to two independent noun phrases (63f) and taking all transitive person-marking prefixes (e.g. (63d); cf. 5.4.1.1.1).

(a) **j-ereeta-e**
---
1So-rest:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am resting.'

(b) **Niira w-ereeta-nïpï**
---
Nila 1A-rest-Trvzr:Prs.Prf
'I have made Nila rest, told Nila to rest.'
(c) ji-kooman-ja-e
1SO-spend.night-Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am spending the night (here).'

(d) ki-kooman-nēpi
12AO-spend.night-Trvzr:Prs.Prf
'I have made you stay all night here.'

(e) ji-taťi
1SO-get.lost:Prs.Prf
'I got lost.'

(f) paĥko t-ēki itah-ka
1:father 3R-pet:Pos get.lost-Trvzr:Prs.Prf
'My father lost his pet.'

Transitivized stems, like all other transitive stems, can take the causative suffix -po, which enables them to take a ‘causee’ in a postpositional phrase (with _:ja); this was not possible without -po (64a-d). Except for stems transitivized with -ka, the causativized forms (in -nēh-po, -niḥ-po, -niƙa-po) are much more frequent and, according to several speakers, ‘easier to use’ than the simple transitivized forms. One has the impression that the Tiriyo speakers are replacing the transitivizing suffixes with new ‘transitivizer-causativizers’, -nēhpo, -niḥpo, -niƙapo, which have the same meaning as the original transitivizers if the (_:ja-marked) causee is omitted.

(64a) Niira w-ereeta-nēpi
Nila 1A-rest-Trvzr:Prs.Prf
'I have made Nila rest.'

(b) * Niira w-ereeta-nēpi Sipaki_ja

(c) Niira w-ereeta-niḥ-po
Nila 1A-rest-Trvzr-Caus:Prs.Prf
'I have made Nila rest.'
'I have told someone to let Nila rest.'

(d) Niira w-ereeta-niḥ-po Sipaki_ja
Nila 1A-rest-Trvzr-Caus:Prs.Prf Spike_Causee
'I told Spike to let Nila rest.'

The possible presence of a _:ja phrase with a causee reading is the main characteristic of all transitive sentences with causativized verbs, regardless of whether or not they have an ultimate So source. A causative verb stem is derived from a transitive (or
transitivized) verb stem with the suffix -po (cf. 5.3.1.4; cf. 10.4.1.3.3 for syntactic causatives). The O participant of the event described by the original stem remains as such with the causatizized stem, while the original A participant corresponds to the causee occurring in the _-ja phrase. The new A participant corresponds to a ‘causer’: the participant that instigates the causee to fulfill its role in the event described by the original stem. Notice that, for (65a-b), the semantics is close to that of ‘adding an intermediary’: the A participant affects the original O participant ‘by means of’ the causee. However, the other examples are not always of the same kind, especially the less prototypically transitive verbs ene ‘see O’ or eta ‘hear O’, in which the original A participant is closer to an ‘experiencer’, the corresponding causatizized forms have a causee that is not an ‘intermediary’, but rather the participant that is now ‘experiencing’ (65f-g), i.e. the causee can have features of a ‘dative’ or ‘experiencer’.

(65a) ji-jankai wi-rī-po-ne tarēno_ja
    1-comb:Pos 1A-make-Caus-Pst.Prf Tiriyo_Causee
    ‘I had a Tiriyo make my comb.’

(b) mēe wi-tuuka-po waijana_ja
    3AnPx 1A-beat-Caus:Prs.Prf Wayna_Causee
    ‘I had a Wayana beat this guy.’

(c) ti-pī ēnē-po-ne wīrīpē_ja
    3R-wife eat.meat-Caus-Pst.Prf evil.spirit_Causee
    ‘He made an evil spirit eat his wife.’

(d) t-ēēmi epoh-po pananakiri_ja
    3R-daughter:Pos meet-Caus:Prs.Prf foreigner_Causee
    ‘S/he, made a/the foreigner meet his/her daughter.’

(e) kure ji-nmuku m-erahtē-po wija
    well 1-son:Pos 2A-find-Caus:Prs.Prf 1:Causee
    ‘You really made me find my son.’ (i.e. you told me where he was)
10.3.3. Remote past clauses. As was seen in 10.4.1, for sentences with a remote past verb form (t- -se; cf. 5.4.3.1.2), there is a mismatch between the case-marking pattern (ergative) and the control of coreference (nominative). The A participant occurs in a postpositional (_:ja) phrase, while the O and S participants occur as independent, non-case-marked noun phrases (an ergative-absolutive pattern, also present in ‘Equi-deletion’ (cf. 10.4.1) and word order (cf. 10.5)); at the same time, the possessor of a noun marked with the ‘reflexive’ possessive prefix t(i)- is coreferential with either the A or S participant—whichever is present—but never with the O participant (a nominative-accusative pattern). There are no person-marking prefixes on the verb in the remote past. As with the conjugated sentences of the previous sections, adverbs and postpositional phrases are free to occur as adjuncts.

These characteristics of remote past clauses are exemplified in (66). Copular clauses (66a-b) and intransitive clauses (66c-d) have non-case-marked S noun phrases, including ka ‘say’ clauses (ideophones (66e-f) and quotations (66g); notice that the :ja-marked participant in (66g) is not an A) while transitive clauses have :ja-marked A noun phrases and non-case-marked O noun phrases (66h-i). (66j-k) has further examples (in addition to (14d)) of coreference control, by the A (66j) and S (66k) participants. Notice that this pattern of coreference control implies that it is impossible for the A or S participants to be
ti-marked nouns. Sentences such as (66i) were always immediately refused; most speakers could not even guess what they might mean (i.e. they were nonsensical to them). The contrast with (66m), in which the :ja-marked participant is not an A, is quite striking.

(66a) serē apo t-ee-se mēe (b) ēmuu me t-ee-se apēren
3InPx like Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst 3AnPx sadness_Attr Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst 3:owner
'S/he was like that.'

(c) t-ee-seka-e kīto (d) irē mao pa t-onota-e kaikui
Rm.Pst:: S A-Detr-jump-Rm.Pst toad.sp 3InAna_Tmp_Rpt Rm.Pst-fall-Rm.Pst dog
'The kīto toad jumped.'

(e) pīto tī-ka-e pananakiri (f) mananmanan tī-ka-e kapu
spit Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst foreigner lightning Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst sky
'The foreigner spat.'

(g) "ma jako, mēe tī-wē-kē!" tī-ka-e_to ii-ja
Attn Voc 3AnPx t-shoot-Imper Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst_3Col 3-Dat
'Well, friend, shoot that one!' they said to him.

(h) t-ēnee-se_wī manko ja sen_pona, j-enuru-hpē_pēe
Rm.Pst-bring-Rm.Pst_1 l:mother_Agt 3InPx_Dir 1-be.born:N-Pst_Abl
'My mother brought me here, after I was born.'

(i) irē-npē_pēe joī tī-wē-e wiija
3InAna-Pst_Abl lizard.sp Rm.Pst-shoot-Rm.Pst 1:Agt
'After that I shot a lizard.'

(j) t-ēpēi tī-rē-e ii-ja kawē
3R-seat:Pos Rm.Pst-make-Rm.Pst 3-Agt high
'He made himself a seat very high (on top of a tree).'

(k) wēri tī-tē-e ti-pataa_pona
woman Rm.Pst::S A-go-Rm.Pst 3R-village:Pos_Dir
'The woman went to her village.'

(l) * ji-pawana t-ēta-e tī-mama-rī ja
1-friend:Pos Rm.Pst-hear-Rm.Pst 3R-mother-Pos_Agt
(His; mother heard him.)

(m) ji-pawana tī-tē-e tī-mama-rī ja
1-friend:Pos Rm.Pst::S A-go-Rm.Pst 3R-mother-Pos_Agt
'He went to his mother's (house/village).'
When a _ja-marked participant occurs in a transitive remote past clause based on a causative verb stem, there is an inescapable ambiguity as to whether it refers to the A participant, or to the causee (67), yielding two possible translations. The most frequent spontaneous interpretation was (i), but (ii) also occurred spontaneously, and was accepted as a possible reading of (67) by all speakers.

(67) Sipaki ti-tuuka-po-e pahko Ja karaiwa Ja
Spike Rm.Pst-hit-Caus-Rm.Pst 1:father_Agt?/Causee? Brazilian_Agt?/Causee?
(i) ‘My father made the Brazilian hit Spike.’
(ii) ‘The Brazilian made my father hit Spike.’

10.3.4. Habitual past clauses. As was mentioned in 10.4.1, clauses based on a verb in the habitual past (-se; cf. 5.4.3.1.1) form show a nominative-accusative pattern of person marking (the O participant is marked as a prefix on transitive verbs (68a-d), while the A (68a-d) and S (68e-h) participants are not marked); as usual, adverbs or postpositional phrases can optionally occur (68a, c, d, f-h). No data on coreference control (cf. 10.4.1) is available for the habitual past; presumably, it is controlled by the A/S participants, as in negative clauses (cf. next section). An overt O noun phrase, if present, was obligatorily placed before the verb, apparently forming a verb phrase (cf. the placement of the second-position particle _pitë ‘a second, temporarily’ after the verb in (68b)). An explicit A or S noun phrase is not distinguished morphologically from an O noun phrase; here, word order is very important. Most of the examples have a postverbal A/S participant; the few cases in with a preverbal A (68d) usually had either an O-marking prefix on the verb, or an intervening O noun phrase (cf. 10.5).
Below is a representative sample of habitual past clauses, including transitive clauses (68a-d), intransitive clauses with $S_A$ verbs (68e-f), including a quotation with ka ‘say’ (68f), and $S_O$ verbs (68g), and a copular clause (68h).

(68a) ipoinna j-ewee-se ēmē
tasteless 1O-feed-Hab 2
‘You used to feed me tastelessly.’ (i.e. with tasteless food)

(b) j-oti ēnē-e_pitē wī
1-meat.food eat.meat-Hab_a.sec 1
‘I used to eat my meat (and then do something else).’

(c) owa, j-eko-e jii-kūri, serē apo_ro_pa
no, 1-sex-Hab 1-ynq.man 3InPx like_Exact_Rpt
‘No, my younger partner used to have sex with me like this:...’ (said by a woman)

(d) serē apo_roken anja serē ijooka-e
3InPx like_only 1+3 3InPx harvest-Hab
‘Only when it was like this would we harvest this (plant).”

(e) “emeta-ke mēe!” ka-e_to
change-S.pot.Nmr 3AnPx say-Hab_3Col
“‘This one can change!’ they used to say’ (i.e. it is a magic animal that can assume other forms)

(f) pena_marē koeri_me tē-e anja pata wararē
long.ago_too stroll_Attr go-Hab 1+3 village each
‘Long ago, we used to go walking around, (to visit) every village.’

(g) mure_me nkērē wī ahtao, wei wararē emamina-e wī
child_Attr still 1 when day each play-Hab 1
‘When I was a child, I used to play every day.’

(h) kura-no_ken pahko ee-se
clean:looking-Nmr_Cont 1:father Cop-Hab
‘My father used to be/stay always clean-looking.’ (i.e. he never painted himself)

10.3.5. Negative clauses. Structurally, most negative clauses could be described as belonging to one of the types used to classify affirmative clauses (cf. 10.3); however, their
functional homogeneity, together with certain peculiarities (e.g. the distinction between nominal and verbal negation), argue in favor of a separate treatment.

Negation can be of the following kinds:

— *lexical*: that is the case of negative adverbializing and nominalizing affixes such as i- -nna, i- -mī(ñī) ‘not having’, i- -ra, i- -pī(ñī) ‘having an inefficient N’, etc. (cf. 4.2.2.2, 6.2.1.2). These words are adverbs or nouns, used just like any other members of these classes.

— *non-verbal*: this is the case of negation by means of the particles _ta(ike) ‘negative’ and _wa(a) ‘negative existential’ (cf. 9.1.4), which take the preceding phrase as their ‘scope’;

— *verbal*: this is the case of negative clauses built around the negative verbal form (cf. 5.4.3.1.3);

— *polar*: this is the case of the negative sentence-equivalent particle owa ‘no, nothing, nobody’ (cf. 9.2.1).

Polar and lexical negation are described elsewhere (9.2.1 and 6.2.1.2, respectively). In the present section, only verbal and non-verbal negation are examined.

10.3.5.1. Non-verbal negation. In Sec. 9.1.4, a general characterization of the meanings and uses of the negative particles _ta(ike) ‘negation’ and _wa(a) ‘negative existential’ (=‘there isn’t’) was sketched. Briefly, _wa(a) negates existence, and thus can only take
noun phrases within its scope (69b), whereas _ta(ike) is a more general negation that can
take, besides noun phrases (69a; 69c has a nominalized verb form), also adverbs (69d-f)
and postpositional phrases (69f-h, m) within its scope. Notice that _ta(ike) can be used for
constituent negation (69i-m).

(69a) pahko_ta ~ pahko_taa_n-ai
1:father_Neg 1:father_Neg_3SA-Cop
'It isn’t my father.'

(b) pahko_wa ~ pahko_waa_n-ai
1:father_Neg.Exist _3SA-Cop
'I don’t have a father / my father is dead.'

(c) ē-ni-rē-h_ta
2-O.act.Nzr-make-Pos_Neg 3InPx
This is not your work.'
(lit. 'This is not something you made.')

(d) pēera_taa_w-a-e
stupid_Neg_1SA-Cop-Cty
'I am not stupid.'

(e) tapūme wítoto, tēinē_taa_n-ai
many.An people, one_Neg_3SA-Cop
'Many people, it isn’t only one.'

(f) owa, serē apo_ta
no 3InPx like_Neg
'No, it isn’t that like.'

(g) ē-pēh_taa_n-ai
2-About_Neg_3SA-Cop
'He is not about (=busy with; after) you.'

(h) kēpēewa manko ji-pitti_se_ta
but 1:mother 1-wife_Desid_Neg
'But my mother didn’t want/like my wife.'

(i) pahko_ta kaikui wē
1:father_Neg jaguar shoot:Prs.Prf
'Not my father has shot the jaguar.'

(j) pahko_ta ene karaman
1:father_Neg see:Prs.Prf chief
'The chief saw not my father.'

(k) pahko_ja_ta tī-wē-e kaikui
1:father_Agt_Neg Rm.Pst-shoot-Rm.Pst dog
'Not my father shot the jaguar.'

(l) pahko_taa_n-ai pījai_me
1:father_Neg_3SA-Cop shaman_Attr
'Not my father is a shaman.'

(m) pahko_n-ai pījai_me_ta
1:father_3SA-Cop shaman_Attr_Neg
'My father is not a shaman.'

The supine ('purpose-of-motion') form of the verb is negated with _ta(ike) (70a),
which puts it closer to adverbs (cf. 5.4.3.1.1, 10.4.1.2.2, 10.4.1.3.3). Curiously enough, the
habitual past, very similar in form (and historically related) to the supine, does not take _ta(ike); rather, the normal negative form in -sewa occurs with a habitual meaning (70b-c) (cf. Meira 1998a:120ff, 136ff for a hypothesis on the historical development of the negative and habitual past forms from the supine). The remote past is also negated with _ta(ike) (70d-e).

(70a) mërë_pona wi-tên emamina-e_ta
3InMd_Dir 1SA-go:Prs.Prf play-Sup_Neg
‘I went over there in order not to play.’

(b) mure_me_nkërë wi ahtao, pahko imoi-je wi
child_Attn_still 1 when 1:father obey-Hab 1
‘When I was a child, I used to obey my father.’

(c) mure_me_nkërë wi ahtao, pahko imoi-jewa wi
child_Attn_still 1 when 1:father obey-Hab 1
‘When I was a child, I used not to obey my father.’

(d) é-nmuku t-ëne_ta anja_ja
2-son:Pos Rm.Pst-see:Rm.Pst_Neg 1+3_Agt
‘We didn’t see your son.’

(e) mërëme ii-rano_rën t-amii-se_ta ii-ja
but 3-good:one_Truly Rm.Pst-take-Rm.Pst_Neg 3-Agt
‘But the really good ones he didn’t take.’

10.3.5.2. Verbal negation. The negative equivalent of a conjugated (Set I) clause is a copular or equative clause built around the negative form of the corresponding verb stem (cf. 5.4.3.1.3): in order to say ‘I don’t kill birds’, Tiri yö speakers use ‘I am birds not-killing’ (71a-f). Like the habitual past, the negative form follows a nominative pattern of person marking, in that the O participant can occur as a person prefix on the negated verb stem while the A and S participants must be either noun phrases or person prefixes on the copula
e(i). There is some evidence that a preverbal O noun phrase forms a verb phrase with the verb, but the data are scant (cf. 10.2.2). The optional occurrence of the copula makes the negative clause look structurally different from the habitual past; a further difference is the idiosyncratic third-person O prefix in-, which does not occur on habitual past forms (71b). The copula can be inflected in all tenses and forms (except, presumably for semantic reasons, the negative): the past perfective (71g) and the imperative (71h) forms are given as examples. (71i) illustrates the use of the ‘objectless’ negative form, and (71j) has a case with the quoted speech verb ka ‘say’:

(71a) w-akorona-ma-e  
1A-help:Prs.Ipf-Cty  
‘I am helping him/her.’

(b) in-akorona-ewa_w-a-e  
3O-help-Neg_1S_A-Cop-Cty  
‘I am not helping him/her.’

(c) ē-kēhtun-ja-e  
2S0-scream-Prs.Ipf-Cty  
‘You are screaming.’

(d) i-kēhtun-jewa ēmē  
I-scream-Neg 2  
‘You are not screaming.’

(e) s-e-pū-ja-e  
1S_A-Detr-bathe-Prs.Ipf-Cty  
‘I am bathing.’

(f) e-pē-ewa_w-a-e  
Detr-bathe-Neg_1S_A-Cop-Cty  
‘I am not bathing.’

(g) tonoro in-eta-ewa w-ei-ne  
bird 3O-hear-Neg 1S_A-Cop-Pst.Prf  
‘I had not heard the birds (then).’

(h) i-jēikēkkē in-apē-sewa eh-kē  
3-wound 3O-catch-Neg Cop-Imper  
‘Don’t touch (lit. catch) his/her wound.’

(i) ḫē-sewa_w-a-e  
catch-Neg_1S_A-Cop-Cty  
‘I can’t catch, I am not good at catching.’

(j) “kure_taa_man-a-e” ka-ewa eh-kē  
good_Neg_2S_A-Cop-Cty say-Neg Cop-Imper  
‘Don’t say, “you are bad”’
10.3.6. Questions. Yes/no-questions are clearly different from wh-questions (or a-questions, since most Tiriýo interrogatives start with a): the former are characterized mostly by rising intonation (cf. 2.5.2), while the latter are distinguished by the presence of an interrogative word (cf. chap. 8). To illustrate the intonational difference between normal declarative clauses and a yes/no question, examples (40a-b) from 2.5.2 are repeated as (72a-b) below.

(72a)  èkërëpuke_mée
tayra_3AnPx
'This one is a tayra.'

(b) èkërëpuke_mée?
tayra_3AnPx
'Is this one a tayra?'

A-questions must always start with an interrogative. For a description of the uses and meanings of the various interrogatives, cf. chap. 8. (73) below illustrates the fact that there are questions corresponding to every sentence type: equative (72b), copular (73a-b),
conjugated intransitive (73c-d) and transitive (73e-f), remote past (73g-h), habitual past
(73i).

(73a) an-po_n-ai è-pata?
wh-Loc_3SA-Cop 2-village:Pos
'Where are you from?'

(b) èwë-n_mao, eeeke n-eh-ta-n AIDS?
later-Nrz_Tmp how 3SA-Cop-Fut.Ipf-Dbt AIDS
'Later on, what will AIDS be like?'

(c) akî n-ee-ja-n?
wh.An 3SA-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Who is coming?'

(d) afî n-anota?
wh.In 3SO-fall:Prs.Prf
'What fell?'

(e) akî kín-arë?
wh.An 3Pst.Prf-take
'Who took him/her/it away?'

(f) afî rî-ja-n pahko?
wh.In make-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 1:father
'What is my father doing?'

21 No examples of akî 'who (animate)' and afî 'what (inanimate)' followed by a copula occurred in the available corpus; all cases were verbless equatives (e.g. akî èmè 'who are you?'). Unfortunately, speakers were not asked about whether akî or afî plus a copula was possible.
(g) aki̱ja sen tī̱rē-e?
    wh.An_Agt 3InPx Rm.Pst-make-Rm.Pst
    ‘Who made this?’

(h) aja tī̱tu-tē-e?
    whither Rm.Pst-go Rm.Pst
    ‘Where did he go?’

(i) eeke ē-eko-e?
    how 2O-have.sex-Hab
    ‘How did he use to have sex with you?’

10.4. Complex sentences. As was said in 10.3, a sentence is, prototypically, a group of one
or more clauses that hang together and are usually separated from the rest of the text by
pauses and by its own intonational contour. Examples (53c-e) are repeated below as (74a-c)
for convenience’s sake.

(74a) mure_me nkērē wī ahtao, pahko eta-e wī
    child_Attr_still 1 when 1:father hear-Hab 1
    ‘When I was still a child, I used to listen to my father.’

(b) n-apēpī mēe, n-etainka iweike
    3Sg-get.tired:Prf 3AnPx 3S_A-run:Prs.Prf because
    ‘He got tired because he ran.’

(c) ji-w-ēh-tuuwē_pa, j-akēmi w-ene
    1-S_A-come-Post_Rpt 1-yngr.brother:Pos 1A-see:Prs.Prf
    ‘After I came, I saw my younger brother.’

In the above examples, the intonational contour indicates a certain level of
dependence between the clauses. It would not be possible to separate the clauses by making
them two ‘intonational units’: the level of interdependence in (74a-b) is such that the two
combined clauses cannot be separated intonationally. In a case like (75), however, this is clearly optionally possible. The two intonations roughly depicted in (75) are acceptable: the two clauses can be pronounced as one sentence, with non-final intonation (cf. 2.5.2) on the first clause (75b), or as two separate sentences, both with final intonation (75c). Notice that the same is true for the English gloss in (75a).

(75a) **ma, tı-kairi iwa-toh pëh-ken t-ee-se kaikui, irême wikipau t-ëpoo-se_re ii-ja**
    Attn 3R-broth:Pos 3:look.for-Circ.Nzr_About_Cont Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst jaguar then deer Rm.Pst-find-Rm.Pst_Frust 3-Agt

    ‘The jaguar was looking for (game for) his broth; then he found a deer (but in vain).’

---

(b) **Ma, tıkairi iwatoh pëh-ken teese kaikui, irême wikipau tëpoose_re ii-ja.**

---

(c) **Ma, tıkairi iwatoh pëh-ken teese kaikui. Irême wikipau tëpoose_re ii-ja.**

Sentences such as (75b) are better candidates for *coordination* (cf. 10.5); they represent an ‘upper limit’ on the ‘more independent’ extreme of a continuum of formal integration for clauses. In fact, complex sentence such as (74a-c) are not different in nature from coordinate sentences like (75b), but only in degree. Sporadic cases of ‘less integrated’ intonations occurred (76); they were simply much less frequent.

---

(76) **irême_n-ai, ękëi-pisi, wa_iní-re-ewa pananakiri-ton i-sunpu. so_3SA-Cop snake-Dim Neg.Exist_3O-make-Neg foreigner-Col 3-lead**

    ‘So, the lead of the foreigners doesn’t kill this little snake.’
kure enee-ra iwelke
Intens see-Ineff because
‘Because it (=the snake) is really invisible.’

At the other extreme of this continuum are phrases, i.e. intraclausal constituents. They can also be delimited by non-final intonation, if the speaker pauses between them (cf. 2.5.2); in fact, looking at (73), it is easy to see that some of the clauses contain non-conjugated (i.e. ‘less finite’), or even nominalized verb forms. In (77), there are some examples of verbal nominalizations in postpositional phrases used to mark simultaneity, cause, or posteriority, resulting in meanings quite similar to those in (73).

(77a) irëme Suurinan_me apo w-ei-ne, Suurinan_po ji-w-ei-rî_htao
so Surinam_Attr like 1-S_A-Cop-Pst.Prfr Surinam_Loc 1-S_A-Cop-Pos_Loc
‘So I became like a Surinamese, while I was in Surinam.’
(lit. ‘inside of my being in Surinam.’)

(b) joi ti-wë-e wiija, wë-të ji-w-ei-hpë_ke
‘I shot a joi lizard, because I had become good at shooting.’
(lit. ‘with my having become good at shooting.’)

(c) j-enuru-hpë_pée t-ênee-se wi sen_pona
1-be.born:N-Pst_Abl Rm.Pst-bring-Rm.Pst 1 3InPx_DIR
‘After I was born, (my mother) brought me here.’
(lit. ‘From my having been born,...’)

Since the postpositions in (77) can have normal (i.e. based on non-derived nouns) noun phrases as their arguments (cf. 7.3.1.1.1 for the locative _htao, 7.3.1.1.3 for the ablative _pée, and 7.3.4.2 for the instrumental _ke), there does not seem to be a simple way to distinguish between ‘subordinate clauses’ and ‘postpositional phrases involving verbal
nominalizations’. It is true that, in most cases, the elements that compose the ‘subordinate clause’ tend to remain together, often forming an ‘intonational unit’ separated from the rest of the sentence by a pause (cf. Suurinan _po ‘in Surinam’ in (77a) and wē-tē ‘good at shooting’ in (77b)). However, there are also counterexamples, especially with desiderative constructions. In (77), the nominalized verb eku ‘have sex with O’ has a :ja-marked A participant witoto ‘human being, person’ separated from it by the copula teese and by its S participant pai ‘tapir’. Once more, it seems best to see the observed cases as distributed along a form-meaning continuum, as in Fig. 10.5.

(78) 

\[ \text{tēēmi} \quad \text{eku}_\text{se} \quad \text{tēe-se} \quad \text{pai} \quad \text{witoto}_\text{ja} \]

3R-daughter:Pos have.sex:N_Desid Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst tapir person_Agt
‘Tapir; wanted the guy to have sex with his daughter.’

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**Figure 10.5**
Form-meaning (integration) continuum for clauses and phrases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase (Postpositions)</th>
<th>Subordinate Clause (Suffixes; Subordinators)</th>
<th>Coordinate Clauses (Conjunctions)</th>
<th>Independent Clauses (Intonation)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ø-nominalizations</td>
<td>-tuuwē</td>
<td>irēme ‘so’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(+ _se ‘Desiderative’</td>
<td>-tēkērē</td>
<td>kēpēwa ‘but’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_ke ‘Instrumental’</td>
<td>ahtao</td>
<td>irē_npē_pē ‘after that’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...)</td>
<td>iweike (relative clauses)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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10.4.1. **Subordinate clauses.** Again, it is necessary to segment the continuum of Fig. 10.5 at convenient points for descriptive convenience. Given their functional similarities, the following sections describe the range of constructions going from postpositional phrases
involving 'event nominalizations' (the infinitives -Ø and -né, and the circumstance nominalizer -to(po) in its event-like uses) to finite subordinate clauses with the subordinators ahtao and iweike. The expression 'subordinate clause' is used to refer to this range of constructions, while the term 'main clause' is used for the remainder of the sentence.

10.4.1.1. Finite subordinate clauses. In most Cariban languages, subordination is handled exclusively by means of nominalized verb forms (cf. Derbyshire [in print], or Gildea 1998:119ff). Also in Tiriyó, this is the preferred strategy; however, there are two cases of finite subordinate clauses, involving the particles ahtao and iweike (labeled 'subordinators' because of this capacity; cf. 9.1.2). Although always accepted in elicitation, they are still rather rare in texts; the preference for non-finite subordinate clauses suggests that subordinators are a relatively recent innovation.

10.4.1.1.1. ahtao clauses. Subordinate clauses marked by ahtao are used to express time or possibility ('when' (79a) or 'if' (79c); cf. e.g. German wenn). Ahtao, which occurs at the end of the subordinate clause, seems to be an old copula nominalization (possibly the a-stem copula [cf. 5.4.4] with a locative postposition like _tao or _htao [cf. 7.3.1.1.1]); in fact, it is still impossible to have ahtao co-occur with a conjugated copula form (cf. (66b), in which the first-person form _wae is incompatible with ahtao). (79a-d) has examples of non-verbal (equative) subordinate ahtao clauses; (79e) has a remote past subordinate clause, and (79f-g) have conjugated clauses.
(79a) kirimumu_me nkērē wī ahtao, urakana-e wī pata wararē
young.man_Attr still 1 when stroll-Hab 1 village each
‘When I was young, I used to walk around, visiting all villages.’

(b) * kirimumu_me nkērē w-a-e ahtao

(c) tūi-re-ke émē ahtao, erii-sewa man-a-e
T-arrow-Having 2 if die-Neg 2SA-Cop-Cty
‘If you are armed (lit. if you have arrows), you don’t die.’

(d) Jaraware, Taru me ahtao, Moomoori se t-e-e-se
Yarawaré Taru Attr when Moomoori Desid Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst
‘Yarawaré, when he was Taru,22 wanted (=desired) Moomoori.’

(e) j-eemi t-ēnē-e ahtao, w-epanii-ja-e;
1-daughter:Pos Rm.Pst-eat.meat-Rm.Pst if 1A-take.revenge-Prs.Ipf-Cty

j-eemi t-arimika-e ahtao, in-epanii-sewa w-a-e
1-daughter:Pos Rm.Pst-eat.meat-Rm.Pst if 30-take.revenge-Neg_1SA-Cop-Cty

‘If he ate my daughter, then I’m going to take revenge; (but) if he raised (=took care of) her, then I’m not going to take revenge.’

(f) ji-pawana n-ēnii-ja-n, s-e-pī-ja-e ahtao
1-friend:Pos 3SA-sleep-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 1SA-Detr-bathe-Prs.Ipf-Cty while
‘My friend sleeps while/when/if I am bathing.’

(g) ni-ranta, ni-ranta... seti pona ni-ranta ahtao,
3S0-year:Prf 3S0-year:Prf seven.Dir 3S0-year:Prf when

irē mao timuje anja n-ei
3InAna_Tmp having.child 1+3 3SA-Cop:Prf

‘A year passed, another year passed... When seven years had passed, then we had a child.’ (lit. we became ‘bechilded’).

Looking at these examples, it is not difficult to suggest that the use of ahtao for
finite subordination probably arose out of extension from ‘copular/equative’ situations such
as (79a-d). The scenario would be similar to the one which led to the English complement-

22 This character started out as Taru, and later transformed himself into Yarawaré.
izer that (e.g. ‘I know that. He came.’ > ‘I know that he came.’): ahtao in, for instance, (79f), would have been a clause by itself (‘meanwhile’, ‘while this happens’) before becoming a subordinator. In fact, a nominalized alternative to ahtao is still possible (the ‘specific infinitive’ form of the verb with the postposition _htao; cf. 10.4.1.2.4), as in (80) below, which is equivalent to (79f). Another point in favor of finite ahtao clauses as a recent phenomenon is their relatively low frequency: in the available text corpus, a search revealed a proportion of 14 finite ahtao clauses to 158 ‘specific infinitive’ + _htao clauses.

(80) ji-pawana n-ēenii-ja-n ji-w-e-pī-ri_hhtao
1-friend:Pos 3SA-sleep-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 1-SA-Detr-bathe-Pos_Loc
‘My friend sleeps while/when/if I am bathing.’

10.4.1.1.2. iweike clauses. Subordinate clauses marked by iweike are used to mark cause (‘because’, ‘on account of’). The source of iweike is even clearer than that of ahtao: it is the third-person form of the ‘specific infinitive’ of the copula e(i) (i-w-ei_ke > iweike). In (81), it is possible to compare a normal _ke-phrase with e(i) (81a), a clear case of iweike with a conjugated verb (81c; also 74b), and an intermediate case, which could be analyzed either way (81b). In (81a), the collective marker -ko(mo) clearly shows the nominal status of e(i) (cf. 10.4.1.2.5); in (81c), the co-occurrence of iweike with a conjugated verb form indicates that it cannot be a nominalized copula (cf. also the fact that the conjugated verb is in the first person, which would go against a putative ‘third-person’ i- on iweike). (81d) shows that iweike, like ahtao, cannot co-occur with a finite form of the copula.

(81a) menjaare_to n-ē-ewee-ja-n, saasaa_me i-w-ei-kon_ke
now_3Col 3SA-Detr-feed-Prs.Ipf-Dbt happy.one_Attr 3-SA-Cop:N-P.Col.Inst
‘Now they are eating, because they are happy (satisfied).’
(b) **oto-ton n-e-ratonka-n pau_htao**,  
game-Col 3S$_A$-Detr-isolate:Prs.Ipf-Dbt island_Loc

**tuna mono_me i-w-ei_ke** (iweike ?)  
river big.one_Attr 3-S$_A$-Cop:N.Inst (because)

'The game animals get isolated on islands, because the river becomes big.'

(c) **j-apēepi, s-et-ainka iweike**  
1SO-get.tired:Prs.Prf 1S$_A$-Detr-run.off:Prs.Prf because

'I got tired because I ran.'

(d) * **saasaa_me_nai iweike**,  * **mono_me_nai iweike**

It seems clear that the subordinator iweike, much like ahtao, was extended from situations such as (81a-b) to situations such as (81c), again probably through an 'absolute iweike' phase ('I got tired. I ran. Because-of-it.' > 'I got tired because I ran'). Since iweike is still synchronically the same ('homophonous') with the nominalization i-w-ei_ke, cases such as (81b) are syntactically ambiguous. Here, the arbitrary decision is taken to adopt the 'etymological' (nominalized copula) analysis whenever possible, i.e. also for (81b). Clear cases of iweike clauses such as (81c) are even rarer than the cases of finite ahtao clauses: in the available text corpus, a total of 9 finite iweike clauses occurred, while subordinate clauses with the Ø-nominalized copula numbered 151.

**10.4.1.2. 'Adverbial' subordinate clauses.** These are clauses based on one of the three following verb inflections: the supine ('purpose-of-motion') the posteriority and the cause forms. These forms are not *stricto sensu* adverbial, since they can take person-marking prefixes to indicate the O participant; however, since they indicate adverbial notions
('purpose', 'posteriority', 'cause'), the label 'adverbial' is used for them here. In fact, there is a striking similarity between, e.g., the posteriority (-tuuwē) and cause (-tēκērē) forms and postpositional subordinate clauses (cf. 10.4.1.3), a good indication that -tuuwē and -tēκērē probably come from postpositions; only a few morphological properties separate them synchronically (cf. 5.4.3.2). Within the main clause, these forms could be viewed as equivalent to 'complex adverbs', or to postpositional phrases (cf. 5.4.3).

10.4.1.2.1. Supine ('purpose-of-motion') clauses. Clauses based on the supine form of the verb (cf. 5.4.3.1.1) are used to indicate purpose if the main clause is based on a motion verb (usually tē[mī] 'go' or ēe[pī] 'come'). Supine clauses can also occur after the sentence-equivalent hortative particle nпа 'let's go' (82i) (cf. 9.2.1) and the venitive particle mīi 'come!' (82j) (cf. 5.4.2.1, 9.1.5). Participant-wise, they can indicate the O participant as a verb prefix or as an immediately preverbal O noun phrase (apparently forming a verb phrase; cf. 10.2.2). The A or S participant is not overtly present, but it is clearly determined: it must be the same as the S participant of the main clause. Any attempts at adding an explicit A or S noun phrase to a supine clause are consistently refused, even if it is coreferential with the S of the main clause (unlike -too_me clauses, which are used in more general purpose contexts; cf. 10.4.1.3.3). In that supine clauses treat the O participant differently from either the A or S participants, they can be said to follow a nominative pattern.

(82a) menjaarē wī-tē-e pata ene  (b) maja apēe-se ni-tēn
    now 1SA-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty village 3O:see:Sup   knife 3O:get-Sup 3SA-go:Prs.Prf
   'Now I am going (around) to see the village.'  'S/he went to get the knife.'
(c) jii-wi mohka-e wî-tê-e
1-cassava 3O:dig-Sup 1S_A:go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
'I am going (there) to dig cassava for me.'

(d) iîme ê-ene w-êe
so 2-see:Sup 1S_A:come:Prs.Prf
'So I came to see you.'

(e) anja ene oh-tê serê_pona
1+3 3O:see:Sup come-Col:Imper 3InPx_Dir
'Come here to see us!'

(f) iîme kî-tên-ne êiwa-e
so 1+2-go:Hort hunt-Sup
'So, let's go hunting!'

(g) mëe n-ea-jë-ëê tuuka-e
3AnPx 3S_A:come:Prs.Ipf-Dbt 2-hit-Sup
'S/he is coming to hit you.'

(h) êiwa-e tîî-tê-e
hunt-Sup Rm.Pst:S_A:go-Rm.Pst
'He went hunting.'

(i) npa emamina-e!
Hort play-Sup
'Let's go play!'

(j) e-pê-e miî!
Detr-bathe-Sup_Ven
'Come bathe!'

10.4.1.2.2. Posteriority (-tuuwê) and cause (-tekêrê) clauses. These clauses are less
dependent on the main verb than supine clauses (cf. previous section). For all intents and
purposes, -tuuwê and -tekêrê forms behave like big postpositions, taking an O or S
participant as their argument (either as a prefix (83b-f), or as a preceding overt noun phrase
(83a)); the A participant can occur in a separate postpositional (-ja-)phrase (83a-b) (i.e.,
unlike supine clauses, -tuuwê and -tekêrê clauses follow an ergative pattern). The
examples below concern mostly -tuuwê clauses; -tekêrê clauses (83f) are presumed to
pattern like their -tuuwê counterparts23 (cf. 10.4.1.3.3 for other ways of marking cause and
posteriority). Notice that a -tuuwê form can be followed by ahtao (83e).

(83a) ma, tarêno_ja pau erahtê-tuwê, irê_po tî-pakoro ri-ja-n
Attn Tiriyo_Agt island find-Post 3InAna_Loc 3R-house:Pos make-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
'Well, after the Tiriyo find a (savanna) island, they build a house there.'

23 Only a few examples of -tekêrê clauses occurred in the available corpus. This form needs further research.
(b) moi_ja ē-eka-tuuwē, moi emu arī_ke epinēh-kē
spider_Agt 2-bite-Post, spider 3:testicle:Pos 3:leaf_Inst medicate-Imper
‘After/If a spider bites you, medicate (the wound) with ‘spider’s testicles’\textsuperscript{24} leaves.’

(c) irē_mao kutuma wi-puunē-ne, kīrīmuku_me ji-w-eh-tuuwē
3InAna_Tmp Intens 1A-think-Pst.Prf young_man_Attr 1-SA-Cop-Post
‘Then I meditated a lot, after I became a young man.’

(d) ma, i-tunta-tuuwē, i-nmuku t-ēpē-se ii-ja
Attn 3-arrive-Post, 3-son:Pos Rm.Pst-catch-Rm.Pst 3-Agt
‘Well, after he arrived, he caught his son.’

(e) koeri_me anja ii-tē-tuuwē ahtao, irē-npē_pēe wītoto anja ene-ne
stroll_Attr 1+3 3:SA-go-Post when, 3InAna-Pst_Abl person 1+3 see-Pst.Prf
‘After we went walking around, then a person saw us.’

(f) wīja-n_me irē, ēiwame ji-w-eh-tekērē irē
1:Dat-Nzr_Attr 3InAna stupid 1-SA-Cop-Cause 3InAna
‘It’s my fault, it’s because I am stupid.’

10.4.1.3. Nominalized subordinate clauses. These clauses are formed with verbal nominalizations. Theoretically, any verbal nominalization (cf. 4.2.2.1) is a potential ‘subordinate clause’, given their regularity and productivity. For instance, the actual A nominalization (with a first-person possessive prefix) j-enpa-ne ‘my teacher’ can be interpreted as ‘the one who teaches me’; in fact, the past form j-enpa-ne-npē is usually translated as ‘the one who taught me’. Tiriyó grammar apparently does not distinguish a more ‘lexicalized’ verbal nominalization from a potential subordinate clause (whereas English, for instance, does distinguish teacher from one who teaches).

The following kinds of nominalized subordinate clauses can be distinguished:

\textsuperscript{24} Moi emu ‘spider’s testicles’ is a medicinal tree (Diospyros martini, Ebenaceae).
(1) **Absolute clauses**, in which a nominalization occurs by itself as a participant of the main clause. According to their role within the main clause, absolute clauses can be classified as **A-clauses**, **O-clauses** and **S-clauses**.

(2) **Relative clauses**, in which a nominalization occurs in apposition (cf. 10.2.1.3) to some other noun in the main clause in order to further characterize it.

(3) **Postpositional clauses**, in which a nominalization occurs in a postpositional phrase, usually marking adverbal notions. Depending on the postposition, these clauses can be classified as: **desiderative**, **causal**, **purposive**, and **temporal**.

**10.4.1.3.1. Absolute clauses.** These are clauses in which a nominalization occupies the position of a participant in the main clause. If it has participants of its own, they are treated according to an ergative pattern: S and O participants occur as possessors of the nominalization (i.e. either as prefixes or as overt noun phrases), while A participants occur in a postpositional (\_ja\_) phrase. If the nominalized verb is the copula e(i), its predicate must precede it.

The examples below have A-clauses (84a), O-clauses (84b-d) and S-clauses (84e-f).

(84a) karaiwa\_ja ĕ-tuuka\_to ĕmuu\_me jī\-rī
Brazilian\_Agt 2-hit-Circ.Nzr sadness\_Attr 1O-make:Prs.Prf
'The Brazilian hitting you made me sad.'

(b) tarēno\_me ĕ-weh-to wi-pono ii-jaa-ne
Tiriyō\_Attr 2-S\_A-Cop-Circ.Nzr 1A-tell:Prs.Prf 3-Dat-Col
'I told them that you are a Tiriyō.'

(c) kaikui\_ja a-apēi w-ekanipī
jaguar\_Agt 2-catch:N 1A-think:Prs.Prf
'I thought the jaguar had caught you.'
10.4.1.3.2. Relative clauses. The functional equivalent of relative clauses in Tiriyó is the use of verbal nominalizations in apposition to other nouns within the main clause (cf. 10.2.1.3 for ‘appositional phrases’). By selecting the appropriate nominalization, it is possible to relativize the nuclear participants: A-nominalizations relativize A-participants (85a-b), O-nominalizations relativize O-participants (85c-d), and S-nominalizations relativize S participants (85e-f). Furthermore, using O-nominalizations of ‘beneficiary’ verbs (suffixes -htē and -ntē; cf. 5.3.3.1.2), it is possible to relativize a Dative participant (85g).

(85a) **an-po_n-ai** wítoto, **kaikui i-tuuka-ne-npē**?
wh-Loc_3S_A-Cop person dog 3-hit-A.act.Nzr-Pst
‘Where is the person who hit the dog?’

(85b) **saasaa_me_marē** t-ee-se **noosinpē, j-arimika-ne-npē**
‘And my grandmother, who had raised me, also became happy.’

(85c) **kaikui ē-waarē, pahko i-tuuka-hpē**?
dog 2-Cogn 1:father 3-O.act.Nzr-hit:N-Pst
‘Do you know the dog that my father hit?’
(85d) menjaarë w-ene kiri’ aokimiñ-hpë
now 1A-see:Prs.Ipf:Cty man 3:hug:N-Pst
‘Now I see the man who was hugged.’

(85e) n-ee-ja-n wïtoto e-pï-keti-npë
3SA-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt person Detr-bathe-S.act.Nzr-Pst
‘There comes the person who bathed.’

(85f) mëëëri éturu-keti-npë ji-tuuka
3AnMd talk-S.act.Nzr-Pst 1O-hit:Prs.Prf
‘That one, who had been talking, has hit me.’

(85g) an-po_n-ai kiri, pihko i-n-kanawa-ntë-hpë ?
‘Where is the man to whom my older brother gave a canoe?’

10.4.1.3.3. Postpositional clauses. These clauses are postpositional phrases based on a nominalized verb form. Case marking follows an ergative pattern: the nominalized verb form is possessed by either the S or the O participant, as the case may be, and the A participant, if at all present, occurs in an independent postpositional (_:ja-) phrase. Postpositional clauses are used to express circumstances. The attested cases include desire (‘want’), cause, purpose, and time.

Desiderative postpositional clauses have the nominalized verb as the object of the desiderative postposition _:se. In all attested cases, the main clause is equative or copular. If the _:ja-marked A participant is missing, it is usually understood as coreferential with the A or S participant of the main clause (86a-b).

(86a) ē-ene_se_w-a-e
2-see:N_Desid_1SA-Cop-Cty
‘I want to see you.’

(b) ē-ene_se_w-a-e ii-ja
2-see:N_Desid_1SA-Cop-Cty 3-Agt
‘I want him/her to see you.’

(c) ē-w-e-pi_se_n-ai
2R-SA-Detr-bathe:N_Desid_3SA-Cop
‘S/he wants you to bathe.’

(d) ti-pofina_se_n-ai
3R-whistle:N_Desid_3SA-Cop
‘S/he wanted to whistle.’
(e) **mëe  apēi_se_w-a-e  ē-ja  ē-njo_me**  
3AnPx  catch:N_Desid_1S_A-Cop-Cty  2-Agt  2-husband_Attr  
'I want you to have him as your husband.'

(f) **a-apē  i-menuhtē_se  ēmē ahtao, kainan akusa_ke e-menuhtē**  
2-arm:Pos 3-paint:N_Desid 2  if new:one needle.Inst Detr-paint:Imper  
'If you want to tattoo your arm, tattoo yourself with a new needle.'

*Causal postpositional phrases* are usually based on the postposition *ke*  
'Instrumental' (cf. 10.4.1.1.2 for the causal subordinator *iweike*) with the 'specific infinitive' (or Ø-nominalized) form of the verb. Postpositional *ke* clauses are the most frequent way of expressing cause in Tiriyo (-tékērē clauses [cf. 10.4.1.2.2] were only sporadically attested). When cases of *ke* with, e.g., the circumstance nominalizer *-to(po)* are found, they look like more straightforward instances of instrumental semantics.

(87a) **irēme saasaa_me  pahko t-ee-se  tī-wē-eweti_ke**  
then  happy.one_Attr 1:father Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst  3R-S_A-Detr-feed:N.Inst  
'Then father got happy, because he was eating.'

(b) **waa_n-ee-ja-n,  tī-mama i-munu enūri-hpē_ke  ii-ja**  
Neg_3S_A-Cop-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 3R-mother:Pos 3-blood 3:drink:N-Pst.Inst  3-Agt  
'S/he is going to die, because s/he has drunk his/her mother's blood.'

(c) **saasaa_me  pahko t-ee-se,**  
happy.one_Attr 1:father Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst  

**wē-tē  ji-w-eh-to  ene-hpē_ke**  

'My father became happy, because (he) saw that I was good at shooting.'

(d) **ē-epi  ino_ta  ē-w-eh-hpē_ke,  mē-ewee-ja-e_rē**  
2-medicine Apprh_Neg 2-S_A-Cop-Pst.Inst 2S_A-Detr-feed-Prs.Ipf-Cty_Exact  
'Because you were not afraid of your medicine, now you eat a lot.'  
(i.e. now you have become a good hunter).
(e) irëme menjaarë, "ji-nmuku i-po wi-ri-ja-e",
so now 1-son:Pos 3-clothes 1A-make-Prs.Ipf-Cty

tüi-ka-e Taru, t-ënuta-hpë_ke
Rm.Pst::S_A-say-Rm.Pst 3R-remember(S_O)-Pst_Inst

'Then, now, "I am making my son's clothes", said Taru, because he remembered.'

(f) irëme wë-të ji-w-eh-toh_ke k-ëpinëh-kë !
so shoot-A.pot.Azr 1-S_A-Cop-Circ.Num_Inst 12AO=medicate-Imper

'So, medicate me so that I become good at shooting!' (=with my being good...)

The main general purpose construction in Tiriyyó is formed with a circumstance (-to(po)) nominalization occurring in a postpositional phrase with the attributivizer postposition _me. Like the supine (cf. 10.4.1.2.1), -too_me clauses can be used with verbs of motion (88a-b), but it is not limited to them. This construction is so frequent in this sense, that some authors (e.g. Gildea 1998:138ff) analyze it as having become a new verb form in at least some Cariban languages; however, in the absence of clear evidence for reanalysis, it seems simpler to consider this as one more case of the general pattern: a nominalization in a postpositional phrase used to express an adverbial notion. Note also (88f), which deviates from the general causal semantics of -too_me, and (88g), where it occurs as the complement in a syntactic causative construction.

(88a) koeka-e eë-të-tuuuwë, ëkëi n-ee-ja-n ë-eka-too_me
defecate-Sup 2:S_A-go-After snake 3S_A-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 2-bite-Circ.Nizr_Attr

'After you go defeate, a snake comes to bite you.'

(b) serë_pona w-ëe, aerë, ë-ene-toh-kon_me wiija
3InPx_Dir 1S_A-come:Prs.Prf true 2-see-Circ.Nizr-P.Col_Attr 1:Agt

'I came here, really, to see you all.'
(c) oroko_me_n-ai namo_ro, anja i-jomii_pë, work_Attr_3S_A-Cop 3AnCol_Exact 1+3 3-language:Pos_About

    i-waarë i-w-eh-too_me
3-Cogn 3-S_A-Cop-Circ.Nzr_Attr

'They are working on our language, in order to know it.'

(d) irënehka t-eet-ainka-e taanë, tï-pataa_pona_pa, finally Rm.Pst-S_A:Detr-run.off-Rm.Pst far.away 3R-village:Pos_Dir_Rpt
t-ee-sewa_rën_pa tï-w-eh-too_me
t-come-Neg_Truly_Rpt 3R-S_A-come-Circ.Nzr_Attr

'Finally s/he ran away, back to his/her village, never to come back again.'
(Lit. 'in order to be not-coming-back-ever-again').

(e) irëme same_ken tï-mënparë apëi-ne Taru, then fastConta 3R-belonging:Pos get-Pst.Prf Taru
tïï-të-too_me, t-eet-ainka-too_me
3R:S_A-go-Circ.Nzr_Attr 3R-S_A:Detr-run.off-Circ.Nzr_Attr

'Then Taru got his things fast, in order to go, to run away.'

(f) witoto_me_ken ëmë_rë, ji-mahto eneh-too_me ëë-ja person_Attr_Cont 2_Exact 1-fire:Pos 3:bring-Circ.Nzr_Attr 2-Agt

'You are like a person, (you are) to bring me fire.'

(g) pahko j-enoo-ne a-akoronma-toh-kon_me
1:father 1O-order-Pst.Prf 2-help-Circ.Nzr-P.Col_Attr

'My father told/made me (then) to help you all.'

The second most frequent purpose construction in Tiriyó (excepting the supine, described in 10.4.1.2.1) is based on a _me postpositional phrase with an O-nominalized form of the verb (with the 'Actual O' prefix n-). This form is possessed by the A or S participant, while the O participant must be coreferential ('in apposition') with some noun in the previous clause. Notice that an unexpected suffix -n occurs between the nominalized
verb form and the postposition _me (phonetically realized as a long [mm]); this suffix does not occur if the nominalization occurs in a collective form (90b), nor, for that matter, in any other use of the actual O nominalization.25

(90a)  pahko sen enepi   ē-nene-n_me
1:father 3InPx bring:Prs.Prf 2-O.act.Nzr-see-n_Attr
‘My father brought this for you to see.’

(b)  pahko sen enepi   ē-nene-kon_me
1:father 3InPx bring:Prs.Prf 2-O.act.Nzr-see-P.Col_Attr
‘My father brought this for you all to see.’

(c)  ji-w-ehta-topo-npē   wi-pono   i-n-etan_me
1-S_A-Cop-Circ.Nzr-Pst 1A-tell:Prs.Prf 3-O.act.Nzr-hear-n_Attr
‘I told my story (lit. my past way of being) for him to hear.’

Time can also be indicated by means of nominalized subordinate clauses (cf. also -tuwē ‘Posteriority’ in 10.4.1.2.2 and ahtao ‘while, when, if’ in 10.4.1.1.1, and also the temporal postpositions _mao and _mahtao in 7.3.1.1.1, as expressions of time).

Simultaneity is indicated with the ‘specific infinitive’ (Ø-nominalized) form of the verb as the object of the postposition _htao (91a-d); there were also a couple of cases of _ja instead of _htao (91e). Posteriority is indicated with the postposition _pēe taking the past form (-hpē) of a Ø-nominalization (91f-h).

(91a)  ji-w-ēniki-ri_htao, ji-pawana   n-ēewee-ja-n
1-S_A-sleep-Pos_Loc 1-friend:Pos 3S_A-Detr-feed-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘While I sleep, my friend eats.’

(b)  ē-w-ēiva-ri_htao, irē_mao   n-ee-ja-n   kaikui
2-S_A-hunt-Pos_Loc 3InAna_Tmp 3S_A-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt jaguar
‘The jaguar comes when you are hunting.’

25 This unexpected -n may be a cognate of the suffix -n which, in Hixkaryana, co-occurs with the O nominalizer n- (cf. Derbyshire 1985:232).
(c) ṭ-putupē-ri家园 a-akuika-ri_h Tao, katamūmē_m mo ahkēh-kē
2-head-Pos_Agt 2-hurt-Pos_Loc, liana.sp_Irr cut-Imper
‘If your head hurts (you), cut some of the katamūmē liana.’

(d) tonoro emeri eta-ri_h Tao pahko_ja, ji-pawana n-ee-ja-n
bird 3:song 3:hear-Pos_Loc 1:father_Agt 1-friend:Pos 3SA-come-Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘My friend came when/while my father was listening to bird songs.’

(e) ma, awaina-ri家园, irē_mao irēnehka kunawaru ti-jonpa-e iiJa.
Attn dawn:N-Pos_All? 3InAna_Tmp finally toad.sp Rm.Pst-speak-Rm.Pst
‘Well, when it was dawning, then finally he addressed the kunawaru toad.’

(f) irē-ton enapē-hpē_pēe “naapohpa” n-kan tarēno deusu Ja
3InAna-Col 3:eat.fruit:N-Pst_Abl thank.you 3SA-say:Prs.IPF Tiriyo god_Dat
‘After eating all these fruits, the Tiriyo say “thank you” to God.’

(g) ma, tī-peți-hpē_pēe ni-puru-ja-n mahto_h Tao
Attn t-fetch:N-Pos_Abl 3AO-roast-Prs.Ipf fire_Loc
‘After gathering (the fruit), s/he roasted it on the fire.’

(h) i-wē-ehpoka-hpē_pēe, kit-apēe-jay-e mēe i-jisireti
3-SA-Det-shave:N-Pos_Abl 1+2-get-Prs.Ipf-Cty 3AnPx 3-razor.blade
‘After he has shaved, we get his razor blades.’

10.4.2. Coordination. As we move towards the right along the continuum of Fig. 10.5, the
degree of formal freedom between the clauses increases, to the point that there is no
necessary cue indicating a higher level of dependence between them. There are no particles
specialized in interclausal coordination (like English ‘and’, ‘but’, etc.); rather, the
conjunctions listed in 9.1.1 can be used both to link clauses within an intonationally defined
sentence and to relate sentences to each other within the text. Compare the interclausal
kēpēewa in (92a), with the ‘intersentential’ kēpēewa in (92b), the formal difference
between them being basically intonational.
(b) e-w-ëwa-rí_htao, irë_mao n-ee-ja-n kaikui a-apëh-too_me.
2-S_A-hunt-Pos_Loc 3InAna_TMP 3S_A-ccme-Prs.Ipf-Dbt jaguar 2-get-Circ.Nzr_Attr

këpëewa, tïwaarë e-w-ëi_ke, erii-sewa_man-a-e
however careful 2-S_A-Cop:N_Inst die-Neg_2S_A-Cop-Cty

‘When you are hunting, a jaguar comes to get you. However, because you are careful, you don’t die.’

Conjunctions such as these are frequently used in Tiriyó; there is, in this language, a marked tendency not to allow simple juxtaposition of sentences without something to relate it to the rest of the text. In addition to the conjunctions of 9.1.1, the following expressions also deserve mention as means of maintaining textual cohesion: irë_mao ‘then, at that time’ (93a-b) and irë-npë_pëe ‘after that’ (93c-d), which also occurs as irë-npë_pëe-no-npë ‘after all that’ (93e).

(93a) irëme ii-rohkï tïi-të-e. ma, irë_mao
then 3-to.the.middle Rm.Pst:S_A-go-Rm.Pst Attn 3InAna_TMP

tí-koomane je itu_roowë.
Rm.Pst-spend.night-Rm.Pst forest_in.the.middle

‘Then he went to the middle of it (=forest). Well, then he spent the night in the middle of the forest.’

(b) e-tahpaka-kë, tuš-ka-e wïraapa.
Detr-sit-Imper Rm.Pst-say-Rm.Pst bow

kone, irë_mao t-ee-tahpaka-e pai
OK 3InAna_TMP Rm.Pst-S_A:Detr-sit-Rm.Pst tapir

‘Sit down,” said the bow. “OK,” then tapir sat down.’

(c) ma, irë-npë_pëe wi-tën-ne irë_pona
Attn 3InAna-Pst_Abl 1A-go-Pst.Prfl 3InAna_Dir
‘Well, then (=after that) I went there.’
10.5. Preliminary observations on rheme and word order. Unfortunately, a thorough study on the issues of topic, rheme and word order in Tiriyo remains still to be done. However, some general observations, based on the most evident patterns, can already be made about rheme and word order.

About rheme, it is possible to say, judging by the pattern presented by questions and answers, that it is associated with sentence-initial position. Notice that interrogatives, if present, always begin the sentence, and that the optimal answers have the unknown element also at the beginning (94a-b); the question marks indicate answers that were considered ‘possible, but less natural’. Sentence-initial position also seems to be important for focus, considering that it is occupied by elements that correct wrong presuppositions (94c-d).

(94a) — aki n-eremina-n?
wh.An 3S0-sing:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘Who is singing?’

— j-eemi (n-eremina-n).
1-daughter:Pos 3S0-sing:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘My daughter (is singing).’

? n-eremina-n j-eemi

(b) — eekanmao_pa mi-tē-n?
when_Rpt 2S0-go:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
‘When are you leaving?’

— kokoro(_pa  wī-tē-e)
tomorrow_Rpt 1S0-go:Prs.Ipf-Cty
‘I am leaving tomorrow.’

? wī-tē-e_pa kokoro
(c) pahko_tα kaikui wē
1:father_Neg jaguar shoot:Prs.Prf
'It wasn’t my father who shot the jaguar.'

(d) pahko_ja_tα tī-rē-e jii-raapaap-pisi
1:father_Agt_Neg Rm.Pst-make-Rm.Pst 1-bow:Pos-Dim
'It wasn’t my father who made me a little bow.'

Word order appears to be pragmatically oriented. However, the 'unmarked' position is apparently different for different clause types (cf. 10.3). Habitual past clauses (cf. 10.3.4) and remote past clauses (cf. 10.3.3) have a clear tendency toward OVA, while conjugated sentences do not, as shown in Table 10.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Type</th>
<th>Total of 2-participant clauses</th>
<th>Attested orders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Habitual past</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>OVA: 10 (71.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote past</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>OVA: 33 (67.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjugated (Set I)</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>AOV: 14 (31.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>OAV: 5 VAO: 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VOA: 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11. LEXICON AND LEXICAL SEMANTICS.

11.1 Introduction. Of all areas of a language, the first one to receive some documentation is the lexicon. For many languages, word lists remain the only kind of available information. However, most of the lexicon of a language, usually comprising thousands of words, remains almost always unexplored beyond the first few dozen words collected by early explorers. In the field of Cariban linguistics, very little lexicographic work has been done: with the exception of Ahlbrinck 1931 for Carib of Surinam (Kari'na), Armellada 1943 and Armellada & Salazar 1981 for Pemon, Williams 1932 for Makushi, and Mattei-Muller 1998 for Panare, there are no published dictionaries of Cariban languages. Specific semantic fields are also almost never considered in detail, except for anthropological studies on the studies on kinship terms.

The study of Tiriyó words and their meanings is still in its infancy; not much of real significance can be said at this stage. However, certain ideas and interpretations, unearthed during the ongoing research on this language, have already been reached, at least preliminarily, and they may be interesting for the purpose of illustrating some of the richness of this language, as well as furnishing some material for comparisons with other languages. Some of them involve certain regularities in word shapes that were not strong enough to deserve morphological segmentation; these were the formatives mentioned in 3.2, discussed in 11.2. Others involve selected semantic fields, containing words which seemed close enough in meaning to deserve further comparison. They seemed interesting
to the author, which is why they are mentioned here (in 11.3); the reader will hopefully agree.

11.2. Formatives. Certain recurrent form-meaning regularities in the Tiriyo vocabulary seem too weak to deserve the status of ‘morphemes’ without, at the same time, looking like coincidences either; these are termed here formatives. Their importance is mostly diachronic: at least some of them may prove to be old morphemes, comparable to extant morphemes in other Cariban languages; they may eventually be important in assessing possible distant genetic relationships between Cariban languages and other South American families.

Some formatives are very broadly defined: for instance, a simple search in the available database reveals that 90 out of 240 verb stems end in -ka, without any closer semantic connection than the fact that they are all transitive; (1) below has some examples. Considering also the existence of a -ka transitive verbalizer (the ‘Privative’ described in 5.3.3.1) and of a -ka transitivizer (cf. 5.3.1.2), the possibility of something other than chance increases, though it is hard to hypothesize a connection at present.

| (1a) ainka  | ‘run off with O’ | (i) joika  | ‘scrape O’ | (q) saika  | ‘miss O’ |
| (b) akoroka | ‘sweep O’       | (j) juuka  | ‘bend O’   | (r) suka   | ‘wash O’ |
| (c) akuika  | ‘hurt O’        | (k) kiika  | ‘rub, smear O’ | (s) taaka  | ‘hit O’  |
| (d) anoka   | ‘get O (from above)’ | (l) konka | ‘pierce O’ | (t) teeka  | ‘hit O’  |
| (e) arimika | ‘raise O (child)’| (m) kuika  | ‘swallow O’ | (u) tenka | ‘press O’ |
| (f) eeka    | ‘bite O’        | (n) meneka | ‘select O’ | (v) turuka | ‘spill O’ |
| (g) ekirika | ‘slice/cut O’   | (o) ntaka  | ‘translate O’ | (w) tuuka | ‘hit O’  |
| (h) entahka | ‘deceive O’    | (p) ruhka  | ‘stick O’  |          |          |
Certain other similarities verge the ‘morphemic’ barrier, and it may be a question of taste to decide whether a borderline case is a non-productive morpheme or a formative (e.g. the ‘directional’, ‘locative’ and ‘perlative’ final syllables, -wē/-o, -(ka) and -e, in the spatial postpositions [cf. 7.3.1]). A certain amount of arbitrary subjectivity is unavoidable here.

Table 11.1 below contains an alphabetical list of the formatives known to date. Of course, as further research proceeds, some of them may turn out to be coincidences, while other formatives may be discovered.

Table 11.1
Tiriýo formative elements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORMATIVE</th>
<th>EXAMPLES OF POSSIBLE OCCURRENCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-aamii-</td>
<td>red: taamiire ‘red, pink’, aamiita ‘ripen, blush’, aamirë ‘paint O red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aka</td>
<td>adverbs: kutuma(ka) ‘painful, bitter’, amiima(ka) ‘heavy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ikuruma(ka) ‘dangerous’, amiima(ka) ‘stingy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aesa(ka) ‘sharp’, atuma(ka) ‘hot, warm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-api-</td>
<td>water; wet: apipime ‘shallow’, tapire ‘wet’, sapisapime ‘drenched’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e, -je, -nje</td>
<td>perlative: _pëe ‘ablative’, _tae ‘by’, enpatae ‘on the side of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>_nkae ‘behind’, awëe ‘astraddle’, epoe ‘above, over’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>senje ‘this side of’, mënje ‘beyond’, anje ‘whence? (from what side?)’, kokonje ‘afternoon’, tarënje ‘later’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e(h)-</td>
<td>head, face: ehpoti ‘face hair’ (cf. hpo(tí) ‘hair’), ehpi ‘lip’, etaku ‘saliva’, ehpi ‘lip’ (cf. pi- below); maybe enu ‘eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juu-</td>
<td>on: _juuwë ‘on top of’, _juhki ‘onto’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>irakë ‘ant sp.’, moikë ‘ant sp.’, nukë ‘termite’, kanamitekë ‘tick’, ērukë ‘caterpillar’; also sirikë ‘star’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
-kī animate element: mē(kī) ‘3AnInv’, ohkī ‘3AnRm’, akī ‘wh.An’; (in pronouns) maybe also the past perfective third-person prefix kī

-kīi directional postpositions: _rohkīi ‘into the middle’, _pohkīi ‘to the tip of’, _juhkīi ‘onto’, amohkīi ‘upstream’; cf. also _na(kīi) directionalns

-koro(CV) white: tikoroje ‘white’, korolta ‘be white’, korooma ‘paint O white’

maybe also the interjection ku, kūh ‘water noises’.

-kui- dirt: tikujje ‘dirty’, kuita ‘be dirty’

-me- distal: pronouns (mēki ‘3AnInv’, mē(mi) ‘3InInv’, mērē ‘3AMd’ (but mēe ‘3AnPxr’), mērē ‘3InMd’; cf. also mēnje ‘beyond’

(mē)- body parts: (mē)ka ‘back’, (mē)ko ‘back of mouth’, (mē)ta ‘mouth’, (mē)pa ‘shoulder blade’; maybe also the nasal in the postposition _npo ‘on the back of’

-na postpositional element: biki-na-o ‘at the back of’ (cf. pitki ‘anus’), notonno ‘behind’, antīnao ‘deep in’, renao ‘by, near’, directional -na(ki/kī)

-o/-wē locative postpositions: awē ‘inside’, _tə ‘in’, _hao ‘in’ (water); enjao ‘in the hand(s) of’, etao ‘on the margin of’, _juuwē ‘on top of’, _roowē ‘in the middle of’, _rawē ‘halfway through’; cf. also the verbal ‘Posteriority’ form in _tuwē.

-pi- skin: pihpē ‘skin, bark’, pika ‘peel, skin O’ (privative -ka; cf. 5.3.3.1.1), ehpi ‘lip’ (cf. e(h)- above)

-re verbalizer? aamiīre ‘paint O red’, eurē ‘bark at O’

-se- proximal: pronouns (se(mi), seer ‘3InPxr’), senje ‘this side of’, sehek(ne) ‘likewise’ (=like this), sekenkēre ‘likewise’


-(h)tē locative? _pohtē ‘at the tip of’ (cf. poti ‘beak’), _rehtē ‘on the top of’ (cf. retī ‘horns’), amohē ‘upstream’ (cf. amoti ‘headwaters’)

-tupē, -tūpē older forms jepē ‘bone’ (cf. je(e) ‘tooth’); putupē ‘head’;
of the noun ikutupē ‘lake’ (cf. -ku ‘liquid’ above), past -hpē tamutupē ‘old man’, notipē ‘old woman’

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1 Tiriyó mērē ‘3AMd’ also seems to be historically derived from a pronoun that had a syllable kī (which Meira 1998:66-71 reconstructs to Proto-Taranoan as *mēkērē).

2 Meira 1998a reconstructs the ‘aquatic’ postpositions (cf. 7.3.1) as having a possible initial ku. Other Cariban languages also have cognate postpositions with an initial ku or kw (e.g. Wayana kwaw).
11.3. Selected semantic fields. In the following sections, a few selected sets of vocabulary items are examined. Considering that semantic information, especially concerning finer distinctions, is the most difficult to obtain, these sections should, more than any others in the present work, be regarded as approximative.

11.3.1. Kinship terms. Rivière 1969 offers a good description of the meaning of Tiriýó kinship terms, which is by and large correct. However, there are certain grammatical characteristics of kinship terms which Rivière did not mention: they are the most irregular nouns in the language, in that they have idiosyncratic possessed forms, take sometimes -npē and sometimes -hpē to indicate past possession, and have vocatives. (2) below contains all known forms of kinship terms (the correct form of the past suffix, either -npē or -hpē [cf. 4.3.1.5.1], is shown for each form whenever it is known). The translations are approximate; cf. Rivière 1969 for a clearer picture of their semantics. (Notice that all mother’s sisters are also manko, and all father’s brothers are also pahko).

![Table of Kinship Terms](image)

---

3 Past forms for younger sister (male ego) and younger brother (female ego) are not attested.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Male (diacritics)</th>
<th>Female (diacritics)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grandfather</td>
<td>tamusinpê</td>
<td>noosinpê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>j-e, j-etí-npê</td>
<td>ji-wêri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal uncle</td>
<td>ji-wêri</td>
<td>ji-iküri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger sister (male)</td>
<td>j-e, j-etí-npê</td>
<td>ji-wêri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger sister (female)</td>
<td>j-e, j-etí-npê</td>
<td>ji-i-iküri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger brother</td>
<td>küi-no(tí)-npê</td>
<td>küi-wêri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>küi-no(tí)-npê</td>
<td>küi-iküri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc</td>
<td>küi-no(tí)-npê</td>
<td>küi-i-iküri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Male (diacritics)</th>
<th>Female (diacritics)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>ji-njo-npê</td>
<td>j-i-pi(tí)-npê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>ji-nmuku-hpê</td>
<td>j-eemi-hpê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>ji-nmuku-hpê</td>
<td>j-eemi-hpê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>konoka</td>
<td>okono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother-in-law</td>
<td>konoka</td>
<td>akono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>konoka</td>
<td>akono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc</td>
<td>kono (?)</td>
<td>km-ii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few observations on the above data can be made:

The words for father and mother look very much like European words (cf. e.g. Spanish papa, mama, Portuguese papaí, mamãe), which suggests that they may be borrowings, especially in view of the existence of what looks like an 'older layer' of terms for parents (ju(mu) ‘adult’, with cognates meaning ‘father’ in other languages;⁴ je not synchronically extant but still visible in the word for ‘daughter-in-law’—cf. below—

---

⁴ One old speaker affirmed once that the form i-jun could still be used to mean ‘his father’, though the corresponding first- and second-person forms (*ji-jun, *e-jun) did not exist.
and also with cognates meaning ‘mother’ in other languages). However, these words share a number of formal similarities with the words for *older brother* and *older sister*: a suffix -ko in the first-person form, prefixless first- and second-person forms (with the non-first-person forms presenting, for the first three words, a ‘reduplicated’ stem), and the past tense suffix -npē for the first- and second-person forms, but -hpē for the third-person and first person dual forms. These patterns are idiosyncratic enough to argue against borrowings; the problem of the origin of these words is left unanswered.

The words for *son-in-law*, *daughter-in-law* and *grandson* start with the same syllable pa, which suggests a possible diachronic source: taking into account the ‘older’ Cariban terms for ‘father’ and ‘mother’ (usually occurring as jumī or jumu, and ise or ije, in other languages), it would seem that these words came from older phrases: pa (ju)mī ‘grandchild’s father’ > pami ‘son-in-law’, and pa i-je ‘grandchild’s mother’ > paije ‘daughter-in-law’. This hypothesis seems especially good for ‘daughter-in-law’, in which apparently the third-person i- of the possessed word (in the N i-N possessive construction; cf. 11.5.1.1) was conserved. The prefixless form pa-rī, equivalent to ji-pa(-rī) ‘my grandson’, seems to be an archaism (cf. 4.3.1.2).

Rivière 1969:284 translates jau and jaup (i.e. j-ao and j-aohpī) as ‘my father-in-law’ and ‘my mother-in-law’, respectively; since the word for ‘wife’ is pī(tī), this would be perfectly acceptable (‘mother-in-law’ < ‘father-in-law’s wife’). However, the consulted speakers were inconsistent in their judgment of the acceptability of j-ao; they preferred j-aohpī, saying that it could be used both for the mother-in-law and for the father-in-law. This matter needs further research.
Finally, there is the word piito. Rivière 1969:81, 1977 discusses its meaning at length. He attempts to connect it to a well-attested Cariban stem meaning ‘slave, servant’ (e.g. Kari’na [Carib of Surinam] piito, Tamanaku poito), deriving its current meaning from the possible breakdown of an earlier, more hierarchical state of Tiriyó society. However, there is in Tiriyó a more likely cognate for the Kari’na and Tamanaku words: pêeto ‘servant, subject’ (as e.g. the inhabitants of a village, with respect to the chief).⁵

11.3.2. Color terms. In order to identify Tiriyó color terms, five different speakers (four males and one female; one from Missão Tiriós, in Brazil, two from Kwamalasamutu and two from Tepoe, in Surinam) were consulted. With the help of the computer program Paintbrush (a simple drawing software that comes as part of the accessories folder in most versions of Windows for PCs), 24 different colored squares, each of which occupies the whole screen, were prepared; these were shown to the speakers, who named them with Tiriyó color words. Afterwards, the list of all terms was read to the same speakers; for each word, the speakers were asked to give names of animals, artifacts or natural objects that had the corresponding color. Table 11.2 lists the terms which had the most consistent uses, which are assumed to be more ‘basic’; the remaining words are in Table 11.3. These results are admittedly preliminary and subject to revision.

⁵ Curiously enough, although the word pêeto means ‘servant, helper’, pêeto_me, formed with the attributivizer postposition _me (cf. 7.3.4.3), idiosyncratically means ‘beautiful, handsome’.
Table 11.2
Tiriyó ‘basic’ color terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tikorojo</td>
<td>white (clouds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sikime</td>
<td>black; very dark blue (night; black people)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taamiire</td>
<td>red; pink (fire; sunset; blood)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kananame</td>
<td>yellow; beige; orange (sun; certain birds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wapême</td>
<td>blue, usually light (sky; certain birds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siririme</td>
<td>blue, usually dark</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These words are all synchronically monomorphemic adverbs (like the others in sec. 6.1). In most cases, it is still visible that they must have been derived from nominal sources: *sikime, kananame, wapême* and *siririme* end in -me, which is suspiciously similar to the attributive postposition _me_ (cf. 7.3.4.3). *tikorojo* and *taamiire* look very much like t-adverbs (cf. 6.2.1.1). Synchronic nominal sources are missing: *siki(n),* *kanana, wapê, sirir(n), koro(CV)* or *aamii* were not recognized as words by any of the consulted speakers. There are, however, other words that seem to be based on some of these roots: the verb stems *sikinma ‘paint O black’, korooma ‘paint O white’* and *korolta ‘be(come) white’, aamiita ‘become red, ripen, blush’* and *aamiiiré ‘paint O red’* look like derived verbs (with the verbalizers -ma and -ta [cf. 5.3.3.1.2, 5.3.3.2.1]; *aamiiiré* suggests a -rê for which there are no other examples).

From the semantic viewpoint, it is noteworthy that all speakers agreed on their uses (though there was some variation as to whether orange was *kananame*), except in the case of the words for ‘blue’, *wapême* and *siririme*. The speaker from Missão Tiríós (Brazil) admitted that he knew the word *wapême*, but used only *siririme*; the speakers from Tepoe and Kwamalasamutu agreed that there was a difference between *wapême* and *siririme*, but not on what the difference was (light blue—like the sky—was considered
siririme by the two Kwamalasamutu speakers and wapēme by the two Tepoe speakers, and conversely for dark blue. Although suggestive, these agreements are based on too few speakers for any claim to be realistically made.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 11.3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tiriyo ‘non-basic’ color terms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pokokome</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tijorowaene</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>suwi iimo_me</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>maawi iimo_me</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pētunē iimo_me</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kurikuri weti</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ikuitahpe apo</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sawataru iirepa me</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Except for the first two terms, **pokokome** and **tijorowaene**, which, like those in the preceding paragraph, have no synchronic nominal source, these words are actually phrases. **Iimo** is the word for ‘egg’, **suwi**, **maawi** and **pētunē** are birds (indented as species of tinamou); **suwi iimo_me**, **pētunē iimo_me** and **maawi iimo_me** obviously refer to the color of the eggs laid by these birds. The term **sawataru iirepa me** means literally ‘like the leg of the sawataru bird’ (a kind of small hawk). **Kurikuri weti** (also **kīrikīri weti**) literally means ‘excrement of the kurikuri or kīrikīri bird’ (a kind of small parrot or parakeet). As for **ikuitahpe apo**, it clearly means ‘like a dirty thing’ (from **kuita**

---

6 They are a little bit more than simple descriptive phrases, though; notice that a _me_-phrase should mean ‘which is an N’, ‘which has the properties of an N’ (cf. 7.3.4.3), while these phrases refer specifically to the color, and not to the shape or taste, of these eggs. To say of something that it is e.g. **maawi iimo_me** does not imply that it is an egg, but simply that it has a certain color. This specificity implies a certain level of lexicalization.
‘be(come) dirty’, an $S_0$ verb stem, with the nominal past marker -hpē (cf. 4.2.1.1, 4.3.1.5.1).

From the semantic viewpoint, it is striking that these words were not mentioned by all speakers. Moreover, even when more than one speaker mentioned a term, they often disagreed on the meaning (mixing in sometimes wapēme and siririme as well). It appears that it is possible to use relatively ‘nonce’ expressions in Tiriyo to name colors; several speakers mentioned that there were ‘more color names’ (of the second, phrasal, kind) that they could not remember, and that people could sometimes ‘make them up’. Comparing the meanings with those of Table 11.2, it also seems that the area involving ‘blue, green, grey’ has more variation and hesitation than the area involving ‘red, pink, white, black’; it may be the case that the former area is less ‘basic’ than the latter in the Tiriyo color vocabulary.

As a final note, there does not seem to be a Tiriyo word for ‘color’. The term menu, literally a certain species of plant (Portuguese ‘jenipapo’, probably Genipa americana, Rubiaceae), is sometimes used to refer to something’s color, but not exclusively: aano i-menu? ‘which is its menu?’ may be used to ask about the color of an object, but also about patterns or drawings on its surface. One of the speakers considered eekano serē? ‘what is it like?’ a better way of asking about the color of an object.

11.3.3. Generic animal words. There are hundreds of words for animals in Tiriyo, as could be expected, given the enormous variety of fauna in the Amazon. Many of these words—in fact, possibly most of them—are not known yet. However, only a few more
generic terms exist; these are presented here, with as complete a discussion of their meanings as the data permit. 7 These are listed in Table 11.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ekī</th>
<th>domestic animals</th>
<th>mēhparē</th>
<th>birds and monkeys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ēēnē</td>
<td>domestic animals</td>
<td>tonoro, tēpērike(mī)</td>
<td>birds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaimo</td>
<td>game animals (dead)</td>
<td>kana</td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oto</td>
<td>ground game animals</td>
<td>akīl</td>
<td>insects, worms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11.4
Generic terms for animals

The terms ekī and ēēnē are apparently synonyms, with the difference that ekī is always possessed, while ēēnē never is; 8 ēēnē can thus be used in expressions like ēēnē erepa ‘pet food’, in which no possessor is implied for the pet. Together, ekī and ēēnē are used for all domestic animals, from pets kept for pleasure (especially birds) to dogs, kept as hunting helpers, and, nowadays, to chicken and pigs.

The term kaimo refers, stricito sensu, to an animal’s dead body after it has been killed by a hunter (i.e. dead game). It is not the same thing as the animal’s meat, which is ofī, a type of food (cf. 11.3.5). Notice that the dead body of a human being or a domestic animal is not kaimo, since neither were a hunter’s game.

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7 It is not being argued that these terms form a ‘coherent subclassification’ of the animal realm, or that Tiriyō speakers are even aware of them as a ‘classification’ of types of animals. Rather, they are presented simply as they are: terms for groups of animals that the Tiriyō thought useful to put together. Thus, words such as pereru ‘butterfly’ or nere ‘bat’ are not included, since, although they include hundreds of species of actual animals (and although the Tiriyō are aware that not all butterflies and not all bats are ‘the same’), since these words are not used as generic terms (with specific names for different subgroups), but as simple terms for groups of animals that the Tiriyō consider one ‘species’.

8 One speaker allowed ēēnē to be possessed, making a j-adding stem of it (ji-jēēnē ‘my pet’); he considered the result equivalent to j-ekī. This fact is reminiscent of the ‘dubious possessibility’ of animal names (cf. 4.3.1.4.2, 4.3.1.1).
Oto and mēhparê are used for living animals. Oto refers to game animals that live on the ground, i.e. mostly mammals: pakira ‘collared peccary’, ponjeke ‘white-lipped peccary’, pai ‘tapir’, akuri ‘agouti’, kurimau ‘paca’, wikapau, kajakë, aruma ‘deer spp.’, etc. Mēhparê refers to either birds or monkeys, a category which is, at first, rather surprising, but can be understood if one realizes that a hunter, in order to kill these animals, has to point upwards; besides, as one speaker put it, these are the animals that can ‘attack you from above’.

Tonoro and tēpērike(mū) include all the birds, game and non-game alike. The latter is clearly a descriptive term: it is derived from the noun apēri ‘wing’ with the adverbializing circumfix t-ke ‘Having’ (cf. 6.2.1.1.1) and the nominalizing suffix -(mū) (cf. 4.2.2.2). Tonoro, although slightly suspicious, is certainly synchronically non-derived. Although at some point it may have referred to a specific kind of bird, it seems now to be as broad a term as tēpērike(mū): it can refer e.g. to macaws (kīnoro, kujari, ararawa, etc.), toucans (kijapoko, kiriū, amatakan, etc.), parrots (parawa, kurikanai, jarajari, etc.), chicken (kurairu), hawks (pijana, maura, sawaturu, etc.), vultures (akaraman, wateike, soni), etc. The term kana is a generic name for all kinds of fish (some specific species: arimina ‘electric eel’, surui [Port. surubim], patakai [Port.

9 Interestingly, in one of her Wayana stories, Karin Boven has translated the Wayana term mēkparê, which looks cognate, as ‘spirit’, ‘ghost’ (Dutch geest; cf. Boven 1996). It is not difficult to see a relationship between ‘spirits’ and ‘animals that attack you from above’.
10 Its diachronic status is less clearly non-derived, especially if one takes into account that it probably is the result of metathesis on an original stem *torono (cf. Meira 1998a), the final *-no of which brings to mind the nominalizer -no (cf. 4.2.2.2).
traíra], aimara [Port. trairão, traíra-açu], etc.). As for akii, it refers to small insects and worms: ants (irakë, mikakë, situ, etc.), bees and wasps (wanë, awekë, okomo, etc.), flies and mosquitos (mapiri, punini, maakë, etc.), small worms (moto, iikë, etc.). Akii cannot refer to e.g. big beetles or spiders. Note also the existence of the adverbial akii me, formed with the attributivizer postposition _me (cf. 7.3.4.3), which means ‘little, small, thin (of granular things, like sand, powder, salt, sugar, etc.).’

11.3.4. Body parts. Table 11.5 contains all Tiriyo monomorphemic body part terms that were found to date. Other parts of the body can be referred to with phrases (enja i-jun ‘the old one (‘father’) of the hand’ = ‘thumb’) or compounds (enja-pun ‘hand-flesh’ = ‘flesh of the hand’, enja-ropi ‘hand-chest’ = ‘palm of the hand’).
### Table 11.5
Body parts (including fluids)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Akan</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ahkarapa</td>
<td>lower back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amoi</td>
<td>finger nails</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aofí</td>
<td>rib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apē</td>
<td>arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apēritīkī</td>
<td>elbow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arokī</td>
<td>tail; penis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eenā</td>
<td>throat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ehpi</td>
<td>(upper) lip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ehpo(tī)</td>
<td>beard; moustache</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eku(nu)</td>
<td>buttocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emeku(nu)</td>
<td>testicles; scrotum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emu</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enja</td>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enpata</td>
<td>face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enpījuku</td>
<td>tears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enu</td>
<td>eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epa</td>
<td>vulva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ere</td>
<td>liver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erī</td>
<td>vagina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etaku</td>
<td>saliva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ewanē</td>
<td>heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ewapu(nu)</td>
<td>calf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihpo(tī)</td>
<td>body hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jahta</td>
<td>armpit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaramata</td>
<td>chin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>je</td>
<td>tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jetīpē</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuru</td>
<td>semen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manatī</td>
<td>nipple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manini</td>
<td>ankle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi(tī)</td>
<td>vein; nerve (=root)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mī)ka</td>
<td>back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mī)ko</td>
<td>palate; back of mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mī)pa</td>
<td>shoulder blade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mī)ta</td>
<td>mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mone</td>
<td>groins; womb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mota</td>
<td>shoulder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo(tī)</td>
<td>pubic hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munu</td>
<td>blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nnapu(nu)</td>
<td>buttocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nore</td>
<td>tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oona</td>
<td>nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oonapījuku</td>
<td>nose mucus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pana</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pihpē</td>
<td>skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pijaku</td>
<td>brain; grey matter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pīmī</td>
<td>neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pītkī</td>
<td>anus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pī)repa</td>
<td>shin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pī)ro</td>
<td>inner throat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pī)roi</td>
<td>toe nail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pī)ropī</td>
<td>chest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pī)ta</td>
<td>sole of foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe</td>
<td>forehead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ponī</td>
<td>navel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potī</td>
<td>lips, ‘beak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu(nu)</td>
<td>meat; flesh; muscle; body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pu)pu</td>
<td>foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>putupē</td>
<td>head; hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suku</td>
<td>urine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>susu</td>
<td>breast; milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taja</td>
<td>nape (of the neck)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waku</td>
<td>abdomen; belly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watē (wetī)</td>
<td>excrement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wereena</td>
<td>knee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.3.5. **Eating and drinking terms.** The semantic field of food consumption is rather elaborate in Tiriyó, as in most Cariban languages. There is a more general verb, ēewe(tī) ‘eat, consume/ingest food’, which is the detransitivized form of ewe(tī) ‘feed O’. In
addition, there are five different transitive verbs which are used according to the kind of food being consumed. A possible way of referring to these kinds of food is to use the potential O nominalizer (t- -se(mü); cf. 4.2.2.1.2) to derive nouns from the respective verbs; however, Tiriyó already has ‘generic terms’ for kinds of food, most of which apparently unrelated to the respective verb; they are among the candidates for potential ‘gentive classifiers’ discussed at the end of Sec. 11.5.1.3.

Table 11.6 summarizes the vocabulary items in question.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb stem</th>
<th>O-Nominalization</th>
<th>Generic Noun</th>
<th>Kind of food</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ênê</td>
<td>t-ênê-en</td>
<td>otî</td>
<td>meat (raw or cooked)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ê(ku)</td>
<td>t-êe-sen</td>
<td>uru</td>
<td>bread, cassava, wheat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a(ku)</td>
<td>t-aa-sen</td>
<td>(n)me</td>
<td>nuts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ena(pî)</td>
<td>t-ênaa-sen</td>
<td>nnapi</td>
<td>fruit; sweet things; eggs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eniî(rî)</td>
<td>t-eniî-sen</td>
<td>(j)oki</td>
<td>liquids</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.3.6. ‘Seizing’ and ‘getting’ verbs. There are several verbs in Tiriyó which are used for the action of ‘getting’ or ‘seizing’ something, with interesting semantic differences.

Apê(i) ‘catch, get, hold O’ is used: (a) if an object is thrown at the speaker; (b) if he is at a convenient level for being seized (e.g. on top of a table or shelf). Apê(i) is also used to mean ‘buy’, ‘trade’ (arakapusa w-apêî ‘I got [=bought] a shotgun’), and also ‘get (a wife, a husband)’: ji-pî₂me w-apêî ‘I caught (her) as my wife’. The position of the object(s) to be seized is important: if the object is on the ground rather than on a table,
then ap̣e(i) cannot be used; tomeka occurs instead. If the object is above the normal level, e.g. hanging from a rope or from a nail on a post, the correct verb is anoka.

‘Gathering’ fruits, also a kind of ‘taking’, is expressed by two verbs: ami(ku), which is used for ‘getting fruits from the ground’ (e.g. fruits that are being transported inside a canoe), and [t]p̣e(ti), which is used for ‘getting fruits from a tree’ (i.e. actually gathering them).

11.3.7. ‘Helping’ verbs. There are at least three Tiriyó verbs corresponding to the notion of ‘helping’: akoronma, apotoma and jahpēntē. They are all derived from nouns, and, although to a large extent interchangeable, still keep certain differences that can be correlated with their nominal sources.

Akoronma is derived from akoron ‘companion, mate’; judging by the usual sense of the -ma verbalizer (cf. 5.3.3.1.2), it must have meant ‘provide O with a companion; accompany’. In fact, its present-day use to mean ‘help O’ still seems to have some remnants of this original meaning: it is normally used in situations in which the ‘helper’ is at the same level as the ‘helpee’, i.e. the ‘helper’ is doing the ‘helpee’ a favor, going, to a certain extent, out of his way. K-okoronma-n? ‘Will you help me?’, said an old man in his wheelchair, hoping that the hearer would help him overcome some difficulty in moving around (in this case, an especially rough stretch of ground). W-akoronma-e-pitē ‘I’ll help you for a second’, said a woman to a friend who was having trouble carrying a sick child around.
Apotoma comes from apoto 'helper; servant', again with the -ma verbalizer. As its source suggests, it is used in situations in which the 'helper' is, in some sense, at an inferior level with respect to the 'helpee'. A newly married man, living in his father-in-law's house, is supposed to help him hunt and clear the field for planting. Ma, k-opotoma-kē-pitē 'help me a little', said a father-in-law to his son-in-law, referring to a new shack that he wanted to build. Akī apotoma-n? 'Who are they helping?', said a woman, pointing to several young men who were clearing an area in the outskirts of a village, where a new house for visitors was to be built.

Jahpēntē has the -ntē 'beneficiative' verbalizer (cf. 5.3.3.1.2) on the noun jahpē, which can be used to refer to any of the things necessary for everyday life: food, clothes, utensils, firewood, artifacts, hammocks, etc. Its original meaning—and still its most frequent one—is then 'provide O with things', 'make O's life possible by giving him/her all the necessary things'. A question that foreigners often hear after they come to a Tiriyo village is: eeke anja mi-jahpēntē-n? 'How are you going to help us?', i.e. 'What are you going to provide us with (in return for your stay here and our collaboration)?'. Old men hope that their children will jahpēntē them in their old age. In a story, a young man promised to an older one: ē-jahpēntē-keh-pīn_me w-eh-ta-e 'I will never stop helping you (=providing you with goods)' (-ke(pī) 'cessative' [cf. 5.3.3.2.2], -pī(nī) 'inefficient, incapable of' nominalizer [cf. 4.2.2.2], wehtae 'I will be', future imperfective form of the copula e(i) [cf. 5.4.4]). However, jahpēntē seems to have acquired a more general 'helping' sense. In another story, an old man who could not move asked a young man to carry him on his back by saying kī-jahpēntē-kē! 'Help me!' (cf. ex. (42), chap. 5). The
reflexive form ëës-ahpëntē ‘help oneself (by providing oneself with goods)’ also has the meaning ‘get out of trouble, save oneself’: in a folk tale, Cayman is angry at Squirrel, who has escaped him and is now safe, far from the river bank, and says, ëë...m-ëës-ahpëntē, meri! ‘You managed to escape, Squirrel!’.

11.3.8. The verb ku(ku) ‘evaluate; try; greet; imitate; speak’. The basic meaning of this verb is ‘evaluate’, ‘check if something is good, if it is as it should be’. Thus, wi-kuu-ja-e_pitē ‘I’m going to evaluate it, have a look at it’ can be used to describe e.g. the action of testing (a canoe, a bow, a shotgun, a radio, a hammock, etc.) to see if they are usable. This verb can also be used when one is trying clothes on, to see if they fit, or trying a new food, to see how it tastes. An apparently related development is the meaning of ‘greeting’: wi-kuu-ja-e_pitē can also mean ‘I’m going to greet him/her’, i.e. the act of going up to someone to say ‘welcome’, ‘hello’, ‘how are you’, etc. is viewed as similar to the act of trying or testing something.

A still (but not so clearly) related meaning of this verb is that of ‘imitating’: taripi wi-kuu-ja-e ‘I am going to imitate a tarípi, a capuchin monkey’, said someone who was about to entertain his friends by mimicking a Cebus apella. This can be said about people as well: waijana wi-kuu-ja-e ‘I am going to imitate a Wayana’, and also, waijana i-jomi wi-kuu-ja-e ‘I am going to imitate the Wayana language’. Interestingly, the Tiriyó always use the verb ku(ku) to refer to the capacity of speaking a foreign language; it is as though the only language that one really speaks is one’s own mother tongue, while all the other languages that one might know are ‘imitated’, no matter how well or fluently. Waijana i-
jomi mi-kuu-ja-n? 'do you speak the Wayana language?', a Tiriýó may ask one of his friends. I-kuh-kë̂_pitë! 'imitate it a little bit!', i.e. 'speak some of it (so that we can hear what it sounds like)', he say after an affirmative answer: the Tiriýó, like most Amerindian groups, are often curious about the languages of other people.

Fig. 11.1 represents a possible analysis of the connections between the various meanings of ku(ku).

**Figure 11.1**
The meanings of the transitive verb stem ku(ku).

APE, IMITATE, MIMIC \[------\] TRY

- try on (clothes, paint)
- test objects (tools, materials)
- taste food
- greet ('try') people

speak (foreign language)

greet ('try') people

11.4. Borrowing. Like all languages, Tiriýó certainly borrowed many words from other languages during its history; however, given the lack of detailed lexicographic and comparative studies for Amazonia, it is currently impossible to separate, in most cases, borrowings from native Cariban words (but cf. Rodrigues 1985 for cases of apparent borrowings between Cariban and Tupian languages). At present, like many other Amazonian languages, Tiriýó is borrowing many words from the surrounding languages,
Dutch, Portuguese, and Sranantongo. These borrowings are concentrated in ‘new’ areas (mostly Western cultural items, objects, and practices); they are listed in Table 11.7. Some are apparently fully integrated in the language, while others are still fringe cases (e.g. *majadera* ‘cast net’, with its non-Tiriyó *d*, looks like a ‘nonce’ case, since it was used by a speaker who knew Portuguese relatively well).

\[^{11}\text{Borrowings attributed to Sranantongo, especially the early ones, must have actually gone through Ndyuka, a related creole language (cf. 1.1; cf. Huttar & Velanie 1997 for further details).}\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word(s)</th>
<th>Source language</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akusa</td>
<td>Port. (<em>agulha</em>) or Sp. (<em>aguja</em>)</td>
<td>needle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aperisina</td>
<td>Dutch (regional, old <em>apesien</em>)</td>
<td>orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arakapusa</td>
<td>Spanish (old; <em>arcabuz</em>)</td>
<td>firearm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(j)isireti</td>
<td>Portuguese (<em>gilete</em>)</td>
<td>razor blade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(j)oroisi</td>
<td>Dutch, French (<em>horloge</em>)</td>
<td>clock, watch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(j)oroko</td>
<td>Sranan (<em>wroko</em>)</td>
<td>work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juuru</td>
<td>Sranan (<em>yuru</em>), Dutch (<em>uur</em>)</td>
<td>hour; time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paasi</td>
<td>Sranan (<em>basti</em>)</td>
<td>chief helper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapitein</td>
<td>Port. (<em>capitão</em>), more likely Dutch (<em>kapitên</em>)</td>
<td>chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamisa</td>
<td>Portuguese, Spanish (<em>camisa</em>)</td>
<td>loincloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karama(no)</td>
<td>Sranan (<em>granman</em>)</td>
<td>chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kau</td>
<td>Sranan?</td>
<td>cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koeri</td>
<td>Sranan (<em>koeri</em>)</td>
<td>stroll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutei</td>
<td>French (<em>bouteille</em>), via Creole?</td>
<td>glass receptacle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuusi</td>
<td>French <em>cochon</em>?</td>
<td>domestic pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>majadera</td>
<td>Portuguese (<em>malhadeira</em>)</td>
<td>kind of net</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marasisja</td>
<td>Portuguese (<em>melancia</em>)</td>
<td>watermelon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mato</td>
<td>French <em>mauteau</em>?</td>
<td>hammer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oora</td>
<td>Portuguese (<em>hora</em>)</td>
<td>hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oransi</td>
<td>Dutch (<em>Hollands</em>)</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oto</td>
<td>French (<em>auto</em>), via Creole?</td>
<td>car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paateri, paatêrêi</td>
<td>Dutch (<em>baterî</em>)</td>
<td>flashlight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panpira</td>
<td>Dutch (<em>papier</em>; <em>pampier</em>?)</td>
<td>paper, book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parahtaimé</td>
<td>Portuguese (<em>balata</em> ‘latex’)</td>
<td>plastic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinta</td>
<td>Sranan (<em>pinda</em>)</td>
<td>peanut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poto</td>
<td>Sranan (<em>foto</em>)</td>
<td>city; Paramaribo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pukuita</td>
<td>Língua Geral, Tupi (<em>apukuita</em>)</td>
<td>oar, paddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raarijon</td>
<td>Dutch, Portuguese (<em>rádio</em>)</td>
<td>radio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ranti</td>
<td>Sranan (<em>lanti</em>)</td>
<td>government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remiki</td>
<td>Sranan (<em>lemiki</em>)</td>
<td>lime, lemon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanpereru</td>
<td>Spanish (<em>sombrero</em>)</td>
<td>hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sikora</td>
<td>Portuguese (<em>escola</em>), Dutch (<em>school</em>)</td>
<td>school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sorope</td>
<td>Dutch (<em>schop</em>)</td>
<td>shovel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soroto</td>
<td>Dutch (<em>sleutel</em>)</td>
<td>key</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sunpu</td>
<td>Portuguese (<em>chumbo</em>)</td>
<td>lead (for shooting)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Aside from the above words, there are three cases of systematic borrowings, involving many related terms: numbers, months, and days of the week. In Surinam, Dutch-based terms are used: ein_me, tuwei_me, tēri_me, etc. (from een, twee, drie,...), mandi, fredi, etc. (from maandag, vrijdag,...), januari, februari, etc. (from januari, februari,...). In Brazil, the Portuguese equivalents were adopted: un_me, toisi_me, tîreisi_me, etc. (from um, dois, três,...), segunda, teesa, etc. (from segunda-feira, terça-feira,...), sanero, fewereru, etc. (from janeiro, fevereiro,...). Interestingly, some of the Tiriyó switch from Portuguese-based to Dutch-based terms when they travel from Brazil to Surinam, apparently linking the terms to the area where they are rather than to the area where they were born; this indicates that these words are still felt as foreign. Concerning the numbers, the first two (ein_me/un_me, tuwei_me/toisi_me) have Tiriyó equivalents, tēinē ‘one, alone’ and ēēkēnē ‘two, in pairs’, which are still widely used (especially tēinē); other numbers reportedly used to exist, and some people remember them (ēērao ‘three’, ēēpema ‘four’, ēnja ‘five’, from enja ‘hand’), but speakers disagree on their meaning. Notice also that all borrowed numbers take the attributivizing (adverbializing) postposition _me, i.e. they were all borrowed as nouns.
Appendix A. Texts.

A1. Asehpé iwehtoponpē Asehpé’s story. This story, told by Pedro Asehpé, is the narrative of his childhood, with special attention to the ceremony which made him a good hunter (his epinēhto or medication). It was recorded on June 15, 1996, and transcribed in the following two days.

001. Ma, menjaarē jiwetoponpē wetapoe, ēēja,
    ma menjaarē ji-w-eh-topo-npē w-eta-po-∅ -e ēē-ja
    ma menjaarē ji-w-ee-topo-npē w-eta-po-ja-e ē- :ja
Atttn now 1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr-Pst 1A-hear-Caus-Prs.Ipf-Cry 2-Dat
Well, now I am explaining my story to you, (‘story’; lit. ‘how/what I was’)

002. jipawana ēmē, Sesu Mera.
    ji-pawana-∅ ēmē Sesu Mera
    ji-pawana-rī ēmē Sesu Mera
1-friend-Pos 2 Sérgio Meira
    you are my friend, Sérgio Meira.

003. Ma, serē apo, tahken teese_wī,
    ma serē apo tahken t-∅-ee-se_wī,
    ma serē apo tahkene t-w-ee-se_wī
Atttn 3InPx Like maybe Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst_1
    Well, I was probably like this,¹

004. pena pijukuku_me nkērē ahtao, susu_pē, manko akēērē.
    pena pijukuku_me nkērē ahtao susu_pē manko akēērē
    pena pijukuku_me nkērē ahtao susu_pēkē manko akēērē
long.ago baby_Attr_Still while breast_Ad 1:mother with
    long ago, when I was still a baby, at the breast, with my mother.

005. Kēpēewa, irē_n-ai ji-wame,
    kēpēewa irē_n-ai ji-wame
    kēpēewa irē_n-ai ji-wameke
    but 3InAna_3Sa-Cop 1-Ignor
But that I do not know,

006. pijukuku_me nkērē jiwetoponpē_nai jiwame.
    pijukuku_me nkērē ji-w-eh-topo-npē_n-ai ji-wame
    pijukuku_me nkērē ji-w-ee-topo-npē_n-ai ji-wameke
    baby_Attr_still 1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr-Pst_3Sa-Cop 1-Ignor
I do not know what I was like when I was a baby.

¹ Accompanied by a gesture.

606
007. Kēpēwa mono_me_sa jiwehtuwwē irē jiwaarē.
    kēpēwa mono_me_sa ji-w-eh-tuuwuē irē ji-waarē
    kēpēwa mono_me_saa ji-w-ei-tuuwuē irē ji-waarē
    but big.one_Attr_a.bit 1-Sa-Cop-Post 3InAna 1-Cogn
    But what I was like when I got a little bigger, that I know.

008. Sehken, turakanae_wi,
    sehken t-urakana-e _wi
    sehken e t-urakana-se_wiū
    so Rm.Pst-walk.around-Rm.Pst_1
    I just wandered around,

009. pēera jiwei_ke, mure_me jiwei_ke,
    pēera ji-w-ei-Ø _ke mure_me ji-w-ei-Ø_ke
    pēera ji-w-ei-rī_ke mure_me ji-w-ei-rī_ke
    careless 1-Sa-Cop:N-Pos.Inst child_Attr 1-Sa-Cop:N-Pos.Inst
    because I was careless, because I was a child,

010. irē_ja-n_me, ooninpēken tēpēe-se wiēja,
    irē_ja-n _me ooninpēken t-ēpēē-se wiēja
    irē_ja-no_me ooninpēkene t-apēi-se wiēja
    3InAna_Dat-Nzr_Attr all.kinds.of.things Rm.Pst-catch-Rm.Pst 1:Agt
    because of this, I caught (= played with) all kinds of things,

011. majaton, pahko i-maja, pīrēuton, wiārāpaton.
    maja-ton pahko i-maja-Ø pīrēu-ton wiārāpa-ton
    maja-tomo pahko i-maja-rī pīrēu-tomo wiārāpa-tomo
    knife-Col 1:father 3-knife-Pos arrow-Col bow-Col
    knives, fathers knives, arrows, bows.

012. Irē_mao pahko_ja tīrēe jiārāpaapisi,
    irē_mao pahko_ja ti-rē-e ji:-raapa:- -pisi
    irē_mao pahko_ja ti-rī-se ji-wīrapa-rī-pisi
    3InAna_Tmp 1:father_Agt Rm.Pst-make-Rm.Pst 1-bow-Pos-Dim
    Then my father made me a little bow,

013. mure_me jiwei_ke,
    mure_me ji-w-ei-Ø _ke
    mure_me ji-w-ei-rī_ke
    child_Attr 1-Sa-Cop:N-Pos.Inst
    because I am (= was) a child,
014. iréme piya sa wíraapa türée ii ja.
    iréme piya sa wíraapa t̩-rē-e ii-ja
    iréme piya sa wíraapa t̩-rī-se i-:ja
    so small a bit bow Rm.Pst make Rm.Pst 3-Agt
    so he made a little bow.

015. Ma, iré ke tēmaminae wī,
    ma iré ke t-ēmamina-e wī
    ma iré ke t-emamina-se wī
    Attn 3InAna Inst Rm.Pst play Rm.Pst 1
    So, I played with it,

016. pahko inirihpē ke.
    pahko i-nī-rī-hpē ke
    pahko i-nī-rī-hpē ke
    1:father 3-0.act.Nzr make Pst Pos Inst
    with the thing that my father had made.

017. Ma, iréme, irēnpē pēe,
    ma iréme irē-npē pēe,
    ma iréme irē-npē pēe,
    Attn then 3InAna Pst Abl
    So, then, after that,

018. pahko inirihpē ke turakanae wī,
    pahko i-nī-rī-hpē ke t-urakana-e wī
    pahko i-nī-rī-hpē ke t-urakana-se wī
    1:father 3-0.act.Nzr make Pst Pos Inst Rm.Pst walk around Rm.Pst 1
    I went around with the thing that my father had made,

019. irēnpē pēe joi tiwēe wi ja,
    irē-npē pēe joi tī-wē-e wi ja
    irē-npē pēe joi tī-wē-se wi ja
    3InAna Pst Abl lizard sp Rm.Pst shoot Rm.Pst 1:Ag t
    after that I shot a lizard,

020. wētē jiweihpē ke.
    wē-tē ji-w-ei-hpē ke
    wē-tē ji-w-ei-hpē ke
    shoot A pot Azr 1 Sa Cop N Pst Pos Inst
    because I was (= had become) good at shooting.
021. João, akī_hpe munupē, ma tahken tonoro,
   joi akī_hpe munupē ma tahken tonoro
   joi akī_hpe munupē ma tahken tonoro
lizard.sp wh.An_Indef rat.sp Attn maybe bird
Lizards, what's his-name, rats, and maybe birds,

022. tiwëenton, tiwēe wiija,
tī-wē-e-n-ton tī-wē-e wiija,
tī-wē-se-mi-tomo tī-wē-se wiija
shootable animals, I shot them,

023. ohkïnpēken tahken kana, tukusipisih_ke.
ohkïnpēken tahken kana tukusi-pisih _ke
ohkïnpēkene tahkene kana tukusi-pisikë_ke
all.sorts.of.animals maybe fish kind.of.arrow-Dim_Inst
all sorts of animals, maybe even fish, with my little tukusi arrow.

024. Ma, irē_mao iwehtoo_mao,
   ma irē_mao i-w-eh-too _mao
   ma irē_mao i-w-ei-topo_mao
Attn 3InAna_Temp 3-Sa-Cop-C.Nxr.Temp
Well, at that time,

025. saasaame teese pahko.
saasaame t-0-ee-se pahko
saasaame t-w-ei-se pahko
happy Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst 1:father
my father was (= had become) happy.

026. Saasaame_marē teese noosinpē, jarimikanenpē.
saasaame_marē t-0-ee-se noosinpē j-arimika-ne-npē
saasaame_marē t-w-ei-se noosinpē j-arimika-ne-npē
happy_also Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst 1:grandmother 1:raise-A.act.Nxr-Pst
Also my grandmother, the one who had raised me, was happy.

027. Sehken manko_pēh_ta jarinane,
   sehken manko_pēh _ta j-arina-ne
   sehken manko_pēkē_taike j-arina-ne
   so 1:mother_Ad_Neg 1So-grow-Pst.Prf
So I grew up not beside my mother,
028. noosinpë_reken          jarimikane.
    noosinpë_reken           j-arimika-ne
    noosinpë_rekene          j-arimika-ne
    1:grandmother_only 10-raise-Pst.Prf²
    it was only my grandmother who raised me.

029. Këpëewa maa_re  manko tūtēe,
    këpëewa maa_re  manko tī:-tē-e
    këpëewa maa_re  manko tī-w-tē-se
    but            far_Exact 1:mother Rm.Pst-Sa-go-Rm.Pst
    But my mother went really far away,

030. an-po_hpe    tūtēe.
    an-po_hpe     tī:-tē-e
    an-po_hpe     tī-w-tē-se
    wh-Loc_Indef Rm.Pst-Sa-go-Rm.Pst
    I do not know where she went.

031. Tinontae        wija.
    tī-nonta-e  wija
    tī-nonta-se  wija
    Rm.Pst-leave-Rm.Pst 1:Agt
    I left her.³

032. Irēme  manko_ja  jarimikatoponpë_nai  jiware.
    irēme  manko_ja  j-arimika-topo-npē_n-ai  ji-wame
    irēme  manko_ja  j-arimika-topo-npē_n-ai  ji-wameke
    thus  1:mother_Agt 1-raise-Circ.Nzr-Pst_3Sa-Cop 1-Ignor
    Thus, I do not know how my mother raised me.⁴

033. Këpëewa  noosinpë_reken,  pahko_marë,  jarimikane.
    këpëewa  noosinpë_reken       pahko_marë       j-arimika-ne
    këpëewa  noosinpë_rekene      pahko_marë       j-arimika-ne
    but            1:grandmother_only 1:father_also 1-raise-Pst.Prf⁵
    It was only my grandmother, with my father, who raised me.

---
² This could be the ‘A.act.Nzr’ -ne, and this sentence could be an equative one (‘my grandmother was my raiser’). Since in 026, the narrator used -npē ‘Past’ after the ‘A.act.Nzr’ -ne, he probably would have done the same here; the fact that he did not makes the ‘A.act.Nzr’ analysis less likely.
³ One would have expected ‘she left me’ (tinontae iïja) — the speaker may have misspoken.
⁴ I.e. ‘I do not know my having been raised by my mother’. He was too young to remember the time when she was still around.
⁵ Cf. footnote to 028.
034. Ma, irē rīkehtuuwē wīja, kīrīmuku_me jiwei_mahtao,
    ma irē rī-keh -tuuwe wīja kīrīmuku_me ji-w-ei-0 _mahtao
    ma irē rī-kepī-tuuwē wīja kīrīmuku_me ji-w-ei-rī _mahtao

Attn 3InAna do-Cess-Post 1:Agt young.man_Attr 1-Sa-Cop:N-Pos_Tmp
So, when I finished doing that, when I became a young man,

035. irē_mao kutuma wipuunēene, kīrīmuku_me jiwehtuuwē.
    irē_mao kutuma wi-punē -ne kīrīmuku_me ji-w-eh-tuuwē
    irē_mao kutumaka wi-punēpī-ne kīrīmuku_me ji-w-ei-tuuwē

3InAna_Tmp Intens 1a-think-Pst.Prf young.man_Attr 1-Sa-Cop-Post
then I thought a lot, after I became a young man.

036. Ma, irēnpē_pēe pahko jepinēene kutuneh_ke,
    ma irē-npē_pēe pahko j-epinē -ne kutuneh_ke
    ma irē-npē_pēe pahko j-epinēpī-ne kutunetī_ke

Attn 3InAna-Pst_Abl 1:father 1-medicate-Pst.Prf painful.one_Inst
Then, after than, my father treated me with a painful medicine,

037. tahken kunawaru eekuhpē, kunawaru eerewetīnpē_marē.
    tahken kunawaru eeku-hpē, kunawaru eereweti-npē_marē
    tahkene kunawaru eeku-hpē, kunawaru eereweti-npē_marē

maybe toad.sp 3:juice-Pst.Pos toad.sp 3:foam-Pst_also
with kunawaru juice, it seems, and also kunawaru foam.

038. Irē_ke pahko jepinēene,
    irē_ke pahko j-epinē -ne
    irē_ke pahko j-epinēpī-ne

3InAna_Inst 1:father 1-medicate-Pst.Prf
With this my father treated me,

039 wētē jiwehtoo_me.
    wē-tē ji-w-eh-too_me
    wē-tē ji-w-ei-topo_me

shoot-A.pot.Azr 1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr_Attr
so that I would become a good shot.

040. Ma, irē rīkehtuuwē wīja,
    ma irē rī-keh -tuuwe wīja
    ma ire rī-kepī-tuuwē wīja

Attn 3InAna do-Cess-Post 1:Agt
So, after I finished doing that,
041. ein nunnë, toisi_me nunnë iwehtuwwê,
    ein nunnë toisi_me nunnë i-w-eh-tuuwê
    ein nunnë toisi_me nunnë i-w-ee-tuuwê
    one moon two_Attr moon 3-Sa-Cop-Post
    after one or two months,

042. iré_mao wëtë teese_wîi.
    iré_mao wë-të t-0-ee-se_wî
    iré_mao wë-të t-w-ee-se_wîII
    3InAna_Tmp shoot-A.pot.Azr Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst_1P
    then I became a good shot.

043. Ma, iré enetuwwê pahko_ja,
    ma iré ene-tuuwê pahko_ja
    ma iré ene-tuuwê pahko_ja
    Attn 3InAna 3:see-After 1:father_Agt
    Then, after my father saw this,6

044. jepinëpîhpê_ke iija,
    j-epinëpî-hpê_ke ii-ja
    j-epinëpî-hpê_ke i- :ja
    1-medicate:N-Pst.Pos.Inst 3-Agt
    because he had medicated me,

045. oroko_me jiweihpê_ke pahko jipê,
    oroko_me ji-w-ee-hpê_ke pahko ji-pê
    oroko_me ji-w-ee-hpê_ke pahko ji-pêkê
    work_Attr 1-Sa-Cop:N-Pst.Pos.Inst 1:father 1:About
    because my father had worked on me,

046. iré_jan_me, wëtë teese_wîi.
    iré_ja-n _me wë-tê t-0-ee-se_wî
    iré_ja-no_me wë-tê t-w-ee-se_wîII
    3InAna_Dat-Nzr_Attr shoot-A.pot.Azr Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst_1
    because of this, I became a good shot.

047. Ma, ameraarê tiwëe wiîja,
    ma ameraarê tî-wë-e wiîja,
    ma ameraarê tî-wë-se wiîja
    Attn all Rm.Pst-shoot-Rm.Pst 1:Agt
    So, I shot everything,

---
6 Iré 'this' should be referring to 'my becoming good at shooting'; however, given that this is mentioned again in 044 below, maybe iré is referring to 'my father's medicating me'. This sequence is somewhat awkward; the speaker may have lost track of what he had been saying here.
048. tarîpi,  iisoimê,  ponjeke,  pai,  kaikui_marê.
tarîpi  iisoimê  ponjeke  pai  kaikui_marê
tarîpi  iisoimê  ponjeke  pai  kaikui_marê
monkey.sp monkey.sp peccary.sp tapir jaguar_also
monkeys, peccaries, tapirs, and jaguars, too.

atîtoome  nari_ke_ta  ji-w-ei-hpē_ke
atîtoome  nari_ke_taike  ji-w-ei-hpē_ke
why  fear_Inst_Neg  1-Sa-Cop:Nzr-Pst.Pos_Inst
Why? Because I had become fearless.

050. Itu_htao  turakanae_wî,
itu_htao  t-urakana-e_wî
itu_htao  t-urakana-se_wî
jungle_Loc  Rm.Pst-walk.around-Rm.Pst_l
I walked around in the jungle,

051. nari_ke_ta  jiweihpē_ke,
nari_ke_ta  ji-w-ei-hpē_ke
nari_ke_taike  ji-w-ei-hpē_ke
fear_Inst_Neg  1-Sa-Cop:Nzr-Pst.Pos_Inst
because I had become fearless,

052. tēpije_marê7  jiweihpē_ke.
t-ēpi  -je_marê  ji-w-ei-hpē_ke
t-epitē-je_marê  ji-w-ei-hpē_ke
T-medicine-Having_also  1-Sa-Cop:Nzr-Pst.Pos_Inst
also because I had had medicine. (= I had become medicined).

053. Kaari,  ēpîh_ke,8  tēpînēse_wî  pahko_ja.
kaari  ēpîh_ke  t-ēpinēē-se_wî  pahko_ja
kaari  ēpîtî_ke  t-epinēpî-se_wî  pahko_ja
strength medicine_Inst  Pst-medicate-Pst_l  1:father_Agt
My father had medicated me with strong medicine.

054. Irē_jan_me  kaikui  ino_ta  teese_wî.
irē_ja-n _me  kaikui  i-no_ta  t-∅-ee-se_wî
irē_ja-no_me  kaikui  i-no_taike  t-w-ee-se_wî
3InAna_DAT-Nzr_Attr  jaguar  3-afraid_Neg  Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst_l
Because of this, I was (=became) not afraid of jaguars.

7 Cf. 6.2.1.1.1 on irregular t- adverbs.
8 In spite of the pause between kaari and ēpîh_ke, they seem connected (in apposition): [kaari ēpîh]_ke.
055. Ma, aki_hpe irë_po, ēkēiton,
    ma aki_hpe irë_po, ēkēi-ton
    ma aki_hpe irë_po ēkēi-ton
    Attn wh.An_INET 3InAna_LOC snake-Col
So, whatever there was, say, snakes,

056. jeekaewa teese, aipi_me jiwei_ke.
    jeeka-ewa t-Ø-ee-se aipi_me ji-w-ei-Ø_ke
    jeeka-ewa t-w-ei-se aipi_me ji-w-ei-Ø_ke
    1-bite-Neg Pst-Sa-Cop-Pst speed_Attr 1-Sa-Cop:Nzr-Pos_Instr
it could not bite me, because I was fast.

057. irēme iwaø9 pahko tiwēeresaraamae,
    irēme i-wae pahko ti-w-ēeresaama -e
    irēme i-wae pahko ti-w-ēt-eraaraama-se
    then 3-Super 1:father Rm.Pst-Sa-Detr-gladden-Rm.Pst
Then, my father became really happy,

058. wētë jiwehto enehpê_ke.
    wē-të ji-w-eh-to ene-hpê_ke
    wē-të ji-w-ei-topo ene-hpê_ke
because he saw that I had become a good shot.

059. Perê, jinmuku kure wētë, wîrê wîjana_me,
    pē rê jinmuku-Ø kure wē-të wîrê wîjana_n_me
    pē rê jinmuku-rî kure wē-të wîrê wîjana-no_me
    Concern 1-son-Pos Intens shoot-A.Pot.Azr 1_Exact 1:Dat-Nzr_Attr
Oh, my son is a good shot, thanks to me,

060. wepinëene jinmuku.
    wepinëene jinmuku-Ø
    wepinëpî-ne jinmuku-rî
    1A-medicate-Pst.Prf 1-son-Pos
I medicated my son.

061. wētë jiwehtoo_me,
    wē-të ji-w-eh-too _me
    wē-të ji-w-ei-topo _me
    shoot-A.Pot.Azr 1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr_Attr 1-son:Pos
So that he would become a good shot,

9 Here, iwaæ is closer to being an intensifying particle ('my father became very happy').
062. jinmuku epi wūrīne,
   ji-nmuku-Ø epi-Ø wū-rī-ne
   ji-nmuku-rī epi-rī wū-rī-ne
1-son-Pos 3:medicine-Pos 1A-make-Pst.Prf
I prepared my sons medicine (=medicine for my son).

063. kunawaru eekuḥpē, eerewetūnpē,
   kunawaru eeku-hpē, eerewetū-npē
   kunawaru eeku-hpē, eerewetū-npē
toad.sp 3:juice-Pst.Pos 3:foam-Pst
with kunawaru toad juice, and its foam,

064. ma, kumakaimē, ēmēinē irē,
   ma, kumakaimē ēmēinē irē
   ma, kumakaimē ēmēinē irē
Attn toad.sp thorn 3InAna
(and also) kumakaimē, it is a thorny plant,

065. ma, kīja, taparara apon,
   ma kīja taparara apo-n
   ma kīja taparara apo-no
Attn cricket.sp grasshopper.sp like-Nzr
(and) kīja, a cricket, like a grasshopper,

066. kēpēewa koko_rēken netapanjan mēe, aanao eneera.
   kēpēewa koko_rēken n-etapanja-n mēe aanao ene-:ra
   kēpēewa koko_rēken e-netapanja-nē mēe aanao ene-:ra
   but night_only 3So-chirp-Prs.Ipf-Dbt 3AnPx day I:see:N-Ineff
   but this one only chirps at night, it is invisible during the day.

067. Kēpēewa koko_rēken eneto kīja.
   kēpēewa koko_rēken ene-to kīja
   kēpēewa koko_rēken ene-topo kīja
   but night_only 3:see-Circ.Nzr cricket.sp
But only during the night can the kīja cricket be seen (=is there its seeing).

068. Nērē_nai10 kunawaru eerewetūnpē oi
   nērē_n-ai kunawaru eerewetū-npē oi
   nērē_n-ai kunawaru eerewetū-npē oi
   3AnAna_3Sa-Cop toad.sp 3:foam-Pst 3:mix:Pst
It (= the kīja cricket) is (made) a mixture with (= of) the foam of kunawaru toad,

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10 Notice that the speaker uses here the animate anaphoric pronoun nērē, since he seems to be referring back to kīja 'cricket.sp'.
069. ma, pēmu, enepīn pēmu, 
  ma pēmu ene-pīn pēmu 
  ma pēmu ene-pīnī pēmu 
  Attn bug.sp I:see-Ineff:Nzr bug.sp 
  and the pēmu bug, it is invisible, 

070. simenuri ihpītīnaononpē, 
  simenuri i-hpītīnao-no-npē 
  simenuri i-hpītīnao-no-npē 
  termite 3-in.back-Nzr-Pst 
  (and) the termite from (=which was in) the back of it (=the termite house), 

071. simenuri wīkae, tīwērēn simenuri, 
  simenuri wī-ka-e tīwērē-n simenuri 
  simenuri wī-ka-e tīwērē-no simenuri 
  termite 1Sa-say:Prs.Ipf-Cty other-Nzr termite 
  the termite, I say, but the other termite (=i.e. not the usual species), 

072. ēēkaton, kutune. 
  ēēka-to-n kutune 
  eeka-tē-no kutunetī 
  bite-A.pot.Azr-Nzr painful.one 
  the one that bites, the painful one. 

073. nērē tirēe pahko_ja, kunawaru eerevetīnpe oi_me. 
  nērē tī-rē-e pahko_ja kunawaru eerevetī-npē oi_me 
  nērē tī-rē-se pahko_ja kunawaru eerevetī-npē oi_me 
  3AnAna Rm.Pst-make-Rm.Pst 1:father_Agt toad.sp 3:foam-Pst mix_Attr 
  Him (= termite) my father made into a mix with (= of) the kunawaru foam, 

074. Ma, irē apo ahtao, 
  ma, irē apo ahtao 
  ma, irē apo ahtao 
  Attn 3InAna like when 
  Then, when it was like that (= i.e. after preparing the medicine), 

075. tīwihkae_wī ameraarē pahko_ja, majapisih_ke. 
  tī-wihka-e _wī ameraarē pahko_ja maja-pisih _ke 
  tī-wihka-se_wī ameraarē pahko_ja maja-pisikē_ke 
  Rm.Pst-scratch-Rm.Pst_1 all 1:father_Agt knife-Dim.Inst 
  my father scratched (= scarified) my entire body with a little knife.11 

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11 The process also involves applying the medicine to the wounds after scarification.
076. Irěnpé_pēe ameraarē tīrēe wija
  irē-npē_pēe ameraarē tī-rē-e wija
  irē-npē_pēe ameraarē tī-rē-se wija
  3InAna-Pst_Abl all Rm.Pst-make-Rm.Pst 1:Agt
  After that, I did (= became capable of doing) everything,

077. pahko tījahpēntēe wija,
  pahko tī-jahpēntē-e wija
  pahko tī-jahpēntē-se wija
  1:father Rm.Pst-help-Rm.Pst 1:Agt
  I helped my father,

078. țīkairintēe wija.
  tī-kairintē-e wija
  tī-kairintē-se wija
  Rm.Pst-give.stew-Rm.Pst 1:Agt
  I provided my stew with stews (=food).

079. Wētē teese jiweihpē_ke,
  wē-tē t-ō-ee-se ji-w-ei-hpē_ke
  wē-tē t-w-ēi-se ji-w-ei-hpē_ke
  shoot-A.pot.Azr Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst 1-Sa-Cop-Pst_Inst
  Because I had become a good shot, (lit. with my having become...)

080. ohkînpēken_ken, tarīpi, kējapoko, iisōimē, tamokonpē,
    ohkînpēken _ken tarīpi kējapoko iisōimē tamokonpē
    ohkînpēken_kene tarīpi kējapoko iisōimē tamokonpē
    all.kinds.of.animals.Cont monkey.sp toucan.sp monkey.sp toucan.sp
    all kinds of animals, monkeys, toucans,

081. jahkī, tahken marasi, ooko, ameraarē, amatakana,
    jahkīi tahken marasi ooko ameraarē amatakana
    jahkīi tahkene marasi ooko ameraarē amatakana
    monkey.sp maybe bird.sp bird.sp all toucan.sp
    monkeys, maybe birds, all of them, toucans,

082. mēhparēton tītīkae wija.
    mēhparē-ton tī-tāk-e wija
    mēhparē-tomo tī-tīka-se wija
    tree.game-Col Rm.Pst-finish-Rm.Pst 1:Agt
    tree game (birds and monkeys),¹² I kept finishing them all up (= killing lots of them)

¹² Cf. 12.3.3. on mēhparē.
083. Pai, kaikui, pënjeke, pakira, wikapau, masiwë, ameraarë.
    pai kaikui pënjeke pakira wikapau masiwë ameraarë
    pai kaikui pënjeke pakira wikapau masiwë ameraarë
tapir jaguar peccary.sp peccary.sp deer.sp anteater.sp all
    Tapirs, jaguars, peccaries, deer, anteaters, all of them.

084. Irëme saasaame pahko teese tïwëewetï_ke
    irëme saasaame pahko t-ø-ee-se tï-w-ëeweti_ke
    irëme saasaame pahko t-w-ëi-se tï-w-ët-ewetï_ke
    then happy 1:father Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst 3R-Sa-Detr-feed:N_Inst
    Then my father became happy with (=because of) his food (=feeding).

085. Irëme "naapohpa" kinka wijã pahko,
    irëme naapohpa kïn-ka wijã pahko
    irëme naapohpa kïn-ka wijã pahko
    then thank.you 3Pst.Prf-say 1:Agt 1:father
    Then my father said ‘thank you’ to me,

086. “naapohpa ji-nmuku, kure_manae,
    naapohpa ji-nmuku-ø kure_man-a-e
    naapohpa ji-nmuku-rï kure_man-a-e
    thank.you 1:son-Pos good_2Sa-Cop-Cty
    ‘Thank you, my son, you are good,

087. ëepi ino_ta ëweihpë_ke mëeweejae_rë.
    ë-epi i-no_ta ë-w-ëihpë_ke m-ëwëew _ja-e _rë
    ë-epi i-no_taike ë-w-ëihpë_ke m-ët-ewetë-ja-e_rë
    2-medicine 3-Apprh_Neg 2-Sa-Cop-Pst_Inst 2A-Detr-feed-Prs.Ipf-Cty_Exact
    because you were not afraid of your medicine, now you can eat really well.

088. Éwë, wi wa_ken ahtao, waa_teese jiwei_mahtao,
    ëwë wi wa_ken ahtao, waa-t-ø-ee-se ji-w-ëi_mahtao
    ëwë wi\ëa wa_kene ahtao waa_t-w-ëi-se ji-w-ëi_mahtao
    later 1 Neg_Cont when Neg_Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst 1-Sa-Cop_when
    Later on, when I am gone, when I am dead,

089. irënpë_pée ëmë jipatahpë_po mehtae,
    irë-npë_pée ëmë ji-pata-hpë_po m-ëhta-e
    irë-npë_pée ëmë ji-pata-hpë_po m-ët-a-e
    3InAna-Pst_Abl 2 1-place-Pst.Pos_Loc 2Sa-Cop-Fut.Ipf-Cty
    then you will occupy my place,
090. *tipiye_marë mehtae.*

$\text{ti-pi} \quad \text{-je_marë} \quad \text{m-eh-ta-e}$

$\text{ti-piti-je_marë} \quad \text{m-ei-ta-e}$

T-wife-Having_Too 2Sa-Cop-Fut.Ipf-Cty

and you will have a wife, too.

091. *Timnuuje_marë mehtae,*

$\text{ti-nmuu} \quad \text{-je_marë} \quad \text{m-eh-ta-e}$

$\text{ti-nmuku-je_marë} \quad \text{m-ei-ta-e}$

T-son-Having_Too 2Sa-Cop-Fut.Ipf-Cty

You will have children, too,

092. *énmuku nenuhtan tahken wëri_me tahken kiri_me.*

$\text{ë-nmuku}-\circ \quad \text{n-enuh -ta-n}$

tahken wëri_me tahken kiri_me

$\text{ë-nmuku}-\circ \quad \text{n-enuru-ta-ne}$

tahkene wëri_me tahkene kiri_me

2-child-Pos 3So-be.born-Fut.Ipf-Dbt maybe woman_Attr maybe man_Attr

your son will be born, maybe a woman, maybe a man,$^{13}$

093. *Ma, sehken_pa_mo mëe tirikë, epinëhkë_mo, ma sehken_pa_mo mëe tiri-kë epinëh -kë_mo, ma sehken_pa_mo mëe tiri-kë epinëpë-kë_mo.*

Attn likewise_Rpt_Irr 3AnPx t-do-Imper 3:medicate-Imper_Irr

Well, do likewise with him/her, medicate him/her,

094. *ëpinëhtoponpë wiya apo_ro_pa" kinka pahko.*

$\text{ë-epinëh -topo-npë}$

$\text{wiya apo_ro_pa}$

$\text{kín-ka}$

$\text{pahko}$

$\text{ë-epinëpë-topo-npë}$

$\text{wiya apo_ro̱_pa}$

$\text{kín-ka}$

$\text{pahko}$

2-medicate-Circ.Nzr-Pst 1:Agt like_Exact_Rpt 3Pst.Pṟf-say 1:father

just as I medicated you,' said my father.

095. *Ma, kure.*

ma kure

ma kure

Attn OK

Well, all right.

096. *Irïme menjaarë irë jiwaarë,*

irïme menjaarë irë ji-waarë

irïme menjaarë irë ji-waarë

then now 3InAna 1-Cogn

Now I know this,

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$^{13}$ *Nmuku,* usually ‘male son’, is here employed in the sense of ‘child (of either sex)’. 
097. irë_nai  wapo  jiwehtoponpë.
  irë_n-ai  wapo  ji-w-eh-topo-npë
  irë-n-ai  wapo  ji-w-ei-topo-npë
3InAna_3Sa-Cop before 1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr-Pst
this is my past story (= this is what I was before).

098. Ma  sehken,  akoron,
  ma  sehken  akoron
  ma  sehkene  akoronë
Attn likewise 3:other
Also, there is another (story),

099. irë_nai  wë-të  ji-w-eh-toh_pë,
  irë_n-ai  wë-të  ji-w-eh-toh_pë
  irë_n-ai  wë-të  ji-w-ei-topo_pë
3InAna_3Sa-Cop shoot-A.pot.Azr 1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr_About
this one is (=was) about my being a good shot,

100. jiwëponohto.
  ji-w-ëponoh  -to
  ji-w-ët-ponopi-topo
1-Sa-Detr-tell-Circ.Nzr
what I told about myself.

101. Ma,  sehken  serë,  jinkapihton_pë,
  ma  sehken  serë  ji-n-kapi-h -ton_pë
  ma  sehkene  serë  ji-n-kapi-rï-tomo_pë
Attn likewise 3InPx 1-0.act.Nzr-weave:N-Pos-Col_About
Well, likewise is this (other one) about the things that I make (=weave),\(^{14}\)

102. tükae  noosinpë,  pahko_marë,  manko_marë,
  tiï-ka-e  noosinpë  pahko_marë  manko_marë
  ti-w-ka-se  noosinpë  pahko_marë  manko_marë
Rm.Pst-Sa-say-Rm.Pst 1:grandmother 1:father_Too 1:mother_Too
said my grandmother, and also my father, and also my mother.

103. manko  tiwëreno_ro,  pahko  i-pë.
  manko  tiwëre-no_ro,  pahko  i-pë
  manko  tiwëre-no_rë,  pahko  i-piti
1:mother other-Nzr_Exact 1:father 3-wife
my other mother, my father's wife.

\(^{14}\) Le. about how skilled I am at making (weaving) useful objects.
104. Írēme nērē tīkāe, “ma, muku, muupiro,
irēme nērē tī-ka -e ma muku muupiro
irēme nērē tī-w-ka-se ma muku muupiro
then 3AnAna Rm.Pst-Sa-say-Rm.Pst Attn son:Voc boy:Voc
Then he said, ‘Well, son, my boy,

105. Ėiwaarē eh-kē, kīrī me ēmē.
ēiwaarē eh-kē kīrī me ēmē
ēiwaarē e-i-kē kīrī me ēmē
smart Cop-Imper man_Attr 2
be smart, you are a man.

106. Matapi tīkahkē, kataari tīkahkē,
matapi tī-kah -kē kataari tī-kah -kē
matapi tī-kapī-kē kataari tī-kapī-kē
manioc.press t-weave-Imper carrying.basket t-weave-Imper
Make (i.e. know how to make) a manioc press, make a carrying basket,

107. sipari tīkahkē, manare tīkahkē,
sipari tī-kah -kē manare tī-kah -kē
sipari tī-kapī-kē manare tī-kapī-kē
fan t-weave-Imper sieve t-weave-Imper
make a fan, make a sieve,

108. ankai tīkahkē, wēitapi tīkahkē.
ankai tī-kah -kē wēitapi tī-kah -kē
ankai tī-kapī-kē wēitapi tī-kapī-kē
comb t-weave-Imper hammock t-weave-Imper
make a comb, make a hammock.

109. Tīnūrike ehkē, titupike ehkē,
tī-nī-rī-ke ehkē tī-tupi-ke ehkē
tī-nī-rī-ke ehkē, tī-tupi-ke ehkē
Provide yourself with artifacts (= made things), provide yourself with a field,

110. Ţipakoroke ehkē.
tī-pakoro-ke ehkē
tī-pakoro-ke ehkē
T-house-Having Cop-Imper
provide yourself with a house.
111. Irē apo ēnetuwē, tahken wēri_ja,
    irē apo ē-ene-tuuwē tahken wēri_ja
    irē apo ē-ene-tuuwē tahkene wēri_ja
   3InAna like 2-see-Post maybe woman_Agt
   Like this, after (= if) someone, maybe a woman, sees you,

112. wē-tē ēwehto ene-n,
    wē-tē ē-w-eh-to ene-n
    wē-tē ē-w-ei-topo ene-né
   shoot-A.pot.Azr 2-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr see:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
   she sees that you are a good shot,

113. tinkaheke ēwehto ene-n,
    tī-n-kah -ke ē-w-eh-to ene-n
    tī-n-kapi-ke ē-w-ei-topo ene-né
   T-0.act.Nzr-weave-Having 2-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr see:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
   she sees that you have many woven artifacts,

114. tinkaheke wīkae,
    tī-n-kah -ke wī-ka-e
    tī-n-kapi-ke wī-ka-e
   T-0.act.Nzr-weave-Having 1Sa-say:Prs.Ipf-Cty
   I say tinkaheke (with many woven artifacts),

115. tiniirike kato.
    tī-nī-rī-ke ka-to
    tī-nī-rī-ke ka-to
   T-0.act.Nzr-make-Having say-Circ.Nzr
   which means tiniirike (with many artifacts).

116. Tinkaheke ēmē ahtao, irē enetuuwē wēri_ja,
    tī-n-kah -ke ēmē ahtao, irē enetuuwē wēri_ja,
    tī-n-kapi-kē ēmē ahtao, irē enetuuwē wēri_ja
   T-0.act.Nzr-weave-Having 2 if 3InAna see-Post woman_Agt
   If you have many woven artifacts, after a woman sees this,

117. tiwērēn, wēri i-papa-rī_ja_marē, wēri i-mama-rī_ja_marē.
    tiwērē-n wēri i-papa-rī_ja_marē wēri i-mama-rī_ja_marē
    tiwērē-no wēri i-papa-rī_ja_marē wēri i-mama-rī_ja_marē
   other-Nzr woman 3-father-Pos_Agt_Too woman 3-mother-Pos_Agt_Too
   and others, the woman’s father, too, the woman’s mother, too,
118. irë_mao tēēmirī_ja nkan,
   irë_mao t-ēēmi-ri_ja n-ka-n
   irë_mao t-ēēmi-ri_ja n-ka-nē
   3InAna_Tmp 3R-daughter-Pos_Agt 3Sa-say:Prs.Ipf-Dbt
then they will say to their daughter.

119. ma jeemi, mēe aphaftē ēnjo_me.
   ma j-ēemi-ō mēe apha-hkē ē-njo_me
   ma j-ēemi-rī mēe apha-i-kē ē-njo_me
   Attn 1-daughter-Pos 3InPx take-Imper 2-husband Attn
   'well, daughter, take him as your husband.'

120. Mēe_nai kure, wētē, ēiwaarē, kahtē,
    mēe_n-ai kure wē-tē ēiwaarē kah-tē
    mēe_n-ai kure wē-tē ēiwaarē kah-tē
He is good, he hunts well, he is smart, he weaves well,

121. matapi i-waare, ma, akunuura,
    matapi i-waare ma akunu-ːra
    matapi i-waare ma akunu-ːra
    manioc.press 3-Cogn Attn laziness-Neg
he knows (how to make a) manioc press, he is diligent,

122. ōtupii_se, tēpakoro_se.
    ō-tupiː-ː_se tē-pakoroː-ː_se
    ō-tupi-ːrī_se tē-pakoro-ːrī_se
    3R-field-Pos_Desid 3R-house-Pos_Desid
he wants his field, he wants his house. (= i.e. he wants to have a field and a house.)

123. Irēme mēe apēi_se_wae ēēja ēnjo_me,
    irēme mēe apēi_se_w-a-e ēːja ē-njo_me
    irēme mēe apēi_se_w-a-e ēːja ē-njo_me
    so 3InPx 3:take:N_Desid 1Sa-Cop-Cty 2-Agt 2-husband Attn
So I want you to take him as your husband,'

124. ka-ta-n wēri i-papa ē-pē,
    ka-ta-n wēri i-papa-ːō ē-pē
    ka-ta-ne wēri i-papa-ːrī ē-pēkē
    say-Fut.Ipf-Dbt woman 3-father-Pos 2-about
the woman’s father will say about you,'
125. kĩn-ka manko, pahko, noosinpẽ_marẽ.
kĩn-ka manko pahko noosinpẽ_marẽ
kĩn-ka manko pahko noosinpẽ_marẽ
3Pst.Prf-say 1:mother 1:father 1:grandmother_Too said my mother, my father, and also my grandmother.

126. Ma irẽ_rẽ wimoine,
ma irẽ_rẽ wi-moi-ne
ma irẽ_rẽ wi-moi-ne
Attn 3InAna_Exact 1A-obey-Pst.Prf
Well, this (advice) I obeyed,

127. irẽme tẽenpane_pa tẽin_ken_pa.
irẽme t-ẽenpa -ne_pa tẽin_ken_pa
irẽme t-ẽt-enpa-ne_pa tẽinē_kene_pa
so 1Sa-Detrr-teach-Pst.Prf_Rpt once_Cont_Rpt
Then I taught myself again, once more.

128. Kataari_pẽ, matapi_pẽ, ankai_pẽ, wēitapi_pẽ,
kataari_pẽ, matapi_pẽ, ankai_pẽ, wēitapi_pẽ,
kataari_pẽkẽ, matapi_pẽkẽ, ankai_pẽkẽ, wēitapi_pẽkẽ,
carrying.basket_About manioc.press_About comb_About hammock_About About carrying baskets, about manioc presses, about combs, about hammocks,

129. sipari_pẽ, pararaita_pẽ, tunuku_pẽ, marakaton_pẽ,
sipari_pẽ, pararaita_pẽ, tunuku_pẽ, marakaton_pẽ
sipari_pẽkẽ, pararaita_pẽkẽ, tunuku_pẽkẽ, maraka-tomē_pẽkẽ
fan_About, cassava.holder_About basket_About rattle-Col_About about fans, about cassava holders, about baskets, about rattles,

130. jitupii_pẽ, jipakoro.
ji-tupi-:_pẽ ji-pakoro-Ø
ji-tupi-ri_pẽ ji-pakoro-rĩ
1-field-Pos_About 1-house-Pos about my field, my house.

131. Irẽme menjaarẽ ameraarẽ rīto wĩja, ji-wameh_ta,
irẽme menjaarẽ ameraarẽ rī-to wĩja, ji-wameh_ta
irẽme menjaarẽ ameraarẽ rī-topo wĩja, ji-wameke_taike
so now all make-Circ.Bzr 1:Agt 1-Ignor_Neg
So, now, the making of everything by me, it is not unknown to me,
132. serē maon_pona rèn  menjaarē, tamutupē me sa  jiwei mahtao.
    serē ma-o-n _pona_rēn  menjaarē tamutupē me sa  ji-w-ei mahtao
    serē ma-o-no_pona_ rēnne  menjaarē tamutupē me saa  ji-w-ei mahtao
3InPx Tmp-Nzr_Dir_Trrly now old.man_Attr_a.bit 1-Sa-Cop:N_when
(and it remains so) to this very day, now, that I have become a little old.

133. Irē apo_nai  wankērē  iwehtopo- npē mao-no-npē  irē
    irē apo_n-ai  wankērē  i-w-eh-topo-npē mao-no-npē  irē
    irē apo_n_ai  wankērē  i-w-ei-topo-npē mao-no-npē  irē
3InAna like_3Sa-Cop baby? 3-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr-Pst_Tmp-Nzr-Pst 3InAna
This is what it was like, after having been a baby,

134. tēkēmike weine,
    t-ēkēmi-ke  w-ei-ne,
    t-akēmi-ke  w-ei-ne,
    T-younger.brother-Having 1Sa-Cop-Pst
I (also) had a younger brother,

135. jakēmi weminēēne,
    j-akēmi-Ø  w-emaminēē -ne
    j-akēmi-rē  w-emaminēpē-ne
1-younger.brother-Pos 1A-make.play-Pst.Prf
I made him play.

136. tahken ti-mama-ke kīn-ei_marē j-akēmii-pisi,
    tahken ti-mama-ke kīn-ei_marē  j-akēmi-: -pisi
    tahkene ti-mama-ke kīn-ei_marē  j-akēmi-rē-pisi
maybe T-mother-Having 3Pst.Prf-Cop_Too 1-younger.brother-Pos-Dim
maybe my younger brother had a mother too,16

137. nēērē  ituuka-ne  i-mama
    nēērē  ituuka-ne  i-mama-Ø
    nēērē_rē  ituuka-ne  i-mama-rē
3AnAna_Exact 30:hit-Pst.Prf 3-mother
his mother beat him.

---

15 The speaker had this word translated as ‘baby, small child’. It looks like a combination of the particles
wa(a) ‘Negative’ and nkērē ‘still, yet’ (cf. 9.1.4): it could be a case of lexicalization (‘still-not-existing’ >
‘child’).
16 Akēmi refers not only to the younger son of a male ego’s mother, but to any son of his classificatory
mothers (basically, his mother’s sisters).
138. **Irënpë_pëe**  
  *wapëine*  
  *mono_me_sa*  
  *jiwei_ke,*  
  irë-ñpë_pëe  
  w-apëi-ne  
  mono_me_sa  
  ji-w-ëi_ke  
  irë-ñpë_pëe  
  w-apëi-ne  
  mono_me_saa  
  ji-w-ëi_ke  

3InAna-Pst_Abl 1A-get-Pst.Prf big.one_Atrr.a.bit 1-Sa-Cop:N_Instr
After that I got him, because I was a little bigger,

139. **Irënpë_pëe**  
  *w-arë-ne,*  
  *i-pohkëi*  
  irë-ñpë_pëe  
  w-arë-ne  
  i-pohkëi
irë-ñpë_pëe  
  w-arë-ne,  
  i-pohkëi

3InAna-Pst_Abl 1A-take-Pst.Prf 3-Dir
and after that I took him to the woods, without her knowing.\(^{17}\)

140. **Irënpë_pëe**  
  *wemaminëene,*  
  irë-ñpë_pëe  
  w-emaminëë-ne
irë-ñpë_pëe  
  w-emaminëpë-ne

3InAna-Pst_Abl 1A-make.play-Pst.Prf
Then I made him play,

141. **ii-re**  
  **wonoone**  
  *wekëi,*  
  i-:-re  
  w-onoo -ne  
  wekëi
i-përëu  
  w-onopë-ne  
  wekëi

3-arrow 1A-carve-Pst.Prf small.arrow
I carved/smoothed an arrow for him.

142. **ii-raapaa_marë**  
  *w-ewahtë-ne*  
  *pijanpisi,*  
  i-:-raapa -:_marë  
  w-ewahtë-ne  
  pija-n-pisi
i-wiraapa-rë_marë  
  w-ewahtë-ne  
  pija-n-pisi

3-bow-Pos_Too 1A-rope-Pst.Prf small-Nzr-Dim
I also roped his little bow,

143. **Irë_ke**  
  *w-ewanëkekha-ne*  
  *j-akëmi.*  
  irë_ke  
  w-ewanëkeh -ka-ne  
  j-akëmi-Ø
irë_ke  
  w-ewanëkëpë-ka-ne  
  j-akëmi-rë

3InAna_Init 1A-get.happy-Trvzr-Pst.Prf 1-younger.brother-Pos
with this I made my younger brother happy.

144. **Irë**  
  **apo**  
  **wítoto_se**  
  **jiwehto**  
  **ipitëtoponpë**  
  **wiïja,**  
  irë  
  apo  
  wítoto_se  
  ji-w-eh-to  
  i-pitë-topo-npë  
  wiïja
irë  
  apo  
  wítoto_se  
  ji-w-ëi-topo  
  i-pitë-topo-npë  
  wiïja

3InAna like person_Desid 1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr 3-begin-Circ.Nzr-Pst 1:Agt
Like that was the beginning of my liking people, (= that’s how I started to like people)

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\(^{17}\) *I-pohkëi* means ‘to the middle of it’; ‘woods’ is not expressed, but ‘contextually’ understood. It is not clear that ‘without her knowing’ is expressed or implied by something in the sentence; it may have been a comment-like insertion made by the translator.
145. mure_me_nkërë wī ahtao.
mure_me_nkërë wī ahtao
mure_me_nkërë wī̆ ahtao
child_Attr_Still 1 when
when I was still a child.
A2. Naaki iwehtoponpē Naaki’s story. This story, told by Naaki, is the narrative of his childhood in Surinam and how he came to Missão Tiriós, in Brazil. Naaki was originally a K-Tiriyó speaker, but he has adopted several H-Tiriyó features from Missão Tiriós K-Tiriyó speakers; he often drops /h/’s (e.g. 013, 023, etc.).

001. Serē_pona wēene, serē karaiwa nono_pona.
    serē_pona w-ēe -ne serē karaiwa nono_pona
    serē_pona w-ēepī-ne serē karaiwa nono_pona
3InPx.Dir 1Sa-come-Pst.Prf 3InPx Brazilian land_Dir
I came here, to this Brazilian land.

002. Atī_pē, owa,
    atī_pē owa
    atī_pēkē owa
    wh.In_About nothing
To do what? Nothing;

003. sen_po jaupī teese, Enkiman.
    sen _po j-aohpī t-0-ee-se Enkiman
    senī_po j-aohpī t-w-ei-se Enkiman
3InPx_Loc 1-father.in.law Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst Enkiman
my father-in-law was here, Enkiman.

004. Suurinan_po jiwei_mhahtao,
    Suurinan_po ji-w-ei_mhahtao
    Suurinan_po ji-w-ei_mhahtao
    Suurinam_Loc 1-SA-Cop:N_while
While I was in Surinam,

005. ohkē ohkē ohkē ohkē ohkē
    oh-kē oh-kē oh-kē oh-kē oh-kē
    ēepī-kē ēepī-kē ēepī-kē ēepī-kē ēepī-kē
    come-Imper come-Imper come-Imper come-Imper come-Imper
‘come, come, come, come, come,’

006. nkan, Enkiman wija.
    n-kan Enkiman wija
    n-ka Enkiman wija
3Sa-say:Prs.Prf Enkiman 1:Agt
said Enkiman to me.
007. **Irēme wēe**  
irēme w-ēe  sen _pona  
irēme w-ēepī  senī _pona  
then 1Sa-come:Prs.Prf 3InPx_Dir  
Then I came here

008. **Enkiman ijomī**  
imoitoo_me,  
serē _pona.  
Enkiman i-jomī-∅  i-moi-too _me  serē _pona  
Enkiman i-omi -rī  i-moi-topo_me  serē _pona  
Enkiman 3-words-Pos 30-obey-Circ.Nzr_Attr 3InPx_Dir  
to obey Enkiman’s instructions.

009. **Kēpēewa Enkiman, nitēn_pa**  
tiwērēno_ro  
tuna_hka_pa,  
kēpēewa Enkiman ni-tēn_pa  tiwērē-no_ro  tuna_hka _pa  
kēpēewa Enkiman ni-tēn_pa  tiwērē-no_ro  tuna_hkaka_pa  
but Enkiman 3Sa-go:Prs.Prf_Rpt other-Nzr_Exact river_Ag.II_Rpt  
But Enkiman, he went away to some other river,

010. **taanē Okomoki_tae, irēme sen_po**  
jiwēhtoo_me,  
wii_rēken.  
taanē Okomoki_tae irēme sen_po  ji-w-eh-too _me  wii_rēken  
taanē Okomoki_tae irēme senī_po  ji-w-ei-topo_me  wii_rēkene  
yonder Okomoki_Perl so 3InPx_Loc 1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr_Attr 1_Only  
far away, along the Okomoki (river), then I stayed here, only me, alone.¹

011. **Ma, jipata**  
wiripē_me  
tees,  
meekoro...  
ma ji-pata-∅  wiripē_me  t-ee-se,  meekoro  
ma ji-pata-rī  wiripē_me  t-ee-se,  meekoro  
Attn 1-village-Pos bad.one_Attr Rm.Pst-Cop-Rm.Pst Bushnegro  
Well, my village had become bad (for living), the Bushnegroes...

012. **pata**  
tihkērēnmae  
meekoro_ja.  
pata tī-hkērēnma-e  meekoro_ja  
pata tī-hkērēnma-se  meekoro:_ja  
village Rm.Pst-attack-Rm.Pst Bushnegro_Agt  
the Bushnegroes attacked (= afflicted) the village.

013. **Irēme irēnpē_po_ro**  
jiwētoomē  
sen_po,  
irēme irē-npē_po_ro  ji-w-ee-too _me  sen _po  
irēme irē-npē_po_rē  ji-w-ei-topo_me  senī_po  
then 3InAna-Pst_Loc_Exact 1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr_Attr 3InPx_Loc  
Then for me to stay in that place, here,

¹One would have expected irē_po ‘there’ instead of sen_po ‘here’. The same is true for (012).
014. inë... té-ewa_pa ji-w-eh-too_me Suurinan_pona_pa
   inë té-ewa _pa ji-w-eh-too _me Suurinan_pona_pa
   inë té-sewa_pa ji-w-ei-topo_me Suurinan_pona_pa
false.start go-Neg_Rpt 1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr_Attr Surinam_Dir_Rpt
for me not to go back to Surinam

015. Meekoro... Meekoro tiwëese,
   meekoro meekoro ti-w-ëe -se
   meekoro meekoro ti-w-ëepí_se
Bushnegro Bushnegro A Rm.Pst-Sa-come-Rm.Pst Rm.Pst-arrive-Rm.Pst
the Bushnegroes... the Bushnegroes came,

016. ti-tunta-e meekoro irë_mao,
   ti-tunta-e meekoro irë_mao
   ti-tunta-se meekoro irë_mao
Rm.Pst-arrive-Rm.Pst Bushnegro 3AnAna_Tmp
the Bushnegroes arrived at that time,

017. Suratit on teese irë_po tarëno, jimoiti.
    Surati-ton t-ë-ee-se irë_po tarëno j-moitï-Ø
    Surati-tomo t-w-ei-se irë_po tarëno j-moitï-rí
Surati-Col Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst 3InAna_Loc Tiriyo 1-relative-Pos
Surati’s people were there, Tiriyo, my relatives. ²

018. Irëme nëërë têpëëse Suratitomo_ja,
    irëme nëërë t-ëpëë-se Suratitomo_ja
    irëme nëërë_rë t-apëë-se Suratitomo__:ja
then 3AnAna_Exact Rm.Pst-catch-Rm.Pst Surati-Col_Agt
Then Surati’s people caught them,

019. tipi tipijoose nëërë,
   E.RD-ti-pijoo-se nëërë
   E.RD-ti-pijkî-se nëërë_rë
Iter-Rm.Pst-hit-Rm.Pst 3AnAna_Exact
and hit them several times,

020. në... irëme tiwëësapëkëmae_marë irë_po
    në irëme tî-w-ëësapëkëma -e_marë irë_po
    në irëme tî-w-ët-japëkënma-se_marë irë_po
false.start so Rm.Pst-Sa-Detr-cause.need-Rm.Pst_too 3InAna_Loc
and... so they were also very poor there,

² It is not clear whether Surati is an individual’s name, or an ethnic group.
021. tēewa_pa jiwehtoo_me irē_pona_pa.
tē-ewa_pa ji-w-ehtoo _me irē_pona_pa
tē-sewa_pa ji-w-ei-topo_me irē_pona_pa
go-Neg Rpt 1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr_Attr 3InAna.Dir.Rpt so that I didn’t go back there.  

022. Irē apo wēene sen_pona.
irē apo w-ēe -ne sen _pona
irē apo w-ēepi-ne seni_pona
3InAna like 1Sa-come-Pst.Prf 3InPx.Dir
So I came here.

023. Ma, jenuutoponpē_nai,
ma j-enuu -topo-npē_n-ai
ma j-enuru-topo-npē_n-ai
Attn 1-be.born-Circ.Nzr-Pst_3Sa-Cop
Well, my birth place is, 

024. jenuhtoponpē eeku_rēn_nai, Kakaimē eeku.
j-enuh-topo-npē eeku-∅ _rēn _n-ai Kakaimē eeku
j-enuh-topo-npē eeku-ri_rēnne_n-ai Kakaimē eeku
1-be.born-Circ.Nzr-Pst stream-Pos_Truly_3Sa-Cop Kakaimē stream the river of my real birth place is the Kakaimē river.

kēpēewa tuna_rēken irē_rēken tuna, Paruma_rē
kēpēewa tuna_rēkene irē_rēkene tuna, Paruma_rē
but river_Only 3InAna_Only river Paruma_rē
But it is just a river, just that, it is the Paruma (= Paloemeu, in Surinam).

026. Suurinan_rēken, tuna_rēken.
Suurinan_rēken tuna_rēken
Suurinan_rēkene tuna_rēkene.
Suurinam_Only river_only.
It is just a river (in) Surinam.

027. Irē_po jenuune,
irē_po j-enuu -ne
irē_po j-enuru-ne
3InAna_Loc 1Sa-be.born-Pst.Prf
There I was born,

3 Here, -too_me does not seem to express purpose; cf. also (013-014).
4 The speaker is now starting a new episode; he is going further back in time, to his childhood.
5 The speaker seems to be saying that the Kakaimē either is the same as, or a tributary of, the Paloemeu.
028. **Kakaimë** eeku_nai jenuhtoponpë,
    Kakaimë eeku_n-ai j-enuh -topo-npë
    Kakaimë eeku_n-ai j-enuru-topo-npë
    Kakaimë stream_3Sa-Cop 1-be.born-Circ.Nzr-Pst
    the Kakaimë river is my birth place.

029. **Kakaimë** eeku_nai, jenuutoptonpë_rën.
    Kakaimë eeku_n-ai j-enuu -topo-npë_rën
    Kakaimë eeku_n-ai j-enuru-topo-npë_rënne
    Kakaimë stream_3Sa-Cop 1-be.born-Circ.Nzr-Pst_Truly
    the Kakaimë river is my real birth place.

030. **Mure_me** jiwehtoponpë_rën.
    mure_me ji-w-eh-topo-npë_rën
    mure_me ji-w-ëi-topo-npë_rënne
    child_Attr 1-Sa-Cop-Circ.Nzr-Pst_Truly
    It is the place where I was a child.

031. **Ma, pahko_ja** t-ë-rë-e_wï,
    ma pahko_ja t-ë-rë-e_wï
    ma pahko:_ja t-arë-se_wï
    Attn 1:father_Agt Rm.Pst-take-Rm.Pst_1
    My father took me (somewhere else),

032. **tïwërën_po_pa** pahko teepantanëe, **Kutarentu_po.**
    tïwërë-n_po_pa pahko t-ë:-epantanë -e **Kutarentu_po**
    tïwërë-no-po_pa pahko t-w-ët-patanë-të-se **Kutarentu_po**
    other-Nzr_Loc_Rpt 1:father Rm.Pst-Sa-Detr-place-Ben-Rm.Pst Kutuarentu_Loc
    my father settled down (lit. gave himself a place again) somewhere else, at Kutarentu.

033. **Irë_po** teese_wï **mure_me,**
    irë_po t-Ø-ee-se_wï mure_me
    irë_po t-w-ei-se_wï mure_me
    3InAna_Loc Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst_1 child_Attr
    There I was as (=when I was) a child,

034. **irë_mao** pahko waa_n-eï.
    irë_mao pahko waa_n-ei-Ø
    irë_mao pahko waa_n-ei-Ø
    3InAna_Tmp 1:father Neg_3Sa-Cop-Prs.Prf
    There my father died.
035. **Pahko** eka_nai, **pahko** eka_nai, **Juru.**
   pahko eka-Ø n-ai pahko eka-Ø n-ai **Juru**
   pahko eka-rī n-ai pahko eka-rī n-ai **Juru**
   1:father name-Pos_3Sa-Cop 1:father name-Pos_3sa-Cop **Juru**
   My father's name is, my father's name is, **Yuru.**

036. **Ma, irē_mao** mure_me teese_wi,
   ma irē_mao mure_me t-Ø-ee-se wi
   ma irē_mao mure_me t-w-ee-se wi
   Attn 3InAna_Tmp child_Attr Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst 1
   I was a child then,

037. **irē_mao** tiwērēno_ro ja **tarimikaewi,** **pihko_ja.**
   irē_mao tiwērē-no_ro ja t-arimika-e wi pihko_ja
   irē_mao tiwērē-no_rē:ja t-arimika-se wi pihko:_ja
   3InAna_Tmp other-Nzr_Exact_Agt Rm.Pst-raise-Rm.Pst 1 1:oldr.brthrl_Agt
   someone else raised me, my older brother.

038. **Pihko** eka_nai, **Kawate,** **jarimikanenpē.**
   pihko eka-Ø n-ai Kawate j-arimika-ne-npē
   pihko eka-rī n-ai Kawate j-arimika-ne-npē
   1:oldr.brthrl name-Pos_3Sa-Cop Kawate 1-raise-A.act.Nzr-Pst
   My older brother's name is Kawate, (he was) the one who raised me.

039. **Jarimika** **irē_po, ma naka.**
   j-arimika-Ø irē_po ma naka
   j-arimika-Ø irē_po ma naka
   10-raise-Prs.Prfl 3InPx_Loc Attn over
   He raised me there, (then) it was over.6

040. **Irēnpē_pēe** j-arē, **Paruma aarena.**
   irē-npē_pēe j-arē-Ø Paruma aarena
   irē-npē_pēe j-arē-Ø Paruma aarena
   3InAna-Pst_Abl 10-take-Prs.Prfl Paloemeu downstream
   Then he took me down the Paruma (= Paloemeu) river.

041. **Irē_po** jipatante, **mure_me nkērē wi,**
   irē_po ji-patante -Ø mure_me nkērē wi
   irē_po ji-pata-nêté-Ø mure_me nkērē wi
   3InAna_Loc 1-place-Ben-Prs.Prfl child_Attr_still 1
   There he settled me (= gave me a place, a village), I was still a child,

---

6 I.e. he raised me there for a while, and then it was over.
042. ma irē_po j-arē,
    ma irē_po j-arē-∅
    ma irē_po j-arē-∅
  Attn 3InAna_Loc 10-take-Prs.Prf
  he took me (there),

043. tiwērē-no_ro_pona ti-rē-e ii-ja pata.
    tiwērē-no_ro_pona ti-rē-e ii-ja pata
    tiwērē-no_ro_pona ti-rē-se i:-ja pata
  other-Nzr_Exact_Rpt Rm.Pst-make-Rm.Pst 3-Agt village
  then he made another village (= inhabitable place).

044. Irē_po mure_me_wi,
    irē_po mure_me_wI
    irē_po mure_me_wII
  3InAna_Loc child_Attr_1
  There I was as a child,

045. ma tiwērē-no_ropona j-arē,
    ma tiwērē-no_ropona j-arē-∅
    ma tiwērē-no_rē_pona j-arē-∅
  Attn other-Nzr_Exact_Dir 10-take-Prs.Prf
  then he took me somewhere else,

046. irē_mao kirimuku_me w-ei, mono_me, naka, kirimuku_me.
    irē_mao kirimuku_me w-ei-∅  mono_me naka kirimuku_me
    irē_mao kirimuku_me w-ei-∅  mono_me naka kirimuku_me
  3InAna_Tmp youth_Attr 1Sa-Cop-Prs.Prf big.one_Attr over youth_Attr
  then I was (became) a young man, big, that was it, a young man.

047. Irē_mao jarē tiwērēno_ro_pona_pa.
    irē_mao j-arē-∅ tiwērē-no_ro_pona_pa
    irē_mao j-arē-∅ tiwērē-no_rē_pona_pa
  3InAna_Tmp 10-take-Prs.Prf other-Nzr_Exact_Dir_Rpt
  Then he took me somewhere else again.

048. Iijeeta pata akētē piiko,
    iijeeta pata akētē-∅ piiko
    iijeeta pata akētē-∅ piiko
  many village clear-Prs.Prf 1:oldr.brthr
  My older brother cleared (virgin area for) many villages,
049. nakētē, nakētē, nakētē, nakētē,
n-akētē-∅  n-akētē-∅  n-akētē-∅  n-akētē-∅
n-akētē-∅  n-akētē-∅  n-akētē-∅  n-akētē-∅

3AO-clear-Prs.Prf 3AO-clear-Prs.Prf 3AO-clear-Prs.Prf 3AO-clear-Prs.Prf
he cleared and cleared and cleared and cleared.

050. iijeeta, pata.
iijeeta pata
many village
‘many (areas for) villages.’

051. Irē_po kirīmuku_me w-ei,
irē_po kirīmuku_me w-ei-∅
irē_po kirīmuku_me w-ei-∅
3InAna_Loc youth_Attr 1Sa-Cop-Prs.Prf
There I became a young man,

052. irē_po ji-pīhta-ne.
irē_po ji-pīhta -ne
irē_po ji-pītī-ta-ne
3InAna_Loc 1So-wife-Inch-Pst.Prf
there I got a wife.

053. Karaiwa noonoo_pon_ke ji-pīhta-ne.
karaivwa ₀-nono-- _po-n _ke ji-pīhta-ne
karaivwa i-nono-rí_po-no_ke ji-pītī-ta-ne
Brazilian 3-land-Pos_Loc-Nzr_Inst 1-wife-Inch-Pst.Prf
I got a wife from (=who lives in) the land of the Brazilians.

054. Karaiwa nono_pēe tītēe wēri,
karaivwa nono-₀ _pēe tī-ː-tē-e wēri
karaivwa nono-rí_pēe tī-w-ː-tē-se wēri
Brazilian land-Pos_Abl Rm.Pst-Sa-go-Rm.Pst woman
A woman went from the land of the Brazilians,

055 wēri, wērimuku_me tī-tē-e.
wēri wērimuku_me tī-ː-tē-e
wēri wērimuku_me tī-w-ː-tē-se
woman young.woman_Attr Rm.Pst-Sa-go-Rm.Pst
a woman went, as (= when she was) a young woman.
056 Ma sehken_marē_wī kirīmuku_me.
    ma sehken_marē_wī kirīmuku_me
    ma sehken_marē_wī kirīmuku_me
  Attn likewise too_1 young.man_Attr
    I was also a young man.

057 Irē_po, tēewaamanė,
    irē_po t-ēewama -ne
    irē_po t-ēt-ēewama-ne
  3InAna_Loc 1Sa-Detr-make.desire-Pst.Prf
    There I felt attracted (to her),

058 irē_mao wepekaane eetiJa, Enkiman_ja
    irē_mao w-epekaa -ne 0-eeti-0:ja Enkiman_ja
    irē_mao w-epekati-ne 0-eeti-0:ja Enkiamn_:ja
  3InAna_Tmp 1A-ask-Prs.Prf 3-uncle-Pos_Dat Enkiman_Dat
  Then I asked (= proposed trade to) her maternal uncle, Enkiman.

059 “Mēe_se_wae ji-pī_me,” wīkane.
    mēe_se_w-a-e ji-pī me wī-ka-ne
    mēe_se_w-a-e ji-pīti_me wī-ka-ne
  3AnPx_Desid_1Sa-Cop-Cty 1-wife_Attr 1Sa-say-Pst.Prf
    ‘I want this one as my wife,’ I said.

060. Irē_mao n-ekarama wīja.
    irē_mao n-ekarama-0 wīja
    irē_mao n-ekarama-0 wīja
  3InPx_Tmp 3AO-give-Prs.Prf 1:Dat
    Then he gave her to me.

061. Ma irēnpē_pēe-no-npē, irē_po w-ei akēre_sa
    ma irē-npē_pēe-no-npē irē_po w-ei-0 akēre_sa
    ma irē-npē_pēe-no-npē irē_po w-ei-0 akēre_saa
  Attn 3InAna-Pst_Abl-Nzr-Pst 3InAna_Loc 1Sa-Cop-Prs.Prf a.while_Dim
    Well, after all that, I stayed there for some time,

062. ma naka, turu, waa_n-ei pihko,
    ma naka turu waa_n-ei-0 pihko
    ma naka turu waa_n-ei-0 pihko
  Attn over death. Ideo Neg_3Sa-Cop-Prs.Prf 1:oldr.br thr
    then, that was it, turu, my older brother died,
063. jarimikanenpē, 
  turu, naka.
  j-arimika-ne-ŋpē
  turu naka
  j-arimika-ne-ŋpē
  turu naka
  1-raise-A.act.Nzr-Pst Death.Ideo over
the one who had raised me, turu, he was gone.

064. Ma irēŋpē_pēe, wēe, irēnehka, karaiwa noonoo_pona.
  ma irēŋpē_pēe
  wēe -0
  irēnehka karaiwa
  ø-nono:- _pona
  ma irēŋpē_pēe
  w-ēepĩ-0
  irēnehka karaiwa
  i-nono-rI_pona
  Attn 3InAna-Pst_Abl 1Sa-come-Prs.Prf finally Brazilian 3-land-Pos.Dir
  After that, I came, finally, to the land of the Brazilians.

065. Pihko waa_teese,
  pihko waa_t-0-ee-se
  pihko waa_t-w-ee-se
  1:oldr.brthr Neg_Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst
  My older brother had died.

066. ameraarē wa_ken teese.
  ameraarē wa_kene t-0-ee-se
  ameraarē wa_kene t-w-ee-se
  everybody Neg_Cont Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop_
  everybody (= all my folks) were gone.

067. Pahko waa_teese,
  pahko waa_t-0-ee-se
  pahko waa_t-w-ee-se
  1:father Neg_Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst 1:mother Neg_Rm.Pst-Sa-Cop-Rm.Pst
  My father had died, my mother had died.

068. ameraarē tĩ-w-ētihka-e.
  ameraarē tĩ-w-ētihka-e
  ameraarē tĩ-w-ētihka-se
  everybody Rm.Pst-Sa-be.over-Rm.Pst
  they were all gone, there was nobody left.

069. Irēme wē-e-ne karaiwa noonoo_pona.
  irēme wē-e-ne
  karaiwa ø-nono:- _pona
  irēme w-ēepĩ-ne
  karaiwa i-nono-rI_pona
  So 1Sa-come-Pst.Prf Brazilian 3-land-Pos.Dir
  So I came to the land of the Brazilians.
070. **Irē_po** **wei** **karaiwa** **noonoo_po.**
    irē_po  w-ei-∅  karaiwa  ∅-nono-:_po
    irē_po  w-ei-∅  karaiwa  i-nonon-ri̲̊̂_po
3InAna_Loc 1Sa-Cop-Prs.Príl Brazilian 3-land-Pos_Loc
I was there, in the land of the Brazilians.

071. **Tiwērēno_ro_tae** **Okomokí_tae.**
    tiwērē-no_ro_tae  Okomokí_tae
    tiwērē-no_rē_tae  Okomokí_tae
    other-Nzh_Exact_Perl  Okomokí_Perl
Along another (river), along the Okomokí.

072. **Irē_po** **wei,** **naka,** **ma** **wi-tēn_pa** **Suurinanan_pona_pa.**
    irē_po  w-ei-∅  naka  ma  wi-tēn-∅_pa  Suurinanan_pona_pa
    irē_po  w-ei-∅  naka  ma  wi-tēmī-∅_pa  Suurinanan_pona_pa
There I was; then that was it; then I went back to Surinam.

073 **Irē_po** **wei,** **irē_mao** **manko** **waa_nei,**
    irē_po  w-ei-∅  irē_mao  manko  waa_n-ei-∅
    irē_po  w-ei-∅  irē_mao  manko  waa_n-ei-∅
3InAna_Loc 1Sa-Cop-Prs.Príl 3InAna_Tmp 1:mother Neg_3Sa-Cop-Prs.Príl
I was there, then my mother died,

074 **i-wei-hpē,** **waa_n-ei_nkērē_pa.**
    i-wei-hpē  waa_n-ei-∅_nkērē_pa
    i-wei-hpē  waa_n-ei-∅_nkērē_pa
3-oldr.sist Neg_3Sa-Cop-Prs.Príl_Still_rpt
her older sister, she died, too.

075 **Naka,** **ma** **naka,**
    naka  ma  naka
    naka  ma  naka
over  Attn over
It’s over, now it’s over.

076 **wiī_rēken** **w-ei** **mure-npē_me** **w-ei**
    wiī_rēken  w-ei-∅  mure-npē_me  w-ei-∅
    wiī_rēkene  w-ei-∅  mure-npē_me  w-ei-∅
1 Only 1Sa-Cop-Prs.Príl child-Pst_Attr 1Sa-Cop-Prs.Príl
I was only a child, I was a child. (= That was the story of my childhood).
A3. Katamiimë siminatë the Katamiimë liana. The original version of this text was written by Kamanja Panasheking (a native speaker of both Tiriyó and Waiwai), in order to document traditional medicinal knowledge (in this case, concerning the uses of the katamiimë liana [Groton pullei, Euphorbiaceae]). The author was asked to explain the text (after having reread it); his explanations were recorded on Nov. 20, 1998, at Kwamarasamutu, and later transcribed with his own help.

001. Serë_nai putupë epi.
   serë_n-ai putupë epi -∅
   serë_n-ai putupë epiti-∅
   3InPx_3Sa-Cop head medicine-Pos
   This is head(ache) medicine

002. Ėputupëri_ja aakuikarõ_htao, katamiimë ahkëhēkë,
   Ė-putupë-rì_ja a-aikuakahē_htao katamiimë ahkëhē -kē
   Ė-putupë-rì:_ja Ė-aikuakahē_htao katamiimë ahkëhē-kē
   2-head-Pos_Agt 2-hurt-Pos_Loc katamiimë cut-Imper
   If your head hurts you, cut the katamiimë,

003. irënpë_pée_mo eeku_ke epi,
   irë-elpë_pée_mo eeku-∅_ke epi -∅
   irë-elpë_pée_mo eeku-rì_ke e-pì-kē
   3InAna-Pst_Abl_Irr sap-Pos_Inst Detr-bathe-Imper
   then bathe with its sap, (= i.e. prepare a bath with its sap and bathe in it)

004. sokii_me_marë_mo tiri Ė-w-epi-too_me.
   sokii_me_marë_mo tì-rì-∅ Ė-w-epi -too _me
   sokii_me_marë_mo tì-rì-kē Ė-w-e-pì-topo_me
   hot.water_Attr_too_Irr t-make-Imper 2-Sa-Detr-bathe-Circ.Nzr_Attr
   make (the sap) into a hot mixture (i.e. mix it with hot water) for you to bathe.

005. Sehken_nai, mure këi_ke ahtao,
   sehken_n-ai mure këi_ke ahtao
   sehkenene_n-ai mure këi_ke ahtao
   likewise 3Sa-Cop child fever_Inst when
   Likewise, when a child has fever,

006. katamiimë eeku_ke_mo tì-pì, këi_ke Ė-nmuku ahtao.
   katamiimë eeku-∅_ke_mo tì-pì-∅ këi_ke Ė-nmuku-∅ ahtao
   katamiimë eeku-rì_ke_mo tì-pì-kē këi_ke Ė-nmuku-rì ahtao
   katamiimë sap-Pos_Inst_Irr t-bathe-Imper fever_Inst 2-son-Pos if
   if your son has fever, bathe him in katamiimë sap.
007. **Sehken_nai**  
ěikěęḳ epí me,
sehken_n-ai ěikěęḳ epí -Ø me
sehkene_n-ai ěikěęḳ epiti-Ø me
likewise_3Sa-Cop wound medicine_ATTR
Likewise, it is medicine for wounds,

008. ěikěęḳ_tao ĕmē ahtao, ire_mao_mo katamüme ahkēh-kē,
ěikěęḳ_tao ĕmē ahtao ire_mao_mo katamüme ahkēh-kē
ěikěęḳ_tao ĕmē ahtao ire_mao_mo katamüme ahkēh-kē
wound_In 2 if 3InAna_Tmp_Irr katamüme cut-Imper
if you are wounded (= in wounds), then cut the katamüme,

009. **irenp̣e_mo** sokī_me tīrī,
ire-np̣e_mo sokī_me tī-rī-Ø
ire-np̣e_mo sokī_me tī-rī-kē
3InAna-Pst_Irr hot.water_ATTR t-make-Imper
and make it (the sap) into a hot mixture (i.e. mix it with hot water),

010. Ėjëikëęḳ ıjahkatoo_me.
ē-jëikëęḳ-Ø i-jahka -too_me
ē-ëikëęḳ -Ø i-jatu-ka-topo_me
2-wound-Pos 3-burn-Caus-Circ.Nzr_ATTR
in order to burn your wounds.

011. **Sehken_nai** pënjeke wëtuuwë ẽ-ja,
sehken_ n-ai ponjeke wë-tuuwë ẽ-ja
sehkene_n-ai ponjeke wë-tuuwë ẽ-ja
likewise_3Sa-Cop peccary kill-Post 2-Agt
Likewise it is, after you kill a white-lipped peccary,

012. **tahken** ēnmuku ẽseñë neejan,
tahken ē-nmuku-Ø ẽseñë n-eja-n
tahkene ē-nmuku-ri ẽseñë n-ei-ja-nē
maybe 2-son-Pos ill 3Sa-Cop-Prs.Prf-Dbt
maybe your son becomes ill (= from eating peccary meat),

013. **ire_mao_mo** katamüme isowakata
ire_mao_mo katamüme i-sowaka-ta
ire_mao_mo katamüme i-sowaka-ta
3InAna_Tmp_Irr katamüme 30-cut.piece-Go.Imper
then go cut a piece of katamüme,
014. **eekuhpē_marē_mo**  ėnmuksi  tīpī.
     eeku-hpē_marē_mo  ė-nmuksi-∅  tī-pī-∅
     eeku-hpē_marē_mo  ė-nmuksi-ᵩ  tī-pī-kē
     3:sap-Pst:Pos_also_Irr  2:son-Pos  t-bathe-Imper
     and also with (what was) its sap, bathe your son.¹

015. **Ijoika_marē_mo,**
     i- joika-∅_marē_mo
     i- joika-kē_marē_mo
     30-scratch-Imper_also_Irr
     Scrape it, too,

016. **irēnpē_mo**  ipuru  mahto_htao,
     irē-npē_mo  i-puru-∅  mahto_htao
     irē-npē_mo  i-puru-kē  mahto_htao
     3InAna-Pst_Irr  30-roast-Imper fire_Loc
     and roast the scrapings in the fire,

017. **irē_ke_mo**  ējēikēekē  epinēhkē.
     irē_ke_mo  ē-jēikēekē-∅  epinēh -kē
     irē_ke_mo  ē-ēikēekē -∅  epinēpī-kē
     3InAna_Init_Irr  2:wound-Pos  30:medicate-Imper
     then medicate your wound with it (=i.e. apply it to your wound).

¹ I.e. use both a piece of the *katamūmē* liana and its sap to prepare your son’s bath.
APENDIX B. Preliminary Tiriyo-English Dictionary.

"Dictionaries are like watches: the worst is better than none, and the best cannot be expected to go quite true."

SAMUEL JOHNSON

This preliminary dictionary contains all stems attested in the available corpus, except for the doubtful cases (e.g. apparent mistranscriptions, unanalyzed words, etc.). Every entry contains the stem, in boldface (reducing syllables are in parentheses; irregularity markers, like $[t] = t$-adding (5.1.3), (j) = j-adding (4.3.1.4.2), and $[mĩ] =$ irregular mĩ stems (5.1.4), are not considered in the alphabetic ordering: (j)akẽreu is under A, etc.), followed by grammatical information (word class, class-changing possibilities, irregularities) in parentheses, using the same abbreviations as the grammar sections. The main body of the entry explains the meaning(s) of the stem, with examples. If the stem is discussed in the grammar, the section number is given in parentheses. If the various meanings are related but clearly distinguishable, each is preceded by a number in boldface (1, 2, etc) in the body of the entry. Additional comments, possible etymologies and relations to other stems are given at the end, in square brackets.

Animal species (mammals and birds) were identified in the field with the help of field guides (Emmons & Feer 1990, Eisenberg 1989) by Clinton Epps, and also by Spike Gildea; the identifications given in this dictionary come from their field notes. At Kwamalasamutu, Kamanja Panashekung, who worked with Dr. Mark Plotkin on the identification of medicinal plants, provided a list of scientific names (from Dr. Plotkin's
results) which was also incorporated into this dictionary. All these identifications are thus preliminary. Additional notes were added when deemed necessary (e.g. `possibly` or `perhaps` to identifications that seemed less plausible).
a (pfx). ⇒ ë-, second-person marker.
aají (N). Kind of necklace, made with seeds. Ji-nmuku w-aarama-e aají_ke, I am adorning my son with a/this necklace.
aajo (Vt). Clear (an area, prior to making a house or a village); cut (the trees, e.g. when preparing one’s field). T-aajo-e iì-ja tìpata, he cleared his village (= the area where we were going to build a house).
aaka (Vt). Pour O. Tuna w-aaka-e kariwa_ta, I am pouring water into the gourd.
aakēu (N). A species of capuchin monkey (Cebus olivaceus, also nigritittatus).
aame(ke) (Pp; nrz. aameka-to). Angry at, hating (odieative; 7.3.3). È-pun aameka-to-wí, I am angry at, I hate your flesh. Back grade form aame(ke), wild, angry: aame_mí, I am wild, angry. [Reciprocal form probably exists, but is unattested]
aamirë (Vt). Make O red, paint O red. Waamirëe, I am making, painting it red. [⇒ taamire, red; 12.2]
aanai (N). Corn. Êrē_mao aanai-ton tì-rë-e ii-ja, then he put (somewhere) all the corn stalks.
aanao (A). During the day. Kokó_rëken n-etapan-ja-n mëe, aanao enee-ra, it (= a kind of grasshopper) only chirps during the night; during the day it is invisible. [The final -o may be an old locative element (12.2)]
aanor(fl) (N). Shade.
aarama (Vt). Adorn, embellish (with jewels, ornaments, paint, etc.). Ji-nmuku m-aarama, m-ewe_marë, you have embellished (adorned) and fed my son. [⇒ Detr. ëtaarama, embellish adorn oneself]
aarena (A?, P?). Downstream. Irënpë_pëe jarë, Paruma aarena, after that he took me down the Paruma river.
aarrenna (A). Weak, without strength to continue. Apëren kureken_pa tìt-të-e, aarrenna i-w-ël_ke, his owner (a dog’s) went slowly, because he was very weak.
aaro (N). Foam; froth.
aawarika (N). Valley.
aawirë (Vt; -se form aawirë-e; takes -ja). Kill. Ji-n-aawirë-hpë, that which I killed. [A variant of the idiom ‘to make nothing’, wa(a) [t]rë (⇒ wa(a); 5.1.6), used for ‘to kill’; the 1st-person form waa_wirë ‘I killed O’ is analyzable as waa_wírë or w-aawirë (cf. the second-person forms waa_mírë and m-aawirë, you killed O)]
ae (Pp). Along, by (perative; 7.3.1.1.3). Tuna ae wët-të-e, I am going along the river (and inside of it) [syn. _æe, by N, _etae, by the bank of N; the final -e may be an old perative element (12.2)]
aeke(fí) (Vo). Become dull, blunt. Maja aeketi-npë t-ækee-se, the sharp knife became dull. [An element ae; ⇒ aesa(ka), sharp, and the cessative -ke(fí)]
aeke(fí) (N). Irregular nominalized form; ⇒ aesa(ka), sharp.
aenema (A). Alive. Sen_nai ikuruma aenema éwehtopo-ja, this is dangerous to your life (=to your being alive). [Possibly a _me phrase; a nominal source aene, though unattested, is plausible]
aenepa (Ptc). Show me, let me see. Aenepa, ënnapi ìtìkato ene-se_wae, show me, I want to see how you finish up your food.
aerë (A; nzr. -no). True; indeed. Aerë, serë apo wika-wika_re ëëja, indeed, I told you that many times, but in vain. Aerë is often used by itself to express surprise, like Eng. ‘really’?; the nominalization aerë_më is more frequent in the sense of ‘truly’, ‘without any doubt’. [Probably related to the perative postposition ae. Aë_rë ‘exactly along O’ > ‘true, genuine’]
aeru (N). Noise. Aeru_hpije_n-ai, it is noisy
Pêmêi aima, the pepper is hot. Aineti-ŋpê, that (pepper) which was hot. [An abstract noun ain, 'hotness', probably exists but is unattested; cf. a(ka) adverbs in 6.1.1.1]
ainka (A; nzr. ainmi[i]). Not hot; mild. Sautu ainna, salt is not hot. [⇒ aima(ka), hot]
aimara (N). Kind of fish, Port. trairão, trairaçu. (apparently, Hoplias malabaricus, Characidae).
aika (Vt). Run off with O; steal O and run. Kutei w-ainka-e, I am running off with the bottle. [⇒ Detr. eaiŋka, run]
jaipî (N). Speed. Ė-jajîpî your speed, your rapidity. Mëe_n-ai t-jaipî-ke, that one is fast, has speed. Usually occurs as aipî_me ‘fast’; idiomatically, aipî_me also means ‘loud’, ‘impolite’. Aipî_me ja ek-kê! Don’t be impolite! Don’t speak aggressively!
aîte (Vt). Push O. Pahko_rê j-aitê, it was my father who pushed me (down).
aja (Intrg). Whether (8.2.2). Aja mi-ṯê-n? where are you going? Also a ‘less definite’ where: aja ji-ɪnymu? where could my son be? (Sometimes used as a discourse marker: aja, kure_mana? So, are you OK?).
aka(Vt). Disentangle, unravel, unbraid, ‘unweave’ O. W-aka-e, I am unraveling, disentangling it.
aka (Pp). Into a closed space (illative; 7.3.1.1.2). J-aka ni-tën ępi, the medicine went into me. [Equivalent to awëna(ka/ki); apparently, aka is dropping out of usage.]
akaama (Vt). Scold, warn, advise O. Ati tôome k-akaama-ńê? why are you scolding me?
akarama(no) (N). King vulture (sp.) (Sarcoramphus papa, Cathartidae).
akarima (N; var. akariman). Squirrel monkey (Saimiri sciureus).
akêrê (Pp). With N (‘comittive’; 7.3.2). Wi-h-tae aakêrê, I will go with you. [⇒ Recp. etakêrê, together, with each other.]
akêmi (N; Voc. kæmi). Younger sibling of the same sex as ego (12.3.1). J-eire_nai j-akêmi, my younger brother is angry at me (said by a man).
akëre (A?). For a while. *Irë_po w-ei akëre_sa*, I was (= stayed) there for a while.

(j)akëreu (N). Disease. illness. *Irë_ki-j-akëreu- kon AIDS ka-to*, this, our disease, called AIDS.

akë(të) (Vt). Clear O (field) by cutting the bigger trees (= apo(ki), cut the smaller trees and bushes); clear an area (e.g. for a house). *Agosto_po típiřë akëë-ja-n tarëño*, in August the Tiriyo cut their fields. [Probably related to akhë(të)].

akima (Vt). Make O feel bored or tired; cause O problems (cf. Dutch vervelen). *Émë rê_pa erenma-ta mëesan, a-akima-n_to*, you go drive them away, they are causing you trouble. [Probably derived with -ma; nominal source unattested. ⇒ akinta]


akì (N). Small thing(s); little insects. *Inunu_ke ti-parahtë-e ii-ja, akì_ke_ta*, he made a shelter with large (=solid), not small, wood.

akì(kì) (Vø). Harden. *N-akìi-jə-n*, it is getting hard.

akìpëe (A; N. akìpìri). Hard. Akìpëe ji-putëpë, I don’t learn things easily (=my head is hard).

akìpìri (N; A akìpìë). Hard thing. Akìpìri_me _n-ai apëi, this seat is hard. [The regular nominalized form akìpëe(no) also exists.]

aköhë (N). Friend, mate. *Aiïtoome piø mì-papooti, j-aköhë-tomo? why are you throwing away my arrows, friends? [It is not clear how different aköhë is from pawana.]

akonma (Vt). Repeat; say, do again. Akonma-kë! repeat it! *Serë apo_n-ai, akonma-too_mao*, it’s like this, when you repeat it.

akoroka (Vt). Sweep (with a broom). *É-pakoro i-nkae m-akoroka-e*, you sweep (the area) behind your house.

akoro(mì) (N). Other; companion; partner. *Irë- npë_pëe j-akorona kin-anota*, then my friend (who was playing with me) fell down. [Probably related historically to ⇒ akëërë.]

akoronna (Vt). Help O (from an equal position). *K-okoronna-kë! help me! Irë ke w-akoronna-e, Kan epona kì-w-eh-toh-kon_ke*, with this I help, with our belief in God. [From akoro(mì), partner, with -ma]

aku (Vt). Eat (grains, nuts; 12.3.5). W-aa-ja-e, I am eating nuts.

akuika (Vt). Hurt; ail; pain. *Ji-je j-akuika-n*, my teeth hurt (lit. hurt me).

akunpa(mì) (Vø). Be, feel lazy. *J-akunpan-ja-e*, I am getting, feeling lazy. [⇒ akunu, laziness, with -pa(mì)].

akunu (N). Laziness, lazy one. Akunu_sa_w-a-e, I feel lazy.

akunuura (A; nmr. akunuupi(mì)). Not lazy, dilligent. Akunuura ëmë ahtao, if you are dilligent. [⇒ akunu, laziness, with -ra]


akurijo (N). Akuriyo, member of a related Cariban group. *Antônao_n-ai akurijo i-jomi*, the Akuriyo language is difficult [The word is probably derived from akuri, agouti].

akurikuri (N). A species of snake (Port. papa-o (pretu)).


akuuta (Vø). Become soft (in water); dissolve. *N-akuuta-n*, it is dissolving, becoming soft. [⇒ akìpëe, hard]

amana (N). Species of palm tree (Port. tucumã).

amatakanu (N). Species of toucan (*Selenidera* spp, also *Pteroglossus aracari*; Ramphastidae).

amatawana (N). Deer sp.

ame(mì) (Vt). Wind (up), roll up, wrap (around). *Ewa amemì _se_w-aë*, I want to roll up the rope. [⇒ Detr. ètame(mì), roll itself up, wrap itself around something; get closer.]

amerarë (A). All, whole, everything, everyone.

*iifeeta tarëño oto-ton wë-n, kurimau, wikapau,*
akuri, ameraarē, the Tiriyō shoot many kinds of game: paca, deer, agouti, all of them. Ti-wihaκe-w nib ameraarē pahko_ja, maja-pisih_ka, my father scratched my whole body with a small knife.

amerikan (N). America; American. Amerikan _po_n-ai ji-pawana, my friend is in America. Amerikan me_n-ai, s/he is American. [A borrowing; cf. Port. americano, Dutch amerikaan, American]

amēnē(pī) (Vt). Miss O (a target; the opposite of ⇒ wē ‘shoot, hit O’). Iwae t-ēmēnē-see ii-jai, he missed by far.

amērēnka (Vt). Finish O fast, ahead of time, before one is supposed to. W-amērēnka-e, I do it fast, I finish it sooner that I should. [Maybe a -ka verb?]

amērēnpo (Vt). Deceive O [syn. entahka, winihē]. Mēe j-amērēnpo-see, s/he wants to trick me. [⇒ Detr. ētamērēnpo, be fooled. The final syllable may be the causative -po; source stem unattested]

amika (Vt). Dig O. W-amika-e, I am digging (a hole) in it. Arive_imē i-potē-pisi t-amika-e ii-jai, tī-patan_me, he dug a hole on Cayman’s little beak, to make a place for himself. [⇒ ētamiika, dig itself; open up (hole)]

ami(kī) (Vt). Take, pick O up (from the ground, especially fruit). Kī-japarru epi-ki, ameraarē _mo amih-kē, our banana stocks, pick them up.

aminē(pī) (Vt). Steal O, kidnap O. Rupeimē tī-wē-se i-nmuku aminēhtoo_me, the rupeimē lizard came to kidnap his son. [⇒ Detr. ētiminē(off), escape, disappear, sneak out]

amīima (Vt). Make O (feel) heavy. W-amīima-e, I make it heavy, I add weight. [⇒ amīima(ka), heavy]

amīima(ka) (A; nzr. amīine(ni)). Heavy, difficult (to do). Amīima serē? This is heavy! (6.1.1.1)

amīinna (A; nzr.amīinnī(ni)). Weightless, light. [Some speakers rejected this form.]

ami(nī) (N). Weight. Ahtaarē a-amīin? How much do you weigh? [⇒ amīima(ka), heavy]

amīnpa (Vt). Use O (bait) to attract fish.

Muunu w-amūnpa-e, I am going to attract fish with muunu (⇒ muunu, fish bait). Irē-pēe_to tī-tē-e, muunu amīnpa-e, after that they went there to get fish with muunu baits. [Maybe derived from amūma(ka), heavy, with the beneficative verbalizer -pa]

amīma(ka) (A; nzr. amīne(ni)). Stingy, selfish. Amīima_man-a-e! you are stingy, selfish. (6.1.1.1)

amīnna (A; nzr. amīnnī(ni)). Not stingy, selfless.

amī(ni) (N). Stinginess, selfishness. [⇒ amīima(ka), stingy, selfish]

amo (Vt). Lament, beweep O. Ma, pihko, ait m-amo-n? hey, older brother, what are you crying about?

amohka (Vt). Escape from O. T-omohka-e ii-ja, s/he escaped from it. Kaikui w-amohka, I have escaped from the jaguar.

amohkī (Pp). Upstream (directional). Amohkī wī-tē-e, I am going upriver. [⇒ locative amohiē, upstream]

amohē (Pp). Upstream (locative). Amohēe_n-ai, it is upstream. Ma, ēmēnjamo, tīrījo_me ooni-po, amohē i-w-ei_ke, you all, you are the Tiriyō over there, because you live upstream. [⇒ amot, headwaters; ⇒ amohkī, its directional counterpart; amohēna(ka/kī), though unattested, probably also exists]

amohē (Vt). Call O. Ameraarē ē-munkē amohē-kē, ē-wē-eweh-toh-kon_me, call all your children/descendants, for you all to eat. Irē_mao_rēken, meri_pa tī-tē-e,amohē-e_pa, then Squirrel went away, to call him again.

amoi (N). (Finger) nail; claws. T-omoi-ke_n-ai kito, kaikui amoi ahken avē_n-ai, the kito toad has claws, inside it is like a jaguar’s claws.

amohtē (Vt). Hang O. W-amohtē, I hung it (on a nail) [⇒ Detr. ēamohtē, hang from/on each other. Amohtē may be historically derived from amoi, nail, with -htē]

amore (N). Spirit, soul; shadow; picture. Ma, Tara, Moomoori amore, avē tī-tē-e ii-jai, Tara put Moomoori’s soul inside it. Irēme menjaarē
_rēken w-ene sen, amore, so only now do I see this, his picture (referring to an old man’s picture on a book).

amorehítē (Vt). Dream of O. J-eemi w-amorehítē, I have dreamed of my daughter. [From amore, spirit, shadow, with -htē; ⇒ Detr. étamorehítē, dream]

amoti (N). Headwaters, source of a river. Ipēri amoti, the headwaters of an ipēri, a narrow waterway.

amuru (N). Useless straw; scraps of wood, wood trash. T-ēkarama-e_pa ii-ja i-taika-hpē, amuru-npē, it (=the tree) kept producing (‘giving’) trimmings, useless little pieces of wood.

anīhta (V0). Grow (up) [syn. arina] T-anīhta-e_wi sen_po, I grew up here. [Probably derived with -ta; nominal source unattested.]

anja (Pro). First person dual exclusive (‘1+3’, ‘exclusive we’; 4.1.1). Anja_po nī-tē-ē, we (1-3) are going (leave-taking expression).

anje (Intgr). Whence? From what side? Pēē, anje-po nī-tē-ē mērē we, oh, from what area is that thing, the sun, coming (lit. going)?

(j)ankai (N). Comb. I-putupē w-ekurima-ne ankai_ke, I combed his hair (=head) with a comb. Ji-j-ankai, my comb.

ankana (N). Cliff; abyss. T-antē-e_pa ii-ja tiwērē-n_po, ankana epoe, ipēri amoti epoe, he made a temporary shelter over a cliff, over the source of a narrow river.

annē (Vt). Plant O. T-annē-e_ii-ja, paaru, pireimē, koimē, napi, he planted them, banana, sugar cane, yam, sweet potato.

anna (N). Square; open space in the center of the village, usually with a large house, where meetings take place. Anna-po too-n-ai, they are all in the village square.

annē(pī) (V0). Fill (up). T-annē-ē-se_n-ai, it is full.

anoka (Vt). Get O (from a higher position, e.g. from a tree, from a hanging rope). T-onoka-e_pa ii-ja, ti-ri, ti-w-īhtē-ē_pa, he got his arrow back (which was stuck on top of a tree) and went back down.

anota (V0). 1 Fall. Tēpu n-anota tuna_hka, the stone has fallen into the water/river. J-anota_re, I (slipped and) almost fell. 2 Land (airplanes). N-anota? Has it landed? (asked about an airplane). Kanawaimē anota-to, airstrip (i.e. place where airplanes land).

anpē (Intgr). Where from? Anpē-e-n ēmē, kīrē? you, man, where are you from? (said by a woman) ⇒ pēē, from; cf. 8.2.2.

anpo (Intgr). Where? Anpo ē-pata? Where is your village? ⇒ po, locative; cf. 8.2.2

antae (Intgr). Where by? (‘perlicative’). An-tae ki-tē-n? By which way are we going? ⇒ tae, perlicative; cf. 8.2.2

antē (Vt). Make O, a temporary hiding shelter made of straw (⇒ minnē). T-antē-e_pa ii-ja tiwērēn_po, he made (a shelter) elsewhere. [Apparently derived with -ntē; maybe from arī, leaf, since a minnē is usually made of straw. ⇒ Detr. ētantē, make a shelter for oneself]

antūnaka (PP). Towards ‘deep inside N’. Tuna antūnaka n-enota, it fell deep into the water. ⇒ antūnāo]

antūnāo (PP). 1 Deep inside N (e.g. a liquid). Tuna antūnāo-n-ai tēpu, the stone is deep in the water/river. 2 Difficult (to understand; syn. enkume). Antūnāo wija, this is hard for me to understand. [This postposition is frequently used without an object, coming close to an adverb. The final -o may be an old locative element (12.2)]

anu(ku) (V). Climb, go up. A-anu-ka-pa! Go climb (the tree)! [Syn. ēnau(ku); these two verbs are obviously related, but the nature of their relationship remains unclear (5.3.1.3)]

aokhaoa (Intj). Noise of dogs barking. Kaukau i-j-omē tītē-ē ii-ja, aokhao ka-to, he heard the voices of dogs, going [aokhaoa].

aophi (N). Father-in-law or mother-in-law. Mēe_hkaanara j-aophi oti_me, this is the one (game) that my mother-in-law eats. Sen_po j-aophi t-ee-se, Enkiman, my father-in-law, Enkiman, was here. [aophi, which should only mean ‘mother-in-law’, unexpectedly means
also 'father-in-law'; [2.3.1]

aaja (A). Twisted; crooked. Aaja_n-ai, this is crooked; this is wrong (e.g. not correct language). [Nominalized form unattested].

aokî(mî) (Vt). Hug O. Aokîn-to i-no_ta eh-tê, do not be afraid of hugging.
aotî (N). Rib, ribs. J-aotî, my rib(s).
apa (V0). Drop, lower (the water level of a river). Ipêri apa-hpê-ton, the creeks that had dropped their water level. Ipêri t-apa-e ameraarê, all creeks dropped their water level. (The water level can vary quite impressively between the rainy and the dry season in Amazonia.)
aparai (N). Apalâf (Indian; land), a related Cariban group. Ma waijana, akurijo, tarêno aparai, ire apo_n-ai, Têpu_po-n-ton, Wayana, Akuriyô, Tiriyô, Apalâf, these (=like this) are the inhabitants of Tepoe. Sen_n-ai serê_po aparai_po, ji-pata-nkêre serê, this (place) is here, in the Apralâf village, it is still our place.
aperisina (N; var. perisina). Orange fruit. Aperisina_se-man-a-n? do you want oranges? [A borrowing from Dutch appelsien, a local (Southern) variant of sinaappel, orange; cf. Sranan pesina]
apê (N). Arm. A-apê imenuhtê_se êmê ahtao, kainan akusa_ke e-menuhtê, if you want to tattoo your arm, do it with a new needle.
apê(pê) (V0). Get tired (from working, etc.). J-apê-ja-e, I am getting tired.
apêêna (V0). Finish, end (work). Ma, ji-pêtohto
tomo, k-êpêêna-ti ki-tupiit-kan akêh-toh_pê, well, my helpers, we have finished cutting our fields.
apê(i) (Vt). 1 Take, get, catch, seize, grab O (with one's hands). Ji-karaku apêê-se_pîte wî-tê-e, I will go get my money (and come back). Aki_pêe m-apêê-ne sen? Who did you get this from? Tapîîme kana apêê-ja-n, they catch a lot of fish. J-apêê-se_n-ai ëkêi, the snake wants to get me. Pirêu apêê-kê! Grab, catch the arrow! Kit-apêê-ne! Let's grab it! Matawâre ii-karau w-apêê, I have caught Matawâre's anger (i.e. Matawâre is angry at me). [⇒ anoka, tomeka for other kinds of 'seizing'; ⇒ Detr. étapê(i), hold on to] 2 Have sex with O (usually female). Irê_mao tî-pî t-êpêê-se ii-ja, then he had sex with his wife. 3 Buy O. Sen w-apêê-ja-e, I am taking (buying) this. 4 Marry O. Mêe apêê-kê ê-njô_me, take him as your husband. Wêri w-apêê-ne, I took a woman, I got married. 5 Adopt, accept O. Jesu w-apêê-ne, I accepted Jesus (i.e. I became a Christian). 6 Learn O. Akurijo i-jomi w-apêê, I have learned (caught) the Akuriyô language.
apêi (N). Seat, stool, chair; table. Maja épêi_juwwê wiê-rî, I put the knife on the seat. Apêi wîi-mo-e, I am going to break his/her/the chair. T-êpêi tî-rê-e ii-ja kawê, he made himself a seat high (on top of a tree). [The form apêi, morphologically a third-person, is used in a non-possessed sense just as often as épêi]
apêjano (N). Left; left arm. Apêjano wenjê_n-ai apê, to his left, on his left-hand side is the seat. J-apêjano-npê, what was my left arm. [Certainly related to apê, arm (⇒ apêtu(nu), right); the final no may be the adverbial nominalizer [4.2.2.2]; the ja, however, remains unexplained]
apêre(mî) (N). Owner (of a pet; ⇒ entu). Ma, serî apo tî-ka-e kaikui t-êpêremê já, then the dog spoke like this to his owner. Ma, irê_mao kutuma emuu_me t-e-e-se apêren, at that moment his owner became very sad.
apêremîka (Vt). Slow O down, stop O; decrease O's intensity, noise. Ji-kanawa w-apêremîka-e, I am slowing down, stopping my canoe. Mêkîjan_pitê apêremîka-ta, soo n-kâ-n_to, go tell them to be quiet, they are making noise. [Probably a transitivized stem (with -ka); S0 source unattested]
apêri (N). Wing, fin. Tonoro apêri, bird wings. Kana apêri, fish fins. T-êpêri-ke-n, a winged animal. [Probably related to apê 'arm']
apêritîki (N). Elbow. J-apêritîki, my elbow. [Related to apê, arm]
apêsohka (Vt). Shake O's hands. W-apêsohka-e,
I am shaking his/her hands. [Probably a case of noun incorporation (apē, arm), though the transitive source (presumably sohka) is not attested]

apētu(nu) (N). Right; right arm. Apētun wenje-n-ai apēi, to his right, on his right-hand side is the seat. J-apētunu-ŋpē, what was my right arm. [Certainly derived from apē, arm (⇒ apējano, left); tu(nu) is elsewhere unattested]

api(mi) (vt). Knit, sew O. W-apin-ja-e, I am knitting, sewing it. [⇒ Detr. ėtapi(mi), sew oneself]
apūje (N). Bird species, ‘pileated finch’ (Coryphospinus filateus, Fringillidae).
jap (Pp). 1 Like, similar to (comparative; 7.3.2). Irē apo_n-ai, it is like that. Serē apo papa ti-wē-e, your father used to shoot (game) like this. Irē_mao, pīrēu apo-n, t-ēkkē-seau iij-a, then he cut something (= some tree) like an arrow. Wapo w-ēt-ne pēera, pōnjeke apo, at first I was stupid, like a peccary. Ėj-apo_ro_w-a-e, I am just like you. 2 Nuancing particle: ji-je_ta apo ēmē, you seem not to like me (9.1.5).
apo (vt). 1 Dig O (syn. amika). Ji-tupi w-apo-e, I am digging my field. 2 Grind O (in a mortar). J-erepa w-apo-e, I am grinding our food. [⇒ Detr. ėtapo, dig, grind for oneself]
apoki (Vt). Clear O (a field) by cutting the smaller trees and bushes (= akē(tē), cut down the large trees). Ma, irē-ŋpē_pēe-no-ŋpē, ni-pitē-n_pa apohoto, after all this begins the cutting of the smaller trees.
apoto (N). Helper; servant (e.g. the inhabitants of a village, with respect to the karaman or pata entu, the chief or ‘owner of the place’). Ooni_po i-pata, irē_po-no_ro wi, apoto wi, his village is over there, I also live there, I am one of his helpers.
apotoma (vt). Help O; work for O. Karaman w-apotoma-e, I am helping the chief. [From apoto, helper, with ma. ⇒ Detr. ėtapotoma, help oneself, work for oneself]
apuru (Vt; -se form apurē-e [5.1.6]; takes -ja [5.4.1.3.1]). Close O; cover O (with a lid). Pakoro oota w-apuru-ja-e, I close the door (lit. the house hole). [⇒ Detr. ėtapuru, close oneself]
arahka (N). A species of bird (Ortalis rugicauda, Cracidae).
arahkasana (N). A species of woodpecker (Celeus flavus, Picidae; Port. pica-pau amarelo ⇒ parirí).
arahpa (N). Species of small parrots, parrotlets (Forpus spp., Psittacidae)
arakapijojo (N; var. akarapijojo). Species of birds (Campylorhamphus trochilirostris, Dendrocolaptes spp., Xiphorhynchus spp.; Dendrocolaptidae; Port. arapaçus).
arakoere (N). Plant species from which a kind of body paint is made; also, the body paint made from this tree. M-ētaarama-ke arakoere_ke, you adorned (=painted) yourself with arakoere.
arama (N). A species of bee.
arami (N). A species of dove (Leptotila verreauxi, Claravis pretiosa; Columbidae).
aramiimē (N). A species of dove (Columbina passerina, Columbidae; Port. rolinha-taruei)[Related to arami, with the augmentative -imē]
Araraparu (N). An old village on a tributary of the Sipaliwini river, in Surinam, abandoned several decades ago but still remembered.
ararapuku (N). A species of bird (Rallus wetmorei, Rallidae), ‘plain-flanked rail’ [⇒ sanrawa]
ararawa (N). Blue-and-yellow macaw (Ara ararauna, Psittacidae)
arasamare (N). Crimson-crested woodpecker (Campophilus melanoleucus, Campophilus pollens; Picidae); Port. pica-pau real.
arawata (N). Red howler monkey (Alouatta seniculus, Port. guariba). [This word is used at Tepoe (K-Tiriyo); at Missão Tiriós (H-
Tiriyo'), *jahki* is preferred, and *arawata* is considered a borrowing from Wayana
*arekhi* (Pp). A variant of *reki*.
*arehtë* (Pp). A variant of *rehtë*. *Mêrême serê_po_nkêrê_n-ai i-mun, arehtë*, but the root is here, on top (i.e. not in the bottom). [The initial *a* may be related to *arî*, leaf]
*arê* (Vi). Take O (somewhere; away). *Manko_j-ârê-ne Suurinana_pona*, my mother took me to Surinam. *Ma, nana t-êrê-e ëi-ja*, he took the pineapple(s) away.
*arêtë* (N). Bangs, fringe of hair. *Ma, irê_mao wanê i-j-oronî-hpê ekî-ekî-ne arêtë_pë*, then he applied beeswax to (his son’s) bangs.
*ariki* (N). A species of parrot (Port. *paraunaçu*).
*arimika* (N). Raise O (a child). *Noosinpê_rêken j-arimika-ne*, my grandmother raised me by herself.
*arimi* (N). A species of spider monkey (*Ateles paniscus*, Port. *coatá*, *maccaco-arana*). [This word is used at Tépoe (K-Tiriyo); at Missão Tiriós (H-Tiriyo), *tamokonpê* is preferred, and *arimi* is considered a borrowing from Wayana]
*arimina* (N). 1 Electric eel. 2 Cramps. *Serê_n-ai arimina epi_me ëi-rê-en*, this is to make cramp medicine.
*arina* (Vo). Grow up [syn. *anihta*]. *J-arina sen_po, ë-nonoo-kon_po*, I have grown up here, in your land. [Possibly related to *arimika*, raise O]
*ariwe* (N). Cayman (*Caiman* spp.). *Ariwe_ja t-êrê-e, tuna_po, tuna_juwe*, the cayman brought (him) on the water.
*arî* (N). Leaf. *Waruma arî_rêken erepa_me t-ee-se*, all the food he had were waruma tree leaves. [Possibly related to *arî*, content]
*arî* (N). Content; what is inside. *Arakapusa arî*, shotgun cartridges (lit. shotgun contents).
*arîhtë* (Vi). Fill O. [From *arî*, content, with -htë]. *Kariwa w-arîhtë-e tuna_ke*, I am filling the gourd with water.
*arîra* (A; nzr. *arîpi(nî)*). Empty, without its contents. *Kariwa_n-ai arîra*, the gourd is empty. [⇒ arî, contents, with -ra; the vowel î is probably î, but there is no way of knowing.]
*arîsi* (Ni). Rice. [Borrowing; cf. Port., *Sp. arroz*]
*arokî* (N). 1 Tail. *Kaiku arokî*, the tail of the dog. 2 Penis. *K-arokî_kon i-reti tikapiire_sa ahtao*, when our (=generic) penis is a little wounded.
*aru(ku)* (Vo). Get stuck. *Wi pîre n-aruku*, my arrow got stuck. *Irê_mao n-etinka-n epo_ro, n-aruu-ja-n*, then he runs right into it and gets stuck.
*aruma* (N; var. *waruma*). A species of savannah deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*).
*arumapîpû* (N). Bird species (*Emberizoides herbicola*, Fringillidae), often found with the *aruma* deer.
*atarakare* (N). A species of snake (Port. *papovo* (parda)).
*atîna* (Ptc). Hesitation term used when the speaker does not remember a certain word; what-do-you-call-it. *Anpo_mëe? Atîna... Ooni_po... Mataware_po*. Where is he? He is in, what-do-you-call-it, in Matavaré. (8.1).
*atuma(ka)* (A; nzr. *atune(ti)*). Hot, warm. *I-pihpê_mo i-sowaka, irê-npê_mo tiri mahto_tao, atuma_sa irê_ke_mô i-jahka*, cut a piece of its bark, put it in the fire, a little hot, and burn it. (6.1.1.1) [Probably related to the verb *ja(tu), burn.]*
*atunna* (A; nzr. *atunni(ni)*). Not hot, not warm.
*atu(nu)* (N). Heat, warmth; something for keeping warm. *J-atan*, my warming-thing (e.g. shirt, blanket, etc.).
*atura* (N; var. *aturai*). A species of kingfisher
Meri t-awůkka-e ariw-e-imė_ja, the cayman unsuccessfully tried to catch the squirrel.

dēē (Intj). Noise of hitting. Irē_mao epi ti-tēēka-e ii-ja. Dēē, dēē, kuh... tum, t-onot-a-e i-ponoo-ne-ndēē, then he started hitting the tree. Dēē, dēē, kuh... tum, the one who had turned him in fell down.

E-

-e (sfx). Certainty marker on verbs (5.4.1.3.4).  
ee (Intj; var. ei). Hey! (attention-calling noise).  
ee (Va). Form of the copula (⇒ e(i)) or of the verb ‘come’ (⇒ e(e(i))).

eejaka (Va). Break, crumble (bread, cassava).  
Wūi n-eejaka-n, the cassava bread is breaking (up), crumbling. [⇒ Tr. :jaka, break O (bread, cassava)]

eeka (Vt). Bite, sting O. Ékēi-ton j-eeka-ewa t-ee-se, the snakes did not bite me. Serē_n-ai epi, moi_ja e-eka-tnuwe, this is the medicine, after you are bitten (stung) by a spider. Kaikui j-eeka, a dog/jaguar has bitten me.

eekaapon (Intrg). What like? Eekaapon apn-ai meri? What is the squirrel like? (8.2.1) [From eeka apn, ‘like what?’; usually followed by apo again, i.e. like that which is like what?]

eekanmao (Intrg). When? At what time? (8.2.1). Eekanmao p-n-eja-n ē-pawana? When is your friend coming back? [From eeke, probably nominalized as eekano, and the temporal postposition mao]

eekte (Intrg). How? In what way? Eekte t-t-ee-se pena? How was that long ago? What did it use to be like? Eekte m-epanii-n? How are you going to avenge him/her? [Sometimes, eekte comes close in meaning to ‘what?’; cf. 8.2.1]
Eeku (N) 1 Thin, water-line sap (usually from lianas), juice; excretion, secretion. Katamimē eeku_ke_mo tü-pi, kēi_ke ē-nnnu kuru ahtao, if your son has fever, bathe him with (immerse him in a bath of) the sap of the katamimē liana. Kunawaru eeku-hpē, the juice of the kunawaru toad 2 River, stream. Kakaimē eeku_n-ai, ji-wēh-topo-npē_rēn, the Kakaimē river/stream is my real birth place.

Eemi (N). Daughter. Ma, j-eemi, mēe apēh-kē ē-njo_me, well, my daughter, take him as your husband.

Eemita (Vo). Have a daughter. N-eemita-n, s/he is having a daughter. [This verb can be used in talking about a woman who is pregnant, or a man whose wife is pregnant]

Eemi(mī) (Vt). A variant of enmi(mī).

Eena (N). Throat. Irēmao rokeroke tū-ka-e eena, then his throat started to swell.

Eenakē (N, Pp). Lie; lying. Ė-enakē_me_man-a-e, you are lying, telling lies. Owa, j-eenakē_taike, no, I am not lying. [Speakers vary as to whether eenakē is a noun or a postposition: cf. the collective forms ē-enakē-kon, ē-enakē-ne, you are all lying]

Eenē(pī) (Vt). Laugh at O, mock O. N-eenē-ja-n, s/he laughs at it. Irē in-eenē-sewa kē-ta-ti, we do not despise (laugh at) this. Irē_mao t-ēenēnēe-se wēri_ja, then the woman kept mocking him (internal reduplication). [Possibly derived with -nē(pī); ⇒ eerana, eeranu(mu)]

Eepa(mī) (Vo). Get used (to something), become accustomed; become tame. J-eepamī_se_wa-a-e, I want to get used (to it); I want to become tame. Ti-wē-to eepan-nēpī_se_wa-a-e, I want to get used to shooting. Kaikui eepan-nēpī_se_wa-a-e, I want to tame the dog. [The -nē(pī)-causativized forms should literally mean 'tame O' or 'make O a normal, usual, well-known action'.]

Eerana (Vo). Laugh [syn. eeranu(mu)]. Ėērana-to_n-ai antiinao_ta, laughing is not difficult.

Eeranpa (Vt). Make O laugh. W-eeranpa-e, I am making him/her laugh.

Eeranu(mu) (Vo). Laugh [syn. eerana]. N-eeranun-ja-n, s/he is laughing.

Eerewei(t) (N). Foam, foamy liquid (e.g. on top of fish scales). Kunawaru eereweti-npē, the foamy, frothy liquid of the kunawaru toad. [Apparently ere, liver, plus weiti, excrement (possessed form; ⇒ waitē)]

Eere(lē)(Va; var. eere(ti)). Cross, go across (an obstacle). Iktupē_tae s-eeerēe-ja-e, I am crossing (along) the lake. Tuna_hkao s-eeerēe-ja-e, I am crossing (in) the river. [⇒ Tr. :rē(lē), cross O]

Eesika (Va). Come out, take oneself out. Irē_mao Taru t-onota-e, t-eesika_e, wapa_tae, then Taru fell, he came out (= took himself out) of the bag. [⇒ Tr. :sika, remove O, take O out]

Ee(tī) (N). Maternal uncle. Irē_mao w-epeka-ne eeti_ja, Enkiman_ka, then I asked her maternal uncle (whether I could marry her).

Eh- (Va). Form of the copula (⇒ e(i)).


Ehekerēma (Va). Be aggressive, attack (often); sin. S-ehekerēnma-e, I sin, I cause trouble (to others), I am violent.

Ehku (N). Thick sap (usually from trees). Paraha apo ahtao, ehku, if it looks like latex, it is (called) ehku. [⇒ eeku]

Ehpa(mī) (Vo). Be pricked (by thorns, etc.). J-ehpamī ji-kairi waa_pē, I got thorns in my foot while I was looking for my food (broth). W-ehpan-nēe-ja-e, I am pricking him. J-ehpan-nē ēmēinē, thorns pricked me.

Ehpe(tī) (Vt). Look at O, direct one's look at O. W-ehpehpē-e, I am looking and looking around (internal reduplication). [⇒ Detr. ḍehpē(tī), be looking (around). Most of the occurrences of this verb were detransitivized; the meaning of the transitive form is not clear.]

Ehpi (N). Lip(s) (especially the upper lip). J-
ehpi, my lips. 2 Shore; area surrounding a river, a lake. Irēme tuna ehpi_po kин-nanta, so he left it on the river bank. [Syn. eta]

ehtarēnna (Vā). 1 Get ready. S-ehhtarēnna-e, I am going to get ready. 2 Become jealous, worried. N-ehhtarēnna-n, s/he is becoming jealous. Wēri n-ehtarēnna-n ti-njo_pē, the woman is becoming jealous, worried about her husband. [⇒ (pī)tarēnna, warn O, worry O]
ehtē (Vt). Plan O; ponder O; think about O. Jiitē-to w-ehtē-e, I am planning, thinking about my trip. Mērē_pohpa ji-n-ehtē- hpē_tae_rē, it went according to plan. [Syn. puunē(pī)]
ei(i) (Vā). Be, become; stay Irē_po w-ei-ne, I was there. Taane_rēn w-eel-jā-e sen-po, I will stay here forever. Ėnuu_me t-eel-se Moomoori, Moomoori became sad. [Irregular present (gnomic) forms wae, manaе, nai, kītae (cf. 5.4.4)]
ei (Vt). Scold O. Manko_paj-ei-nen, eta-tuwē_pa ki-pē, my mother may scold me again, if she hears about us. Irē_mao t-ei-pēren t-ēi-je ii-ja, then he (=dog) scolded his owner. [Syn. aakaama].
ei (Intj). ⇒ ee.

ein (N). One. Ein nunnē, one month. Irē_mao, ein_me i-ranta-tuwē, then; after one year had passed... [Borrowing from Dutch een; ⇒ tēl(nē)].
eiraanopī (Vt). Be angry at O. Wē-ewa ji-wehtoh_pē k-eiraanoo-ja-ti, you all became angry at me, because I cannot shoot. J-eiraanoo-ja-n_marē namo_ro, they are also angry at me. [⇒ eire, irascitive]
eire (Pp; nzer. eira-to). Angry at (irascitive; 7.3.3). J-eire_n-ai j-akēmi, my little brother is angry at me. Recp. form ētēire, angry at each other. Ētēire too_n-ai, they are angry at each other. Back grade ēire, wild, unfriendly (people) non-domesticated (animals): pena anja ēire t-ee-se, long ago (before the first contacts), we were wild, unfriendly.
ejatē (Vt). Read O. Panpira in-jeatē-ewa_w-a-e, I am not reading the paper, book, letter.
ejuuka (Vā). 1 Bend. Wewe t-ejuuka-e, the tree, wood bent. 2 Hang one’s head (in shame). Irē_mao t-ejuuka-e, pī_ke t-ee-se, then he hung his head, he was ashamed. [⇒ Tr. juuka, bend O]
eka (N). Name. Aki ẽ-eka? What is your name? J-eka Naaki, my name is Naaki.
ekahē (Vt). Name O, give a name to O. Wekahtē-e, I am giving him/her a name. [⇒ eka, name, with -hē]
ekanī(pī) (Vt). Suppose, believe, think O; be of the opinion that O. W-ekanīt-jāja, I think so (about O). Tarēnō me k-ekanīt-ja-ti? Do you all believe me to be a Tiriyō? Kana me t-ekanīt-se i-pamī-ri_ja, his son-in-law thought that it was fish. T-ēpēi t-ekanīt-se ii-ja, he thought he was going to get caught. [Maybe related to eka, name]
ekantē (Vt). Indicate O, show O (direction, path). Liijeta ēema t-ekantē-e masiwe_ja, the ant eater indicated, showed many paths (to them). [⇒ eka, name, with -nē; notice that, unexpectedly, the more direct meaning ‘give a name’ obtains with -hnē (⇒ ekahtē), not -nē].
ekapokhēka (Vt). Cricitize O. Ėikarē m-epakokhēka-po-ta-e, pipi-tomo_ja, you are going to get yourself criticized by your older brothers, you will make them criticize you. [This stem is certainly polymorphic: cf. -ka (transitive), -keh < (ke(pī)) ‘cessative’]. However, the source stem ekapo is unattested.]
ekarama (Vt). Give O. Ė-emi m-ekarama-ne wija, you gave your daughter to me. Aha, ē-n-ekarama-hpē_n-ai miē, yes, this is the one you gave (= this is your gift). [⇒ Detr. ēkarana, give oneself]
ekata(ka) (Pp). Close to (directional). Tēpu nanota kariwa ekata, the stone fell close to the
gourd. Ekatkaak-ne, (falling) close to them.
[Syn. ekataona(ka/kii), close to (directional);
⇒ ekatao, close to (locative)]

ekataka (Va). Shake one’s body, flap one’s ears (referring to a dog). Irē_mao i-aun-je kaikui, i-ekataka-e, then the dog stood up and flapped his ears. [⇒ Tr. kataka, beat dust off O]

ekatao (Pp). Beside, close, next to N. Wapo serē_po w-ei ē-ekatao, before I was here, at your side. Ji-w-ēiumu_se_w-a-e ē-ekatao, I want to warm up close to you. Manko ekatao_w-a-e, I am close to my mother. (7.3.1.2.2) [The final tao looks like a locative postposition; eka, however, is probably only homophonous with the word for ‘name’]

ekataona(ka/kii) (Pp). Close to N (directional). Mēe n-ee-ja-n j-ekatana, that one is coming near, close to me. [Syn. ekata(ka), close to (directional); ⇒ ekatao, close to, next to, near (locative)]

ekehka (Vt). Make O work hard. W-ekehka-e, I am making him/her work. [⇒ ēkehka, work hard, make an effort. Ekehka may be a derived (-ka) stem; source stem unattested].

ekei (Vt). Bake O (manioc). W-keei-ja-e jii-wi, I am baking my cassava bread.

ekeima (Vt). Curse, cast a spell on O; do evil to O. Waa_tīri_se_w-a-e, ekeima_se_w-a-e, I want to kill (them), I want to curse (them). [Maybe derived with -ma] [⇒ Detr. ēkeima, curse oneself]

ekēpi (N?). Late, deceased. Sen_po Sokone i-mama ekēpi, here (in this photo) is Sokoene’s late mother. [It is not clear whether this word is a noun (‘corpse’) or a particle (‘late’)]

ekī (N). Pet; domestic animal. J-ekī kaikui, my pet dog, j-ekī kurairu, my domestic chicken. Ėiwa-e tītē-e, t-ēkī-ke t-ee-se_marē, he went hunting, and he had his pet (dog) with him. Eki_pisi akrarima apo t-ee-se, her little pet was like a squirrel monkey. [Syn. ēēnē]

ekīka (Va). Rub itself; be rubbed. Ė-munu i-w-ekīka-hpē, tiwērēn_mao ē-po_pē,..., irē-rē _pitē_pa ii-suka-kē, if your blood gets rubbed, spread, maybe on your clothes, etc., then wash it off. [⇒ kīka, rub, wipe O]

ekī(kī) (Vt). Spread, apply O (liquid, cream) to a surface. Oronit-w-ekī-ja-e apē่น_pē, I am coating his seat with beeswax (lit. I am applying beeswax to, on his seat). Irē_mao wanē i-joronit-hpē ekī_kī-nee arētē_pē, then he applied bee wax to (his son’s) bangs.

ekirika (Vt). Cut (a piece of) O, slice O [syn. jamu(ku), cut a piece of O]. W-ekirika-e, I am cutting a piece of it. [⇒ Detr. ēekirika, cut a piece of oneself]

ekīta (Vo). Get a pet. J-ekīta-e kaikui_ke, I am getting a pet, a dog; I am getting a dog for a pet. [⇒ ēki, pet, with -ta]

ekonka (Va). Pierce oneself, vaccinate oneself. Irē_rē_ke ē-w-ekonka-n_mahato, while you pierce yourself with it (= a needle). S-ekonka-e, I pierce myself; I give myself a shot, I get a shot. M-ekonka-n? Are you going to pierce yourself? (in this case: are you going to commit suicide?) [⇒ Tr. konka, pierce, vaccinate O]

eku (Vt; -se form eko-e [5.1.6]; takes -ja [5.4.1.3.1]) Have sex, copulate, mate with O. Penā ahtao, pēra wēri eku-to kīn-ei, before (=long ago), having sex with a woman was no problem. Nēērē tahken ti-pē eku-ja-n, maybe he is having sex with his wife. [⇒ Detr. ēku, have sex (with each other)]


ekuure(pī) (Vo). Be left out; not get (what one is entitled to). Ė-ekuree-ja-e, you were left out (of the deal), you did not get your part.

ekurima (Vt). Comb O. W-ekurima-e, I am combing, going to comb O. I-nmukake i-putupē ekurima-ne ankai_ke, s/he combed (someone else’s) son’s hair with a comb.

ekutunma (Va). Become angry, nervous. Sekutunma-e, I am getting angry, nervous. Aïtōome kee-kei-eeekutunma-n, why should we be getting angry? [⇒ Tr. kutunma, make O angry]
ema (Vt; optionally loses e- [5.1.6]). I throw O. Akusa ema mahto_tta, throw the needle into the fire. I-munu-hpē t-ėma-e it-ja wiirikiti_ja, moikē_ja, arama_ja, his/her (someone else’s) blood threw to the wasps, ants, and bees. Bora ema-n_to, they are playing soccer (lit. throwing ball). 2 Catch O (fish). ljeeta tarēno kana ema_n, the Tiriyō fish a lot, catch a lot of fish. Kana ma-e tī-tē-e, s/he went fishing.

emamin (N). Toy. J-emamin, my toy. [The final n is probably a reducing syllable; full grade unattested] (⇒ emamina, play)

emamina (Vo). Play. Ma, irē_ke t-emamina-e wī, pahko i-nū-rī-hpē_ke, well, I played with it, with the thing made by my father. (⇒ emamin, toy; emaminė(pū), make O play)

emaminė(pū) (Vt). Make O play; play with O. T-ėkēmi-ke w-ei-ne, j-akēmi w-emaminė-né-e, I had a younger brother, I made him play, I played with him. (⇒ emamin, toy; emamina, play)

emeirē (Vt). Mock O [syn. eenē(pū)]. N-enee_ja-n_pa, i-papa i-nene-n_me, emeirē-to apo, emeirē-too_me, he brings it (=the dead snake) back, for his father to see, as mockery, for him to mock it.


emeta (Vo). Transform itself, change (into something else). J-emeta-ta-e, I will transform myself. Emeta-ke mēe, he transforms itself (i.e. he is powerful, he has magic powers). Kaikui_me t-ėmeta-e, he transformed itself into a jaguar. [May be derived with -ta; nominal source unattested]

emēnparēma (Va; var. emēnparēnma). Have an accident. Takhen akē_hpē n-emēnparēma-n, ēkēi_ke, maybe someone has an accident, involving a snake. [Probably detransitivized; So source unattested. The form suggests a relation with mēnparē, belongings, luggage [with -ma], but the semantic connection seems dubious]

emo(kī) (Va). Move away. S-emoo-ja-e, I move away. (⇒ Tr. mo(kī), move O away)


emuhka (Va). Paint oneself [syn. ētaarama]. Wiise_ke_marē m-emuhka-ne, you also paint yourself with anatto. [Probably detransitivized; transitive source (muhka?) unattested.]

emuropa(mū) (Vo). Become sad. J-emuropan-ja-e, I am getting sad, depressed. (⇒ emu(ku), sadness)

emu(ku) (N). Sadness. Ėmuu_me_w-a-e, I am sad. J-emuku-ru_htaka nkērē_pa mēn-epē, you came into my sadness (i.e. while I was sad).

emuuma (Vt). Sadden O. Mēērē w-emuuma-e, I am going to make that guy sad. (⇒ emu(ku), sadness, with -ma. ⇒ Detr. Ėmuuma, become sad)

enao (Pp). Lying with N (e.g. in a hammock); hugging, holding N; close (to chest), in N’s arms. J-enao, in my arms, together with me (in my hammock). Irēme Taru i-nmuku t-ee-se rupeimē emēi_rēn enao, so Taru’s son was together with the rupeimē lizard’s daughter (in her hammock). Tamo, ji-nmuku_se_w-a-e j-enao, grandfather, I want my son on my lap (close to me). [Maybe related to eena, throat; the initial e (not ee) is surprising. A directional counterpart (enonaka(kii)) must exist, but is unattested. The final o may be an old locative element (12.2)]

enapū (Vt; optionally loses e- [5.1.6]). Eat O (fruit; sweets; eggs [also ⇒ ēnē]; cf. 12.3.5). Paaruru enaa-jā-n, s/he is eating bananas. Arūomo_n-ai eperu in-enaa-sewa? Why doesn’t s/he eat the fruit? Serē ameraarē in-naa-sewa t-ee-se, he did not eat any of these things. K-eeenaa-ne, let us eat. [Related to napū, fruit food]

enarin (N). Scary thing. J-enarin_me mēe, I am afraid of this one (i.e. it is my scary thing). (⇒ nari_ke, afraid of. It may be that enari(n) and nari are the same word)

ene (Vt). See O, look at O. Ėne-kē! Look at it! Serē pona w-ē-ne ė-ene-toh-kon_me, I came
here to see you all. K-ënë-se_n-ai, s/he wants to see us. ⇒ Detr. ëene, see (each other); become visible. Ëene looks related to enu, eye

enepiita (Vo). Be displeased; feel bored. J-enepiita-e, I feel displeased/bored (said e.g. when one has stayed too long in a house and wants to go out for a walk). ⇒ erepake(pit), stifle

ene(pī) (Vt). Bring O. Irē-npē_pēe akuri eneh_pa paho, after that my father brought agouti (meat) back. T-ënëe-se_wi manko ja sen_pona, my mother brought me here. J-oti_rēken m-enëe-ja-e, you bring only my (meat) food. [Maybe related to ē(πi) ‘come’, with an old causative en-, in- (5.3.1.3)]

eni (N). 1 Container (of something). Erepa eni, food container (e.g. a bowl). Tonoro eni, a bird cage. 2 Hiding place. Kaikui eni-npē tūmopo-e ii-ja, he destroyed the jaguar’s hiding-place (a hole in a tree).

eni(ri) (Vt). Drink O. Ti-mama i-susu eniir-hpē_ke ii-ja, because s/he drank his/her mother’s milk. Kokoro anja nē-iē-e t-iēnēi-sen eniir-se, tomorrow we go over there to get drinks to drink. Irē_mo eniir-kē kananaman_tao ēmē ahtao, drink this if you have yellow fever.

enja (N). Hand. E-enja_pē āiēkēēkē wa ken ahtao, if there are no wounds on your hand.

enjao (Pp). In N’s hands. J-enjao_n-ai tēpupisi, the stone is in my hands. ⇒ enja, hand. The final -o may be an old locative element (12.2)

enjaona(ka/kī) (Pp). Into N’s hands. Soroto n-anota j-enjaonakī, the key fell into my hands. ⇒ enjao, in N’s hands. Some speakers preferred phrases such as enja-h_t(a)(ka), into N’s hands, to enjaona(ka/kī)

enjapīnma (Vt). Cause pity in O (for A). Ji-pawana j-enjapīnma-n, irēme wi-jahpēntē-e, my friend causes me pity, so I am going to help him/her. ⇒ Detr. ēenjapīnma, feel pity. It may be an old case of noun incorporation, from enja, hand, and pīnma, put O away. The semantic connection might be as follows: make

O put O’s hands away > make O quit his/her aggressive stance > make O feel pity

enjaruха (Vt). Put in O’s hands; hand to O; deliver to O. W-enjuruka-e mēe pahpīra_ke, I put the book in this guy’s hands. ⇒ ruhka, stick, put O (somewhere), with incorporated enja, hand. Notice that, unexpectedly, enja is not the O participant of ruhka, but rather its locative complement

enjaṭēnka (Vt). Squeeze O’s hands; shake hands with O. W-enjaṭēnka-e, I am shaking hands with him/her. ⇒ tēnka, squeeze, press O, with incorporated enja, hand

enjawa (Vt). Hand to O, give (something) to O. Sipaki w-enjawa-e pērēu_ke, I am giving, handing an arrow to Spike. [Probably related to enja, hand; the final wa is unclear (maybe the verbalizer -wa; maybe an unattested transitive verb, with incorporated enja]

enjawai (Vt). Scratch, rub O’s hands. W-enjawai-ja-e wīrāre_ke, I am rubbing curare on his/her hands (to kill him/her). ⇒ wai, scratch, grate O, with incorporated enja, hand]

enjawarē (Vt). Catch O by the hand. Ma, irē_ mao i-ënjawarē-e ii-ja, then he caught him by the hand. [Probably incorporation of enja, hand; transitive stem unattested]

enkapihpē (N). Eye ridge (e.g. of a cayman). Enu enkapihpē awē_āwē, t-omoi ti-rē-e ii-ja, he drove his claws into the (cayman’s) eye ridge (so as not to fall). [Possibly related to enu, eye, and pihpē, skin]

enke(pī) (Vo). Be in the dark, and thus unable to see. J-enke-ja-e, I will be in the dark (said when the batteries in the speaker’s flashlight were about to go empty). Mahto w-enkeh-ka-e, I put out the fire; turi w-enkeh-ka-e, I put out the lights. ⇒ enu, eye, with -ke(pī)]

enkīika (Vt). Wipe O’s eyes. “Ēsēna-ewa eh-kē”, kīn-ka, maara_ne i-pēra enkīka-ne, ‘Don’t cry’, he said, and he wiped his/her eyes with a piece of cotton. ⇒ kīka, rub, wipe O, with incorporated enu, eye; ⇒ Detr. ēenkīika, rub, wipe one’s eyes]
enkiwa (Vo). Be half asleep. Ê-enkiwa-n? Are you half asleep? [Possibly incorporation of enu, eye; transitive stem unattested]

enkume (Pp). Difficult (to understand [syn. antiūnao]; difficultiative, 7.3.3). J-enkume_n-ai, this is difficult for me. Back grade forms ēnkume, kuume, difficult: ēnkume_n-ai ē-j-omi, your language is difficult; kuume_n-ai ē-j-omi, your language is difficult.
enmi(mī) (Vt; var. eemī(mī)). Make O enter, dive. W-eemīn-ja-e, I am making it enter, I am putting it under water. J-enmīn-jewa eh-kē, don’t drown me. [Possibly related to ēmē(mī), enter, with an old causative en-, in (5.3.1.3)]
enmi(tī) (Vo). Dive; submerge; go under water. T-ēnmiit-se tuna_hkao, aimara apo, he had gone under water, like an aimara fish. Tuna_hka j-enmiitī_se_w-a-e, I want to dive into the water. J-enmiit-ka-ewa eh-kē, don’t drown me.
enu(mī) (Vt). Send O; order O, command O. Ji-n-enno̱k-hpē, the person I sent. Mēērē w-enno Beren_pona, I have sent that guy to Belém. Paako n-ēnjaīnma ē-pē, irēmē j-enno, my father pitied you, so he sent me (here). Nērē t-ēnnoo-se it-ja, s/he commanded him, told him what to do.
enontā (Va; var. ēinonta). Let go (of something). S-enontā-e, t-ēinonta-e, I let go; I break free. [⇒ nonta, leave, abandon O]
enpa (Vt). Teach O (person). T-ēnpa-e ii-ja, s/he taught him/her. Mēē_pitē anja n-ēnpa-e, we will be teaching this person for a minute. [Possibly from enu, eye, with -pa; this connection looks better diachronically than synchronically. ⇒ Detr. ēnpe, learn]
enpata (N). Face, cheeks. Kitt-it-ahkē-jia-e_ssa k-ēnpatat_a po, we cut ourselves on the face, cheeks. [Possibly from enu, eye, and pata, place]
enpatae (Pp). On the slope of. Pi enpate_ae_n-ai, it is on the slope of the hill. [⇒ enpata, face, with the perlicative element -e (12.2, 7.3.1.2)]
enpatao (Pp). In front of N. J-enpatao_n-ai_
entapuru (Vt). Close O (door), cover O (with a lid). W-entapuu-jaa-e, I am closing, covering it. [= entapuru, door, lid].

entu (N). 1 Owner (of something; ⇒ apēri(mi)). Pata entu, owner of the village (i.e. the person who founded it; he usually has some moral authority over the other inhabitants). Raarion entu_me_man-a-n? Do you have a radio? (lit. are you a radio-owner?) Mono tipite entu_me_n-ai, s/he owns a big field/garden. 2 Keeper, guardian, guide; boss. Apēh-kē é-entu_me, k-ēntu_me, take him as your keeper, as our keeper (said by a man to his daughter, whom he wanted to marry to a certain good hunter). J-entu ji-je Makapa_po, my boss wants me in Macapá (i.e. he wants me to go to Macapá).

enu (N). Eye. Irē_mao enu t-ēne ii-ja, then he saw (someone else’s) eye(s).

enuhka (Vt). Go away, escape unseen by O. Enuhka-kē! Go away, without him/her seeing you! W-enuhka-e, I walk away without him/her seeing me. J-enuhka, someone ran away without me seeing, without me knowing. [Homophonous with the causativized form of enuru, be born]

enuhkama (Vt). Indicate O wrong; confuse O. Ėema t-enuhkama-e masiwē ja, the antater indicated the path wrong, showed the wrong path. [= ēenuhama, get confused]

enumu (Vt). Suffer from O; be affected by O. J-otī i-janopī w-enun-ja-e, I have desire of meat, to eat meat. Ji-jemi w-enun-ja-e, I feel hunger; j-emuku w-enun-ja-e, I feel sadness; ji-saasa w-enun-ja-e, I feel joy, happiness. J-enun-po-n, s/he made me suffer (hunger, necessity, etc.). [= Detr. ēenu(mu), suffer, be in need]

enuru (Vo). Be born; give birth. J-enuu-ne, I was born, I gave birth (said by the mother or by the child). Irē_po t-ēnuw-se wī, I was born there. Anpo ē-enuh-topo-npē? Where were you born? Where is your birth place? Eekanmoo ē-enuh-topo-npē? When is your birthday? W-enuh-ka-e, I make, help O be born (said by a doctor or midwife). [Maybe related to enu, eye]

enuta (Vo). Remember. Menjaarē n-enuta ji-pē, now he has remembered (about) me. Irē_mao_reken t-ēnuta-e Mataware, aja jeemi? Only then did Mataware remember (to ask), ‘where is my daughter?’ [Maybe enu, eye, with -ta; ⇒ enu, wake up, possibly a different result of the same combination]

epa (N). Vulva. K-ēpaa-kon eeku-h_tao_n-ai AIDS i-w-eh-to, the dwelling-place of AIDS is in the liquid of our vulva(s). Ėpa potī, clitoris. [syn. erī potī]

epahka (Va). Break. Apēi t-eeakahka-e, (his) seat broke, is broken. [⇒ Tr. pahka, break O]

epakē (N). Vaginal liquid [syn erikē]. Epakē pē, kiri aroki_h ta n-ēmēn-ja-n, from (a woman’s) vaginal liquid, it (=virus) enters into the man’s penis. [= epa, vulva]

epanipī (Vt). Revenge, avenge O. J-eeeni t-ēnē-e ahtao, w-epaniī-ja-e; j-eeeni t-arimika-e ahtao, in-epaniī-sewa_w-a-e, if my daughter was eaten, I will avenge her; (but) if she was raised (i.e. protected, taken care of), then I will not avenge her. [⇒ Detr. ēepanipī, take, seek revenge]

epataka (Va). Go, come out. S-epataka-e, I am going out (e.g. of a house). I-putupē nepataka-n, ēkē i-putupē, its head comes out (i.e. it leaves the body), the snake’s head. [⇒ Tr. pataka, take O out (e.g. of a house)]

epeka(tī) (Vt). Sell, buy, trade O. Ėikēēkē apesto epēkah-kē, buy bandages (=something to get, hold the wound). Kī-n-epekatī-kon-Sepē, our favorite merchandise, that which we want to buy/sell. 2 Ask for O, ask that O be granted. Irē_mao w-epekaan-ne eeti_ ja, Enkimaan_ja, then I asked her maternal uncle (to let me marry her; lit. I requested her from her uncle). ‘Éenēnē_w-a-e’ kato, ‘tuna_se_w-a-e’ kato, ameeraarē epekaan-se_re_wī, ‘I am hungry’, ‘I want water’, all that I requested in vain. [⇒ Detr. ēpeka(tī), buy (something) for oneself]

eperu (N). Fruit; crop. Paarura eperu, banana
fruit (i.e. fruit of the banana tree). Fevereiro po tarëno-ton eperu pëë-ja-n: aanai eperu, marasija eperu, in February the Tiriyo gather fruit: corn (lit. corn fruit), watermelon fruit (etc.). Waruma eperu_n-ai erepa_me, waruma (a palm tree) fruits are his/her food.

eperuke(pī) (Vo). Stop bearing fruit (a tree). N-eperukepī, it (=tree) does not bear fruit anymore. Eperukeh-pin, the one (=banana stalk) which had stopped bearing fruit. [⇒ eperu, fruit, with the cessative -ke(pī)]

eperuta (Vo). Bear, produce fruit. N-eperuta-n, it is bearing fruit, it has (ripe) fruit. [⇒ eperu, fruit, with -ta]

epina (Va). Drag. Irëme i-kamisa t-seepina_e-ken, then his loincloth was dragging (on the ground). [⇒ Tr. pīna, drag O]

epinē (Pp). Under N. Irē po, pai i-wenahpē, tēne it-ja, oroi epinē, there he saw the sapip’s trail, under the cashew tree. Recp. ēepinē, one under the other [syn. ēepoe]: ēepinē_to_n-ai, they are one under the other, they form a pile.

epinē(pī) (Vt). Medicate O. Irē eeku_ke epinēh-kē, ē-nnuku kēi_ke ahtao, if your son has fever, medicate him with the juice (of this liana). Pahko j-epinē-ne kutuneh_ke, my father medicated me with a painful one (=i.e. with painful medicine) [⇒ epī(tī), medicine, with -nē(pī)]

epī(tī) (N). Medicine. Ji-nnuku epi wi-ri-ne, I made my son’s medicine. Serē ē-epi, this is your medicine. AIDS epi, medicine (=cure) for AIDS. Serē_n-ai mēnētē epi, this is medicine against scorpion (bites).

epī (N). 1 Tree; tree trunk; stock. Wapo_mo epi i-joika, first scrape the trunk (of the tree). Epi tī-tēēka-e ii-ja, he started hitting the tree (trunk). Oroi epī, cashew tree (trunk). 2 Stalk; roots; sprout; part (of a plant) that can be further planted [⇒ pēhpē, putupē (2)]. K-ērepē epi wa-e_pa wi-ri-e, I am going to get the seeds, roots, sprouts of all our foods. 3 Routine. Irē po ituu_roowē pakoro ii-tē-tohk kon epi, they went to that house in the middle of the forest every day (lit. there was the ‘base’/’routine’ of their going to that house in the middle of the forest). [1, 2 may be related to eperu, fruit. 3 is only tenously, if at all, connectable to 1; homophony is implausible]

epī (Va; -se form epē-e; takes -ja). Bathe; take a bath, shower. Epē-e wi-ri-e, I am going (somewhere) to bathe. S-epī-ja-e, I am bathing. W-epī-to, bathing place. [⇒ Tr.ti pīi, bathe O]


epintē (Vt). Burn O (firewood). Mahūpī w-epintē-e, I am going to burn the firewood. W-epintē-e, I am going to burn it with firewood. [The stem suggests epī, trunk, with -ntē; but this should mean ‘provide with trunk, sprouts, seed’. Coincidence?]

epoe (Pp). Enough; fit ['satisfactory'; 7.3.3]. J-epoe_n-ai, it is enough for me, it fits me. Ki-hah-ki, korī koeri_me_rēken, epo ē-ja? We will go walking around, (female) friend: is that all right with you? [This postposition may be related to the locative po, but this is far from clear]

epoe (Pp). Over, above N. T-antē-pa ii-ja, tiwērē-n_po, ankanna epoe, he made a shelter somewhere else, above the cliff. Ėpēi epoe-nton, the things which are above the seat [⇒ directional epōna(ka/kī), over, above N]. Recp. ē-epoe, one on top of the other [syn. ēepinē]

epōna(ka/kī) (Pp). Over; above (directional). Wewe-pisi wi-ri-ja-e ēpu epōnakī, I am putting the little stick above the stone. [⇒ epoe, over, above]

epōna (Pp; nzzr -(no)). 1 Conjugated form of ⇒ pona to(ward) N. J-epōna n-ee-ja-n, she is coming to(ward) me. Recp. ēepōna, toward each other: ēepōna_to_ni-tē-n, they are going toward each other. 2 Believing in N; favorable to N; “pro-N” (fidelitive; 7.3.3). Kan epōna kīt-a-ti, we all believe in God. Il-tē-to epōna-ta, it was not possible, it was not a favorable occasion for him to go. Back grade ēpona,
credulous; naive; considerate. Épona_w-a-e, I am naive, I believe in everything; I help everybody.

**eponamna (Vt)** Help O, be considerate, helpful toward O. T-ëpëëna-keh-tuuswë_pa, të-moitë epoñam-n, after having finished (their fields), they help their relatives (with theirs).

[⇒ epona (2), believing in, favorable to N, with -(no), nominalizer, and -ma, verbalizer]

**epu(rì)** (Vt; irregular nasal gemination with nasal-initial suffixes: 5.4.1.3.3, 5.4.2.2). Meet O; find O (animate; by accident, unexpectedly) [syn. erahë]. Irë_po n-epoo-ja-n oto-ton, kapai, kurimau, kurija, there they find game, armadillos, paca, land turtles. Witojo_ka pai t-ëpoo-se, the guy met, found a tapir (i.e. he was lucky). Tì-nmuku in-epoo-sewa t-ée-se Mataware, Matawaré did not meet, find his son.[⇒ Detr. ëepo(rì), meet].

**epu (N)** 1 Post; main pole (in a house). Pakoro epu, the main pole of the house (which supports the roof). 2 handle; legs (of a seat). Piwìa epu, the handle of the broom. Apëì epu wi-pahka-e, I am going to break the legs of his seat. 3 base, prop; that which gives support. Ji-j-omi epu-ton ji-waarë kìn-ëi, I learned about the ‘supports’ of my language (i.e. I learned the letters, the alphabet).

**epuuka (Va).** Take a shortcut; follow a transverse, perpendicular trajectory. Irë_mao t-ëpukka-e_pa_to ëema_tah-ëa, then they came back to the path (after traversing a stretch of jungle). [⇒ Tr. puuka, pierce O, traverse O]

**erahë (Vt).** Find O (intentionally; after looking for him/her/it) [syn. epo(rì)]; find out about O. M-erähtë! You’ve found it! (said to someone who had found a good translation for a certain word). Kure ji-nmuku m-erähtë-po wìja, you have shown me (=made me find) my son (who I had been looking for). Eëke aawë i-w-eh-to m-erähtë-n? How do you find out that it is inside of you? Ameraarë_n-ai pananakiriton serë epi in-erähtë-ewa, all the foreigners have not found a cure for this (yet).

**erama (Va).** Return, go back, come back. Irë_mao_pa t-eërama-e Taru, then Taru came back. [⇒ Tr. rama, return O, give O back]

**eramuhta (Vo).** Sweat [syn. riha], J-eramuhta-e, I am sweating. Incorporation: j-enja-ramuhta-e, my hands are sweating, j-apë-ramuhta-e, my arm is sweating (always with body parts). [⇒ eramu(ku), sweat, with -ta]

**eramu(ku) (N).** Sweat, sweating. J-enjaa_pè_n-ai j-eramuku, my sweat is on my hand(s).

**eratonka (Va).** Be(come) isolated. Oto-ton neratonka-n pau htiri tuna mono_me i-w-ëi_ke, the animals get isolated (=trapped) in the islands, because the water level rises. [⇒ Tr. ratonka, isolate O]

**ere (N).** Liver. J-ere, my liver.

**ereta (Vo).** Rest. J-ereeta-e, I am resting. Irë_mao é-ereeta-kë, kure é-eweë-kë, then rest, and eat well. [Possibly related to ere, liver, maybe with -ta; the meaning, however, is quite unexpected]

**ere(nì) (N; non-poss. èrentë [4.3.1.4.3]).** Smoke. Mahto erën, the smoke of the fire (e.g. a smoldering fire). J-erëtn, my smoke (e.g. when the speaker’s body is steaming after heavy exercise), j-erëtn-èpè, my past smoke (e.g. after having exercised a lot).

**ereina (Vo).** Smoke (e.g. fire, coals, wood). Mahto n-erëina-n, the fire is smoking. Liëeta è-erëina-n, you are smoking a lot (e.g. after a work-out). [⇒ ere(nì), smoke, with -na]

**erekonna (Vt).** Insist (that O do something), exhort O, harass O. K-èrekonna-e karakuri-pë, I am harassing you about money, I insist on talking to you about money. J-erekonna-n, s/he is harassing, disturbing me. [⇒ Detr. èrekonna, be worried. This verb may be an old case of incorporation of ere, liver; original stem (presumably konna) unattested]

**erekuku (Vt).** Irritate, infuriate O [syn. erekëtu, (wìj)karana]. W-erekuku-ne, I irritated him. [⇒ Detr. èrekuku, get angry. This verb seems to be a lexicalized case of incorporation: ere, liver, and kuika, swallow O (cf. also
akuika, hurt].

eremi (N). Song, music. Tahken ēremi_pē t-eese-me, maybe he was busy singing (‘about songs’).

eremina (Vo). Sing. J-eremina-e, I am singing. Ji-pawana мо eremina-i, my friend would sing (if...).

erenma (Va). Drive O away. Kaikui w-erenma-e, I am driving the dog away (e.g. he was annoying me). Ėmē-rē_pa erenma-ta mēesan, you go drive them away! Ėrenma_me_10o n-ai, they cannot, will not be driven away.

erepa (N). Food (non-meat). Ahtaarē_n-ai ēerepa? How many are your kinds of food? How many kinds of food do you eat? Owa, serē_rēken j-erepa, only this is my food, this is the only kind of food I eat. Waruma ari_rēken erepa_me t-eese-se, his only food were waruma tree leaves.

erepake(pī) (Vo). Stifle, suffocate; die (from lack of air); drown. J-erepakee-ja-e ji-pakoro-h-tao, I am stifling in my house (said as a justification for going for a walk). [Formally, erepa, food, with the cessative -ke(pī); the meaning, however, is very surprising]

erereka (Vt). Squash, crush O. İrē_mao i-juuwē t-eese-kaikui, t-eeseke-e, t-erereka-e ii-ja, then the jaguar was on top of him, he (=jaguar) jumped on top of him, he squashed, crushed him.

eresaaarama (Vt). Make O happy, gladden O. Pahko w-eresaaarama-e, I am making my father happy. [Maybe related to saasaame, happy. ⇒ Detr. ḫeresaaarama, become happy]

eretēu (Vt). Irritate O [syn. erekuika, (wtk)karauma]; cause O to worry. W-eretēu-ne, I made him/her angry, I worried him/her [⇒ Detr. ēeretēu, be angry, worried. Some speakers added a final reducing syllable (ku), others did not. This verb may be a lexicalized case of incorporation, with ere, liver; the original transitive verb stem might have been [tjēu, remove O, but this is far from clear]

eretīhka (Vt). Frighten, scare O out of his/her wits. W-eretīhka-e, I am scaring him to death. [⇒ Detr. ēeretīhka, be terribly scared. ⇒ thka, scare O, with incorporated ere, liver, i.e. ‘to liver-scare O’]

eri (N; non-poss. ērinē). Clay, clay pot. Tēri_rē t-eenee-se ii-ja, s/he brought his/her clay pot. Ėrinē, clay; clay pot (non-possessed), jeri, my clay pot.

eri(ki) (Vo). Be in danger of dying; die. J-eriia-e, I am in danger of dying, I may die. Tiwaaarē ē-wei_ke, erii-sewa man-a-e, because you are careful, you do not run the risk of dying. Pēē, j-apedē-ja-nē npa, jeriikē pera, oh, he is going to catch me, I am already in danger of dying.

(j)eripo (N). Big, round stone for baking cassava bread. I-j-eripo-ḫpē-kon mono_me, their (ex-)cassava stone is large.


erīkē (N). Vaginal liquid [syn. epakē]. Eriikē-pisih_pē kīri arokt-h_taa n-ēmın-ja-n, from (a woman’s) vaginal liquid it enters into a man’s penis.

et- (pf)x). ⇒ ēt- ‘Recep’, ‘Detr’

eta (Vt). Hear O, listen to O; understand O. Kaikui i-jomi t-ēta-e ii-ja, he heard the barking (lit. voice) of the dog. Pahko w-eta-e, I am listening to my father. Irē apo-n eta-tuwē nīrii Ja, after nīri, the cricket, had heard these things. Ji-w-eh-topo-npē w-eta-po-e, I am explaining (=making O hear, understand) my life story (lit. what I was like, the way I was).

eta (N). Bank; shore (of a river, lake, etc.); rim, edge, margin. Maa ta eta i-w-eh-tuwē, after the shore was near (said about someone crossing a river).

etae (Pp). By, along the bank, shore, margin of N. Tuna etae n-urakanun-ja-n, s/he is strolling by the river bank, following the river. [syn. ae, _tae; cf. 7.3.1.1.3, 7.3.1.2.2]

etahpaka (Va). Sit down. S-etahpaka-e, I am sitting down. Etahpaka-kē! Sit down! [⇒ tahpaka, make O sit down]
etahta (Vo). Drool. È-etahta-r̓í̓htoa kure, it is all right if you drool. ⇒ etaku, saliva; for spitting, ⇒ posto
etainka (Va). Run. Irénhéka t-etainka-e taané, t̓í-pataa ponga pa, finally he ran far away, back to his village. ⇒ Tr. ainka, run off with O
etao (Pp). At, by the bank of N (river, lake, etc.). Iré-npé_pële tuna etao tinonita_e i-i, then he left it by the river bank. ⇒ directional form etaoaatka (kii), to(ward) the bank, shore, margin of N ⇒ eta, bank, shore; the final -o may be an old locative element (12.2)
etoonatka (kii) (Pp). To(ward) the bank, shore, margin of N. Tuna etoona nt̓í-tê-n, s/he is going (from the village) toward the river bank ⇒ locative etao, at, by the bank of N
etapa (mû) (Vo). Chirp (e.g. cricket, toad). Ma, kîja, taparara apo-n, këpêewa koko_rëken n̓etapan_ja-n, the kîja cricket is like a locust, but it only chirps at night. Irême sehken t̓etapanje kunawaru, so, likewise, the kunawaru toad chirped.
etë (Vt). Smoke O (cigarette, etc.); blow O (flute, tube). In-etë-ewa_w-a-e, I don’t smoke.
etë (N). Maternal uncle (mother’s brother). J-e, j-etë, my maternal uncle. Soranpë_n-ai, serë_po_n-ai, j-etë_me_n-ai, it’s Soranpë, he is here (in the village), he is my maternal uncle.
etùmo (Vt). Cut O in small pieces. Kananaman _tao émë ahtoa, wakapûmë arî-npé mo etùmo, if you have yellow fever, then cut the leaves of the wakapûmë tree in small pieces.
eu(ku) (Vt). Answer O. Iré_mao pëtnë_ja t̓ëu-se, “owa”, then the tímamou answered, ‘no’. Iré_mao_rëken Taru eu-ne ékërepukë, only then did the weasel (tayra) answer Taru.
eurë (Vt). Bark at O. Kãkui j-eurë-n, the dog is barking at me.
èwaaje (Pp). Like, be satisfied with, happy about N (appreciative; 7.3.3). È-waaje_w-a-e kutuma, I am very happy, satisfied with you. Recp. èwaaje, satisfied with, happy about each other: èwaaje_to_n-ai, they are satisfied with each other. Back grade form èwaaje, waaje, nice, who likes everybody. Jïnmu Wwaaje, jì-nmuu waaje, my son is a nice person, likes everybody.
èwaama (Vt). 1 Make O feel desire. Jï-pawana w-èwama_e t̓ënë-en_ke, I make my friend desire meat. T̓ënë-en_me waama-tè, s/he was desirable as meat (i.e. for eating). 2 Feel pity for O, be lenient with O. Jï-pì w-wèwama_e, I feel pity for my wife (e.g. I see that she is hungry, I’ll give her some food). Mure-pisi w-wèwama_e; bonbon w-eikarama_e i-i, I feel pity for this child; I’ll give him sweets. ⇒ Detr. èwaama, feel desire; maybe related to èwaaje, liking, satisfied with
èwahë (Vt). 1 Put a string, rope on O. Ë-raapa w-ewahë-ne, I put a string on his bow. 2 Tie O (e.g. a hammock). Jï-raton_ëwahë, tie (your hammock) opposite to me. Jëhke w-ewahë-e, I am tying my hammock. ⇒ èwa, rope, with -hë
èwënëke (pì) (Vo). Became happy, cheer up. J-èwënëke_pì, I became happy, I cheered up. W-wënëkeha-ke-e, I am cheering him/her up. [Formally, èwëna, heart, with the cessative -pì, apparently, the idea of ‘stopping one’s heart’ (maybe ‘slowing down the heartbeat’) is connected to becoming happy]
èwarima (Vt). Thank, greet O. Kì-èwarima_e, I thank you. Kin-èwarima, s/he greeted him/her.
èwaru (N). Darkness. Èwarunu-npé, where there was darkness. ⇒ warume, dark
èwë (Vt). Feed O. Ti-nmuu èwee_ja-n, s/he is feeding his/her son. ⇒ Detr. èwee (tì), eat, feed oneself]
č- (pfx). Second-person marker (allomorphs č-, a-, o-; cf. 3.3.1) on nouns (4.3.1.2), verbs (5.4.1.1), and postpositions (7.1.1). Č-nta, your mouth. Č-konka, s/he/it (has) pierced you. Č-nta, you woke up.


čēhpē(tī) (Va). Look, be looking (around); change the direction of one’s look. Ji-pakoro pēe t-čēhpē-ja-e, I am looking (out) from my house. Ji-w-čēhpē-tī se_w-a-e, I want to look. Irē_mao tī-w-čēhpē-se tī-nkae, then he looked back. ⇒ Tr. ehpē(tī), look at O. Most of the occurrences were detransitivized; the meaning of the transitive form is not clear.

čēhtē (Va). Be thinking, pondering, planning. T-čēhtē-e, I am thinking, planning (some future event). ⇒ Tr. ehtē, think about, plan O

čēkarama (Va). Give, sacrifice oneself; surrender. Ti-w-čēkarama-e_to, they surrendered, they gave themselves (to each other). Ti-w-čēkarama-e, he gave himself (= parts of his body, to others). ⇒ Tr. ekarama, give O

čēkehka (Va). Work hard; make an effort. Anja i-jomii_pē namo_ro n-čēkehka-n, they are working hard on our language. Ti-w-čēkehka-e mēe, s/he worked hard. T-čēkehka-e, I am making an effort (at doing something). ⇒ Tr. ekehka, make O work hard

čēkeima (Va). Curse oneself. Tiwērē-n_mao n-čēkeima-n tahkene, maybe (she) cast a spell on herself (and is now going to die). ⇒ Tr. ekeima, curse, cast a spell on O, do evil to O

čēkiriika (Va). Cut a piece of oneself [syn. ēēsamu(ku)]. Ė-kiriika, cut a piece of yourself (for the others to eat; said, in a folk tale, by a tree to a tapir). ⇒ Tr. ekirika, cut a piece of O

čeku (Vt). Have sex (with each other). W-čekuto, sex. Kiri, wēri_marē, n-čeku-jan, a man has sex with a woman. N-čeku-jan_to, they are mating (said about two dogs) ⇒ Tr. eku, have sex with O

čema (N). Path, trail. Ėema tī-saika-e tī-ja, he missed the path, took the wrong path. Aja_nara k-čema-rī_npa? where on Earth is our path? [Irregular possessed stem, with three forms: ēema, čema, čēma; cf. 2.6.1, 4.3.1.2]

čēmuuma (Va). Become sad. T-čēmuuma-e, I am getting sad. ⇒ Tr. emuuma, make O sad

čēne (Va). I See, look at (each other). N-čene-n_to, they are seeing, looking at each other. 2 Become visible. Ninnē n-čene-n, the moon is becoming visible (e.g. appearing from behind a cloud). ⇒ Tr. ene, see, look at O

čēnjapinna (Va). Feel pity (about O). Pahko n-čēnjapīnna ē-pē, ērīme j-enno, my father pitied you, so he sent me (here). ⇒ Tr. enjapinna, cause pity in O

čēnkitika (Va). Rub, wipe one’s own eyes. T-čēnkitika-e, I am rubbing, wiping my eyes. ⇒ Tr. enkitika, rub, wipe O’s eyes

čēnpa (Va). Learn, teach oneself (about something). Akurijo i-jomii_pē t-čēnpa_ne, I learned (about) the Akurijó language. ⇒ Tr. enpa, teach O (a student)

čēntama (Va). Spill (liquid). Ė-munu čēntama-ewa i-w-eh-too_me, so that your blood is not spilled. ⇒ Tr. entama, spill O (liquid)

čēnhukama (Va). Confuse oneself, get confused. T-čēnhukama-e, I am getting confused. ⇒ Tr. enhukama, confuse O

čēnu (mu) (Va). Suffer; be in need (of food, drink). T-čēnun-ja-e, I am in need (of food, drink), I am hungry, thirsty. ⇒ Tr. enu(mu), suffer from O, be affected by O

čēnuuma (Va). Be busy, working. T-čēnuuma-e, I am busy, I am doing something. [Tr. stem probably exists, but is unattested]

čēpani(pī) (Va). Seek, take revenge. Toisi_me_n-ai Mataware i-w-čēpaniḥ-topo-npē, twice did Matawaré revenge himself, seek revenge. ⇒ Tr. epani(pī), revenge O

čēpekā(tī) (Va). Buy, trade (something) for oneself. T-čēpēkaa-ja-e, I am buying myself many things. T-čēpēkaa-ja-e maja_pē, I am buying myself a knife.
ee(p) (Va, non-Detr. [5.2.2, Table 5.4]; irreg. person markers [5.4.1.1.2], irreg. t-initial stem in the negative [5.4.3.1.3] and 'Actual S' [4.4.2.1.3] forms, irreg. imperative stem oh-[5.4.2.1]). Come. Men-eh-pa? Have you come back? (usual greeting formula). W-ee-ne_pa serë_pona_pa, I came back here. Oh-të-kë-këtëeweh-të-ne, you all come, let's eat. Irë_mao t-ee-sewa_pa m-ee-ja-e, then you will not come back.

ëepona (Pp, Recp). To(ward) each other. [It could also be the second-person form, i.e. to(ward) you; ⇒ epona, _pona]

ëepo(ri) (Va). Meet. Pena ahhoa kaiku_marë_to të-w-ëepoo-se, long ago they met with a jaguar. [⇒ Tr. epo(ri), meet O]

ëerekonma (Va). Be worried; think deeply (about something, so as to solve a problem). T-ëerekonma-e ji-nmuku_pë, I am worried about my son. Këpëewa i-wae të-wëerekonmae rupeimë, mëe i-nmuku_pë, but the rupeimë lizard worried (concerned himself, thought) about his (=Taru's) son a lot. Irëme kutuma t-w-ëerekonma-e, then he thought a lot about that (i.e. about how to get the kind of game that his mother-in-law wanted) [⇒ Tr. eerekonma, harass O]

ëerekuika (Va). Become angry, furious. T-ëerekuika-ne, I became angry. [⇒erekuika, irritate O]

ëeresaaarama (Va). Become happy; be glad. I-wae pahko të-wëeresaaarama-e, wë-të i-wëeh-to ene-hpë_ke, my father became very happy, because he saw that I was good at shooting. [⇒ Tr. eresaaarama, make O happy]

ëerető (Va). Be angry, worried [syn. ëerekuika, ëerekonma]. T-ëerető-ja-e, I am (getting) angry, worried. Ma, irë_mao kën-ëerető Taru, then Taru got worried. [⇒ Tr. erető, irritate, worry O]

ëeretõhka (Va). Be terribly scared, out of one's wits. T-ëeretõhka-e, I am getting scared to death. [⇒ Tr. eretõhka, scare O to death]

ëeton (N). Bunch. Éton eperu, a bunch of fruits. [The final n is probably a reduced nasal syllable; full grade unattested]

ëewama (Va). Feel desire (sexual, etc.). Ma, irë_mao të-w-ëewama-e Perëpërëwa të-pë_pë, then Perëpërëwa felt desire for his wife. T-ëewama-e të-në-en_pë (or të-në-en_ke), I feel desire for meat, I am meat-hungry. [⇒ Tr. ewama, make O feel pity, be lenient]

ëewaje (Pp, Recp; nzt. ë ewaja-to). Happy, satisfied with each other. [It could also be the second-person form, i.e. satisfied with you; ⇒ ewaje]

ëewe(t) (Va). Eat (general) (12.3.5). Ëeweese wë-të-e, I am going (somewhere) to eat. T-ëewe-ja-e j-erëpaa_ke, I am eating my food. Ëewe-kë-pëté, eat a little! Mono_me t-ëewe-ja-e, I am eating a lot. Takëme mëhparë-ton n-ëewe-ja-n, many animals (birds and monkeys) are eating. Këtëewe-të-ne, let's all eat! [⇒ Tr. ewe(t), feed O]

ë (Intj). A lamenting sound, often quite long and with level or falling intonation. Ëë... tïka-e, wika_reh_pohpa, tï-ka-e, oooh, s/he said, I told you, but in vain, s/he said.

ëkënë (A). Two; as a pair. Ëkënë wëoto n-ee-ja-n, two people are arriving; they are arriving as a pair.

ëenepe(ke) (A; nzt. ëenepeka-to). Drunk. Ëenepe_n-ai ji-pawana, my friend is drunk. Serë apo më-ka-ne, ëenepe ëmë_ahhoa, that's what you said, when you were drunk. [⇒ _pe(ke), negative attributizer; maybe an old phrase]

(j)ëenë (N). Pet; domestic animal [⇒ ekì]. Ëënë enï, animal cage. Ëënë erepa, pet food. [Apparently, a non-possessed equivalent of ekì; the above examples do not imply an owner. However, a couple of possessed instances did occur: ji-j-jëenë, my pet. J-ekì was always considered more natural]

ëenihpo (A; nzt. -to). Sleepy. Ëenihpo_w-a_e, I am sleepy, I feel like sleeping. [⇒ êenï(kti) 'sleep'; cf. 6.1.1.3]

ëenï(kti) (Va, non-Detr [5.2.2, Table 5.4]).
Sleep. N-ēēnîi-ja-n? Is he sleeping? Kēpēe waēēnîi-sewa pāi, but the tapir did not sleep. Irē po-n-ai tarēnō i-w-ēēnîh-to Paramaribo-po, there is the place where the Tiriyo stay (lit. their sleeping-place) in Paramaribo.

ēès (pfx). ⇒ et- ‘Recep’, ‘Detr’

ēēsahpēntē (Va). Help oneself; get out of trouble. M-ēēsahpēntē, meri, you have escaped, squirrel (said, in a folk tale, by a cayman to a squirrel who had successfully evaded his attempts at capturing him). ⇒ Tr. jahpēntē, provide (for) O, help O)

ēēsaima (Va). Disperse, scatter (a group of animals). Mēējan ti-w-ēēsaima-e, i-nnapē i-jokooroka-ne-ton, they got dispersed, the ones that had been gathering (and stealing) his fruit ⇒ Tr. jaima, disperse, scatter O)

ēēsamu(ku) (Va). Cut a piece of oneself [syn. ēēkirika]. Ėēsamuh-kē ji-n-ene-n-me, cut a piece of yourself, for me to see. ⇒ Tr. jamu(ku), cut a piece of O)

ēēsapēkēma (Va). Be poor, in need (of all basic things). T-ēēsapēkēma-e, I am poor, I need help. ⇒ Tr. japēkēma, make O be in need; notice, however, the unexpected nm)

ēēse (Va). Cook something for oneself. T-ēēse, I am cooking something for myself. N-ēēse-n, s/he is cooking him/herself something. ⇒ Tr. [t]je, cook O

ēēseenē (A; nzn. -to). Ill, sick; wounded. Ė-nmuku ēēseenē n-ee-ja-n, your son is getting sick. Ėēseenēto-a akken kitati, we will be as if we were not ill. Ėēseenē-w-a-e, s-emēnparēma, I am wounded, I have had an accident. [Maybe related to ēēsena, cry, weep; 6.1.1.5]

ēēsekema (Va). Hurry; start affecting. AIDS tēēken ahto k-ēwē-ee-ne, irē maō-n-ai ēēsekema-ewa-ken k-akuika-toh-kon-pē, when AIDS is inside of us, it does not (yet) hurry about hurting us (i.e. not before another disease enters our body). ⇒ Tr. jekema, hurry about O

ēēsena (Va; non-Detr. [5.2.2, Table 5.4]; var. ēēsina). Cry, weep. I-pato-a t-ēēsena-e, I am crying with a reason (not out of the blue). Ėēsena-ewa eh-kē, don’t cry. Irē мао pē mu-mー t-e-ee, t-ēēsena-e, then the tapir became sad and cried.

ēēsina (Va). ⇒ ēēsena, cry, weep.

ēh- (pfx). ⇒ et- ‘Recep’, ‘Detr’

ēhkē (Va; takes -ja). Grate manioc for oneself. T-ēhkē-ja-e, I am grating manioc for myself. ⇒ [t]kē, grate O (manioc)

ēēkuhtuntē (Va). Measure, evaluate each other. Ameraarrē ēēkuhtuntē, you all, measure each other (i.e. evaluate each other as opponents; also, check how strong, heavy, tall, etc. each other is). ⇒ Tr. kuhtuntē, measure, mark, evaluate, count O)

ēēkuk (ku) (Va). I Try. Ti-w-ēēkuk-ee-ku-uu-se-to, they kept on trying and trying. 2 Measure, evaluate each other. “Ēēkuk-kēe_ne”, tē-kē-a, measure each other (= see how big, how strong you are), s/he said. ⇒ Tr. ku(ku), try, taste O)

ēēkuruma (Va). Defend, protect oneself. Wei waararrē ē-ēēkuruma-mahtao, irē maō ē-ē- w-emēnparēma-to wa-ken n-ē-eh-ta-n, if you protect yourself every day, then you will not have accidents. [Tr. counterpart probably exists (presumably hkuruma), but is unattested. Apparently related to ikuruma, dangerous]

ēēpuunē(pī) (Va). Think, ponder, meditate. T-ēēpuunēe-ja-e, I am meditating, thinking. Ėēpuunē-ee-reeken miōkon, come think about this. Irēme wē-pōn ti-ēēpuunēe-ee kutuma, then the bad shooter reflected a lot, for a while. ⇒ Tr. puunē(pī), think, meditate about O, understand O)


ēēthēka (Va). Be, get scared. T-ēēthēka-e, I am getting scared. Kana-ton n-ēēthēka-n, tuna-ton wa-ken i-w-ei-ke, the fish get scared because there are no rivers (i.e. because the rivers become low during the dry season). Kutuma wē-pōn-ntē ti-w-ēēthēka-e, the ex-bad shooter
got really frightened (⇒ Tr. tūhka, scare O)
ēi- (pfx), ⇒ ēt- ‘Recip’, ‘Detr’.
ēija (Pp, Recp). To each other. (⇒ _ja)
ēinonta (Va). ⇒ enonta, let go.
ēje (Pp). 1 Wanting you; irregular second-person form (⇒ desiderative postposition se).
2 Your tooth (⇒ je(e), tooth)
ēikarē (A). By oneself; without help. In-
puunē-sewa ē-w-ei_mah-tao, ēikarē ē-erih-ta-
e, if you don’t think about this, you will be in
danger by yourself (=alone). Ėïkïkārē t-ēīrī-jak-
e, I make things (utensils) by myself, without
help. Ėïkïkārē kūt-ā-e, we are by ourselves, no
one helps us (i.e. we are partners). [Apparently
a reciprocal form; non-reciprocal counterpart
unattested]
(j)ēikēkē (N). Wound. Ėj-ēikēkē-po, on your
wound. Ėikēkē-hejįe-w-a-e, I am covered
with wounds. Sehen_n-ai ēikēkē-e_įi_me, it
is also good medicine for wounds.
ēire (A; nrz. ēira-to) Back grade of the irasci-
tive postposition ēire; wild, unfriendly, non-
domesticated (⇒ ēire)
ēisapo (Pp, Recp). The same, equal, equivalent.
Ėïsaporon_n-ai, it is the same thing; they are
the same, equivalent. (⇒ apo, like, similar to)
ēiswa (Va). Hunt; get game. Ėiswa-e wī-tē-e, I
am going hunting. Ji-w-ēiswa_se_w-a-e, I want
to hunt. Ė-w-ēiswa-rį_htao īrē_mao n-ee-ja-n
kaikui a-apēh-too_me, when you are hunting,
a jaguar comes to get you. [Apparently, a
detransitivized form of īwa, look for O, seek O,
with the lexicalized meaning of ‘hunt’]
ēiwame(ke) (A; nrz. ēiwameka-to). Stupid; igno-
rant. [Also the reciprocal form of the ignora-
tive postposition wame(ke), i.e. not knowing
each other]
ēkē (N). Generic name for snakes. J-eeke_se_
n-ai ēkēi, the snake wants to bite me.
ēkēmē (N). Anaconda (also called imatapi).
[⇒ ēkēi, snake, and the augmentative -imē;
apparently, a lexicalization]
ēkēmu (N). A species of fish (Port. muçum).
ēkēne(tī) (N). A good, capable person. [This
word seems to be old-fashioned; some speakers
did not know it]
ēkērēku (N). A smaller kind of cayman
(Caiman sp., Port. jacaretinga).
ēkērēpukē (N). Species of weasel-like animals
(Gallicis vittata, Port. furão, or Eira barbar,
Port. iara) [It is not clear whether these two
species share one name or not]
[t]ē[ku] (Vt). Eat O (cassava, flour, bread;
12.3.5). Kēpēwa kajama in-ēē-sewa i-e-e-se,
but he did not eat the flour. T-ēē-se_marē ii-
wi, he also ate the cassava. T-ēh-kē! Eat it!
ēmē (Pro; col. ēmēnjamō). Second-person non-
collective (‘2’; 4.1.1). Ėmē-pa? How about
you? Anpēe-n ēmē, kīrī? Where are you from,
man?
(j)ēmēnē (N). Thorn(s); thorny shrub, bush.
J-ephēnē ēmēnē, thorn(s), a thorny shrub
pricked me. Ti-j-ēmēnē-ke_n-ai ipēmu, this
flower is thorny, has thorns.
ēmē(mi) (Va) ⇒ ēmē(mi), enter.
ēmēnjamō (Pro; non-col. ēmē). Second-person
collective, you all (‘2Col’; 4.1.1). Ma,
ēmēnjamō tūrijo_me, you are the Tiriýo.
ēmijē (A; nrz. ēmijā-no). Soft. Oonī-po ēmijā-
ton eperu, over there the fruits are softer
(said by a speaker who had lost most of his
teeth).
ēmī(mi) (Va; non-Detr. [5.2.2, Table 5.4]; var.
ēmē(mi)). Enter, come in. Ėmūn-kē! Ėmēn-kē!
Come in! N-ēmūn-ja-n i-munu_łtā, it enters
into his/her blood. Ti-w-ēmēn-je wakapu
oota_łtao, s/he entered into the hole in the
wakapu tree.
ēmīsa (N) Nice person. Mēe_n-ai ēmīsa _me,
this one is nice (Port. simpático). Matawarе
eemi-h-ton t-ēne-pore, ēmīsa_me, Matawaré’s
daugthers are pretty and nice. [Maybe related
to ēmijē, soft. It is not clear whether it refers
to physical appearance or to behavior]
ēno(mi) (Va). Gather; get together. Irē_po
pētunē kīn-ēmon ti-moît-h-ton_marē, there
the pētunē bird got together with all his
relatives. Irē_po, ë-re_pa ti-w-ēmon-je, there
his arrows (which had been thrown in all directions) had (accidentally) gathered. [⇒ Tr. mo(mi), gather O, put O together]

énanu(ku) (Va; non-Detr. [5.2.2, Table 5.4]). Climb, go up. Ma, mope_po_ken ahtao, tì-w-énanuu-se witoto, when he was next to the mope tree, the man climbed it. Tì-w-énanuu-se kawé, he climbed high. Kapu_pona tì-w-énanuu-se Jaraware, Jaraware ascended to heaven. [This verb is obviously related to its synonym anu(ku), go up, though the nature of the relationship remains unclear]

[t]éné (Vi). Eat O (meat; also eggs) (12.3.5). T-éné-ké! Eat (meat)! Ipun énè! Ipun t-éné! Eat the meat! limo énè-se_w-a-e, I want to eat eggs. Akuri enepa pa pakko, nèrè-npè anja n-énè, my father brought agouti (=game), and we ate it. É-énè-ewa_w-a-e, I am not going to eat you. Mataware eemi t-énè-e iì-ja, he ate Mataware's daughter. O-oti_pa, akè nènè ènè? As for your meat food, what did you usually eat?

énjeënë (A; nzr -to). Hungry. Énjeënë_w-a-e, I am hungry. Ki-tèn-nè iíwa-e, énjeënë kì-w-aeike, let's go hunting, because we are hungry. (6.1.1.5)

énpi (N). Several species of birds (Arremon spp., Fringillidae, Port. tico-tico [a kind of sparrow]; Uromyias agilis, Tyrannidae, Eng. agile tii-tyrant; Campylopterus griseus, Troglodytidae, Eng. bicolor wren).

énkume (Pp). Back grade form; ⇒ enkume, difficult.

épêpiri (N). A species of liana (Quatteria scandens, Annonaceae), used as liver medicine.

cépina (A; nzr -no)). Back grade of the fidelitive postposition epina; credulous, naive, considerate [⇒ epina]

céntë (N). Irregular non-possessed form; ⇒ ere(ni), smoke (4.3.1.4.3).

cérimikëri (N). A species of cricket.

cérimë (N). Irregular non-possessed form; ⇒ eri, clay, clay pot.

cérkë (N). Generic name for caterpillars.

érukëu (N). A species of tree (Port. sultur). ét (pfx). A general marker of reflexivity and reciprocity; on verbs, a detransitive. It has several allomorphs: ét-, ét-, èës-, èë-, èh-, è- (4.3.1.4; 4.3.1.3; 5.3.1.1; 7.1.3).

cétaara (Va). Adorn, embellish oneself. Irë-jë-n_me m-èt-aara-nd_ arekoere_ke; because of this, you adorned yourself with arakoere paint. [⇒ Tr. aara, embellish, adorn O]

étakkë(të) (Va). Cut oneself, each other.

Kitétakkë(e)_(a) k-ènpata_po, we cut ourselves a little on the face (while shaving). [⇒ Tr. akkë(të), cut O]

étakëëë (Pp, Recp). Together, with each other. Étakëëë n-të-n, they go together. [⇒ akkëëë, with]

étame(mi) (Va). Wrap itself around something.

Ékëë n-étamen-ja-n wëwe_pë, the snake wrapped itself up around the tree. Idiomatically, get close. Maa_tah-ken ékëë, n-étamen-ja-n iweike i-pë, the snake was very near, because it was getting closer ('rolling itself up around him'). [⇒ Tr. ame(mi), roll O up]

étamërenpo (Va). Be fooled, deceived. Étamërenpo-ewa meri, the squirrel did not let others fool him. [⇒ Tr. amërenpo, deceive O]

étamika (Va). Dig itself; open (hole). Nono i-w-étamika-hpë, mono, the opening of the ground, of a big hole on the ground. [⇒ Tr. amika, dig O]

étaminë(pë) (Va). Escape, disappear; go away unseen. T-étaminë-ja-e, I am sneaking out. [⇒ Tr. aminë(pë), steal O]

étamoihë (Va). Hang (itself); be hanging. Ti-w-étamoihë-e_to, they were hanging, hung themselves (snakes, on a tree). T-étamoihë-e, I hung myself (e.g. on a tree). [⇒ Tr. amoihë, hang O]

étamorehtë (Va). Dream. Serë apo t-étamorehtë wiraapa_pë, like this I dreamed of the wiraapa tree (from which bows are made). [⇒ Tr. amorehtë, dream of O]

étantë (Va). Make oneself a temporary hiding
shelter, made of straw (⇒ mînê). Ma, irê_mao ti-kooman-je ituu_roowê, ti-w-êtantê-e_marê, then he spent the night in the jungle, and he made himself a shelter, too. (⇒ Tr. antê, make O (temporary shelter)]

ètapê(i) (Va). 1 Hold on to, stick to. T-omoi ti-rê-e iê-ja, ti-w-ètapêh-toô-me meri_ja, the squirrel drove his claws into it, so as to hold on to it (= the cayman’s head). Irê_mao n-ai mêî e-i-j-akêreuh-hpê ètapêh-sewa ë-pê, then this guy’s disease will not ‘stick’ (hold on) to you. 2 Fight. Ti-w-ètapêh-sen_me, (people) who fight (with each other). 3 Have sex. Serê apo anja n-ètapêh-ja-e, this is how we have sex (lit. catch each other). 4 Fiddle, play with something. Twêrê-n i-munu-hpê_ke ètapêh-sewa eh-kê, do not be playing with someone else’s blood. 5 Pull oneself together; ‘gather oneself’. Ètapêh-kê_pa, gather yourself back! (said to a tapiw who had been cut up in pieces). (⇒ Tr. apê(i), get, catch O)

ètapêmê (Va). Be invited; gather. Irê_mao n-ètapêmê-n wîtoto, then people are invited (to help in the preparation of a field). [A transitive source, though unattested, probably exists]

ètapi(mi) (Va). Sew oneself (e.g. when one has an open wound). T-ètapin-ja-e, I am sewing myself. (⇒ Tr. apî(mi), sew O).

ètapo (Va). Grind (something) for oneself. T-ètapo-e wiî-pê, I will grind myself some cassava (to bake cassava bread). (⇒ Tr. apo, dig O, grind O; ètapo as ‘dig for oneself’ is presumably possible, but unattested)

ètapotoma (Va). Help oneself, work for oneself. T-ètapotoma-e, I am helping myself, working for myself. (⇒ Tr. apotoma, help O, work for O)

ètapuru (Va; -se form ètapurê-e [5.1.6]; takes -ja [5.4.1.3.11]). Close, cover oneself. T-ètapuru-ja-e, I am going to enclose myself (in a temporary shelter). (⇒ Tr. apuru, close O, cover O)

ètarê (Va). Take oneself; go. T-ètarê-e, I am going, taking myself (somewhere). (⇒ Tr. arê, take O)

ètawê (Pp, Recp). One inside the other; together, in the same house (7.1.3). I-pakorranna w-a-e... — Irême_npa ètawê k-eh-tê-ne!, I am homeless — Then let us live together in the same house! (⇒ awê, inside of N)

ètêu (Va; -se form ètêu-je). Remove oneself; come out. T-ètêu-ja-e, I am coming out (e.g. from the river, after a bath). (⇒ Tr. [t]êu, remove O)

èthêka (Va) 1 Be over; be finished. N-èthêka, it’s over, there aren’t any left (said to children, about candies). N-èthêka-n, it is almost over. N-èthêka_rêne_pîre, my arrows have really run out.-, I have no arrows left. 2 End. Serê i-w-èthêka-to menjaarê, that’s the end now (of the story that the speaker was telling). 3 Die, cease existing. Manko waa_t-ee-se, pahko waa_t-ee-se, ameraarê ti-w-èthêka-e, my mother had died, my father had died, they were all gone (= i.e. the speaker’s family). (⇒ Tr. üka, finish O, run out of O. The h in èthêka is difficult to explain. There is a verb ühka, but it means ‘frighten, scare Ô’, and there already is a form êh-èthêka, get scared. Moreover, è- ‘Detr’ with a consonant-initial stem (instead of ëi- or ë- ) is irregular. A vowel-initial stem ühka with êr- would be more regular, but it is unattested)

ètîrî (Va; -se form ètîrê-e; takes -ja). Work; make things (for oneself). Êkarê t-ètîrî-ja-e, I work by myself, I make things for myself (without help). M-ètîrî-ja-n? Are you working? Are you making yourself something? (⇒ Tr. [t]îrî, do, make O)

ètona(mî) (Va). Hide; bury oneself. Kî-pun_tao ahtao, kure n-ëtonan-ja-n, when it (=virus) is inside of our bodies, it hides itself well. (⇒ Tr. ona(mî), hide, bury O)

ètona(pî) (Va). Paint, grate O’s self. T-ëtono-ja-e, I am painting myself (⇒ Tr. paint, grate O)

ètur (Va; -se form èturê-e [5.1.6]; takes -ja [5.4.1.3.11]). Talk, speak (to someone, or in
public). T-ēturu-ja-e_rēken ēē-jaa-ne, I am just talking to you all (without serious consequences). Irēme ki-w-ēturu_se_w-a-e ēi-ja, so I want us to talk to each other. Anja n-ēturu-jaa-e anja i-w-eh-toh-pē, we (1+3) are talking [⇒ uru, warn, advise, talk to O]

[t]ēu (Vt; -se form [t]ēu-je; takes -ja). Remove O, take O out (usually from O's body) [syn. :sika]. Ėmēinē t-ēu! Ėmēinē ēu! Remove the thorn! Sīkē m-ēu-ja-n? Are you removing a chigger (e.g. from your foot)? Ė-sīkē ēutoponpē, akusa ema mahto_hta, after having removed the chigger (from your foot), throw the needle into the fire. [⇒ Detr. ētēu, remove oneself; come out]

ēu(mu) (Va; non-Detr [5.2.2, Table 5.4]). Warm up, become warm(er). T-ēun-ja-e, I am going to warm up. Ji-w-ēumu_se-w-a-e ē-ekatoa, I want to warm up close to you (i.e. from your body warmth). Ji-pawana j-ēunnēh-po-n, my friend is warming me up.

ēwaaje (A; var. waaje; nzr. ēwaaja-to). Back grade of the appreciative postposition ēwaaje; considerate, nice [⇒ ēwaaje]

ēwē (A; nzr. -(no)) Later. Ėwē_pa n-e, s/he came later. Ėwē_pa_mo apēh-kē! Get it later! Ėwē_pītē, wait a little (lit. later, a second).

ēwē(h) (Ptc). Jussive particle: let him/her... let me... (9.1.1, 5.4.2.2) Ėwē wi-tē-e! Let me go! Ėwē n-apēh! Let him/her get it! Ėwēh_to n-apēh! Let them get it! [The final h of ēwē(h) occurs when it is followed by the collective clitic _to; it probably results from a reducing syllable, the full grade of which is unattested]

_H_

-h (sfx). Coda grade of ⇒ -(ri).

h (Va). ⇒ tē[mī], go.

_hkaara_ (Ptc). Used after verb phrases to indicate certainty with surprise. Ti-papa eta_hkaara, ah! it's his father he has heard! (the speaker expected someone else to have been heard) [⇒ hkaarē, used with non-verb phrases; 9.1.3.2]

_hkaarē_ (Ptc). Used after non-verb phrases to indicate certainty with surprise. Taru_hkaarē! ah! it's Taru! (the speaker was not expecting Taru). Irē_po_hkaarē i-pata, his/her village is over there! (the speaker is surprised at the location). [⇒ hkaarā, used with verb phrases; 9.1.3.2]

_hkaasan_ (Ptc). This particle marks the alternative that the speaker would have preferred, as opposed to what was really the case (usually, but not always, like English instead in not this, but that, instead; cf. e.g. Spanish sino, German sondern; 9.3.1.2). Owa, wito_t_hkaasan w-eta-e, no, I am listening to a person instead (i.e. I am not working). Kēpēwa irē_pēh_ta wēnpūtē-npē t-ēiranoo-se i-moti-h-tomo_ka, i-pīh_pēkē_hkaasan, but that was not the reason why the bad shooter's relatives were angry at him; instead, it was because of his wife. Owa, ēmē_hkaasan_man-a-e pīja, no, you are small, not me.

_hkahta_ (Ptc). ⇒ _kahta, definitely, without fail.

_hka(ka)_ (Pp). Aquatic illative (‘into a liquid’, usually water) postposition (7.3.1.1.2). Irē_mao ti-tē-e_pa, tuna_hka_pa t-ēnmūi-se, then he went away, he went back into the river. [⇒ locative_hka, in (a liquid)]

_hkao_ (Pp). Aquatic inessive (‘in liquid’, usually water) postposition (7.3.1.1.1). Irēme t-ēne_ken i-ja tuna_hka, so he kept looking at her in the river. Iti ari-npē_mo tiŋē-h-kē, irē-npē_mo tuna_hkao tiri kapohta_sa, take leaves from an itu tree and put them in water for a little while. [⇒ directional hka(ka), ‘into a liquid’]

_hkatē_ (Ptc). This particle is used in equative clauses to attribute responsibility or importance (9.3.1.2). Ėmē_hkatē, it is up to you, mērē_hkatē, it's a necessary thing. In other kinds of clauses, it expresses a less clear element of emphasis: aja_hkatē kīn-arē, j-eemi, where on
earth did he take my daughter to?

_hkatēti (Ptc). This particle seems to indicate that a presupposition is being countered (cf. some uses of English come on, German doch; 9.3.1.2). K-ēne-kē_hkatēti, come on, just look at me, watch what I'm doing. W-ēne_hkatēti, I'll go see if it's true.

hkērēnma (Vt). Harass, attack, do evil to O. Wi-hkērēnma-e, I am going to threaten, attack, do evil to O. Ihkērēnma-tē, he is dangerous, violent. Pata ii-hkērēnma-e meekoro_ja, the Bush Negroes attacked, afflicted the village. Ėnnapi, ē-j-oroi, i-hkērēnma-n, mēkipēken-ton, your fruits, your cashew (trees), the animals are attacking them, stealing them. [⇒ Detr. ehkērēnma, be aggressive, do evil, sin]

-hkii (sfx). Collective marker on verbs in the future imperfective (5.4.1.2).

hkoroko (N). A species of bird (Hylopetes macularius, Formicariidae; Port. torom-torom-pintalgado, Eng. spotted antpitta) [The initial _hk (pronounced [h]) is suspicious; this word may be a borrowing from Kaxuyana. It was collected at the Missao Tiriós; at the Wayana-Apalai village of Bonna, moomooiri was given as the Tiriyo word for this species by local native speakers]

_hpe (Ptc). Indefinite particle, always used with interrogatives (9.1.4). Aki_hpe kīn-ārē, someone (= the speaker does not know who) took him/her/it away. Maa_tak ken Taru ahtao, tiwēren_mao aht aurē_hpe un_kilometru tahken, when Taru was near, I don't know how near, maybe one kilometer. Aja_hpe nītēn, s/he went somewhere, I don't know where.

-hpē (sfx). Nominal past marker, used with possessed -rī class nouns. (⇒ -npē, 4.3.1.5.1)

_hpije (Pp). Characterized by; full of; infested with (characterizative, 7.3.2). Wattē_hpije-n-ai, it is all dirty with excrement. Kana_hpije_n-ai tūna, the river is full of fish. Sikē_hpije_w-a-e, I am full, infested with chiggers. Wikarau_hpije_man-a-e, you are angry, full of anger.

_hpiṭīna_ka/kii (Pp). To(ward) the back of N

(7.3.1.2.2). Kanawa_hpiṭīna nī-tē-n, s/he is going to the back of the canoe. [⇒ locative _hpiṭīnao, at, in the back of N]

_hpiṭīnao (Pp). At, in the back of N (7.3.1.2.2). Kanawa_hpiṭīnao_n-ai, s/he is in the back of the canoe [⇒ pītīki, anus; ⇒ directional _hpiṭīna_ka/kii]

_hpiṭīki (N). Irregular possessed form; ⇒ pītīki, anus.

_hpofī (N). Body hair. Ji-hpofī, my body hair.

_hṭa_ka (Pp). 'Surrounding' directional postposition. Tēpu n-anota nono_hta, the stone fell on the ground. [⇒ locative _hta_ (surrounding')]

_hta_ (Pp). 'Surrounding' locative postposition (7.3.1.1.1). Tēpu_n-ai nono_htao, the stone is on the ground. Tēpu_n-ai tūpitē_htao, the stone is in the garden. K-oii mahto_htao kīpura_ja-e, we roast our meat on the fire. [⇒ directional _hta_ka], to(ward) a 'surrounding' position

_hṭaranma (Vt). Reduced grade; ⇒ (pī)htarēnma, inform, warn, cause concern in O.

htarēnumu (N). Jealousy. I-htarēnumu, jealousy of him/her. [Possibly related to htarēnma ⇒ (pī)htarēnma; the front grade of the initial h, though presumably also pī, is unfortunately unattested]

_hṭe (sfx). 'Beneficiativa' noun verbalizer (5.3.3.1.2).

htēnkapa (mī) (Vo; var. htēnkapa(mi)). Forget. Ji-htēnkapa, I have forgotten. Ni-htēnkapana, s/he has forgotten about me. [The initial h probably is the result of a reducing syllable; its full grade is unattested]

htēnkato (N). Forgetting. Ma, ire_mao tihtēnkato_me nī-waehka-e ii-ja pai_ka, then the tapir, having forgotten, jumped over it. [This word looks like a -t(o- po) nominalization of a verb; the presumed stem htēnka is, however, unattested]
i- (pfx). Third-person marker (3.3.1) on nouns (4.3.1.2) and postpositions (7.1.1) [allomorphs
*i- and -∅]
i- (pfx). ‘Generic’ prefix, found on i-adverbs (6.2.1.2) and various verb forms (5.1.5). It is probably historically derived from the third-
person i-; synchronically, however, it seems to have no function.
i (sfx). Hypothetical tense (5.4.1.3.5)
ihta (Ptc). Indicator of ‘surprise with anger’ (9.1.4). Wi-ka_ihta! I’ve already told you that!
Kí-të_ihta! Yes, we’re going—I’ve already told you that!
iija(no) (N). Part of the normalized form of ⇒
iijeeta, a lot.
iijeeta (A; nzr. iijan_ta). Many, much (used
with inanimates); a lot, really. Ma, irë_mao
përu_të-wëسامu-se, iijeeta, then the bow
plant cut itself up in many pieces. Irë_mao të-
wë-ëse iijeeta tuna, then lots of water came.
Irë_mao_rë iiijeeta k-akuikaa-ti, only then it
starts really hurting us a lot. [Usually pro-
nounced [i.jee.ta], but, when normalized, it
becomes [ii.jan.ta] more clearly] [It looks like a
negative form, which it probably was historically;
the normalized form shows this clearly]
iiikë (N). Kind of worm (Port. berne) which eats
its way into its host’s body. Iikë i-wë-më̊n-to
apo_ro_pa, it is like (the way) an iiikë enters
(into your body).
iima (Vo). ⇒ :ma, rise, fill up (river).
iimo (N). ⇒ :mo, egg.
iina (Vt). ⇒ :na, mock O.
iina (N). ⇒ :na, tuna, water.
iiiripë (N). Third-person possessed form of
(wi)ripë, evil spirit, evil thing (⇒ (wi)ripë)
iisika (Vt) ⇒ :sika, remove O
iiisoinë (N). A species of saki monkey
(Chiroptes satanas). [Probably derived with
-imë; source stem unattested]
ijakë (N). Rattlesnake (Port. cascavel).
ijje (Pp). 1 Wanting him/her/it; irregular third-
person form [⇒ desiderative postposition se].
2 His/her/its tooth [⇒ je(e), tooth]
jju (N). A species of hawk (Port. gavião-real).
ikamiiru (N). Coals, embers (in fire).
ikapusuru (N). Cloud. [Probably related to
capu, sky, heaven, thunder]
ikiriri (N). Younger brother (used by a female
speaker); young man. Ki-ikkiirë, our younger
brother (said by a woman to her sister)
(4.3.1.4.3, 12.3.1).
ikuupoora (A). No problems; without difficulties.
Owa irë, ikuupoora, eikari kët-a e kimë,
nc, no problem, we are by ourselves (= we are
friends, you can trust me). [Formally, the
negative abilitative (i- -poora; 6.2.1.2.3) form
of the transitive verb stem ku(ku), try O; i.e.
‘not being able, needing to try’ > ‘no problem’]
ikuruma(ka) (A; nzr. ikurune(i)). Dangerous.
Ikuruma_n-ai wiña, this is dangerous to me.
Irëme_n-ai sen ikuruma aeneme e-wë-
topo_ja, so this is dangerous to your life (=lit.
to your being alive). Irë-ton_n-ai ikuruneh-ton:
kë-munu, kë-kuru... These are the dangerous
things: our blood, our semen... Irë_me t-antë-
-e па ii-ja, ipëri amo'ë epoe, ikuruneh_po, then
he made another shelter, above the headwaters
of a narrow waterway, in a dangerous place.
(6.1.1.1).
ikuruna (A; nzr. ikurunmil(i)). Not danger-
ous, harmless. Ikuruna_n-ai eë-ja, this is
harmless to you. [⇒ ikuruma(ka), dangerous]
ikuru(nu) (N). Something which causes fear
in others; a protection. Ji-kuru, my weapon;
something to keep others away from me (e.g. a
dog); my guardian, my bodyguard. Ji-kuru-
me_n-ai, s/he is my watchman.[⇒ ikuruma(ka),
dangerous]
ikutupë (N). Lake; pond. Ikutupë wii-reë-ja-e,
I am crossing the lake. [Probably related to
words having the ku, liquid, formative; 12.2]
imatapi (N). Anaconda (also called ekëimë).
[Homophonous with, and perhaps related to,
the third-person possessed form of matapi,
manioc press].

-imē (sfx). Augmentative. *Oota, hole, oota-imē*, big hole, cave. (4.2.1.2).

i(mi) (Vt). ⇒ (mi), tie O.

in- (pfx). Third-person prefix, only used on the negative form of verbs (3.3.1, 5.4.3.1.3).

**ineku** (N). A kind of liana (Port. timbó), with poisonous sap; its sap, especially when used to kill fish. *Ineke_(ke) anja ni-tūn-ja-e, we poison (the river) with ineke (in order to kill the fish)*.

**ineku aphiipē** (N). A species of egret (*Casmerodius albus*, Ardeidae; Port. garça branca, Eng. *great egret*). [A noun phrase based on ineke, a species of poisonous liana; the word aphiipē is elsewhere unattested, and may be connected to the *api-*, wet, formative (12.2)].

**inēērē** (Ptc). An identifying particle. *Wē_inēērē*!

That’s me! I am him/her! I am the one just mentioned! *Wē_inēērē, nīrū, I am him, I am the nīrū cricket (said, in a folk tale, by the nīrū cricket to identify himself). Ėmē_inēērē, pihko waa_rī-ne-npē, you are the one who killed my older brother*. [This particle is certainly related to the animé anaphoric non-collective pronoun nērē (4.1.2)].

**intaka** (Vt). ⇒ ntaka, break O in half, translate O.

**inunu** (N). Large thing. *Inunu_me_n-ai, it is large (above the average). Inunu-ton, the large ones. Kēpēewa inunu_ke ti-jaarē-ē e-i-ja, akūi_ke_ia, but he made his temporary tree shelter with large, thick wood, not small, weak wood.*

**ipēkapūn** (N). Unused one. *Ipēkapūn_ke sikē t-ēu, remove chiggers with an unused (needle). [This word is probably a negative form derived from an unattested stem (presumably pēka)]*

**ipēmu** (N). Flower. *Ti-j-ēmēin-ke_n-ai ipēmu, the flower is thorny, has thorns.*

**ipēri** (N). 1 Narrow waterway. *Kēpēewa ipēri apa-hpē-ton, iima-ewa_nkērē_pā, but the little creeks that had lowered have not risen back yet. 2 Branch. Wewe ipēri, the branch of the tree.*

**ipūnumi(ni)** (N). Huge one; huge tree, a tree which people cannot climb. *Ipūnumi mono_pēkē-n nukē, the termine which lives on a huge (tree). [This word is certainly a negative (-mi(ni)) form (⇒ ipūnumna); source stem unattested (presumably (i)piņu)]*

**ipūnumna** (A). Isolated; without relatives. *Eeke_n-ai, ipūnumna tarēno? So, how is it? Are the Tiriyó isolated, without relatives? [This word is certainly a negative (-nna) form (⇒ ipūnumi(ni)); source stem unattested (presumably (i)piņu)]*

**irakē** (N). Very large species of ant (1-2 inches).


**irapuru** (N). A species of woodpecker (also called ⇒ kuriripipi) (*Drocoropus lineatus*, Picidae; Port. pica-pau de topefe vermelho, Eng. lineated woodpecker).

**irē** (Pro). Inanimate anaphoric non-collective, that (which was said; 4.1.2). *Mono_me_sa ji-w-eh-tumē, irē ji-waarē, (what I was like) after I got a little bigger, that I know. Irē_rē! That’s it! (= what you have said is correct).*

**irēmaarē** (A). Soon, later. *Irēmaarē_pa, see you soon (lit. soon again, a frequent leavetaking expression). Irēmaarē i-kuku_se_w-a-e, I will soon want to try it. [Probably related to irēme; 6.1.1.2].

**irēme** (Ptc). A conjunction (9.1.1) that marks a weak causal or temporal link; so, then. *Ma, irēme t-ēturu-ja-e ii-ja, so, I am talking to him. Pīja-n-pīst ēkēiJa ēēka-to apon, irēme kure tīwaarē eh-kē irē_ja, it is like the bite of a tiny snake, so be careful about it.(9.1.1).*

**irēneka** (Ptc). Finally, at last (9.1.1). *Irēneka wēri w-apē-ne, finally I got a wife (after having tried for some time).*

**(j)isireti** (N). Razor blade. *Ē-j-isireti_ke ōmoiī in-ehpoka-po-ewa ēkē, do not make your friend shave with your razor blade. [A
borrowing from Port. *gilete*, razor blade]

*isuhta* (Vo) ⇒ *suhta*, urinate.

*isuka* (Vt) ⇒ *suka*, wash O

*ito* (Ptc). Emphatic particle; its meaning is not well understood. *Anpo_nara_ito ji-nmuku? Where could my son possibly be? Mën-ee-ja-n _kara_ito? Are you really coming?

*itu* (N). Jungle, forest, woods. *Itu_htao n-urakanun-ja-n, s/he walks in the jungle. Kutuma irë kurano itu, the jungle is very good, pretty there. *Ituu_roowë-w-a-e*, I am in the middle of the jungle. *Jipawanu ni-tën itu waku-h-7a*, my friend went into the heart (lit. belly) of the jungle. *Itu-npë*, an area where there used to be jungles.

*itui* (N). A species of tree (*Protium aracouchni*, Burseraceae), with leaves that can be used as fever medicine.


*ituru* (N). Rapids; waterfall. *Março-po ah tuo, kana tapũme, ituru_marë iijëeta, konopo_marë iijëeta*, in March, the fish are plentiful, and there are many rapids and rains.

*iwa* (N). Vocative form. [⇒ *iwana*, iguana]

*iwa* (Vt). ⇒ *wa*, look for, search, go get O.

*iwana* (N). Species of iguana. A vocative form *iwa* occurs in folk tales.

*iweike* (Ptc). Causal conjunction (*‘because’*; 9.1.2, 11.7.1.1.2). *J-apëpen, s-etainka iweike*, I felt tired because I ran. [Originally, a third-person Ø-nominalized form of the copula *e(i)* with the instrumental postposition _ke_, i.e. *i-w-ët_ke_]

*iwirë* (N). Capybara, the world’s largest rodent (*Hydrochaeris hydrochaeris*, Port. *capivara*).

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*ihtë* (Va; non-Detr. [5.2.2., Table 5.4]; irreg. *p*-initial stem in the first-person (5.4.1.1.2), imperative (5.4.2.1), supine and habitual past (5.4.3.1.1), and negative (5.4.3.1.3) forms).

Go, get down, descend. *P ihtë-kë! Get down (e.g. from the top of a tree). Ji-w-ihtë_se_w-a-e, I want to go down. T-onoka_e_pa ii-ja, ii-re, tï-w-ihtë_e-pa*, he got his arrow (which was stuck on a tree) and went back down. [This stem was probably *p*-initial at some point]

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*j- (pfx). First-person marker on nouns (4.3.1.2), postpositions (7.1.1), and verbs (5.4.1.1). [allomorphs *j-, ji-*]

*_jja* (Pp; irregular first-person (*wiJa*) and reciprocal (*ëjJa*) form; lengthens all vowel-final prefixes; 7.3.4.1, 11.4.2). 1 To(ward). *Manko_ja wi-të-e, I am going to my mother’s* (house, village). 2 Dative/beneficiary/experiencer marker. *Maja w-ekarama-ë-ë-ja, I am giving a knife to you. Kinka wiJa, s/he said to me. Kure wiJa, it is good to me, I appreciate it. Sen wiJë-ë-ja, I have made this for you. 3 Causee. *Epë wi-pahka-po-ë-j-inmuku-ru_ja, I am making my son break the seat. 4 Agent (with remote past or nominalized verb forms). L-papa t-ëeka-ë-ëkëi_ja, a snake bit his/her father. *Eeka-topo-npë ëkëi_ja*, his/her having been bitten by a snake.*

*-jJa* (sfx). Present imperfective suffix on verbs (5.4.1.3.1).

*jahka* (Vt). Causativized (with *-ka*) form of *ja(tu)*, burn, be burning. [⇒ *ja(tu)]

*jahkapamë* (Vo). ⇒ *jakaapa(më)*, dry out (leaves, wood).

*jahkë* (N). Red howler monkey (*Alouatta seniculus*, Port. *guariba*). [Called *arawara* at Tepoe, a word which Missão Tirirós speakers considered a borrowing from Wayana]

*jahpë* (N). Goods, utensils; all that is necessary for a living. *Ji-jahpë*, my goods, my materials.

*jahpëntë* (Vt). 1 Provide O with necessary goods; provide for O. *Pahko ti-jahpëntë-e wiJa, I provided for my father (food, clothes, utensils, medicine, etc.). Kure kë-jahpëntë,*
naapohpa, you gave me what I needed, thank you. 2 Help O. A-apē-sewa_w-a-e, “ki-jahpēntē_pā” wika_hkaasan, I am not going
to catch you, ‘I will help you’, I said, instead.
⇒ Detr. ēsahpēntē, help oneself, get out of
trouble
jai (N). Used by animals in folk tales as a
vocative, to call someone’s attention (⇒ jako,
kori, used, respectively, by men and women).
Nna_ken_pohpa_nara ji-kaari-rī, jai, tī-ka-e
iwana kaikui_ja, such is my strength (= I am
really strong), my friend, said the iguana to the
jaguar. (One speaker remarked that, according
to his father, animals call each other jai
instead of jako.)
jaima (Vt). Disperse, scatter O, drive O away
(animate; e.g. a group of animals). I-jaima-kē!
Drive them away! Disperse them! Wi-jaima-e,
I am driving them away [syn. erenma, used
when the O participant is not a group, but a
single individual]. ⇒ Detr. ēsaima, disperse,
scatter
jaka (Vt). Break O (bread, cassava). Wi wii-
jaka-e, I am breaking the cassava bread. ⇒
Detr. eejaka, break (bread, cassava)
jakaapa(mī) (Vo; var. jahkapa(mī)). Dry out
(leaf, wood). Ti-jahkapan-je, dried out (said
by a speaker, pointing at dry leaves). Ni-
jahkapan-ja-n, it is drying out. Ma, i-jakaapan-
tuuvē, i-jahka-tuuvē_marē, irē_mao, onken-
taa_n-ai wito, oroko_me mono_me, after (all
the leaves and trees that had been cut) are all
dried out and burned, people do not rest, they
work a lot.
-(jakkē(mī)) (sfx). Future perfective suffix on
verbs (5.4.1.3.2).
-(jakkē(ne)) (sfx). Past imperfective suffix on
verbs (5.4.1.3.3)
Jako (N). A vocative form, used by men to call
another man’s attention. (Jako cannot be used
by men to address women, nor vice-versa.)
Are you well? What are you doing? [Possibly
related to akēmi, younger brother, or to
akēērei, with]
jamu(ku) (Vt). Cut a piece of O [syn. ekirika].
Wi-jamuu-ja-e, I am cutting a piece of it. ⇒
Detr. ēsamu(ku), cut a piece of oneself
japēkēnma (Vt). 1 Make O be poor, in need.
Wi-japēkēnma-e, I make him/her poor. 2 Harm
O. Ki-ja_kī-japēkēnmaa-ti, you have harmed
me (economically or otherwise) many times.
⇒ Detr. ēsapēkēma, be poor, in need; notice
the unexpected simple m instead of nm
jara (N). A shelf or platform, made of wood,
used as a shelf for objects; also, a similar
platform, built on top of a tree, used as
temporary shelter or hiding/waiting place (e.g.
while hunting, waiting for game). [syn. jarakapi]. I-jara, his jara.
jarahē (V). Build a jara on top of O (a tree),
so as to have a temporary shelter. Irēme oroi
ti-jarahē- e iij-a, wito, then the guy built
a platform in the cshew tree. Kāwē ti-jarahaē-
e iij-a, he made a jara high (= on a tall tree).
⇒ jara, temporary shelter
jarakapi (N). Apparently, the same as jara. I-
jarakapi, his jara. Irēme i-nnapī ti-mon-je iij-
a, mēērē i-jarakapi epinēken, then that guy
gathered all his fruit under his jara. ⇒ jara,
shelf, temporary shelter
jareema (Vt). Have sex (apparently, a ‘milder’
word than its synonym eku). Wēri i-jareema-n
_mahtao, when having sex with a woman.
jarjari (N). A species of blue-faced parrot
(Amazona amazonica, Psittacidae; Port. papa-
giao-do-mangue).
jariwēēru (N; var. jariwēēru). Name used for
several species of birds (Tyrannidae: Arundin-
cola leucocephala, Eng. white-headed marsh
tyrant; Pyrocephalus rubinus, Eng. vermilion
flycatcher; Pyrrhomyias cinnamomea, Eng.
cinnamon flycatcher).
ja(tu) (Vo). Burn, be burning. Li-jaa-ja-e, I am
burning, I am on fire. Irē i-pirih-kē e-jatu-
hpē, rub this on your burn, on your burned
part. *Mahto_ja e-jah-ka-tuawē*, after being burned by fire. *Irē_mao ti-jah-ka-e ii-ja, wēri-ja*, then she, the woman, burned it.  
[⇒ jahka, burn O (causativized form)]

[tjje (Vt). Cook O (in water). *K-oṭi wī-je*, I am cooking our meat (e.g. as a broth). *Mi-je-n? Are you cooking it? Ti-je ii-ja, oōi_me, he cooked it, as his (=someone else's) food. Ti-je-kē! Cook it!  
[⇒ Detr. ēēse, cook for oneself]

je(e) (N). Tooth. *Ji-je*, my tooth, my teeth. *Jee_pēkē-n, a dentist (lit. someone who busies him/herself with teeth)*.

jeepurutu (N; var. jehkurutu). A species of owl  
(Asio stygius, Strigidae; Eng. stygian owl).  
[⇒ jehkurutu]

jehkurutu (N). Species of owl (Strigidae: Otus albogularis, Eng. white-throated screech-owl; Otus watsonii, Port. coruja-de-orelha, Eng. tawny-bellied screech-owl). [This word may actually be simply a variant of jeepurutu, i.e. jeepurutu may possibly be used for these two species as well]

jekema (Vt). Do O fast; hurry about O; hasten to, about O. *Eeke_rēn wi-jekema-n? Why should I do it fast, hurry about it? (= I can still wait a little while).  
[⇒ Detr. ēēsekema, hurry; start affecting] *Koko ren ki-jekema-tahki, pupunja jeri, k-uru-kon_me*, tomorrow, we will go ahead and get the green (unripe) pupunja to be our food (i.e. we will not wait for it to ripen).


jemipa(mī) (Vo). Feel, be hungry. *Ji-jemipanja-e*, I am getting hungry.

jeneru (N). Drunkenness. *Ji-jeneru po_w-a-e*, I am drunk (lit. in my drunkenness). *Ē-nmuku kīn-tēn sen_tae, tī-ka-e, tī-jeneru_pona*, your son went this way; he was getting drunk (lit. he was [going] toward his own drunkenness).  
[This may be a j-adding stem; J-less instances are unfortunately unattested]

-je(pe) (sfx). Ineruditive suffix on verbs (5.4.1.3.5) [The final (pe) is being lost]

jetipē (N). Bone. *Ji-jetipē*, my bone(s).  
[Possibly related to je(e), tooth; -tipē may be an older form of the nominal past suffix -hpē, i.e. 'bone' = 'ex-tooth']

jetu(nu) (N). Pain; painful thing [syn. kutu(nu)]. *Ji-jetu, my pain. Ė-jetu-nu-npē, the pain you had. Koa... koa... tī-ka-e, kunawaru i-nmuku, i-ēpi jetun_ke, (groans), said the son of the kunawaru toad, because of the pain of (= caused by) his medicine. Ė-wē-einema jetun_ke ē-emi m-ekarama-ne wija, because of the pain of your drunkenness, you gave me your daughter. [This word seems to belong to a higher register. It may be historically related to its synonym kutu(nu)]

jije (Pp). 1 Wanting me; irregular first-person form  
[⇒ desiderative postposition se]. 2 My tooth  
[⇒ je(e), tooth]

johpa (Vt). Give O something to drink. *Nēēre i-susu_ke ē-nmuku in-johpa-po-ewa ehkē, do not give your son that one's (=someone else's) milk to drink. [From joki, drink, with -pa]


joika (Vt). I Polish, smooth(en) O (i.e. so that its surface becomes smooth); scrape O; cut small pieces off O [syn. taika]. *Pirēw wi-joiaka-e*, I am polishing, smoothing the arrow. *Épē_marē_mo i-joika, tūna_hkao tī-rī-too_me ēē-ja, scrape, cut small pieces off the surface (bark) of the tree, so as to put (the scrapings) into water.

jokī (N). Drink (generic noun; 11.5.1.3, Table 11.4). *Tūna_se_w-a-e, ji-joki_me, I want water as my drink, I want water to drink. Irē_mao kure n-e-ja-n ē-jokī, then your drink becomes good.*

jokoorka (Vt). Gather O (fruit) [syn [t]pē(pī)].  
Eperu wi-jokoorka-e, I am gathering fruit. *Mēējan tī-w-ēēsalma-e, i-nnapi i-jokoorka-ne-ton, they dispersed, the ones who were gathering his fruits.*
jomita (Vo). Speak; produce speech. I-jomita-ewa_nkērē, he does not speak yet (referring to a baby). Irē_mao awainia_mao akī tī-jomita-e, then, when the sun was rising, who spoke? (said, in a folk tale, about a dog who was going to scold his owner). Irē_mao tī-jomita-e_re, then he spoke in vain. [⇒ omi, voice, speech, word(s), language, with -ta]

jon (N). Wrapping. Ji-jon, my wrapping; thing for wrapping me. Tī-jon-ke sen, i-jetēpē this is wrapped, his bone. (The final n certainly is a reducing syllable; the full grade (probably mu) is, however, unattested)

jonka (Vt). Unwrap O. Irē_mao Mataware kīn-jonka, then Mataware unwrapped it. [⇒ jon, wrapping, with -ka]

jonpa (Vt). Address O, start speaking to O; greet O [syn. ku(ku)]. Irēnehka kunawaru tī-jonpa-e ii-ja, at last he addressed (dared talk to) the kunawaru toad. Irē_mao tī-kuw-se ii-ja, tī-jonpa-e ii-ja, then he greeted him, he started talking to him. [⇒ omi, voice, speech, word(s), language, with -pa]

jontē (Vt). Wrap O; provide O with a wrapping. Tī-jontē-e_marē ii-ja, kure, he wrapped it well (so that others could not see what was inside). [⇒ jon, wrapping, with -ntē]

jooka (Vt). Make O fall (fruit); harvest O. Pahko ni-jooka-po-nē manko_ja, my father makes my mother harvest the fruit. Serē apo_roken ahtao anja serē i-jooka-e, only when it is like that did we use to harvest it.

jorohpa(mi). (Vo). Become crazy; become dizzy, queasy. Ji-jorohpan-ja-e, I am getting crazy (e.g. running in circles and screaming, as if possessed by a spirit); I am getting dizzy, queasy. [This word is probably derived from a stem meaning 'evil spirit' (cf. Wayana jorok), unfortunately unattested but possibly existent]

joto (N). Future spouse; lover. J-enao_marē-n-ai ji-joto, my lover is also with me (in the hammock).

_juhkīi (Pp). Onto [syn. _juuwēna(ka/kīi)]. Ji-pawana nū-tēn tēpu_juhkīi, my friend went on top of the rock. Téeseka-e i-potī_juhkīi, he jumped onto his (=cayman's) muzzle. [⇒ locative _juuwē]

jum (Intj). Bending, wrapping itself around something. Epī tī-juuka-e ii-ja, jum, tī-wētāmēn-too_me_pa, they (= two snakes) bent the tree, jum, so as to wrap themselves around it.

junna (Vt). Make magic, cast spells with O. Serē_n-ai pijai_ja i-junma-topo-npē pena ahtrao, this is something that shamans used to cast spells long ago.

junne (A; nzm. -no). Wise; adult, grown-up. Junne ēmē ahtrao, when you are adult.

juuka (Vt). Bend O. Kin-juuka, s/he bent it. Epī tī-juuka-e ii-ja, s/he bent the tree trunk. [⇒ Detr. ejuuka, bend; hang one's head]

juuru (N). Time; hour. Ati juuru? What time is it? At what time? Ati juuru_hpe, jiwame, I don't know when, I don't know what time (it happened). [A borrowing from Sranan yuru, ultimately from Dutch uur; oora, from Port. hora, is also found]

_juuwē (Pp). On (top of) N. I-munu-hpe mū-ri-ja-n ē-j-ēikēēkē_juuwē, you are putting his/her blood on your wound. Arīwe_ja t-ērē-e, tūna_juuwē, the cayman took him (to the other side of the river), on (the surface of) the water. Maja_n-ai ēpē_juuwē, the knife is on top of the seat. [⇒ directional _juhkīi, _juuwēna(ka/kīi), onto; 7.3.1.2.1]


K

k- (pfx). First-person dual inclusive marker on nouns (4.3.1.2), postpositions (7.1.1), and verbs (5.4.1.1). It causes vowel ablaut (2.6.1, 5.1.1).

k(i)- (pfx). ⇒ kī-
-ka (sfx). Prative noun verbalizer (5.3.3.1.1).
-ka (sfx). Transitivizer used on reducing S0 verb stems (5.3.1.2).
ka (Va; non-Detr [5.2.2, Table 5.4]; irregular person conjugation (5.4.1.1.2); unexpectedly takes -ne ‘Actual A nominalizer’ (4.2.2.1.1)). Say, tell. Serë _rëken wi-ka-e ẽẹ-ja, only this I tell you. Used with ideophones: përerë n-ka-n, it is drizzbling (9.2.2).
kaaje (N). A species of bird (Tyrannus savana, Tyrannidae; Port. tesseru, Eng. fork-tailed flycatcher).
kaakau (N). A species of hawk (Daptrius americanus, Falconidae; Eng. red-throated caracara).
kaanuku (Vt). Press O (manioc, with a manioc press: ⇒ matapi). W-ekí-ja-e jii-wí-ri, wi-kaanu-ja-e, I am preparing our cassava bread, I am pressing it.
kaara (Ptc). A particle; its meaning is not well understood. “Mee anja n-enpa-e” ka-kë kaara, tell (him) that we are teaching this guy.
kaarame (A; nmr. -(no)). Bitter. Kaarame_n-ai t-ëni-se-n, the tëniisen (alcoholic beverage) is bitter.
kaari (N). Strength. Nna_ken_pohpa_nara ji-kaari-ri, jai, tì-ka-e iwana kaikui ja, such is my strength (= I am really strong), my friend, said the iguana to the jaguar. Kaari_me_w-a-e, I am strong. Kaari_me_n-ai anja i-j-omi, our language is strong (said as a comment on the fact that the Kaxuyana, newcomers among the Tiriyo, had all learned to speak Tiriyo).
kaasujana (N). Kaxuyana, a member of the Cariban group which moved to the Missão Tiriós area in the early 1960’s (1.3).
khahta (Ptc; sometimes hkahta). Definitely, without fail. Kokoro_mo oh-kë_khahta, do come tomorrow, without fail.
kahta (Vo). Drip (a liquid). Ni-kahta-n, it is dripping
kaikë (N). A species of fox (Cerdocyon thous).
kaikui (N). 1 Jaguar (Panthera onca), ocelot (Felis pardalis). Irë_mao kaikui_me t-ëmeta-e, then he became (= changed into) a jaguar. Kaikui n-ee-ja-n a-apëh-too_me, a jaguar comes to catch you. 2 Domestic dog (Canis familiaris). J-ekë kaikui, my pet dog. Kaikui t-eekatakate-e, the dog flapped his ears. [It is not infrequent, in Cariban and other Amazonian languages, to find the same word used for both jaguars and dogs]
kaikuiuse (N). Species of birds (Buconidae: Hypnelus ruficollis, Eng. russet-throated puffbird; Capitonidae: Eubucco bourcierii, Eng. red-headed barbet). [The name looks like kaikui, jaguar, with the desiderative postposition se, i.e. ‘liking jaguars’ (maybe ‘the one who likes jaguars’?)]
kaimo (N). Game. Ji-kaimo akuri, my agouti (which I killed); my game, agouti. Ji-kaimo wi-wekena-e, I am running after my game. Mëe tì-wë-kë jako, ë-kaimo-ri, shoot this one, friend, it is your game!
kaimota (Vo). Have game. Ji-kaimota_e akuri _ke, I am getting game, agouti; I am going to get agoutis. ⇒ kaimo, game, with -ta
kaina(no) (N). New one. Èkëreu kainan_pë, AIDS eka, i-ponoh-to serë, this is to tell about the new disease, called AIDS.
kairen (N). Mosquito net. Ji-kairen, my mos-
quinot net. [A borrowing of unknown source]
kairi (N). Broth; soup. Ki-kairi wi-rī-ja-e, I am making our broth.
kairintē (Vt). Provide O with broth, soup. 
Pahko ti-kairintē-e wiWa, I provided my father with broth (i.e. I provided for his needs). [⇒ kairi, broth, with -ntē]
kajakē (N). A species of deer (Mazama gouazoubira, Eng. gray brocket deer).
kajama (N). Flour; cassava flour. Ėrepa t-ēnee-se ii-ja, kajama, s/he brought food, cassava flour. Kura-no kajama t-ee-se, the flour looked good.
kamiita (Vo). Produce embers; have embers, coals (fire). Ni-kamiita-n, it (fire) is producing embers. [⇒ ikamiira, embers, with -ta]
kamisa (N). Loincloth. Ji-kamisa, my loincloth. Irēme i-kamisa t-eepina-e-ken, then his loincloth was dragging.
kan (N). God. Kan panpira, the Bible (lit. God’s book). [The final n is probably a reduced syllable; full grade unattested]
kana (N). Fish. Kana ema-to, fishing (lit. fish throwing). Kana w-ema sen_po, I caught (lit. threw) a fish here. Kana t-ēhkē-se ii-jaamaño, they cut fish. (Reference to a kind of nighttime fishing, practiced when the fish come close to the river banks and people with flashlights can kill them with a quick swing of their machetes).
kamitēkē (N). A species of parasite (tick).
kananame (A; nrs. -no). Yellow; also beige, orange. W-onoo-ja-e kananama-n-ke, I am painting him with yellow paint. Kananama-n-epi, medicine for yellow (fever). Kananama-n_tao eēmē ahīaow, when you have (lit. are in) yellow fever.
kanawa (N). Canoe (and, by extension, other vehicles); also, a big tree, from which canoes are made. Ti-kanawa-h_tao ni-tēn, he went in his own canoe. Ji-kanawa w-apērmihaka-e, I am slowing down my canoe (also: my car). Pahko i-kanawa poti apēh-kē, get the bow of my father’s canoe.
kana-waimē (N). Airplane. Akī n-eeja-kanawaimē_tac? Who is coming in the airplane? [⇒ kanawa, canoe, vehicle, with the augmentative -imē]
kane (N? A?). Genenrous. Kane_marē w-a-e, I am generous.
kankamuri (N). Species of gecko.
kap (Intj). Noise of shooting an arrow. Kap! tūnapan-nē... tēn_ken_pa, kap! tūnapan-nē... tēn_ken_pa, kap! tūnapan-nē... Kap! (=he shot an arrow), then he waited... again, kap!, then he waited... again, kap!, then he waited...
kapaī (N). Species of armadillo (Dasypus spp.). Irē_po n-epoo-ja-n oto-ton, kapai, kurimau, kuriya... There they find game: armadillos, pacas (labbas), and turtles...
kapaīsana (N). A species of eagle (Harpia harpyja, Accipitridae; Port. águia real, Eng. harpy eagle).
kapi (N). A species of liana (Prionostoma aspera, Celastraceae), used as medicine for burns. Kapi ahkēh-kē, cut some kapi.
kapiten (N). Village chief, captain [syn. karaman]. W-ene_marē, karaman irē_po, Pesaihpē; kapiten-ton, irē apo, tapiēme namo_ro irē_po, I saw him too, the local chief, Pesaihpē; the chiefs there, they are many. [A borrowing from Dutch kapitein]
kpa [(p) (Vt)]. Weave O; make O (by weaving). 
Tuenuku wi-kaa-ja-e, I am weaving a basket. Jīn-kapi-h-ton, the things I weave, the things I can weave. Matapi ti-kah-kē, manare ti-kah-kē, wētapi ti-kah-kē, make a manioc press,
make a sieve, make a hammock (i.e., learn how to make all these things; advice given by an older man to a young boy).

**kapohta** (A; znzr. -no). A long time. *Irē_po anja n-ei, Suurinan_po, kapohta*, there were, in Surinam, for a long time. *Irē-npē_mo tuna_hka tī-ri kapohtaα sa*, put it in water for a little while. *Kapohtaα-no_wī*, I am one who takes a long time. [Apparently, a lexicalized negative (_ta(like)_)) form; source stem unattested]

**kapopīn** (N?). Different; unlike the others. *Kapopīn_wī*, I am different. [This word looks like a negative (-pī(nī)) nominalization; source stem unattested]

**kapu** (N). Sky, heaven. *Irē_mao, manan_manan tī-ka-e kapu, tīrīm tī-ka-e*, then the sky was full of lightning (lit. said manan_manan) and thunder (lit. said tīrīm). *Kapu_pona tī-wēnanu-ν se Jaraware*, Yaraware went up, ascended to heaven _kara* (Ptc). Used after verb phrases, apparently as a marker of strong doubt or incredulity. *Mēn-ee-ja-n_kara_ito*? Are you coming? Really? [⇒ karē, used after verb phrases; 9.1.3.2]


**karaiwa** (N). Brazilian; white person from Brazil (⇒ pananakiri, non-Brazilian white person). *Ji-wame karaiwa i-j-omi*, I don’t know the language of the Brazilians. *Serē_pona wēe-ne, serē karaiwa nono_pona*, I came here, to the land of the Brazilians.

**karaka** (Vt). Rip off O; cut (a piece of) O off.. *I-karaka-hpē* the parts that were cut off. *Wi-karaka-e*, I am cutting off O parts which stand out (e.g. when smoothing its surface); I am cutting grass (to clear an area).

**karakara** (N). A species of cormorant (*Phalacrocorax olivaceus*, Phalacrocoracidae; Eng. olivaceus (neotropic) cormorant). Also used to identify two species of parakeet (Psittacidae: *Aratinga acuticaudata*, Eng. blue-crowned parakeet; *Aratinga leucophthalmus*, Eng. white-eyed parakeet). [Cormorants and parakeets look different enough for this identification to be suspicious]

**kakurari** (N). Money. *Ē-kakurari pa? How about your money? Ji-kakurari apēe-se_pitē wī-tē-e, I’ll go get my money (and then I’ll come back).* Ahtaarē karāri? How much money (does this cost)?

**karama(no)** (N). Village chief [syn. kapiten]. *Irēme i-karama n-ēturu-ja-n tī-pēeto-rī_ ja, then their chief talks to them, to his people (‘servants’, ‘subjects’).

**karapa** (N). Palm oil, applied to one’s hair, so that it looks shiny. *Karapa i-pēh_ ta t-e-e-se, he did not use karapa oil on his hair. Onopī-naa, i-karapa-nna, tī-wē-e i-j_ ja, without paint, without karapa oil, he shot.*

**karapa(mi)** (Vo). Ferment. *Ni-karapan-ja-n*, it is fermenting (said about alcoholic beverage in preparation).

**karapapuhpē** (N). A species of bird (*Ochiteca fumicolor*, Tyrannidae; Eng. brown-backed chat-tyrant)

**karapa aririnpē** (N). Species of hawks and falcons (Accipitridae: *Buteo albigula*, Eng. white-throated hawk; Falconidae, *Micrastur semitorquatus*, Eng. collared forest falcon) [The name looks like a compound; ⇒ karapa, palm oil; ⇒ arī, leaf; content]


**skarauma** (Vt). ⇒ (wi)karauma, irritate O.

**skarauta** (Vo). ⇒ (wi)karauta, become angry.

**skaruwa** (Vo). ⇒ (wi)karuwa, become angry.

_kaɾē_ (Ptc). Used after non-verb phrases, apparently as a marker of strong doubt or incredulity. *Kura-no_kaɾē? Is that really pretty? (i.e. the speaker is not willing to believe that it is pretty).* (9.1.3.2)
kariwa (N). Gourd. Tēpu-pisi_n-ai kariwa_tao, the little stone is in the gourd. Kariwa w-arihatē-e tuna_ke, I am filling the gourd with water.

karuta (N). Ornament worn around the knee; knee band. Ji-karuta, my knee band. Ji-karuta eena (also ji-karuteena), the area around (and behind) my knee.

kasihi para (N). Machete. Kasihi para t-ēnee-se ii-ja, she/he brought a machete.

kataari (N). Basket with a strap, worn around the forehead, used for transporting heavier items (firewood, game, etc.). Ji-kataari, my basket. Kataari t-īkah-kē, make a basket (i.e. learn, know how to make a basket).

katakā (Vt). Beat dust off O (e.g. one’s clothes) with one’s hands. Wi-katakā-e, I am beating the dust off O. [= Detr. ekatakā, used to describe a dog flapping his ears]

katamūmē (N). A species of liana (Groton pullei, Euphorbiaceae) [A lexicalized augmentative; the presumable source stem katamū was declared non-existent by several speakers]


kau (N). Cow, cattle. Kau-pēkē-n, cowboy. Pena kau i-pun oit_pe, menjaarē oit_me, long ago cow meat was not food (to us); nowadays it is. [A borrowing from Sranan kaw, ultimately from English cow. Some speakers have declared that, when cow meat (actually, buffalo meat) was first introduced by the missionaries at Missão Tiriós, many people found it rather disgusting and would vomit if they happened to eat it. Nowadays, however, this is not the case anymore.]

kaukane (N). A species of hawk (Micrastur ruficollis, Falconidae; Eng. barred forest-falcon)

kawē (A; nzr. -no). High; tall. Irē_mao tī-wē-tī-wē-e ii-ja, wīrari_ke, kawē, then he shot poisoned arrows high several times. Irē_mao tī-w-ēmanu-se kawē, then he climbed up high. Wēri kawē-no n-ee-ja-n, the tall woman is coming.

-ke (Pp). I Instrumental. W-akhēe-ja-e maja_ke, I am cutting it with a knife. 2 Cause. J-emamina-e, mure_me ji-wei_ke, I play, because I am a child (lit. with my being a child).

3 Oblique complements of -ta verbs: Ji-pihta-e kariwa_ke, I am getting a wife, a Brazilian. Ji-jokīta-e tunā_ke, I am having a drink, water. Ji-kaimota-e akuri_ke, I am getting game, agouti. (7.3.4.2, 11.4.2)

-ke (sfx). Part of ⇒ t- -ke, having.

kehka (Vt). Stop O; causative form (⇒ ke(pī), stop).

ken (Intj). End (of a sequence of noises). Irē_mao_rēken pa tī-ē-e nīrī, sirīn sirīn sirīn sirīn kurun ken, only then did the nīrī cricket go sirīn sirīn sirīn sirīn (its own noise), kurun (entering a hole), ken (end).

kena (Ptc). Ignorative sentence-equivalent particle (9.2.1). Kena, ōmē_hkatē, I don’t know, it’s up to you.

ke(n) (Ptc). Continuative. Sen_po_ken_w-a-e, I am here (and have been, for a while). Irē_mao kaewa_ken t-ee-se, then he remained silent (for some time). (9.1.5)

ke(pī) (Vo). Finish; stop. Ji-ke, ji-kepī, I stopped. Irēnehka konopo ni-kepī, finally the rain stopped. Motoro i-kepī_se_w-a-e, I want the motor to stop. Ji-kanawa wi-kehka-e, I am going to stop my canoe.

-ke(pī) (sfx). Cessative suffix, used to derive verbs from verbs and some nouns (5.3.3.2.2).

kepīn (Intj). Noise of stopping. Ma, irē apo-neta-tuawē nīrīja, tī-kee-se nīrī, kepīn, after hearing things like these, the nīrī cricket stopped, kepīn. [Certainly related to ke(pī), stop].

-ke(tī) (sfx). Used with the ‘generic’ i- prefix as a ‘Actual S’ nominalizer (4.2.2.1.3)

kewe (N). Fishhook. Ji-kewe, my fishhook. Kewe w-ema-e, I am throwing the fishhook. Pijanaroi_rēken i-kewe_me, only hawk nails
were his fishhooks, he only had hawk nails for fishhooks.

-kē (sfx). Second-person static imperative suffix on verbs (5.4.2.1).


kē (N). Fever. Kēi_ke ēmē ahtao, if you have fever. Serē næ-ai kēi epi, this is fever medicine.

kēpa(mi) (Vo). Have fever. Ji-kēpan-ja-e, I have fever (syn. kēi_ke w-a-e). [⇒ kēi, fever, with -pa(mi)]

kēpēwa (Ptc). Adversative conjunction (‘but’, ‘however’; 9.1.1. [syn. mērēme]). Irē-mao, pīrēu apona润 i-ēnīkē-se ii-ja, kēpēwa pīrēu-ja, then he cut something like an arrow, but it was not really an arrow. Tuvei me pai, kēpēwa wīraapa tēn_ken, there were two tapirs, but only one pau-d’arno tree. [Probably an old negative verb form (⇒ -sewa); source stem unattested]

kinakina (N). A species of parrot (Deropteryx accipitrinus, Psittacidae; Port. anacã, papagaio de coleira, Eng. red-fan parrot).

-kinje (sfx). Used with the ‘generic’ prefix i- as an noun adverbializer, meaning ‘having a little, undersized N’ (6.2.1.2.4)


kū (Intj). Rubbing motion. Maaru_ke i-ēpēa enkīka-ne, kū kū, with cotton he wiped his (someone else’s) tears, kī kī. Irēme wīse ti-kīka-e ii-ja, kū..., then he rubbed anatto (on his chest), kū... [Probably related to kūka, rub O, and maybe to [tjik], grate O]

kijjeru (N). A species of parakeet (Psittacidae, Aratinga solstitialis, Port. jandaia, Eng. sun parakeet)

kīka (Vt) Rub, wipe O. Irēme wīse ti-kīka-e ii-ja, kīi..., then he rubbed anatto (on his chest), kīi... [⇒ ekīka, rub itself, be rubbed]

kija (N). A species of cricket.

kijapoko (N). Several species of toucans (Ramphastidae), among which: Ramphastus tucanus, Port. tucano de bico avermelhado, Eng. red-billed toucan; Ramphastus cuvieri, Cuvier’s toucan; Ramphastus cumanatus, Eng. yellow-ridged toucan.


kije (Pp). 1 Wanting us; irregular first-person dual inclusive form [⇒ desidervative postposition se]. 2 Our tooth [⇒ je(e), tooth]

kijokijo (N). A species of parrot (Pionus sordidus, Psittacidae; Eng. red-billed parrot).

kikikiki (Intj). Noise of something being unrolled. Irē_tae_re, kikikiki... tīu, akoron, tīu, then, kikikiki... (unrolling), tīu (end), the other one, tīu (end) (referring to two snakes).

kimē (Pro; col. kimējamo). First person dual inclusive, I and you (‘1+2’; 4.1.1). Kēpēwa pīrasī tūmē, but we are (from) Brazil (she said to him). Kure saasaame kimē, Mataware po, we are really happy in Matawaré.


kín (Intj). Paiting noise. Irē_mao Taru ahkarapa t-amītē-e ii-ja inka-pona_rēn, kīn kīn wīse_ke, then he painted Taru’s lower back red, up to his upper back, kīn kīn, with anatto. [Maybe related to kūi]

kín- (pfx). Third-person A/O-marker used only in the past tenses (perfective and imperfective; 5.4.1.1.1, 5.4.1.3.3).

kīnoro (N). A species of macaw (Ara macao, Psittacidae; Eng. scarlet macaw)

kīnoroimē (N). A species of bird (Habia rubica, Thraupidae; Eng. red-crowned ant-panager).

kīnoro (N). A species of bird (Psarocolius decumanus, Icteridae; Port. japu; Eng. crested oropendola).
kinotoe (N). A species of bird (Chlorophanes spiza, Thraupidae; Port. sal-verde, Eng. green honeycreeper). [Maybe related to ⇒ kinoto, crested oropendola]
kērikīri (N). A species of parakeet (Brotogeris chrysopterus, Psittacidae; Port. periquito de asas douradas, Eng. golden-winged parakeet)
kīri (N). Man, male human being. Kure êmē, tīi-ka-e, kure kīri, you are good, she said, a good man. Kīri, wēri_marē, n-ēku-ja-n, a man has sex with a woman.
kīrika (Vt). Clean (a house). Ma, sehken ê-pakoro mi-kīrika-e, likewise you clean your house.
kīrikīrime (A). Stuttering; trembling (voice). I-j-omi wirēpē me t-ee-se, kīrikīrime t-ee-se, his voice was bad, 'shaky' (said about kaikē, the fox, a character in a folk tale). [Related to kīrikiripa(mi), tremble]
kīrikiripa(mi) (Vo). Tremble (e.g. of cold). Ji-kīrikiripan-ja-e, I am trembling. [Related to kīrikirime, stuttering, trembling (voice)]
kīrimuku (N). A boy; a young, non-adult man. Kīrimuku me w-ei-ne irē_po, I was, became a young man in that place. Kīrimuku me ji-w-ee mahtao, while I was still a young man. ⇒ kīri, man, and nmuku, son]
kīrū (N). A species of toucan (Ramphastos vitellinus, Ramphastidae; Port. tucano de peito amarelo, Eng. channel-billed toucan).
kīsinpē (N). A species of toucan (Pteroglossus aracari, Ramphastidae; Port. araçari, Eng. black-necked aracari).
kit- (pfx). First-person dual inclusive A/S marker on verbs (5.4.1.1).
kītae (Va). First-person dual inclusive form of the copula (‘we are’) ⇒ e(i)]
kītan(e) (Va). First-person dual inclusive form of the copula (‘we are’) ⇒ e(i)]
kītati (Va). First-person collective inclusive form of the copula (‘we all are’) ⇒ e(i)]
kīтика (Vt).Tickle. Wi-kitika-e, I am tickling him/her/it.
kīto (N). A species of toad, which, according to Tiriyó beliefs, can turn into a jaguar. Irē po kīto t-ēta-e ii-jaa-ne, t-ētap-an-je-ken, there they heard the kīto toad, chirping and chirping.
kīwin (N). Boa constrictor (Port. jibóia)
ko(o) (Intj). Ideophone of unclear meaning, apparently indicating motion. Waruma_ia t-ēmēn-je mēē-ja, t-ērē-e ii-ja, ko, that guy entered the waruma tree and took her with him, ko. Irēme i-nnapi ti-mon-je ii-ja, mēēr ījarakapu epinē_ken, ko, then he gathered his fruit under that shelf, ko. Ma, irē_mao tēne_ken ii-ja enu, kōo... kīi, i-putupē n-epataka-n, ēkēi i-putupē, then he kept looking at (the snake’s) eyes, kōo... kīi, the snake’s head comes out.
koa (Ideo). Noise made by the kunawaru toad. Irēme sehken t-ētap-an-je kunawaru, koa koa koa, tīi-ka-e, then the kunawaru toad also chirped likewise, koa koa koa, he said.
-koe (sfx). Irregular optional blending of -komo, collective suffix, with the desiderative postposition _se (-komo_se > -koe; 7.1.1)
koeh (Intj). Noise made when starting to run. Koeh, t-ee-tainka-ee kaikui, kunun, tī-w-ēmēn-je, koeh, the jaguar ran, kunun, he entered (= hid under a rock).
koekapo (A; nzr. -to). Wanting to defecate. Koekapo, w-a-e, I want to defecate. ⇒ oeka, defecate]
koeri (N; var. koi). A walk, stroll. Koeri me wī-tē-e, I am going for a walk (syn. urakana, urakanu(mu))[A borrowing, from Sranan koyri, stroll]
koī (N). A species of palm tree (Port. buriti; apparently, Mauritia flexuosa)
koikoi (N). Wild dog (Port. cachorro-do-mato); apparently Speothos venaticus.
koimē (N). A species of tuberous root, similar to yam. [A lexicalization; ⇒ koī, palm species, with the augmentative -imē]
kōiraka (N). A species of bird (Pitangus sulphuratus, Tyrannidae; Port. bem-te-vi, Eng. great kiskadee).
kōiri (N). ⇒ koeri, walk, stroll.
koke (Ideo). Noise of a jaguar growling. T-eeseka-e, koke koke tii-ka-e, he (= jaguar) jumped, koke koke, he said.

koko (A; nzn. -(no)). (At) night. Kēpēewa koko _rēken n-epatan-ja-n mēe, aanaa enee-ra, but he only chirps at night, during the day he is invisible. Kana ahkēē-se tii-tē-e, koko ahtao, (they) went fishing during the night.

k kokonjaarē (A). Yesterday, the day before. Kokonjaarē, jinmuku arē-ne rupeime, yesterday, the rupeime lizard took my son. [⇒ koko, night; cf. 6.1.1.2 on -aarē adverbs]

k kokonje (A). (In the) afternoon. Kokonje, kokonje _nēn_marē, ii-ten, irē-npē tēma-tēma-e ii-jaa-ne, that same afternoon, his arrows, they threw them away. [⇒ koko, night; cf. 6.1.1.5 on -(n)je adverbs]

k kokonkēē (A). (In the) early morning. Irēme, t-awaina-e, kokonkēē ahtao, tahken seizimeja, then it dawned, (when) it was early morning, maybe half past six (AM). [⇒ koko, night, and _nēkēē, still; ‘still night’ > ‘early morning’. It is not clear that this expression has lexicalized to the point that it can e.g. be nominalized; no such examples are attested]

k kokopi (N). A species of bird (Myrmotherula gutturalis, Formicariidae; Port. formigueiro-dorso-marrom, Eng. brown-bellied antwren)

k kokoro (A). Tomorrow. Kokoro_pa, see you tomorrow (i.e. ‘tomorrow again’, an usual leave-taking expression). Kokoro_mo oh-kē kahta! Come tomorrow, without fail! [⇒ koko, night, and _rē (which assimilates to _ro), exactly, i.e. ‘exactly night’ > ‘tomorrow’. Again, it is not clear that this expression has lexicalized to the point of being noinalizable; the necessary examples are not attested]

k kom (Intj). Coming close. Kom, ti-wēe-se_pa kaikui, kom, the jaguar came (close to the iguana). Irē_mao Taru t-aruu-se majadera_tao, kom! then Taru got stuck in the fishing net, kom!

-komo (sfx). Collective possessor marker on nouns (3.3.2, 4.3.2)

k kone (Ptc). Sentence-equivalent particle indicating agreement (with a suggestion, invitation, etc.), i.e. ‘yes’, ‘okay’, ‘all right’. Ene_mii, til-ka-e. Ma kone. Come see it, s/he said. Oh, OK.

konka (Vt). Prick, pierce O; vaccinate O. I-waku_po tii-konka-e, s/he pierced him on the belly. Wehtarama ji-konka, the wehtarama tree (a thorny tree) pricked me. I-konka-hpē-ton, those that were vaccinated. [⇒ ekonka, pierce, vaccinate oneself]

kono (N). Irregular vocative form; ⇒ konoka.

konoi (N). Unidentified species of plant. Tērepaakēē konoi arī, his only food were konoi leaves.

konoi (Ideo). Ideophone with an unclear meaning; possibly an animal call. Konoi konoi tii-ka-e, eēnii-sewa, sekarēēken, sekarēēken, ‘konoi-konoi’, he (= tapir) said, he didn’t sleep, he kept making the same noise again and again.

konoka (N; irreg. conjugation [4.3.1.4.3, 12.3.1], irreg. vocative kono). Brother-in-law. Ma, kono, kure_n-ai, oh, brother-in-law, all right.

konopena (N). A species of bird (Chelidoptera tenebrosa, Bucconidae; Port. miolinho, Eng. swallow-wing).

konopo (N). Rain; rainy season. Konopo n-ee-ja-n, rain is coming, it is going to rain. Janeiro _po_n-ai konopo i-pitē-to, in January is the beginning of the rain (= rainy season). Konopo_mao kana saasaame-_n-ai, when it rains, the fish are happy.

-kontokomo (sfx). Double collective marker (both possessor and possessed) on nouns (3.3.2, 4.3.2)

kooma(mi) (Vo). 1 Become dark; fall (night). Ni-kooman-ja-n, it is becoming dark, night is falling. Pena ahtao i-kooman-jewa t-eese wei, long ago night did not fall. [Note wei, sun, as the S participant, i.e. ‘the sun didn’t become night’] 2 Spend the night somewhere; spend, live (for some time) somewhere. Itu_h Tao ji-kooman-ja-e, I am going to spend the night in
the jungle. Ti-kooman-je nērē pako-ro-npē-tao, he spent the night in an abandoned house. Ahtaarē-hpe ti-kooman-je, irē-n-ai ji-wame, he spent an indefinite number of nights (there), I don’t know how many. Ma, irē-mao ti-kooman-je, un-me iranta-tuuwē, then time went on, and after one year had passed...

**kooseke(ne)** (A). Slow, slowly [syn. kureke(ne)].
Kooseken n-ēturu-ja-n, s/he is talking slowly. [ Probably related to ke(ne), continuous; 6.1.1.4]

**kori** (N). A vocative form, used by women to call another woman’s attention. (Kori cannot be used by men to address women, or vice-versa). Kori! Aja mī-tē-n? Friend! Where are you going. M-ekaniit-ja-n, kori? Do you see, friend?

**korohdta** (Vo). Be, become white. Ji-korohdta-e, I am becoming white. Tr-korohdta-e_ken_marē papa ee-se, wūse i-pēh_ta, your father used to remain white (=unpainted), anatto was never on him. [Probably a lexicalized -ta verb; source stem unattested. ⇒ tikorooje, white; korooma, paint O white; 12.2]

**koron** (Idio). Noise made by the ito toad. Irē-po_ken t-ee-se ito samu juavvē_ken, koron koron koron koron koron tū-ka-e_ken, the ito toad stayed there, on the sand, going koron koron koron...

**korooma** (Vt). Make, paint O white; whiten O. Wi-korooma-e, I am making, painting it white. [ ⇒ tikorooje, white; korohdta, be(com)e white; 12.2]

**kotakaimē** (N). A species of bird [also known as pokoroinē] (Jacana jacana, Jacanidae; Port. Jacana; Eng. wattled jacana)

**ku** (Idio). Liquid noise. W-enit-ja-e... ku, tikan, I am drinking,... ku, I’m done. [Maybe related to the liquidative ku (12.2)]

**kuh** (Idio). Falling; splash. [Maybe the same as ku]. Irē-mao epi ti-tēēka-e ii-ja. Dēē, dēē, kuh... tum, t-onota-e i-pono-ne-npē, then he started hitting the tree. Dēē, dēē, kuh... tum, the one who had turned him in fell down.

**kuhpe** (N). A species of bird (Podager nacunda, Caprimulgidae; Port. bacurau, Eng. nacunda nighthawk).

**kuhtu** (N). Mark; sign; a likeness (e.g. a drawing or portrait of something); representation; measure. I-ranta-to i-kuhtu, a calendar (lit. a representation, marks made to measure the year) [This expression is used at Missão Tiriós; at Kwamalasamutu, speakers preferred i-ranta-to i-kuhtunē-to]. Bentu i-kuhtu, a portrait (a drawing, a photograph) of Bento. Owa, j-enmihka-ewa eh-kē, pihko, wiī_w-a-e ê-kuhtu_rēn, no, don’t dream me, older brother, I am your equal (= your likeness, i.e. I look like you. I am family).

**kuhtunē** (Vt). Measure; mark; evaluate; count. Ahtaarē-hpe ti-kooman-je, irē_n-ai ji-wame, in-kuhtunē-ewa kīn-īi i-pono-ne-npē wīja, how many nights he spent there, I don’t know, the one who told me didn’t count. Irē_rē_ja-n_me_n-ai tamu-san-ton i-n-ponopī ti-puinē-pore, ti-kuhtunē-pore, because of this, the stories of the old men are good to think about and to register for posterity (i.e. we should think about them and mark them). [ ⇒ Detr. ēlkhuhtunē, measure, evaluate each other]

**kui** (N). A kind of palm tree (Port. babaçu, probably Orbygnia phalerata).

**kuika** (Vo). Swallow O. Wi-kuika-e, I am going to swallow it (e.g. medicine, food). Irē-mao, rupeimē ja, same_ken, ti-kuika-e_re, sen_pona_rēn, then the rupeimē lizard swallowed him almost completely, up to here (accompanied by a gesture).

**kuita** (Vo). Be(com)e dirty. Ji-kuita-e, I am getting dirty. Kūuma ti-kuita_e_ken t-ee-se, he became very dirty. [Probably a lexicalized -ta verb; source stem unattested. ⇒ tikujē, dirty; 12.2]

**kuitaki** (N). A species of bird (Ramphocelus carbo, Thraupidae; Port. sanhaço, Eng. silverbeaked tanager).

**kujari** (N). A species of macaw (Ara chloroptera, Psittacidae; Port. arara-vermelha, Eng.
red-and-green macaw).


**kuku** (N). Irregular vocative; ⇒ no(t)i.

**ku(ku)** (Vt). I Try, taste O. Wi-kuu-ja-e-pitè, I am going to try it first (e.g. a new shirt; a new kind of food; a new weapon). Ma kure, t-oota-ke tahken_n-ai, wi-kuu-ja-e, all right, maybe (she) has a hole (= vagina), I’ll try her (= to have sex with her). Ti-kuu-sen _me_n-ai, this is for trying, tasting (= this looks good). T-ënë-en-ton ti-kuu-se_re ii-ja, s/he tasted all kinds of meat food in vain (i.e. none was good). ⇒ Detr. ékhu(ku), try. 2 Measure, evaluate O. É-pun i-kuh-kë! Measure your body! (= find out how big, how strong you are). ⇒ Detr. ékhu(ku), measure each other] 3 Greet O [syn. jonpa]. Mëëëë wi-kuu-ja-e, I am going to greet that person. 4 Imitate O. Taripi wi-kuu-ja-e, I am imitating a capuchin monkey. 5 Speak O (language, not one’s own). Waijana i-j-omë wi-kuu-ja-e, I can speak Wayana.

**kumaka** (N). A very big species of tree (Port. samaiima, samaumeira; apparently, Ceiba pentandra, Bombacaceae).

**kumakaimë** (N). A species of liana [From kumaka, with the augmentative -imë]

**kumarakë** (N). A species of hawk (Elanoides forficatus, Accipitridae; Port. gavião-tesoura; Eng. swallow-tailed kite).

**kumu** (N). A palm tree (Port. bacaba; probably Oenocarpus spp.). Kummu anoka-e wi-të-e, I am going to get kumu.

**kumuimë** (N). A species of grass or sedge, used as medicine against fever (Cyperus odoratus, Cyperaceae, Eng. flat sedge).

**kunaparu** (N). A species of passion fruit, Port. maracujá do mato.

**kunawaru** (N). A species of toad. Its secretions are used in the preparation of a certain ‘medicine’ which is supposed to make people hunt better and be more diligent. Irëme sehken t-ëtapan-je kunawaru, then the kunawaru toad also started chirping.

**kunepe** (N). Species of milipede.

**kunepeimë** (N). Tractor. ⇒ kunepe, mili-pede, with the augmentative -imê]

**kunjarekena** (N). A species of bird (Euphonia cayennensis, Thraupidae; Port. gaturamo de lados amarelarelos, Eng. golden-sided Euphonia).

**kunme** (Pp?). Almost. Awaina-rë-ja kunme, when it was about to dawn [Maybe related to enkume, difficult]

**kupenakupen** (Ideo). Water noise. Kupenakupen tï-ka-e i-w-ëpï, he arrived in the middle of a flood (lit. his arrival went kuponakupen).

**kopikupi** (N). A species of parakeet (Port. maracanaí).

**kupu(nu)** (N). Meat; flesh; body (syn. pu(nu)). I-kupunu-nna êmë, you have no flesh (i.e. you are not strong enough to tackle me). [Certainly related to pu(nu), meat, flesh, body; the initial ku remains unexplained]

**kura** (N). A kind of tree (still unidentified). Këpëeva mëë, i-poono-ne-ñpë, tï-w-ënantu-ñ, kura-pëë, kura wëwe-pëë, but this one, the one who had turned him in, he climbed a kura tree (to escape).


**kuraiumë** (N). Species of egret (Ardeidae: Bubulcus ibis, Eng. cattle egret; Florida cærulea, Port. garça azul, Eng. little blue heron; Pilherodius pileatus, Port. garça real, Eng. capped heron).

**kuraiwe** (N). A species of mockingbird (Mimus galus, Mimidae; Port. sabiá-da-praia, Eng. tropical mockingbird)

**kuraiweimë** (N). A species of antbird (Cercomacra tyrannina, Formicariidae; Port. papa-formiga, Eng. dusky antbird).

**kure** (A; nzr. kurano). 1 Good; pretty; well; healthy. Kure man-a-n? Are you well? (frequent greeting). Kure_pa n-ee-ja-n, s/he is
getting better. Kurano serë! This is good. Kure eë-ja? Is that OK with you? Kurano ê-wëri, your younger sister is pretty. 2 Intensifier (very, really). Kure kure-ja man-a-e, you are really bad. Kure enee-ra, it is really invisible. Kure saasaame w-a-e, I am very happy.

kureke(ne) (A). Slow, slowly [syn. koosoke(ne)]. Apëren, kureken-pa tii-të-e, his owner went away slowly. [⇒ kure, good, well, and ke(ne), continuous; 6.1.1.4]

kurepehpe (N). A species of parakeet (Pyrrhula picta, Port. tiriba pintada, Eng. painted parakeet)

kurija (N). A species of turtle (Port. jabuti, probably Geochelone spp.).

kurijaamo (N). A species of tree (Port. araçã; probably Psidium araca, Myrtaceae).

kurikanai (N). A species of parrot (Pionus fuscus, Psittacidae; Port. maitaca-roxa, Eng. dusky parrot)

kurimau (N). A species of large rodent (Agouti paca, Port. paca, Eng. paca, labba).

kuripipijo (N). A species of woodpecker (also ⇒ irapuru) (Dryocopus lineatus, Picidae; Port. pica-pau de topete vermelho, Eng. lineated woodpecker)

kuritawa (N). A species of parrot (Pionus menstruus, Psittacidae; Port. maitaca, Eng. blue-headed parrot)

kuritoto (N). A species of bird (Colaptes campestris, Picidae; Eng. flicker).

kuru (N). Semen. Irë_mao AIDS apëë-ja-n wëri, kiri i-kuru_pëe, then the woman gets AIDS, from the man’s semen. [Maybe related to kiri, man]

kurukë (N). Species of ibis (Threskiornithidae: Eudocimus ruber, Port. guará, Eng. scarlet ibis; Mesembrinibis cayennensis, Port. corôcorô, Eng. green ibis).

kurukuimë (N). Measles. [A lexicalization, with the augmentative -imë; source stem unattested]

kurukuni (N). A species of plant (Port. aningdé).

kurun (Intj). Noise of entering or hiding. Irë_mao_rëken tii-të-e nëri, sirin sirin sirin sirin kurun ken, the nëri cricke; went like this, sirin sirin sirin sirin, kurun ken (= he entered his hole).

kurura (N). A kind of alcoholic beverage, made from cassava. Wi_pëe... kurura_pëe... s/he is busy with cassava, making kurura.

kururu (N). A species of fish (Port. curimatã; probably Prochilodus sp.; kururuimë also exists)


kutu (N). Fishing net.

kutuma(ka) (A; nzr. kutune(ti)). 1 Painful; poisonous. Kuu_kutuma êmë aktao, when you are having pain. 2 Bitter. Kutuma_n-ai sakura, the sakura (alcoholic beverage) is bitter. 3 Intensifier (very, a lot). Kutuma i-waare, s/he knows a lot. Irë_mao kutuma èmumu_me t-ee-se apëren, then his owner became very sad. Kutuma tî-ripta-e, he had gotten much thinner. Epit-nna kutuma, it is really without a cure. Kutuma Moomoori saasaame t-ee-se, Moomoori got really happy. (5.1.1.1).

kutunna (Vt). Make O angry, irritate O. ⇒ Detr. ekutunna, get angry. Wi-kutunna-e, I am making him/her angry.

kutunga (A; nzr. kutunni(ni)). Painless; not bitter. Kutunga n-ee-ja-n, it is becoming painless. Kutunnin apo_n-aki kii-jaae-ne, it is like a painless thing to us (i.e. it deceives us by looking harmless) ⇒ kutuma(ka), painful

kutu(nu) (N). That which makes something painful; poison. Ma, wapo_pitë ê-erepa i-kutunu-hpë mii-sika-e, first you remove the poison of your food (referring to cassava).

kuume (Pp). Irregular back grade form; ⇒ enkume, difficult.

kuune (N). A species of hawk (Micrastur gallus, Falconidae; Eng. lined forest falcon).

kuusi (N). Domestic pig. [Probably a borrowing, maybe from Creole French (cf. Standard French cochon)]
kuutaka (N). A species of bird (Aramides cajanea, Rallidae; Port. saracura-três-potes, Eng. gray-necked wood-rail)

kuwu (N). A species of guan (Pipile pipile, Port. cujubim, Eng. blue-throated piping-guan)

kuwama (N). A species of bamboo (Port. taquara, taboca).

Kuwamarasamutu (Geo.N; var. Kwamara). A Tiriýó village along the Sipaliwini river in Surinam. (Also spelled Kwamala, Kwamalasamutu, Kwamalasamoetoe) [⇒ kawama, bamboo, and samu, sand; 1.2]

M

m- (pfx). Second-person prefix on transitive and S_A verbs (5.4.1.1) [allomorphs m-, mi-, mi-]

-ma (sfx). A non-productive ‘abstract beneficative’ noun verbalizer (5.3.3.1.2).

:ma (Vo). Rise (river). Tuna n-iima-n, the river is rising, the water level is rising. Kepêewa ipêri apa-hpe-ton iima-ewa nkeëre pa, but the rivers that had lowered do not rise yet. (The water level can vary quite impressively between the rainy and the dry season in Amazonia.)

maakë (N). Species of mosquito.

maaru (N). Cotton. Irême maaru ti-kaa-se ii-ja, maas sa, ti-nuku i-po-me, he wove cotton, a little long, so as to make clothes for his (own) son.

maawi (N). A species of bird (Crypturellus obsoletus, Tinamidae; Eng. brown tinamou).

mahkawa (N). A species of bird (Crypturellus undulatus, Tinamidae; Eng. undulated tinamou).

mahto (N). Fire; matches. Mahto w-urë-e, I am lighting the fire. Ji-mahto-se w-a-e, I want matches for myself.

mami (N). A species of bird (Psophia crepitans, Psophiidae; Port. jacamin-de-costas-cinzentas, Eng. grey-winged trumpeter).

mamije (N). A species of bird (Dacnis cayana, Thraupidae; Port. saí-azul, Eng. blue dacnis).

-ma(m) (sfx). ‘Abstract inchoative’ noun verbalizer (5.3.3.2.1).

manae (Va). Second-person form of the copula (‘you are’). [⇒ e(i)]

manan (Va). Second-person form of the copula (‘you are’). [⇒ e(i)]

manare (N). Sieve. Manare tï-kah-kë, make a sieve (= i.e. learn how to make a sieve).

matani (Va). Second-person collective form of the copula (‘you all are’). [⇒ e(i)]

manini (N). Ankle. Ji-manini, my ankle.

mapataru (N). A kind of tree (Port. copaiba; probably, Copaifera spp.).

mapijakë (N). A species of mosquito (Port. maruim, pôlvora; found in the jungle).

marasi (N). Species of bird (Cracidae: Penelope jacquarú, Eng. Spix’s guan; Penelope marail, Eng. marail guan).

_marë (Ptc). A scope particle; too, also; with (9.1.4). Emë_marë, you, too. Wiraapa t-êpoo-se, ma pai_marë t-êpoo-se ii-ja, he met the bow tree, and he met the tapir, too. Wî-tëe manko_marë, I am going with my mother. [As in the last example, _marë is often synonymous with the comitative postposition akëëre, with]"""""


matïkiri (N). A species of cuckoo [also nolkaike] (Cuculidae, Coccyzus americanus, Eng. yellow-billed cuckoo).


maura (N). A species of savannah hawk (Heterospizias meridionalis, Accipitridae; Port. ga-viã caboço).

meekoro (N). A black person (originally, the Ndyuka bushnegroes of the Tapanahoni river, with whom the Tiriýó had early commercial contacts; later extended to all black people). Pananakiri-ton, karaiwa-ton, meekoro-ton, kure wîja, the Westerners, the Brazilians, the
Bushnegroes, they are all good to me (= i.e. I am not against any of them). Tapiime_n-ai meekoro, there are many Blacks (there). Pata ti-hkērēnma-e meekoro_ja, the Bushnegroes attacked, afflicted the village. [Probably a borrowing, ultimately from Port. negro; the initial m may result from the influence of Wayana meku, capuchin monkey (Cebus apella)].

menjaarrē (A; nzr. menjato_ro). Now; today. Menjaarrē i-ētur-ja-e ēē-jaa-ne, now;today I am talking to you. [Related to mēnge; cf. -aarrē adverbs in 6.1.1.2].


meri (N). A species of squirrel (probably Sciurus australis, Port. serelepe,quatipuru, caxinguelê, Eng. Guianan squirrel). Ti-wan-ke meri, kutuma ti-wan-ke, the squirrel is powerful, very powerful. Wini_man meri, he is a winner (i.e. a trickster).


mēe (Pro; col. mēes(a)(mo)). Animate demonstrative visible proximal; this one (4.1.2). Aki mēe? Who is this guy? Which is this animal? Also used anaphorically: ma, irē apo_n-ai, mēe, Taru, i-w-eh-topo-npē, so, such is this guy’s, Taru’s, story.

mēesa(mo) (Pro; non-coll mēe). Animate collective demonstrative visible proximal; these ones (4.1.2). Ėne-kēē_ne, mēesamo_hkaarē, tamo, look, grandpa, it’s them (these guys)!

mēēja(mo) (Pro; non-coll mēērē). Animate collective demonstrative visible medial; these ones (not far; 4.1.2). Mēējan ti-w-ēēsaima-e, they (= those guys) dispersed themselves.

mēērē (Pro; col. mēēja(mo)). Animate demonstrative visible medial; that one (not far; 4.1.2). Mēērē kurikanai, that one is a kurikanai bird. Ma, irē_mao, ti-tē-e_pa, mēērē urē-e_pa, then he left, to talk to that guy again.

mē(ki) (Pro; col. mēki(mo)). Animate demonstrative invisible; that one (which cannot be seen). Pēē, nīrī mēkē, oh, the nīrī cricket is the one (that is chirping).

mēki(mo) (Pro; col. mēki(mo)). Animate collective demonstrative invisible; those ones (invisible). Mēkijan_pīē apērēmikh-a-ta, soo n-ka-n_to, go stop them, they are making noise (people who are not visible but who can be heard).

mēkınpēke(ne) (N). Animals in general; all sorts, all kinds of animals [syn. ohkınpēke(ne)]. Tamo, kure, ē-nnapē, ē-j-oroi, i-hkērēnma-n, mēkınpēken-ton, karepēphē, mēērē kurikanai, grandpa, your fruits, your cashew, all sorts of animals are stealing them: parakeets, and parrots... [A plausible etymology is mēkē, that (animate, invisible), -npē 'Past', and _ke(ne) 'Continuative': the ones who used to be those (invisible) (⇒ ooninpēke(ne)). There may be some relation to mythological beliefs about animals, but this is not clear]

mēn- (pfx). Irregular second-person A-marking prefix (used only with ⇒ ēē(pī), come).

mē(mii) (Pro). Animate demonstrative invisible; that (invisible; 4.1.2). Atī mēn? What is that (said about something which can be heard, but not seen; e.g. to ask about the noise made by an electricity generator).

mērē (Pro). Animate demonstrative visible medial; that thing (not far; 4.1.2). Mērē enekē, bring that one (not far). Mērē_po, there (a frequent collocation). Mērē_po ji-pata, my village is over there.

mērēme (Ptc). Adversative conjunction (‘but’, ‘however’; 9.1.1. [syn. kēpēewa]). Pananakirinton serē, epi_iwa_ne_re, mērēme in-erahtēewa_nkērē namo_ro, the foreigners (Westerners) looked in vain for this, a cure, but they have not found it yet.

mi- (pfx) ⇒ m-.

miki (N). Domestic cat (Felis catus). J-ekī miki, my pet cat.

mi- (pfx). ⇒ m-.

(mi) (Vt). Tie O. Pakho i-kanawa poît apēh-kē, i-n-kē, get the bow of my father’s canoe and
tie it (to the shore). Wi-n-ja-e, I am tying it (a canoe, a hammock). li-mi_se_w-a-e, I want to tie it. [The long i in imi suggests that the stem (mi) lengthens preceding vowels (i.e. it is :mi); this effect is not noticeable in conjugated forms like wi-n-ja-e because of the coda n]

mii

miina (Vo). Grumble; groan. Ji-miina-e, I am grumbling, groaning (hmph!; hnnn...). Ti-miina_pehken, nn-nn ka_pehken, he was groaning, going nn-nn (he was wounded).

mijare (A). Thither; further in that direction. Ir_e_mao ti-t-e-nkeri mijare, itu_rohkii, then he went further in that direction, into the jungle. (6.1.1.2).

mijere (N). A traditional kind of seat, carved out of wood, usually in the form of an animal, and beautifully painted. Mijere onoo-ne, lit. mijere painter/carver, name of a kind of bird (identified as two species, both Trogonidae: Trogon melanurus, Port. surucua-de-caudapreta, Eng. black-tailed trogon, and Trogon personatus, Eng. masked trogon).

miika (N). (Upper) back. Ji-nka, my back.

mikake (N). A species of ant (unidentified).

miiko (N). Palate; back of the mouth. Ji-nko, my palate.

(mi)me (N; poss. -me). Long hair. Jiime, my long hair.

(mi)nenpu (N). Bridge. Ji-nnenpu, my bridge.

minette (N). Scorpion (all species). Seri'na-ai minette epi, this is scorpion medicine.

-mi(ni) (sfx). Privative nominalizer, the nominalizing counterpart of the privative adverbializer -nna (4.2.2.2).

miinne (N). A small, more primitive kind of house, used as a temporary shelter while traveling or hunting. Miinne wi-ri-ja-e (also minne w-antie-e), I am making a minne. [⇒ antie, make a minne]

minoto (N). Pregnant woman. Minoto_pa n-e the pregnant woman came back. Minoo_me tee-se i-pi, his wife was, became pregnant. [Minoo_me, and its nominalized form minoo_

ma-n, are much more frequent than minoto and may be lexicalizing (cf. also the unexpected reduction of the final syllable)]


miira (A, N?). Like that, something/someone like that. Aha, miira_re_n-ai meere, yes, that is what he is like. I-moi-kii, n-kan, kepewa miira, owa, do obey him, she said, but not like that. Miira apo-n apo ew-ei_se eme ahtao, if you really want to be like (one who is like) that... [Miira seems to have negative connotations (cf. the case of English ilk)]

miiri(t) (Vo). Choke (on fishbone, etc.) [syn. urutaki(p)] Ji-miirija-e, I am choking (on a fishbone).

mirokoko (N). Species of bird (Nyctibius spp., Nyctibiidae; Port. maa-de-lua, Eng. potoos).

miita (N). Mouth. Ji-nita, my mouth.

mo (N). Egg. Ji-mo, my egg; i-mo, its egg. li-mo i-ene-i i-ja, he ate eggs. [The third-person form, i-mo, can clearly be used in a nonpossessed sense, i.e. as ilmo]

mo (Ptc). Irrealis particle (9.1.3.1), used in: 1 Hypothetical and contrary-to-fact statements. Wei wararae karaiwa sen po ahtao, anja iwarie mo ei karaiwa i-jomi, if there were Brazilians here every day, we would know the Brazilian language. 2 Future imperatives: okke_pa_mo! Come back again, in the future! (said to a visitor who is leaving). 3 Possibilities contrary to expectation ("unless..."): ma, ti-wete wiet-e, mama oti, kepewa, aiti_hpe_mo wepohta-n, iire_po, tili-ke-e, "I am going out to hunt your mother’s food... unless I find something else there," he said.

mohka (Vt). Pluck, dig O out (manioc roots). Ji-wi mohka-e wite-e, I am going (there) to dig my cassava (= i.e. harvest it). [Maybe a -(ka) causativized verb; source stem unattested]

mol (N). Spider. Seri'na-ai epi, moltja e-ekatuwe, this is the medicine, if you get bitten by a spider.

mol (Vt). Obey, listen to O. Pahko wi-moja-e,
I obey my father. Írē_rē wi-moi-ne, I obeyed that (the suggestion that I had been given).

moikë (N). A small species of ant (unidentified).

moiñ (N). Relative; person related (to the possessor of this stem) by e.g. belonging to the same group, living in the same household, in the same village, etc. Ji-moiñ-h-ton, my relatives; my people. Anpo ë-moiñ? Where are your people? Reciprocal form ëimoiñ, friendly to each other (4.3.1.3). Kure_rën kë-w-ei-koe kit-a-ti, ëi-moiñ apo_rën, we want to treat each other well, like people who are relatives.

mokame (A). Round, circular. Mokame_n-ai tēpu, the stone is round. [Apparently, an old _me phrase; source noun stem unattested]

mo(kš) (Vt). Drive, move O away. Apēi wi-moo-ja-e, I am moving the seat away. Panpira tī-moo-se wīja, I moved the book away. [⇒ emo(kš), move away]

mokoko (N). Species of crabs (apparently, a generic name).

mo(mš) (Vt). Gather O, put O together. Írēme i-nnapē tī-mon-je ii-jā, mēērē ijarakapu epinē_ken, then he gathered all his fruit under the ijarapu (shelves). [⇒ Detr. ëmo(mš), gather, get together]

monce (N). Groins; womb. Ji-monce, my groins, my womb.

mono (N). Big, one large one. Írēme mono wikapau tē-poo-se_re ii-ja, then he met a big deer, but in vain. Mono tîpitē entu_me_n-ai, he is the owner of a large field (for planting). Maio_po tuna mono oï_po, in May the river is big in the savanna (i.e. it floods the savanna). Írē apo_n-ai ēkēreu mono, AIDS eka, such is the big disease called AIDS. Mono_me: 1 big, large. Menjaarē mono_me_man-a-e, now you are big (= a grownup). Mono_me kaikui t-eese, the jaguar was big. 2 A lot [syn. kutuma(ka)]. Mono_me tēwee-ja-e, I eat a lot. Øroko_man mēē mono_me, he is a hard worker (lit. worker he is, a lot). [Possibly related to the augmentative suffix -imē]

montoru (N). ⇒ motoru, motor.

mooraimë (N). A species of armadillo (Priendotes maximus, Port. tatu-canastra, Eng. giant armadillo). [A lexicalized -imë augmentative; the source stem (presumably moora) is unattested]

mope (N). A species of fruit tree (Port. taperebá, also cajá; apparently, Spondias sp., Anacardiaceae)


mo(tš) (N). Pubic hair. Ji-mo, my pubic hair.

moto (N). Worms in general; earth worm (Port. minhoca). Moto_n-ai, it’s an earth worm.

motoru (N; var. montoru). A motor (e.g. a diesel electricity generator). Moto_i-kepi_se _w-a-e, I want the motor to stop. [A borrowing that could come from any European language; the absence of an initial long vowel (the usual counterpart of English or Dutch initial stress) suggests Portuguese or Spanish motor as the most likely source]

mukuphē (N). An orphan (non-possessed). [Maybe a non-possessed past form of nmuku, son, i.e. mukuphē, orphan > i-nmuku-hpē, his/her ex-son]

munke(pš) (Vo). Stop growing (tuberous) roots. I-munkee-pūn tē-rē-e_pa ii-ja, he took away the one that had not stopped growing roots. [⇒ mu(nu), tuberous root, with the cessative -ke(pš)]

munkē (N). (Someone’s) children, descendants. Sen_po ji-pē, ji-munkē sen_po, my wife (lives) here, my children also (live) here. Kī-munkē-npē-kontokon pēera_ta i-w-eh-too_me, so that our future descendants will not be ignorant. Kan munkē_me kē-w-ei-hpē-kon_ke, because we have all become children of God.

munta (Vo). Bleed. Ji-mun-ta-e, I am bleeding. [⇒ munu, blood, with -ta]

munu (N). Blood. Ji-munu, my blood. È-munu _htao n-ēmēn-ja-n, it enters into your blood. Írēme ii-ropē munu_hpije t-e-e-se, then his chest was dirty with blood.

mu(nu) (N). Tuberous root. Kumuiimē imun_mo
tī-kī, simari_ke, grate kumuimē roots, with a manioc grater. Anpo_kene nai(np) i-mun? Where do you think its roots are? (asked about a new kind of tuberous plant).

munupē (N). Rat (apparently, all species). Joi, akī_hpē munupē, ma tahken tonoro, tī-wē-enton, tī-wē-e wija, lizards, other animals, rats, maybe birds, all kinds of 'shootable' things I killed.

mure (N; irreg. col. murehti(i); 4.3.2). Child; a non-possessible form, corresponding to the possessible nmuku, son, and eemi, daughter. Wapo w-ei-ne sen_po, mure_me, I was here before, as a child; when I was a child, I lived here. Mure-hiti-ton i-j-omi, children's language. Mure_me nkērē ji-w-ei mahtao, while I was a child.

muri (N). A species of porcupine (probably Coendou prehensilis).

muriki (N). Sheep. Muriki-ton tapīme, the sheep are plentiful (here). [The etymology of this word is unknown, but it must be a recent innovation; sheep have only recently been introduced to the Tiriyo area]

murouri (N). A species of owl (Lophostrix cristata, Strigidae, Port. coruja-de-topeeete, Eng. crested owl). [The sequence ou is elsewhere unattested; this word must either be a borrowing, or the result of bad transcription]

muru (N). A species of frog (unidentified).

murumuru (N). A kind of palm tree; its leaves can be used for making roofs.

mustas (N). A species of bird (Sporophila plumbea, Fringillidae, Port. patatava, Eng. plumbeous seedeater) [This word is phonotactically deviant; it must be a borrowing (cf. e.g. Dutch moes-tas, (fruit)pulp-bag)]

muturahka (N). A species of bird (Momotus momota, Momotidae, Port. udu, Eng. blue-crowned momot).

muunu (N). A kind of bait for fish. Irē-npē_pēe_to tī-tē-e, muunu amēnpa-e, tanē, after that they went somewhere far, to catch ('call') fish with muunu bait.

muupiro (N). Vocative word for a young boy. Muupiro! Oh-kē! Young boy! Come here! [The initial syllable muu is probably related to nmuku, son, and mure, child]

muurae (N; var. muurait). Species of birds (Pipridae, Chiroxiphia lanceolata, Port. tangará-de-dorso-azul, Eng. blue-backed manakin; Thraupidae, Tangara chilensis and Tangara velia, Port. safra-do-paraiso, Eng. paradise tanager).

N

n- (pfx). Third-person marker on verbs (5.4.1.1). [allomorphs n-, ni-, ni-]

n- (pfx). 'Actual O' verb nominalizer (4.2.2.1.2). [allomorphs n-, ni-, ni-]

-na (sfx). Inchoative noun verbalizer (5.3.2.1.)

na (Vt). Mock O [syn eenē(pī), mock O, make O laugh]. Tīi-na-e ii-jaa-ne_marē, and they mocked him/her, too.

na (N). Irregular possessed stem; ⇒ tuna, water.

naaopha (Ptc). Thanking sentence-equivalent particle (9.2.1). "Naaopha" n-ka-n tarēno teusu_ja, 'Thank you' the Tiriyo say to God. [Probably related to the particle _poha]

nai (Vn). Third-person form of the copula ('he, she, it is'). [⇒ e(i)]

naka (Ptc). Sentence-equivalent particle (9.2.1), meaning: it is over, it is the end; it is enough. Naka menjaare, it is over now. Naka wija, this is enough for me.

namo (Pro; non-col. nērē). Animate anaphoric collective, those (previously mentioned; 4.1.2). Kēpēwa i-pawana-hpē-ton, namo_ro, tī-tē-e_pa_to, but his former friends, they went away. Tiwērē-no_ro, amerikan-ton... namo_ja tī-ponoo-se, others, Americans... they told it (=Jesus' story).

nara (Ptc). An emphatic particle used in questions (9.1.4). Aja_nara ji-nmuku? Where on Earth could my son be? [nara cannot co-
occur with the copula e(i); it may be itself the remnant of an old copular form]

-(me). Doubt marker used on future imperfective (5.4.1.3.4) and copular (5.4.4) verb forms.

nera (N). Bats (Chiroptera). [There do not seem to be conventional names for the many different species of bats]

-(nē). Doubt marker used on present imperfective verb forms (5.4.1.3.4).

nēmi (Vt; irreg. mi stem [5.1.4]). Leave, abandon O [syn. nonta]. Wi-nēmi-i mo, wi-nēmi i mo, I would abandon it. Panpira wi-nē-e, I am leaving the book here. Panpira wi-nēn, I have left the book here. Wi-nēn-ne, I left it. In-inē-ewa w-a-e, I did not leave it. Ti-nē-e pa ii-jaa-ne, they left him there again. [The occurrence of a stem-initial i in the negative form suggests that this verb may have been i-initial]

nērei (Pro; col. name; nērēt + rē > nērēt). Animate anaphoric non-collective, that (which was mentioned; 4.1.2). Akuri eneh pa pahko, nērei npē anja n-ēnē, my father bought an egg, and we ate it. Akē papa? Soranē? — Nērei! Who is your father? Soranē? — Yes, that’s him! Exactly!

ni- (pfx). ⇒ n-, third-person marker; ‘Actual O’ verb nominalizer.

ni- (pfx). ⇒ n-, third-person marker; ‘Actual O’ verb nominalizer.

-νκερέ (Ptc). A scope particle; still, yet. Mure me νκερέ ἑμει ahtao, while you were still a child. Nkêrei pa, once more: i-ērei-e nkêrei pa, s/he took it again. (9.1.4)

nuhata (Vo). Have a son; give birth to a son. Irē mao ti-nuhata-e, i-nuku t-ee-se, then (she) gave birth, had a son. ⇒ nmuku, son, with -ta]

nmuku (N). Son, male descendant. Ji-nmuku m-e-ne-ne? Have you seen my son? Kure menu _tao _ken t-ee-se nērei Waraku, i-nmuku-pisi sekenkērei t-ee-se, Waraku was beautifully painted, and so was her little son. [Probably related to mure, child, and munkē, descendants.]

A non-possessed form muku occurred a couple of times, but its status is not clear

nohkaikare (N). A species of cuckoo [also matitikiri] (Cuculidae, Coccyzus americanus, Eng. yellow-billed cuckoo).

nonta (Vt). Leave, abandon O [syn. nēmi]. Ti-njo-npē pa ti-nonta-e ii-ja, she left her husband. “Ki-nonta-e ren pa”, ti-ka-e, ‘I am going to leave you forever,’ she said. Ewē-hpoka-to in-nonta-ewa ren eh-ke, don’t leave/abandon your razor blade. ⇒ Detr. enonta, eikonta, let go

notipē (N; irreg. col. noti-ja(mo), noti-jan-ton). Old woman. Mēe n-ai notipē, aki hpe, jiwame, she is an old woman, I don’t know who (said about a photograph). Notipē me w-ee-e, I am becoming old (said by a woman; ⇒ tamutupē, old man). [The final -tupē may be an old form of the noun past marker -hpē; 12.2]

ntaka (Vt). 1 Break O (in two halves); break a piece off O. Wi-ntaka-e, I am breaking it, ini-ntaka-ewa w-a-e, I am not breaking it. Tēkarama-e ii-ja i-ntaka-hpē, he gave him the pieces that had been broken. Ti-ntantaka-e ii-jaa-ne ii-raapa, they broke his bow to pieces. ⇒ entaka, break apart. 2 Translate O. Sen wi-ntaka-e tarēno i-j-omi-h tae, I am translating this into (lit. by, along, according to) the Tiriyo language.

-ntē (sfx). ‘Beneficiativa’ noun verbalizer (5.3.3.1.2).

o- (pfx). ⇒ ē-, second-person marker.

okea (Va; non-Detr [5.2.2, Table 5.4]; irreg. k-initial stem in the first-person (5.4.1.1.2), imperative (5.4.2.1), supine and habitual past (5.4.3.1.1), and negative (5.4.3.1.3) forms). Defecate. K-okea-e, I am defecating. ⇒ wetā, excrements; wetā resembles the allomorph weka or oeka more closely, suggesting a historical
connection]
ohkiti (Pro; col. ohkjaja(mo)). Animate demonstrative visible distal; that one (far away; 4.1.2). Aki ohkiti? Who is that guy over there? (e.g. on top of a mountain).
ohklaja(mo) (Pro; non-col. ohkiti). Animate demonstrative visible distal; those ones (far away; 4.1.2). Aki ohkilan? Who are those guys over there? (e.g. on top of a mountain).

ohkınpêke(ne) (N). Animals in general; all sorts of animals [syn. měk̕ınpêke(ne)]. Ohkınpêken, taripi, kįjapoko, tamokonpê, jahkıi, (...) tį-wė-e wiįa, I killed all sorts of animals: capuchin monkeys, toucans, spider monkeys, howler monkeys... [A plausible etymology is ohki, that (animate, far away), -npe ‘Past’, and ke(ne) ‘Continuative’: the ones who used to be those (far away). There may be some relation to mythological beliefs about animals, but this is far from clear]

ohpatapo (N). A species of pigeon (Columba suwinaeca, Columbidae; Port. pomba-preta)
oi (N). Grassland, savannah. Maio po mono tuna oi po, in May the rivers grow big in the savannah (i.e. they cause floods). Oota-imė tao oi po, irė ta t-onota-e i-mama-hpê, in a big hole in the grasslands, there his/her mother fell.
oi (N). Mix, mixture. Nėrė tį-rė-e pahko ja, kunawaru ererewetį-npê oi me, that one my father mixed (made into a mixture) with the secretions of the kunawaru toad.

okomo (N). Wasps (various species).
(j)omi (N). Voice; words; speech, language. Witoto i-j-omi, human voices; kaikui i-j-omi, dog noises, barks. Manko i-j-omi wi-moi-ne, I obeyed my mother’s words. Tarėno i-j-omi wi-kus ja-e, I speak (lit. imitate) the language of the Tiriyo, the Tiriyo language.

ona(mi) (Vt). Hide, bury O. Sen onan-kê, hide this (said to a shopkeeper, whom the speaker wished to convince not to sell a certain item before he could come back to purchase it). Panpira onan-jan_to, they are hiding, burying the book/paper. ⇒ Detr. ėtōna(mi), hide, bury oneself]
onke(ne) (A; nzr. onka-to). Calm, quiet, peaceful [syn. oorake(ne)]. Onken eh-kê! Be quiet! Irē maio onken w-ei, then I kept silent. Tarėno, menjaarē, onken, the Tiriyo are now peaceful. Aķėh-keh-tuuve, onken n.ai wįoto, after felling the trees, people rest (=are quiet) a bit. [Maybe related to ke(ne); 6.1.1.4]
onopira (N). A species of bird (Monasa atra, Bucconidae; Port. bico-de-brasa-preto, Eng. black nunbird)
onopi (Vt). I Paint O. W-onoo-ja-e kananaman _ke, I am painting it yellow; w-onoo-ja-e siririman _ke, I am painting it blue. 2 Grate, scrape, rasp O li-re w-onoo-ne wekii, I made (=polished) him a small arrow. ⇒ Detr. ėtōna(pí), paint, grate oneself

onpi (N). A species of owl (Pulsatrix perspicillata, Strigidae; Port. murucututu, Eng. spectacled owl).

ooko (N). A species of curassow (Crax alector, Cracidae; Port. mutum, Eng. black curassow)
ookokē (N). Species of hawk (Accipitridae; Buteo leucorrhous, Eng. white-rumped hawk [also ⇒ wirinaje], and Buteogallus urubitinga, Port. gavião-caipira, Eng. great black hawk [also ⇒ pírowarai]) [Apparently related to ooko, curassow sp.]

ookopipi (N). A species of frog (Dendrobates azureus), with a very specific blue color. It is an endangered species, found only in Surinam. [A plausible etymology is ooko, curassow, and pipi, older brother, i.e. curassow’s older brother] on (Intj). Apparently, a noise that indicates ‘leaving’. Ma, irē maio t-etėrika-e, oon, ameraarē t-etėrika-e wįoto, then they left, oon, all the people left.
onapijuhta (Vo). Have a running nose. J-oonapijuhta-e, I have a running nose. [From oona, nose, incorporated by pijuhta, excrete]
ooni (Pro). Inanimate demonstrative visible distal; that (over there, far away; 4.1.2). Ooni eneh-kè, bring that one (over there, far away). Ooni_po, there, far away (frequent collocation; syn. taamè). Aerè, ooni_po i-pata, it is true, his village is over there (far).

ooninpèke(ne) (N). All sorts, all kinds of things. Ooininpèken wi-rí-ja-e, I make all sorts of things. Ooininpèken ti-kuu-se_re ii-ja, s/he tried all sorts of things. [A plausible etymology is ooni, that (inanimate, far away), -npè ‘Past’, and _ke(ne) ‘Continuative’: the ones that used to be those (far away).] mèkinpèken(ne), ohkìninpèken(e), all sorts of animals.

oora (N). Hour; time. [A borrowing from Portuguese; the Sranan word juuru is more frequently used]

oorake(ne) (A; nzr. ooraka-to). Calm, quiet, peaceful [syn. onke(ne)]. Ooraken_w-a-e, I am quiet, peaceful. [Maybe related to _ke(ne); 6.1.1.4]

oorè (N). A species of dove (Columbina minuta, Columbidae; Port. rolinha, Eng. plain-breasted ground dove)

oori (N). A species of bird (Trogon violaceus, Trogonidae; Port. surucua-violeta, Eng. violaceus trogon) [It is not clear whether this word is really different from oorè]

oorimè (N). A species of dove (Scardafella squamata, Columbidae; Port. rola-fogo-apagou, Eng. scaled dove)

oota (N). Hole. Ti-w-èmèn-je wakapu oota-h_tao, s/he entered into the hole of the wakapu tree. Mono_me nono oota t-e-e-se, there was a big hole on the ground. Mèrème eri oota-nna t-ee-se, eku-toh-poora, but her vagina had no hole (lit. was holeless), so she could not have sex with her.

opi (N). Species of tiny fish (Port. piaba).

oransi (N). Dutch; Dutchman. Oransi i-jomi è-waarè? Do you know Dutch? [A borrowing, from Dutch Hollands]

(joro) (N). Cashew (tree and fruit; Anacardium occidentale, Anacardiaceae). Irè_po, pai i-wena-hpè, tène ii-ja, oroi epinè, there he saw the tapir’s trail, under the cashew tree. Irème oroi ti-jarahtè-e ii-ja, so he built a temporary resting place [⇒ jara] on the cashew tree. È-j-oroi i-hkèrènna-n, they are destroying your cashew (tree, fruit).

(joroisi) (N). Watch, clock. Kì-j-ororisí_komo_ro, exactly our watches. [A borrowing from Dutch (or French, via creole) horloges, used at Kwamalasamutu; at Missão Tiriôs, wei, sun, iss used instead]

(joroko) (N). Work. Oroko_me k-eh-tè-ne, let’s work. Serè apo_n-ai ji-joroko i-w-eh-to, this is what my work is like. [A borrowing from Sranantongo wroko]

(joronti) (N). Wax. Irè_mao wanè i-j-oronti-hpè eki_ektu-ne arè-tè-pè, then he ap-plied bee wax to (his son’s) bangs. Sen_n-ai oronti_me, this is used as wax.

(josi) (N). Rash; skin disease (typically characterized by whitish spots of varying size; apparently caused by a fungus). Ji-j-osi, my rash.

otf (N). Meat food (12.3.5). J-oit_se_w-a-e, I want meat food. O-oit t-ènè-kè! Eat your meat! Tarìpi eneh_pa anja oit_me, he brought capuchin monkey as our food (=meal). O-oit_ pa, akè ènè-e èmè? As for your meat food, what did you usually eat?

oto (N). Generic name for terrestrial game animal (for tree game animals, ⇒ mèhpàre; also 12.3.3). Irè apo_n-ai oto-ton, pèera, ururu-ra i-w-èi_ke, so are all the animals, stupid, because they never get advice. Oto-ton n-eratonka-n pau_htao tuna mono_me i-w-èi_ke, the animals get isolated on islands because the rivers become very big (during the rainy season). Ijjeeta tarèn oto-ton wèn, kurimau, wikapau, akuri, ameraarè, the Tiriyo kill many animals: paca (labba), deer, agouti, all of them.

oto (N). Car. Oto_tao nü-tè-n, s/he went in the car. [A borrowing from Dutch or French auto; car; some speakers prefer kanawa]

otono (N). Cold; snot. Ji-j-otono, my cold.
Otono_tao-w-a-e, I have a cold (lit. I am in a cold).

tonoinē (N). Tuberculosis. Otonoinē_tao_w-a-e, I have tuberculosis (lit. I am in tuberculosis). [Etymology: otono, cold, snot, with the augmentative -inē]


-epē (sfx). A non-productive ‘abstract beneficiary’ noun verbalizer (5.3.3.1.2).


pa (N; irreg. col. form pan-ton; prefixless first-person form pa-ri occurs in variation with the regular ji-pa(-ri); 4.3.1.2, 12.3.1). Grandchild; descendant. Tē-ēmon-ja-e ji-pa-ton_marē, I am meeting with my grandchildren. Anpo_ken_man-a-e, pa-ri, where are you staying, my grandson? Ėē, ji-pa-ri, oh, my grandson! Ma, tēin_ken_pa irē apo_nekērē mika, jipa, oh, you are saying this again, my grandson.

paapotē (N). Young girl; daughter (vocative form). Paapotē! Oikhē! You, young girl! Come here!

paara (N). A species of bamboo (unidentified). Witoto_ja pai tēpoo-se,paara_hطاo, a person met the tapir, among the bamboo trees.

paaruru (N; irreg. poss. japaaruru (4.3.1.4.3)). Banana (probably Musa paradisiaca). Paaruru tēnau-se ii-ja, he ate bananas. Ki-japaaruru

epē-ri, ameraarē_mo amih-kē, our banana stalks, get all of them.

paasinore (N). A species of acouchy (Myoprocta acouchy). [Possibly related to pai, tapir, and nore, tongue].

paaterēi (N; var. paterēi). Flashlight. Anpo ē-paaterēi? Where is your flashlight? [A borrowing from Dutch baterij]

paterēi (N). ⇒ paaterēi, flashlight.

paka (Vi). Break O (in pieces). In-rippa_marē rē-paka-ii jaa-ne weve tua, they also broke his bow against a tree. [⇒ epaka, break]

pai (N). Tapir (Tapirus terrestris).


pajamē (N). A species of bird (Turdus nudigenis, Port. sabiā-caraux, Eng. bare-eyed thrush).

pakara (N). A bag, a case (for transportation); a suitcase (for luggage). Panpira wii-sika-e pakara_pēe, I am taking the book out of the bag.

pakira (N). Collared peccary (Tayassu tajacu, Port. caititu).

pakira akē (N). A species of owl (Speotyto cunicularis, Strigidae; Eng. burrowing owl).

pakoro (N). House; roof of a house (note that a traditional Tiriyo house has no walls). Ji-pakoro_h-ta wi-tē-e, I am going home (into my house). Ano ē-pakoro? Which one is your house?

paku (N). A species of fish (Port. pacu).

-pa(mī) (sfx). ‘Abstract inchoative’ noun verbalizer (5.3.3.2.1).

pata (N). Place (general); village, place where people live. Anpo_n-ai ē-pata, where are you from? (lit. where is your place, your village?). Ki-pata tī-ri-kē, make our place, our village (i.e. clear this area, make it inhabitable). Ti-pata_buna_pa tī-tē_se t-e-e-se, he wanted to go back to his village, to his place. Sen_po_n-ai tīwērē-no_ro i-pata, ki-pata_h-ta, here is
someone else’s place, not ours. *Pata ti-hkērēnma-e meekoro_ja*, the Bushnegros attacked, afflicted the village.

**pataka** (Vt). Take O out; remove O (from e.g. inside a house). *J-eki wi-pataka*, I took my pet out (of the house). [⇒ Detr. epataka, go, come out] [Possibly *pata*, place, with the privative *-ka*, i.e. ‘make O lose O’s place’ > ‘take O out’]

**pepei** (N). Wind. *Pepei_me*, windy (e.g. talking about the pronunciation of H-Tiriýó speakers). *Pepei mono*, a strong wind.


**pereru** (N). Butterfly. [There do not seem to be specific words for the many different species of butterflies]

**perisina** (N). ⇒ aperisina.


**pēmu** (N). A species of insect (unidentified).

**pēne** (N). Piranha fish (apparently, *Serrasalmus spp.*)

**pēnjjek** (N). ⇒ jonjeko, white-lipped peccary.


**pēra** (N). Crying, wailing; tears. *Maaru_ke, i-pēra enkūka-ne, ki ki*, with a piece of cotton, he wiped his (someone else’s) tears. *I-pērari_htao_rēken Jaraware ti-w-ē-e-se ii-ja*, while he was crying, Jaraware came to him.

**pērei** (N). A species of tree (Port. guaruba).

**pērēru** (N). A species of toad (unidentified).


**pijanaaro** (N). Hawk nails. *Pijanaaro_rēken i-kwej_me*, only hawk nails were his fishhooks, he only had hawk nails for fishhooks. [⇒ *pijana*, hawk, and (*pi*)roi, toe nails]

**pijuru** (N). Shrimp.


**pina** (Vt). Drag O. *J-eke wi-pina_e*, I am dragging my hammock. [⇒ Detr. epina, drag]


**pipikane** (N). A species of bird (*Nisca longirostris*, Dendrocolapitidae, Eng. long-billed woodcreeper). [Probably onomatopoeic: *pipe + ka-ne*, the one that goes *pipi*]

**piririkan** (N). A species of antbird (*Formicolora grisea*, Formicariidae; Port. *formigueirocinzento*, Eng. white-fringed antwren). [Probably onomatopoeic: *piriri + ka-ne*, the one that goes *piriri*]

[ti](Vt; -se form ti-pē-e; takes -ja). Bathe O. *J-eki wi-pi-ja-e*, I am bathing my pet. *Irē_mao_mo ē-nmuku ti-pē kēi_ke ē-nmuku ahtao*, then bathe your son (in the medicinal bath) if he has fever. [⇒ Detr. *epi*, bathe, take a bath]

**pīhta** (Vo). Get a wife. *Ji-pihta_se_w-a-e*, I want to get a wife. *Eekanmao ē-pih-ta-n*? When are you getting married? [⇒ *pi(t)i*, wife, with -ta]

**pīti** (N). Mountain, hill. *Ma, irē po t-ee-se, pīti po t-ee-se*, it was there, on the hill.

**pīnē** (Pp). In favor of N; protective of N (*protective*; 7.3.3). *Ki-pīnē-ne_nai kan*, God has pity on us, is in favor of us, protects us. Back grade (prefixless) form *pīnē*, protective. *Pakko_n-ai pīnē*, my father is protective, moderate (e.g. he does not let people fight, mock others, etc.). Reciprocal form *ēpīnē*, protective, in favor of each other.
\[\text{Einin}_\text{too\_n-ai}, \text{they protect each other, feel pity (\(\approx\) are moved by) each other, are in favor of each other. ['Comiserative' might also be a good label for this postposition]}

\text{pifai} (N). 1 Shaman. \text{Pifai\_me\_n-ai}, he is (like) a shaman, he knows magic. \text{Itu\_htao\_tahken AIDS epi}, tahken pifai n-eraht\(\text{-n},\) maybe the cure for AIDS is in the jungle, maybe a shaman will find it. 2 (possessed) A personal spirit. \text{Jii\_jai\_me\_n-ai pai}, tapir is my 'personal spirit' (i.e. I must respect it; for instance, I cannot eat tapir meat).

\text{pinoma} (N). A species of fish (Port. \text{mandi}).

\text{pimuriri} (N). Species of woodpecker (\text{Picunus spp.}, Picidae; Port. \text{pica-pauzinho}, Eng. \text{piculet}) [The word \text{tintimo} was also used for these birds, but it was also considered to be a borrowing from \text{Katuwana}]

\text{pinma} (Vt). Keep O, put O away, save O. \text{Wija\_n-\text{me} wi-pinma\_e}, I am keeping it for myself. \text{Kin\-\text{en}? Kin-pimma, ti-nmuku\_me?} Did he eat him (\(\approx\) my son)? Or did he keep him as his own son? \text{Ji\-meparé wi-pinma\_e}, I am putting my things, my luggage away. \text{Ookopipu i-pinma\_\text{-t}, save (col.) the ookopipi (an endangered species of frog)}

\text{pirem\(\text{e}\) (N). Sugar cane. [A lexicalization; \(\Rightarrow\) (piv)r\(\text{e}\), possessed form (piv)\(\text{re}\), arrow cane]}

\text{pirepa} (N). Shin; leg. \text{Jii\_rep\(\text{a}, my leg.\)\text{-re}} (N; irr. poss. :re). Arrow. \text{Wewe t\(\text{-wë\_} t\(\text{-wë\_e} ii\_jaa\_ne ii\_re\_ke}, they kept shooting at trees with his arrows. Also: arrow cane.

\text{pivro} (N). Inner throat. \text{Ji\_ro, my inner throat.}\n
\text{pivroi} (N). Toe nails. \text{Ji\_roi, my toe nails.}\n
\text{pivropi} (N). Chest. \text{Ji\_ropi, my chest.}\n
\text{pit\(\text{a}\) (N). Sole of the foot. \text{Ji\_hta, my sole.}\n
\text{piv\(\text{ta}\) (N). Shoes; sandals. \text{Ji\_htai, my sandals. [Probably related to (piv)\(\text{ta}, sole of the foot\}]}}

\text{pivtarë\(\text{ma}\) (Vt). 1 Warn O (about a danger); prepare O (for something). \text{Wi\_htarë\(\text{ma\_e}, I am going to warn him/her. 2 Cause jealousy in O; cause O to worry. \text{Pitarë\(\text{ma\_të} w\_a\_e, I}}\n
cause people to feel jealous; I cause people to worry, to feel threatened. \(\Rightarrow\) Detr. \text{ehtarë\(\text{ma, get ready; become jealous}}\]

\text{pi\(\text{tu}\) (N). Wife. \text{Mëe w\_apë\_ne ji\-pi\_me}, I took this one as my wife.\n
\text{pitik\(\text{i}\) (N; irreg. poss. \text{hpitik}, (4.3.1.4.3)}. Anus. \text{Ji\-hpitik\(\text{i}, my anus.}\n
\text{pokoko} (N). Species of cicada (unidentified). [Probably onomatopoeic]\n
\text{pokoro} (N). A species of bird (\text{Xipholela punicina}, Cotingidae, Port. \text{anambé-roxo}, Eng. \text{pompador corre\(\text{t})}]

\text{poni} (N). Navel. \text{Ji\-poni, my navel.}\n
\text{ponjeki} (N; var. \text{pënjeki}). White-lipped peccary (\text{Tayassu pecari}, Port. \text{queixada}).\n
\text{puipuik\(\text{i}\) (N). Species of birds (\text{Formicariidae: Drymophila caudata}, Eng. \text{long-tailed antbird}; Fringillidae: \text{Zonotrichia capensis}, Port. \text{tico\_tico, Eng. \text{rjous-collared sparrow}}). [The two birds look different enough for this identification to seem suspicious]}

\text{pu\(\text{pu}\) (N). Foot. \text{Ji\_hpu, my foot.}\n
\text{pupuri} (N). A small-sized species of owl (\text{Glaucidium brasillianum}, Strigidae, Eng. \text{fer\(\text{ruginous pygmy-owl}}\]

\text{putupë} (N). Head; hair. \text{Ji\_putupë, my head, my hair.}\n
\text{putuputuri} (N). Nail. \text{Ewa\_n-ai putuputuri avë\(\text{e, the rope is hanging from the nail. [This word must be a borrowing of unknown origin]}\]

\text{puunë\(\text{pi}\) (Vt). 1 Think, meditate, ponder about O. \text{Wi\_puunë\(\text{e\_ja-e\_pítë, I am going to think about it first (\(\approx\) I will decide later). \text{Pëera\_ken\_ta ki-w-eh-too\_me, kure i-puunëh\(\text{-të\_kë serë, in order not to be stupid (careless, you all think carefully about this. 2 Understand O (usually in the past). \text{Wi\_puunë\! I understood it! I got it! \text{Ékëimë ènë-ne\_me Moomoori i-w-eh-to ti-puunë\_se i-pam\(\text{-rî\_ja, Moomoori's son-in-law understood that she liked to eat anacondas (lit. that she was an anaconda eater). \(\Rightarrow\) Detr. \text{éhpuunë(piv), think, meditate, ponder}]}}\]

\text{puure} (N). Species of swallow (\text{HIRUNDINIDAE: Stelgidopteryx Ruficollis}, Eng. \text{rough-winged}}
swallow; Tachycineta albiventer, Port. andornaha-de-rio, Eng. white-winged swallow).

ra (N). Front of the body. Irē_mao_rēken, mataware i-ra_pēē_nai i-wiiše, at that moment, Matawaré had anatto on the front of his body.


rama (Vi). Return O, give O back. Ė-panpira wi-rama-e, I am returning your book. [⇒ Detr. erama, return, go back]

ranne (Pp). Next to N, beside N; parallel to N. Ji-ranne ē-ehke ewahtë, tie your hammock parallel to mine. I-ndo_re wiūoto, i-ranne t-ee-se, eku_se_re t-ee-se, the guy was her husband, but in vain; he was next to her (= lying parallel to her, in the same hammock), and he wanted to have sex with her, but in vain.

:ranoma (Vi). Do O well. Ma, tī-rē_kēē_ne, iiranoma-kēē_ne, well, do it, and do it well! [Apparently, from kurano, good one [⇒ kure, good], with -ma; the full grade of the reducing syllable (presumably ku) is unattested]

rantā (Vo). 1 (Only in the third person). Pass (a year). Tuwei_me ni-ranta, two years passed (lit. it 'yeared' twice). Sen i-ranta-to_mao, during this year. 2 (All persons). Spend (a year). Kwatru, sinku_me tahken ē-ranta-ta-n, you will spend four, maybe five years (lit. maybe you 'will year' four, five times).

rantī (N). Government. Montoru i-ēkara-erantī_ja, the government gave this motor (e.g. electricity generator). [Borrowing, cf. Sranantongo rantī 'government']

rato (Pp). Beside; next to. Ji-rato etahpaka, sit down next to me. The nominalized form rato(no) means opposite side: ji-rato-n_po_nai ji-pawana, my friend is (sitting) opposite to me. [Maybe related to ra, front (of the body)]

ratoe (N). Enemy; someone who is against me (also in the locative sense). Ji-ratoe-npē w-apē-ja-e, I caught my former enemy. Ji-ratoe, my enemy; the one who is against me (also physically). [⇒ rato, beside, next, parallel to]

ratoema (Vt). Attack O. Ki-pun-kon i-ratoema-ta-n, it (= the virus) will attack our bodies. [⇒ ratoe, enemy, with -ma]

ratonka (Vt). Isolate O; separate O. I-ratonka-hpē-ton, the ones that were isolated, separated. [⇒ eratonka, be(come) isolated] [⇒ rato, beside, nominalized as rato(no), opposite side; and the privative -ka, i.e. 'remove the opposing side' > 'isolate']

rawē (Pp). In the middle (= half part) of N (i.e. in the middle of a linear space; cf. :roowē, which implies at least two dimensions). Kanawa_rawē_n-ai, he is in the middle of the canoe (equidistant from both extremes). [⇒ ra, front (of body); the final wē is an old locative (12.2)]

rawēnaka/kī (Pp). To the half of N. Tahken i-rawēnaka_rēken w-arē-n, maybe I'll take it only to its half (i.e. maybe I'll only tell half of the story). [⇒ locative rawē, in the middle (= halfway) of N]

rehkī (Pp). Onto the top of N [syn. _rehēnaka/kī]. Pīu_rehkī n-anota, it fell on top of the hill, mountain. [⇒ locative rehtē, on top of N]

rehē (Pp). On the top of, on the head of N (7.3.1.2.3; syn. arehtē). Pīu_rehē_n-ai, it is on top of the hill, mountain. [From retī; horn; ⇒ directional _rehēnaka/kī, _rehkī, onto the top of N]

rehēnaka/kī (Pp). Onto the top of, onto the head of N [syn. rehkī]. Ji-rehēnaka_n-anota, it fell on top of my head. [⇒ locative rehtē, on top of N]

remiki (N). Lime, lemon. [A borrowing,
probably from Sranan lemki]
\_re(pe) (Ptc). Frustrative particle, indicating that the action described in the sentence either was not brought to completion, or was done in vain. J-anota\_re, I almost fell (but I didn‘t). Tī-kaimo i-wekena\_ne\_re, he followed his game in vain (= i.e. he was unsuccessful)
(9.1.5).
repentē (Vt). Pay, reward O. Oroko\_ma\_n-ton wi-repentē\_e, I am going to pay the workers.
⇒ repe(ti), payment, price
repe(ti) (N). Payment; price. Sen\_nai j-enpane i-repe\_me, this is the payment for my teacher.
Ji-repe\_ni pe, my ex-payment (e.g. before I spent it).
:re(ti) (Vt; var. \_re(ti)). Cross, traverse O, go to the other side of O. Irē\_me same\_ken kīt-rēh-kē, so take me fast to the other side! Ji-mēnparē wi-rējē\_ja-e, I am transporting my luggage to the other side. ⇒ Detr. erē\_ti, cross, go accross] [There may be a stem-initial reducing syllable; full grade unattested]
reṯi (N). Horns, antlers; crown of the head. Wikapau i-reṯi\_hpē w-ahkējē\_ja-e, I am cutting the deer’s antlers. K-orokē\_kon i-reṯi tīkapire\_sa ahtao, if our penis is a little wounded.
\_rē (Ptc). Identificational particle: ‘exactly’, ‘this is the one’, ‘even’ (9.1.4). Irē\_po\_ro jippata, yes, there is precisely where my village is. Irē\_rē, this is it.
\_rēke(ne) (Ptc). A scope particle: just; only (9.1.4). J-urakana\_e \_rēken, I am just walking around. Irē\_mao\_rēken, only then. Irē\_rēken wi-ponoo\_ja-e, I am telling only this (and nothing else). ⇒ \_rē, exactly, and \_kene, continuous; i.e. ‘continually exactly’, ‘continually the same’ > ‘only’]
\_rēn(ne) (Ptc). A scope particle: genuine, true (9.1.4). Tarêna\_rēn êmē, you are a true Tiriyo. J-eemi\_rēn méè, this one is my real daughter. Wi-tē\_e\_rēn, I am really going (= I am not kidding).
ripita (Vo). Become thinner, weaker. Kutuma ti-ripita\_e, kapohta i-w-ehhpē\_ke itu\_htao, he had gotten much thinner, because he had been in the jungle for so long. [Probably a -ta verb; source stem unattested]
\itrī (Vt; -se form ti-řē-e; takes -ja). 1 Do, make O. Ki̱-kairi wi-řē\_ja-e, I am making our broth. Pakoro wi-řē\_ja-e, I am making a house. Aī mi̱-řē\_ja-n? What are you doing? ⇒ ̱tīrī, work; make things (for oneself)] (waar\_tī, kill O ⇒ wa\_a). 2 Put O (somewhere). Irē\_řē kure ti̱-řē e-pakara-h\_tao, put it back in your bag. Irē\_npē\_mo tīrī tiṉotī\_hka, put it in cold water.
\_(rī) (sfx). Possessive suffix on -rī class nouns (4.3.1.5).
\irīhta (Vo). Sweat [syn. eramuhta]. Ji-řīhta\_e, I am sweating. [Probably derived with -ta; source stem unattested]
\irīpī (sfx). Pejorative suffix on nouns (4.2.1.5).
\_rohkī (Pp). To the middle, center of N [syn. \_roowēna\(ka\_kī\)]
\roke (Ideo; also rokeroke). Swell(ing). Ma, irē\_mao rokeroke tīt\_ka\_e eena, then his throat started to swell (lit. went rokeroke).
\_roowē (Pp). In the middle, center of N; surrounded by N. Itu\_roowē, in the middle of the jungle. Tuna\_roowē, in the middle of the river. ⇒ (pi\_ropī, chest; the wē is an old locative (12.2); ⇒ directional \_rohkī, \_roowēna\(ka\_kī), to the middle of N]
\_roowēna\(ka\_kī) (Pp). To the middle, center of N [syn. \_rohkī]. Itu\_roowēna wītē\_e, I am going to the middle of the jungle. ⇒ locative \_roowē\_e, in the middle, center of N]
rowaka (Vt). Open O. Panpira wi-rowaka\_e, I am opening the book.
ruhka (Vt). Stick O (somewhere); make O stand (e.g. a pole, a house). Panpira wi-ruhka\_e, I am putting the book away, sticking it somewhere. Wewe wi-ruhka\_e nono\_htao, I am sticking the pole into the earth. Pakoro i-ruhka\_se\_w\_a\_e ēē\_ja, I want you to build a house (= lit. to make it stand).
rupe (N). A species of lizard (Port. jacuraru).
Kępēewa mée i-e-e-se tē-pēkēn-ke, rupeimē i-pē, but he had a persecutor (=someone who was busy with him); the rupeimē lizard was planning something for him (=busy with him). [It is not clear whether or not rupei and rupeimē refer to the same species]


S

s- (pfx). First-person marker on e-initial SA verbs (5.4.1.1.2)

saikka (Vo). Get O wrong; make mistakes about O; misunderstand, misinterpret O, mistake O [cf. amēnē(π), miss O (target)]. Wi-saikka, I got it wrong, I missed it. Èema tī-saikka-e tī-ja, he took the wrong path, he ‘mistook’ the path.
saranasa (N; var saramisasa). Species of bird (Parulidae: Setophaga ruticilla, Eng. American redstart; Thraupidae, Tachyphonus cristatus, Eng. flame-crested tanager)
saruma (N). Saruma or Xaruma, a Cariban group, known only from the literature. Their descendants (who may still speak the language) apparently live among the Waiwai in the village on the Jatapuzinho river.
sawarakau (N). A big, crab-like kind of spider (Port. caranguejeira).
sawaru (N). A species of turtle (unidentified).

_se (Pp; irreg. conjugation (7.1.1); nrz. sa(no), sato). Desiderative postposition; wanting, needing N. Tuna se w-a-e, ji-jōkē me, I want water to drink. J-entu ji-je Beren_po, my boss wants me in Belém. (7.3.3).

se(nē) (Pro). Inanimate demonstrative visible proximal non-collective; this thing here [not being presented (⇒ serē); 4.1.2]. Owa, sen nē-sewa_w-a-e, no, I do not eat this. Sen_po, here (lit. in this (place), a frequent collocation).

serē (Pro). Inanimate demonstrative visible proximal non-collective; this thing here [being presented (⇒ se(nē); 4.1.2]. Serē ē-uru, ē-eweh-kēē_ne, this is your cassava food, eat!.

Ma menjaarē serē i-ponopī_se_w-a-e, ki-tamun-ru-npē-ken i-w-eh-to pena, now I want to tell this (=introducing a story), about our ancestors, long ago.

seu (N). A species of raccoon (Nasua nasua, Port. quati).

sika (Vi). Remove O, take O out [syn. [r]ēu]. Panpira wii-sika-e pakara_pēe, I am taking the book out of the bag. È-erepa i-katu-kpē mii-sika-e, you take the poison out of your food. ⇒ eseka, come out]. Irē_mao_pa Taru tī-sika-e tī-ja, tī-wenahta-e, then he threw Taru out, he vomited him (out) (said about a big lizard who had eaten Taru).

sikare (N). Species of cuckoo (Cuculidae: Playa cayana, Port. alma-de-gato, Eng. squirrel cuckoo; Playa minuta, Port. rabilonga vermelha, Eng. little cuckoo).

sikē (N). Tropical flea (Tunga penetrans) which embeds itself in the skin, especially of the feet, of humans and animals and lays eggs; chigoe, chigger, jigger.

simari (N). Grater.

simenuri (N). A species of termite (unidentified).

siminatē (N). Liana (general name). Katamūmē siminanē, the katamūmē liana.

sipari (N). Species of stingray (unidentified). Also, a fan, used to kindle fire, and a woven tray, used for serving food, which has the same form. Ji-hpari, my fan.

sirikē (N). Star. Kapu_ta tī-tē-e, sirikē_me i-w-eh-too_me, he went to the sky to become a star (constellation).
siroi (N). A species of bird (Sporophila obscura, Fringillidae; Eng. dull-colored seedeater). [Maybe contains the word (pi)roi, toe nails]
situ (N). A species of ant (unidentified).
(si)warapa (N). Club; stick (used as a weapon). Jīi-warapa, my club.
swiri (N). A species of fish (Port. tamoatá; unidentified).
swiririwiri (N). A species of swallow (Atticora fasciata, Hirundinidae, Port. andorinha-de-cinta-branca, Eng. white-banded swallow).
sokī (N). Hot water. Sokī_me tī-rī, make it into hot water (as when preparing certain kinds of medicine).
sokīma (Vt). Boil O. Wi-sokīma-e, I am boiling it.
:suka (Vt). Wash O. Li-suka-kē soopu_ke, wash it with soap. Kīni-suka, s/he washed it. Incorporation: ji-je-suka-to, my toothbrush (je, teeth).
suhtapo (A; nzr. -to). Wanting to urinate. Suhtapo_w-a-e, I want to urinate. ⇒ suhta, urinate]

T

t-(prf). Third-person reflexive (coreferential) prefix on nouns and postpositions (3.3.1.3).
t-(prf). First-person marker on ẽ-initial S_A verbs (5.4.1.1.2).
t- (cfx). Non-productive proprieteive (‘having’) noun adverbializer (6.2.1.1.1). Also, allomorph of the recent past marker (⇒ t- -se).
t-je (cfx). Non-productive proprieteive (‘having’) noun adverbializer (6.2.1.1.1). Also, allomorph of the recent past marker (⇒ t- -se).
t-ke (cfx). Proprieteive (‘having’) noun adverbializer (6.2.1.1.1).
t-ne (cfx). Non-productive proprieteive (‘having’) noun adverbializer (6.2.1.1.1).
t-pore (cfx). Noun adverbializer, ‘having a good N’ (6.2.1.1.2).
t- se (cfx). Marker of remote past on verbs (5.4.3.1.2, 11.6.3)
t-ta (sfx). Inchoative noun verbalizer (5.3.3.2.1).
taaka (Vt). Hit O (something hard, like bone). Ji-putūpē wi-taaka, I hit my head. Apēi wi-taaka-e, I am hitting the his seat (really hard). Wewe wi-taaka-e, arimi ii-tē-too_me, I am hitting the tree, so that the spider monkey will go away.
taanē (A). 1 Yonder, far away [syn. ooni-po]. Pahko nī-tēn ēiwa-e taanē itu_tdao, my father went hunting far away, in the jungle. Tī-tē-e, taanē, s/he went, far away. 2 Always; forever; never; ever (in negative clauses). Taanē tiwaarē i-w-eh-too_me, oto apo-ta, so that we (anja) will forever be careful (about these things), unlike the animals. J-enee-wa-rēn meh-ta-e taanē_rēn_pa, you will never see me again.
_tae (Pp). Perlative (‘by, along’) directional postposition. Sen ēema_tae nī-tēn, s/he went by, along, following this path. Tarēno i-j-omi-h_tae, in (lit. by, along) the Tiriyo language. ⇒ locative _tao, in(side); ⇒ directional _ta(ka), into

tahka (Vt). Causativized (with -ka) form of ta(tit), get lost (⇒ ta(tit)]
tahkarā (Ptc). Particle used after verb phrases (⇒ tahkarē) to indicate that the speaker is surprised by a likely possibility (of which, however, s/he is not sure). Ni-tē-n_tahkarā, pahko, it may be father coming!; could it be that father is coming?
_tahkarē (Ptc). Particle used after non-verb phrases (⇒ _tahkara) to indicate that the speaker is surprised by a likely possibility (of which, however, s/he is not sure). Pahko_
tahkarē ni-tē-n, it may be father coming!; could it be that father is coming?
_tahke(ne) (Ptc). Maybe, perhaps (9.1.3.2). Tahken n-ee-ja-n = N-ee-ja-n tahken, maybe s/he is coming. [tahke(ne) is the only tahka-
particle that can occur sentence-initially]
tahpame (A). Sitting, in a sitting position. Tahpame_w-a-e, I am sitting, I sit.
tahpaka (Vt). Make O sit down, sit O. Ji-nmuku wi-tahpak-e, I make my son sit down. (⇒ Detr. etahpaka, sit down)
tahturu (Intj). Noise of killing. Waa tí-rē-e ii-ja, Taru_ja, tahturu, Taru killed her, tahturu.
taika (Vt). Trim O; cut uneven parts off O. I-
taika-hpē, trimmings, sawdust, what remains after something was trimmed.
_ta(ike) (Ptc). Negative particle, used with non-verbs and with non-conjugated verb forms (9.1.4). Weve_taa_n-ai, it is not wood, it is not a tree. T-ēpēe-se_ta ēe-ja, you didn’t get it (it wasn’t gotten by you). [The final (ike) is, among younger speakers, all but gone]
taja (N). Nape of the neck. Ji-taja, my nape.
_ta(ka) (Pp). Illative (‘into’) directional post-
position. Pakoro_ja ni-tēn, s/he went into the house. (7.3.1.1.2). (⇒ locative _tāo, in(side); ⇒ perative _tāe, by, along)
takaemi (N). Harpoon; arrow used for fishing. Takaemi_ké ti-wē-e wğa, I hit it with a harpoon.
tamo (N). Vocative form of tamu, grandfather.
tamokonpē (N). A species of spider monkey (Ateles paniscus, Port. coati, macaco-aranha). [Apparently ‘old man’; ⇒ tamo, grandfather (voc.). At Tepoe, the word arimi is used instead of tamokonpē; at Missao Tiriós, arimi was considered a borrowing from Wayana]
tamosinpē (N). ⇒ tamusinpē.
tamu (N; voc. tamo; first-person tamusinpē, tamosinpē, sometimes ji-tamu; 12.3.1). 1 Grandfather. Ki-tamu_kon, our grandfather. Tamo! oh-kē sarē! Grandfather! Come here! (tamo is also used to address an old man, even if he is not the speaker’s grandfather). 2 Elder; leader. K-ēreeta-tē-ne_pitē, n-kan tarēnō i-
tamu, let us now rest a little, says the elder, the leader of the Tiriyo (referring to a village chief).
tamusinpē (N; var. tamosinpē). Irregular first-
person possessed form; ⇒ tamu, grandfather.
tamutupē (N; irreg. col. tamo-sa(mo), tamo-
san-ton). Old man. Irē_mao t-ēturu, nēērē
tamutupē_ja, Joonare_ja, then I talked to him, the old man, Yoonare. Tamutupē_me_sa w-
ee-ja-e, I am becoming a little old (said by a man; ⇒ notipē, old woman). (⇒ tamu, grandfather; -tupē may be an older form of the nominal past suffix -hpē; 12.2]
tao (Pp). Locative inessive (in(side) N) post-
position. Ji-mēnparē_n-ai pakara_tao, my things are in the bag (7.3.1.1.1). (⇒ directional _ta(ka), into; ⇒ perative _tāe, by, along)
taparara (N). A species of grasshopper.
tapitapi (Ideo). A noise for calling fish. Ma,
tapitapi, amīnpa-tuawē ii-ja, irē_mao ti-wē-
se aimara, then, tapitapi, they made fish
calls, and then came an aimara fish.
tapiume (A). Many (animate). Tapiume wūtoto
irē-po, there are many people there. Maro-
po ahtao kana tapiume, in March there are lots
of fish. [Probably an old _me phrase; source
stem unattested (but cf. Apana tapii, house;
maybe ‘house-like’ > ‘full house’ > ‘many’)]
taran (Ideo). Noise of piling, stacking, building
things. T-ēpēi ti-rē-e ii-ja kawē, jarakapu,
taran taran taran taran, irē_juawē t-ee-se, he
made his own seat high, a temporary shelter:
taran taran taran taran, it was up there.
tarenjē (A). Later. Irēme tarenjē_pa ēewehe-kē,
so, eat later! (6.1.1.5)
tarēnō (N). Autodenomination of the Tiriyo.
Tarêno_wî, I am a Tiriyô. Tarêno i-j-omi, the Tiriyô language. [Probably the nominalized
form of an old word for ‘here’, i.e. ‘local people’; 1.2]

taripikohko (N). Species of birds (Formicariidae: Cymbilaimus lineatus, Port. chacaô-barrado, Eng. fascinated antshrike; Thomophillus dolius, Port. chaca-barrada, Eng. barred antshrike). [This word looks related to tarîpi, capuchin monkey; maybe it is taripikohko, with an i instead of an i]
tarîpi (N). A species of capuchin monkey (Cebus apella, Port. macaco-prego).
tâ(t) (Vo). Get lost. Ti-taa-se, s/he got lost; s/he made a mistake (while telling a story). I-tattê-hpê i-wêh-topo-ntê, the story of the one who got lost.
tawa (N). Clay [syn. ërinê], mud.
tawakira (N). A species of partridge (Colinus cristatus, Phasianidae; Port. uru-do-campo, Eng. crested bobwhite) [syn. tokoróimê]
tawari (N). Species of bird (Tyrannidae: Myiobatis simillis; Eng. social flycatcher; Ochthoeca rufipectoralis, Eng. rufous-breasted chat-tyrant).
tee (Intj). Expresses surprise, mild dissatisfaction. Tee! Êmê? What? You? (said by a speaker who was surprised by the hearer).

tereine (A; nizr. -(mi)). Foggy. Kapu tereine, the sky is foggy (e.g. during the morning). [⇒ erei(ni), smoke. This adverb should have been tereine; a transcription mistake cannot be ruled out]
teusu (N). God (syn. kan, more usual). Teusu i-j-omi mi-saîka-e, you are misinterpreting God’s words. [A borrowing from Port. deus]
têenakêe (A; nizr. -(mi)). Liar; lying. Têenakêe_wî, I am lying. Irême_hkatê pena t-ëpêê-se i-

jaa-ne miêka? Têenakêe... So you said that they had already gotten it (=the money)? You liar...
[⇒ eenakê, lie, liar, lying]
tê(mi) (Va; non-Detr [5.2.2, Table 5.4]; irreg. person markers (5.4.1.1.2); irreg. mi stem (5.1.4); reduces to h in the future (5.1.6)). Go. Ni-têen_pa, he is gone. Kokoro wî-h-ta-e Berem_pona, tomorrow I’ll go to Belém. Kî-
têen-ne! Let’s go! Aja mi-tê-n? Where are you going? (frequent greeting).
têpu (N). Stone; rock; boulder. Têpu-pisi_n-ai kariwa_tao, the little stone is in the gourd. T-
entaka-e têpu, the big rock broke apart. [Têpu (written Tepoe in Surinam) is the name of one of the major Tiriyô villages; 1.1]
têtune (A; nizr. -(mi)). Painful. Têtune_n-ai, it is painful. [From jetu(nu), pain; apparently, a higher-register synonym of kutuma(ka)]
tintimo (N). ⇒ pîmuriri, woodpecker species.
tîkka (Vt; var. hîthka). Scare, frighten O. Wi-
thka-e, I am scaring him. Irê_ja ti-tîthka-e, enu-ra_ja, it frightened him, his (= the cay-
man’s) eye. Wei îî-tê-topo_ja îî-thîthka-e, he was frightened by the going (= disappearance)
of the sun. [⇒ Detr. ëthîthka, be, get scared. Notice the variant hîthka, with an unexpected h; cf. also the h in the Detr. form]
tîka (N). Tobacco; cigarettes. Tîka têërê? Are there any cigarettes? Ji-tîka_se_w-a-e, I want cigarettes for me.
tîka (Vt). Finish O up; run out of O. Ni-tîka-n_
_to, they are finishing it (=fruits) up, they are eating them all up. Wi-tîka-e, I am finishing it. [⇒ Detr. ëthîthka; the h is difficult to explain
(⇒ tîka, frighten O)]
tîkatîne (A; nizr. -(mi)). Fat; having fat. Tikatîne
t-e-ee-se pepeijoto, the pepeijoto snake was fat. [⇒ kati, fat]
tîkuje (A; nizr. -(mi)). Dirty. Tikuje_w-a-e, I am dirty. [⇒ kuita, be(com)e dirty: 12.2]
tîkupune (A; nizr. -(mi)). Fleshy; fat. Ee, ki-
pkuwaehka-e päi, tîkupune_n akhene, oh, you are jumping over me, tapir, as if you had flesh
(= i.e. as if you were strong enough to risk
irritating me). \(\Rightarrow\) *kupu(nu)*, meat, flesh, body.

**ti(mi)** (Vt). Poison O (water, river, to kill the fish). I-tin-to, method of fishing whereby a poisonous sap is used to kill the fish. *Ineke ke anja ni-tin-ja-e*, we poison (the river) with *ineku*.

**tīmune** (A; nzr. -(*mi*)'). 'Rooty'; with tuberous roots sprouting (i.e. ready for planting). *Wii tīmune*nen, cassava ready for planting. \(\Rightarrow\) *mu(nu)*, tuberous root.

**tīnuue** (A; nzr. -(*mi*)'; var. *tīmu*). Having a son. *Tīnuue_w-a-e*, I have a son. [The variant *tīmuje* seems to be a reinterpretation of *tīnuue*; both are phonetically very close (the long nasal (/nm/ = [mm]) being the only noticeable difference)]

**tīrepehke** (A). Expensive, dear. *Tīrepehke_n-nai*, kutuma, it is very expensive.

**tīri** (N). Name of the Tiriyo, generally used by non-Tiriyō (\(\Rightarrow\) *tarēno*, the preferred auto-denomination) [Word of uncertain origin; it may be cognate with Kali’na *tīre:wayu*; 1.2]

**tīrīm** (Intj). Noise of thunder \(\Rightarrow\) *raah*. *Manan manan manan, tīrīm, manan manan manan manan, raah, lighting, lightning, lightning, thunder; lighting, lightning, lightning, lighting, thunder.*

**tonoro** (N). Generic noun for birds. *Tonoro tī-wē-e i-i-ja*, he shot (killed) bird(s).

_\(\rightarrow o\) (Ptc; var. _toto_). Collective particle for non-SAP (5.4.1.2). *N-ee-ja-n_to*, they are coming. *M-amohē-to*, you (non-col.) called all of them. [The variant _toto_ occurred very rarely; being certainly older (_toto > _to(o)_), it seems to be all but gone]


**tora** (Intj; var. tora). Noise of someone arriving. *Tora, tī-pataa_pona, tora*, (he came back) to his village. *Ma, tora, tī-tunata-e, mataware ja*, then, *tora*, he arrived at Mataware’s (village).


**tuna** (N; irreg. poss. -*na*). Water; river. *Kariwa w-arihē-e tuna_ke*, I am filling the gourd with water. *Tuna_hita j-enmītī_se_w-a-e*, I want to dive into the water/river. *S-eerēe-ja-e tuna_hkao*, I am crossing the river. *Jii-na eni*, my water container (also *ji-tuna eni*).

**tunta** (Vo). Arrive. *Ti-tunta-e meekoro irē-miao*, the Bushnegros arrived at that time. *Menjaarē ni-tunata kainan ēkēreu kū-i-jaa-ne*, now a new disease has come to us. [Apparently an old *ta* verb; source stem unattested]

**turakane** (A; nzr. -(*mi*)'). Traveling; who travels a lot; tourist, visitor. *Ee... turakanemī, tū-ka-e rupeime-ē-ton*, hey... visitors (are coming), said the *rupeime* lizard’s people. *Turakanemē mi-tē-e*, you go visiting places (i.e. you go as a visitor, a tourist). \(\Rightarrow\) *urakanu(mu), urakana*, stroll, walk around.

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**U**


**un** (N). One. [A borrowing from Port. *um*; \(\Rightarrow\) *ein* for a corresponding Dutch borrowing]

**unna** (Vo). Dry, become dry. *J-unna-e*, I am getting dry. [Maybe related to *tuna*, water, river]

**uraika** (Vt). Disturb, annoy O; make O angry. *W-uraika-e*, I am disturbing him, making him angry. *J-uraiketo-ōpē*, my having been annoyed. *Irē apo ahtao_rēken, wikapau tī-karaa wa-e t-uraika-toh_pē*, at that time, the
deer became angry because of (=about) being disturbed.

urakanana (Vo). Stroll, walk around [syn. urakanu(mu)]. J-urakanana-e ṭēken, I am just walking around. Ṣehken t-urakanana-e wî, pêera ji-w-ei_ke, likewise I walked around (aimlessly), because I was ignorant.

urakanu(mu) (Vo). Stroll, walk around [syn. urakana]. È-pawana akêrê, è-urakanun-ja-e, you walk around with your friend. Abrîl po tarêno n-urakanun-ja-n, in April the Tiriyô go walking around.

uramû (N). Species of birds (Thraupidae, Eu-

phonía spp.; Port. gaturamos)

uremaru (N; var. wiremaru). Species of birds (Tyrannidae: Ectenia spp., Port. cucrutados; Myiarchus spp., Port. maria-cavaleiras, Eng. flycatchers).

[i]jûr(e) (Vt). Light O (fire). Mahto w-urê-e, I am lighting the fire. Irê_mao mahto i-urê-e ii-ja, then he lit a fire. T-urê-kê! Light it!

uru (N). Generic word for foods made of flour, cassava, etc. (by extension, also wheat, e.g. bread; 12.3.5). Serê è-uru, that is your (cassava) food. J-uru eneh-too_me ēê-ja, so that you bring me food; you are to bring me food.

uru (Vt; -se form urê-e [5.1.6]; takes -ja [5.4.1.3.1])). Wuru-ja-e, I am advising, talking to him. Uru-pîn apo, like someone who never had good advice, who was never taught how to behave. Uru-tê n-ai, this is good advice, this advises well. Jarawâre i-tê-

hpê_ke Matawre_ja, Matawre uru-too_me, because Yarawai had gone to Matawrai in order to talk to him. \(\Rightarrow\) Detr. ēturu, talk, speak (in public)

urumâlmê (N). An unidentified species of wild duck (the word uruma, without the augmentative, is unattested).

urutakî(pî) (Vo). Choke [syn. mîrî(tî)]. J-

urutakî-ja-e, I am choking. J-urutakîpî_se n-

ai, she wants me to choke. [Maybe a case of incorporation \(\Rightarrow\) uru, cassava food; verb stem unattested]

W

w- (pfx). First-person A/S marker on transitive (and some exceptional SA) verbs (5.4.1.1).

-wa (sfx). Inchoative noun verbalizer (5.3.3.2.1).

wa (Vt). Look for, search, go get O. Maja i-wa-

ta! Go get the knife! Papa pa i-wa-ta! Go get your father! Pananakiri-ion serê epi i-wa-

ne_re, the foreigners have looked for a cure for this, but in vain. Ti-ñmukû ù-wa-e_re ii-ja, he looked in vain for his son. Akî mi-wa-ne? Who were you looking for? [This verb— unlike wê, shoot, and wa, dance—is i-initial with the n-final prefixes kîn-, in-, n:- e.g. kîn-îwa, s/he looked for it (compare with kîn-wa, kîn-na, s/he danced, or kîn-wê, kîn-nê, s/he shot it)]

wa(a) (Pt). Negative existential particle (there isn’t). Tiika_ñwa_n-ai, there is no tobacco, there are no cigarettes. Wa_ken, there isn’t any, it’s over (maybe already an independent particle wake(ne)). Pahko_ñwa_n-ai, my father isn’t there; also, my father is dead. With \([t]ri\), make O nothing, kill O. Mëë_ñwa_û-ri, I killed that one. \(\Rightarrow\) aawîrî, a lexicalizing variant of waa \([t]ri\)

waaje (A; var. ëwaaje; nzs. waaja-to). Back grade of the appreciative postposition ewaaje; considerate, nice \(\Rightarrow\) ewaaje

wae (Va). First-person form of the copula (‘I am’). \(\Rightarrow\) e(i)

waijana (N). Wayana, a member of a neighboring Cariban group (1.3). Ma waijana, akuriyo, tarêno aparai, irê apo_n-ai, Tëpu_p-ñ-ton, Wayana, Akuriyô, Tiriyô, Apalaî, these (=like this) are the inhabitants of Tepeo.

waiwai (N). Waiwai, a member of a neighboring Cariban group (1.3).

wame(ke) (Pp). Ignored by, not known to N. (ignorative; 7.3.3). Irê_n-ai ji-wame, this I don’t know. Non-conjugated form wame(ke), unknown, difficult. Wameh_ta, not difficult,
easy (to understand). Ë-j-omi_n-ai wame, your
language is difficult. Recp. form ëiwmame(ke),
ignorant, stupid. Wiya_n-me irë, ëiwmame ji-w-
ëh-tëkërë, this is my fault, because I am stupid.
wan (Va). First-person form of the copula (‘I
am’). [⇒ e(i)]
wapu (N). A species of palm tree (Port. açai;
probably Euterpe oleracea).
warume (A; nzr. -(no)). Dark. Warume_n-ai, it
is dark (here). [⇒ ewaru(nu), darkness]
watë (N). Irregular non-pos. form. [⇒ wef
watëka (N). A species of vulture (Coragyps
atratus, Cathartidae, Port. urubu, Eng. black
vulture) [Related to watë, excrements]
wažaka (N). Species of vulture (Cathartidae,
Cathartes aura, Eng. turkey vulture; Cathartes
melambrotus, Eng. yellow-headed vulture).
weka (Va) ⇒ oeka, defecate.
wef (N; non-poss. watë (4.3.1.4.3)). Excrements.
Ji-wetë, my excrements. Watë_modified_n-ai, it is
all dirty with excrements. Kunawaru i-wetë,
the excrements of the kunawaru toad.
[t]wë (Vt) Shoot O; hit O (by throwing some-
thing at it). [⇒ Detr. ëhtë, shoot oneself
(irregular Detr. form)]
wëltapi (N). Irregular non-possessed form (⇒
ehke(iii), hammock)
wenjepu (N). Baby hammock (worn by
the mother around her body; a means of
transporting babies). Ji-wenjepu, my baby hammock.
wëri (N). 1 Woman. Irë_pon wëri w-apëi-ne ji-
pë_me, I took a woman from there as my wife.
Wëri kawë-no n-ee-ja-n, the tall woman is
coming. Wëri_pisi ahtao, oota-nna _ukërë_n-
ai, t-ëpëe-se_ta kirëja i-w-ëi_ka, when she is
a little girl (lit. little woman), she does not yet
have a hole (= open vagina), because she has
not had a man yet (lit. was not caught by a
man yet). 2 Younger sister (male ego). Ji-
wëri-h-tomo! My sisters! (vocative). [Possibly
related to erë, vagina]
wërimuku (N). Girl, young woman. Karaiwa
nono_pëe tï-të-e wëri, wërimuku_me tï-të-e,
from the Brazilian land went a woman, she
went still young. [⇒ wëri, woman; nmuku,
son, child]
wiiriikiki (N). A species of wasp.
wiirinae (N). A species of sloth (Bradypus
tridactylus, pale-throated three-toed sloth).
wi (N; irreg. poss. -wë). Cassava. Ji-wi pata,
the place where I store my cassava. Kï-tëë-ne
wië, let’s eat cassava. Wië n-eejaka-n, the
cassava bread is breaking (up), crumbling.
Irënehika wië t-ënee-se ii-ja, finally he brought
some cassava.
wiïse (N). Anatto, a plant from which red body
paint can be made; also, the paint made from
this plant. Mataware i-ra_pëë_nai i-wëse,
irëme wiïse tï-ëkëka-e ii-ja, kïï., Mataware’s
anatto was on his chest, and then he rubbed it
(on his chest), kïï,...
wëja (Pp). To me; by me; for me. [irregular
first-person form; ⇒ _ja]
(wi)karau (N). Anger. Wikarau_hpijë_n-ai, s/he
is angry, full of anger. Wewe-ton t-ëkaaka-e
ariwe-imë-ja, tïi-karaue_ke, the cayman bit the
trees repeatedly, because he was angry (= with
his anger). Pëë, menjaarë, Mataware iï-karaue
w-apëë, wiï_hkatë, wiïa_n-me, ooh, now I have
attracted (= caught) Mataware’s anger, it’s all
my fault.
(wi)karuma (Vt). Irritate O, make O angry
[syn. erëtëu, erëkuikza] [⇒ (wi)karau, anger]
Wii-karauma-e, I am irritating him/her. Irë-ja
kïi-karauma-e iwana, this irritated the iguana.
Wiki-karauma-ton, irritating, capable of
irritating.
(wi)karauta (Vo). Become angry, irritated [syn.
(wi)karauwa]. Këpëewa, tïi-karaute-e i-w-ëi_
ke, tï-ponoo-se ii-ja, but, because he had gotten
angry, he told (the story).
(wi)karauwa (Vo). Become angry, irritated [syn.
(wi)karauta]. Irëme tïi-karauewa-e, then s/he
got angry. Irë ener-tuawë wëtoto_ka, katuma tïi-
karaue-wa-e, after having seen this; he became
very angry. Li-karauewa-ewa_n-ai, s/he is not
angry.
(wi)raapa (N). Bow. Irë_mao pahko_ka tï-rë-e
Jii-raapa-pisi, then my father made a little bow for me. Wirapa u-rë-e ii-ja, he made a bow. Also: the tree from which bows are made (Port. pau-d'arco, similar to fiddlewood). Wirapa epoh-topo-npë wïtoto_ja, the discovery of the pau-d'arco tree by people.

wiremaru (N). ⇒ uremaru, bird species.

(wi)rìpè (N). [Related to the pejorative suffix -rìpì] Bad, evil thing; bad, evil person; sin. Wirìpè_me_w-a-e, I am evil, I am a sinner. Èè-rìpì, your evil, your sin; ëë-rìpì-hpë, your past sin (which you do not have anymore). lilìpì_me_ta kë-munkë-kontokon i-w-eh-too_me, in order for (all) the descendants of all of us not to be bad. Li-rìpì_tao j-ewee-se ëmë, you used to feed me in a bad bowl (said, in a folk tale, by a dog to his owner).