“The Language of the Apinajé People of Central Brazil,” a dissertation prepared by Christiane Cunha de Oliveira in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in the Department of Linguistics. This dissertation has been approved and accepted by:

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The dissertation is a preliminary grammatical description of the language spoken by the Apinajé, one of the Northern Jê peoples of Central Brazil. It discusses the core facts about Apinajé phonology, morphology and syntax from a functional-typological perspective, and provides three appendices: selected maps, a sample collection of texts and a preliminary dictionary. The phonological analysis proposes an alternative interpretation for the inventory of phonemes as compared to earlier analyses, pointing to phonemic distinctions not previously noted, which might lead to interesting findings regarding the historical development of the language. Apinajé morphemes are typically monosyllabic and the language makes ample use of function words for the expression of grammatical categories, properties that are characteristic of analytic languages. Nonetheless, Apinajé morphology is more complex than it might seem at first, especially with respect to the major lexical categories of the language: Nouns, Verbs and...
Postpositions. These word classes, especially Nouns and Verbs, are characterized morphologically by the presence of formatives, which are recurrent morphs that are either semantically empty or of elusive meaning, but which subcategorize words in formal or semantic terms. The categories of nonfiniteness, person, and syntactic constituency constitute the core of inflectional morphology, the last applying to nouns, postpositions, and verbs. Verbs are subcategorized morphosyntactically into transitives, intransitives and descriptives, displaying a split intransitivity system with respect to verbal person-marking. Word order is predominantly SOV. Syntactically complex constructions include verb serialization and clause subordination, with ergative case-marking a characteristic of subordinate clauses.
CURRICULUM VITAE

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this dissertation is to present a description of the language spoken by the Apinajé, one of the Northern Jê peoples of Central Brazil. The study is based on original data collected by the author in various trips to the field between October 1995 and August 2000, as well as in interviews with speakers of the language in the city of Goiânia, Goiás State, Brazil. Rather than a definite account of the language, this work is intended as the kernel of what will evolve into a more comprehensive grammar as further analysis is conducted; for the time being, my main goal is to lay out as many patterns as can possibly be distilled from the available data, regarding the phonology, morphology, lexicon, and syntax of the language. From a broader perspective, I hope this study will serve as an effective source for historical-comparative work aiming at the reconstruction of the Jê linguistic family, and thus constitute an additional piece for the better understanding of the Macro-Jê stock, a still hypothetical classification for a number of little-documented South American languages.

The dissertation discusses the principal facts about Apinajé and includes three appendices: selected maps, a sample collection of texts and a preliminary dictionary. The remainder of this chapter presents general information about the Apinajé people, including some details about their culture and social organization; geographical, historical, and demographic facts; observations about language contact situations and the
school system available in the communities; as well as details about the genetic affiliation and previous studies done on the language. Methodological considerations and information about the database for the study, as well as conventions used in the text, are also presented in this chapter.

Because most previous studies focus on the phonology of Apinajé, the core of my research project has been devoted primarily to the study of its grammar. Nonetheless, facts about its phonology and morphophonology were also captured during my time in and out of the field. These observations are presented in Chapter II, along with a discussion of previous literature on Apinajé phonology. Chapter III is an introduction to Apinajé morphology in which the relevant morphological units and categories are presented. Chapter IV presents the syntactic and morphosyntactic properties of phrases and simple clauses. Subordination, serialization and other kinds of complex constructions are discussed in Chapter V. Chapter VI is the concluding section; it summarizes the major facts about Apinajé discussed in this work, includes some language internal hypotheses about the development of certain forms and structures, and points to areas that deserve further investigation. Illustrative maps regarding the history and geographical distribution of the Apinajé are found in Appendix A. Appendix B provides three text samples: a traditional story, a personal experience narrative, and an instructional narrative. Appendix C, the Apinajé Dictionary, was created out of the material available the general database I started in 1995, in addition to the items I collected primarily my the lexicographical project. Appendix D is a list of abbreviations used in the glosses.
1. The Apinajé people

A distinguishing feature of Jê groups is the contrast between their relatively simple technology and their highly elaborate social organization. Jê material culture is noted for basketry techniques, but it does not include, for example, hammocks, canoes or ceramics. Jê social organization, on the other hand, is characterized by an intricate system of moieties and men’s groups, rules of proper name transmission, and a relationship terminology that ignores the generational distinction principle (Da Matta 1982; Carneiro da Cunha 2004). According to Da Matta’s interpretation, the Apinajé universe is ruled by a principle of dualism whereby elements at all dimensions are placed in a relation of complementary opposition thus constituting necessary parts of a closed totality.

Apinajé cosmology, social and physical organization is permeated by this dualism, which is not as much hierarchical as it is dialectic. This may be observed in the Apinajé creation myth, according to which all things existing on Earth were created by Sun and Moon. Sun, the older character, is the initiator, the one who poses a particular, harmonic state of affairs. Moon, the younger character, is the antithetical element, the one who questions the order and brings chaos into the status quo. The result of this interaction is a thesis that justifies the dual aspect of all creation in both nature and culture. Thus, animals, colors, name sets, ceremonial roles, among other things, are divided in pairs which are directly associated with either one or the other mythical character; and the members of each pair stand in a kind of inalienable relationship, for the existence of one is only justifiable by the existence of the other (Text 1, Appendix B).
Kolti and Kolre, the most relevant pair of moieties of Apinajé social organization, are associated to Sun and Moon, respectively. The village layout and, with it, the distribution of marriage groups and formal friends, is guided by this affiliation.

The village community is the political unit of the Apinajé and is also the physical representation of their social organization. An ideal Apinajé village is circular; it includes a central plaza, a periphery area where houses stand, and a clearing beyond the limits of the village. The plaza is the ceremonial area of the village; the periphery is the domestic realm, and the clearing represents the transition from the cultural to the natural world (Da Matta 1982: 35; Nimuendajú 1983: 15).

Ceremonial groups are determined by moiety affiliation. The specific ordering, direction, adornments, behaviors and roles adopted and performed in the rituals are discrete, complementary elements that are pre-established according to each moiety. The same is true of name sets. Proper names are transmitted by formal friends starting at birth. The inventory of names possessed by an individual indicates which moiety s/he belongs to.

In the domestic circle, houses consist of at least one nuclear family plus the uxorilocal\(^1\) extended family. Residential segments are formed through economic cooperation between the members of a family and their affines (i.e. those related to them by marriage), including those from an exogamous group (which is also determined by the Kolti/Kolre division). The residential segment is the locus of political power. A strong

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\(^1\) That part of the family that resides in the wife’s home.
segment reflects the capacity of its leader to aggregate members (especially if he manages to keep his sons-in-law within his own household) and to maintain harmony within the group. The prestige of a segment leader determines the degree of political loyalty he can count on when competing for chieftaincy of the village (Da Matta 1982).

Apinajé political structure is straightforward and effective. It includes the chief, his assistants, and a counselor. The chief retains the executive power (articulates collective work of interest to the village as a whole, adjudicates internal disputes, is expected to maintain harmony within the village through the power of oratory and persuasion), while the counselor has a more symbolic role and is in charge of representing and enforcing the traditions (articulates ceremonial groups for the realization of rituals; must be an expert in Apinajé tradition, which is why the position is typically occupied by an elderly man).

The structure of an Apinajé village can only contain a limited number of houses, since the clearing at the outskirts of the village is not meant for dwelling. Likewise, there must be a minimum number of houses to form a proper Apinajé village (Da Matta 1982). New villages are formed when political factions decide to establish a new community, whether for political reasons or not. Be that as it may, a village can only start with a steady residential segment.

1.1. Geographical and environmental considerations

The Central Plateau is a vast area ranging from north to south of Brazil that includes the Araguaia and Tocantins basins. The Brazilian Central Plateau encompasses the States of
Minas Gerais, Goiás, Tocantins, Mato Grosso and Mato Grosso do Sul, and parts of the States of São Paulo, Paraná, Maranhão and Piauí (map 1). The biome characteristic of these areas is the cerrado, a savanna landscape typical of Brazil.²

The cerrado is characterized by hot, semi-humid weather consisting of rainy summers and dry winters; rainfall indices range from 32 to 64 inches a year. The soil is ancient, deep, and naturally poor in chemical nutrients. Cerrado vegetation is characterized by a herbaceous stratum that extends over continuous, mostly flat areas with a variable quantity of trees and shrubs, and by forest formations at river banks; it includes, in addition, patches of palm trees and wetlands. Both the herbaceous layer and the ligneous vegetation are characterized by the ability to sprout or rapidly recover after the dry season or forest fires, a morphology that may have been an adaptive development of the vegetation to survive frequent natural fires caused by lightning and other natural phenomena. The various possible combinations and densities of the basic elements found in the cerrado vegetation result in a wealth of different ecosystems which house one of the largest diversities in plant and animal species on the planet (Pivello 2004; Delitti and Pivello 2004).³

The Apinajé, like most Jê, are a cerrado people. Traditional Apinajé territory is the delta at the confluence of the Tocantins and Araguaia rivers, in the north, extending

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² Because they differ in various respects from the savannas of Africa, the term “cerrado” has been adopted in the literature to refer to these typically Brazilian ecosystems (e.g. Goodland 1971; Pivello 2004). Being the second largest biome of Brazil, the cerrado originally extended over about eighty-five percent of the Central Plateau, which represents about 1.5 to 2 million square kilometers or approximately twenty percent of the Brazilian territory (Delitti and Pivello 2004; Fonseca and Por 2004).

³ For that reason, the cerrado is one of the priority areas for the preservation of biodiversity on Earth (Delitti and Pivello 2004).
approximately to 6°30” latitude south (Nimuendajú 1983:1; map 3). In spite of the
proximity to the main rivers, the Apinajé typically build their villages inland, close to
small creeks. Their economy relies basically on crops, gathering and hunting, differently
from other Macro-Jê, such as their Karajá neighbors, who typically live at the river banks
and rely mostly on fishing.

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, the territory of the Apinajé was
divided into three contiguous, politically defined areas, each with its main village and
chief. These areas are associated, in the literature, with three distinct Apinajé groups: the
Rôrkojoire, the Cocojoire, and the Krîjobreire. \(^4\) Rôrkojoire territory extended from the
Araguaia river to the Pecôbo (or Carreira de Pedra) river; Cocojoire territory followed
from the Pecôbo river to the Grande creek; and Krîjobreire territory extended from the
Grande to the Curicaca creek (Ladeira 1983; A. Oliveira 1994; map 3). This original
configuration was later modified due to accelerating contact with colonialists and,
eventually, with the resulting dominant society.

At present, official Apinajé territory represents less than fifty percent of its
original area. Such was the result of gradual occupation of the region by ranchers, small
farmers and babaçu collectors, which eventually led the Apinajé to near oblivion vis-à-vis
the Federal authorities in the early twentieth century. However, they resisted the
occupation and finally had their land rights recognized by the federal government in the

\(^4\) /rôr=ko=tʃo=re/ [macaúba=patch?=DIM] ‘Macaúba patch...’
/koko=tʃo=re/ [?=?=DIM] ‘(unidentified meaning)’
/krî=tʃ̊-opre=re/ [village=RP-irritable=DIM] ‘The brave village’
early eighties. Currently, the Terra Indígena Apinajé is an area of 141,904 hectares that includes thirteen villages for a population of about 1,300 individuals (map 2). The land is legally reserved for the social, economic and cultural subsistence of the Apinajé, as guaranteed by the Brazilian Constitution of 1988.

1.2. History

The contemporary history of the Apinajé is intertwined with the history of the foundation of Goiás State, which takes us back to the colonial history of Brazil as the background. In the seventeenth century, the economy of Portugal depended largely on Brazilian agriculture for its sustainability. Sugar, cultivated throughout the northeastern area that is now the State of Bahia, was one of the most important marketing goods produced in Brazil. In the second half of the century, however, large-scale colonization of the Caribbean islands imposed fierce competition in the sugar market, resulting in the decrease of prices. In face of the recession, Portugal invested in tobacco as its new economic pillar in South America.

Tobacco became one of Portugal’s principal trading goods for investment and export revenue, as well as for the commerce of African slaves. Tobacco crops extended from the north of Bahia into other northeastern States, including Maranhão and Piauí. This led to an incipient occupation of the Central Plateau by colonial forces, consisting mostly of African slaves and European managers. Recession hit the Portuguese tobacco monopoly in the 1680’s, with the competition imposed by the tobacco crops of Virginia, in North America (Birmingham 1993).
In 1697, Brazilian explorers coming from São Paulo in search of Indian slaves and natural resources struck gold in the inlands (Birmingham 1993). The Bandeiras, as such expeditions were called, entered the Central Plateau through the Paranaiba basin, in the south. In 1727, Bartolomeu Bueno da Silva II and Manoel Campos Bicudo discovered the abundant gold deposits of the Mortes river, beginning an intense gold rush that would extend over the next fifty years (Ribeiro da Silva 1932: 48-9; A. Oliveira 1994). The discovery of gold was obviously welcomed by the crown, which lived on it ostentatiously for as long as the enterprise lasted.

Such progress in the gold industry served to stimulate the Brazilian economy as a whole: the agricultural (tobacco, sugar, cotton) and ranching activities found in the gold mining district a new marketing prospect. The same was true of the slave market (Birmingham 1993). The prosperity of the gold industry was thus the catalyst for the systematic population of the Brazilian Central Plateau by the colonial forces.

The first navigations along the courses of the Araguaia and the Tocantins occurred in the early seventeenth century, when Catholic missionaries based in Grão-Pará led expeditions starting at the mouths of both rivers in a twofold campaign of religious conversion and exploitation of natural resources (Nimuendajú 1983; Moraes Jardim 1915; Paternostro 1945). Fluvial expeditions started from the south as well. In 1673,

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5 Other records indicate that the discovery of gold in the Tocantins basin occurred as early as 1592, with the Bandeira of Sebastião Marinho (Larousse 1977).

6 The Bandeiras had been exploring the Central Plateau since the late sixteenth century. One of the most well-known bandeirantes was Bartolomeu Bueno da Silva, the Anhangüera, notorious for capturing massive numbers of Indians slaves in the inlands, in the second half of the seventeenth century. He was the father of the second Anhangüera, the gold-seeker.
bandeirante Paschoal Paes de Araújo departed from the head of the Tocantins in search of Indian slaves. He navigated the Tocantins up to 4° latitude south and successfully captured the Guarajú (Ribeiro da Silva 1932).

It was not until the gold mining period that the full courses of the Araguaia and the Tocantins became better known to the newcomers, however. Perhaps the first members of the colonial enterprise to ever navigate the full courses of the rivers were African slaves who managed to escape from the gold mines in the south and the plantation fields in the north. Such parties eventually founded the quilombo7 of Pederneiras at the upper course of the Tocantins. The fluvial route soon became familiar to gold smugglers as well, who thus avoided paying taxes to the São Paulo administration. In addition, the finding of an ever-increasing number of gold deposits provoked the competition between northern and southern colonial forces for control over the mining district; these political factions also used the fluvial route in attempts at establishing their domain over the territory (Nimuendajú 1983; Birmingham 1993; A. Oliveira 1994).

Familiarity with the fluvial route and territory governance did not come easily for the colonialists, for they had to face the resistance of the many autochthonous populations of the region. That, added to the problems of runaway slaves and contraband, were key

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7 Quilombos are communities formed originally by slaves who fled from the plantations or other work sites. Several of these communities have remained, specially in the eastern and northern regions of the country, and constitute part of contemporary Brazilian society (see the Maps page of the Instituto Socioambiental website at www.socioambiental.org).
factors for the establishment of military posts and colonialisit settlements along the
courses of Araguaia and the Tocantins (A. Oliveira 1994).

In 1748, the mining district acquired the status of Capitania Geral de Goyaz thus
becoming administratively independent from São Paulo. The need for executive
autonomy was a consequence of the district’s economic and population growth. By that
time, a newly formed local population was emerging, resulting from the offspring of
European men with African and Native women, since European women were not to be
found in the “sertões” (Larousse 1977).

With the decline of gold-mining productivity in the second half of the eighteenth
century, subsistence agriculture and cattle farming gave new character to the region. The
importance of fluvial navigation for commercial purposes became highlighted and, in the
following years, both Goyaz and Grão-Pará organized expeditions in order to assess the
conditions for the fluvial transportation of goods (A. Oliveira 1994).

1.2.1. Contact

The first recorded contact between the Apinajé and the colonialist forces was in 1740.
Captain-General D. Luiz Mascarenhas was in charge of an operational expedition along
the course of the Tocantins against contraband and slave flight. There he encountered the
“Pinarês,” later described by him as “powerful and war-like” (Taunay 1950: 209-10; A.
Oliveira 1994).  

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8 Nimuendajú (1983:1) notes that nearly a century earlier, in 1658, Friar Manoel Nunes led an expedition
starting from the mouth of the Tocantins that extended well into Apinajé country; however, Nunes makes
no mention of the Apinajéns in his reports.
The second recorded contact between the colonialists and the Apinajé occurred during the recession that followed from the gold crisis. An expedition for the assessment of commercial hauling through the Tocantins departed from Goyaz in 1774, under the command of Antônio Luiz Tavares Lisboa. At the Três Barras rapids, the explorers found themselves surrounded by an impressive number of Apinajé warriors – possibly the Cocojoire, considering the location (map 3). Lisboa (1774:890) notes that they “looked like organized regiments” at both margins of the river. The crew were attacked with arrows but managed to escape by dispersing the crowd with gunshots. The next day, warriors on land and in canoes chased them out of the area.

In 1783 the governor of Grão-Pará appointed Thomaz de Souza Villa Real to verify the prospects of fluvial connection between the Araguaia and the Tocantins through the Vermelho river (map 2). The expedition departed from Grão-Pará in 1791 following the course of the Tocantins, and continued on its mission through the Araguaia in the following year. Aware of the Apinajé presence in that area, the commander recruited Karajá escorts to join the crew (Villa Real 1891 [1783]; Nimuendajú 1983; A. Oliveira 1994).

Villa Real was the first explorer who attempted to establish the limits of Apinajé country. He points out, crucially, that Apinajé groups inhabited the inlands at both margins of the Araguaia at the time, probably a reference to the Rõrkojoire. Impressed by the industriousness of the people and the abundance of their crops, Villa Real realized that it would be to the best interest of the Capitania to stay on good terms with such
diligent people,\textsuperscript{9} who could then provide commercial expeditions with shelter and food during their extended journeys along the Araguaia and the Tocantins (Nimuendajú 1983:2).

The economic importance of the commercial enterprise justified further attempts to establish military bases in the region. In previous decades, the colonialist military campaign had been of little success due to the reaction of native populations. Among them, the Apinajé were well known for their resistance against the colonialist occupation. In 1779, the quilombo of Pederneiras was converted into a colonialist village that was dissolved a few years later due to frequent incursions by the Apinajé. In response to the hostilities, the military post of Alcobaça was established a few miles north of Pederneiras, in 1780, and the post of Arapary was created in 1791. Neither military facility lasted very long; thus in 1797 the Grão-Pará administration joined the resources of the two abandoned posts to create the fortress of São João das Duas Barras, which was also intended as shelter for commercial expeditions.

The presence of colonialists was apparently taken with moderate tolerance by the Apinajé that time around, until soldiers from the regiment were caught vandalizing their crops a few years later. The soldiers were killed. The regiment retaliated using heavy artillery to destroy one of the Apinajé villages. The Apinajé counter-attacked, with help from the women, killing most of the regiment (Pohl 1932 [1819]; Nimuendajú 1983:4).

Due to such confrontations, commercial endeavors along the Araguaia and the Tocantins were postponed until decades later.

\textsuperscript{9} That the Apinajé were hard working was also indicated by their frequent incursions against colonialists of
1.2.2. Socio-economic repercussions of intensified contact

At the turn of the century, extensive cattle farming and the extraction of babaçu palm oil represented new economic prospects for the north of Goyaz. The ranching endeavor extended from the fertile lands of Bahia, in the northeast, to Piauí, up north, and well into the west, reaching the fields of Maranhão and the margins of the Tocantins river. The exploitation of babaçu (*Orbignia speciosa*) palm trees was common at various sites in the northern cerrado lands. Babaçu oil was not a relevant item for international trade, hence it only involved small groups of people, often nuclear families – in contrast to the massive contingents employed in the exploitation of latex and Brazil nuts in the Amazon.

With the success of both economic activities during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, migration into the area resumed and various colonial villages were founded. But because these activities required only a small work force, the non-indigenous presence in the area was not overwhelming to the Apinajé. The contact led to the inevitable involvement of the Apinajé with non-indigenous society: they established neighborly relations with the newcomers and eventually started participating in the local and national political settings, taking sides in disputes between local political authorities and even aiding in the expulsion of the Portuguese with the declaration of Brazilian Independence in 1822 (Nimuendajú 1983; A. Oliveira 1994).

The nineteenth century thus marks the beginning of intensified contact between the Apinajé and the national society and the progressive occupation of Apinajé territory,
which continued in the first half of the twentieth century. Despite its generally non-conflictive nature, the contact would prove detrimental to the Apinajé, as reflected in major population reduction, followed by complete disregard for their land rights on the part of well-established farmers.

The village of Santo Antônio das Três Barras was created as early as 1816 within Apinajé territory, especially close to one of the Apinajé villages. The proximity was such that some authors described the community as consisting of a majority of Apinajé people (120 to 150) and some (81) whites (Nimuendajú 1983:4). In 1817, an epidemic of smallpox caused the death of a number of Apinajés, who were still considered the most numerous people in the area despite interethnic conflicts, epidemics, and wars. At the time, the Apinajé population was estimated at around 4,200 individuals, distributed in four localities: Bom Jardim, Santo Antônio, Santo Antônio das Três Barras, and Araguaia (Nimuendajú 1983:5).

Santo Antônio das Três Barras was eventually incorporated to the village of São Pedro de Alcântara, on the other bank of the Tocantins river, and both evolved into present-day Carolina (map 4). After the dissolution of Santo Antônio, the village of Boa Vista was created and soon became the most important locus of interaction between the Apinajé and the national society. Boa Vista, which gave way to present-day Tocantinópolis, was founded in 1818 (map 4). 10

In the mid-nineteenth century, the commercial importance of the fluvial routes became highlighted again, with leather being one of the most significant items for
commercial trade. Large numbers of Apinajés were employed as crewmembers on commercial ships, until a cholera epidemic advancing from Grão-Pará discouraged them from participating in the activity. By 1859, the Apinajé population had decreased by about fifty percent, to around 1,800 to 2,000 individuals (Nimuendajú 1983:6; A. Oliveira 1994).

Between 1862 and 1864, there was considerable improvement in infrastructural conditions both for production and transportation of goods. Goyaz, with the status of Província since the declaration of Brazilian Independence in 1822, implemented fluvial connections with São Paulo, Mato Grosso and Pará thus inaugurating steam boat navigation in the region. Roads and schools were built and the province began exporting grains. The first factories were established in 1870 and, in 1872, the census of Goiáz indicated 160,395 inhabitants. The population was already predominantly mixed, living in rural areas (Larousse 1977).

By the end of century, the territory of the Apinajé was being systematically occupied by small farmers, merchants and others, as they dramatically decreased in number. In 1882, the reported number of Apinajés was 1,362.

Local political conflicts in the Tocantinópolis area culminated in civil war during the period from 1892 to 1894; the result was considerable impoverishment and population reduction overall. Coudreaux (1897:209) estimated the total Apinajé population at 400 individuals in 1897 – less than ten percent of the original number – distributed in three villages; and by 1899, that number had decreased to 150 individuals.

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10 The town of Tocantinópolis was founded in 1840.
(Buscalioni 1901:25). The Apinajé population was thus reduced to less than 4% in a time frame of 83 years (between 1816 and 1899). In contrast, the non-Indian population of the province had increased to 255,284 inhabitants by 1900.

The Apinajé entered the twentieth century as a minority amidst the flourishing of the State of Goiás, established upon the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic in 1888. In 1909, the north, taking advantage of the distance from the central administration and the proximity with the States of Maranhão, Pará, Bahia and Piauí – incidentally, Jê Timbira territory –, resumed its separatist movements but with little success.

In face of intensified land disputes, in 1927, Chief José Dias Mâtyk took a trip to Rio de Janeiro representing the interests of the Kříjobreire Apinajé of Bacaba. Mâtyk sought a solution on the part of the President – since he had not received proper attention from the State government – for whatever regarded the land rights of the Apinajé. Unfortunately, he fell ill in São Paulo and, unable to conclude his original plan, Mâtyk returned to the village. He did claim assistance from the SPI (Serviço de Proteção ao Índio), nevertheless.

Meanwhile pressure on Bacaba increased. Non-Indian presence proliferated in the area and local farmers spread the rumor that Chief Mâtyk had died on his way to Rio. The Kříjobreire, left without its Chief and its land, was under pressure to disperse. But Chief Mâtyk returned to reunite the community before the dispersion took place.

Between the years 1928 and 1937, Curt Nimuendajú visited with the Apinajé on various occasions, and reported on the survival conditions of the people:
In 1928 I crossed the State of Maranhão and arrived at the Tocantins, where I spent two months with the Apinajé, visiting their four small villages and making my acquaintance with all. I also calculated their number at a total of 150. The economic and social decay of the tribe was manifest (...). In 1930 I spent one week with them, and two months in 1931. When I paid them another visit in 1932, staying for six weeks, I noticed another moral and economic relapse as a consequence of an epidemic of fevers, which left few hopes for the future. For that reason, it was with great satisfaction that, upon my return in 1937, I could observe that despite a smallpox epidemic in the previous year, the Apinajé people were recovering their strength and that their number had even increased to 160 individuals. In that year, I stayed with them for two months. (Nimuendajú 1983:6; translation mine).

By 1940, the non-Indian population of the State counted 826,414 inhabitants distributed in 33 counties. Goiânia, the freshly built capital city of the State, was inaugurated in 1942.

1.2.3. Land rights and national development

An assistance post of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índio (the national bureau for indigenous affairs at the time) was installed in Bacaba in 1944, conferring great political importance to that village. This was the first governmental presence to address the land rights situation in Apinajé territory – a much belated result of Chief Mãtyk’s initiative seventeen years earlier. However, no definite solutions were imposed and, unable to stop the invasion of the land, the SPI adopted a system of leasing as a palliative measure: non-Indians were supposed to pay the Apinajé for use of the land. Due to the inefficient...
management of the SPI, however, lease payment fell into oblivion and, by the 1950’s, former land leasers started *selling* their “land rights” to other sectors of the Tocantinópolis community. This practice set up the conditions for significant land rights disputes between the Apinajé and the counties of Tocantinópolis and Nazaré, later on.

The 1950’s were a decade of major transformations in the infrastructural and political makeup of Brazil. During the electoral campaign of 1955, future president Juscelino Kubistchek advocated the transference of the federal administration from Rio de Janeiro to the Central Plateau. In 1956, governor Pedro Ludovico Teixeira signed part of the Goiás territory over to the federal administration for the construction of Brasília, the new capital city of Brazil, inaugurated in 1960. This shift in the administrative life of the country propelled a new immigration wave to the interior. The population of Goiás increased to 1,954,862 and, by 1967, the number of counties in the State amounted to 222, with agriculture and extensive cattle farming at the heart of the regional economy (Larousse 1977).

The Apinajé population, which had reached a period of demographic stability in the 1940’s, enjoyed considerable demographic improvement starting in the second half of the century. In 1967, the total number was estimated at 253 people (Da Matta 1967).

Many governmental programs for national development were launched during the Brazilian military regime (1964-1984). Among them, those that claimed to promote the “development” of the Cerrado and the Amazon – environmental factors ignored – had an immediate impact on the life of the Apinajé.
Topography added to technological improvements made the Central Plateau an ideal region for cattle farming and agriculture, and therefore very attractive economically. Goiás was the largest-growing State in the country in the 1970’s, with a population of 2,997,570. The productivity of the agricultural industry fed the textile and food industries as well, thus expanding the regional economy (Larousse 1977).

The construction of the Transamazon Roadway was a landmark of the military regime. The project for this (unfinished) 5,600 kilometer long roadway, meant to connect the Brazilian northeast to the Amazon and thus promote the occupation of the rainforest, was launched by President Gen. Garrastazu Médici in 1970. The first segment of the road, inaugurated in 1972, was built inside Apinajé territory, in fact, crossing the village of São José (Krįjobreire). By that time, the estimated number of Apinajés had increased to a total of 364 (Waller 1976).

In 1978, Gen. Lamarth de Araújo, president of FUNAI (formerly SPI), issued a document that established the official Apinajé area at 85,800 hectares, having the roadway as one of its limits. The proposed area excluded the Rõrkojoire territory and cut off part of the Krįjobreire territory. For that reason, the decision was rejected by the Apinajé, who interrupted the demarcation process, thus triggering the reaction of local, well-established farmers.

The administrator of the local FUNAI post, partial to the farmers, pressed the Apinajé community to sign the document, arguing that the Apinajé could not “go against a determination of the President of Brazil.” The document was then signed. Fortunately
for the Apinajé, FUNAI discontinued that local office and transferred its businesses to the
FUNAI unit of Araguaína, where the principal administrator noted the disadvantages the
terms of the document brought to the Apinajé. The document was then nullified, and a
counterproposal was offered for the demarcation of Apinajé territory that included the
land beyond the limits imposed by the Transamazônica roadway (Ladeira 1983).

The Apinajé had their official territory (141,904 hectares) recognized by the
federal government in 1985. The Apinajé population consisted of 565 individuals then
(Ladeira and Azanha 2003). In that same year, the north of Goiás achieved its lifelong
goal of becoming administratively independent from the south, thus developing into the
State of Tocantins. Brazilian society in general began restructuring with the end of the
military regime and, in 1988, the new Constitution of Brazil was issued. The
Constitution of 1988 represented a considerable advance in the Brazilian policy for
indigenous affairs. It recognized and protected the rights of autochthonous populations to
their traditional cultures, languages, religions and land use.

By the 1990’s there was considerable increase in Apinajé population numbers.
Data from the Centro de Trabalho Indigenista (CTI) indicate a population of 780 in 1993
11, and in 1997 data from FUNAI indicate an official number of 1,025 Apinajé individuals.
Finally, FUNASA data indicate the official number of Apinajés at 1,262 in 2003. This
population growth represents an average of ten percent per year, which is more than the
average for the Brazilian population in general (Ladeira and Azanha 2003).

11 A. Oliveira (1994:2, 6) estimates a smaller number, 600 people in 1994; however, as he points out, that
the census was incomplete as a result of the latent interethnic animosity related to land rights issues during
the period in which the survey was conducted.
1.3. Apinajé society in the twenty-first century

Currently, there are thirteen Apinajé villages, with São José (formerly Bacaba; Kříjobreire leadership) and Mariazinha (Cocojoire leadership) being the largest and oldest ones, and the smaller villages having been derived from either one or the other. Thus, the villages of Cocalinho, Patizal, Buriti Comprido, Palmeiras, Prata, Cocal Grande and Serrinha have been founded by former members of the São José community, whereas Botica, Riachinho, Bonito and Brejão were founded by former dwellers of Mariazinha.

Except for the most recent settlements, namely, Brejão, Cocal Grande, Palmeiras, Prata, and Serrinha, all villages include a medical assistance facility provided by FUNASA, where a (non-Indian) staff person assists community members full time during weekdays. In order to receive routine medical assistance of this kind, dwellers of the younger settlements must take a trip to the nearest Apinajé village. As a complement to this more basic health service, a physician visits the villages every two weeks in order to provide more detailed medical examination. Patients suffering from serious illnesses are sent to urban centers for medical attention.

Another initiative taken by FUNASA has been the implementation of infrastructural conditions for water treatment as a preventive measure against the proliferation

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12 The Rõrkojoire abandoned their villages at the Araguaia in the first half of the twentieth century. The village of São Paulo, at the margins of the Araguaia, was abandoned in 1920; the Apinajé were uneasy with the proximity with the Kayapó, and moved south to reunite with the Rõrkojoire of São Martinho. That village, in turn, existed until 1943, when an epidemic of fevers nearly decimated the population. Chief Måtyk and the Kříjobreire rescued the survivors, taking them to Bacaba. Some of the Rõrkojoire remained with the Kříjobreire (Bacaba/São José) and others joined the Cocojoire (Mariazinha).
of parasitic and endemic tropical diseases. Treated water, supplied by artesian wells, is available in most villages, except for those founded in or after the year 2000 (i.e. Brejão, Buriti Comprido, Cocal Grande, Palmeiras, Prata, and Serrinha).

Electricity is available in São José, Mariazinha, Bonito, Botica, Cocalinho, Patizal, Prata, and Riachinho. This infra-structural benefit is provided for the most part by the county administration through the Mayor Office of Tocantinópolis, which is the nearest town and non-Indian administrative center. However, electricity in the villages of Cocalinho and Prata has been provided alternatively by the CTI, a non-governmental organization; in both villages, electricity is supplied by generators. The remaining, younger villages of Brejão, Buriti Comprido, Cocal Grande, Palmeiras, and Serrinha, do not have access to this benefit yet.

1.4. Language contact situation

According to one speaker’s testimony, few Apinajé communities lease their land to small farmers nowadays. The communities of São José, Patizal and Palmeiras, for instance, no longer allow the presence of non-Indian workers on the land; it remains a common practice only in the villages of Mariazinha, Botica and Riachinho. Integration with the non-Indian population appears to be most systematic in the latter communities.

The same speaker estimates that half the population of Riachinho consists of non-Indians due to interethnic marriage; a large number of non-Indians appears to inhabit

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13 The Centro de Trabalho Indigenista is an NGO that develops a variety of projects alongside indigenous communities all over the country; at the Bico do Papagaio region, in particular, they have worked more closely with the Apinajé and Timbira groups.
Mariazinha as well. He speculates that the high frequency of interethnic marriage in these villages must be due to the lack of eligible Apinajé partners, a speculation that may be justified by restrictions internal to the Apinajé marriage system. As a consequence of this integration, there seems to be an incipient effect on the use of Apinajé in those villages, such that Portuguese is beginning to conquer a greater space in those speaker communities.

In São José and other villages deriving from it, on the other hand, I have noted that the Apinajé language enjoys good health. It is the first language learned by young children, and the speaking community does not at all favor Portuguese in everyday use (despite their systematic exposure to Portuguese through radio, television and other media). Portuguese is used exclusively in interactions with Portuguese-speaking visitors.

Generally, adult Apinajé speakers have good knowledge of Portuguese and are prepared to use it whenever necessary. Although I have not met any adult monolingual Apinajé speakers in São José or Patizal, neither have I met any Apinajé individuals who cannot speak the native language.

From what I could observe, some elderly people, especially women, have very poor command of Portuguese, and children tend to stay monolingual in Apinajé until around the age of twelve. The young Apinajé start learning Portuguese systematically in the school environment, especially at around fourth grade, when the bilingual education system is adopted. Before that stage, monolingual education in Apinajé is applied.

1.5. The school system
The Constitution of 1988 guarantees the right of all autochthonous populations to differentiated, bilingual education. This recent development has resulted in more systematic governmental support for indigenous schools in Brazil, at least in regard to their infrastructural conditions.

School buildings exist in all Apinajé villages, except the youngest ones, which are still in the process of structuring themselves (namely, Brejão, Cocal Grande and Serrinha). The core of infrastructural conditions for the Apinajé school system is provided by the State of Tocantins, following the legislation enforced by the Brazilian Ministry of Education (MEC). Instructors, books, supplies, and food for the school community are all provided by the State.

The first initiatives in the production of didactic materials for the Apinajé were taken by missionaries of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Missionary Patricia Ham was responsible for the elaboration of the Apinajé orthography in the 1960’s. That orthography is still currently in use. She also elaborated school books for Apinajé language teaching and helped organize various books of reading in Apinajé (many Apinajé individuals were involved in the latter project).

Other, not as fruitful, initiatives were taken by the University of Goiás and the University of Tocantins, in the early eighties and late nineties, respectively. On these occasions, a few reading books were also produced for Apinajé schools. In addition,

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14 Dwellers of younger settlements must commute to the nearest Apinajé school in order to pursue their studies.
non-governmental organizations such as CTI have contributed to the development the Jê school system.

Apinajé schools are administered internally by members of the Apinajé community. The staff includes both Apinajé and non-Indian instructors and assistants.

2. The Apinajé language

Although the term “Apinajé” and its variants\(^\text{15}\) have been employed in the literature to refer to the people and their language, the origin of the term is not known. It is likely that it was first used by outsiders, since the Apinajé themselves use the term papi to refer to their own community, and the expression papi kapêr, to refer to their language. However, when speaking in Portuguese of themselves or their language, they occasionally employ the term Apinajé (or Pinajé [pina'že]), as they have grown accustomed to its use in interethnic relations.

Other denominations found in reports from previous centuries include Afotigés, Uhítische, Utonsché, Otogé, and Aogé (Villa Real 1891 [1793], Pohl 1932, Marques 1870, Mattos 1875, cited in Nimuendajú 1983). Curt Nimuendajú suggests that the latter terms derive from the word ód, ódo ‘tip; corner’, and points out that the variants Hôti and Ahôtiyê used to be employed by the Eastern Timbira to refer to the Apinajé. He further speculates that the terms may have been a reference to the corner formed at the

\(^{15}\) This word is also spelled as “Apinayé” in the literature, as first introduced by Curt Nimuendajú. Variants of the term are Pinarés, Pinajés and Oupinagees.
confluence of the Tocantins and Araguaia Rivers in the north,\textsuperscript{16} traditional Apinajé territory (Nimuendajú 1983).\textsuperscript{17}

2.1. Genetic affiliation

Apinajé is classified as a Northern Jê language, along with Panará, Suyá, Kayapó, and Timbira. Other branches of the family are Central Jê, which includes the Akwê languages (Xavante and Xerente) and Southern Jê, consisting of Kaingang and Xokléng. Most Jê languages are spoken in cerrado areas, with the exception of Kayapó and Suyá, spoken in rainforest areas (see e.g. Rodrigues 1986; 1999).

A brief examination of data from Apinajé, Suyá, Kayapó and Timbira may reveal the many differences (e.g. prenasalized stops, nominative case-marking in independent clauses) and similarities (e.g. simple morphology, SOV word order, ergative marking in subordinate clauses) existing among them. Panará, on the other hand, is dramatically distinct from the other languages of the branch. It displays a more polysynthetic morphological typology, with agent, patient and tense/aspect/modality (TAM) marking on the verb; ergative marking in independent clauses and SVO word order, among other things.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{16}The area is known in Brazil as “Bico do Papagaio” (‘the parrot’s beak’).

\textsuperscript{17}In an interview on this subject, an Apinajé speaker declared his total lack of familiarity with the latter terms. Most interesting in this case would be to check on the word for ‘tip, corner’ in any of the Timbira languages.

\textsuperscript{18}Data examined are from Alves (2002), Timbira Apanjekrá; Reis Silva (2003) and Salanova (2001), Mebengokre Kayapó; Santos (2004), Suyá; and Dourado (2001), Panará.
The Apinajé are considered, in the anthropological literature, a Western division of the Timbira, living west of the Tocantins. Eastern Timbira peoples are those distributed at various locations in the States of Maranhão and Tocantins, east of the river (Nimuendajú 1983; Da Matta 1982). In linguistic classifications, on the other hand, it is not uncommon for an Apinajé-Kayapó grouping to be contrasted with the Timbira dialectal cluster (Davis 1966; 1968). Be that as it may, the conclusion in both fields is that the Apinajé constitute an autonomous group and language, distinct from both Kayapó and Timbira.

2.2. Documentational material and previous studies

The first records of the Apinajé language were short lists of words and clauses. The first known record was a 38-word list collected by a military man in São João das Duas Barras in the nineteenth century. The list, which according to Curt Nimuendajú’s assessment was poorly transcribed and contained some mistakes, was published in Castelnau (1844: 1850-51); in the same publication, Castelnau includes a list of 177 words collected by himself. Leal (1895: 125-29) reproduces Castelnau’s list with Portuguese orthography. Sampaio (1911) inadvertently collected 206 words and phrases in Apinajé, believing he was interviewing Krahô speakers. Snethlage (1926:187 ff.) includes 337 words and phrases, and Oliveira (1930) includes Apinajé data collected by the author in 1926 (Nimuendajú 1983:7).

Analyses of Apinajé language data were first produced in the sixties, when missionaries of the Summer Institute of Linguistics started linguistic work with the
ultimate goal of Bible translation. Most of that work followed the phonemic and tagmemic frameworks (Stout 1960; Ham 1961, 1962, 1965, 1967; Burgess and Ham 1968), with the exception of Callow (1962), which was grounded in Prosodic Theory. In contrast, work published in the seventies, such as Koopman (1976), Waller (1976) Ham, Waller and Koopman (1979), presented the data in a more descriptive – and user-friendly – manner.


3. Methodological considerations and fieldwork conditions

The present dissertation is deliberately a descriptive study. It has a functional and typological orientation, and includes some diachronic hypotheses for the interpretation of certain blurry domains. It is meant to serve as a useful source for readers interested in learning about the Apinajé language, researchers interested in typological studies, and linguists engaged in the study of Macro-Jê languages, especially in historical-comparative studies for the reconstruction of Proto-Jê. For these reasons, I have deliberately avoided formal approaches to language, which sometimes obscure the explanation of the data and usually tend to become rapidly outdated.

In the remainder of this section, I comment on fieldwork conditions and on methodological strategies for data collection that I have applied during my research.

My initial interviews with Apinajé speakers occurred in Goiânia, Goiás State. I met Amči Creuza de Souza Fernandes and Dioro Aparecida Laranja in the second half of
1995. Dioro had brought her son to Goiânia for medical attention and they were staying at the Casa do Índio, a hostel unit provided by FUNAI for patients and their caregivers.

I had heard about Dioro’s party through the staff of the local FUNAI office, so I proceeded to visit with them at the Casa do Índio. We eventually made arrangements for a recorded interview at the Setor de Etnolingüística of the Museu Antropológico (University of Goiás) to take place a few days later. In that interview and others that followed we recorded word lists and short texts, which I used for preliminary phonological and grammatical analysis. Those meetings occurred in October 1995.

Two weeks later Amći and Dioro received me at the village of São José for a six week fieldwork session. I decided from the outset to work most directly with the women. I accompanied them in their daily tasks such that we had plenty to talk about during recording and interview sessions. I collected most personal experience narratives in that way. For a beginner in the study of the language, having been present at the events narrated allowed me to capture the semantic nuances of certain utterances more promptly than I would have otherwise.

My main consultants turned out to be Amći (Dirc) and Irê Rita Dias Laranja, who was introduced to me by Amći herself. Other major consultants I met in that first session were Kojkoti Iraci Dias (Dokre) and Grêri Júlia Estêvão (Dada, my adoptive mother), the daughter of late Velho Estêvão, former Chief of São José.

Besides contributing personal experience narratives to the database, Dokre took it upon herself to teach me how to do things properly while in Apinajé country (see Text II,
Appendix B). Grêri contributed a significant part of the traditional narratives in my database over the years. From her storytelling comes the version of the Apinajé creation myth found in Appendix B (Text I). Another version of the myth, as well as other traditional stories were provided by Grê?o Júlia Corredor; recording sessions with Grê?o started in 1999.

The interviews I conducted with male speakers were usually mediated by Amê and Irê, although in certain cases I made the arrangements with the speakers myself. That was the case with Daniel Laranja Rodrigues (Kîkî), who contributed a procedural narrative as well as elicited data. Vâmê Miguel Fernandes provided a number of traditional stories, and Bogo Moisés Dias Roxo (Velho Moisés) contributed valuable information on animals, plants, and traditional weapons and crafts, which was used in the lexicographical project. Interviews with Vâmê started in 1997, and those with Bogo occurred in 2000.

In 2004, I also conducted interviews with a male speaker, who wishes to remain anonymous, about general information on the villages and the Apinajé school system; he also aided me in some follow up work on the phonology of the language.

The transcription and translation of most narratives were done with the assistance of Amê and Irê. They also contributed some texts of their own (testimonies and instructional narratives – see Text III, Appendix B) and the bulk of the elicited material
found in the database.\textsuperscript{19} Although these women are illiterate, their keen linguistic awareness and passionate interest in their native language and culture proved essential for the development of the project.

Besides the main consultants introduced above, other speakers — men, women, and children — contributed to the database either through scheduled interviews, informal conversations or in a more passive manner, as I took linguistic notes on the way they spoke with one another.

The database consists of about ten hours of recorded material and various books of elicited data. It includes some additional three hours of songs in Krikâti recorded live at the Bërka pe festival that took place in São José in mid 2000;\textsuperscript{20} those songs are permeated with conversations and ceremonial forms of speech in Apinajé. It was on that same occasion that I recorded a personal experience narrative by Ireptsi Maria Barbosa, Amći’s mother, who passed away in 2002.

About six and a half hours of the recorded texts have been transcribed and analyzed, with their transcriptions and analyses having undergone at least one round of revisions. The remainder of the recordings has not been transcribed yet.

Between 1995 and 2000, I worked with speakers in and out of the field, although I spent more time conducting my research in the indigenous land itself. The time I spent

\textsuperscript{19} Kojkoti (Dökre) assisted in a few transcription sessions as well.

\textsuperscript{20} The festival celebrated the end of the mourning period for the passing of a certain Apinajé man. The Krikâti singers had been specially invited for the occasion; I had the privilege of being recruited by the Apinajé organizers to document the event.
working with speakers out of the field probably adds up to some twenty days. On the other hand, I made four trips to the Apinajé area, staying in the field for a total of fourteen months. The main loci of my field research were the villages of São José and Patizal. It was not until 1999 that I had the opportunity to visit the remainder of the villages distributed in the reservation (a total of eight, at the time). I was accompanying a crew from FUNASA who had to visit all the villages on that same day. For me, the trip served better as a first pass to the locations of each village than as a suitable occasion for collecting reliable linguistic information. Other trips to those areas are still necessary before I am able to provide first-hand information on the sociolinguistic aspects of each village or on any linguistic variation among the Apinajé communities. For that reason, I will not speak of dialectal variations of Apinajé in this dissertation.

4. Transcription and other conventions used in the dissertation

In Chapter II – Phonology, I will use symbols from the International Phonetic Alphabet for the introduction of phonemes of the language and the transcription of the data in the illustrative examples.

Starting in Chapter III – Morphology, the transcription conventions employed in the remainder of the dissertation assumes, with the segmental analysis proposed, that prenasal consonants are part of the phoneme inventory of the language; therefore they are represented as such. Because each of the phonemes in question requires the use of two or more symbols for its representation, a different set of symbols is adopted for the sake of economy. Thus, the prenasal consonants /mb, nd, ndʒ/ are represented thereafter as b, d,
Also for the sake of simplicity, the velar nasal consonant /ŋ/ is represented as g; the alveopalatal affricate /tʃ/ as c; and the alveolar flap /r/ as r.

Another convention employed in this dissertation is that, for cross-referencing to sections belonging to a different chapter, I will include the number of the relevant chapter immediately before the section number, as in v.1.2, for “section 1.2 of chapter v”.
CHAPTER II

PHONOLOGY

0. Introduction

The present chapter deals with the sound system of Apinajé. A phonetic description of contrastive segments and their respective variants is given in section 1; syllable patterns and phonotactic constraints are introduced in section 2; the stress system is discussed in section 3; and phonological rules are presented in section 4. Section 5 is a summary of relevant criteria for the definition of phonological word in Apinajé.

The analysis proposed here is based on perceptual and articulatory data; an acoustic survey is beyond the scope of this study. The corpus under analysis consists of elicited and spontaneous material, and data collected through observation of interactions among speakers (see 1.3 above). It is important to note that the generalizations proposed here regard not only the phonology of the speech community in general, but also some mannerisms observed in the speech of some individuals. For the time being, such mannerisms are being treated simply as idiolects, but they may be indicators of more systematic, dialectal variations within the speech community. Since my research was

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1 The data were recorded in analogue and digital media, at different times. The recording equipment used included a Marantz PMD 420 portable deck recorder, a Sony Professional WM-D6C walkman recorder, a Sony TCD-D 100 DAT walkman recorder, and a Sony ECM 959 external microphone. The fact that part of the corpus has been recorded in digital format will allow for eventual acoustic analysis of the data.
carried out in only two of the eight Apinajé villages existing at the time of field work, I will say nothing further about dialects of Apinajé in this dissertation.

1. Phonemic system

According to my analysis, the phonemic inventory of Apinajé consists of seventeen consonants and seventeen vowels. The consonant system includes plain and prenasalized stops and affricates; fricatives, nasals, glides, and a flap. The vowel system consists of nasal and oral phonemes, including front, central, and back; high, mid and low vowels.

In an earlier treatment of the Apinajé phonemic system, Ham (1961) proposes an inventory of twelve consonants\(^2\) and seventeen vowels. Ham’s interpretation is quite accurate and coincides with my own for the most part. However, a point of divergence between the two analyses regards the status of prenasalized consonants. Ham analyzes them as allophones of nasal phonemes occurring before oral vowels. While this hypothesis appears to be correct at first, my data show that this is not exactly the case, since minimal pairs can be found that illustrate the contrast between nasal and prenasalized segments.

My own observations have been independently reinforced by the opinion of a native instructor from São José. According to that speaker, the interpretation of prenasalized stops as allophones has also had a problematic effect in the orthographic

\(^2\)/p, t, tʃ, k, ?, m, n, ɲ, v, r, ʐ/. Ham (1961) excludes the prenasalized and fricative phonemes /mb, nd, ŋdʒ, s, ʃ/ proposed here.
system of the language: learners are sometimes unable to identify the words they are reading because the relevant contrast is not properly expressed in writing.

Next, I illustrate the contrasts amongst Apinajé phonemes and give details about allophonic variations motivated by factors such as phonetic context and speech rate, as well as those cases of allophony which do not result from any apparent motivation – the so-called “free variation”.

1.1. Consonant phonemes

In Apinajé, sonorant phonemes are voiced and obstruent phonemes are voiceless, with the exception of the prenasalized phonemes, which are fully voiced. The motivation for the predominant voiced character of prenasalized segments in the system is presumably the fact that these complex sounds consist of a nasal contour, and nasals in Apinajé are always voiced.

The consonant phoneme inventory of Apinajé is presented in table II.1. (Symbols used are from the International Phonetic Alphabet, following the orientation given in Pullum and Ladusaw (1986)).
Table II.1

**APINAJÉ CONSONANT PHONEMES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stop</strong></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affricate</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tfj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nd3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasal</strong></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Flap</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Glide</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The consonant phonemes of Apinajé are grouped here into three major classes. The class of *plosives* comprises stops and affricates (section 1.1.1.); the *continuants* include fricatives and nasals (section 1.1.2); and the *approximants* are the flap and glides (section 1.1.3). The contrast amongst Apinajé phonemes is illustrated in examples (1-7) (where “x” stands for “contrasted to”).
Although it is natural for vowels to become somewhat nasalized in the context of nasal consonants, I have not been able to perceive any degree of nasalization of oral vowel phonemes in this phonetic environment, reason why no nasalization is indicated in the phonetic transcription of such examples. The phonetic nasalization of oral vowels in nasal environments can certainly be captured in an acoustic analysis of the data; the results could then be compared to the quality of oral and nasal vowel phonemes in other
environments for the establishment of degrees of nasalization in Apinajé. But that task is beyond the scope of this dissertation.
(4)  

a. /j/ x /tʃ/  

[je] ‘DEF.ART.CLT’  
[ˈtʃe] ‘EXCL.FEM’  
[ˈpoj] ‘arrive <INTR>’  
[ˈmboʃ] ‘cattle.head’  

b. /j/ x /ɲ/  

[aˈtʃwɜ̯] ‘similarly’  
[ˈtʃwɜ̯] ‘A.NMLZ’  
[ja] ‘DEF.ART.SG’  
[ˈnam] ‘chin’  

c. /j/ x /nɬ]/  

[ja] ‘DEF.ART.SG’  
[ˈnɬ] ‘bite <TR>’  
[je] ‘DEF.ART.CLT’  
[ˈnɬeb] ‘bat’  

d. /tʃ/ x /ɲ/  

[tʃuˈtʃu] ‘mythical character’  
[ˈnûm] ‘CNJ.DS.3’  

e. /tʃ/ x /nɬ]/  

[ˈtʃo] ‘fruit’  
[ˈnɬo] ‘hang <TR>’  
[ˈtʃi] ‘put lying on the ground’  
[ˈnɬi] ‘get (water)’  

f. /ɲ/ x /nɬ]/  

[ˈnam] ‘chin’  
[ˈnɬa] ‘bite <TR>’
(5) a. /tʃ/ x /s/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>['tʃi]  ‘put O lying on the ground’</th>
<th>['si]  ‘K.T.’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

b. /tʃ/ x /t/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>['tʃa]  ‘stand’</th>
<th>['tə]  ‘chop off’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>['tʃi]  ‘put O lying on the ground’</td>
<td>[ti]  ‘AUG’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6) a. /k/ x /w/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>['tik]  ‘black; dark’</th>
<th>['ndiw]  ‘young’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>['ʔoʊk]  ‘sperm’</td>
<td>['ow]  ‘yes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>['ŋgek]  ‘sore &lt;INTR&gt;’</td>
<td>['ŋgiw]  ‘mud; starch’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. /k/ x /ŋ/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>['kɔn]  ‘knee’</th>
<th>['ŋɔr]  ‘sleep’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>['kɔk]  ‘lizard (sp.)’</td>
<td>['ŋɔ]  ‘give’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7) a. /ʔ/ x /k/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>['ʔoʊk]  ‘sperm’</th>
<th>['kɔk ʊja’per̂]  ‘wind’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ka’ʔe]  ‘confine; dam’</td>
<td>[ka’ke]  ‘scratch’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. /ʔ/ x /t/

[kaʔi] ‘thinning (of hair)’     [ka’ti] ‘waist’
[kuʔo] ‘wash (hard o)’     [ku’to] ‘worm’

c. /ʔ/ x /p/

[kaʔi] ‘thinning (of hair)’     [ka’pi] ‘select’
[kaʔo] ‘wash (soft o)’     [ka’po] ‘sweep’

d. /ʔ/ x /Ø/

[meʔo] ‘some (INDF)’     [me’o] ‘food’
[kaʔo] ‘wash (soft o)’     [’kao] ‘cooked’

1.1.1. Plosive phonemes

As a general rule, Apinajé plosives have voiced and voiceless allophones, with the voiceless counterparts appearing at the onset of stressed syllables, and the voiced ones occurring in more marginal positions, such as non-stressed syllables and coda position. Although this is the most frequent distributional pattern, it is possible on occasion to find alternation between voiced and voiceless allophones in less prominent positions as well. The conditions for the distribution of each phoneme’s variants are presented next.

Oral Stops. Apinajé stops are plain, unaspirated segments, generally produced in the very place of articulation by which the phoneme is described. (Prenasal phonemes, which
are obviously a phonetic combination of nasal and oral properties, and which comprise
stops and one affricate, are not included here; they are discussed in a separate sub-
section, instead.) All stops may occupy syllable onset or coda (section 2), and may occur
in initial, medial or final position in the word.

The bilabial stop /p/ is realized by the allophones [p] and [b]. The voiceless
allophone [p] invariably occurs at the onset of stressed syllables (8).

(8) a. /pǐ/       [ˈpǐ]       ‘kill’
     b. /pok/      [ˈpɔk]       ‘catch on fire’
     c. /prɔ/      [ˈprɔ]       ‘cover with leaves’
     d. /prek/     [ˈprɛk]       ‘tall’
     e. /kapa/     [ɡa'pa]       ‘pull out; take out’
     f. /pepek/    [pe'pek]      ‘drip repeatedly on the same spot’
     g. /katpre/   [kat'pre]     ‘tie’
     h. /prɔprɔt/ [prɔ'prɔt]     ‘shiver (of anxiety)’

The voiced and voiceless allophones alternate at syllable coda word finally and at
the onset of unstressed syllables, though the voiced counterpart occurs more frequently in
these contexts (9-10).

(9) a. /tep/       [ˈtep]       ‘fish’
     [ˈteb]
     b. /rɔp/       [ˈrɔp]       ‘dog’
     [ˈrɔb]

(10) a. /pika/     [bi'ka]       ‘earth’
     [pi'ka]
Word medially, the alternation between [p] and [b] in syllable coda partially depends on the quality of the following segment. The examples in (11) illustrate the occurrence of /p/ at syllable coda followed by a voiceless obstruent; the allophone [p] invariably occurs in this position.

(11) a. /apku/ [ap'ku] ‘eat <INSTR>’
    b. /apt[et]/ [ap't[et]] ‘peba (armadillo sp.)’
    c. /apkti/ [,apka'ti] ‘morning; tomorrow’

The data in (12-13), on the other hand, illustrate contexts where there may be a voicing alternation. The allophone [p] is preferred when followed by an obstruent belonging to a distinct lexical base, as shown by the compounds in (12). The symbol “=” is used here to indicate the boundary between the elements of a compound. It will also be used throughout the dissertation to indicate a clitic boundary.

4 Note that alternations do occur in this context (12.c). When followed by a sonorant segment at morpheme boundary, the voiced allophone is preferred (13).
In compounds formed with one of the clitics \textit{ti} ‘AUG’ or \textit{re} ‘DIM’, morpheme-specific rules will apply; but the voiced allophone [b] is generally preferred in these contexts also (section 4).

Word finally, a transitional bilabial nasal [m] is inserted between a nasal vowel and /p/ at syllable coda. Notice that the bilabial stop may be realized as either voiced or voiceless, or it may be left unreleased due to its position in the word (15).
The alveolar stop /t/ comprises the allophones [t], [t], [t], their voiced counterparts [d], [d] and [d], and the alveolar flap [ɾ]. Voiceless allophones invariably occur at the onset of stressed syllables (16).

(16) a. /te/ [ʼte] ‘leg’
    b. /tik/ [ʼtik] ‘black’
    c. /twɔm/ [ʼtwɔm̩] ‘fat’
    d. /krɔtɑ/ [grɔtɑ] ‘cut a chunk’

Voiced allophones usually occur at the onset of unstressed syllables, though there may be variation (17).

(17) a. /tatak/ [tɑtak] ‘hit’
    [daʼtak]
    b. /tɔtɔk/ [tɔtɔk] ‘ache’
    [dɔtɔk]

The voiced and voiceless series of allophones alternate word-finally as well. An additional factor to be considered in this environment is the occurrence of echo-vowels, which is somewhat related to the manner of articulation of the allophones. An echo-vowel is a reduced vowel inserted after a coda obstruent at word boundary (section 4.5). The phonetic quality of an echo-vowel is reminiscent of that of the vowel at the nucleus.
The presence of the echo-vowel favors the occurrence of voiced allophones.

Retroflexed allophones [t, d] tend to occur in the context of non-coronal vowels\(^6\), and the alveolar flap [ɾ] in the context of coronal vowels (18).\(^7\)

\[(18)\]  
\[\text{a. } /kot/ \quad [\text{'kot]} \quad \text{‘behind’} \]  
\[\quad [\text{'kot}^e] \]  
\[\quad [\text{'ko}^q] \]  
\[\text{b. } /mbut/ \quad [\text{'mbud]} \quad \text{‘neck’} \]  
\[\quad [\text{'mbud}^e] \]  
\[\text{c. } /tʃet/ \quad [\text{'tʃet}^e] \quad \text{‘burn’} \]  
\[\quad [\text{'tʃet}^e] \]  
\[\text{d. } /apʃet/ \quad [\text{ap'tʃet]} \quad \text{‘peba (armadillo sp.)’} \]  
\[\quad [\text{ap'tʃet}^e] \]

The voiceless dental stop [ɾ] occurs before the high front vowel /i/, especially in emphatic speech (19).

\[(19)\]  
\[\text{a. } /ɔmbri ɲʊm tʃəwe tə amɔra ti/ \quad \text{‘Then they cried desperately’} \]  
\[\quad [\text{ɔm'brɪ ɲʊm } tʃəwe tə amɔ'ra } \text{'ti]} \]  
\[\text{b. } /pika=tı=ŋɾə/ \quad [\text{bɪ'kɑtʃɪŋɾə}^e] \quad \text{‘beach’} \]

---

\(^6\) Coronal vowels are those produced in the coronal area, i.e. non-low front vowels. Non-coronal vowels are those produced elsewhere (Lahiri and Evers 1991; Clements 1985).

\(^7\) The following example illustrates one instance of the flap allophone in the context of a non-coronal vowel. Here, the condition for this allophone to occur at syllable coda is presumably the nasality of the vowel at the nucleus (the flap does not occur in the context of oral /o/, as demonstrated in (18.a)), associated with the coronal properties of /ɾ/ at the onset.

\[/prɔt/ \quad [\text{prɔt}^e] \quad \text{‘run’} \]
Word-medially, the voiceless alveolar allophone \([t]\) is preferred at syllable coda when followed by a voiceless obstruent (20). The voiced alveolar allophone \([d]\) occurs before a sonorant, as illustrated by the compound in (21.a), compared with that in (21.b).

(20) a. /atpē/ \([\text{at}^{\prime}\text{pē}]\) ‘RCPR’
   b. /katpə=re/ \([,\text{kat}'\text{pə},\text{re}]\) ‘money’
   c. /atkwūr/ \([\text{at}'\text{kwūr}]\) ‘break <\text{INTR}>’

(21) a. /mbət=wrə=re/ \([,\text{mbəd}'\text{wrə},\text{re}]\) ‘moon’
   b. /pət=kaak=re/ \([,\text{pətka}',\text{ag},\text{re}]\) ‘skunk’

The velar stop /\(k/\) comprises the allophones \([k], [k^{\prime}]\) and \([g]\). The voiceless allophones \([k, k^{\prime}]\) invariably occupy the onset of stressed syllables, whereas the voiced allophone \([g]\) tends to occur at the onset of unstressed ones (22-23).

(22) a. /kə/ \(['kə]\) ‘breast’
   b. /jaka/ \([ja'ka]\) ‘white’
   c. /apku/ \([ap'ku]\) ‘eat <\text{INTR}>’
   d. /krə/ \(['krə']\) ‘arrow’

(23) a. /kaʔō/ \([ga'ʔō]\) ‘wash hard O’
   \([ka'ʔō]\)
   b. /kupī/ \([gu'pī]\) ‘kill it’
   \([ku'pī]\)
   c. /kuwep/ \([gu'vep]\) ‘bird’
   d. /kambət=ko/ \([gam,\text{bət}'\text{ko}]\) ‘darkness; night’
As with the other voiceless obstruents, there is alternation between the voiced and voiceless counterparts of /k/ word-finally, with preference for the voiced allophone [g] in the presence of echo-vowels.

(24) a. /kuk/ \([\text{kug}^w]\) ‘face’

b. /tik/ \([\text{’tig]}\) ‘black’

[’tik]

c. /kak/ \([\text{kak}]\) ‘phlegm’

The occurrence of /k/ at syllable coda does not seem as frequent word medially when compared with other supralaryngeal stops. The data in (25) are compounds involving the diminutive clitic re; the allophone [g] is preferred when followed by the sonorant.

(25) a. /pät=kaak=ře/ \([\text{pätkaaŋře}]\) ‘anteater (sp.)’

b. /mbrek=ře/ \([\text{mbregře}]\) ‘seriema (bird sp.)’

The phoneme /k/ is palatalized \([k^{’}]\) before front vowels, which is especially noticeable in careful speech (26).

(26) a. /ken=ře/ \([\text{k’enle}]\) ‘pebble’

b. /krõ kî mbëṣfj/ \([\text{krõkîmbëṣfj}]\) ‘(his/her) hair is pretty’
The glottal stop phoneme /ʔ/ occupies stressed syllable onsets, where it contrasts with the presence or absence of other segments (see (7) above). Other occurrences of [ʔ] are phonetic, particularly observable in careful speech and typically indicative of syllable boundaries involving obstruents.

(27) a. /ken=kr̩̊=ti/  [k̩̊en,ŋgr̩̊ʔi]  ‘(a tall) mount’
   b. /akro=ti/  [aʔkroʔi]  ‘fish poison (vine sp.)’
   c. /tɛp=kaʔe/  [tɛpʔkaʔe]  ‘fish cage’

Affricates. The palatal affricate /ʔf/ comprises the allophones [tʃ, tʃ, dʒ, dz], though it is most often realized as alveopalatal [tʃ, dʒ]. It may occupy syllable onset or coda. As with other plosives, voiceless allophones of /ʔf/ occur in stressed syllable onsets and voiced allophones in unstressed syllables (28).

(28) a. /tʃa/  [tʃa]  ‘stand’
   [tʃa]
   b. /apˈʃet/  [apˈʃet]  ‘peba (armadillo, sp.)’
   [apˈʃet]
   c. /tʃutʃʊ=ti/  [dzuˈʃʊʔi]  ‘Sun (mythical character)’
   [dzuˈʃʊʔi]
In word medial and final positions, voice alternation is largely determined by the sonorant quality of the environment. In the context of nasals and glides word medially, the voiced allophones [dz, dʒ] may even occupy the onset of stressed syllables (29-30).

(29) a./mbeŋ=tʃi/ [mbɛŋdʒi] ‘bee (sp)’  
b./amʤo=re/ [am'dʒo, rè] ‘rat (sp)’

(30) /itʃɔɾ/ [idʒɔɾ] ‘towards me’

Word finally, voiced alternants are preferred in sonorant contexts as well. Notice the absence of sonorant consonants in example (31.a) and the presence of the voiceless allophones. Contrast with (31.b), where the word/syllable begins with a prenasalized consonant. The voice properties of the pre-nasal phoneme favor the occurrence of the voiced allophones [dz, dʒ]; so does the presence of echo-vowels (31.b-c).

(31) a./apetʃ/ [a'petʃ] ‘finish’  
     [a'petʃ]

b. /mbetʃ/ [ʼmbedʒ] ‘good’  
    [ʼmbedʒʼ]

c. /mē=wa=kratʃ/ [ʼmēva'kratʃ] ‘fangs’  
   [ʼmēva'kradʒʼ]
**Prenasalized Stops.** The labial and coronal prenasal(ized) phonemes /mb, nd, ndʒ/ are voiced complex segments consisting of homorganic nasal-obstruent contours. Their distribution is restricted to stressed syllable onset, word initially and medially. The prenasal stops contrast with nasal consonants before oral vowels, but they do not contrast before nasal vowels. In addition, there is no contrastive prenasalized velar stop, and the number of contrastive pairs for the series is rather small, amounting to only six or seven pairs in my database.

Under such restrictive conditions, one might be inclined to interpret such pairs merely as “exceptions.” Although this is an easy enough solution, it obscures a view of the problem from a broader, historical-comparative perspective. Many Jê languages display a contrast for obstruents not only in the nasal-oral dimension, but also in the voice-voiceless dimension. These dimensions may have – probably did – interact, historically, resulting in the obstruent inventories found in the languages nowadays. Exceptions such as the ones noted in Apinajé probably constitute important clues for this historical development.

As mentioned before, Ham (1961) considers prenasalized segments as allophones of nasal phonemes. In her analysis, /m, n, ɲ/ display the allophones [mb, nd, ndʒ] before oral vowels, since she does not take into consideration the few existing minimal pairs. As a final result, she concludes that there are just two series of phonemes: oral stops and nasal consonants.
The intention here is to propose an analysis alternative to Ham (1961), one that takes into consideration the existing contrastive pairs. I then propose three (not two) series of related phonemes – stops, nasals, and prenasal stops –, noting that the contrast between nasals and prenasal stops is observable only before nasal vowels, as illustrated by the following examples.

\[(32)\]
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{a. /na/} & \quad [\text{na}] & \quad \text{‘RLS’} \\
\text{b. /nda/} & \quad [\text{nda}] & \quad \text{‘rain’} \\
\text{c. /ta/} & \quad [\text{ta}] & \quad \text{‘chop off’} \\
\text{d. /nã/} & \quad [\text{nã}] & \quad \text{‘K.T.’}
\end{array}
\]

\[(33)\]
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{a. /ma/} & \quad [\text{ma}] & \quad \text{‘no <FEM>’} \\
\text{b. /mba/} & \quad [\text{mba}] & \quad \text{‘fear; hear’} \\
\text{c. /pa/} & \quad [\text{pa}] & \quad \text{‘arm’} \\
\text{d. /mõ/} & \quad [\text{mõ}] & \quad \text{‘ALLT’}
\end{array}
\]

\[(34)\]
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{a. /mbrɔ/} & \quad [\text{mbrɔ}] & \quad \text{‘ashes’} \\
\text{b. /mɾõ/} & \quad [\text{mɾõ}] & \quad \text{‘dive’}
\end{array}
\]

One initial hypothesis for the case of Apinajé obstruents would be that the prenasalized phoneme series is a recent development starting off from the nasal-oral contexts in which transitional segments are inserted, as seen with the velar nasal phoneme /ŋ/, where an oral velar transition [k, g] appears before oral vowels but not before nasal vowels (section 1.1.2, examples (37-38)). Obviously, this historical hypothesis needs to be tested through comparative analysis. This is a task that is beyond the scope of this dissertation, and therefore will be postponed.
1.1.2. Continuant phonemes

Nasals. The labial and coronal nasal phonemes /m, n, ŋ/ occur in syllable onset and coda, in word initial, medial and final positions.

The bilabial nasal /m/ may appear fully de-nasalized [b] in the context of non-front mid oral vowels.

(35) /twəm/ [ˈtwəmʔ] ‘fat’
     [ˈtwəbʔ]

A transitional palatal glide [j] is inserted between non-front mid oral vowels and the palatal nasal phoneme /ŋ/ at syllable coda (36).

(36) a./tfwəŋ/ [ˈtfwəŋ] ‘AG.NMLZ’
b./tʃŋ/ [ˈtʃŋ] ‘macaúba (palm sp.)’

The velar nasal phoneme /ŋ/ is realized as [ŋ, ŋ̚]. Of restricted distribution, the velar nasal /ŋ/ occurs exclusively in stressed syllable onset. The allophone [ŋ̚] occurs before oral vowels (37-38). In careful speech, the stop contour may be slightly devoiced (37).

---

8 Ham’s (1961) hypothesis holds true for this phoneme, with regard to the nasal/prenasal contrast.
Fricatives. The alveolar fricative /s/, realized as [s], has fairly restricted distribution in Apinajé, occurring mostly in proper names. A consultant has reported to me that many, though not all, of the proper names containing this phoneme come from the related language Xerente (Central Jë), and may have been incorporated into the Apinajé inventory of names by means of interethnic marriage. Some examples are Sít, Sipê, Simika, Sikwàta (women’s names), Surire, and Sugí (men’s names). This observation sounds plausible given the distributional restrictions of /s/.

The phoneme /s/ has been noted also in variations of an Apinajé kinship term: si ‘female.vocative’, sire, sisi. Other than that, /s/ appears more often in words borrowed from Portuguese. In words other than Portuguese borrowings, the alveolar fricative /s/ occurs at syllable onset, in word initial and medial positions.

(37) a./ŋo/  [ŋɔ]  ‘stand’
     [ŋɔ]
   b./ŋiw/  [ŋi]  ‘mud; starch’
     [ŋi]

(38) a./ŋröt/  [ŋrɔt]  ‘sprout from the soil’
   b./ŋô/  [ŋɔ]  ‘give’

(39) a./kɔset/  [kɔ̃set]  ‘Apinajé proper name (male)’
   b./sisi/  [si’si]  ‘FEM.VOC’

9 One Apinajé proper name which includes the phoneme /s/ is Kɔset.
The labiodental fricative /f/ is a phoneme borrowed from Portuguese, whose occurrence in Apinajé is limited to loan words. In spite of that, /f/ is also subject to the voice alternation typical of Apinajé obstruents, especially in the context of sonorants (40.b).

(40) a. /famas/ [fa\'majs] ‘pharmacy’  
    b. /fuwnio re/ [,fuw\'njo,\r\e] ‘Fulniô (nickname)’  
       [,vuw\'njo,\r\e]

1.1.3. Approximant phonemes

Flap. The alveolar flap /r/ is realized by the allophones [ɾ], [ɾ], [l] and [l]. The phoneme may occupy syllable onset and coda, occurring in initial, medial and final positions in the word. The retroflex allophone [ɾ] appears in syllable onset word medially, and in syllable coda word finally. At word boundary, there is fluctuation between the retroflexed flap and lateral allophones [ɾ, l]. The retroflex flap is in free variation with its non-retroflex counterpart [ɾ], which occurs in all other environments (41-42).

(41) a. /ŋo=ratʃ/ [,ŋo\'ra\d\z\i] ‘river’  
    [ŋo\'ra\d\z\i]  
    b. /kɔp=ɾeɾe=k=tʰ/ [,kɔbɾe\r\edi] ‘fly (sp)’  
       [,kɔpɾe\r\edi]  
    c. /karɔ/ [ga\'ɾɔ] ‘deer (sp)’  
       [ga\'ɾɔ]
The non-retroflexed lateral allophone [l] is used word initially in emphatic speech. At morpheme boundary, the lateral allophone [l] occurs when the preceding segment is a coronal consonant (43).

Glides. The palatal glide /j/ has the allophones [j], [z], [z] and [dʒ]. The allophone [j] occurs (a) in simplex onsets of unstressed syllables, immediately followed by a vowel; (b) in syllable codas, word-medially, followed by a consonant; and (c) in syllable codas at word-final position (44). The voiced alveolar fricative allophone [z] occurs in complex syllable onsets, occupying second position in a tautosyllabic consonant cluster (45). The voiced alveopalatal fricative allophone [z] occurs in simplex onsets of stressed syllables (46). Finally, the voiced palatal affricate allophone [dʒ] occurs in syllable codas at word-final position, immediately followed by a vowel-initial morpheme (47).
The labial glide /w/ is realized by the allophones [w], [v] and [v̥]. The allophone [w] occurs (a) in syllable codas and (b) in complex syllable onsets, occupying second position in a tautosyllabic consonant cluster. In both environments, it alternates with the voiced labiodental approximant [v], except in syllable codas at word boundaries (48). The voiced labiodental fricative allophone [v̥] occurs (a) in simplex syllable onsets and (b) in complex syllables onset, occupying first position in a tautosyllabic consonant cluster (49).
c./kwräj=tì/  [kwräj'dì]  ‘parrot’  
[kuräj'dì]

(49) a./kuwen/  [gu'vejn]  ‘bird’
b./awər/  [a'vər]  ‘towards you’
c./mbət=wrə=re/  [mdəd'verəre]  ‘moon’
d./wrəm/  ['vrəm]  ‘hut; shack; old dwelling place’

1.2. Vowel phonemes

The phoneme inventory of Apinajé includes a seventeen-vowel system that consists of eleven oral and six nasal distinctive segments.

Table II.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>Nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ĭ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
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<td>o</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ḍ</td>
<td>ḍ</td>
<td>Ṇ</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ḍ</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ġ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The inventory of Apinajé vowel phonemes proposed here differs from Ham (1961) in that (a) it includes the schwa /ə/ as a distinctive segment and (b) it excludes the nasal central low vowel /ã/ present in Ham’s proposal, which I have not attested in my data. In other words, the present phoneme inventory includes four (not three) mid central vowels – three orals and one nasal; in addition to two high central vowels (oral and nasal), and one low central vowel.

From a typological viewpoint, the proliferation of contrastive vowels occurs most commonly in the front space of the vocal tract. Thus, if the analysis proposed here is correct, the occurrence of five central (oral) vowel phonemes is a typologically uncommon fact about Apinajé. However, the distinction between two of these mid-central phonemes, /ɔ, ʌ/, is also attested in at least four other Northern Jê languages: Suyá, Tapayúna, Parkatejê, and Krahô.

Independent support for the segmental analysis proposed here comes from historical-comparative evidence as well. An ongoing study on the development of present-day vowel systems in Jê languages reveals a phonological correspondence of the Northern Jê mid-central vowels /ɔ, ʌ/ to the mid-high and mid-low front vowels /e, ɛ/ of Central Jê languages, respectively (Oliveira and Ribeiro 2005).

As for the schwa /ə/, so far its phonemic status in Apinajé seems to be attested by minimal and analogous pairs, as will be shown below. However, because of the typologically questionable existence of three contrastive mid-central vowels in any phonemic inventory, an eventual acoustic analysis might prove useful for an accurate
phonetic characterization of this segment in particular, such that it can be contrasted with
the phonetic properties of the other two mid-central vowels /ə, ʌ/ found in the language.

If the phonetic and phonemic distinctions amongst the three segments become
further confirmed by an acoustic analysis, then the addition of the schwa /ə/ to the
phoneme inventory may have been a phonological innovation of Apinajé. One functional
motivation for this diversification of contrastive vowels could be the fact that morphemes
in Apinajé are monosyllabic, and phonemic distinctions help maintain semantic
distinctions amongst morphemes by avoiding homophony.

The contrasts amongst vowel phonemes are illustrated in (50-56).

(50) a./i/ x /e/

[ʼpitʃ] ‘only’ [ʼpetʃ] ‘finished; finish’
[ʼpi] ‘ascend; climb’ [ʼpe] ‘work’
[ʼtʃi] ‘put O on the ground’ [ʼtʃe] ‘EXCL.FEM’

b./e/ x /ɛ/

[ʼbe] ‘or’ [ʼbe] ‘mix’
[ʼpe] ‘work’ [kaʼpe] ‘village path’
[ʼgre] ‘little (in quantity)’ [ʼgre] ‘dance; sing’

c./ɛ/ x /i/

[ʼgre] ‘dance; sing’ [ʼgri] ‘small (in size)’
[prɛ] ‘PST’ [ʼpri] ‘frog (sp)’
[te] ‘HAB’ [ti] ‘DIM’
(51) a. /i/ x /ə/  

[a'mbi] ‘tail’  
['pʁi] ‘road; track’  
['ti] ‘die’  

[am'bɔ] ‘catch [PL.O]’  
[prɔ] ‘feather’  
[tɔ] ‘yes <MSC.INTRJ>’

b. /ə/ x /ə/  

[ka'prɔ] ‘empty’  
[a'tʃɔ] ‘expose [PL.O]’  
['kətʃ] ‘softly; gently’  

[ka'prɔ] ‘fire ember’  
[a'tʃɔ] ‘enter’  
[kətʃ] ‘jar; frame’

c. /ə/ x /i/  

['kətʃ] ‘frame; jar’  
[ka'prɔ] ‘fire ember’  
[amɔ'krɔ] ‘shade’

['kətʃ] ‘tear <TR>’  
[a'kri] ‘be.cold’  
[amɔ'krɔ] ‘afternoon; evening’

(52) a. /ʌ/ x /ə/  

[u'tɔ] ‘promisse; agree on’  
['tɔm] ‘saturated; soaked’  
[a'mbɔn] ‘piranha (sp.)’

[u'tʃɔ] ‘aching belly’  
['tɔm] ‘fat’  
[am'bɔ] ‘catch [PL.O]’

b. /ʌ/ x /ə/  

[ˌpɔr'le] ‘mambira’

[ˌpɔrɔ] ‘plant; tree’

(53) a. /a/ x /ʌ/  

[ŋgra] ‘capibara’

[ŋgra] ‘dry’
b./a/ x /ə/

['ka] ‘you’
[ˈkə] ‘breast’
[ˈŋgra] ‘capibara’
[kaˈpɾa] ‘fire ember’

(54) a./ɔ/ x /ʌ/

[kuˈtɔ] ‘make it’
[uˈtə] ‘agree upon; arrange’

b./ɔ/ x /o/

[ˈkɔt] ‘3.irls’
[ˈkɔtə] ‘after; behind’
[ɔʔˈtɔ] ‘tongue’
[ɔʔˈto] ‘many’

c./o/ x /u/

[ˈpoj] ‘arrive’
[ˈpuj] ‘1.INCL.IRLS’
[aˈko] ‘smoke’
[aˈku] ‘eat <INTR>’
[ˈkro] ‘vine; shrub’
[ˈkruˈo] ‘arrow’

(55) a./i/ x /u/

[ri] ‘DEM.TMP’
[ˈru] ‘pour’

b./i/ x /i/

[kuˈkrit] ‘virgin girl’
[kuˈkrit] ‘tapir’

c./u/ x /i/

[kuˈpu] ‘wrap’
[kuˈpit] ‘guariba (monkey sp.)’
(56) a./i/ x /i/

['pri] ‘frog (sp)’
[a’pi] ‘climb up; ascend’

b./e/ x /ɛ/

[a’re] ‘dig out’
[a’pe] ‘work’

[c./i/ x /ɨ/]

['ti] ‘die’

[d. /ə/ x /ɔ/]

[ro’ro’r] ‘yellow’

[e./u/ x /ʊ/]

['tu] ‘belly’

[f./o/ x /ø/]

[a’prɔ] ‘your wife’
[ko’di] ‘camalleon (sp)’
[pɔ’ti] ‘tall grass’

[’prı] ‘short; small’
[a’pi] ‘kill you’

[’rɛ] ‘tell’
[at’pɛ] ‘RCPR’

[’jʊ] ‘sit’

[’rɔ] ‘always’

[’tʃu’tʃʊ] ‘mythical character’

[’pok] ‘catch on fire’

The nasal front mid vowel /ɛ/ is realized by the allophones [ɛ, ë] in free variation. The nasal back mid vowel /o/ is realized as slightly lower than [ɔ] and slightly higher than [ɔ].
One instance of alternation between this allophone of /õ/ and higher counterparts [õ, ū] has been noted in the corpus. The alternation applies to one morpheme in particular, the indefinite determiner ō. The alternative realizations of this morpheme might be partially due to factors external to the phonological system, however. It appears that the indefinite article um [ū] has been borrowed from Portuguese and phonologically adapted into Apinajé as /õ/. The high allomorphs could be a retention of the original shape of the borrowed morpheme.

The mid-low central phoneme /ʌ/ displays the allophones [ʌ, ɐ, ə]. There is free variation between the allophones [ʌ, ɐ] in stressed position (57).

(57) /atpěn tə utʌ/  
[at'pěn ɺə u'tʌ]  ‘make an agreement’
[at'pěn ɺə u'tʁ]  

The more neutral schwa allophone occurs in relaxed speech and because of this pattern, the contrast between the central phonemes /ʌ, ə/ may get obscured in some contexts, although it is promptly verifiable in others (58-59).

(58) /uɾak/  
[uɾɐɡ]  ‘be similar’
[uɾəɡ]  

(59) a./ambi/  
[a'mbi]  ‘tail’

b./ambə/  
[a'mbə]  ‘catch (PL.O)’
Nasality and voicing are analyzed as dynamic processes and are discussed in section 3.

2. Syllable structure

The phonological inventory of Apinajé includes open and closed syllables. Syllable onsets may be simplex or complex, consisting of up to three consonants. Complex syllable codas have been noted only in instances of transitional consonant insertion (section 1.1.); these are not being considered here as a distinctive syllable types, but rather as one derived by a phonetic process.

Syllable structures attested in Apinajé are \( V(C) \), \( CV(C) \), \( CCV(C) \), \( CCCV(C) \), illustrated in (60-63).

(60) a. /o/ \( V(C) \)
    b. /ək/ ‘hawk (sp)’

(61) a. /pï/ \( CV(C) \)
    b. /ket/ ‘no’

(62) a. /kiri/ \( CCV(C) \)
    b. /mbjeŋ/ ‘husband’
2.1. Phonotactic constraints

The phonotactic constraints that organize the internal structure of syllables are as follows. Tautosyllabic clusters at complex-onset position may consist of up to three consonants, only one of which may be a plosive. Plosives occur exclusively at syllable margins, thus occupying first position in the cluster. Nasals and approximants, on the other hand, may co-occur in complex syllable onsets.

Plosive sounds that may appear in complex onsets are stops and affricates – both voiceless (labial, coronal, velar) and prenasal (labial and coronal). Nasal sounds that occur are labial and velar. Approximants are the labial and coronal flap and glides.

The inventory of segments found in tautosyllabic clusters is presented in Table II.3; their relative distribution is discussed below and presented schematically in (64-66).

(63) a./ŋwra/ ‘buriti’ CCCV(c)
b./kwrɔj=tì/ ‘parrot’
Table II.3

CONSONANTS IN COMPLEX-ONSET CLUSTERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Plosives</th>
<th>Nasals</th>
<th>Approximants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prenasal</td>
<td></td>
<td>Flap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>mb</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coronal</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tf̆</td>
<td>ndʒ</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All consonants obey a distributional restriction whereby each segment in a tautosyllabic sequence must be produced at a different place of articulation – labial, coronal or velar. An additional dimension of this requirement is that each segment in the sequence be produced with a different mode of articulation – plosive, nasal or approximant. Sequences of approximants are attested, but among the approximants, it is the flap that occurs closest to the nucleus. Possible tautosyllabic clusters are those listed in (64-66). There are no occurrences of clusters formed by a coronal nasal followed by the labiovelar glide (nw, ḥw).

(64) a.pr, pj; mbr, mbj  
     b.mr; wr  
   Labial-Coronal  
   Labial-Coronal

(65) a.tw  
     b.tf̆w; ndʒw  
   Coronal-Labial  
   Coronal-Labial
70

(66) a. kw
   Velar-Labial
b. kr, kj: ɳr, ɳj
   Velar-Coronal
c. kwr, ɳwr
   Velar-Labial-Coronal

Syllable codas may be occupied by voiceless plosives or sonorants. Prenasals,
along with the velar nasal /ɳ/, do not appear in coda position.

Patterns resulting from the phonotactic constraints are illustrated in (67-70).

(67) a. /peɾ/  ‘cover with leaves’
b. /apje/  ‘long’
c. /mbɾi/  ‘game’
d. /mbjɛn/  ‘husband’
e. /mɾum/  ‘ant’
f. /wɾɔ/  ‘descend’

(68) a. /twɔm/  ‘fat’
b. /tfwa/  ‘bathe’
c. /updʒɔm/  ‘place (PL.O) right-side up on a flat surface’

(69) a. /krɛ/  ‘eat (assorted O)’
b. /kje/  ‘drag; pull’
c. /ɲje/  ‘place (PL.O) in deep recipient’
d. /ɲɛɾi/  ‘(a proper name)’
e. /kwir/  ‘break (long O) partially’
f. /kwɾɔt/  ‘traíra (fish, sp.)’
g. /ɲwɾa/  ‘buriti (palm, sp.)’

(70) a. /kep/  ‘3.DRT’
b. /krikrit/  ‘noise; engine sound’
c. /kaek/  ‘chop (wood)’
d. /kɾitʃ/  ‘pet; livestock’
e. /pɾin/  ‘pequi (fruit, sp.)’
f. /ɾɔp/  ‘macaúba (palm, sp)’
Diphthongs are not frequent; very few instances have been attested in the data. The examples, listed in (71), show the recurrence of a central-back dimension in the quality of the vowels involved.

\[(71)\]
\[
a. /\text{kəo}/ \quad \text{[/'kaʊ]} \quad \text{‘cooked’} \\
b. /\text{kruə}/ \quad \text{[/'kruə]} \quad \text{‘arrow’} \\
c. /\text{mbuə}/ \quad \text{[/'mbuə]} \quad \text{‘cry’} \\
\]

3. Stress system

In Apinajé, stress falls invariably on the last syllable of the phonological word. Morphemes are typically short, such that it is common for monomorphemic words to be one-syllable long. Words that are two or more syllables long are likely to consist of one morpheme per syllable.

Stress is a necessary and sufficient property of the phonological word, and is indicative of its boundaries. However, the limits of a phonological word sometimes do not coincide with those of a grammatical word (see section \text{III}2.2). In examples (72-74), stress falls predictably on the last syllable regardless of the word length. Some of these words contain affixes, but they constitute simple \textit{lexical bases} in that they include only one root.
Compounds may be formed either (a) with a lexical base and one of the clitics \( \text{re} \), \( \text{ti} \); (b) with two or more lexical bases and no clitics; or (c) with two or more lexical bases and one of the clitics (75-77). Every lexical base consists of at least one root and may include affixes as well.

Lexical bases bear stress, as do some of the clitics. Affixes do not bear stress and constitute phonological frame material for the placement of stress in the word. The clitics \( \text{ti} \) ‘\( \text{AUG} \)’ and \( \text{re} \) ‘\( \text{DIM} \)’ bear independent stress, which they display in compounds.

(72) a. /ηɾɔ/ [ʼηɾɔ] ‘roast; bake’
    b. /mbjɛɾ/ [ʼmbzɛɾ] ‘husband’

(73) a. /aŋɾo/ [a.ʼŋɾo] ‘pig (sp)’
    b. /kupu/ [gu.ʼpu] ‘wrap’

(74) a. /katɔtɔ/ [ga.tɔ.ʼtɔ] ‘thunder’
    b. /amutʃu/ [a.mu.ʼtʃu] ‘hide’

(75) a. /aŋɾo=ɾe/ [a.ʼŋɾo.ʼɾe] ‘caititú (wild pig)’
    b. /mbjɛɾ=ɾe/ [ʼmbzɛɾ.ʼle] ‘husband \( \text{<DIM>} \)’

(76) a. /ɔk=ɾdɔɾ/ [a.ʼɡɾdɔɾ] ‘hawk (sp.)’
    b. /ic-kɾɔ=krat/ [iç,kɾɔʼkrat] ‘the back of my neck’
    c. /kuvi=ja-krat/ [ku,viJa.ʼkrad] ‘fire ember’

(77) a. /apat=ka=ti/ [a,pajkəʼdi] ‘surucucú (snake, sp.)’
    b. /mbri=tʃ-ʊm=ti/ [mbriʼtʃumʼdi] ‘tiú (lizard, sp.)’
    c. /ɲjɛɾ=ndɔ=kje=ɾe/ [ɲi.ɲdɔ.ʼkze.ʼɾe] ‘mucura (mammal, sp.)’
    d. /mɛ=pa=kɔɾ=ratʃ=ti/ [me,pakrɔʼradʒʼti] ‘one’s toe’
The data above illustrate that the original stress properties of the bases tend to be somewhat reflected in the derived word, even though primary stress falls on the last syllable of the compound. In (77.a), the elements of the compound are, respectively, a disyllabic and a monosyllabic base. Overall secondary stress falls on the last syllable of the first base. The items in (77.c-d) consist of all monosyllabic bases, amounting to four and five syllables, respectively. Every first and third syllables left-to-right take on stress; the word-final clitic always takes primary stress regardless of whether it is an odd or even syllable.

4. Phonological rules

4.1. Assimilation

Nasal spreading. An important source of nasality in assimilation rules is the nasal vowel phoneme. The alveolar flap /t/ is nasalized in syllables whose nucleus is occupied by a nasal vowel. Under these conditions, the flap phoneme may be realized as [ɾ, n] either in onset or coda position (78).

(78) a. /aɾĩɾɔ/ [aɾĩɾɔɾɔ] ‘morning; daylight’ [anĩɾɔɾɔ]
    b. /kapẽɾ/ [ga'pẽɾ] ‘talk’

Nasal spreading is also common in the context of prenasals at morpheme boundaries. The nasal quality of the prenasal affects the preceding consonant within a
heterosyllabic cluster. The affected consonant may be a sonorant or an obstruent.

Examples (79.a-b) illustrate the nasalization of a bilabial stop at coda position; the original place of articulation is maintained. In both cases, the segments constitute a labial-coronal sequence.

(79) a. /tɔp ndi/  \[tɔm\d˙i\] ‘dog,FEM’  
b. /ndʒop=ŋdʒop/ \[ndʒo\b^m'dʒo\b\] ‘itch’

In (80), the affected consonant undergoes nasal assimilation, but it undergoes place dissimilation because both segments in the sequence are coronal sonorants (section 4.2). In the same environment, the coronal plosive assimilates the nasality of the coronal prenasal (80-81).

(80) /mbɛr=ŋdʒi/ \[mbɛ\m^\dʒ\i\] ‘cry-baby’
(81) /tʃɛt=ŋdʒi/ \[tʃɛ\n\dʒ\i\] ‘flammable’

*Oral spreading*. Oral vowel phonemes create specific phonetic effects as well. The bilabial nasal /m/ may be fully de-nasalized in the context of non-front mid oral vowels. Example (82) shows that the consonant maintains its voice properties in spite of losing its nasal quality.

(82) /twɔm/ \[twɔm\^\?\] ‘fat’  

\[twɔb\^\?\]
The same process has not been attested among coronals in the same environment. Nonetheless, the oral quality of the vowel is preserved in these contexts too, as shown in (83).

(83) a. /kukeŋ/ [gu'keɲ] ‘cotia (rodent, sp.)’
    [gu'kɛŋ]  
    [gu'ken]  

  b. /ton/ ['tono] ‘armadillo’

Voicing. Plosives are voiced before sonorants at morpheme boundary. In (84), voiceless stops are affected respectively by a following flap and labial glide, in regressive assimilation.

(84) a. /pat=ka=k=t=re/ [patka'og're] ‘anteater (sp.)’
  b. /mb=wr=w=re/ [mbdr'wrre] ‘moon’
  c. /ŋr̥ɔj=t̥i/ [ŋrɔjdi] ‘quandú (mammal, sp.)’

4.2. Dissimilation

Coronal dissimilation. Apinajé imposes restrictions on sequences of coronal consonants. When both underlying segments are coronal, they must distinguish in major class terms (sonorant, obstruent) or in place terms (labial, coronal).

An underlying sequence of coronal obstruents yields a sonorant-obstruent sequence, after dissimilation (85). In an underlying sequence of sonorants, place
dissimilation applies, so that the surface effect is a labial-coronal sequence of sonorants

\[(86) \quad /\text{t̪}t/ \rightarrow [\text{t̪}\text{t̪}] \quad \text{‘shaky; trembling’}\]

\[(86) \quad /\text{mb̪d̪i}/ \rightarrow [\text{mb̪̊d̪i}] \quad \text{‘cry-baby’}\]

*Laterization.* The coronal flap */t/ undergoes laterization at morpheme boundary, when preceded by a coronal segment (87). This is one more type of coronal dissimilation, only it pertains exclusively to this segment.

\[(87) \quad \text{a.} /\text{atp̩n r̩t}/ \rightarrow [\text{at̩p̩r̩t}] \quad \text{‘see each other’}\]
\[(87) \quad \text{b.} /\text{kuke}=\text{re}/ \rightarrow [\text{gůken¹le}] \quad \text{‘cotia (rodent, sp.)’}\]
\[(87) \quad \text{c.} /\text{a?kw̩n}=\text{re}/ \rightarrow [\text{a?kw̩n¹le}] \quad \text{‘cashew (sp.)’}\]
\[(87) \quad \text{d.} /\text{amb̩n}=\text{re}/ \rightarrow [\text{amb̩n¹le}] \quad \text{‘piranha’}\]
\[(87) \quad \text{e.} /\text{ak̩t}=\text{re}/ \rightarrow [\text{ak̩t¹le}] \quad \text{‘round (DIM)’}\]

4.3. Insertion

Syllables containing a nasal vowel at the nucleus insert a transitional nasal before a plosive in word final position.

\[(88) \quad \text{a.} /\text{kup̩p}/ \rightarrow [\text{gůp̩p}] \quad \text{‘hammock’}\]
A voiceless echo-consonant is inserted in final position, following an oral nucleus with a nasal coda. This is the reverse process of that illustrated in (88), involving a nasal nucleus and an oral coda. The reason one knows that the vowel in (89) is an oral phoneme is that, under the proper conditions, the echo-vowel is clearly perceptible word finally, betraying the nasal quality of the coda consonant. That is not the case with the examples in (88).

(89) /kuwí kum/ [kuˌvिकुम̥] ‘smoke’ [kuˌvिकुम̥]

In the context of non-front mid oral vowels, the transitional glide [j] is inserted between the nucleus and a palatal nasal consonant at the coda.

(90) a. /tʃwɔŋ/ [tʃwɔŋ] ‘AG.NMLZ’
    b. /ʁɔŋ/ [ʁɔŋ] ‘macaúba (palm, sp.)’
    c. /mbjeŋ/ [mbjeŋ] ‘husband’

4.4. Compensatory lengthening.

Compensatory lengthening applies to a plosive-final lexical base when it is followed by a consonant-initial morpheme – that is, the plosive is deleted, being replaced by vowel lengthening. If the lexical base ends in glide or vowel, no lengthening applies (91-92).
4.5. Prosodies

Aspiration. Aspiration occurs between a syllable-final vowel and a stressed syllable beginning in voiceless obstruent. Vowels often involved in the process are the central low phoneme /a/ or the back high phoneme /u/. Aspiration often takes place at morpheme boundary, but within the same phonological word.

Echo-vowels. Closed syllables usually display an echo-vowel word finally. The echo-vowel is a phonetically reduced sound whose quality is reminiscent of that of the vowel at the nucleus. Words ending in the voiceless affricate /tʃ/ are an exception; the quality of the echo vowel in this case is reminiscent of the palatal quality of the consonant – it is [i].
The echo-vowel indicates the end of a phonological word. It occurs most often in content words, though there are instances of echo-vowels in function words too. The morphemes ket and kot, in (96), are a negative particle and a postposition, respectively.

The fact that these units are prominent within their respective constituents might be one reason why these function words – and not others – tend to display echo-vowels. Both particles and postpositions occur phrase-finally and thus have better chances of appearing in utterance-final position, the locus of echo-vowels.

An independent hypothesis for why ket and kot display a property characteristic of content words is that both, particle and postposition, must derive historically from content words – a verb and a noun, respectively (chapter III). The occurrence of echo-vowels may be one feature that indicates their diachronic origin.
5. Summary of properties of the phonological word

Three prosodic properties characterize the phonological word: stress, echo-vowels and aspiration. Stress is predictable in Apinajé and indicates the end of a phonological word. Any putative phonological word must consist of at least one stress-bearing element.

Aspiration is a process that applies only word-medially; it is also related to stress.

Finally, echo-vowels also serve as an index of final word boundary. A more detailed discussion of the phonological word in Apinajé is provided in the next chapter, where this notion is contrasted to that of grammatical word.
CHAPTER III

MORPHOLOGY

0. Introduction

For the unacquainted observer, Apinajé may appear as a morphologically plain language of the analytic kind, consisting of rather short words, and having much of its grammatical categories expressed by function words rather than bound morphemes. That impression is justified: Apinajé morphemes are monosyllabic indeed, and the grammatical categories found in the language are often expressed by function words that may or may not be phonologically dependent, or by syntactic constructions that often times employ a subset of these very function words.

However, Apinajé words are not necessarily monomorphemic – nor monosyllabic, for that matter. Words consisting of more than one syllable usually consist of as many morphemes; and Apinajé morphology is rather rich, especially in regard to content words. Thus, Apinajé may be typologically characterized as an agglutinating language of analytic spirit, with compounding and prefixation playing major roles in word formation. The predominance of prefixes over suffixes is reminiscent of the fact that Apinajé is a head final language: syntactically dependent elements serve as a diachronic source for phonologically dependent ones.
A set of morphs appearing in specific word classes do not constitute productive morphology, however. These are fossilized morphological debris that simply subcategorize words into morphological or semantic classes at the synchronic level (section 3.1). Bare-root counterparts can be found for some of these stems but not for others, which shows that despite their high frequency in the lexicon, these morphs are not part of a productive morphological system. Added to that, these morphs tend to be semantically empty or of elusive meaning. For these reasons, they are called “formatives” (and not “morphemes”) in the remainder of the text.

It appears that a large part of the Apinajé lexicon consists of words that include some type of formative in its morphological structure; most disyllabic verbs and nouns are like that (see Dictionary, Appendix C).

The morphological units of Apinajé are introduced in what follows. A phonological and grammatical characterization of the word, as well as the word-formation strategies available, are presented in section 2; section 3 deals with the various word classes of Apinajé, grouped here under two main subheadings: lexical categories and grammatical categories; and section 4 presents the inflectional and derivational morphology.

1. Morphological units
1.1. Roots

Apinajé roots are monosyllabic, bear stress and may come in any of the syllable types available in the language, namely, V(C), CV(C), CVC(C) or CCCV(C). Some roots may
constitute words on their own, while others serve as the base for morphologically complex stems, such as compounds and derived lexemes. Compounds consist of more than one root (2.a), and may include derivational morphology as well (2.b). Derivational morphemes may be clitics or affixes attaching to the root (3). Roots may also come accompanied by formatives, constituting another kind of morphologically complex stem (4).

(1) \[\begin{align*}
\text{bra} & \quad \text{‘walk, stroll; wake up’} \\
\text{bri} & \quad \text{‘game; hunt’} \\
\text{krē} & \quad \text{‘eat’} \\
\text{pok} & \quad \text{‘catch on fire’}
\end{align*}\]

(2) a. \[\begin{align*}
\text{ikra}=\text{krē} & \quad \text{‘finger’} \\
\text{hand}=\text{nugget}
\end{align*}\]
\[\begin{align*}
\text{bən}=\text{kwrə} & \quad \text{‘beans’} \\
?=? & \\
\text{kupē}=\text{č-e} & \quad \text{‘fabric’} \\
\text{non.Indian}=\text{RP}^{1}\text{-tie}
\end{align*}\]

b. \[\begin{align*}
\text{bən}=\text{tik}=\text{ti} & \quad \text{‘macaw bird (arara, sp.)’} \\
?=\text{black}=\text{AUG}
\end{align*}\]
\[\begin{align*}
\text{pu}=\text{t}=\text{j-apje}=\text{ti} & \quad \text{‘morissoca (insect, sp.)’} \\
\text{fly}=\text{leg}=\text{RP-long}=\text{AUG}
\end{align*}\]

(3) \[\begin{align*}
\text{a-go} & \quad \text{‘saliva’} & \quad <\text{go} \quad \text{‘water’} \\
\text{a-ko} & \quad \text{‘smoke <TR>’} & \quad <\text{ko} \quad \text{‘suck’} \\
\text{ba}=\text{čə} & \quad \text{‘gossip’} & \quad <\text{ba} \quad \text{‘hear’}
\end{align*}\]

\[\text{hear}=\text{NMLZ.INSTR}\]

\[^{1}\text{Relational Prefixes (RP) are part of the inflectional system of Apinajé. These morphemes occur pervasively in vowel-initial nouns, verbs and postpositions of Apinajé. See details in section 4.1.2. below.}\]
Affixes

Inflectional and derivational affixes are often monosyllabic morphemes whose structure is restricted to the V(C) and CV(C) syllable patterns. Certain inflectional affixes may consist of a single consonant, as is the case with relational prefixes and nonfiniteness suffixes (sections 4.1.2. and 4.1.3.). Affixes do not display any particular stress properties in Apinajé; they simply contribute segmental material to the phonological word, submitting to the overall stress rule applicable to that word. The verb pī ‘kill’ is inflected for person in (5). The finite form of the verb is shown in (a), and its nonfinite form in (b).

\[ \text{inc-pī} \]  ‘kill me’
\[ \text{a-pī} \]  ‘kill you’
\[ \text{ku-pī} \]  ‘kill it’

b. \[ \text{inc-pī-r} \]  ‘kill me’
Formatives display the same structural properties as affixes, certainly because they too were affixes at an earlier stage in the development of the language. For instance, it is possible to identify personal prefixes that have been reanalyzed as part of some stems, which take productive inflectional morphology at the synchronic level (6).

(6) a. \( \text{kupe} \) \quad \quad \text{[gu'pe]} \quad \text{‘touch’} \quad < \text{ku-} ‘3’
  \quad \quad \text{a-kupe} \quad \text{[agu'pe]} \quad \text{‘touch on you’}

b. \( \text{ipok} \) \quad \quad \text{[i'pog'\text{\textcircled{}}} \quad \text{‘core’} \quad < \text{i-} ‘3’
  \quad \quad \text{p\text{"o\text{"o}}} \text{\text{n-ipok ri} \quad \text{[p\text{"o\text{"o}}} \text{\text{ni,pog'ri]} \quad \text{‘in the core of the forest’}

1.3. Clitics

Clitics may be of three kinds: positional clitics, phrasal clitics and word clitics, all of which display specific stress properties and, like the roots, may come in any of the syllable patterns available. Positional clitics occupy specific slots in the structure of the clause, and they usually encode grammatical categories that pertain to the proposition as a whole, such as mood, tense, aspect and the like (7). Few phrasal clitics indicate the initial boundary of a phrase; the tendency is for them to occur phrase finally (8). The same is true of word clitics, except that their structural domain is restricted to the (grammatical) word (9).²

² As mentioned in footnote 3 of chapter II, throughout this dissertation I will use the symbol “=” to indicate clitic boundaries, but only in the case of word clitics. Positional (phrase and clause) clitics will be simply
(7) a. pa na pa ḫemā ate pīkap ja nōr prāṁ ket.
1.EMPH.RLS 1.DAT 2.ERG earth DEF lie.on.NF want NEG
‘It is I who don’t want you to lie on the ground.’

b. cē! ḏ ra mēʔō ja NAMESPACE kačīw ampiṯ to aʔŵe.
INTRJ INTRJ IMM someone DEF enter PURP RFLX RP.do request
‘Geez! There’s already someone asking to come in!’

(8) a. a-te pīkap ja nōr
2-ERG earth DEF lie.on.NF
‘you lying on the ground’

b. pīkap ja
earth DEF
‘the earth’

(9) a. ipec=ĉθ
make=NMLZ.INSTR
‘father’

b. kra=ja=bʔn=ĉwʔn
child=DEF=hold=NMLZ.AG
‘midwife’

Some phrase final clitics retain stress prominence in their domain (10). Some positional clitics retain stress prominence in a clitic sequence – that is true of the tense and aspect clitics vis-à-vis mood and pronominal clitics. Notice that the clause-initial

written as monosyllabic function words and separated by spaces, since they have broader syntactic scope
clitics in (11) form one phonological word, with stress falling on the last syllable of the sequence, that is, the past tense marker.

\[(10) \quad \text{num} [m\ddot{e} \quad k\ddot{x} \quad m\ddot{e} \quad \overline{\dot{\text{bu}}p} \quad \text{\textbackslash n} \quad \text{\textbackslash j}a] = \overline{\text{\textbackslash w\textbackslash a\textbackslash p}} \quad \text{ja}
\]

\[\text{CNJ.DS \ PL \ 3.ERG \ PL \ 3.see.NF \ INSTR \ LOC \ NMLZ.AG \ DEF}\]

‘Then, those who were watching them...’

\[(11) \quad \text{na} \quad \text{pa} \quad \overline{\text{pre}} \quad j\ddot{\text{s}} \quad \text{at} \quad \text{\textbackslash p\textbackslash s}\]

\[\text{RLS \ 1 \ PST \ yesterday \ get.drunk}\]

‘I got drunk yesterday’

Word clitics are enclitics; and as word-final syllables they carry word stress (12).

\[(12) \quad \text{\textbackslash p\textbackslash a\textbackslash t=k\ddot{x}=\text{\textbackslash t}i} \quad [\overline{\text{\textbackslash p\textbackslash a\textbackslash t\textbackslash k\ddot{\textbackslash o}t=\text{\textbackslash d}i}] \quad \text{\textbackslash p\textbackslash i\textbackslash c\textbackslash o \ \text{\textbackslash d\textbackslash a\textbackslash c}} \quad \text{(\textbackslash s\textbackslash n\textbackslash a\textbackslash k\textbackslash e, \text{\textbackslash s\textbackslash p.})}
\]

\[?=?=\text{\textbackslash u\textbackslash g}\]

\[\text{\textbackslash k\textbackslash a\textbackslash t\textbackslash x=c\ddot{\text{o}}} \quad [\text{\textbackslash g\textbackslash a\textbackslash t\textbackslash c\textbackslash o\textbackslash \text{\textbackslash t\textbackslash f\textbackslash o}] \quad \text{‘mother’}
\]

\[\text{exit.NF=NMLZ.LOC/INSTR}\]

2. Word

In any language, words can be characterized in terms of phonological and grammatical properties, which constitute independent criterial dimensions. One general definition of the phonological word is provided in Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002) as follows:

A **phonological word** is a phonological unit larger than the syllable (in some languages it may minimally be just one syllable) which has at least one (and generally more than one) phonological defining property chosen from the following areas:

and occupy predictable positions in clauses and phrases.
(a) **Segmental features** – internal syllabic and segmental structure; phonetic realisations in terms of this; word boundary phenomena; pause phenomena.
(b) **Prosodic features** – stress (or accent) and/or tone assignment; prosodic features such as nasalization, retroflexion, vowel harmony.
(c) **Phonological rules** – some rules apply only within a phonological word; others (external sandhi rules) apply specifically across a word boundary.

Note that there is likely to be a close interaction between these types of features (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002: 13).

The definitional criteria put forward by them are seen, admittedly, as types rather than universal criteria, which may not apply to every language. In regard to the definition of a grammatical word, however, they offer what they see as a set of universal criteria. Their list is as follows:

A **grammatical word** consists of a number of grammatical elements which:
(a) always occur together, rather than scattered through the clause (the criterion of cohesiveness);
(b) occur in a fixed order;
(c) have a conventionalized coherence and meaning. (...)
(d) Morphological processes involved in the formation of words tend to be non-recursive. That is, one element will not appear twice in a word. (...)
(e) There will be just one inflectional affix per word. (...)
(f) A speaker may pause between words but not within a word. (...)
(g) A word may constitute a complete utterance, all by itself (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002:19-25).

The list certainly includes criteria that cannot be taken to the letter, or, as Dixon and Aikhenvald put it, they must be “tempered by a number of caveats”. In the case of Apinajé, at least two of those certainly do not apply, namely, criteria (d, e). As will be seen, relational prefixes, for instance, can certainly appear more than once in a word (section 3.1.2.4, example (63)). In addition, a relational prefix must necessarily co-occur...
with a person prefix in the context of a vowel-initial stem; and both relational and person prefixes are inflectional morphemes in Apinajé.

Dixon and Aikhenvald call attention to the fact that a phonological word – or, the word as defined by its phonological properties – in a given language, may or may not coincide with a grammatical word in the same language. Thus, a grammatical word may consist of more than one phonological word or, likewise, a phonological word may consist of more than one grammatical word. In the first case, they cite the example of Yimas (Foley 1991: 86, cited in Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002), in which compounds (grammatical words) are composed of more than one phonological word (the participating nouns), in that they bear individual primary stresses. As an illustration of the second case, they cite examples of one positional clitic in Dyirbal (p. 27-28).

In Apinajé, as will be seen, a grammatical word may comprise more than one phonological word. The grammatical and phonological criteria for the delimitation of the word in Apinajé are addressed next.

2.1. Phonological word

A phonological word is often one foot long and possibly two feet long. Stress is a necessary property of a phonological word. Segmental and prosodic criteria that help define the phonological word include those indicative of word initial and final boundaries, and word internal cohesion.

The flap lateralization phenomenon indicates the beginning of a phonological word (13). Certain sandhi rules applying exclusively across word boundaries, such as
glottal stop insertion between plosives and glide affricatization; and the pausal
phenomenon of echo vowel insertion, are indicative of final boundary (14). Aspiration
and voicelessness in the context of plosive consonants indicate word-internal cohesion,
for these phenomena occur exclusively at affix-root boundaries (15).

(13)  

(14) a. Na  kɔmɔ  ndikrɔjɛ  pañti  poj  kutep  ço  jnɬ.  

RLS still PN chief arrive wait do sit
‘Rosa is still waiting for the chief to arrive.’

b. Kį  ço  čet!  ['kij  o\tʃeɾ']  ‘Burn it at once!’

(15)  

Although it is typologically common for clitics to depend phonologically on a
host, it is not impossible for clitics to form phonological words on their own (cf.
Aikhenvald 2002: 58, 61). That is the case in Apinajé. As illustrated in (11), repeated
here for convenience, certain combinations of clitics may form phonological words. The
clitic sequence shown in the example constitutes a one-foot word. The plosive in the
unstressed syllable onset is realized as voiced, as in any other word.

(11)  

‘I got drunk yesterday’
2.2. Grammatical word

In Apinajé, a grammatical word must consist of at least one phonological word, but it can include more than one such unit. It may comprise one root (16.a), a combination of roots (16.b), a combination of root and affix (16.c), a combination of root and clitic (16.d), or a combination of root, affix and clitic (16.e) (roots are in bold). Both roots and clitics may bear stress, thus constituting separate phonological words within the same grammatical word (16.e).

(16) a. *ji* [j̱i] ‘Sit!’
b. *beŋ=čə* [mben'də] ‘bee’
   honey=wasp.sp

c. *am-čə* [am'də] ‘wasp (sp.)’
   ?=wasp

d. *pri=ti* [pri'ti] ‘frog (sp.)’
   frog=AUG

e. *pu=te=j-a-pje=ti* [pu.teja'pje'ti] ‘morissoca (insect, sp.)’
   fly=leg=RP-?-?-=AUG

Clitics that are phonologically autonomous must occur in specific slots in the syntactic context; in this sense, they are syntactically bound (details in section 3.2.2).

The Apinajé grammatical word can be identified according to some of the criteria listed in Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002:19-25). First, the grammatical word is internally cohesive, both formally, since its components constitute a bound unit; and semantically, because that unit conveys a conventionalized meaning. Secondly, the component
morphemes of a grammatical word in Apinajé follow a particular order, with word clitics always occupying the outermost final position in the word, thus indicating the word final boundary, and person prefixes appearing in first position, when applicable, thus indicating the word-initial boundary. Thirdly, speakers generally utter the word without interruptions or pauses, except in case of hesitations, clarifications or factors of this sort, which are part of natural speech in any language. Finally, the Apinajé grammatical word can constitute a complete utterance by itself.

2.3. Word-formation strategies
Mechanisms of word formation in Apinajé include affixation and compounding, and phonological strategies such as vowel alternation, reduplication, and suppletion. These are discussed in what follows.

2.3.1. Affixation
Prefixes are more numerous than suffixes in Apinajé. Affixes encode inflectional and derivational categories; they have no stress properties but may participate in segmental alternations.

Inflectional prefixes express the categories of person and constituency; whereas suffixes encode nonfiniteness and the participle (section 4.1). Relational prefixes (indices of constituency) are single consonants mostly of palatal quality (17.a). Nonfiniteness suffixes are coronal consonants (17.b).
Derivational prefixes express various middle-voice meanings. “Middle voice” is taken here in a broad sense; under this heading are grouped semantic nuances such as ‘impersonal’, ‘patientive’, and ‘middle’, in a strict sense. Middle prefixes may detransitivize the bases to which they attach ((18); section 4.2).

(18) \text{\textit{a}}-\text{\textit{k.n}} & & \text{‘round; spherical’} & & < \text{\textit{k.n}} & & \text{‘swell’} \\
\text{\textit{a}}-\text{\textit{gje}} & & \text{‘enter [PL.S]’} & & < \text{\textit{gje}} & & \text{‘place [PL.O] into deep recipient’} \\
\text{\textit{ap}}-\text{\textit{ku}} & & \text{‘eat }<\text{INTR}>\text{’} & & < \text{\textit{ku}} & & \text{‘eat }<\text{TR}>\text{’}

Formatives, the semantically empty morphs found recurrently in certain words, are prefixal (19).

(19) \text{\textit{uba}} & & \text{‘fear; be afraid’} & & < \text{\textit{ba}} & & \text{‘feel’} \\
\text{\textit{u\textit{re}}} & & \text{‘abandon’} & & < \text{\textit{re}} & & \text{‘leave behind’} \\
\text{\textit{uc\textit{i}}} & & \text{‘spell }<\text{N}>\text{’} \\
\text{\textit{um\textit{i}}} & & \text{‘smoke [meat]’}
2.3.2. Vowel alternation

Lexical counterparts are derived through vowel alternation. Although this is not a widespread morphological mechanism in Apinajé, some semantically related roots belonging to different lexical categories share all phonological characteristics but one vowel feature. In (20.a), the relevant feature is height; in (20.b) it is nasality.

(20) Noun Verb
a. go ‘water’ gɔ ‘wet O’
b. kago ‘juice’ kagõ ‘squeeze juice out of O’
   agɔ ‘tiririca seed’ agõ ‘take seeds out of [plant]’

As the examples show, the alternations result in word class change, a property common to derivational-type morphology. Although a decision about which root is the source of the derivation could be somewhat arbitrary in strictly phonological terms, the semantics of the resulting stems suggest that nouns are sources and verbs are derived.

2.3.3. Reduplication

Reduplication is a strategy frequently used in the formation of descriptive verb stems (3.1.2). Verbs derived in this way often refer to such concepts as colors, (onomatopoeic) sounds, iterative, repetitive or progressive events, and events that depict fragmentation, as
‘shatter’. Only a few instances have been found of reduplication verbs that are not
descriptive; these include krakra ‘shatter [TR]’ and kapreprek ‘spank’ (which is a
transitive classificatory verb of the ka-class; section 3.1.2.2).

As a phonological strategy, reduplication reproduces the first foot right-to-left of
the original stem. The fact that most closed syllables lose their coda under these
conditions suggests that the preferred phonological structure of the derived item is a
default iambic foot, that is (˘ ˘) (Hayes 1995: 62ff; 205).

(21) ( . x)³

ko.kot  ‘rest’
pē.pek  ‘drip repeatedly on the same spot’
tā̃.tāk  ‘hurt; ache’
ta.tak  ‘tap repeatedly upon 0’
rē.rēk  ‘soft; spoiled [viscous]’
ro.rok  ‘erode; collapse’
rə.rop  ‘yellow’
krit.krit  ‘make a sound’
pre.prek  ‘be fast; rush’ < prek ‘tall’
prō.prōt  ‘shiver; tremble’ < prōt ‘run’

Under the same conditions, the closed syllables of certain bases maintain their
coda, but are subject to resyllabification or to phonological processes that affect the
segments involved in the heterosyllabic consonant cluster (22).

³ Following Hayes (1995), the notation ( . x) stands for an iambic foot; that is, a unit consisting of two
syllables where prominence is placed on the last syllable in the sequence. The notation (x), seen below,
stands for a foot formed by a single syllable.
Fewer reduplicated forms may consist of all light syllables, always maintaining
the iambic structure.

Finally, reduplication verb stems may include classificatory formatives, such as

Under these conditions, the prefixes or enclitics are (re)parsed either into defective feet or
into canonical iambic feet, after they take inflectional prefixes (Hayes 1995: 113; (24)).

One important point to notice is that, in some cases, the base for reduplication
may not be found as a root elsewhere; in other words, some of these items, such as *rerer*
and tātōk, only occur in their reduplicated forms, in the database. Such cases suggest that reduplication in Apinajé is more a lexicalized result than a fully productive process.

Another point is that the semantic relationship between reduplicated stems and their respective bases may be completely obscure, as illustrated by the verb *preprek ‘be fast; rush’, based on the root *prek ‘tall’ (but see *kapreprek, section 3.1.2.2).

Although reduplication is more common in the formation of verbs, a few noun stems are also formed in this way. However, some of these stems may result from the conversion of reduplicated verbs into nouns (25.b), or are compounds that include reduplicated verbal stems (25.c).

(25) a. \[brəbrə\]
\[pōpō\]
‘dawn; sunset’
‘garça (bird, sp.)’

b. \[awrewrek\]
‘gully’

c. \[da=katōtōk^0\]
\[rain=snore\]
\[katkwa=rərə\]
\[sky=yellow\]
\[pō=rərek\]
\[cajá=soft\]
‘thunder’
‘rainbow’
‘cajazinho (plant, sp.)’

2.3.4. Conversion
Conversion\textsuperscript{4}, a change in the lexical category of a given lexeme without the use of overt morphology, is a common mechanism in the derivation of Noun-Verb counterparts, as well as transitive-intransitive-descriptive counterparts, among verbs; derivational morphology does not occur in this context. Illustrative examples are presented in (26-27).

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{lll}
\hline
\textbf{(26)} & \textbf{Noun} & \textbf{Verb} \\
\hline
\textit{ae} & ‘nest’ & \textit{ae} & ‘be.bushy’ \\
\textit{ok} & ‘genipapo (plant sp.)’ & \textit{ok} & ‘body-paint O’ \\
\textit{kə} & ‘body’ & \textit{kə} & ‘grow into adulthood’ \\
\textit{kabro} & ‘blood’ & \textit{kabro} & ‘menstruate’ \\
\textit{twəm} & ‘fat’ & \textit{twəm} & ‘be.fat’ \\
\textit{kre} & ‘hole’ & \textit{kre} & ‘plant O’ \\
\textit{kəkə} & ‘sound’ & \textit{kəkə} & ‘play [an instrument]’ \\
\textit{kagrə} & ‘heat’ & \textit{kagrə} & ‘be.hot’ \\
\textit{akr} & ‘ice’ & \textit{akr} & ‘be.cold’ \\
\textit{ire} & ‘slice; strip’ & \textit{ire} & ‘cut into slices’ \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\hline
\textbf{(27)} & \\
\hline
\textbf{a. Descriptive} & \textbf{Transitive} \\
\textit{tik} & ‘be.dirty’ & \textit{tik} & ‘make O dirty’ \\
\textit{pə} & ‘be. flat and wide’ & \textit{pə} & ‘wreck O; dent O’ \\
\textit{ae} & ‘be.bushy’ & \textit{ae} & ‘scare O off; send O away’ \\
\textit{kaprī} & ‘be.empty; skinny’ & \textit{kaprī} & ‘empty O’ \\
\textit{gra} & ‘be.dry’ & \textit{gra} & ‘roast O’ \\
\textit{kaprī} & ‘be.sad’ & \textit{kaprī} & ‘take pity on O; mourn O’ \\
\hline
\textbf{b. Intransitive} & \textbf{Transitive} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{4} The phenomenon described here as conversion is sometimes referred to in the literature as functional shift or as zero derivation. As Bauer (1988) points out, however, the term “zero derivation” is not felicitous because it would imply a contrast between a pair of word forms based on the presence versus the absence of some distinctive morphological element between its members, which is not true in cases like these. Thus, the “zero morph” analysis would be more suitable when describing a paradigmatic contrast.
2.3.5. Suppletion

Some postpositions display suppletive inflectional forms. The postposition *pe* ‘detrimental’, inflected for person in (28), is illustrative. A hypothesis for these suppletive forms is that, at an earlier historical stage, these postpositions must have taken the third person prefix *ku-*. Vowel harmony may have applied, affecting the quality of the prefix vowel, followed by deletion of the word final vowel. This hypothesis needs historical-comparative verification, however.

\[
\begin{array}{lcl}
\text{ic-}pe & \text{\textquoteleft from me'} \\
\text{a-}pe & \text{\textquoteleft from you'} \\
\text{kep} & \text{\textquoteleft from him'} \\
\end{array}
\]

A subset of verbs display different forms depending on the number of participants in the events they describe. I do not analyze these cases as suppletion; these are actually pairs of semantically related but distinct verb stems (section 3.1.2.3).

2.3.6. Compounding

A traditional debate about compounding is whether this is a strategy that belongs to the domain of syntax or to that of morphology (cf. e.g. Benveniste 1989 [1967; 1974]; Matthews 1993 [1974]; Bauer 1988). Authors that defend the syntax viewpoint (e.g.
Benveniste 1967) call attention to the fact that compounds display internal syntactic structuring, among other syntactic properties; whereas those that argue for the affiliation of compounds to the domain of morphology (e.g. Matthews 1993) point out that these complex elements name (rather than describe) entities, properties or events, and that they are learned as a single units, i.e. lexemes, by young speakers. The approach adopted here for the analysis of the Apinajé data is one which takes into consideration both views. I will seek to justify an analysis of compounds as morphologically complex lexical units by providing criteria that distinguish them from ordinary phrases, but I will also demonstrate the possible combinations of basic elements, and how these elements may form constituents within the compound itself.

Apinajé compounds consist of more than one putative phonological word, since they consist of more than one root. They also have an internal structural organization whereby the stress patterns of each putative phonological word must be combined, and thus constitute what I term here a phonological phrase. Compounds are phonological phrases that correspond to grammatical words. That they are words (not syntactic phrases) can be established on the grounds of internal cohesion and conventionalized meaning (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002: 19), as well as prosodic properties and certain phonological processes.

For the most part, Apinajé compounds are not characterized by any obvious stress shifts, as compared to grammatical phrase patterns. However, the phonological phrase that results from compounding displays a particular, cohesive intonation pattern, that comes accompanied by a rearrangement of the overall stress pattern of the word. It can
be described, in the terms of Hayes (1995), as an iambic stress pattern, parsed from right to left, with final prominence, foot construction being iterative. These phonological properties of compounds are illustrated below, after their structural properties have been introduced.

Compound stems are verbs and nouns. In terms of internal structure, these grammatical words may involve nominal, verbal and postpositional bases, as well as clitics.

**Noun-Noun Stems.** Compounds consisting exclusively of nominal elements may include two roots or more, in a structure reminiscent of genitive constructions (29). When more than two roots are involved, they are correspondingly distributed into constituents. Relational prefixes and other relevant bound morphemes may occur (29.b).

(29) a. \(i-p-ičo=krε\) 1-RP-buttocks=hole  
    ‘my anus’

\(a-krō-kī\) 2-head=hair  
    ‘your hair’

b. \(ka ūt=e=č-e\) lower.leg=RP-tie  
    ‘leg adornment’

\(ōkr e=č-e\) throat=RP-tie  
    ‘neck adornment’

c. \(kuče=ʔi\) gun=seed  
    ‘ammunition; bullet’

---

5 The occurrence of inflectional material is not a structural impediment in the analysis of compounds; it is not a typologically uncommon feature either, as may be noted from languages as diverse as Finnish, Icelandic, Turkish, and Portuguese (cf. e.g. Bauer 1988).
Noun-Clitic Stems. Clitics of degree – re ‘DIM’ and ti ‘AUG’ – are commonly found in compound nouns, where they may subcategorize the set of referents encoded by formally related words (30.a), or simply be a part of the stem (30.b).

(30)  

a.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Clitic</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agre</td>
<td>re</td>
<td>‘rabo-de-couro (armadillo, sp.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agre</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>‘zumbi (armadillo, sp.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jep</td>
<td>re</td>
<td>‘vampire bat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jep</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>‘herbivorous bat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Clitic</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tep=ra=pe</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘piabinha (fish, sp.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish=dim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tep=ka=ki</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘piabanha (fish, sp.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish=aug</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re=kr=kr=re</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘onça (jaguar, sp.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat=dotted=dim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tep=p=kr=ti</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘pacú (fish, sp.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish=flat.wide=dotted=aug</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Noun-Verb Stems. Compounds consisting of nominal and verbal elements usually include just two roots in a structure reminiscent of clausal predicates, with the nominal
element preceding the verbal one. Clitics of degree may occur, as usual. Some of the resulting stems are descriptive predicators (31).

(31) Descriptives

\[ abak=kr \]  ‘stubborn; disrespectful’
\[ ear=rotten \]
\[ ap\text{=}ri \]  ‘be in line’
\[ align.lumber=long \]
\[ k\text{=}kagr \]  ‘have a fever’
\[ body=hot \]
\[ kr\text{=}kat\text{=} \]  ‘wake up [SG.S]’
\[ head=come.out \]
\[ kr\text{=}apo\text{=} \]  ‘wake up [PL.S]’
\[ head=come.out.PL \]
\[ u ri=\text{c}\text{=} \]  ‘be in labor’
\[ belly=RP\text{-hurt} \]
\[ ukrar=kr\text{=} \]  ‘belch with offensive odor’
\[ belch=spoiled \]

Compound nouns also result from the noun-verb combination. Here, the verbal element involved is often a descriptive verb (32.a) or some nonfinite verb form (32.b).

(32) a. \[ kag\text{=}to=r\text{e} \]  ‘snake (sp)’
\[ snake=sticky=\text{DIM} \]
\[ karen=p\text{=} \]  ‘cannabis’
\[ smoking.leaf=flat.wide \]
Noun-Noun-Verb Stems. Compounds consisting of one verbal element and more than one nominal element may display distinct internal structuring. In (33.a), the phrase te japje ‘long leg’ characterizes pu ‘bug’, as does the augmentative clitic ti. In (33.b), krat kɔ ‘waist cover’ displays genitive organization, being modified by ri. The same overall stress rules apply regardless of internal structuring patterns, however.

(33) a. \[ pu=te=j-apje=ti \]  
\[ \text{bug}=\text{leg}=\text{RP}=\text{long}=\text{AUG} \]  
\[ [[pu \text{[te japje]} \text{[ti]}]] \]  
\[ [pu,tɛja,pζe’ti] \]  
\[ ‘\text{morissoca (insect, sp.)}’ \]

b. \[ krat=kɔ=ri \]  
\[ \text{waist}=\text{cover}=\text{long} \]  
\[ [[\text{krat } kɔ] \text{[ri]}] \]  
\[ [\text{krat},kɔ’ri] \]  
\[ ‘\text{pants}’ \]
**Noun-Postposition-Noun Stem.** Some compounds consist of a postpositional phrase-like construction which is subordinated to a nominal element. In this context, the group headed by the dative postposition indicates purpose.

(34) \[ d\dot{\varepsilon}=m\dot{\varepsilon}=k\breve{\alpha}\check{c} \]
\[ \text{eye}=\text{DAT}=\text{frame/jar} \]
\[ [[d\dot{\varepsilon} m\dot{\varepsilon}] k\breve{\alpha}\check{c}] \]
\[ [\text{\textquoteleft\textquoteright}d\dot{\varepsilon}m\dot{\varepsilon}k\breve{\alpha}\check{c}] \]

\[ ikra=m\dot{\varepsilon}=k\breve{\alpha}\check{c} \]
\[ \text{finger}=\text{DAT}=\text{frame} \]
\[ [[ikra m\dot{\varepsilon}] k\breve{\alpha}\check{c}] \]
\[ [i,\text{\textquoteleft\textquoteright}k\text{\textquoteleft\textquoteright}r\text{\textquoteleft\textquoteright}a\text{\textquoteleft\textquoteright}\text{\textquoteleft\textquoteright}m\dot{\varepsilon}k\breve{\alpha}\check{c}] \]

\textit{Verb-Postposition Stem.} Transitive verbs can result from compounding that involves a verb and a postposition, in a very peculiar construction: from a strictly distributional perspective, the verb is apparently subordinated to the postposition; however, the verb form is finite (35).

(35) \[ \check{\varepsilon}a=i\breve{s} \]
\[ \text{stand}=\text{LOC} \]
\[ [[\check{\varepsilon}a] 3] \]

\textquoteleft\textquoteright wait for O\textquoteleft\textquoteright (\?	extquoteleft\textquoteright)
3. Word classes

The present section is about the content and function words of Apinajé: how they categorize and how this categorization is expressed in structural terms, among other things. The discussion is organized in terms of lexical categories and grammatical categories. Lexical categories include nouns, verbs, postpositions and adverbials – mostly open classes (section 3.1). Grammatical categories are pronouns and clitics that encode various grammatical meanings – words that constitute closed classes (section 3.2).

3.1. Lexical categories

The categories Noun, Verb and Postposition share inflectional properties. The same set of person prefixes is employed in the expression of possession, grammatical relations, and postpositional objects. In rare instances, Nouns and Verbs may even display the same derivational morphology. The fluidity that exists among Nouns and Verbs is also noticeable in conversion, fairly common in the language. The similarities between each of these classes and Postpositions is indicative of the diachronic sources of postpositions. The same is partly true for adverbials, some of which may have verbal or nominal sources.

The morphological and semantic properties of the various lexical classes are introduced in what follows.
3.1.1. Nouns

3.1.1.1. Morphosyntactic classes

Nouns in Apinajé are categorized morphosyntactically into alienable, inalienable and ambivalent according to the grammatical pattern employed in the expression of possession. Possession and constituency are the inflectional categories pertinent to nouns.

*Inalienable Nouns.* One pattern used in the expression of possession is the prefixation of person markers directly to the noun stem. Person prefixes indicate the possessor and the stem refers to the possessum. This pattern defines the set of inalienable nouns. Semantically, this set mostly includes terms for part-whole relations, such as kinship and body parts. The examples in (36) are illustrative.

In (36.b), a relational prefix occurs between the person prefix and a vowel-initial stem; this morpheme indicates that possessor and possessed elements form a constituent. (36.c) shows that person prefixes are in complementary distribution with a possessor noun phrase. Notice that the relational prefix applies in this context as well (section 4.1.2).

(36) a.  

\[ a-kr\tilde{\alpha} \]

2-head  

\[ a-bjep \]

2-husband  

‘your head’

‘your husband’

b.  

\[ i-p\tilde{o}\mathcal{H} \]

1-RP-tongue  

‘my tongue’
Alienable Nouns. Another pattern used in the expression of possession involves the genitive postposition ꚬ, which immediately follows the possessor noun or takes a person prefix that refers to it.

\[(37)\]
\[
\text{a-} p- ꚬ \quad \text{mēō}
\]
\[
2\text{-RP-GEN} \quad \text{food}
\]

\[
\text{i-} p- ꚬ \quad \text{rēp}
\]
\[
1\text{-RP-GEN} \quad \text{dog}
\]

\[
\text{Irē} \ p- ꚬ \quad \text{prēn}
\]
\[
\text{N.} \quad \text{RP-GEN} \quad \text{pequi}
\]

The genitive postposition serves as a grammatical mediator between possessor and possessed element, and takes relational marking; notice that the complementary distribution between person prefixes and possessor noun phrases also holds in this context, that is, possessor noun phrases and person prefixes do not co-occur.

This morphosyntactic pattern defines the set of alienable nouns, which include terms for natural phenomena and elements, social roles and positions, among others.
Ambivalent Nouns. Some nouns may follow either of the two patterns just introduced – prefixation or the postpositional genitive construction. This property defines the set of ambivalent nouns, which include terms for work tools, utensils, cultural items, among others. The choice for one or the other morphosyntactic pattern seems to be determined by extralinguistic factors, such as whether the possessor is the same person who made the possessed referent; personal preference for a given referent, among others. Apparently, the closer the involvement or interest on the part of the possessor for the possessed item, the more likely it is for the inalienable pattern to be used (38.a); otherwise, the alienable pattern applies (38.b).

(38) a. ico-kawə
     1-basket

b. ın-ö kawə
     1-RP-GEN basket

3.1.1.2. Morpho-semantic classes

Nouns have in common with Verbs and, to a lesser extent, Postpositions, stems that include the formatives ö- and i-. Presumably, these formatives are historically derived from nominal elements; -i is a third person prefix of limited occurrence, elsewhere in the language (section 4.1.1). The formative i- appears in Verbs and Postpositions. The formative ö appears in Verbs but not Postpositions.
Ô-Noun Stems. The semantics of the formative ṏ refers to ‘inner side’, combining the senses found among Verbs and Nouns. In Nouns, the formative seems to have a more specific meaning, especially among inalienable, body part nouns. Body part nouns constitute the majority of nouns formed with ṏ; here the formative refers to the ‘inner side of the body’. Other related meanings occur with other nouns of this class, including compounds.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Inflected for 1st person:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṏkrē</td>
<td>i-panieskrē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṏkrō</td>
<td>i-panieskrō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṕōtō</td>
<td>i-paniesōtō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṕkrepoj</td>
<td>i-panieskrēpoj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṕkreče</td>
<td>i-panieskrēče</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṕkwē</td>
<td>i-panieskwē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I-Noun Stems. Stems with the formative i- are body part terms. This formative evolved from a third person prefix attached to a noun which eventually became reanalyzed as part of the noun stem. These are all inalienable nouns that take person and relational prefixes, as any member of the class.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Inflected for 1st person:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ibri=kə</td>
<td>i-paniesbri=kə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ide</td>
<td>i-paniesde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idwə</td>
<td>i-paniesdwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iju</td>
<td>i-paniesju</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.1.3. Compound Nouns

Compounding is a productive noun formation strategy (section 2.3.6). Compound noun stems necessarily involve noun roots; elements are organized either in a genitive construction-like structure or in a predicate-like structure. The augmentative and diminutive clitics occur word finally. Like all other nouns, they may be categorized as alienable, inalienable or ambivalent, depending on the preferred pattern of inflection (29-30).

3.1.1.4. Derived Nouns

Derivational morphology that creates deverbal nouns includes the phrasal clitics $c\varnothing$ ‘NMLZ.INSTR/LOC’ and $c\varnothingny$ ‘NMLZ.AG’; the latter is employed in relativization, as a nominalizer of the dependent clause. Nouns derived by these clitics may be based on nonfinite verb stems or on more complex structures, comparable to the compound stems introduced above.

The nominalizer of instrument or location $c\varnothing$ is used with transitive, intransitive, and descriptive verbs. The absolutive argument of the base verb may be expressed as the possessor of the resulting noun (41.a); bases beginning in a vowel must take the relational prefix.
The nominalizer čwəŋ applies to transitive and intransitive verbs. Nouns derived by it designate agents regardless of the valency of the base verb; the accusative argument of a transitive base is usually present, and the agent is typically understood as referential/definite. There may be incorporation of the base-verb object into the newly formed lexeme (42.b).

(42) a.  
\[ bri=\text{čwəŋ} \]  
\[ \text{hunt}=\text{NMLZ.AG} \]  
\[ \text{‘hunter’} \]

b.  
\[ kaw=\text{p-ipec}=\text{čwəŋ} \]  
\[ \text{basket}=\text{RP-make}=\text{NMLZ.AG} \]  
\[ \text{‘basket-weaver’} \]

The morpheme čwəŋ is also employed in nominalizations involving the genitive postposition ō. The clitic encodes what would be the possesum in this genitive-like construction (43).
In all above cases, primary word stress falls on the nominalizer.

One set of nouns includes prefixes that occur more productively in verbs, namely, the middle prefixes (*a-*, *aw-*, *am-*; see section 3.1.2.4). When attached to verbs, these prefixes typically result in detransitivization of the base. A similar result holds with nouns, in that the valency of the noun may also be reduced: inalienable nouns become alienable after the derivation (44.a). There is one instance in which the opposite is true, with the derivation departing from an alienable noun (44.b). Other cases involve the use of verbal roots as bases, a role that may be performed by transitive, intransitive or descriptive verbs (44.c-d). Sequences of morphemes belonging to the “middle inventory,” such as *aw-* and *am-*, apply to these verbal bases for noun derivation.

(44) a.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>a</em></td>
<td>‘vine; shrub (<em>AL</em>)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-<em>kro</em></td>
<td>‘vine; shrub (<em>INAL</em>)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>akre</em></td>
<td>‘hole (<em>AL</em>)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-<em>kre</em></td>
<td>‘orifice; hole (<em>INAL</em>)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>akuni</em></td>
<td>‘closed jungle (<em>AL</em>)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-<em>kuni</em></td>
<td>‘all (<em>INAL</em>)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-<em>ago</em></td>
<td>‘saliva; drool (<em>INAL</em>)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>go</em></td>
<td>‘water (<em>AL</em>)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c. *abak*  
  *ba*  
  ‘ear’  
  ‘hear; know; fear’ (TR)

  *agreri*  
  *grer*  
  ‘prayer’  
  ‘sing.NF’ (INTR)

d. *amgra*  
  *gra*  
  ‘drought; dry season’  
  ‘dry’ (DSCR)

  *awrewrek*  
  *rerek*  
  ‘gully’  
  ‘soft’ (DSCR)

Finally, the other derivational strategy commonly used in the formation of nouns is conversion, based either on finite or nonfinite verb forms ((26); section 2.3.4). Reduplication is employed as a marginal strategy in the formation of noun stems (25).

3.1.2. Verbs

*Apinajé* verbs inflect for person, constituency and nonfiniteness. Like Nouns, Verbs are grouped into classes according to the inflectional patterns they follow. Unlike Nouns, Verbs also form subclasses according to the formatives that constitute part of their stems. This subclassification may result in purely morphological verb classes or it may result in morpho-semantic verb classes, depending on the semantic value of the formatives involved. In addition, *Apinajé* presents pairs of verb stems that are complementary with respect to the category of number, among other semantic properties.
3.1.2.1. Morphosyntactic classes

Verbs fall into three major classes depending on the way they pattern for person inflection in main clauses. Bivalent and trivalent verbs inflect for person, with the person prefix encoding O. Some monovalent verbs inflect for person, with the prefix encoding S, while others do not inflect for person at all. Monovalent verbs belonging to the former set typically describe states; those belonging to the latter, activities and events. That is, the morphosyntactic split existing among monovalent verbs corresponds, by and large, to semantic classes as well.

The three major classes revealed by these inflectional patterns are those of transitive verbs (45.a), descriptive verbs (45.b) and intransitive verbs (45.c).^6

(45)  

a. \( p̣ \)

\( ic-p̣ \)  ‘kill’
\( a-p̣ \)  ‘kill me’
\( ku-p̣ \)  ‘kill you’

b. \( akṛ \)

\( i-j-akṛ \)  ‘I’m cold’
\( a-j-akṛ \)  ‘you are cold’

c. \( ča \)

\( *ic-ča \)
\( *a-ča \)
\( *ku-ča \)

‘stand’

---

^6 Throughout this dissertation I will use the term *descriptive verb* to refer to “stative intransitive” or “unaccusative” verbs; and the term *intransitive verb* to refer to “active intransitive” or “unergative” verbs. By doing so, I will be following the traditional terminology of the South American literature on Macro-Jê languages.
The split intransitivity that characterizes the verbal system in main clauses is neutralized in dependent clauses, where verbs take on a nonfinite form. Under these conditions, verbs belonging to the class of intransitives also take person inflection, thus following the same pattern as descriptives (46.a-c).

(46) a. \( \pi\-r \) 'kill.NF'
    \( ic\-\pi\-r \) 'kill.NF me'
    \( a\-\pi\-r \) 'kill.NF you'

b. \( akri \) 'cold.NF'
    \( i\-j\-akri \) 'I cold.NF'
    \( a\-j\-akri \) 'you cold.NF'

c. \( \text{\v{c}m} \) 'stand.NF'
    \( ic\-\text{\v{c}}\-\text{\v{c}m} \) 'I stand.NF'
    \( a\-\text{\v{c}}\-\text{\v{c}m} \) 'you stand.NF'

Details about occurrence restrictions on person markers in finite and nonfinite verb forms are given in section 4.1.

3.1.2.2. Morpho-semantic classes

Verb stems may also constitute morpho-semantic classes that correspond to the occurrence of formatives. Some formatives present fairly clear semantic content, while others are semantically empty. Recall that formatives are not any type of productive
derivational or inflectional morphology; instead, they are frozen forms that appear recurrently in lexical categories.

From a historical viewpoint, some formatives have evolved from third-person morphemes which have been reanalyzed as part of the stem; others must have evolved from nouns; while still others may have been derivational morphology at an earlier stage in the history of the language. These morpho-semantic verb classes and the formatives that motivate them are discussed next.

**Ka- Verb Stems.** The formative *ka*- appears in transitive and descriptive verb stems, with *ka*-transitives constituting the largest semantically transparent class in the database. To some extent, the formative *ka-* operates as an index of “classificatory stem,” in the sense that (transitive) verbs containing this formative always refer to physical contact or manipulation (47).

(47)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kañe</em></td>
<td>‘confine; dam; obstruct’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kañek</em></td>
<td>‘chop [wood]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kañö</em></td>
<td>‘wash [soft or granulated O]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kañuk</em></td>
<td>‘grind; pound’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kačör</em></td>
<td>‘pull out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kačö</em></td>
<td>‘tear; rip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kagö</em></td>
<td>‘make marks on O; write on O’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kagö</em></td>
<td>‘squeeze to extract liquid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>każe</em></td>
<td>‘capture with trap; entwine, entangle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kañor</em></td>
<td>‘sting; pierce’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kake</em></td>
<td>‘pinch’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is also possible to recognize certain independent verb roots in these stems, such as \(kje\) ‘drag; pull’, \(o\) ‘suck’, \(re\) ‘cross [e.g. a river]’, and \(preprek\) ‘fast’. While the meanings found in the overall set are already a good indication of the semantic value of the formative \(ka\)-, the meanings of the related roots support the analysis of ‘physical contact or manipulation’ (48).

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{kakj} & \text{‘taste O’} & \text{kakje} & \text{‘scratch with cutting instrument; mark with fine lines’} \\
\text{kakre} & \text{‘scratch with claws or nails’} & \text{kakw} & \text{‘dig; poke’} \\
\text{kakwr} & \text{‘minec’} & \text{ka\(\text{\(\hat{\text{o}}\)}\)} & \text{‘suck the juice out of a fruit’} \\
\text{kapa} & \text{‘extract; pull out’} & \text{kapi} & \text{‘pick; select; choose’} \\
\text{kap\(\text{\(\hat{i}\)}\)} & \text{‘spread; spill; throw away’} & \text{kap\(\text{\(\hat{\text{o}}\)}\)} & \text{‘sweep’} \\
\text{kapreprek} & \text{‘spank’} & \text{kare} & \text{‘hoe’} \\
\text{kar\(\text{\(\hat{o}\)}\)} & \text{‘soothe’} & \text{kat\(\text{\(\hat{i}\)}\)} & \text{‘cover’} \\
\text{kat\(\text{\(\hat{e}\)}\)} & \text{‘break into pieces; shatter’} & \text{katpr\(\text{\(\hat{e}\)}\)} & \text{‘fasten’} \\
\text{katw\(\text{\(\hat{o}\)}\)} & \text{‘pound’} & \text{ka\(\text{\(\hat{\text{r}}\)}\)} & \text{‘gather; harvest’} \\
\end{array}
\]
Transitive ka- stems constitute a morpho-semantic class. These verbs do not present any morphological or syntactic idiosyncrasies, behaving just like any other regular transitive verb.

In descriptive verbs, the formative ka- is less transparent semantically (49), even though it is easier to find independent roots related to these descriptives than to ka-transitives (50).

(49)  
ka‘i  ‘become thin [of hair]; fall [of long fibers]’  
kabrek  ‘be red’  
kabro  ‘menstruate’  
kaga  ‘refuse’  
kagr  ‘be hot; heat up’  
kapr  ‘be or become empty’  
kapri  ‘be sad; mourn’  
kar  ‘be blond’  
karôrôr  ‘snore [of pigs]’  
karot  ‘be frizzly; be tightly curled’  
kata  ‘exit; leave’  
katä  ‘be straight’  
katkri  ‘be light [of weight]’

(50)  
>i  ‘be skinny’  
>ri  ‘be thinning [of hair]’  
gr  ‘bake; roast’  
ka>ri  ‘be hot’  
r>ri  ‘be yellow’  
kar  ‘be blond’  
pr>i  ‘remain; stay behind’  
kapri  ‘be empty’

One observation about the set in (49) is that it includes a number of “hair-related” terms. It also seems, on the basis of the semantic content of the roots listed above, that ka- operates as an overt index of state or change-of-state in these cases. This hypothesis
seems to apply beyond kagro ‘be(come) hot’, kaṙ ‘be(come) thin’, and kapri ‘be(come) sad’ (which could possibly be explained in metaphorical terms: ka- ‘become’ + prī ‘short’), since some of these verbs already indicate state, as is the case with karro ‘be blond’. In the case of kapro, it seems it could relate to prro in the following way: prro focuses on the thing that has been left behind after everything else was gone, whereas kapro focuses on the space left after everything else has gone (for vowel alternations in Apinajé see section 2.3.2). This is just a speculation, however; more systematic evidence must be sought in historical-comparative analyses.

Members of the descriptive ka- class constitute more of a morphological than a semantic class, in that they share the same formative ka- with transitives but with no transparent semantic value in common. In any case, ka-descriptives do not display any morphological idiosyncrasies.

Because of the remaining semantic content of the formative ka-, I would hypothesize that this formative must have evolved from a derivational morpheme.

U- Verb Stems. The class of verb stems taking the stem-initial formative u- may be divided into two subclasses on the basis of the relational prefix that they take, which may be either p- or c- (see section 4.1.2).
The first subclass to be examined is that taking the prefix \( p- \). For certain members of this subclass, the formative \( u- \) displays its phonological variant \( i \), which occurs in the context of the relational prefix (52.a). A second set takes the vowel \( o \) in non-relational prefix contexts, while maintaining the \( u- \) intact with the prefix \( p- \) (52.b).

(52) a.  
ude \( p-\tilde{i}-de \) \( \text{‘capture; seize; imprison’} \)  
uba \( p-\tilde{i}-ba \) \( \text{‘fear’} \)  
ur\( \tilde{\iota}k \) \( p-\tilde{i}-\iota\kappa \) \( \text{‘act like } \varnothing \text{; behave as } \varnothing \text{’} \)  
\( \tilde{\iota}l \) \( p-\tilde{i}-\tilde{\iota}l \) \( \text{‘help; assist’} \)  
\( \tilde{\iota}\tilde{\iota} \) \( p-\tilde{i}-\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\iota} \) \( \text{‘heavy’} \)  

b.  
\( \tilde{\iota}n\tilde{\iota}u\tilde{j} \) \( p-u-\tilde{\iota}u\tilde{j} \) \( \text{‘bad; ugly’} \)  
\( \tilde{\iota}\tilde{b}u \) \( p-u-bu \) \( \text{‘see’} \)  

Base roots present in some of the preceding stems are identifiable; these include \( de \) ‘take from’, \( ba \) ‘be scared’, \( duj \) ‘bad’. The semantic trait that unites these forms is unclear, especially because the base roots have meanings very similar to the derived ones. One property that is more systematic, which is actually a morphosyntactic one, is the tendency for these verbs to employ noncanonical argument marking (for patterns and details see section \( \text{IV.3} \)). That is true of the verbs \( ude, uba, ur\tilde{\iota}k, \) and \( \tilde{\iota}l \), in (52). Two of
the remaining verbs are descriptives, and one is a canonical transitive. Thus, this set of \( u- \) verbs constitutes more of a morphosyntactic than a semantic class.

The second subset of \( u- \) verbs takes the palatal relational prefix \( č- \) (53). In example (53.b), an anomalous alternation is noted for both the relational prefix and the formative \( u- \) itself: the formative is nasalized, and the relational prefix is the palatal nasal \( /č/ \). Verbs belonging in this class are transitives and descriptives; among them, \( ūre \) requires non-canonical argument-marking.

(53) a. \( ujwə \)  
\( ukapi \)  
\( ukrarkrə \)  
\( umčə \)  
\( umi \)  
\( upəm \)  
\( uprərə \)  
\( uwapo \)  

\( č-ujwə \)  
\( č-ukapi \)  
\( č-ukrarkrə \)  
\( č-umčə \)  
\( č-umi \)  
\( č-upəm \)  
\( č-uprərə \)  
\( č-uwapo \)  

‘place [pl] O right-side up on flat surface’  
‘choose; select; meet for the first time’  
‘belch’  
‘hold with the arms; embrace’  
‘bury with hot stones so as to bake’  
‘deep’  
‘stubborn; uptight’  
‘serene; placid’

b. \( ūre \)  
\( ūre \)  

‘cease consideration of O; terminate an association with O’

This second subclass of \( u- \) verbs gives no better clues to its semantic ties than the first one. Only two separable roots have been identified for this set, namely, \( prər \) ‘provoke; tease; annoy’ and \( re \) ‘abandon; depart’. Based on the first root, \( prər \), one hypothesis would be that \( u- \) has a detransitivizing function, with a focus on the agent, and
that it must have evolved historically from a derivational morpheme. However, more synchronic and historical data would be necessary to refine and sustain this hypothesis.

From a historical perspective, there must have been two different sources for the present-day formative $u$-, and the different choices for relational prefixes reflect that. Another possibility is, conversely, that the present-day prefix $p$- evolved historically from a distinct source and became reanalyzed and standardized into one of the relational markers, while the formative $u$- was one and the same in either context. The fact that not all $u$- initial stems may take $p$- could be explained if the historical source of this pseudo-relational prefix $p$- had been a derivational morpheme, in which case it would have been semi-productive, as is typical of derivational morphology.

**Ku- Verb Stems.** Ku- verbs constitute a morphological class only, since the semantics that unites verbs in this set is opaque. In general, though, the semantics characteristic of the ku- verb set seems to focus on movement or direct contact against a surface. For instance, in order to wash a firm object, such as a table or one’s body, one might think of rubbing a brush or soap against the surface of that object; in the seemingly more problematic case of $kukwə$ ‘break hard-shelled nuts’, as compared with $kakwə$ ‘dig; poke’, the action again affects the surface of the item being broken, and so on. Ku- verbs are mostly transitives (although there are a few exceptions), and they do not display any structural idiosyncrasies.
The examples in (55) show some ku- stems compared with other, semantically related classificatory stems of the ka- class.

(55)  

\( ku \text{"}\)  ‘stand [pl.S]’  \( ka \text{"}\)  ‘cat’
\( ku \text{"}\)  ‘bathe O’  \( ka \text{"}\)  ‘tear; rip’
\( ku \text{"}\)  ‘wash firm O’  \( ka \text{"}\)  ‘make marks’
\( ku \text{"}\)  ‘peel’  \( ka \text{"}\)  ‘pinch’
\( ku \text{"}\)  ‘roast [small food items, e.g. little fish]’  \( ka \text{"}\)  ‘dig; poke’
\( ku \text{"}\)  ‘burn hair or skin [of game]’
\( ku \text{"}\)  ‘remove scales or skin [from fish/game]’
\( ku \text{"}\)  ‘break into pieces’
\( ku \text{"}\)  ‘inquire’
\( ku \text{"}\)  ‘rub some substance on a surface; massage’
\( ku \text{"}\)  ‘break hard-shelled nuts [e.g. coconut, babaçu, etc.]’
\( ku \text{"}\)  ‘make a mistake; miss [a target]’
\( ku \text{"}\)  ‘touch; mess with’
\( ku \text{"}\)  ‘wrap; involve [usu. inanimate] O in leaves, cloth, or paper’
\( ku \text{"}\)  ‘beat; punch; break’
\( ku \text{"}\)  ‘deny; renegate’
\( ku \text{"}\)  ‘be sexually aroused; horny’
\( ku \text{"}\)  ‘murky; dirty’
\( ku \text{"}\)  ‘being left behind; stand and wait’

The fact that there are ka- counterparts to some ku- verbs is worthy of notice, as it gives us some indication of the semantics of the class. A hypothesis about the formative ku- is that it may have started out as the third person prefix (section 4.1.1), which
eventually got reanalysed as part of the stem. If that is true, then the semantic value of the *ku-* stems would be the same as the very root that served as a base, whereas the *ka-* stem would change based on the addition of the meaning of *ka-* as a derivational morpheme.

**I- Verb Stems.** Verb stems belonging to this class do not display much semantic transparency. Base roots identified for these stems are gṛgṛā ‘be green (reduplicated)’ and tač ‘be hard; robust’. Verbs of the *i-* class include mostly descriptives and transitives, such that there is a preference for absolutive person marking on stems from this set.

Like the *ku-* formative discussed above, it is possible that the *i-* observed in these verbs may have started out as a third person prefix which became reanalyzed as part of the stem. Additionally, as with the ř- formative described above, this morphological pattern is also observable in a large number of nominal stems.

(56)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ibexč</td>
<td>‘exterminate; kill [PL] O’ [TR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igš</td>
<td>‘push [O]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igrš</td>
<td>‘sprout from a branch’ [DSCR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igrōt</td>
<td>‘sprout from the ground’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>išajč</td>
<td>‘be strong’ [DSCR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikri</td>
<td>‘be curly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikwī</td>
<td>‘lie flat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipecč</td>
<td>‘make O’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\( \text{ipr} \text{r} \)  
‘cut 0 in strands or chunks [of meat]’

\( \text{ir} \text{r} \)  
‘watch from above’ [see ‘shore; bank’]

\( \text{ir} \text{r} \)  
‘be weak; exhausted; fatigued’

\( \text{Ô} \) - Verb Stems.  \( \text{Ô} \)-verbs constitute a fairly transparent semantic class. The morpheme \( \text{ô} \)-refers to the inner side of the body, as may be seen in most examples of the set (57). The meaning of this classificatory morpheme becomes most obvious when it occurs with nouns, which form a much larger \( \text{ô} \)-class than verbs. These verbs, as well as the nouns, take the relational prefix \( \text{jo} \)-. Of the verbs below, the first three are descriptive; the fourth is a transitive, and the last is an intransitive.

\[
(57) \quad \begin{align*}
\text{ôc\text{wa}} & \quad \text{‘be sleepy’} \\
\text{ôja\text{i\text{r}i}} & \quad \text{‘vomit’} \\
\text{ôpatpat} & \quad \text{‘feel nauseous’} \\
\text{ôpok} & \quad \text{‘gut 0; rip 0’} \\
\text{ôpt\text{e\text{r}}} & \quad \text{‘tumble, roll end over end; throw oneself into water or on ground’}
\end{align*}
\]

\( \text{Pia} \) - Verb Stems.  \( \text{Pia} \)-verbs also have to do with the body, and make more sense if \( \text{pia} \)-is thought of as a nominal component. Of the base roots occurring with these verbs, at least two are clearly identifiable: \( o \) ‘suck’ and \( \text{gri} \) ‘be small’. It is possible that \( \text{em} \) is a nonfinite form of such a movement verb as ‘enter’ (in which case the meaning
‘embarrassed’ would call for a metaphorical interpretation), except that in that case, one would expect the relational prefix č-, which does not occur.

Piagri ‘give birth’ is coherent with the semantic analysis pia+gri ‘body/womb+be small’ (which is definitely the case as one gives birth!); this analysis is supported by the morphological pattern for person inflection as well as the classification of the verb as a descriptive. Piao is also coherent in both semantic and morphosyntactic terms: pia+o ‘body+suck’, from the perspective of the child, should not require person marking on the stem, since the body belongs to the mother. Accordingly, piao is an intransitive verb (section 3.1.2.1).

\[
\begin{align*}
(58) & \quad \text{piao} & \quad 'nurse (on mother’s breast)’ & < \text{lo} \ ‘drink; suck’ \\
& \quad \text{piagri} & \quad 'give birth’ & < \text{gri} \ ‘be small’ \\
& \quad \text{pia} \text{o} & \quad 'be shy/embarrassed’ & < \text{om} \ ‘stand.NF’ (?)
\end{align*}
\]

**Krş** Verb Stems. Krş-verbs also include a nominal component. The morpheme krş, which may mean ‘head’, also encodes the more general notions of ‘spherical object; nugget; chunk’. The verb stems in which it occurs, below, are verbs of cutting which imply that a chunk falls off in the process. Krş-verbs form a semantic class and display no idiosyncratic behavior.

\[
\begin{align*}
(59) & \quad \text{krş} \text{a} \text{r} & \quad 'cut; trim [of hair]’ & < \text{ri} \ ‘cut’ \\
& \quad \text{krş} \text{i} \text{a} & \quad 'cut off; chop off” & < \text{ta} \ ‘cut’
\end{align*}
\]
Verb stems belonging to this class seem more like instances of noun incorporation, since \textit{kr} is a full-fledged noun of Apinajé. And if this hypothesis is correct, it would suit \textit{d}- verbs and \textit{pia-} verbs equally well; however, there are no occurrences of \textit{d} and \textit{pia} as regular noun roots in the database.

The next possibility, then, is that \textit{d-} and \textit{pia-} verbs must have evolved \textit{historically} from a noun-incorporation structure, with the incorporated noun later becoming reanalyzed as a frozen part of the stem (and disappearing from the language, elsewhere). One problem with this hypothesis is that no traits of relational prefixes can be observed in \textit{d-}, \textit{pia-} and \textit{kr-} stems whose roots begin in a vowel. Relational prefixes would certainly occur in this context, if noun incorporation had in fact applied.

3.1.2.3. Lexical pairs

\textit{Plural Stems vs. NonPlural Stems}. Apinajé displays verb pairs which encode basically the same semantics, but contrast in the number of the absolutive argument. The contrast seems to lie in a distinction between plural, on the one hand, and singular, dual, or mass absolutes (termed here “non-plural”), on the other. Both bivalent verbs and monovalent verbs may have such pairs; in the case of monovalents, each member of the pair may come from a distinct class – intransitive and descriptive. Most such monovalent verb
pairs consist of movement and position verbs (60). Transitive verb pairs include a broader range of meanings, from position manipulation to ingestion, to killing (61).

(60) a. Descriptives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PL</th>
<th>NON-PL</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ku’ē</td>
<td>čā</td>
<td>‘stand in vertical position’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikwī</td>
<td>nō</td>
<td>‘lie in flat, horizontal position.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krī</td>
<td>πī</td>
<td>‘sit; be seated’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apoj</td>
<td>katō</td>
<td>‘leave; exit’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Intransitives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PL</th>
<th>NON-PL</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agje</td>
<td>acē</td>
<td>‘enter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bra</td>
<td>ūē</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bra</td>
<td>mō</td>
<td>‘go (wandering)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(61) Transitives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PL</th>
<th>NON-PL</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gje</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>‘place O into a deep container; help oneself to food’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rē</td>
<td>mē</td>
<td>‘throw O; help oneself to food’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ujwə</td>
<td>ōm</td>
<td>‘place [concave] O right-side up on a flat surface’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acwə</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>‘place [non-concave] O flat; place [concave] O upside down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku</td>
<td>krē</td>
<td>‘eat’ [diversified O vs. unitary O] [eat vs. swallow]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>îhec’</td>
<td>pī</td>
<td>‘kill; exterminate’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The pair *ku/krē* encodes an interesting distinction: here, the contrast is not so much in quantity, but whether the absolutive argument consumes a diversified meal, consisting of servings of different foods (*ku*); or whether the participant ingests food of a single kind, regardless of the quantity or number (*krē*). Additionally, there is an independent distinction between these two stems, with the possibility of *krē* indicating a more perfective action, ‘swallow’, in some contexts, whereas *ku* is unmarked for that distinction.

The items *tē/mō* contrast with *bra* in terms of absolutive number: *bra* typically refers to a large number of persons walking together, wandering. On the other hand, *tē* ‘go’ and *mō* ‘go (wandering)’ also contrast, the former indicating straightforward displacement, and the latter indicating a more slow-paced, maybe wandering, motion. Both *tē* and *mō* may occur in the non-singular, the number category then being indicated by the particles *wa* and *me* (section 3.2.2.5). However, the stem *bra* seems less flexible in this respect: apparently, it refers necessarily to a collective band.

### 3.1.2.4. Derived verbs

**Intransitive a(c)- Verb Stems.** The inventory of Apinajé intransitive verbs includes a large number of stems beginning with the vowel *a*- , usually with a following consonant, as in *at-, aɔ-, ap-*, or glide, as in the sequence *aw-*, which consists of the detransitivizing morpheme *a*- plus the formative *u*- (section 3.1.2.2). For convenience, I refer to these
collectively as “middle prefixes” (see section 2.3.1). These are often prefixed to
transitive verb stems, although they may occasionally appear in descriptive stems, as will
be seen. The prefixed forms vary slightly, but their distribution is not phonologically
determined, as different prefixes may occur in the same environments. Instead, the
differences in shape indicate distinct meanings, despite the fact that all of them derive
intransitive stems.

Verbs derived with $a$- create anticausative counterparts to their simple transitive
causative stems. Verbs derived with $at$- encode middle voice; and verbs derived with $a?,-
ap-,$ and $a-w-$, have either generic or impersonal patient semantics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(62)</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$a$-$gje$</td>
<td>‘go [pl] in’</td>
<td>$gje$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$at$-$kačo$</td>
<td>‘tear; rip’</td>
<td>$kačo$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$at$-$kapī$</td>
<td>‘pour; drip; spill’</td>
<td>$kapī$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$at$-$katε$</td>
<td>‘shatter; break into pieces’</td>
<td>$katε$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$at$-$kukē$</td>
<td>‘break into pieces’</td>
<td>$kukē$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$at$-$kwir$</td>
<td>‘break [limb]’</td>
<td>$kwir$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$at$-$kje$</td>
<td>‘separate; go apart; divide’</td>
<td>$kje$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$at$-$pō$</td>
<td>‘get intoxicated’</td>
<td>$pō$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$a?$-$kapi$</td>
<td>‘browse’</td>
<td>$kapi$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ap$-$ku$</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
<td>$ku$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$aw$-$j$-$ačo$</td>
<td>‘sow; plant’</td>
<td>$ačo$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$aw$-$j$-$ako$</td>
<td>‘smoke’</td>
<td>$ako$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$aw$-$j$-$apro$</td>
<td>‘go shopping’</td>
<td>$apro$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$aw$-$j$-$arē$</td>
<td>‘tell tales’</td>
<td>$arē$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The segment sequence *aw*- seems to consist of two morphemes, which becomes obvious in the nonfinite forms of verbs (section 4.3.1) in which they occur: in such cases, the detransitivizing prefix *a*- is removed, the morph *u*- is retained and the stem then requires the relational prefix *c*- (63).

(63) Finite  
\[aw\text{-}jač\]  ‘sow; plant’  
\[aw\text{-}ja\]  ‘smoke’  
\[aw\text{-}ja\text{-}apro\]  ‘go shopping’  
\[aw\text{-}ja\text{-}arē\]  ‘tell tales’  
Nonfinite  
\[č\text{-}u\text{-}jač\]  ‘sow; plant’  
\[č\text{-}u\text{-}ja\]  ‘smoke’  
\[č\text{-}u\text{-}ja\text{-}apro\]  ‘go shopping’  
\[č\text{-}u\text{-}ja\text{-}arē\]  ‘tell tales’

This two-morpheme analysis seems more appropriate as a historical hypothesis, however, with the nonfinite stem being actually a suppletive form, since it is not possible to specify what the semantic value or morphosyntactic function of *u*- would be, synchronically. Notice that it does not even display the same morphological behavior as that of stems beginning with the formative *u*- (section 3.1.2.2).

While it is true that the sequence *aw*- occurs mostly with transitive stems beginning in /a/, its distribution is not so limited. *Aw*- also appears on two consonant-initial bases: the descriptive stems *kagː* ‘be hot’ and *ri* ‘be long’. The other descriptive stem with which *aw*- occurs is *akri* ‘cold’. The semantics of *aw*- in these forms appears to conform to that observed in transitive stems, i.e. the patient — here the sole argument — takes generic or impersonal semantics. If, on the one hand, each morpheme *a*- and *u*- has its own particular function, on the other, they must occur in combination in order to
convey the meaning observed in the examples, the nonfinite formal changes notwithstanding.

(64) Intransitives: Finite forms | Descriptives: Finite forms

| aw-j-akri | ‘cool down [of weather]’ | akri | ‘cold’ |
| aw-kagř | ‘warm up [of weather]’ | kagř | ‘hot’ |
| aw-ri | ‘far’ | ri | ‘long’ |

Certain intransitive stems beginning in a- do not have a transitive or descriptive counterpart. However, in nonfinite forms, a- is replaced with pi-, which makes a-segmentable and comparable to the forms introduced in (62-64). Some of these verbs may undergo vowel deletion and resyllabification in their nonfinite form (see section 4.1.3. for further details).

(65) Intransitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finite</th>
<th>Nonfinite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-kuj</td>
<td>pi-kuj-ř</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-kuprø</td>
<td>pi-kuprø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-kudř[k]</td>
<td>pi-kudř</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-nipa</td>
<td>pi-nipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-pø</td>
<td>pi-pø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-mti</td>
<td>pi-mti-ř</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-mucu</td>
<td>pi-mucu-ř</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Other intransitives that also lack a descriptive or transitive counterpart are verbs whose nonfinite forms retain the marker $a$-, instead of substituting for $pi$-. Deletion and resyllabification may apply here as well.

(66) Intransitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finite</th>
<th>Nonfinite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$ape$</td>
<td>$j-ape\breve{n}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ape\breve{c}$</td>
<td>$j-ape\breve{c}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$am\breve{\text{\v{r}}a}$</td>
<td>$j-am\breve{\text{\v{r}}}a$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Descriptive $a(c)$- Verb Stems. Besides intransitives, some descriptive verbs also take the prefix $a$-. Their counterparts include intransitives and noncanonical monovalent verbs (section IV.2.3). One of the examples appears to have a noun root as its counterpart; in another example the shape of the prefix is $\sigma$-, not $a$-, and the counterpart is a denominal transitive verb.

(67) Descriptive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Counterparts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$aba$ ‘feel; ponder; meditate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ak\breve{r}i$ ‘be [physically] cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$apo\breve{j}$ ‘leave; depart [PL.S]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$apo\breve{\sigma}$ ‘align lumber together’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ap\breve{\omega}ri$ ‘be in line’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\breve{\omega}kre$ ‘plant; sow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$m\breve{\sigma}ba$ ‘fear &lt;V&gt;’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$m\breve{\sigma}kri$ ‘feel cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$poj$ ‘arrive [PL.S]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$p\breve{\omega}$ ‘forest; the woods’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ri$ ‘long’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$kre$ ‘plant 0’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One a- descriptive does not have a base stem as a counterpart, as is the case with the intransitives presented in (68).

(68)  akēč  ‘spin’  ḋakēč  ‘spin O’

Transitive a(C)- Verb Stems. A few instances of transitives with the prefix a- seem to occur in the database. It is possible that these derived transitives have nominal roots as a base.

(69) Transitive Noun
     akrē  ‘pass straight by s.o.’ kře  ‘hole’
     ak∅  ‘cut’ k∅  ‘skin; bark’ <?>

Intransitive i(C)- Verb Stems. A small set of intransitive verbs takes the marker i(C)-, which is segmentable on the basis of the nonfinite forms of these verbs. A possible counterpart for one of these verbs is the noncanonical monovalent predicator m∅ko ‘be thirsty’, for itkō.
Intransitive Counterpart
Finite Nonfinite

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Nonfinite</th>
<th>Counterpart</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>itkō</td>
<td>kōm</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itkwə</td>
<td>kwər</td>
<td>‘defecate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itpe</td>
<td>pek</td>
<td>‘fart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iʔtu</td>
<td>tur</td>
<td>‘urinate’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Resultative verbs. Resultative verbs are a subset of descriptives which derive from the nonfinite form of certain transitive verbs. Although nonfinite forms are productive, it seems that only some of these serve as bases for resultatives. In addition, morphology that would otherwise apply to specific formal classes of intransitives may occur in verbs outside that membership, for the purpose of resultative-verb formation (72).

In the examples below, (71.a) illustrates nonfinite formation with the consonant suffix, and (71.b) shows the replacement of aC- with pi-, along with suffixation. (71.c) is an instance of deletion, also common in nonfinite formation, althoughmorphs that delete elsewhere are either aC-, iC-, or the first segment of verbs, and never a syllable of like /kat/. (71.d) is an instance of nonfinite formation with no change in the base.

In (72), on the other hand, the prefix pi- applies to verbs that do not begin in aC-, an uncommon fact elsewhere. One more anomaly, in comparing resultatives with other instances of nonfinite forms, is that a word-final -i attaches to some forms (71.a); this does not happen elsewhere.

---

7 The pattern of argument marking for this monovalent predicator is S-mᵢ₃ko. See section IV.3.3.2.
(71) Resultative Counterpart (nonfinite)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(71)</th>
<th>Descriptive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td><em>ak rê</em> <code>trimmed</code></td>
<td><em>ak</em> <code>cut O; trim O</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kapô</em> <code>swept</code></td>
<td><em>kapô</em> <code>sweep O</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ire-ri</em> <code>sliced; cut</code></td>
<td><em>ire</em> <code>cut soft O</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td><em>pî-qr-ri</em> <code>scattered</code></td>
<td><em>aj-qr</em> <code>scatter</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pi-kuke-ri</em> <code>broken</code></td>
<td><em>at-kuke</em> <code>break O into pieces</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pi-kwe-ri</em> <code>broken</code></td>
<td><em>at-kwe</em> <code>break [a limb or extension]</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td><em>pre</em> <code>tied up</code></td>
<td><em>kat-pre</em> <code>tie O; fasten O</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td><em>jae</em> <code>bushy</code></td>
<td><em>jae</em> <code>scare O off; send O away</code></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(72) Resultative Counterpart (nonfinite)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(72)</th>
<th>Descriptive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pi-kaqek</em> <code>torn</code></td>
<td><em>kaqek</em> <code>break O into large pieces; chop [wood]</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pi-kac-ri</em> <code>torn</code></td>
<td><em>kaço</em> <code>tear O; rip O</code></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Causative verbs.* Some descriptive and intransitive verb stems may be used as transitives with causative semantics, with no overt marking in the verb to indicate the alternation.

(73) Descriptive Transitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(73)</th>
<th>Descriptive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tîk</em> <code>be dirty</code></td>
<td><em>tîk</em> <code>make O dirty</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pɔ</em> <code>be flat</code></td>
<td><em>pɔ</em> <code>wreck O; dent O</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ae</em> <code>be bushy (of hair)</code></td>
<td><em>ae</em> <code>scare O off; send O away</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kapři</em> <code>be empty; skinny</code></td>
<td><em>kapři</em> <code>empty O</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>mdu</em> <code>go bad; get spoiled</code></td>
<td><em>mdu</em> <code>spoil O</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grə</td>
<td>‘be dry’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grə</td>
<td>‘roast [farinha] on a flat surface’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəkə</td>
<td>‘make a sound’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəkə</td>
<td>‘play [an instrument]’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Intransitive  Transitive  
| ačə         | ‘enter’ |
| ačə         | ‘put on [clothes]; bring 0 in’ |

Labile verb. The difference between causative verbs and labile verbs is that in the case of the latter, the participant that is affected is still the same. The example in (74) is the one instance in the database where the subject is an experiencer in both uses of the verb.

(74)  Descriptive  Transitive  

| kaprī       | ‘be sad’ |
| kaprī       | ‘take pity on 0; mourn 0’ |

Denominal Verb Stems. Nouns can serve as bases for the creation of transitive, intransitive, and descriptive verb stems. Common strategies for denominal verb formation are conversion, vowel alternation, and prefixation of a- (see section 2.3).

Compound Verb Stems. Descriptive and transitive verbs may be compound stems consisting of combinations of a verbal root and a nominal root, or a verbal root and a locative postposition (section 2.3).
Reduplication Verb Stems. Reduplication is frequently employed in the creation of descriptives (details in section 2.3).

3.1.3. Postpositions

Postpositions constitute a (rather large) closed class in Apinajé. Postpositions occur postposed to their object noun phrase or, in the absence of an overt dependent noun phrase, they inflect for person in the same way as Verbs and Nouns. The set of person prefixes used is the same for all three lexical categories, as is the complementary distribution between prefixes and noun phrases.

The fact that Postposition is viewed here as a lexical category might seem at odds with the fact that postpositions are function words. However, even though a clear set of standard postpositions (monosyllabic, high frequency of use, with more grammatical than lexical meaning) does exist in the language, other members of this category seem more like postpositions-in-the-making, evolving from a class of nouns that I will term here “relator nouns.” For that reason, it is almost inaccurate to speak of postpositions in Apinajé as constituting a closed class; perhaps this might be best described as a “halfway open” class.

Relator nouns are lexemes whose semantics extend metaphorically into grammatical meanings related to space orientation and position. Typically, relator nouns are body part terms, or part-whole terms which pattern as inalienable nouns in languages that make this distinction (DeLancey 1997). This kind of diachronic development is
fairly common crosslinguistically. In Apinajé, it is possible to observe, at the synchronic level, hints of the grammaticalization of some nouns into postpositions, as will be seen.

Although there seems to exist a tendency for postpositions to evolve from nouns in Apinajé, there is at least one instance of a postposition having a verb as its diachronic source. That is the case of the instrumental postposition *o* and the verb *o* ‘do’ (Oliveira 1998).

The set of grammatical postpositions and some selected relator nouns are introduced in what follows.

Fully grammaticalized postpositions of Apinajé include the genitive *ô*, dative *mô*, detrimentive *pe*, instrumental *ô*, associative *mê*, locatives *tar* and *â*, inessive *kamô*, allative *wôr*, ablative *rum*, positionals *kot* ‘after; behind’ and *itep* ‘near’, and similitive *açôwôj*. Morphologically complex stems are *kamô*, *itep*, and *açôwôj*, which include the formatives *ka-, i-*, and *a-*, respectively. The genitive postposition *ô* has the same shape as the formative *ô-* ‘inner side; core’ found in nouns and verbs.

*Genitive ô.* The genitive marker *ô* behaves very much like other postpositions of Apinajé.
Traditionally, the marker of alienable possession \( \partial \) has been analyzed in many Jê languages as the noun for ‘thing’ (cf. e.g. Ribeiro (2004) and references therein). Even though this may be true from a diachronic point of view, evidence indicates that synchronically this is not the case in Apinajé. This morpheme \( \partial \) – not to be confused with the indefinite article \( \partial \) – is limited in distribution to genitive constructions: it does not occur anywhere as an independent lexical item. In addition, there are other words that presently encode the meaning ‘thing’: \( b\partial \) ‘thing’ and \( kukre \) ‘belongings’ (76.a-b).

(76)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & Na \text{ te } me= b\partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial 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\partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial \partial 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\text{b. } & Na \text{ ic-pe ic-kukre krakra pa.} \\
& RLS 1-DTR 1-belongs break CNCL \\
& ‘S/he broke all my things [to my detriment].’
\]

\textit{Dative m\partial.} The dative postposition \( m\partial \) also indicates the benefactive and may operate as allative or locative, as is crosslinguistically common. Besides occurring with noun phrases, the dative postposition is also used as a subordinator in purpose clauses (section iv.2.2).
The third person form of this marker presents a morphological peculiarity, however. If the referent is expressed by a full noun phrase, then the postposition maintains its bare form and co-occurs with the noun, which is in consonance with the behavior of other postpositions (77.a). On the other hand, with a pronominal third person referent, the form is $k\,\ddot{m}$ (77.b).

(77) a. Na $m\ddot{e}$ $m\ddot{a}$ $am\ddot{m}\ddot{e}=m$ $gop=m\ddot{s}$ e $ka\ddot{h}\ddot{\ddot{m}}p$ $m\ddot{s}$ m$\ddot{o}$
   RLS PL MOV RFLX=DAT water=DAT fabric wash DAT go
   ‘They all went to the creek to do their laundry [to their benefit].’

   b. $ip\,-m\ddot{s}$ ‘to/for me’
      $a\,-m\ddot{s}$ ‘to/for you’
      $k\ddot{m}$ ‘to/for him/her’

Detrimentive $pe$. The detrimentive (often called malefactive) postposition $pe$ basically indicates detriment to its object; another, more space-oriented meaning encoded by this postposition is the ablative.

(78) $O:\,na$ kafe $ic\,-pe$ $ic\,-c\,-e$ $\ddot{s}$ atkap$\ddot{i}$
   EXCL coffee 1-DTR 1-RP-fabric LOC spill
   ‘Dammit! The coffee spilled on my clothes [to my detriment].’

Like the dative, the detrimentive marker $pe$ has a suppletive third person pronominal form, $kep$. These two postpositions are the only ones in my database that display this idiosyncrasy.
Irregularities call for historical explanations. As shown in section 3.2.1, the third person prefix *ku*- occurs almost exclusively with verbs, indicating the accusative argument of transitives; but there is at least one instance of occurrence of *ku*- with a postposition, namely, the ablative *rum*. Given this precedent, it seems plausible to hypothesize that the third person pronominal forms of the dative and detrimentive may have started out as *ku-m* and *ku-pe*, respectively, at a stage in which *ku*- must have been more productively used with postpositions. Eventually, it must have fallen in disuse; the unusual but highly frequent forms *kum* and *kupe* underwent phonological modifications, presumably vowel harmony first (i.e. *kũm* and *kepe*) and word-final vowel deletion next, which led to the present-day forms.

*Instrumental ṣ*. The postposition ṣ indicates instrumental and, when taking human objects, has associative semantics. The relational prefix *t*- occurs with an overt noun phrase object and with personal prefixes. This morpheme is homophonous to the

---

8 It could also be that the postpositions *rum*, *m* and *pe* come historically from verbs.
morphological causative, and both may have had the same etymological source, the verb *do* (Oliveira 1998; sections 3.2.2.7 and IV.4.6.2).

The example in (81) illustrates the formal relationship between the verb *do* and the instrumental postposition.

### (80) i-ŋ-ō sakṛti na kupē=cē o kete.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i-ŋ-ō</th>
<th>sakṛti</th>
<th>na</th>
<th>kupē=cē</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>kete</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-RP=GEN bag</td>
<td>RLS cloth</td>
<td>INSTR NEG</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘My bag is not [made] of fabric.’

### (81) Na pre aḥri botti p.əv o ku-t-ə

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Na</th>
<th>pre</th>
<th>aḥri</th>
<th>botti</th>
<th>p.əv</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>ku-t-ə</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RLS</td>
<td>PST</td>
<td>then</td>
<td>jatobā tree</td>
<td>INSTR 3.ACC-RP-make</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Then they made it [= the fire] with the wood from the jatobā tree...’

**Associative me.** The associative *me* is not as frequent in the database as the instrumental *o*, used for the same purpose. There appears to be a slight semantic distinction between the two, as witnessed by translations provided by the speakers: while *o* means ‘with’, *me* means ‘along with; in addition to’. This may not be that significant a distinction, however; and it seems as though the former is gradually replacing the latter in terms of frequency of use, though this is just a speculative remark. Structurally, the associative postposition requires the presence of the dual marker *wa* in the clause (further syntactic details are in section IV.2.1).
Locative tar. Although it has semantic content typical of postpositions, the morpheme tar has distribution that is considerably more restricted than that of other postpositions. For that reason, the analysis of this morpheme as a member of this class is still tentative, until further evidence comes to light.

Tar occurs with the personal prefixes of first and second person, as well as with the morpheme mu, resulting in proximal and distal demonstratives, respectively. The semantic contrasts between ictar [1-LOC], atar [2-LOC] and mu tar [DEM.DST-LOC] lie basically in difference of deictic center (namely, first, second, and third persons), which is thus overtly expressed. Of the resulting forms, only the one with the second person prefix occurs as a pronoun (section 3.2.1).

(83) Mu tar a kra ja arī čwep ja km ic kī nē.
    DEM.DST 2-child ART stay NMLZ ART 3.DAT 1-fond PRT
    ‘That daughter of yours that stayed [back there], she likes me.’

Locative ā. The locative ā (which takes the relational prefix t-) occurs less frequently in noun phrases than it does in temporal expressions (section 3.1.4). This morpheme may also operate at the discourse level, serving as a grammatical connector of the events.

(82) Na pa [Dīrō nē Dībānre] mē wa gre.
    RLS 1 N. CNJ N. ASSC DU dance
    ‘I am dancing with [both] Diró and Dībān.’
expressed in discourse (section V.5); and it may occur in some of the postpositional expressions involving relator nouns, as will be seen.

(84) $Kx$ paj ma ri kapot $\tilde{\sigma}$ bra.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{IRLS} & 1\text{IRLS} & \text{MOV} & \text{PRT} & \text{chapada} & \text{LOC} \  \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I am going for a walk in the chapada.’

**Allative $w\varphi$.** Unlike the postpositions just introduced, the allative $w\varphi$ appears to occur mostly with nominal objects, not performing the more clause or discourse level functions observed elsewhere.

(85) $Na$ Irepti=re ic-w\varphi, i-p-\tilde{\omega}kw\tilde{\omega}$ $w\varphi$ ic-p-ubul $m\tilde{\omega}$ tê

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{RLS} & \text{N.=DIM} & 1\text{-ALL} & 1\text{-RP-home} & \text{ALL} & 1\text{-RP-see.NF} & \text{DAT} & \text{go} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Ireptsi came to me, to my home to see me.’

**Ablative rum.** The ablative *rum* is not as frequent as *pe* ‘detrimentive’, which may also express this notion. Like the allative $w\varphi$, the ablative is less flexible in its meaning and distribution than other postpositions, such that its semantics seems to be limited to the domain of space. *Rum* is the only postposition in my database that may take the third person prefix *ku*–; this may indicate that this postposition is more conservative than $m\tilde{\omega}$ ‘dative’ or *pe* ‘detrimentive’, since here the person prefix has not crammed its way into the base stem (86).
Inessive kamā. The inessive postposition is used at the phrase level and also occurs in idiomatic expressions such as ja kamā ‘for that; for this reason; that’s why’ and with the relator nouns.

Positionals kot and itep. The postpositions kot ‘behind; after’ and itep ‘near’ indicate relative position between referents. Of the two, the postposition itep resembles relator nouns due to its form, since the occurrence of the formative i- has been observed in a number of such nouns. The formative i- is also common in nouns other than these, most of which, crucially, refer to body parts (section 3.1.1.2; compare also with kutep, section V.5.2).

‘He doesn’t want to come along with me [i.e. he feels lazy].’
Similitive *acwɔj*. The postposition *acwɔj* ‘likewise; too’ is a category that pertains
structurally to the noun phrase, being thus a counterpart of *mɔnɔn* ‘also; likewise’, which
is an adverbial element that operates at the clause level (section IV.2.3). This postposition
takes the relational prefix *j*- and interacts with the switch-reference system of Apinajé in
interesting ways.

(89) a. *Na ra* *Marizĩ=ŋ-ɔ=ɛwɔŋ jaja ra poj*
    
    RLS  ASP  N.=RP-GEN=NMLZ  DEF.PL  ASP  arrive

    *pum*  *Kɔkalĩ=ŋ-ɔ=ɛwɔŋ j-aɔwɔj jaja*
    
    DS.3  N.=RP-GEN=NMLZ  RP-SIMIL  DEF.PL

    ‘The folks from Mariazinha have already arrived, and so have those
    from Cocalinho.’

    b. *Kɔ pari karɔ ja pĩ ka a-j-ɔwɔj ɔt pĩ*
    
    IRLS  1.IRLS  deer  DEF  kill 2  2-RP-SIMIL  INDF  kill

    ‘I’m going to kill this deer and also you, you’re going to kill one too.’

Relator nouns. Apinajé makes extensive use of relator nouns to express more detailed
nuances of space relations. Most of the instances found in the corpus also involve the use
of postpositions, resulting in fixed, compound expressions where specific postpositions
and relator nouns associate. The inventory of postpositions noted in these cases is broad,
although it seems to exclude the associative *mẽ*, the allative *wɔ*, and the ablative *rɔm*.

The inventory of relator nouns found in the database includes those listed in (88). Noticing
the use of the postpositions *ɔ* ‘locative’, *kamɔ* ‘inside’, *pe* ‘detrimental/ablative’,
kot ‘after; behind’, as compared to the particle ri ‘demonstrative’, which has semantic content typical of postpositions, but does not display their morphological characteristics.

(90)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ipi</td>
<td>‘inside a deep container’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pum</td>
<td>‘outside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipok=ri / kûm / kot</td>
<td>‘in the middle of; at the core; in the center’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>core=LOC / 3.DAT/ POS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katut=ri</td>
<td>‘at the back of something; behind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back=LOC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krak=ri</td>
<td>‘under; underneath’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upside.down.orifice=LOC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imôk=û</td>
<td>‘on top of a flat surface’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>top=LOC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikje=û</td>
<td>‘at one side of something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>side=LOC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuk=kamû</td>
<td>‘in front of something; ahead’ (kuk ‘face’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>face=INSV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaçwûn=kûm</td>
<td>‘in the inside of something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inner.side=3.DAT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>par=pe</td>
<td>‘at the bottom of O; at O’s feet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot=DTR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ire=kot</td>
<td>‘at the side of something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slice=behind</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The occurrence of relator nouns in postpositional expressions is illustrated in (91).

(91)  

a. Kwûr ja û kawû pû-ipi na pa ku-ðû

yucca DEF LOC basket RP-inside RLS 1 3-put

‘It was in this basket [filled] with yucca that I put it.’
b. *Pip̃a ja p-imōk=š na ča*
   table DEF RP-top=LOC RLS stand
   ‘It is on top of the table.’

c. *Na pa ic-kaw=krak=ri i-p-ō kagotškre čom č amuču*
   RLS 1 1-basket orifice=LOC 1=RP=GEN coffee powder INSTR hide
   ‘I hid my coffee powder under my [upside-down] basket.’

d. *Na pa ic-tu kačo fù kɔm kutōfrerač nē*
   RLS 1 1-belly inside 3.DAT worm QTF PRT
   ‘I’m with a lot of worms inside my guts.’

e. *Kɔ t puj kapot n-ipok kot tē*
   IRLS HORT.IRLS chapada RP-core after go
   ‘We are going to the center of the chapada.’

3.1.4. Adverbials

The set of adverbials includes morphologically simple and complex items, and expressions carrying adverbial meaning or function. Adverbials constitute another one of those almost closed classes which nevertheless seems somewhat open and expansive, since adverbial meanings may come in phrases and other larger constituents. Some members of this class are temporal adverbs, location adverbs, intensifiers and a temporal negative adverbial, discussed here.

Adverbs are phonological/grammatical words that are characterized morphologically by lack of inflection. Their distribution in the sentence depends on the kind of adverbial function they perform. Temporal and location adverbs seem more
syntactically free than other adverbs. Intensifiers are positional clitics, as is the temporal negative adverbial. Some of these are introduced next.

**Temporal Adverbs.** The temporal adverbs *jā* ‘yesterday’, *jarāsā* ‘today’ and *rāsā* ‘always’ are based on the morpheme *ā*, which could be the locative postposition, only with its original semantics extended metaphorically into a temporal notion. If that is the case, it is possible that the glide-initial component of the first two stems is the definite article *ja* performing a demonstrative function (section 3.2.1). As for the component *rā*, one could imagine it as the real temporal index in the stem, possibly meaning ‘now’.

(92)  
\[
\begin{align*}
Na & \text{ pa } \text{ pre } jā \text{ akreč } \text{ aguprō}. \\
\text{RLS} & 1 \text{ PST } \text{ yesterday } \text{ trash } \text{ gather}
\end{align*}
\]
\[\text{‘I gathered the fallen leaves yesterday.’}\]

The expression *ān dēpēmē* ‘long ago’, with the alternate *ān dapēmē*, seems to include the third person pronoun *ān*. This adverbial expression occurs most often in clause (discourse) initial position.

(93)  
\[
\begin{align*}
Na & \text{ pa } \text{ pre } \text{ te } \text{ ān=dēpēmē } \text{ ic-prīrē } \text{ ri,} \\
\text{RLS} & 1 \text{ PST } \text{ HAB } \text{ long.ago } \text{ 1-child } \text{ TMP.DEM}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
ic-pān & \text{ ja } \text{ pre } \text{ te } \text{ kān } \text{ ujārēp } \text{ prēm } \text{ nē.} \\
1-\text{K.T.} & \text{ DEF } \text{ PST } \text{ HAB } 3.\text{DAT } \text{ story.tell } \text{ please } \text{ PRT}
\end{align*}
\]
\[\text{‘Long ago, when I was a child, my father enjoyed telling stories.’}\]
**Temporal Negative Adverbial.** The expression *a... ket=nē* ‘never’ consists of the proclitic *a*, which could be translated as ‘ever’ but has not been observed elsewhere independently from this expression, and the negative enclitic *ket=nē*, which is a clause final clitic sequence. The two elements circumscribe the proposition being negated, often expressed as an embedded clause. For its distributional properties, this adverbial expression could be described as a “circumclitic.”

(94) Na  te  da  wri  rup  nē,  dɔ  jum
    RLS  HAB  rain  fall  much  PRT  but  3.DS
    go  ja  a  upən  ket=nē.
    water  DEF  TMP  deep.NF  NEG
‘It rains a lot, but this creek has never become deep.’

**Intensifiers.** Apinajé intensifiers serve primarily as modifiers of the predicate, but all of them also carry adjectival semantics, like descriptive verbs do, and may modify nouns as well. The distinguishing property between intensifiers and descriptives, apart from the primary functions each of them performs in the syntax of Apinajé, is the range of morphological categories they each take. While descriptives take person and relational prefixes, intensifiers take no inflectional morphology.

At the other end, at least one descriptive root has been observed to perform the function of an intensifier: the morpheme *beć* distinctively finds its way into the class of “true” intensifiers, albeit from a functional point of view. Under such circumstances, one
could think of this distribution of \( b'c' \) in terms of conversion – derivation from one class to another without the use of overt morphological marking.

Because of their semantics and (in part) their function, intensifiers would make good candidates for a closed class of adjectives, in Apinajé. The structural and functional properties of intensifiers are discussed in what follows.

The morpheme \( t'c' \) has the basic lexical meanings of ‘be hard; tense, stiff, rigid; robust’.

It may occur in predicate position (95.a), or modifying predicates, in which case it may itself be modified by the additional intensifier \( ku'm'rec' \) (95.b-c) The use of \( t'c' \) with descriptive predicates implies a reading in which the predicator encodes a transitional or temporary condition or state (95.d), and in this respect it contrasts with \( r'u'p' \) ‘plenty; grand’ and \( ra'c' \) ‘large’.

(95)  

a. \( Ij-but \quad t'c' \).

\( 1\text{-neck} \quad \text{be.stiff} \)

‘My neck is tense.’

b. \( Na \quad ka \quad i-j-ab\eta \quad t'c'i \)

\( \text{RLS} \ 2 \quad 1\text{-RP-hold} \quad \text{INTS} \)

‘You hold me back a lot! [i.e. won’t let me do my things]’

c. \( Na \quad ra \quad i\eta-m\delta \quad be\zeta \quad t'c' \quad kum\zeta \)

\( \text{RLS} \ \text{ASP} \ 1\text{-DAT} \ \text{be.good} \quad \text{INTS} \quad \text{INTS} \)

‘This [fruit] is now just right for me [to pick up].’

d. \( Na \quad pa \quad ic-p-uduj \quad t'c' \quad n\ddot{e} \).

\( \text{RLS} \ 1 \quad 1\text{-RP-be.bad} \quad \text{INTS} \quad \text{FCT} \)

‘I’m very ill/full of diseases.’
This morpheme is transparently related to *it*čč ‘be strong’, which is a descriptive stem in all respects: it inflects for person, in which case it takes the relational prefix čč; and operates as a predicator, though it may be a noun modifier, as other descriptives. Both *tčč* and *it*čč display a high front echo-vowel, in agreement with the word final palatal consonant.

\[
\text{(96) } \text{bje}n \quad \text{na} \quad \text{it}čč. \\
\text{1-husband} \quad \text{RLS} \quad \text{strong}
\]

‘My husband is strong.’

The morpheme *racč* (and its variant *racči*) has the lexical meanings ‘large; much’. It may occur as a noun modifier, and in compound noun stems, such as *go racč* ‘river’ (lit.: “water=large”) and *kri racč* ‘city’ (“sitting=large”). As a modifier of the predicate, it may be further modified by *kūmracč*. Similarly to *rūŋ*, and in contrast to *tēčč*, this marker usually modifies predicates which encode a permanent property (97.c), in addition to more eventive ones (97.d-e). Structurally, this morpheme never appears inflected or derived, in my database; it occurs only in its bare form.

One morphosyntactic property of *racči* that is worthy of notice is that, this morpheme modifies descriptive verbs derived with the morpheme -čč. In this respect, it contrasts with *rūŋ*, which does not suit that purpose (97.b). Additionally, evidence
indicates that, if used with a transitive verb, this morpheme may refer to the quantity of the direct object (97.d-e), even though it appears syntactically as an intensifier of the verb.

(97) a. Na ra iπ-mð béč rač kumræč.
    RLS ASP 1-DAT be.good INTS INTS
    ‘(Things) are really good for me.’

b. Ic-kengtæ=fï rač ne.  
    1-be.tired=ADJ.DSCR INTS PRT
    ‘I’m really easy to get tired.’

c. Na pa ic-p-uduj rač ne.  
    RLS 1 1-RP-be.bad INTS PRT
    ‘I’m really ugly.’

d. Na Ø Ø-bøn rač kümæč.  
    RLS 3 3-carry.NF INTS INTS
    ‘S/he carried lots of things.’

e. Na katpæe pi rač kümæč.  
    RLS money grab INTS INTS
    ‘S/he made a lot of money.’

The morpheme rūp has the lexical meanings ‘plenty; grand; many [times]’. Like rač, which also has quantifying semantics, this morpheme also occurs in compounds, such as meðkæppoj runtí, the name of a traditional festival (98.a). The use of rūp also implies permanent reading to a property encoded in a descriptive predicate (98.b-c). On the other hand, with active or eventive verbs rūp tends to imply repetitive action or frequency in the occurrence of a particular action or event (98.d).
This morpheme shares a phonological property with rac, in that it undergoes lateralization after coronal segments; it is pronounced as [lǔp] (section II.4.2). However, ru does not display the stem-final alternation common to both raci and tǎsi; its form is invariant in this respect.

Also in contrast with rac, the morpheme ru does not occur with predicatos derived by -jī.

(98) a. me=dōkrē=pof=ru=tì
   PL/INDF=throat=arrive=grand=AUG
   [Name of a traditional Apinajé festival which is led by the women.]

   b. Na pa ra ic-kengrə ru=nē.
      RLS 1 ASP 1-tired INTS FCT
      ‘I’m very tired already.’

   c. Na pa ic-p-unduj ru=nē.
      RLS 1 1-RP-ugly INTS FCT
      ‘I’m very ugly.’

   d. Na pa bəŋ ru=nē.
      RLS 1 carry INTS FCT
      ‘I carry it all the time (i.e. frequently).’

The morpheme bɛɛ̃ is a descriptive verb (99.a). However, it may be used as an intensifier on occasion, especially as a modifier of other descriptive verbs. Its semantics in these contexts is ‘very; well’, which is reminiscent of its basic, descriptive semantics ‘good; pretty’. This verb may itself be modified by kūnreć as well.
Of the set of intensifiers observed in the database, the morpheme *kumreč* is the intensifier with the most character, as it is the only one that can modify the others. *Kumreč* occurs postposed to the predicate it modifies (100).

Interestingly, this morpheme may occur with nouns as well, but not in an adjectival function. What it does in these contexts is to indicate the first referent in a
sequence of elements. Here, it also occurs postposed to the modified nominal and, under strong focus conditions, it may take person inflection.

\[(101)\]a. \(Na\ pa\ \Ø=kot\ \text{ic-prõt}\ \text{kumræč}.\)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{RLS} & \ 1 \quad 3=\text{after} \quad 1=\text{run} \quad \text{INTS} \\
\text{‘I ran after him real hard.’}
\end{align*}
\]
b. \(Na\ pa\ \text{kumræč} \Ø=kot\ \text{ic-prõt}.\)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{RLS} & \ 1 \quad \text{INTS} \quad 3=\text{after} \quad 1=\text{run} \\
\text{‘I ran after her first.’}
\end{align*}
\]
c. \(A\cdot\text{kot}\ \text{kumræč}\ \text{mĩ} \ na \ pa\ \text{ic-prõt}.\)  
\[
\begin{align*}
2=\text{after} \quad \text{INTS} \quad \text{DAT} \quad \text{RLS} & \ 1 \quad 1=\text{run} \\
\text{‘I ran after you first.’}
\end{align*}
\]
d. \(A\cdot\text{kumræč} \ a\cdot\text{kot} \ na \ pa\ \text{ic-prõt}.\)  
\[
\begin{align*}
2=\text{INTS} \quad 2=\text{after} \quad \text{RLS} & \ 1 \quad 1=\text{run} \\
\text{‘It was after you that I first ran.’}
\end{align*}
\]

3.2. Grammatical categories

3.2.1. Pronouns

The pronominal system of Apinajë includes person, demonstrative, indefinite and interrogative pronouns. These are introduced next.

*Person Pronouns.* Person pronouns are positional clitics. They occupy second position in a main clause, thus contrasting with person prefixes, which come attached to a stem. Person pronouns indicate the nominative argument of a sentence, whereas prefixes express the absolutive (section 4.1.1).
Person pronouns encode the first, second and third persons. The first person includes the hortative and plural inclusive distinctions (other number distinctions are not expressed in the pronominal system as such; instead, they are encoded by number clitics; see section 3.2.2.5 below). There are two sets of person pronouns, one for the realis mode and the other for the irrealis. The same form of the pronoun is used for first person pronoun and first person plural inclusive, but with different syntactic distribution (Table III.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON PRONOUNS</th>
<th>REALIS</th>
<th>IRREALIS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 &lt;INCL&gt;</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>paj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>kaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>m/ø</td>
<td>ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORTATIVE</td>
<td>pu</td>
<td>puj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In pragmatically unmarked use, the pronoun participates in a clitic sequence that includes the mood marker in first position and possibly a tense/aspect clitic that carries stress in the group. Such sequences of clitics constitute phonological words (sections 1.3 and 2.1). Because the pronoun never bears stress in this context, plosives occurring in pronouns display voice alternation in the same way as unstressed syllables in other phonological words.
(102)a. *Na ka kɔmɔ arĩ apku*

    RLS 2 still stay eat

    ‘You are still eating.’

b. *Na [pa me] ra pĩ kɔ*

    RLS 1 PL ASP tree cut

    ‘We (exclusive) have already torn down the trees.’

c. *Na pa ra ku-ku*

    RLS 1.INCL ASP 3-eat

    ‘We (inclusive) have already eaten.’

(103)a. *Kɔ puĩ amã.*

    IRLS HORT.IRLS wait

    ‘We shall wait [in the hospital].’

b. *Me a-krĩ [pu me] pa krĩ.*

    PL 2-sit.PL HORT PL 1.INCL sit.PL

    ‘Have a seat, you all, let’s have a seat and gather.’

In pragmatically marked use, a token of the pronoun occurs outside the clitic sequence; in fact, it precedes the sequence clause initially. When the pronoun is thus placed under focus, it is stressed, and morpheme initial plosives are necessarily voiceless. Notice that only the realis form of pronouns participates in this strategy.

(104)a. *Pa kɔ puĩ Zékabeti ɔ grẽ rač kumrɛć*

    1 IRLS 1.IRLS N. INSTR dance QTF INTS

    ‘It’s me that I want to dance all night with Zé Cabere.’

b. *Pa na pa ic-kĩ nẽ*

    1 RLS 1 1-merry FCT

    ‘It’s me that I am really happy!’

c. *Ka na ka te arĩ a-mã kaga a-pa*

    2 RLS 2 HAB stay 2-DAT lazy 2-live

    ‘You, you’ve been utterly lazy to this day!’
Although it is frequently true that the same pronoun is presented twice in the clause – once for focus and once as the nominative –, as shown in (104), that is not necessarily the case: the pronoun/referent in focus position may be distinct from that in nominative position (105).

\[(105) \quad Ka \quad na \quad pa \quad a-j-am\tilde{\varepsilon}r \quad \sigma \quad \tilde{c}a \]
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
2 & \text{RLS} & 1 & 2\text{-RP-wait.for.NF} & \text{do} & \text{stand}
\end{array}
\]
‘It’s you, I’m waiting for you.’

Personal pronouns participate in the expression of mood, a category that is obligatorily expressed in the clause. First and second person pronouns take the suffix -j to indicate irrealis mood; thus, two series of speech-act-participant pronouns surface because of this distinction (106). The irrealis form of the pronoun typically co-occurs with the mood marker \(k\tilde{\varepsilon}\) in the beginning of the sentence (sections 3.2.2.1 and IV.2.1). However, if the mood particle is omitted, the presence of the pronoun suffices to indicate the relevant category (106.b, d).

\[(106)a. \quad K\tilde{\varepsilon} \quad paj \quad ar\tilde{\iota} \quad ic-kr\tilde{\iota} \quad \]
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{IRLS} & 1\text{.IRLS} & \text{stay} \quad \text{1-sit}
\end{array}
\]
‘I’ll remain seated.’

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{b.} \quad Paj \quad a-m\tilde{\varepsilon} \quad a-go \quad j-ape\tilde{\varepsilon}r
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
1\text{.IRLS} & 2\text{-DAT} & 2\text{-lice} & \text{RP-search}
\end{array}
\]
‘I’ll catch your lice for you.’
The third person pronoun əm is easily omitted in realis contexts (107.a-b). In irrealis contexts, however, the third person is overtly and necessarily encoded by ja, which occurs immediately postposed to the irrealis marker kə (107.c). The presence of the irrealis morpheme is also mandatory in this case. The third person (demonstrative) pronoun ja is realized alternatively as [da] or [ra], the initial coronal segment resulting from assimilation to the coronal coda of the mood clitic kə (107).

(107)a. Ja na əm me=bjo pitō uba. km ba əc
  DEM RLS 3 PL-thing all fear 3.DAT fear INTS
  ‘This one is afraid of everything. He’s a scaredy-cat.

b. Na [Ø me] ma amnī-m e kahū mō [Ø me] tjē
  RLS 3 PL MOV RFLX-DAT fabric wash DAT 3 PL go
  ‘They all went do the laundry.’

c. Kə ja ip-mō a-w-j-arē.
  IRLS 3 1-DAT DTRZ-U-RP-tell
  ‘She will tell me a story [i.e. “story-tell to me”].’

Emphatic forms of personal pronouns. Non-hortative personal pronouns display emphatic forms. Emphatic first and second person pronouns include an oral open vowel
and the suffix \(-m\) in root-final position; the stem initial plosive is always voiceless, since
the pronoun carries discourse stress. The emphatic third person pronoun is also realized
with an open vowel. The inventory of emphatic personal pronouns as compared to their
nonemphatic counterparts is listed in table III.2. The example in (108) is illustrative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON PRONOUNS:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Emphatic vs. Nonemphatic forms</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NONEMPHATIC FORM</th>
<th>EMPHATIC FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(\omega m/\theta)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>RLS</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>EMPH</th>
<th>RFLX</th>
<th>RP-body-paint</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pa na pa pam am</td>
<td>j-ok.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(108) Pa na pa pam am| j-ok.

\[\text{‘It was I myself who did my body-painting.’}\]

**Indefinite pronouns.** The indefinite pronouns \(\rho\omega m\) ‘[someone; somewhere] else’ and
\(m\varepsilon\rho\varepsilon\) ‘someone’, \(w\alpha\rho\) ‘someone’ have the alternating forms \(\rho\omega m\) and \(m\varepsilon\rho\varepsilon, w\alpha\rho\varepsilon\)
respectively. The reason for the alternation between \(\rho\omega m\) and \(\rho\omega m\) is not clear yet,
although this form may be related diachronically to the third person pronoun \(\omega m\); but this
is only a conjecture that needs to be confirmed with historical evidence.
The alternation between meød, wa öd and meëñu, waëñu appears to be phonetically motivated; these pronouns seem to result of a combination of the indefinite pronoun öd with each of the number markers me and wa.

In addition to these two pronouns, the form meb rightly ‘something’ also consists of two morphemes, the plural/nonreferential marker me plus bøj ‘thing’. This form also serves as an interrogative pronoun, as will be seen.

(109)a. Ka na ka pre ra əm, ə a-prö kün.ð.
   2 RLS 2 PST ASP another PRT 2-wife indeed
   ‘You have indeed married another.’

b. Paj øbri əm tẽ ne apa
   1.IRLS now elsewhere go CNJ move
   ‘I’m moving somewhere else.’

c. Će, ə ra meëñu ja ər kac iw ampï=1-ə aìw.ə.
   EXCL EXCL ASP someone DEM enter PURP RFLX=RP-PRT request
   ‘There is already someone outside asking to come in.’

d. Iµ-mð me=bøj j-arë pa ku-ba.
   1-DAT something RP-tell 1 3-hear
   ‘Say something for me to listen.’

Demonstrative pronouns. Demonstrative pronouns observed in the database are ja, µif, nêñ, and stems formed with the deitic tar. The latter morpheme occurs in the demonstratives ictar ‘here’, atar ‘there.PRX’ and muñar ‘there.DST’. Although the morpheme tar is morphologically and semantically comparable to postpositions, in that it
takes person inflection and is deictic in nature, its distribution is restricted to the lexical items just presented; that is, *tar* does not occur productively as head of postpositional phrases. In addition, its semantic content is not transparent, if analyzed in isolation.

The word *ja* has the primary function of a definite article within a noun phrase; *mūj* and *atar* are demonstratives that operate either as full pronouns or as determiners of the noun. The present section focuses on the pronominal role of these markers. For details about their function, distribution, and morphological properties within the noun phrase, see section IV.2.1. The forms *ictar* and *mūtar* are used mostly as locatives and are not discussed here.

The semantic contrast between *ja* and *mūj* is that the former operates as a proximal demonstrative pronoun, while the latter is a distal demonstrative. When in demonstrative function, *ja* is typically stressed; thus, the root-initial glide /j/ is realized as a voiced alveo-palatal fricative [z]. *Ja* does not seem to carry any specification as to a particular deictic center: it may indicate a referent close to both speaker and listener, away from both, or close to either one or the other. On the other hand, *mūj* and *atar* do each refer to a particular deictic center.

The demonstrative *mūj* ‘that’, which has the alternate form *mū* (apparently phonologically motivated), points to a referent away from listener and speaker. *Atar* ‘that [close to you]’ consists of the second person prefix *a*- and the deictic morpheme *tar*. The presence of the second person prefix is overt indication of the deictic center for this demonstrative.
The demonstrative morpheme neŋ appears only in pronominal function in the database; it could be characterized semantically as a “medio-distal” demonstrative, and it does not seem to have any specifications for a particular deictic center.

(110)

a. Ja na kəm ĕpre prəm ket.
   DEM.PRX RLS 3.DAT aggressive wish NEG
   ‘This one does not like to get upset.’

b. A-tar=re na ra mε kiŋə ajte=mə
   2-DEI=DIM RLS ASP PL other distinct
   ‘This [little] one is different from the others.’

c. Mūŋ na ma tur mə iē
   DEM RLS MOV urinate.NF DAT go
   ‘That one is going to pee.’

d. Neŋ na prə ujaprə.
   DEM RLS PST gossip
   ‘That one gossiped.’

Interrogative Pronouns. Interrogative pronouns introduce information questions. Most interrogative words noted in the database are either compounds that include verbal or postpositional roots, or they are morphologically complex in some other way. However, monomorphemic interrogative words do occur, as well as periphrastic expressions.

Monomorphemic interrogative words include bɔ, and its variant bɔj ‘what [is s.t.]’; and dɔ, with the variant dɔk ‘where [is s.t.]’. The former is homophonous with the word for ‘thing’, and the latter with the word for ‘eye’. These may optionally co-occur with other elements, thus highlighting a particular aspect of the question. In (107.c), for
instance, the pronoun *bɔj* co-occurs with the purpose marker *kaçıv*, placing some
emphasis on the reason for the event or action.

(111)a. *[Mε bɔj] na a-t-ɔ anε ka ri anε?*
   PL<INDF> what RLS 2-RP-do thus 2 PRT thus
   ‘What happened to you that you’re like that right now?’
   (Lit.: “What did you this way...”)

b. *[Bɔj kaçıv] na ka ri amπi=t-ɔ=anε?*
   what PURP RLS 2 PRT RFLX=RP-do=thus
   ‘What did you do that for?’

c. *[Dɔ mɛ, piÅ-im] na mɛ apeç?*
   where PL LOC-CNTRFG RLS PL end
   ‘Where are they? Where have they gone to?*

Among bimorphemic interrogative words are included the indefinite pronouns
*waʔo* and *mɛʔo*, used also as interrogative pronouns. The occurrence of the dual marker
in *waʔo* ‘who’ might suggest the meaning ‘which one’ for this pronoun; however, *mɛʔo*
and *waʔo* ‘who’ seem to share the same meaning; if there is any semantic difference, it is
not an obvious one.

(112)a. *[Wa=ʔo na pre Ø-ipeç?]*
   DU=INDF RLS PST 3-make
   ‘Who made it?’

b. *[Mε=ðo na pre Ø-ipeç?]*
   PL=INDF RLS PST 3-make
   ‘Who made it?’
The bimorphemic interrogative pronoun *taŋmā* ‘how’ consists of the form *taŋ* plus the dative postposition *mā*. It has not been possible to identify the specific meaning of the morph *taŋ*, as it seems to be unique to this word. It may be better analyzed as a formative, rather than as a full-fledged morpheme.

\[(113)\quad Taŋ=mā\quad na\quad ka\quad tē\quad mē\quad Ø-\?\]

‘How do you guys do this?’

The words *pērā* ‘where at’, *pērēm* ‘where to’ and *pēnē* ‘where from’ have the verbal root *nī* ‘sit [LOC,INT]’ as a base. The other morphemes are *rī* ‘locative’ (a form related to *arī* ‘stay’), *-ēm* ‘centrifugal motion’ and *-ēn* ‘centripetal motion’. The latter two suffixes have been observed in other locative/directional bases as well, as illustrated by the pair *akūp-ēm* ‘return here (i.e. away from deictic center and back)’ and *akūp-ēn* ‘return there (i.e. towards deictic center and back)’.

\[(114)a.\quad nī=rī\quad ka\quad tē\quad a-pa?\]

‘Where do you live?’

\[(114)b.\quad Do\quad mē,\quad nī-ēm\quad na\quad mē\quad apec?\]

‘Where are they? Where are they gone to?’

Other interrogatives are expressions consisting of more than one word. The expression *pēr apu* ‘why’ consists of one clitic, *pēr*, which has been noted to occur on its
own in other environments, with epistemic semantic nuance, as in ‘it looks like [x]’.

Other uses of the morpheme *apu* still remain to be identified. The expression may come accompanied by an extra interrogative pronoun, as illustrated in (115).

\[(115)\]

(a) \( Pêr=\text{apu} \quad d\ ʒ\ \text{na} \quad ka \quad ri \quad bra\? \)

\[\text{why but what RLS 2 LOC wander} \]

‘Why are you wandering around?’

(b) \( D\ ʒ\ pêr=\text{apu} \quad \text{tap}=m\ ʒ\ \text{na} \quad ka \quad ri \quad \text{ampi}=t-\sigma=\text{ane}\? \)

\[\text{but why how RLS 2 PRT RFLX=RP-do=thus} \]

‘But why are you acting like this?’

All these interrogative pronouns occur at the beginning of the clause, preceding the mood marker. Depending on the discourse context, however, they may themselves be preceded by conjunctions or other categories of that sort. Besides interrogative pronouns, which introduce information questions, there is a question clitic that introduces polarity questions in Apinajé; this morpheme is discussed in section IV.3.2.

3.2.2. Clitics

Much of Apinajé grammatical categories is expressed by clitics – positional, phrasal, and word clitics. Some clitics bear stress while others are stress dependent; some clitics may form sequences or even serve as bases for morphologically complex stems. In the following subsections, some of the most frequently used positional, phrasal and word clitics of Apinajé are introduced.
3.2.2.1. Mood

The distinction between realis and irrealis mood is overtly and obligatorily expressed in Apinajé propositions, thus subcategorizing verbal clauses into two morphosyntactic sets.

**Realis.** Realis clauses are introduced by the clause-initial clitic *na*, which indicates initial boundary thus serving as landmark for discourse-related operations, such as focus or cleft constructions. The realis domain includes present, past, and habitual propositions.

\[(116) \quad Na \quad ic-pe \quad ku-b\omega\]
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{RLS} & \text{1-DTR} & \text{3.ACC-grab} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He took it from me.’

**Irrealis.** Irrealis clauses are introduced by the clause-initial clitic *k* which, like the realis marker, indicates initial boundary. The irrealis domain includes future, hypothetical, counterfactual and conditional propositions. The irrealis marker requires the use of the corresponding set of person pronouns (section 3.2.1).

\[(117) \quad K* \quad paj \quad mųj \quad mē \quad wa \quad grē\]
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{IRLS} & \text{1.IRLS} & \text{DEM.DST} & \text{ASSC} & \text{DU} & \text{dance} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I will dance with that one.’

(Lit.: ‘Me plus that one, the both of us will dance [together]’

3.2.2.2. Tense

The positional clitic *pre* indicates past tense. It carries its own stress and heads a phonological word formed by a clitic sequence. In the clause, it follows a person pronoun, or precedes a nominative noun phrase.

(118)  *Na pre Ireti me=grər wər tē.*

RLS  PST  PN  PL.INDF=dance.NF  ALLT  go

‘Ireti went to festival.’

3.2.2.3. Aspect

The positional clitic *te* indicates habitual aspect. Like the past tense marker, this clitic bears stress. In a clause, it may occur immediately postposed to the past tense clitic or, in its absence, in the same general position as the tense clitic, either following the person pronoun or preceding a nominative noun phrase.

(119)  *Na pre te mūtar ic-pa.*

RLS  PST  HAB  DEM.DST  1-live

‘I used to live there.’

Another aspectual marker commonly found in the data is the perfective clitic *ra*.

*Te* and *ra* do not co-occur.

(120)  *Ip-mē brutti č-əŋ ket, do kət paj ku-krē ra i-pə-də=u=č-ə.*

1-DAT  fruit.sp RP-eat  neg  because IRLS 1.IRLS 3-eat  PFV 1-RP-bellyache

‘I don’t like to eat bruto because as soon as I eat it my stomach aches.’
3.2.2.4. Movement

Movement verbs unspecified for direction, such as mõ, te, bra and so on, require the occurrence in the clause of a movement particle that specifies whether the motion is centripetal or centrifugal. This particle is the positional clitic ma, which occurs in the same general area of the clause as the other positional clitics.

(121)a. Na pa ra ma mõ.
    rls 1 pfv mov go
    ‘I’m going away.’

    b. Na pa ra mõ.
    rls 1 asp go
    ‘I’ve come.’

3.2.2.5. Number

The category of number comprises the singular, dual and plural distinctions, for nouns and verbs. Overt morphemes that express these categories are positional clitics – wa ‘dual’ and me ‘plural’ – that occur preposed to nouns and verbs.

Number clitics most often modify person pronouns and person prefixes, occurring adjacent to the pronominal element they modify. They form a clitic sequence with

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9 The terms centripetal and centrifugal correspond, respectively, to such terms as “venitive” and “andative”, or “cislocative” and “translocative”, used in the linguistic literature for the expression of movement/direction notions. The choice for centripetal and centrifugal to be employed throughout the dissertation follows the terminological tradition of South American literature on Macro-Jê languages.
person pronouns, occurring postposed to them, different from their distribution elsewhere. This is illustrated in (122) with the hortative first person pronoun.

(122) \[ M \epsilon ~ a-kr\ddot{i} \quad [pu \quad m\epsilon] \quad pa \quad kr\ddot{i}. \]

\[ \text{PL} \quad 2\text{-sit.PL} \quad \text{HORT} \quad \text{PL} \quad 1\text{-INCL} \quad \text{sit.PL} \]

‘Have a seat, you all, let’s have a seat and gather.’

Only the plural clitic \(m\epsilon\) appears as a noun modifier; the dual clitic \(wa\) doesn’t. In this context, the clitic indicates the initial boundary of the noun phrase.

(123) \[ m\epsilon \quad di \quad jaja \]

\[ \text{PL} \quad \text{woman} \quad \text{DEF.ART.RDPL} \]

‘the women’

The plural marker \(m\epsilon\) may indicate nonreferentiality, on occasion, a fact that is better observed at the phrase (and discourse) level (section IV.2.1). The clitics \(m\epsilon\) ‘plural’ and \(wa\) ‘dual’ may also participate in compounding. For instance, they combine with the indefinite article \(\hat{o}\) to form the indefinite pronouns \(m\epsilon\hat{o}\) ‘someone’ and \(wa\hat{o}\) ‘someone’.

3.2.2.6. Reflexive and Reciprocal

Reflexive and reciprocal markers are word proclitics. They have the same distribution as person prefixes in any of the lexical classes Noun, Verb and Postposition. Unlike person prefixes, however, reflexive and reciprocal clitics carry stress, thus forming a
phonological word on their own. Together with the stem, the clitics form what I have been calling a phonological phrase that is equivalent to a grammatical word.

Details about the occurrence of the reflexive and reciprocal clitics with each Verb, Noun and Postposition are given next.

*Verbs.* The nominative argument of a simple verbal clause controls reflexivization and reciprocity. One target of reflexivization is the direct object of a transitive clause. In this case, the reflexive marker *ampii* occupies the direct object position slot in the verb phrase, in which case the verb may take a relational prefix if vowel initial. Compare the examples (a-b) below.

(124)a. Kaprēnre na ic-pe iʔ-tu kakre.
   turtle     RLS  1-DTR  1-belly scratch
   ‘The turtle scratched my belly [to my detriment].’

   b. Pa na pa ampi kakre.
      1    RLS 1 RFLX scratch
      ‘I’ve scratched myself.’

(125)a. Pa na pa a-j-ok.
      1    RLS 1 2-RP-body.paint
      ‘I body-painted you.’

   b. Pa na pa ampi j-ok.
      1    RLS 1 RFLX RP-body.paint
      ‘I body-painted my own self.’
The reciprocal marker has the same distribution in the verb phrase as the reflexive marker; likewise, it may target the accusative argument of a transitive clause. However, at least at the semantic level, the reciprocal marks both the subject relation, which controls the process, and the object relation, which is the target, since the reciprocal relation must include at least two referents.

(126)a.  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
Ka & na \\
2 & RLS \\
ka & ip-mē \\
2 & 1-trip \\
\end{array}
\]
‘You tripped me [caused me to fall].’

b.  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
Pa & na & pa & wa \\
1 & RLS & 1 & DU \\
atpe & =me \\
RCPR & =trip
\end{array}
\]
‘It was the two of us that tripped each other [caused each other to fall].’

In bitransitive clauses, an oblique participant may also be a target of either reflexivization and reciprocity.

Nouns. Apinajé exhibits instances of reflexive possession. In a transitive clause, the strategy applies when the argument directly affected in the event is a body part of the subject (127). Reflexive possession does not apply with other inalienable nouns, however, such as kinship terms (128).

(127)a.  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
K\& & paj & amñī & krō & kī & kaïō. \\
IRLS & 1.IRLS & RFLX & head & hair & wash
\end{array}
\]
‘I’ll wash my hair.’

b.  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
K\& & paj & amñī & kuk & kuïō. \\
IRLS & 1.IRLS & RFLX & face & wash
\end{array}
\]
‘I’ll wash my face.’
There are no examples of the reciprocal marker occurring with nouns, although it does not seem odd to imagine the use of atpe in a nominal context such as “They touched each other’s arms” and “We are each other’s bothers,” for instance. This hypothesis awaits verification.

Postpositions. As mentioned previously, oblique participants are targets of reflexivization controlled by the subject. In cases of oblique reflexivization, the reflexive pronoun attaches to the relevant postposition, which may occur with a relational prefix, as needed. Among all postpositions, the dative frequently allows for phonological truncation, being realized simply as a bilabial nasal consonant in word-final position. In this case, the stress of the reflexive clitic is the relevant one in the phonological word. Compare (129.a-b).

(129)a. Na pa a-mā ic-kapēr ɕ jī. RLS 1 2-DAT 1-talk PRT sit ‘I’m talking to you.’

b. Na pa ajte amnī-m ic-kapēr ɕ jī. RLS 1 alone RFLX-DAT 1-talk PRT sit ‘I’m (alone) talking to myself.’
Reciprocity also targets obliques, as illustrated in (130), as well as the second argument of noncanonical verbs (section IV.3.3.2.). Notice that the number particle applies to the reciprocal marker in the same way as it does with other pronouns (131-132).

(130) Na mē atpē=mō kapēr σ jī.  
RLS PL RCPR-DAT talk PRT sit  
‘They are talking with one another.’

(131)a. Na pa tē a-t-σ atkē.  
RLS 1 HAB 2-RP-INSTR play  
‘I [always] play with you.’

b. Na pa tē wa atpē t-σ atkē.  
RLS 1 HAB DU RCPR RP-INSTR play  
‘The two of us (exclusive) play with one another.’

(132) Atpē=t-ō kapre jum mē mō.  
RCPR=RP-LOC fasten 3.DS PL go  
‘They are attached to one another [e.g. by a rope] and going.’

3.2.2.7. Causative

The morphological causative is expressed by the word proclitic σ, which attaches directly to the descriptive or intransitive verb stem. This clitic does not carry stress; it submits to the overall word stress.

(133) Na ka ic-t-σ=tujaro  
RLS 2 1-RP-CAUS=pregnant  
‘You got me pregnant.’
3.2.2.8. Nominalizers

The nominalizers čwəŋ ‘agent’ and čə ‘instrument; location’ are phrasal clitics that indicate the end boundary of the phrase. The nominalizers bear stress (section 3.1.1.4).

(134) Akustiti kə Pirəxe mə [mə=kədə=čə jə-ət] N. 3.ERG N. DAT PL.INDF=antidote=NMLZ.INSTR RP-give čwəŋ ja na ra emduju NMLZ.AG ART RLS PFV spoiled ‘That medication A. gave to P. was already expired.’

3.2.2.9. Ergative

Ergativity is a category expressed exclusively in the context of subordination in Apinajé. The ergative markers te and kə are positional clitics that introduce the subordinated ergative clause; they indicate the initial boundary of the clause. The clitic te is used with speech act participants and takes person marking; the clitic kə is used with third persons and does not take inflection (see chapter v).

(135) Na pa [ic-te ra a-mə i-j-abatpeɾ] ket. RLS 1-ERG PFV 2-DAT 1-RP-think.about NEG ‘I don’t think about you anymore.’

3.2.2.10. Diminutive and Augmentative
The clitics of degree are word enclitics. They carry stress, which superposes to the stress of the word to which it attaches (section 2.3.6, example (30)).

3.2.2.11. Evidentiality

The notion ‘hearsay information’ is expressed in Apinajé by the clitic čep (which apparently may take an echo-vowel, thus undergoing segmental alternation and being realized as čewe). This clitic is often introduced in the general positional clitic area where tense-aspect markers are found. But that is not necessarily so; this clitic has much freer distribution than any of the other clitics presented here.

(136)  shr  jum  čewe, wa tɔ=tı ja,  m wa mduj tɔ č kemneč.
    then 3.DS HRS DU brother DEF 3 DU bad INTS INTS

‘Then it is said that his two brothers were really mean.’

4. Morphology

4.1. Inflectional categories

4.1.1. Person

The category of person is expressed by roughly the same set of prefixes in three distinct lexical categories: Verbs, Nouns, and Postpositions. For that reason, person inflection is not the best criterion for delimiting parts-of-speech in Apinajé; syntactic facts must be taken into account also. Indeed, some of the strongest evidence for distinguishing
between Nouns and Verbs, and Postpositions comes from syntax (chapter IV; Oliveira 2003).

### Table III.3
**PERSON PREFIXES: VERBS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finite form</th>
<th>Nonfinite form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$i(c)$-</td>
<td>$i(c)$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku-</td>
<td>‘3’acc’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table III.4
**PERSON PREFIXES: NOUNS**

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i(c)-</td>
<td>‘1’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-</td>
<td>‘2’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>‘3’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-</td>
<td>‘3’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table III.5
**PERSON PREFIXES: POSTPOSITIONS**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i(c)-</td>
<td>‘1’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-</td>
<td>‘2’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>‘3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ku-)</td>
<td>‘3’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Person inflection occupies the most external morphological slot in a word. Person prefixes encode first, second, and third persons, that refer to the objects of Postpositions, the possessor in Nouns, and the absolutive arguments of Verbs. There are three third person prefixes: $ku$, $i$- and Ø-. The zero prefix is the only one used with all three word classes. The prefix $ku$- occurs exclusively with transitive verbs (there is one instance of $ku$- with a postposition) and the prefix $i$-, very marginally, with nouns. The accusative prefix $ku$- has further distributional restrictions: it occurs exclusively with the finite form
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of verbs, only in monosyllabic stems, and is employed when the accusative noun phrase
is not contiguous to the verb, but elsewhere in the clause (section IV.2.3).
The nonfinite form of a verb performs a more nominal role in the syntax (section
IV.2.1).

The set of prefixes employed with nonfinite forms is reduced, as compared to

that of finite verb forms, because only the third person zero prefix (not ku-) may occur.
The third person form i- does not occur very frequently. Although the occurrence
of i- seems to coincide consistently with the absence of a dependent noun phrase
contiguous to the head noun (137), Ø- may also appear in this context (138). It seems,
then, that the use of i- is lexically, rather than phonologically or grammatically,
motivated.

(137) a. [[Ken kr] krat] õ
kri
ru
rock head stem INDF settlement
large/plenty
‘At the foot of this hill lay a large settlement...’
(Lit.: ‘the stem of a head of rock’ = “foot of the hill”)

ne
PRT

b. I-krat
km m
me
kt
pa
j-are ja
kt
ar
3-stem
3.LOC 3
PL
3.ERG 1
rp-tell DEM 3.ERG thus
‘In the beginning that’s how they used to tell us [our story], that’s how it
used to be...’
(138) Km “n,
3.DAT yes

na

wa

RLS

DU

Ø-wr
3-ALLT

te
go

ne
CNJ.SS

Ø-ude
3-capture

Ø-k kapa ne
kacwar
tatak ke
ami pubu”
3-skin rip
CNJ.SS salt
tap
PURP RFLX see
‘So she told them, “Well, you’re going to go there and catch them, rip off
their skin and tap them with salt, so they’ll learn a lesson.”
ne

CNJ.SS


The prefixes *i-* and *ku-* are also found as formatives in stems from all three classes. There is a set each of noun, verb and postposition stems that include the formative *i-* (sections 3.1.1.2 and 3.1.2.2). The formative *ku-* does not seem to occur on postpositions, except – hypothetically – as the source of the suppletive forms found in some postposition paradigms. The distinction between person prefixes as productive morphology and *i-* and *ku-* as formatives resides in the fact that stems containing either of these formatives may be inflected for (any) person.

An accusative person prefix is in complementary distribution with its referent noun phrase, as seen above. The pattern with descriptives seems more like one of agreement, since both the prefix and an independent pronoun indicate the same referent in the clause (section IV.2.3); however, it is the prefix that actually encodes the argument of a descriptive: in casual speech, the independent pronoun may be omitted, but not the prefix (see chapter IV).

4.1.2. Relational Prefixes

Relational prefixes constitute another morphological category common to Nouns, Verbs, and Postpositions. These morphemes are overt indices of the constituency between a head and a dependent element. In formal terms, relational prefixes serve as linkers between a given root and some element that immediately attaches to it, including certain derivational morphemes (139.a), personal prefixes (139.b) or, at a more syntactic level, dependent noun phrases ((139.c); see section IV.1). The role of relational prefixes
is precisely to indicate this bond between units that belong together, either as constituents within a phrase, or as the component morphemes of a word, even compounds (139.d-e).

(139) a. \textit{aw\text{-}j\text{-}apro}   \\
\textit{DTRZ\text{-}RP\text{-}buy<TR>}
‘go shopping \text{"<INTR>"}’

b. \textit{i\text{-}j\text{-}\ddot{a}t\text{c}}
\textit{1\text{-}RP\text{-}tongue}
‘my tongue’

c. \textit{di\text{-}n\text{-}ipok\text{-}ri}
\textit{wood\text{-}RP\text{-}core\text{-}LOC}
‘in the core of the forest’

d. \textit{pu\text{-}te\text{-}j\text{-}apje\text{-}ti}
\textit{fly\text{-}leg=RP\text{-}long=AUG}
‘morissoca (insect, sp.)’

e. \textit{kup\text{e}\text{-}\varepsilon\text{-}e}
\textit{non.Indian=RP\text{-}tie}
‘fabric’

Historically, the occurrence of relational prefixes must have been phonologically motivated, with the proto-form having been a coronal – presumably palatal – segment (Davis 1966; Ribeiro 2004), whose reflexes in present-day Apinajé includes some six different forms. In addition to those, there are elements beginning in a bilabial stop that display distribution and function similar to those of relational prefixes; however, in addition to form, other idiosyncrasies indicate that these morphemes must have evolved historically from a distinct source.
Verbs. Relational prefixes occur in the finite forms of transitive and descriptive verbs, but only in the nonfinite forms of intransitive verbs, which do not take person marking in any other environment.

The inventories of relational prefixes for transitives and descriptives are very similar: they consist mostly of coronal segments, although both also include a few instances of the segment p- as applied to u-initial stems. The examples in (140) illustrate the range of relational prefixes observed in transitive and descriptive verbal stems.

(140)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a. Transitives</th>
<th>b. Descriptives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>j-</td>
<td></td>
<td>j-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j-aə</td>
<td>‘cut’</td>
<td>j-aok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j-abə</td>
<td>‘cling; grab’</td>
<td>j-abatpər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j-acə</td>
<td>‘put on [clothes]’</td>
<td>j-abaketkatiği</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j-ade</td>
<td>‘squeeze’</td>
<td>j-akoji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j-agie</td>
<td>‘thread.in.string’</td>
<td>j-akri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j-açi</td>
<td>‘grab[mass.N’s]’</td>
<td>j-apəɾi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j-akə</td>
<td>‘cut’</td>
<td>j-apkurji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j-ako</td>
<td>‘smoke’</td>
<td>j-aka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j-akre</td>
<td>‘pass.by’</td>
<td>j-akren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j-amə</td>
<td>‘accompany’</td>
<td>j-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j-apeə</td>
<td>‘search’</td>
<td>j-apedəjji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĕ-</td>
<td></td>
<td>ĕ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĕ-ə</td>
<td>‘put.in.deep.rcp[PL]’</td>
<td>ĕ-eć</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĕ-əɾ</td>
<td>‘roast’</td>
<td>ĕ-ećʃi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĕ-əm</td>
<td>‘place.rghtsd.up’</td>
<td>ĕ-itəc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĕ-i</td>
<td>‘put.pair.upsdwn’</td>
<td>ĕ-ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĕ-ufəwə</td>
<td>‘place.rghtsd.up[PL]’</td>
<td>ĕ-əɾn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĕ-umče</td>
<td>‘hold.with.arms’</td>
<td>ĕ-əɾn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘watery’  ‘melancholy’  ‘forgetful’  ‘chain-smoker’  ‘cold’  ‘be.in.line’  ‘big-eater’  ‘white’  ‘more.than’  ‘skinny’  ‘hard-working’
The inventory of relational prefixes for intransitive verbs also includes coronal elements, but – crucially – only intransitive verbs display the form \(pi-\), which applies to base stems beginning with a specific middle prefix. The set of relational prefixes observed in intransitive verbs is displayed in (141). Notice how distinct the pattern is from the other two sets: not only does \(pi-\) occur exclusively in this set, but it seems to be the preferred choice. The stem acquires a consonant-initial form, once \(pi-\) has been attached to it.
Intransitive verbs: Nonfinite forms

a. Verbs with standard relational prefixes

- j-
  j-aba: ‘ponder; feel’
  j-ačw: ‘enter’
  j-agje: ‘enter [pl]’
  j-agrɔ: ‘get.damaged’
  j-akjer: ‘yell; argue’
  j-akje: ‘open.a.hole’
  j-apid: ‘climb.up’
  j-apkr: ‘eat <intr>’
  j-arĩ: ‘dance.in.festival’
  j-amra: ‘scream’
  j-apẽ̕j: ‘work’
  j-ari: ‘fly’ cnfrm

- c-
  c-waw: ‘bathe’

-  الحوث

- pi-
  pi-ãj: ‘scatter’
  pi-kudɔ: ‘disappear’
  pi-kuj: ‘laugh’
  pi-kur: ‘gather’
  pi-mtir: ‘dream’
  pi-mčur: ‘hide’
  pi-nikre: ‘silence’
  pi-nipa: ‘exchange.places’
  pi-p: ‘be.parallel’
  pi-p: ‘walk.in.pairs’
  pi-kaj: ‘crack; fissure’
  pi-ka: ‘make.jokes’
  pi-kjer: ‘go.apart’
  pi-p: ‘get.intoxicated’
  pi-p: ‘fight.one.another’

Perhaps the most conspicuous alternation involving relational prefixes is that resulting from the loss of a(C)- in stem initial position and its replacement with the formative pi-; resyllabification may apply, as demonstrated in (142.a). This state of affairs indicates that, even though pi- has a distribution similar to relational prefixes, it is not a member of this class, but rather a morphological component that serves to indicate a category pertaining to the class of intransitive verbs itself (reason why I consider it to be a the “pseudo-relational prefix”). The semantic value of this category is not clear, however.
Relational prefixes

(a)  
- **pi-**
  - *akuña*  
    - *pi-kujar*  
      - ‘laugh’
  - *akuprō*  
    - *pi-kuprō*  
      - ‘group’
  - *anikre*  
    - *pi-nikre*  
      - ‘quiet; silent’
  - *anipa*  
    - *pi-nipa*  
      - ‘switch; run around aimlessly’
  - *apō*  
    - *pi-pō*  
      - ‘be parallel to’
  - *atwn*  
    - *pi-twn*  
      - ‘walk in pairs’
  - *amūti*  
    - *pi-mdir*  
      - ‘dream’
  - *amuču*  
    - *pi-mčur*  
      - ‘hide’

(b)  
- **j-**
  - *akō*  
    - *j-akō*  
      - ‘cut’
  - *akje*  
    - *j-akje*  
      - ‘open a hole’
  - *ako*  
    - *j-ako*  
      - ‘smoke’
  - *akre*  
    - *j-akre*  
      - ‘show; pass by O’
  - *apo*  
    - *j-apo*  
      - ‘put [long, straight, rigid object] aligned’
  - *apeo*  
    - *j-apeo*  
      - ‘look for’
  - *okō*  
    - *j-ok*  
      - ‘body-paint O’
  - *i*  
    - *j-i*  
      - ‘skinny’

(c)  
- **č-**
  - *i*  
    - *č-i*  
      - ‘place [2] upside down’
  - *učwō*  
    - *č-učwō*  
      - ‘place [pl] right-side up’
  - *umče*  
    - *č-umče*  
      - ‘hug; hold with both arms’
  - *umī*  
    - *č-umī*  
      - ‘bury so as to bake’

(d)  
- **ŋ-**
  - *tbeč*  
    - *ŋ-tbeč*  
      - ‘kill [pl]’
  - *tgoŋ*  
    - *ŋ-tgoŋ*  
      - ‘push’
  - *tōpok*  
    - *ŋ-tōpok*  
      - ‘gut O; rip out’
  - *ipeč*  
    - *n-ipeč*  
      - ‘make’

(e)  
- **p-**
  - *ūde*  
    - *p-ūde*  
      - ‘reach; catch up with; get’
  - *utΛ*  
    - *p-utΛ*  
      - ‘help; assist’
  - *mduj*  
    - *p-mduj*  
      - ‘bad; ugly; badly’
To summarize, the distribution of other relational prefixes is as follows: \( j \)- occurs before \(/a, \, o, \, i/\); \( t \)-, before \(/u, \, i, \, œ, \, e, \, œ/\); \( p \)-, before \(/ð, \, i/\); \( t \)-, before \(/o, \, ə/\); and \( p \)-, before \(/u, \, ə/\) (142). The occurrence of the latter prefix, which may also have originated historically from a distinct source, coincides with vowel alternations in certain stems: a vowel \(/u/\) is realized as \(/i/\), in some stems, and as \(/ə/\) in a few others (142.e). This stem-initial \( u \)- is in fact a formative that occurs with a small set of stems, characterizing two morphological classes (section 3.1.2.2).

**Nouns.** The inventory of prefixes observed in nouns is similar to that of transitives and descriptives; however, here there is a preference for the nasal palatal segment \( n \)-, whereas in the other two samples the preference was for the palatal glide.

(143) Nouns

\( j \)-

\( j-a \, ãkə \)  ‘head.adorn’
\( j-abi \)  ‘tail.long’
\( j-abak \)  ‘ear’
\( j-aʃi \)  ‘tail.short’
\( j-akwa \)  ‘mouth’
\( j-ara \{kɾe\} \)  ‘wing; armpit’
\( j-arϕ \)  ‘phlegm’
\( Ø \, /j-i\)  ‘bone’
Postpositions. The set of relational prefixes used in postpositions is not based on a generous sample, since postpositions constitute a quasi-closed class. However, the examples below should suffice to illustrate the variations.
(144) Postpositions

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
  j- & \text{‘near’} \\
  j-\text{atep} & \\
  j-\text{ačwɔj} & \text{‘likewise’} \\
  č- & \text{‘towards’} \\
  č-\text{-w-ɔr} & \\
  n- & \text{‘genitive’} \\
  n-\text{-ð} & \text{‘in.the.middle’} \\
  t- & \text{‘locative’} \\
  t-\text{-ð} & \\
\end{array}
\]

The examples above indicate that the variation in the form of prefixes results in part from the presence of formatives such as \(i\)-, \(u\)-, and \(ð\)-, found in each stem class.

4.1.3. Nonfiniteness

Nonfiniteness is an inflectional category that pertains exclusively to verbs. Nonfinite verb forms are the most nominal form of verbs: they are required in subordination and similar syntactic contexts, as well as in various instances of nominalization.

Nonfinite verb forms are characteristically distinct from the base. The changes in form may be subcategorized into three patterns, to be introduced shortly. However, it is not uncommon for the nonfinite counterpart of a verb to remain unchanged. Descriptive verbs are the most stable in this respect, followed by transitive and intransitive verbs, respectively.
A base verb may end in a vowel or in a consonant. In the latter case, it is not uncommon for an echo vowel to occur after the word final coda. The quality of the echo vowel is typically the same as that of the nucleus of the syllable in question, except when the syllable nucleus is /a/: under these circumstances, the tendency is for the echo-vowel to surface as [i] provided it follows a flap; otherwise, no echo-vowel occurs (145). In any case, verb stems ending in a consonant do not undergo changes due to nonfinite status, except for the fact that the echo-vowel does not occur in the nonfinite form. Thus:

(145) Consonant-final verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finite forms</th>
<th>Nonfinite forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>katɔɔ</em></td>
<td><em>Katɔ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kačɔɔ</em></td>
<td><em>kačɔ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>prekɛ</em></td>
<td><em>prek</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tɔiɔkɔ</em></td>
<td><em>tɔiɔk</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kabrekɛ</em></td>
<td><em>kabrek</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tɔɛ</em></td>
<td><em>tɔɛ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>riiɔ</em></td>
<td><em>ri</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>twɔmɔ</em></td>
<td><em>twɔm</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>krɔɔ</em></td>
<td><em>krɔ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kaʃɔɔ</em></td>
<td><em>kaʃɔ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>okɔ</em></td>
<td><em>ok</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pɔɪɔ</em></td>
<td><em>pɔɪ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>karɔlɔ</em></td>
<td><em>karot</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kokɔlɔ</em></td>
<td><em>kokot</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rorokɔ</em></td>
<td><em>rorok</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>jaokɔ</em></td>
<td><em>jaok</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kaɬukɔ</em></td>
<td><em>kaɬuk</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>akujarɔ</em></td>
<td><em>akujar</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kučwarɔ</em></td>
<td><em>kučwar</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tak</em></td>
<td><em>tak</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘straight’
‘dig; pull off the ground’
‘tall’
‘ache [esp. head]’
‘red’
‘hard; sturdy’
‘see; visualize; look’
‘enter’
‘fat’
‘dotted; flowery’
‘sting; pierce’
‘body-paint O’
‘run’
‘frizzily’
‘rest’
‘erode; collapse’
‘watery [of feces]’
‘pound; grind’
‘laugh’
‘exhale odor’
‘hit; beat up’
Verbs that do undergo alternations in their nonfinite forms may (a) have a consonant added in stem-final position; (b) have its syllables rearranged; or (c) undergo vowel or consonant alternations. It is possible for more than one of these patterns to apply at a time. In my database, intransitive verbs display these alternations relatively most frequently.

Suffixation is the most widespread of the three patterns. The consonant suffixes most commonly found are /n, n, r/, although /j, k/ also occur. Phonological motivations for the distribution of these variants are not obvious. The distribution appears to be lexically determined, instead. This pattern applies to transitive, intransitive, and to a very few descriptive stems.

(146) Suffixation in nonfinite forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Nonfinite form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aŋgrə</td>
<td>pĩŋgrə-r</td>
<td>‘scatter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atpə</td>
<td>pipə-r</td>
<td>‘get intoxicated’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ape</td>
<td>jape-r</td>
<td>‘arrive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awjare</td>
<td>čujare-r</td>
<td>‘tell tales’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atke</td>
<td>pike-n</td>
<td>‘play; make jokes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atkæ</td>
<td>japi-r</td>
<td>‘climb; ascend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atkačo</td>
<td>atkačo-r</td>
<td>‘tear; rip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atkie</td>
<td>pikje-r</td>
<td>‘separate; go apart; divide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atkwîr</td>
<td>jatkwî-r</td>
<td>‘break a limb or extension’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bra</td>
<td>bra-r</td>
<td>‘wander; walk; stroll’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grə</td>
<td>grə-r</td>
<td>‘dance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mõ</td>
<td>mõ-r</td>
<td>‘come; go’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Transitive Nonfinite form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(c)</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Nonfinite form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$ab\varphi$</td>
<td>$ab\varphi-n$</td>
<td>‘cling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$kakw\varphi$</td>
<td>$kakw\varphi-n$</td>
<td>‘dig; scratch deep on a surface’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$kap\ddot{o}$</td>
<td>$kap\ddot{o}-n$</td>
<td>‘sweep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$gje$</td>
<td>$gje-n$</td>
<td>‘place O into deep recipient’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ac\varphi$</td>
<td>$ac\varphi-n$</td>
<td>‘bury’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$akje$</td>
<td>$akje-n$</td>
<td>‘open a hole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ak\epsilon$</td>
<td>$ak\epsilon-n$</td>
<td>‘show; pass by O’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ka\ddot{\alpha}$</td>
<td>$ka\ddot{\alpha}-n$</td>
<td>‘wash soft of granulated O’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ru$</td>
<td>$ru-n$</td>
<td>‘pour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>$ac\omega$</td>
<td>$ac\omega-r$ ‘place upside down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$aji$</td>
<td>$aji-r$</td>
<td>‘grab [mass]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$um\ddot{i}$</td>
<td>$um\ddot{i}-r$</td>
<td>‘bury so as to bake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ak\varphi$</td>
<td>$ak\varphi-r$</td>
<td>‘cut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ako$</td>
<td>$ako-r$</td>
<td>‘smoke’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ape\varphi$</td>
<td>$ape\varphi-r$</td>
<td>‘look for’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ba$</td>
<td>$ba-r$</td>
<td>‘hear; listen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$kag\ddot{o}$</td>
<td>$kag\ddot{o}-r$</td>
<td>‘squeeze juice out of O’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>$re$</td>
<td>$re-j$ ‘go across a path’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$pi$</td>
<td>$pi-r/pi-j$</td>
<td>‘hold; pick; get’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ai$</td>
<td>$ai-r/ai-k$</td>
<td>‘cut’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Resyllabification involves deletion and applies mostly to intransitive verbs in the database. As illustrated in (147.a-b), the initial segment of the stem may be either replaced by a CV syllable or deleted. Words based on disyllabic stems lose the vowel of the penultimate syllable, and the result is a CVC.CV(C) pattern for the word (147.a). Monosyllabic stems simply lose the first segment of the base (147.c-d); word-final consonant insertion may apply and the result is a closed-syllable word (147.d). The nonfinite stem usually spans one foot consisting mostly of heavy syllables.
(147) Deletion and resyllabification in nonfinite forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Nonfinite form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amīti</td>
<td>pi-mti-r</td>
<td>‘dream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amucu</td>
<td>pi-mcũ-r</td>
<td>‘hide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amūra</td>
<td>j-amra</td>
<td>‘scream; utter inarticulately’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acũ̂r</td>
<td>cũ̂r</td>
<td>‘enter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ajet</td>
<td>jet</td>
<td>‘lie suspended on a surface’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apku</td>
<td>ku-r</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čwa</td>
<td>wč-r</td>
<td>‘bathe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itkũ̂</td>
<td>kũ̂-m</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itkũ̂</td>
<td>kwũ̂-r</td>
<td>‘defecate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itpe</td>
<td>pe-k</td>
<td>‘fart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iũ̂u</td>
<td>tu-r</td>
<td>‘urinate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gũ̂r</td>
<td>jũ̂-õ-t</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gũ̂</td>
<td>jũ̂-õ-r</td>
<td>‘give’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last pattern of nonfinite verb stem formation consists of alternation in the vowel quality of the base. This pattern is perhaps the least productive of the three. In the examples below, there is a tendency for the nonfinite form to have a more centered or fronted vowel, but again, it appears that the resulting vowel is lexically determined.

(148) Vowel alternations in nonfinite forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Nonfinite form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bur</td>
<td>bũ-r</td>
<td>‘cry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čãa</td>
<td>cũ-m</td>
<td>‘stand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukja</td>
<td>kukje-r</td>
<td>‘ask about O’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2. Derivational categories

Derivational categories may be expressed by affixes or clitics. Some of the most pervasive derivational categories in the database include detransitivization with the middle prefixes (section 3.1.2.4), causativization (section 3.2.2.7), verbalization and nominalization (section 3.1.1.4).
CHAPTER IV

SYNTAX

0. Introduction

The structural and semantic properties of phrases and simple clauses, and the functional motivation behind possible construction options, constitute the subject of the present chapter. Section 1 introduces the relevant criteria for the establishment of constituency in Apinajé. Section 2 presents the morphosyntactic properties shared by the noun phrase, the postpositional phrase and the verb phrase, as well as those properties typical of each. Section 3 discusses the various clause types. Relevant clause-level grammatical distinctions, such as realis and irrealis mode, and the formal expression of speech-act distinctions, serve in part as the base for a structural subcategorization of simple clauses; for that reason, they are introduced first. Section 4 is a discussion of grammatical relations in terms of the morphological and syntactic properties that characterize such relations in Apinajé. Valency-changing operations, which affect not only the morphological composition of predicators but also the grammatical properties of the clause as a whole, are presented in section 5. Section 6 summarizes the findings imparted in this chapter and offers language-internal hypotheses about the historical development of some of the grammatical patterns observed.
1. Criteria for the establishment of constituency

Phrasal and clausal constituency are detectable in Apinajé according to three types of criteria: prosodic, morphological, and distributional. By prosodic criteria I mean (a) the intonation contour that characterizes phrases and larger constituents as internally cohesive units, and (b) stress patterns characteristic of such combination of elements. Another phonological criterion that may help identify the boundaries of a constituent is the echo-vowel phenomenon, which is indicative of final boundary and must be followed by silence (sections II.4.5 and III.2.1). This criterion, although helpful, is not as specifically indicative of constituency, since it may delimit a word said at random, that is, one that is not necessarily in a constituency relation with some other element (a word uttered as a citation form, for instance).

The main morphological criterion to be considered is the use of relational prefixes (section III.4.1.2), which are precisely the overt grammatical marking of phrasal constituency in Jê (and other Macro-Jê) languages. Relational prefixes are common to noun, verb, and postpositional phrases, and indicate contiguity between the head of a phrase and its dependent. Such contiguity is one of the clues for the constituency relation between the elements, and a violation of this state of affairs has overt grammatical repercussions as well, such as the use of specific person prefixes for head marking (section 2.3). Even though the relational prefix strategy indicates the bond between two-word units, and thus would not seem as useful for larger units, it may recur in sequences of more than two words thus indicating relevant constituency relations among the units that participate in the hierarchy (provided the elements involved are vowel-initial).
While relational prefixes are indicative of constituent internal cohesion, other morphological devices delimit the initial and final boundaries of certain types of (phrasal and clausal) constituents. These devices include (a) nonfiniteness suffixes, (b) ergative clitics, (c) nominalizers and (d) determiners, like the definite article ja. Most of these markers pertain to subordination, and the roles they perform in such contexts are discussed in chapter V. With respect to constituency, however, positional clitics (b-d) overtly set the boundaries for clausal constituents.

Distributional criteria include (a) the relative order of elements inside the constituent and (b) the distribution of the constituent in the sentence, along with (c) the distribution of overt indices of constituent internal cohesion and boundaries.

Prosodic, morphological and distributional criteria for the establishment of constituency are illustrated and discussed further in the following sections.

2. Phrase structure

The different phrase types of Apinajé – verb, noun and postpositional – share at least two basic properties: they are head final and head marking (Nichols 1986). Relational prefixes and person prefixes attach to the phrase head, encoding contiguity and cross-reference to the dependent element, respectively. The details specific to each phrase type are discussed next.
2.1. Noun phrase

The expression of possession, noun modification, determination and quantification produce different effects in the structure of the noun phrase. Such differences are guided by the inherent morphosyntactic properties of the elements involved.

*Genitive constructions.* The structure of a genitive construction is determined by the subclass – alienable or inalienable – of the head noun (section III.3.1.1.1). Thus, a noun phrase headed by an inalienable noun is characterized structurally by juxtaposition (1.a-b) or, if person prefixes are involved, by prefixation on the head noun (1.c-d); in either case, a relational prefix occurs between a vowel-initial head and its dependent noun or person prefix.

(1) a. \( \text{kuv\	extit{ep}}=\text{re} \)
    \[ \text{bird=\textit{DIM}} \]
    j-ae
    \[ \text{RP-nest} \]
    ‘the bird’s nest’

    b. \( \text{bo\textit{c}} \)
    \[ \text{bovine} \]
    j-\text{abi}
    \[ \text{RP-tail<\textit{long}>} \]
    ‘the cow’s tail’

    c. \( \text{\textit{i-}}\text{\textit{j-}}\text{-\textit{okr}} \)
    \[ \text{1-RP-throat} \]
    ‘my throat’

    d. \( \text{a-j-\text{abak}} \)
    \[ \text{2-RP-ear} \]
    ‘your ear’

On the other hand, when the head of a noun phrase is a member of the alienable class, the structure of the genitive construction involves the occurrence of a postpositional phrase headed by the genitive postposition \( \partial \), which requires the relational
prefix "n-" (2). The postpositional phrase encodes the genitive element and is dependent on the alienable noun that heads the higher structure; note that the alienable noun does not take any kind of prefix – relational or personal – despite the constituency relation it holds with the genitive postpositional phrase (2.c), as indicated by intonational, distributional and semantic factors.

\(2\)  
\(\text{a. } [i\text{-}n\text{-}\tilde{o}] \quad \tilde{p}\tilde{i} \quad \text{1-RP-GEN wood} \)  
\(\text{b. } [\text{fe}r\text{mer}=\text{ti} \quad n\text{-}\tilde{o}] \quad k\text{uwi} \quad \text{nurse<PORT>=AUG \ RP-GEN fire} \)  
\(\text{c. } [i\text{-}n\text{-}\tilde{o}] \quad a\text{p}\text{c}\text{et} \quad \text{1-RP-GEN peba} \)

Besides the relational prefix strategy, phrase internal cohesion is indicated by the contiguity between the elements involved, which may not be interrupted by extraneous morphological material; the intonation pattern, with all elements encompassed under a single intonation contour; and phrasal stress, which falls on the last element of the phrase, that is, the head (3).

\(3\)  
\(\text{K\text{\textregistered}t \ kaj \ ma \ t\text{\textregistered}e \ n\text{\textregistered}e \ i\text{\textregistered}n\text{-}m\text{\textregistered}i} \ [\text{fe}r\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}r\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregis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Apinajé thus has both head marking and genitive marking noun phrases, with either option being determined by the morphosyntactic subcategory of the head noun. Both genitive constructions express possession.

*Noun modification.* Noun modification may be expressed by the juxtaposition of nouns, with the difference that no genitive marking needs to be involved. In (4), the phrases consist of all alienable nouns. The relative ordering of dependent and head elements is the opposite of the standard pattern in (4.b): the modifier follows the head noun. Examples such as this are exceptional; there are only two such cases in my database, both of which involve the word *kupē* ‘non-Indian’.1

(4) a. *kupē*  *di*  ‘foreign woman’
    foreign        woman

    b. *kupē*  *pāni*  ‘Indian-like foreigner’
    foreign        Indian

The function of noun modification may be performed by noun phrases involving inalienable nouns (5).

(5) *a*pen   *krā*  ‘mangaba (latex plant, sp.) ball’
    mangaba        head

---

1 Another possibility is that there may have been some translation inadequacy for these two isolated cases.
Noun modification is also expressed by noun phrases consisting of a noun and a nonfinite verb form. In these cases, the nonfinite verb is the head of the noun phrase, which derives from a verbal predicate construction, whereas the other nominal involved serves as the modifier (6). That the nonfinite verb is part of a noun phrase is demonstrable by its distribution and its function in the clause: it is surrounded by a noun and the definite article $ja$, and it is an argument of the main predicator (6.b). Note that the relational prefix occurs, since the head of the noun phrase, $iren$, begins in a vowel; the pattern is comparable to that of the genitive construction introduced above.

(6) a. 
\[
\left[ \text{bri } \text{n-iren} \right] \text{ ja}
\]
\text{game} \quad \text{RP-slice.NF} \quad \text{DEF.ART} \quad \text{‘a slice of meat’}

b. 
\[
\text{in-mɔ} \left[ \left[ \text{bri } \text{n-iren} \right] \text{ ja} \right] \text{ ð₁}
\]
\text{1-DAT} \quad \text{game} \quad \text{RP-slice.NF} \quad \text{DEF.ART} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{‘Give me one of those slices of meat’}

Noun modification may also involve the presence of a descriptive verb in attributive function in the noun phrase, in a relative clause construction. In this case, the descriptive is the modifier element and follows the head noun (see details on relativization in section V.2). Notice one such complex noun phrase as the object of the instrumental postposition $ɔ$ in (7.c).

(7) a. 
\[
\left[ \text{ic-ɛɛ} \right] \left[ \text{krɔ } \text{krɔ } \text{j-akɔt} \right] \text{ki} \text{brek=} \text{re} \text{ na } \text{ic-pe akudɛk}.
\]
\text{1-RP-cloth} \quad \text{dot} \quad \text{head} \quad \text{RP-tiny red=DIM} \quad \text{RLS} \quad \text{1-DTR} \quad \text{disappear} \quad \text{‘My dotted red dress has disappeared!’}
Determiners. In phrases where the head noun co-occurs with a determiner, the head does not appear phrase finally, since determinants are positional clitics that necessarily follow the nominal element they refer to. Determiners include the definite articles ja ‘singular’ and je ‘collective’, and the indefinite article ō ‘some; a; one’ (8).² Demonstrative pronouns also fall in this functional and distributional category, following the head noun (9).

(8) a. pikap  ja  ‘the dirt’
   di      ja  ‘the woman’

 b. kupē  di  je  ‘the kupē women (a distinctive group)’
   kupē  ğep  je  ‘the kupē ğep people (a foreign group)’

c. katpore  ō  ‘some money’
   karə  ō  ‘a deer’
   apčet  ō  ‘one peba (armadillo sp.)’

(9) go  mūj  ‘that water (river, creek)’
   prīre  nēn  ‘this boy’
The indefinite marker ŏ may operate as a pronoun and thus head a noun phrase on
its own. That is also true of the demonstratives and the singular definite article ja (10).

The collective article je has not been noted in this function.

(10) a. kot paj karə ja pĩ, ka a-j-ačwəj ŏ pĩ.³
    IRLS 1.IRLS deer DEF.ART kill 2 2-RP-also one kill
    ‘I’ll kill the deer and you’ll kill one too.’

b. mūj na kem a-beč
    DEM.DST RLS 3.DAT 2-good
    ‘That one is pleased with you.’

c. ja na kot kakje beči
    DEF.ART RLS 3.ERG draw.lines good
    ‘This one makes good lines.’

Plurality may be expressed with reduplication of the definite article, although the
category of number is often expressed with quantifiers as well (11).

(11) me di jaja ‘the women’
    me prīre jaja ‘the kids’

² The distinction between the indefinite determiner ŏ and the homonymous genitive postposition ŏ is
noticeable, among other things, by the distribution of each: the determiner follows the head; the
postposition is the head of a lower phrase but it precedes the head of the higher structure.
³ In this context, the indefinite article ŏ is pronounced as [õ]. It is not yet clear whether the reduced
consonant at coda position is morphological material, the result of a phonological process, or merely a
phonic effect. Compared to that, there are instances in which the definite article ja in pronominal
function is also pronounced as the more “extended” form [zar’]; under these circumstances, however, it
usually has the more adverbial meaning ‘here’. Thus, the alternation in shape is justifiable as the result of a
morphological process.
Quantifiers. The quantifiers *wa* ‘dual’ and *me* ‘plural’ are positional clitics too. Either one of them may co-occur with an overt head noun; unlike determiners, however, these clitics precede the head noun they modify (11-12).

(12) \[\begin{array}{ll}
    wa & di \\
    me & bi
\end{array}\]

‘(dual) women’

‘(plural) men’

The dual and plural clitics are most frequently used with pronominal elements. Under these circumstances, their distribution will vary depending on whether the pronominal element is a prefix or a free pronoun. The quantifier clitics have the same distribution relative to person prefixes as they do with full nouns, that is, they precede them both (13). With free pronouns, the distribution of *wa* ‘dual’ and *me* ‘plural’ is the opposite: the clitics follow the pronoun (14).

(13) \[\begin{array}{lll}
    [wa] & [\text{i}_{\text{n}}] & m\tilde{o} \\
    \text{DU} & \text{1-DAT}
\end{array}\]

‘for us (DU.EXCL)’

\[\begin{array}{lll}
    [me] & [\emptyset] & k\tilde{a}r\tilde{o} \\
    \text{PL} & \text{3-spirit}
\end{array}\]

‘the (deceased people’s) spirits’

\[\begin{array}{lll}
    [me] & [a] & p-\text{ubu} \\
    \text{PL} & \text{2-RP-see}
\end{array}\]

‘...see you all’

(14) \[\begin{array}{lll}
    k\alpha & [\text{kaj } & wa]... \\
    \text{IRLS} & \text{2.IRLS DU}
\end{array}\]

‘the both of you will...’

\[\begin{array}{lll}
    na & [p\tilde{a} & me]... \\
    \text{RLS} & \text{1 PL}
\end{array}\]

‘we all...’
It is important to note that, of quantifiers in general, only the plural and dual markers *me* and *wa* are positional clitics. Apart from these, other words that encode quantity in Apinajé are descriptive verbs, such as *ʔiʔo ‘many’,* or intransitive verbs, such as the numerals, and therefore do not pertain to the noun phrase.

**Co-occurrence restrictions.** Some determiners may co-occur within the same noun phrase. In my database, the only determiners that appear as such are the ones in (15) below, and only in the relative orders presented. The juxtaposition of determiners encodes specific semantic nuances in a more hierarchical than linear way, structurally. Here, determiners perform distinct functions within the same noun phrase, such that one member of the class heads the other. Consider the examples below, among them (6.b), repeated for convenience as (15.a).

(15) a. *jn-m₅ [*[bri] jₙ-ireŋ]* ja 子弟 one give
   ‘Give me one of those slices of meat’

   b. *me prī abak=kr=ti jaja, me *[ja] muj]* ča.
   PL child ear=rotten=AUG DEF.RDPL PL DEF.ART DEM.DST stand
   ‘You spoiled kids, stand over there.’

   c. *[ja] muj]* a-b₉.
   DEF.ART DEM.DST 2-fetch
   ‘Catch him (i.e. that one)!’
In (15.a), the marker ja indicates definiteness and referentiality pertaining to the phrase ‘slice of meat/sliced meat’; the indefinite marker ō, in turn, encodes a (generic, non-specified) portion of that referent. Thus, the indefinite marker ō heads the definite noun phrase bri jiren ja in a genitive construction, whereby it expresses the partitive category. The constituency relation is indicated here by the intonation pattern and the cohesive distribution of the elements with respect to one another and the verb.

The examples in (15.b-c) involve the definite marker ja and the distal demonstrative mūj. Here, the definite article has a third person pronominal function and heads the phrase; and the distal demonstrative performs its regular function as a determiner of the head.

*Morphosyntactically complex noun phrases.* In the beginning of this section, I have pointed out that verbs may perform nominal functions within the noun phrase. The presence of verbal elements may result in higher complexity when we consider relative clauses. The structural properties of relativization involve basically the same mechanisms observed in the constructions introduced previously, but here further elements are involved as well. The syntactic and functional details about relativization and its impact on the organization of the sentence will be discussed further in chapter v. For now, I will concentrate on the structural makeup of such clauses in Apinajé, and how they fit in the noun phrase.
As a general rule in Apinajé, all kinds of subordination require that the relevant verb be in its nonfinite form (16). In nonfinite forms, it is the absolutive argument that is expressed; either with full noun occurring along with the verb (16.a-b) or with a person prefix attached to the verb (16.c).

If the subordinate verb is transitive, the ergative argument of the relative clause must be overtly marked as such (16.b-c). The ergative marker is a positional clitic and has the alternative forms te and kət: the former is used with first and second person arguments, and takes person prefixes; kət refers to third person arguments, and takes no prefixes (see chapter VI for a diachronic hypothesis about the development of differences in the form of the ergative clitics).
The ergative marker indicates the initial boundary of the subordinate clause – and consequently, of the noun phrase. At the other end, the clausal boundary may coincide with the nonfinite verb form (16.a) or with a nominalizer clitic (16.b-c). However, as far as the noun phrase boundary is concerned, it is the definite article \textit{ja} that usually seals it, in these circumstances (16.a-c).

Besides these overt boundary markers, these constituents may be identified also by their intonation contour and by their internal cohesion, or uninterruptability.

\textit{Noun phrase coordination.} Three distinct strategies for noun phrase coordination have been noted in my database. The first involves the use of the conjunction \textit{nē}; the next employs the associative morpheme \textit{mē} in conjunction with the dual marker \textit{wa}; and the last strategy involves the expression (\textit{ne} \textit{kačiw}, which translates approximately as ‘in addition to; along with’. The conjunction \textit{nē} is also used for clausal coordination, in which context it performs the more specialized function of ‘same subject’ marker (see further details in section 4).

The examples in (17) illustrate the use of \textit{nē}. The coordinate noun phrases are the arguments of the transitive verbs \textit{bu} ‘see’ and \textit{gō} ‘give’, and the intransitive \textit{tē} ‘go’. In (17.a), only the conjunction is used, whereas the dual marker co-occurs with it in (17.b-c). In the latter examples, we notice two tokens of the realis marker \textit{na} – once
introducing the coordinate noun phrases, and the second time introducing the clause as such. Here, the dual marker *wa* refers back to the noun phrase referents, which are somewhat emphasized in this type of construction.

(17) a. *pa na pa* [[*a-kra* *nê* *a-bjeŋ*] *p-ubu]*
    1 RLS 1 2-child CNJ 2-husband RP-see
   ‘I saw your husband and your child.’

    b. *na* [[*a-kra* *nê* *ic-kra*] *na* [*wa*] *ma* *tê*]
       RLS 2-child CNJ 1-child RLS DU MOV go
   ‘My child and your child have both left (together).’

    c. *na* [[*ireptsire* *nê* *tij* *dada*] *na* [*wa*] *in-mô* *kwôrçôŋ* *gô*]
       RLS N. CNJ HT N. RLS DU 1-DAT macaxeira give
   ‘Ireptsi and Dada, both of them have given me some macaxeira.’

Factors that may be of relevance for the double occurrence of the realis marker in this context are (a) that the arguments expressed by the coordinate noun phrases are A/S, and (b) that they are not encoded by pronouns. Were these arguments to be expressed as pronouns, the pattern for syntactically encoded emphasis on them would be the double occurrence of the pronoun itself; and had they been O arguments, the dual clitic could have been dispensed with, as in (17.a).

As pointed out earlier, the number clitics *wa* and *me* generally precede the noun phrase they modify, follow the pronoun they modify, and precede the verb whose bound prefix they modify. In these conjunction examples, the first impulse might be to assume that they modify the preceding noun phrase, which would be structurally odd. However,
this is not the case: the realis clitic *na* marks the right boundary of the conjoined S/A noun phrase in (17.b-c), leaving *wa* to serve as a resumptive pronoun.

When a conjoined noun phrase is in O function, the resumptive pronoun slot is not available. In this case, *wa* can occur only as a modifier of the third person form of the verb (18.a), in which case the O noun phrase is not within the verb phrase, but stands as a preverbal adjunct. The attempt to force an analysis with *wa* as a post-NP modifier fails, as seen in (18.b): *wa* cannot be interpreted as the dual marker when it comes between the conjoined noun phrase and a transitive verb bearing a relational prefix (indicating contiguity with its O argument). Here, *wa* can only be interpreted as the homophonous noun ‘tooth’, and the conjoined noun phrase must be its possessor.

(18) a. *pa na pa [a-kra nē ic-kra] [wa 2bu]*
1 RLS 1 2-child CNJ 1-child DU see
‘I saw both your child and mine.’

b. ?? *pa na pa [(a-kra nē ic-kra wa] p-ubu]*
1 RLS 1 2-child CNJ 1-child tooth RP-see

The same observations regarding the use of the realis and the dual markers are valid for the examples involving the expression (*nē*) *kačiw*, which has the same distribution in the noun phrase as the plain conjunction *nē* in the examples above. Notice that, here too, the dual marker may be dispensed with, when the coordinates constitute the O argument of the verb (19.d). The morpheme *kačiw* can also function as an inchoative marker in a different type of construction (section V.4).
(19) a. pa na pa [a-kra nē kačiw ic-kra] p-ubu
    1 RLS 1 2-child CNJ in.addition 1-child RP-see
    ‘I saw your child, along with mine.’
	na [a-kra ne kačiw ic-kra] na [wa] ma tē
    RLS 2-child CNJ in.addition 1-child RLS DU MOV go
    ‘Your child and mine have both left.’

c. na [ireptsi ne kačiw tij dada]
    RLS N. CNJ in.addition HT N.

    na [wa] īn-mō kwērčēn gō
    RLS DU 1-DAT macaxeira give
    ‘Ireptsi, along with Dada, they have both given me some macaxeira.’

d.wa īn-mō [[kago=tık=re kačiw čwō=krō=tī] ō] gō.
    DU 1-DAT juice=black=DIM in.addtn dough=head=AUG INDF give
    ‘Give (the two of) us some coffee along with some cake.’

The examples in (20) illustrate the use of the associative marker mē, which
follows the same general pattern noted above. One interesting fact about this morpheme
is that it serves as the basis for the numeral amētkrut ‘two’. The use of amē as a numeral
results in different distribution from its use as the associative (20.c). It appears as a
common modifier of the coordinates, thus closing the higher noun phrase, which is again
not contiguous to its predicator.

(20) a. na [a-kra mē ic-kra] [wa] ma tē
    RLS 2-child ASSC 1-child DU MOV go
    ‘Your child and mine have both left (together).’
b. *pa na pa [a kra] mē a-bjẹ̀] [wa] ọ̀bu
1 RLS 1 2-child ASSC 2-husband DU 3 see
‘I saw your child and your husband, both of them (together).’

Notice that (20.a) is a counterexample to the analysis proposed here, that the
coordination of S/A noun phrases must be mediated by the realis marker. The examples in
(21), on the other hand, not only confirm the analysis, they also show that, without the
realis marker, the clause is grammatically unacceptable, a fact that reinforces the idea that
coordinate noun phrases in Apinajé are somewhat emphasized because of the very
syntactic construction in which they appear. In face of the evidence, however, it appears
that the analysis will have to be reajusted to include the possibility that position and
movement intransitives may, in fact, allow for the lack of the realis marker. Further
research will be necessary to clarify this point.

(21) a. na ireptsire mē tij dada na wa iṣẹ́ mọ́ kwọ̀rẹ̀ mọ̀ gō
RLS N. CNJ HT N. RLS DU 1-DAT macaxeira give
‘Ireptsi and Dada, both of them have given me some macaxeira.’

b. *na ireptsire mē tij dada iṣẹ́ mọ́ kwọ̀rẹ̀ mọ̀ gō

The strategies for noun phrase coordination presented in (17-21) all indicate that
the referents performed actions, underwent changes-of-state or participated in events
together, as a party. Another coordination strategy, one that employs the noun àcwọ́j
‘likewise’, indicates that the referents of each noun phrase performed the same actions, participated in the same events or underwent the same states, but they did so independently from one another. Further details about this construction are in section 2.3.

2.2. Postpositional phrase

The structure of postpositional phrases is quite consistent regardless of the morphosyntactic properties of the noun phrases involved. Vowel-initial postpositions require relational prefixes, as usual. Objects of postpositions may be simplex noun phrases, coordinated noun phrases and nonfinite clauses (22-24).

(22) a. [i-ŋ-ökwĩ] wɔr 1-RP-home ALLT ‘towards my home’

b. [jŋ-ō kukrač] kamɔ 1-GEN bowl INSV ‘in my bowl’

c. [me di ja] kot PL woman DEF.ART after ‘(e.g. go) after the women’

(23) kɔt kaj tẽ ne [[a-ŋĩ ne a-brɛget] mĩ] ape. IRLS 2.IRLS go CNJ 2-KT CNJ 2-KT DAT work ‘You will work for your mother and for your mother-in-law.’


Complex noun phrases, namely, those including relative clauses, may have postpositions but are not directly headed by the postposition; in these cases, a person
prefix or third person form of the postposition takes on the role of resumptive pro-form, instead (25).

(25) \[ \text{[\text{go } n-ikje ] } \ddot{\text{s}} ] \text{ me } di \text{ jaja} \quad k\text{\text{"o}m} \text{ ape\text{"o}n} \quad pr\text{"om}. \]

water RP-side LOC PL women DEF.RDPL 3.DAT work.NF wish

‘The women from the other side of the river like to work.’

Determiners. Of the determiners found in noun phrases, only demonstrative pronouns may replace the noun phrase headed by a postposition. Otherwise, in the absence of a full noun phrase, it is a person prefix or the reflexive or reciprocal clitics that attach to the postposition, serving as cross-reference markers (26).

(26) a.\text{ ja } \quad \text{kam\text{"o}}} \quad \text{‘for that reason (lit.: ‘in this’)}

DEF.ART INSV

b.\text{ atp\text{"e} } \quad \text{t-\text{o}}} \quad \text{‘with one another’}

RCPR RP-INSTR

c.\text{ ku-rum} \quad \text{‘from it’}

3-ABL

Quantifiers. The plural and dual clitics may each co-occur with a postposition that is inflected for person. In this case, the quantifier clitic is actually modifying the (referent of the) person prefix attached to the postposition, and occurs preposed to it. Most postpositions take a zero prefix for third person; others have irregular third person forms (see diachronic hypothesis in section III.3.1.3). In these cases, the quantifier occurs preposed to the postposition itself (27).
Clausal objects. A few select postpositions may perform a more grammatical function when taking a clause as their objects. One such example is the dative postposition \textit{mē}, which may encode notions of future or purpose action as illustrated in (28).

\begin{verbatim}
(28) a. ma, na pa kō=mē [(i-n-ō pī katpre|mē) tē]
   NO RLS 1 lrls=DAT 1-RP-GEN wood fasten DAT go
   ‘No, I’m still going to fasten my fire wood.’

b. ma, mu=tūm na pa [(i-n-ō pī katpre|mē) tē]
   NO DEM.DST=DIR RLS 1 l-RP-GEN wood fasten DAT go
   ‘No, I’m going over there to fasten my fire wood.’
\end{verbatim}

Postpositional phrase coordination. The coordination of postpositional phrases seems more restricted in possibilities than plain noun phrase coordination. The conjunction used is the associative marker \textit{mē}. The examples in (29) show structural distinctions that have to do with whether one of the coordinates is a speech-act participant. If so, it will be expressed as a person prefix on the postposition, which results in non-contiguity between the (notional) coordinates, since the two nominal elements are separated by the
associative and the dual marker (29.a). That is not exactly what could be called coordination, though the combination of dual marker and first person prefix encodes first person exclusive, and the other participant is clearly indicated by the associative marker mē. In (29.b), on the other hand, the two third person objects are expressed by overt noun phrases linked by the associative marker.

(29) a. kot kaj tē ne [[a-breget mē] wa īn]-mō ape.
   IRLS 2.IRLS go CNJ 2-KR. ASSC DU 1-DAT work
   ‘You will go and work for both of us [me with your mother-in-law].’

   N. RLS village ASSC field 3.DAT DU two INSV live
   ‘Sirač lives both in the field and in the village.’
   [Lit.: ‘Sirač, towards the village and the field, in both places she lives/wanders.’]

The unacceptable examples in (30) show that the presence of the dual marker wa is necessary, and that it mediates the relation between the coordinate noun phrases and the postposition that heads the higher phrase. In other words, there is no coordination of postpositional phrases as such; instead, there is either noun phrase or clause coordination (31).

(30) a. *kot kaj a-breget ne īn-mō ape

   b. *Siračti na krija ne pur ja kāmō pa.

   c. ?? Kot kaj a-breget ne īn-mō meō n-ipeč.
   ‘You will cook some food for your mother-in-law and for me.’
(31) Pa kot paj [[zekabere o] gre]  
   1 IRLS 1.IRLS N. INSTR dance  
   ne kačiw [[bunile o] gre]  
   CNJ.SS in.addition N. INSTR dance  
   RLS 1 wood DEF grab CNJ.SS 3-INSTR peba hole DEF poke  
   ‘I grabbed a wood stick and poked the peba burrow with it.’  
   b. na pa [[prīga=k=tí aŋ] n-ipect]  
   RLS 1 bacuri=AUG sweet RP-make  
   ‘I made some bacuri jam.’
Verb arguments may be expressed by full noun phrases within the verb phrase or by person prefixes; either way, vowel-initial predicates must take relational prefixes. Relational prefixes, as already mentioned, indicate distributional contiguity and syntactic constituency between the elements of the phrase. When such contiguity is breached, the relevant argument is understood as being under focus, as it occurs elsewhere in the clause. In the case of transitive, monosyllabic predicates, an argument under focus is replaced in the verb phrase by the third person accusative prefix ku-, which serves as a resumptive pronoun (35-36).
The other possibility is that the relevant noun phrase argument may occur elsewhere in the discourse, in which case the accusative prefix serves as an anaphoric pronoun. Note also that the zero third person prefix occurs, when distributional restrictions prevent the occurrence of *ku-*.
Verb phrase/clause coordination. Verb phrase coordination basically coincides with clausal coordination. The strategies employed include the conjunctions *ne* and *jum*, which have the additional function of a switch reference system; or simply the juxtaposition of phrases. The distribution of these markers is also ruled by the contrast between speech-act and third person participants.

*Ne* indicates same subject (see discussion of grammatical relations in section 4) and is used regardless of person distinctions (38.a-b). When there is switch in reference such that both referents are third person participants, the conjunction *jum* is employed (38.c). When there is switch of reference to a speech-act participant, however, there is juxtaposition of clauses such that the second referent is introduced by a free pronoun (38.d).

(38) a.  *dɔm*  *kɔt*  *ka*  *a-br*  *tɔ=$ne$*
      but  IRLS  2  2-run fast  FCT
*ne*  [[[*a-mɔ*  *n̥i*  *prɔm*]  *cɔwəŋ*]  *ja*]  *re*  *n̥e*  *r$\ddot{i}$*  *a-n$\ddot{ni}$*
SS  2-DAT  have.sex  wish  NMLZ  DET  outrun  SS  may  2-h.s.

b.  *n$\ddot{e}$*  *r$\ddot{i}$*  *a-n$\ddot{ni}$*

‘Well, if you run really fast and outrun the one you want to have sex with, then you may have sex with her.  But if you don’t outrun her, then you may not have sex.’
b.  *miti krē pa nē kir kamō kə, krē, i ċi pa*
    alligator eat CNCL SS moquia LOC skin head bone put CNCL
    ‘(They) ate the alligator and put its skin, head, bones, all into the roasting place.’

c.  *kot paј aroj kugōn pa nē pān ∅-katō pa*
    IRLS 1.IRLS rice thresh CNCL SS after 3-roast CNCL
    *nē pān ku-či jam nō nē akri*
    SS after 3-put 3.DS lie SS cold
    ‘I’ll thresh the rice, roast it, put it on a flat surface, then it will sit there and cool off.’

d.  *ōbri jam kəm, ‘e! kot paј a-tu,*
    then 3.DS 3.DAT EXCL IRLS 1.IRLS 2-carry.on.back
    *pa dō=kij a-t-ō tē ka itkō.*
    1 at.once 2-RP-INSTR go 2 drink
    ‘Then she (the jaguar) says to him (the pān), “Yeah, I’ll carry you on my back, take you so you drink water at once.’

The noun *ačwəj* ‘likewise’ is, structurally speaking, the head of a noun phrase, possessed by *ic-kra* in the examples below. *Ačwəj* behaves morphosyntactically as an inalienable noun. It takes person prefixes and may be followed by determiners such as the definite marker *ja*. In other words, not only does it belong in the noun phrase, it heads it (38). The adverbial *mənēn* ‘also’, on the other hand, is a sentence-level operator with rather flexible distribution in the clause, as will be seen later on.

Thus, the strategies presented in (39-40) are not exactly instances of noun phrase, but clausal coordination. Further details on this subject are in section (4).
(39) a. na [a-kra] ma te kačiw [ic-kra j-ačwəj] ma te
RLS 2-child MOV go in.addition 1-child RP-likewise MOV go
‘Your child and mine left (separately).’
(Lit.: ‘Your child left and, in addition, my child likewise left.’)

b. [me Ø-ačwəj jaja] apen=kr̃=ti re
PL 3-likewise DEF.RDPL mangaba=head=AUG throw
‘They too play ball.’

c. ma, kot paj [i-j-ačwəj] akupim i-č-ujañ ket=ñe
no IRLS 1.IRLS 1-RP-likewise back.CNTRF 1-RP-return NEG
‘No, I’m not coming back either.’

(40) na [[a-kra] ma te] jnum məñeŋ [[ic-kra] ma te]
RLS 2-child MOV go CNJ.DS also 1-child MOV go
‘Your child left and my child also left.’

3. Clause structure

In what follows, the various types of main clause structure are introduced. It will be seen
that some of the variation found in verbal clauses is due to the major distinction between
the realis and irrealis mode, as well as to speech-act distinctions, especially the contrast
between affirmative and negative sentences. Other differences in the structure of verbal
clauses are due to the morphosyntactic nature of the predicators involved, namely, those
that entail the standard pattern of argument marking already introduced (sections III.3.2.1.
and III.4.1.1), as against those predicators that involve non-canonical patterns of argument
marking.
3.1. Mode distinctions

The realis and irrealis encompass all clause structure types in Apinajé. That is, clauses are either realis or irrealis, structurally. From a semantic and functional perspective, the realis mode includes past, present, habitual – negative, positive or interrogative – propositions. The irrealis mode comprises future, hypothetical, counterfactual, conditional, intenitive – negative, positive, interrogative and some imperative – propositions. Speech act distinctions therefore do not interfere with mode distinctions, for the most part (except for one type of imperative, as will be seen below).

The realis mode is encoded by the positional clitic na. As a general rule, this marker indicates the clause initial boundary and is typically followed by a free pronoun, which encodes the nominative argument of the clause. Tense-aspect distinctions are expressed elsewhere in the clause, often by clitic sequences postposed to the nominative pronoun, or by clause final clitics, subordinators, or serial constructions (41).

(41) a. na pa pre ic-tik
   RLS 1 PST 1-black
   ‘I got dirty.’

b. na mūj pre te eč=įi nē
   RLS DEM PST HAB lie=NMLZ FCT
   ‘That one used to lie.’

The irrealis mode is encoded by the positional clitic kēt. This clitic also indicates clause initial boundary and is obviously in complementary distribution with na (42).
(42) a. kot kaj a-tik
   IRLS 2.IRLS 2-black
   ‘You will get dirty.’

   b. kot ja wa prek nē wa beč nē.
   IRLS 3.IRLS DU tall CNJ DU pretty FCT
   ‘They will both grow up and be beautiful.’

The form of independent pronouns, which encode the nominative argument of the clause, is different in irrealis and realis clauses; except for this detail, other aspects of the clause are the same in either clause type.

Beyond this basic observation, it is also noticeable that kot has a more restricted distribution than na. The latter may occur in positions other than clause initially; in such circumstances, it is often syntactically associated to noun phrases, indicating either (a) that such noun phrases are in focus position – a function common also to the irrealis marker (43); or (b) stating the status of the noun phrase as the predicator (under focus) of the clause, as illustrated by an example of noun phrase coordination, repeated below as (44).

(43) a. pa na pa pre in-diw nē
   1 RLS 1 PST 1-young FCT
   ‘(As for me,) I was young then.’

   b. tom na wa beč=ti
   DEM RLS DU pretty=AUG
   ‘Those are pretty!’

   c. pa kot paj zekabere ē gre
   1 IRLS 1.IRLS N. INSTR dance
   ‘I’ll dance with Zecabere.’
3.2. Speech-act distinctions

The declarative, interrogative and imperative speech-acts correspond to morphological and structural distinctions in Apinajé. Declarative clauses have the structural properties of the types just introduced.

Polarity questions may be expressed with exactly the same kind of structure as simple declarative clauses, but with a distinct intonation pattern; or the question may be introduced by the positional clitic čo (alternative form čo, depending on the speaker), which co-occurs with the mode markers, but at absolute clause-initial position (45.a-b). Information questions are naturally introduced by interrogative pronouns, also at clause initial position (45.c-d).

(44) na ireptsire mē ij dada na wa iñ-mō kwərčən gō
RLS N. CNJ HT N. RLS DU 1-DAT macaxeira give
‘Ireptsi and Dada, both of them have given me some macaxeira (sweet manioc).’

(45) a.čo na ka ra a-tujaro?
Q. RLS 2 ASP 2-pregnant
‘Are you pregnant yet?’

b.čo kət kaj ajtə a-tujaro?
Q. IRLS 2.IRLS more 2-pregnant
‘Will you get pregnant again?’

c.meʔo na jari tujaro?
who RLS here pregnant
‘Who is pregnant, here?’
There are two strategies for the expression of imperative constructions. One of them is the use of an irrealis clause whose nominative participant is the addressee of the command (46.a). This strategy is employed when the speaker is making a request or giving advice to the addressee. The other strategy is used in more direct commands, and that is reflected in the structure of the imperative construction (Haiman 1985; Givón 2001: 34-35). Here, no mode marker is employed. The proposition is expressed, instead, by the bare or inflected form of the verb, depending on its morphosyntactic class. This is the only construction type in which a transitive verb may display a nominative pattern of inflection (i.e., it takes the second person prefix, as one might expect of an imperative context (46.b)).

(46) a. *kət kaj i₇n₅ me ok j-akre pa ɔbu*
   IRLS 2.IRLS 1-DAT PL paint RP-show 1 see
   ‘Show me how to paint so I can see it (i.e. teach me how).’

   b. *a-pī*
   2-kill
   ‘Kill it (e.g. game)!’
3.3. Verbal clauses

Verbal clauses have a structure distinct from nominal ones, not only because they – obviously – are centered around verbal predicators, but especially because they involve an interesting combination of alignment patterns (cf. section 4).

In the present discussion, I will be employing the notation A, S, and O, proposed in Dixon (1979, 1994) and later expanded to include E, in Aikhenvald, Dixon and Onishi’s (2001) framework. The characterization proposed by Dixon for these symbols, as representing universal syntactic-semantic primitives, has been critiqued by other linguists. Some of the problems that have been pointed out include (a) inadequacies in the semantic characterization of these primitives; (b) the fact that their definition is based on a mixture of semantic and grammatical properties; and (c) that certain languages do not seem to follow these kinds of patterning, and therefore such primitives should not be regarded as universal (Mithun and Chafe 1999; Comrie 1978; 1989). Nonetheless, these symbols are amply used in the literature as a means to refer to core arguments of transitive and intransitive verbs.

Keeping in mind the problems raised in the literature regarding the theoretical implications carried by these symbols, in the present discussion I will use them more as useful mnemonic devices than as strict theoretical constructs. On the other hand, I will follow the typology proposed in Aikhenvald, Dixon and Onishi (2001) when laying out patterns of participant marking noted in Apinajé. Once these patterns have been laid out, I will propose a set of language internal criteria for identifying what relevant grammatical relations there are in Apinajé (section 4; cf. Dryer 1997).
3.3.1. Canonical predicates

The major morphosyntactic classes of verbs, as seen in section III.3.1.2.1, are those that comprise (di)transitive verbs, intransitive verbs, and descriptive verbs. It should be noted from the start that, for each verb class, specific participants are understood as core arguments (A, S, O, E) because they are necessarily required by the verb. However, the core argument status of some of these participants may or may not be supported by a robust set of grammatical criteria in Apinajé, as will be seen in section 4.

Intransitive verbs do not take person inflection in simple clauses, and thus form a split intransitivity pattern along with descriptives, as both types are monovalent. The split between descriptives and intransitivies corresponds in large part to the semantic distinction between states as against events and activities, but it is not guided by it. The sub-categorization is basically of a morphosyntactic nature (for a detailed discussion about descriptive verbs see Oliveira 2003).

Contrasting to bound person inflection, the use of independent pronouns follows a nominative pattern. Indeed, nominative free pronouns are nearly obligatory in any simple
Thus, the structure of simple clauses in Apinajé betrays a combination of split intransitivity and nominative alignment patterns – all this relative to agreement and cross-referencing, however. It is only in the context of subordination that ergativity is overtly expressed by case markers (see chapter V). These patterns comprise the canonical marking of arguments in Apinajé verbal clauses.

3.3.2. Noncanonical predicates

The typology of argument marking proposed in Onishi (2001) departs from the assumption that all languages include transitive and intransitive clauses, and that the core arguments of these clauses – A, S, O – will be expressed according to certain canonical patterns noticeable in that given language. Additionally, languages will also display a set of predicators that include what he terms “extensions to the core”, which he indicates
with the symbol E (which stands for “extended argument”, following Dixon 1994). The “core” plus “extensions” result in four clause types, displayed schematically below (from Onishi 2001: 2), in which core arguments may be marked in the most diverse ways, crosslinguistically.

(48)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Type</th>
<th>Arguments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plain transitive</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended transitive (ditransitive)</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain intransitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended intransitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The schematic representation in (48) defines possible clauses types according to the types of arguments that are obligatorily required in each. Thus, a plain transitive clause must include A and O; a ditransitive clause must include A, O and a third argument, which may be expressed morphosyntactically as an indirect object E or as a secondary object O; a plain intransitive has its single argument S; and an extended intransitive has two obligatory arguments: S plus another, E, which is typically expressed with oblique markers. Extended arguments differ from oblique participants or adjuncts in that they are obligatorily required by the verb.

The fact that some of these core arguments will be marked with adpositions or case-marking certainly makes it hard to decide whether the participant in question is in fact a core argument of the verb. Thus, as Onishi wisely points out, “both morphological and syntactic criteria [are necessary] to determine which arguments should be regarded as A, S, O and E” (p.2).
The noncanonical marking of core arguments is understood here, with Onishi (2001), as those patterns that deviate from the standard patterns of argument marking used in a given language. In the case of Apinajé, the canonical pattern is the use of free pronouns to indicate $S_A/S_O/A$ (nominative pattern), and bound person markers to indicate $S_O/O$ (absolutive pattern). Noncanonical marking in Apinajé then involves the use of various postpositions for the expression of what appear to be core arguments, that is, participants that are obligatorily required by verbs.

In the remainder of this section, I will tentatively depart from the assumption that the patterns of Apinajé laid out here involve the noncanonical marking of core arguments; at this point, this assumption is based simply on (a) the frequency and consistency with which certain postpositions come associated with certain verbs; and (b) the fact that these combinations sometimes result in significantly distinct meanings from those of the base verbs, as if in a derivational relation. Supporting grammatical evidence is presented in section 4.

Noncanonical marking in Apinajé is noticeable with verbs of cognition, emotion, utterance, and sensation, among others. The patterns observed with these verbs all depart from the basic canonical patterns of argument marking and involve many sorts of postpositions – from locative, to dative, to instrumental to ergative. The semantic subcategorization of such predicates corresponds somewhat to the kinds of postpositions used, but not necessarily so.
Notionally monovalent non-canonical predicaters. Most (notional) monovalent non-canonical predicaters (and I say “predicators,” rather than “verbs,” because some of these are based on nouns⁴) have their sole participant marked with the dative postposition, although there is one verb, *amnī kati* ‘have fun; enjoy oneself’, which calls for the reflexive pronoun. Verbs belonging in this class encode sensations and emotions (49-50).

(49) a. \( S_{\text{DAT}} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mō} & \quad \text{ba} \\
\text{mō} & \quad kaga \\
\text{mō} & \quad kri \\
\text{mō} & \quad prēm \\
\text{mō} & \quad ko
\end{align*}
\]

‘be fearful’

‘be lazy’

‘feel cold’

‘be hungry’

‘be thirsty’

b. \( S_{\text{RFLX}} \)

*amnī kati* ‘enjoy oneself’

(50) a. \( na \quad pa \quad amnī=kati. \)

\( \text{RLS} \quad 1 \quad \text{RFLX}=\text{play} \)

‘I played/enjoyed myself.’

b. \( na \quad em \quad mebōj \quad pītā \quad uba. \quad kam \quad ba \quad teč. \)

\( \text{RLS} \quad 3 \quad \text{thing} \quad \text{all} \quad 3.\text{DAT} \quad \text{fear} \quad \text{INTS} \)

‘That one is afraid of everything. He’s very fearful.’

---

⁴ That the elements involved are nouns, and not simply the result of conversion of nouns into verbs, can be seen from morphological differences between the members of a pair, for instance, as in *akri* ‘be cold’ as compared to *kri* ‘cold (?)’; another example is *t-ō go* [RP-LOC water] ‘sweat’, as against *ō* ‘LOC’ and *go* ‘water’.
c. na pa  iP- Tā  kaga.
    RLS  1  1-DAT  refuse
    ‘I feel lazy (Possibly: ‘It refuses to me’).’

d. na pa  iP-mā  prīm  nē.
    RLS  1  1-DAT  wish  FCT
    ‘I am hungry.’

e. pa  iP-mā  kor.
    1  1-DAT  thirst
    ‘I’m thirsty.’

f. na  ka  a-mā  kri  nē.
    RLS  2  2-DAT  cold  FCT
    ‘You are cold.’

At a closer look, one could hypothesize that the predicator in these cases may be
taking a zero third person marker, in which case the predicator could not be adequately
described as monovalent. The difficulty with confirming this hypothesis is that, in some
cases, a regular verb adopts an alternative form which is specific to this kind of
predication. Take the example of mā kri ‘feel cold’: elsewhere, the form of the predicator
is akri ‘be.cold’, which may take person inflection, thus also employing the relational
prefix j-. In the case of a zero third person form, the relational prefix would not occur; but
the formative a- would not be lost either. Therefore, the best criteria for deciding whether
these are mono- or bivalent predicators, and even whether the participants marked with
postpositions are or are not core arguments, must come from syntax. For the time being,
I will simply lay out the morphological patterns involved, and will postpone a discussion
of the syntactic evidence until section 4.
**Bivalent non-canonical predicators.** Bivalent non-canonical predicators come in a variety of patterns. The primary difference between the patterns is whether A or O is noncanonically marked, and secondarily whether we should think of some of these as extended intransitives rather than noncanonical transitives. We begin with two clear cases of noncanonical A: some verbs require that the A be marked as a dative, others that it be marked as ergative.

The verbs that require a dative A include verbs of liking, disliking, refusal, fear, and desire. The latter three occur as complement-taking verbs as well, as may be seen in the examples. The clause begins with the nominative pronoun in first or second position, followed a bit later by a coreferential dative-marked A argument; the O follows the canonical pattern, either occurring as a noun phrase immediately adjacent to the verb, or indicated morphologically with bound pronouns ((51-52); O-NP’s are within brackets).

(51) \[ A_{\text{DAT}} \rightarrow O_{\text{ACC}} \]

a. \textit{mō sponsor} \hspace{0.5cm} 'please.palate'
   \textit{mō kīni} \hspace{0.5cm} 'please.affection'
   \textit{mō kure} \hspace{0.5cm} 'dislike.people'

b. \textit{mō kaga} \hspace{0.5cm} 'give up; refuse'
   \textit{mō prēm} \hspace{0.5cm} 'want; desire'
   \textit{mō uba/pubra} \hspace{0.5cm} 'be afraid of O’
The ergative A pattern is found with three transitive verbs, which exceptionally occur in their nonfinite forms in main clauses (53). The A occurs once only, marked as ergative, and the O takes the canonical expression of the accusative argument (54).

Predicators from this morphosyntactic class have cognition semantics, but the A argument is not a passive experiencer: there is often some deliberate involvement of the participant in the cognitive experience. The ergative marking on A then seems to encode this semantic nuance.
The motivation for these verbs to occur in their nonfinite forms is not clear yet; further data and analysis are still needed for a better understanding of the occurrence of nonfinite forms in what otherwise appear to be simple clauses (cf. section V.4).

The next set of patterns could be analyzed in two different ways: either they present a noncanonical O or they present formally intransitive predicates with an obligatory oblique argument (E) instead of an O. In favor of the former analysis is the obligatory nature of the second argument. In favor of the latter analysis is the fact that the putative A for some verbs follows the standard A/Sₐ pattern (unmarked, clause-initial); but for other verbs, it follows the pattern for subjects of descriptives (clause-initial nominative pronoun, s₀ verbal prefix).

The verbs shown in (55) are based on intransitive stems, which take no person marking. Thus, both arguments of the predication must be marked outside the verb stem. For this set in particular, the A/Sₐ argument is indicated with the nominative free pronoun,
and the O argument is marked with either the dative, instrumental, locative or inessive postpositions. These are mostly utterance verbs, in addition to one emotion verb.

(55) a. A/S$_A$ O/E$_{\text{-DAT}}$

\begin{align*}
  mō & \quad \text{amōra} & \text{‘yell at’} \\
  mō & \quad \text{akiri} & \text{‘swear at; yell at’} \\
  mō & \quad \text{e} & \text{‘tie; fasten’}
\end{align*}

b. A/S$_A$ O/E$_{\text{-LOC}}$

\begin{align*}
  ō & \quad \text{akuña} & \text{‘laugh at O’} \\
  ō & \quad \text{ařwə} & \text{‘request from O’}
\end{align*}

c. A/S$_A$ O/E$_{\text{-INSTR}}$

\begin{align*}
  ə & \quad \text{aba} & \text{‘miss O’}
\end{align*}

d. A/S$_A$ O/E$_{\text{-INSV}}$

\begin{align*}
  \text{kamō} & \quad \text{krak} & \text{‘shoot at’}
\end{align*}

(56) a. di kōt iñ-mō amra čwən ja na ickramčwə ket.

\begin{align*}
  \text{woman3.ERG} & \quad \text{1-DAT} & \text{yell.NF RLVZ ART RLS 1-friend NEG} \\
  \text{‘This woman who’s yelling at me is no friend of mine.’}
\end{align*}

b. kəm akiri.

\begin{align*}
  3.DAT & \quad \text{call} \\
  \text{‘Call him!’}
\end{align*}

c. kōt paj pī mō e.

\begin{align*}
  \text{IRLS} & \quad \text{1.IRLS wood} & \text{DAT tie} \\
  \text{‘I will tie the lumber.’}
\end{align*}
d. *ka na ka ic-t-2 aba nē*
   2 RLS 2 1-RP-INSTR think FCT
   ‘It is you, you miss me (i.e. feel my absence).’

The verb *kamš krak* ‘shoot [at]’ is, in reality, a trivalent verb whose O argument, *kuče* ‘gun’, is often omitted; for that reason, the observable pattern for this verb resembles one of the noncanonical patterns – in fact, it may eventually become solidified in that way. Typically, with this verb the focus is on the target of the shooting, i.e. E: the fact that there was a weapon used is assumed, and thus left unsaid. The status of the weapon as the O argument of the verb is demonstrated in the examples below: in (57.a-b) the target is marked with the inessive postposition; in (57.c), it is marked directly on the verb.

(57) a. *pa na pa a=kamš Ø-krak*.
   1 RLS 1 2=INSV 3(gun)-shoot
   ‘It was I, I shot you.’

   b. *pa na pa ampi=ka=kamš Ø-krak*
   1 RLS 1 RFLX-INSV 3-shoot
   ‘It was I, I shot myself.’

   c. *na kuče ate ampi=krak*
   RLS gun alone RFLX=shoot
   ‘The gun went off on its own.’

The other pattern is illustrated in (58). The A/S₀ argument is marked by the nominative pronoun plus the S₀ prefix on the verb, while the O/E argument is marked with the dative postposition. This set includes verbs of utterance, deception and refusal. It also
includes the verbs for ‘find’, which are actually metaphorical extensions of a pair of movement-verb constructions in which the literal endpoint of the trajectory is the metaphorical O argument of the verbal expression.

(58) \[ A/S_O \ O/E_{-DAT} \]

- mē ure ‘drop; leave behind; give up’
- mē abatpēre ‘remember’
- mē eč ‘lie to O’
- mē kapēr ‘talk to’
- mē apoj ‘find <PL.O>’
- mē kata ‘find <NONPL.O>’

(59) a. na pa pre kōm i-n-īre jum tē tēm.
   RLS 1 PST 3.DAT 1-RP-let.go DS go fall
   ‘I let go of him and he fell.’

   b. na pa ra ajte [a-mē i-j-abatpēr] ket.
   RLS 1 ASP more 2-DAT 1-RP-remember NEG
   ‘I don’t think about you anymore.’

   c. na pa [mē kōm] i-j-apoj.
   RLS 1 PL 3.DAT 1-RP-exit<PL>
   ‘I found them.’

   d. na pa uū j-ipok ri [kōm] i-c-kata.
   RLS 1 woods RP-middle DEM 3.DAT 1-exit<SG>
   ‘I found it out in the woods.’

A set of verbs of negative emotion follows the same pattern, except that the O/E argument, the target of the emotion, is marked with the inessive postposition kamō.
A third set of verbs, of cognition and interaction, comprise the last set of bivalent noncanonical verbs. Along with the A/S₀ subject, the O/E argument takes the instrumental postposition ɕ.

(60)  

\[ A/S₀ \rightarrow \text{ABS O/E} \rightarrow \text{LOC} \]

\[ \text{kamō} \quad \text{grik} \quad \text{‘be angry at’} \]

\[ \text{kamō} \quad \text{ọpre} \quad \text{‘be aggressive towards’} \]

\[ \text{kamō} \quad \text{ọkure} \quad \text{‘be upset with’} \]

(61)  

\begin{align*}
\text{na} & \quad \text{icamō} & \quad \text{agrik}.

2 & 1-\text{INSV} & 2-\text{angry}

\text{‘You got angry at me.’}
\end{align*}

(62)  

\[ A/S₀ \quad O/E \rightarrow \text{INST} \]

\[ ɕ \text{ utn/pita} \quad \text{‘agree with’} \]

\[ ɕ \text{ abaketkati} \quad \text{‘forget O’} \]

\[ ɕ \text{ abatpēr} \quad \text{‘think about O’} \]

\[ ɕ \text{ akēc} \quad \text{‘spin’} \]

(63) a. \text{atpēn 1-ɕ wa ị-c-p-ịọ.}

\[
\text{RCPR} \quad \text{RP-INST} \quad \text{DU} \quad 1-\text{RP-agree}
\]

‘The two of us agreed with one another’.

b. \text{na pa te ɕ i-j-abatpēr.}

\[
\text{RLS} \quad \text{1 HAB INSTR} \quad 1-\text{RP-remember}
\]

‘I keep thinking about him.’

c. \text{na pa a-ị-ọ ken=re ɕ i-j-abaketkati.}

\[
\text{RLS} \quad \text{1 2-RP-GEN beads INSTR} \quad 1-\text{RP-forget}
\]

‘I forgot your glass beads.’
3.4. Clauses with nominal predicates

Clauses with nominal predicates involve either juxtaposition or copula constructions. The functional domain encoded by each construction type overlaps somewhat, such that proper inclusion (cf. Payne 1997) and equative predicates may be expressed by both types, whereas possessive predicates are expressed only by juxtaposition.

**Juxtaposition constructions.** A juxtaposition construction is one that does not include any type of verbal element, but rather consists of a noun phrase in predicate position plus its subject. Proper inclusion, equative, and possessive predicates are expressed by the same construction overall, although it will differ in a few structural details depending on the function of the nominal predication at hand. In what follows, I will address these differences, comparing the structure of each subtype of juxtaposition construction with that of descriptive predicates and verbal clauses.

3.4.1. Proper inclusion predicates

Functionally, proper inclusion predicates indicate the membership of a given entity into a general class, as in “I am a teacher.” In Apinajé, a juxtaposition construction expressing

d. na pa ic-kra ơ i-j-akēč.
RLS 1 1-child INSTR 1-RP-spin
‘I spun my child [e.g. holding in the arms or on some children’s toy.]’
this kind of predication does not require the presence of a free pronoun for the expression of the subject. Here, the person prefix attached to the predicate noun is what indicates the subject, regardless of whether a pronoun also occurs. Should a pronoun be included in the clause, it would appear preceding the modality marker and agreeing with the prefix, as illustrated in the elicited examples presented below.

(64) a. pa na in-di
    1 RLS 1-woman
    ‘I’m a woman.’

b. ka na a-bi
    2 RLS 2-man
    ‘You’re a man.’

c. ja na Ø-wap
    DEM RLS 3-knife
    ‘This is a knife.’

This construction type then differs structurally from verbal clauses and descriptive predicates because of the potential absence of the independent pronoun, and the reversed relative order of the mood marker and the pronoun when one occurs at all. In addition, it is specifically distinct from descriptive predicate constructions in that, even though pronominal prefixes refer to the subject in both, in the nominal predicate construction the prefix structurally encodes the subject, rather just than agreeing with it.

3.4.2. Equative predicates
Equative predicates functionally express a one-to-one identity relation between two specific, referential entities, as in “I am Sam” or “I am your sister.” A structural difference between the juxtaposition construction employed here and the one expressing proper inclusion is that here a personal prefix on the predicate noun indicates the possessor, and not the subject. The subject is encoded rather by a free pronoun, although its order relative to the mood marker remains reversed as compared to verbal clauses: the pronoun occurs clause-initially, and not in second position.

(65) a. \( pa \) \( na \) \( a-prõ \)
    1 RLS 2-wife
    ‘I’m your wife.’

    b. \( ka \) \( na \) \( in-bjen \)
    2 RLS 1-husband
    ‘You’re my husband.’

Equative predicates by juxtaposition differ structurally from descriptive and verbal clauses primarily with respect to the relative order of the mood marker and the pronoun, and, specifically with respect to descriptives, because the prefix on the predicator is not coreferential with the subject of the clause.

3.4.3. Possessive predicates

Possessive predicates (e.g. “I have a sister”) expressed by juxtaposition in Apinajé share some structural details with equative predicates, namely, the free pronoun must precede
the modality marker, but here it must be coreferential with the prefix on the predicate; these morphemes refer collectively to the possessor (66.a). If the coreferentiality condition is not met, then the construction will functionally constitute an equative nominal predicate (66.b).

(66) a. pa na ic-wapɔ
    1 RLS 1-knife
    ‘I have a knife.’

b. ja na ic-wapɔ
   DEM RLS 1-knife
   ‘That is my knife.’

It is evident that the construction in (66.a) is structurally identical to that expressing proper inclusion predicates introduced above (cf. (64)). Nonetheless, the interpretation here is one of possession because the nominal predicate has an inanimate, non-human referent. When asked whether one could get a proper inclusion interpretation out of example (66.a), as in “I am a knife,” consultants rejected the possibility and offered copula constructions, instead (67).

(67) a. [pa na] ic-pe wapɔ
    1 RLS 1-COP knife
    ‘I am a knife.’

b. [pa na] ic-pe kučɛ
   1 RLS 1-COP rifle
   ‘I am a rifle.’
Copula constructions. In the copula construction, subject marking is expressed by a person prefix attached to the copula \textit{pe}, such that free pronouns are optional (67-68). This construction may express equative predication (68.a) as well as proper inclusion (68.b-c).

\begin{itemize}
\item[(68) a. \textit{\textup{\textit{ic-pe k}enkt\texttilde}}]
\begin{tabular}{llll}
& & \text{yes} & \text{1-COP} \text{ N.} \\
\text{\textit{k}enkt\texttilde} & \text{\textit{ic-pe}} & \text{yes} & \text{1-COP} \text{ N.} \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\text{‘Yes, I’m Kengutã.’} \\
\end{tabular}
\item[(b. \textit{pa na \textit{ic-pe k}u\textit{p\texttilde}})]
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\text{\textit{\textit{k}u\textit{p\texttilde}}} & \text{\textit{ic-pe}} & \text{1} & \text{RLS 1-COP foreigner} \\
\text{\textit{\textit{k}u\textit{p\texttilde}}} & \text{\textit{ic-pe}} & \text{1} & \text{RLS 1-COP foreigner} \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\text{‘I’m a foreigner.’} \\
\end{tabular}
\item[(c. \textit{pa na \textit{ic-pe w}a\textit{ja})}]
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\text{\textit{\textit{w}a\textit{ja)}}} & \text{\textit{ic-pe}} & \text{1} & \text{RLS 1-COP shaman} \\
\text{\textit{\textit{w}a\textit{ja)}}} & \text{\textit{ic-pe}} & \text{1} & \text{RLS 1-COP shaman} \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\text{‘I’m a shaman.’} \\
\end{tabular}
\end{itemize}

Noun phrases that occupy predicate position in copula constructions can be proper nouns (68.a), alienable (68.b-c), or inalienable nouns (69). Prefixes attached to an inalienable noun in predicate position refer to a possessor, which is non-coreferential with the subject of the clause; compare (69.a-c) with (69.d).

\begin{itemize}
\item[(69) a. \textit{\textit{\textit{a-pr\texttilde o}} a-pr\texttilde o}]
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\text{\textit{2-wife}} & \text{\textit{a-pr\texttilde o}} & \text{2} & \text{RLS 1-COP 2-wife} \\
\text{\textit{2-wife}} & \text{\textit{a-pr\texttilde o}} & \text{2} & \text{RLS 1-COP 2-wife} \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\text{‘I am your wife.’} \\
\end{tabular}
\item[(b. \textit{ka na a-pe i\textit{n-bje\texttilde n}})]
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\text{\textit{1-husband}} & \text{\textit{a-pe}} & \text{2} & \text{RLS 2-COP 1-husband} \\
\text{\textit{1-husband}} & \text{\textit{a-pe}} & \text{2} & \text{RLS 2-COP 1-husband} \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\text{‘You are my husband.’} \\
\end{tabular}
\item[(c. \textit{ka na a-pe i\textit{n-bje\texttilde n}})]
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\text{\textit{1-husband}} & \text{\textit{a-pe}} & \text{RLS 2} & \text{2-COP 1-husband} \\
\text{\textit{1-husband}} & \text{\textit{a-pe}} & \text{RLS 2} & \text{2-COP 1-husband} \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\text{‘You are my husband.’} \\
\end{tabular}
\end{itemize}
In the case of coreferentiality between the subject and the possessor, as in a hypothetical example such as “I’m my own boss,” the possessor would probably be expressed by the reflexive marker amŋū. In verbal clauses, at least, this morpheme is obligatorily present under such coreferentiality conditions (70).

(70) na pa amŋū kuk kuʔō
RLS 1 RFLX face wash
‘I washed my face.’

3.5. Locative predicates

Locative predicates follow the same pattern as verbal clauses, since they involve position verbs, which are typically intransitive. Thus, this clause type includes the mood marker, the subject nominal, the locative adverbial and a position verb, such as ča ‘stand’, ŋū ‘sit’, or other, depending on the number of the absolutive argument (section III.3.1.2.3.)

(71) a. kót kaj ja=ɾi arĩk.
IRLS 2.IRLS DEM=PRT stay
‘You will stay here.

b. ja=ɾi na ča re
DEM=PRT RLS stand DIM
‘There it is [affectionate]!’
3.6. Existential predicates

Existential predicates are structurally similar to locative predicates, except that in these constructions the verb is dispensed with. The necessary elements are simply the location and the referent located, which typically comes accompanied by a quantifier or the existential negative *amrakati* in the predication.

(72) a. *go kapre ū na rōr=ko pič.*
    water along LOC RLS babaçu=patch only
    ‘There is babaçu all along the river shore.’

    b. *pičo=rō rōr=re na ja=ri amrakati*
    plant=flower yellow=DIM RLS here NEG.EXST.
    ‘There are no yellow flowers around here.’

    c. *ja=ri čwē=grā krō=bikār račī,*
    here farinha dot=mixed plenty

    *ne ja na čwē=grā tam=grā=re račī*
    CNJ DEM RLS farinha raw=dry=DIM plenty
    ‘Around here there is a lot of farinha de puba and farinha seca.’

3.7. Negation

Negation is another dimension whereby clauses can be subcategorized into structural types. Negation applies differently depending on the type of predicate being negated. Nominal predicates are negated with the clause-final clitic *ket*, verbal predicates with the clitic sequence *ket=nē*, whereas existential predicates can be negated either with *ket* or
the negative existential pronoun *amrakati*; apparently, some negated locative predicates (section 3.5) may function as negative existentials as well, except that these predicates are characterized by the use of positional verbs in predicate position which are, therefore, negated with *ket=nē*.

On the other hand, for any of these clause types, the expression of negation is not affected by the mode (realis or irrealis) or speech-act (declarative, interrogative, imperative) distinction of the clause.

The negation of juxtaposition nominal predicates, expressed by the simplex negative *ket*, is illustrated in (73). (There are no examples of negated copular predicates available in the database.) The examples (73.c-d) demonstrate that the complex negative marker is not preferred in this syntactic context.

(73) a. *ka na ka kēt=mē a-di ket*

2 RLS 2 yet/still 2-woman NEG

‘You are not [i.e. haven’t grown into] a woman yet.’

b. *če! ic-t-ē a-pīwem dē īp-bjep, ic-kuprē ket.*

EXCL 1-RP-LOC 2-be.shy because 1-husband 1-single.woman NEG

‘Ce! You better show some respect, because I am married, I am not available.’

c. *pa na pa ic-wapē ket*

1 RLS 1 1-machete NEG

‘I don’t own a machete.’
d. *(ic-wapɔ) ketnɛ.

Existential predicates can be negated by either *amrakati or ket, as illustrated in (74) and (75), respectively (example (72.b) is repeated for convenience as (74.a)).

(74) a. *pičɔ=rɔ  rɔrɔ=re  na  ja=ri  *amrakati
    plant=flower yellow=DIM RLS here NEG.EXST.
    ‘There are no yellow flowers around here.’

b. kamɔ  me  *amrakati
    3:INSV PL NEG.EXTS
    ‘There’s no one in there.’

c. ic-pe  *amrakati  nɛ  ic-pe  ket  kumreč
    1-DTR NEG.EXTS FCT 1-DTR NEG INTS
    ‘I have nothing, I have nothing at all.’

The simplex marker negates existential predicates that are headed by a noun modified by a descriptive in a relative clause.

[N  MOD]

(75) a. kɔt=mɔ  [go  kagɔ=ɔ]  ket
    yet  water hot  NEG
    ‘There’s no hot water yet.’

In (76), the negative existential notion seems to be expressed by means of negated locative predicates, which characteristically involve the use of positional verbs. For that reason, the verbal negative ket=nɛ is employed here.

(76) a. na  meʔɔ  kamɔ  æm  ket=nɛ
    RLS someone  INSV stand.NF  NEG
    ‘There’s no one in there.’
Negation of intransitive (77-78) and transitive (79) verbal predicates is invariably encoded by the clitic sequence \textit{ket}=\textit{nē}. The nonfinite form of the verb is required by the negative marker. However, the ergative marker does not ever occur in the negation of transitive predicates.

\begin{verbatim}
(77) a. pa kōt paj akudō
    l 1IRLS 1.IRLS disappear
    ‘I will get lost.’

    S  S  \textit{V}_{\text{INTR}}

b. pa kōt paj ic-pikudō \textit{ket}=\textit{nē}
    l 1IRLS 1.IRLS 1-disappear,\textit{NF} \textit{NEG}
    ‘I won’t get lost.’

    S  S  S-\textit{V}_{\text{INTR}}
\end{verbatim}
The negation of descriptive verb predicates, illustrated in (80), presents some variation as to which form of the negative should be used. Most consultants tended to employ ket=nē for negation of descriptive predicates. However, at least one consultant showed preference for the use of the simplex negative morpheme ket in these contexts. As seen in the examples, the predicate of the clause type in (80.a) is unambiguously verbal; whereas in (80.b, c) the existential semantics of the constructions (ambiguous, in example (b)) might justify the preference for ket, since existential predicates categorize morphosyntactically with nominal predicates in Apinajé (section IV.3.5), and nominal predicates are negated with ket.

(80) a. na go kōt=mō Ø-akri ket
   RLS water yet/still 3-cold NEG
   ‘The water has not cooled yet.’

b. na go j-akri ket
   RLS water RP-cold NEG
   ‘The water has not cooled.’
c. \[ \text{[N MOD]} \]
\[ \text{yet/still} \quad \text{water} \quad \text{RP-cold} \quad \text{NEG} \]
‘There is no cold water yet.’

Whether the variation alluded to is a reflection of dialectal differences remains to be investigated in future research.

Finally, the adverbial notion of a temporal negative, ‘never’, involves the co-occurrence of the generic negative marker \textit{ket} with what could be analyzed as a temporal component, \textit{a}, glossed here as ‘ever’. Together, \textit{a}...\textit{ket} form what could be described structurally as a “circumclitic”. The temporal marker precedes the element under the scope of negation, and the negative marker \textit{ket} follows it, occupying the constituent final position, as expected.

(81) a. \[ \text{a} \quad \text{prō} \quad \text{ket.} \quad \text{ajte} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{ri} \quad \text{bra.} \]
   ever  wife  NEG alone  RLS  HAB  DEM  wander
   ‘He never had a wife. He wanders around all by himself.’

b. \[ \text{a} \quad \text{ic-wapō} \quad \text{ket.} \]
   ever 1-machete  NEG
   ‘I never owned a machete.’

4. Grammatical relations

Keenan (1976) proposes a set of criteria, which may apply to different languages to a greater or lesser extent, for a definition of Subject as a universal category. The idea of grammatical relations as a universal category has been questioned by Dryer (1997), who
points out that, while a set of criteria may be helpful to establish what similarities there are amongst languages, these similarities do not explain why languages are the way they are. Any similarities are, he claims, the reflexes of functional and cognitive processes which themselves may be universal. Thus, it is not grammatical relations as such that are universal. Each language displays its own relevant grammatical relations, which may or may not coincide with the notions of “Subject” and “Object” as found in other languages.

In the analysis of Apinajé, I share Matthew Dryer’s view that the grammatical relations of a language are specific to that language and may be defined according to language internal criteria. In section 3.3 I have pointed out how distinct systems of alignment interact in Apinajé. Thus, coding patterns and control properties relevant for the establishment of grammatical relations in Apinajé include:

(82) Relevant criteria for the establishment of grammatical relations in Apinajé

(a) word order
(b) person prefixes
(c) independent pronouns
(d) person inflection in imperative clauses
(e) the use of reflexives
(f) the occurrence of the realis marker in noun phrase coordination
(g) switch-reference strategies
(h) valency-changing operations
(i) ergative marking in subordinate clauses
(j) equi-deletion in complementation
(k) coreferential deletion in coordination

The SOV word order (criterion (a)) is fairly rigid in Apinajé and serves as a useful criterion of the identification of A and O. The use of person prefixes (b) reveals a split-
intransitive system in simple main clauses, and an absolutive pattern in nonfinite clauses.

To go along with the absolutive pattern, criterion (i) reveals an ergative case-marking
system that is conditioned by subordination environments. All other criteria (c-h; j-k)
betray a nominative pattern and provide strong support for the grammatical relation
Subject in Apinajé.

On the other hand, Direct Object is a less robust grammatical relation in the
language. The O argument forms a tight constituent with the following verb, and if the O
does not occur as a free form, then a personal prefix on the verb must index the person of
O. In addition to this morphosyntactic pattern, the accusative prefix set contains a unique
form, the prefix ku-, which is the one criterion that unquestionably identifies the Direct
Object. Note that these criteria only identify the canonical O as Direct Object, leaving no
syntactic or morphological evidence for the combination of the canonical O category with
the many proposed noncanonical O arguments: these latter bear case-markers, cannot be
indexed on the verb, and show no evidence of constituency with the V. As such, we push
them to the next category, that of Indirect Object.

If Direct Object in Apinajé is not particularly robust, the evidence in favor of the
grammatical relation Indirect Object is limited to a single criterion: obligatoriness. In the
traditional ditransitive predicates, the third argument bears the dative case-marking, and
in the various noncanonical verb types seen in section 3.3.2, the second argument bears
one of four different case-markers, lexically determined by the verb. Thus, the category
of Indirect Object could be defined as those obligatory arguments that otherwise have no
morphological or syntactic patterns to unite them.
The criteria listed above for subjects are further discussed and illustrated in the next sections.

4.1. Person marking

First, examples (83-84) illustrate the use of person prefixes. In finite verb forms O and some S are morphologically marked in the verbal stem (83). In nonfinite verb forms, all S and O participants are marked by prefixes (84).

(83) a. pī
   ic-pī
   a-pī
   ku-pī

   a. ‘kill’
   ‘kill me’
   ‘kill you’
   ‘kill it’

   b. akri
      i-j-akri
      a-j-akri

   c. ča
      *ic-ča
      *a-ča
      *ku-ča

   ‘cold’
   ‘I’m cold’
   ‘you are cold’

   ‘stand’

(84) a. pī-r
   ic-pīr
   a-pīr

   a. ‘kill.NF’
   ‘kill.NF me’
   ‘kill.NF you’

   b. akri
      i-j-akri
      a-j-akri

   ‘cold.NF’
   ‘I cold.NF’
   ‘you cold.NF’
c. əm  ‘stand.NF’
    ic-č-əm  ‘I stand.NF’
    a-č-əm  ‘you stand.NF’

The use of independent pronouns, which express the S and A arguments of verbs, as well as the use of word order for the identification of A and O, are illustrated in section 3.3.

4.2. Imperatives

In imperative clauses, bound person inflection also displays a nominative pattern, in what seems to be a unique occurrence of this pattern for person marking in Apinajé (85-87). In (85.a), the O argument of the verb is overtly expressed, forming a phrase with it. In (85.b), the O argument is not overtly mentioned, in which case, the verb inflects for A. This occurrence forms a nominative pattern with the person agreement marking of the descriptive predicates; combine (85.b) and (86.a-b), which contrast with the intransitive predicate in (87).

(85)  a. kag̥i  pî
    snake  kill
    ‘Kill the snake!’

b. a-pî
    2-kill
    ‘Kill it!’

(86)  a. kij  a-tik
    HORT  2-black
    ‘Become black at once!’
b. *kij a-tujaro
HORT 2-pregnant
‘Become pregnant at once!’

(87) a. gre
dance
‘Dance!’

b. jǐ
sit
‘Have a seat!’

4.3. Reflexivization

Reflexivization is controlled by the nominative argument of the clause (section III.3.2.2.6). Likewise, the occurrence of the realis marker in noun phrase coordination is required if the conjoined noun phrases refer to the S or (at least the) A argument of the clausal predicate, cf. (21), repeated here as (88).

(88) a. na ireptsi-ri mē tij dada na wa iñ-mō kwərčəŋ gō
RLS N. CNJ HT N. RLS DU 1-DAT macaxeira give
‘Ireptsi and Dada, both of them have given me some sweet manioc.’

b. *na ireptsi-ri mē tij dada iñ-mō kwərčəŋ gō

4.4. Noun phrase coordination and the realis marker

The double occurrence of the realis marker na in the context of noun phrase coordination is required when the conjoined noun phrases refer to S/A of the clause in which they occur.
(89) a. \textit{na ireptsi e mē tij dada na wa īn-mō kwērčēn gō}  
\textsc{rls} \textsc{n. cni h} \textsc{n. rls du} \textsc{1-dat macaxeira} \textsc{give}  
'Ireptsi and Dada, both of them have given me some macaxeira.'  
b. \textit{*na ireptsi e mē tij dada īn-mō kwērčēn gō}

4.5. Switch reference

The switch reference system of Apinajé also operates according to a nominative pattern.

The conjunctions \textit{nē} and \textit{nuum} serve as indices of same- and different-subjects,

respectively, as illustrated in (38), repeated below as (90).

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{(90) a.} \textit{dōm kōt ka a-bra tāc nē},  
  \textsc{but rls} \textsc{2 run fast fct}  
  \begin{tabular}{l}
    \textit{nē} \quad \textsc{ss} \textsc{2-dat have.sex wish nmlz det outrun ss may 2-h.s.}
  \end{tabular}
  \begin{tabular}{l}
    \textit{dō} \quad \textsc{but rls} \textsc{2.irls 3-outrun neg ss 3-have.sex neg}
  \end{tabular}
  \text{‘Well, if you run really fast and outrun the one you want to have sex with, then you may have sex with her. But if you don’t outrun her, then you may not have sex.’}

  \item \textbf{b.} \textit{miti krē pa nē kir kamō kə, krē, i či pa}  
  \textsc{alligator eat cncl ss moquia loc skin head bone put cncl}
  \text{‘(They) ate the alligator and put its skin, head, bones all into the roasting place.’}

  \item \textbf{c.} \textit{kōt paį aroj kugōn pa nē pōn ĕ-katō pa}  
  \textsc{irls 1.irls rice thresh cncl ss after 3-roast cncl}
\end{itemize}
\( nē \ pān \ ku-\tilde{c}i \ jum \ nō \ nē \ Ø-\text{akri} \)
\footnotesize{ss \ after \ 3-put \ 3.ds \ lie \ ss \ 3-cold}
\footnotesize{‘I’ll thresh the rice, roast it, put it on a flat surface, then it will sit there and cool off.’}

d. \emph{əbri \ jum \ kəm, \ “e! \ kət \ paj \ a-tu,}
\footnotesize{then \ 3.ds \ 3.dat \ excl \ irls \ 1.irls \ 2-carry.on.back}
\emph{pa \ dɔ=ki j \ a-t-ɔ \ tē \ ka \ itkō.}
\footnotesize{1 \ at.once \ 2-rp-instr \ go \ 2 \ drink}
\footnotesize{‘Then she (the jaguar) says to him (the pani), ‘Yeah, I’ll carry you on my back, take you so you drink water at once.’}

4.6. Valency-changing operations

Other syntactic processes relevant to grammatical relations patterns are the valency-changing operations found in the language, namely, detransitivization and causativization. These are discussed next.

4.6.1. Detransitivization

The middle prefixes occur as formatives in certain verbs. However, they are also productive in the derivation of intransitive verbs from transitives bases. The examples below are illustrative.

(91) a. \emph{kət \ paj \ amni \ mō \ mebɔj \ j-apro}
\footnotesize{irls \ 1.irls \ reflx \ dat \ things \ rp-buy}
\footnotesize{‘I’ll buy something for myself.’}
Verbs derived with middle prefixes follow the intransitive morphosyntactic pattern, that is, are not inflected for person in simple main clauses but take a person prefix for S when in its nonfinite form.

4.6.2. Causativization

The two main strategies for the expression of causativization in Apinajé are a periphrastic construction and a morphological construction, both involving the morpheme .simple, translatable in both cases as ‘do’ – synchronically and diachronically, respectively.

*Periphrastic causative.* The periphrastic causative construction encodes indirect causation; in this context the construction ᶻ anē expresses the cause, and a subsequent clause encodes the result. Unlike languages like English where the causative predicator takes an embeded complement clause, in the periphrastic causative construction of Apinajé, the clause encoding the resulting situation is not structurally an embedded complement, but rather a different-subject clause in a paratactic relation with the clause that expresses the causation ((92) see chapter V for other complex constructions).
(92) a. *na ka ri* ic-t-∅ *ane* pa rɒp *kura*
RLS 2 DEM 1-RP-do thus 1 dog hit
‘You caused me to hit the dog’ (Lit.: “You did me thus, I hit the dog”) [i.e. I was going to hit you with a stick, you stood behind the dog and I hit the dog instead of hitting you].

b. *(na)* *ka ri* ic-t-∅ *ane* pa mrõ nê amni gɔ pa
RLS 2 DEM 1-RP-do thus 1 sink SS RFLX wet CNCL
‘You caused me to fall into the water and get all wet’ (Lit.: “You did me thus, I sank and wet myself completely”) [i.e. you pushed me into the creek].

c. *tɔ do me kucwar mɔ* ic-t-∅ *ane* pa ic-krɔr *beɔ=re*
EXCL but PL on.behalf DAT 1-RP-do thus 1 1-dotted pretty
‘Why, then make me dotted just like her!’ (Lit.: “Do me thus as the others, I will get nicely dotted.”) [i.e. burn me with hot stones].

In the constructions above, the two clauses are tightly bound into a single sentence: (i) a single modality morpheme occurs at the beginning of the utterance; (ii) no morphemes intervene between the two clauses involved (note that ∅ *ane* ‘do thus’ constitutes a single predicate); and (iii) the intonation pattern treats the two as a single unit. (The absence of a modality marker in (92.c) is due to the imperative speech act.) In addition, in the case of the periphrastic causatives in (92) the two clauses are linked by the fact that they share an argument: the object of ∅ *ane* ‘do thus’ is coreferential with the causee, which is expressed by the independent pronoun placed at the beginning of the result clause. Now consider the example in (93).

(93) *na rɔp ri* ic-t-∅ *ane nê* pa amŋũ pe i-n-ɔ gwra kago *kapi*
RLS dog DEM 1-RP-do thus FCT 1 RFLX DTR 1-PSSR buriti juice spill
‘The dog caused me to spill my juice (i.e. it ran across my way, I tripped on it and dropped the bowl with the juice).’
Here we note the occurrence of the particle *ne* between the two clauses. The presence of the *conjunction* suggests that in (93) the clauses expressing cause and result are not as formally bound to each other as those in (92). On the other hand, both clauses fall under the scope of the same modality marker, which is confirmation that they still constitute a single sentence.

The structural differences observed in (92-93) correlate with slight semantic distinctions. In both (92-93) the causers are animate beings, except that in the former the causation may be understood as intentional whereas in the latter the causer is unaware of its acts. This nuance is motivated by the fact that the causer in (92) holds a higher degree of volition for it is a human (or human-like) being.

Finally, a third syntactic pattern may be noted in (94).

(94) \[ ? \text{ i}-\text{j-} \text{apen} \quad \text{ja} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{ri} \quad \text{ic-t-\text{a}} \quad \text{anē} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{ra} \quad \text{ic-kengra} \]
1-RP-work DET RLS DEM 1-RP-do thus RLS 1 ASP 1-tired

‘My work is already making me tired.’

Here, a new token of the modality marker *na* in the second clause suggests that cause and result are expressed by two independent sentences. It should be pointed out, however, that my consultant considered the sentence (94) somewhat odd; such a construction could only be found in an elicitation situation. The reason for the oddity is probably the fact that the higher agent here is an event, and not a participant. A more
natural way for expressing a meaning similar to that of (94) would be with a different structure, involving the postposition kure ‘reason’. This is illustrated in (95) below.

(95) a. i-apeja na ic-pe uĩ nẽ
    1-RP-work.NF DET RLS 1-DTR heavy FCT

   ṭbri pa ra ũ-kure ic-kengə
    then 1 ASP 3-RSN 1-tired
   ‘This job of mine it too heavy on me; I’m already tired because of working on this.’

   b. pa na pa wa ra ij-apeja kure ic-kengə
    1 RLS 1 DU ASP 1-work RSN 1-tired
   ‘The two of us are already tired because of working.’

In sum, the Apinajé periphrastic causative is characterized by the occurrence of ∙ anẽ as the causative predicator plus a subsequent clause encoding the result. The result clause is not a complement of ∙ anẽ but rather in a paratactic relation with it (literally: “you did me this way, I [V]”); in addition, the accusative argument of ∙ anẽ ‘do thus’ must be coreferential with the first argument of the result clause. Differences in the structure of a periphrastic causative correlate with the human-ness/volitionality of the causer: if that argument is not an inherently volitional being, the first clause is linked to the second one by the conjunction nẽ.
**Morphological causative.** The morphological causative is characterized by the occurrence of (rotation) ‘causative’ preposed to the lexical verb of a clause. Even though stress patterns indicate that  is not a prefix on the verb, the  complex may be regarded as a compound, since no intervening elements are allowed between the two morphemes. Accusative agreement is attached to  . The examples of morphological causativization by means of  found in my corpus apply only to monovalent verbs.

(96) a. na kaw  dšt
    RLS côfo full
    ‘The basket is full.’

b. na ka kaw  dšt
    RLS 2 côfo CAUS=full
    ‘You filled the basket.’

(97) a. na ra apeč
    RLS ASP end
    ‘It’s over.’

b. na pa ra i-j-apeč
    RLS 1 ASP 1-RP-end
    ‘I’m fading, perishing (e.g. due to malnutrition).’

c. kōt kaj ic-t-apeč
    IRLS 2 1-RP-CAUS-end
    ‘You will destroy/finish with me.’

(98) a. pa ra ma tē
    1 ASP MOV go
    ‘I’m leaving.’
In the periphrastic causative, \( \sigma \) is the causative verb, which ultimately precedes the predicator encoding the result, but each of these verbs has its own valence frame. Moreover, in that context the same degree of relevance is attributed to both cause and result, and the focus is on the intentions of the causer. The morphological causative, in turn, encodes direct manipulation and consists of a single predicator whose valence has been increased by one, via by the morpheme \( \sigma \) preposed to the lexical verb. Functionally, the morphological causative is really about the result of a causal chain, and therefore it focuses on the effect on the causee. This functional distinction is the motivation for the juxtaposition that has yielded the \( \sigma V \) construction in Apinajé: what is in focus here is the fact that the causee is affected by the agent/causer; thus, the causee is expressed simply as the patient argument of the verb derived with the causative morpheme \( \sigma \).

In the morphological causative, the lexical verb then turns out to have the same distribution relative to \( \sigma \) as the manner adverb in a given clause; but that does not necessarily make an adverb out of it: the fact that the lexical verb shares an argument with \( \sigma \) and that the latter has a very generic meaning makes it easier for \( \sigma \) to become reinterpreted as belonging to a distinct category – a derivational morpheme, in the case at hand – than for the lexical verb to be reinterpreted as a manner adverb.
The establishment of the new function for \( \varphi \) as a morphological causative is effected by the generalization in the usage of the construction. The examples in (99), in which inanimate participants occupy the position of the erstwhile higher agent, illustrate this.

(99) a. na ra a-\( \eta \)-\( \check{\text{o}} \)ki\( \hat{\text{w}} \) a-pe \( \check{\text{c}} \)et pa

   RLS ASP 2-home 2-DTR burn CNCL

   ‘Your house burned down on you (i.e. to your detriment).’

b. na kupi\( \hat{\text{p}} \) kag\( \hat{\text{r}} \) i-n-\( \check{\text{i}} \)k\( \hat{\text{r}} \) \( \varphi=\check{\text{c}} \)et

   RLS mat hot 1-shoulder CAUS=burn

   ‘The hot mat burned my shoulder.’

c. kw\( \check{\text{e}} \)r ja pit jaja na me ra kaw\( \hat{\text{e}} \) \( \varphi=dst \) pa

   manioc DET only DET.PL RLS PL ASP c\( \check{\text{o}} \)fo CAUS=full CNCL

   ‘The cassava, just them (the roots) have already filled up the basket.’

Criteria (h-j) for the establishment of Apinajé grammatical relations involve other complex constructions. Of these criteria, equi-deletion follows a nominative pattern while subordination requires ergative case-marking. In coordination, coreferential deletion varies according to whether the verbs involved are transitive or descriptive. Details on each construction are presented in chapter V.

The criteria proposed here are applied to noncanonical predicates in the next section.
4.7. Grammatical relations and noncanonical predicates in Apinajé

In this section, I comment on the typology of grammatical relations with noncanonical marking predicates proposed in Onishi (2001), and compare those generalizations with what may be observed in Apinajé, once the relevant criteria are applied to the noncanonical predicates of the language.

4.7.1. Imperatives

In his typology, Onishi (2001) points out that non-canonically marked A/S tend not to occur in languages where only second person A/S is allowed in imperative constructions, since they refer to non-controllers; but that they seem to occur marginally in this type of construction, in head marking languages.

In Apinajé, many noncanonical predicates can be found in the imperative of command; these are presented in (100-102) below.

(100) a. *kij a-mɔ kaga*
    HORT 2-DAT refuse
    ‘Become lazy already!!!’

    b. a-mɔ kri ket=nɛ
    2-DAT cold NEG
    ‘Don’t get cold!’

(101) a. *ic-tɔ aba*
    1-RP-INSTR miss
    ‘Miss me!’
(102) a. \textit{\textipa{i}r-m\ddot{a} \ a-\textipa{\v{c}}-e\textipa{\v{c}} \ \textit{ket=n\ddot{e}}}  \\
1-DAT 2-RP-lie NEG  \\
‘Don’t lie to me!’

b. \textit{\textipa{i}r-m\ddot{a} \ a-j-\textipa{abatp\ddot{e}}r}  \\
1-DAT 2-RP-think.about  \\
‘Remember me!’

4.7.2. Reflexivization

Different types of noncanonically marked arguments may behave differently even within the same language, with respect to control over reflexives. In Hindi-Urdu, for instance, dative, genitive and locative arguments control reflexivization, but instrumentals do not (Onishi 2001).

In Apinajé, noncanonical predicates of the set presented in ((49) section 3.3.1) do not allow reflexivization (103), which means that these are \textit{really} monovalent predicates, and not predicates that involve third-person impersonal verb forms.

(103)  
\textbf{* na pa} \textit{\textipa{am\textipa{\v{n}}=m\ddot{a}} \ pr\textipa{\v{r}m}}  \\
\textbf{* na pa} \textit{\textipa{am\textipa{\v{n}}-m\ddot{a}} \ ba}  \\
\textbf{* na pa} \textit{\textipa{am\textipa{\v{n}}=m\ddot{a}} \ kor} \ldots \text{and so on.}

On the other hand, verbs from all other sets may participate in reflexivization, as illustrated in (104-106). In particular, note that both types of noncanonical subjects control coreference with the reflexive, the ergative \textit{A} in (105.a) and the dative \textit{A} in (105.b).
(104)  a. \textit{na pa anyi=mē} akiri
\hspace{1cm} \textit{RLS 1 RFLX=DAT argu<INTR>}
\hspace{1cm} ‘I’m fighting with myself.’

\hspace{1cm} b. \textit{na pa anyi=t-ə} aba nē.
\hspace{1cm} \textit{RLS 1 RFLX=RP-INSTR miss<INTR> FCT}
\hspace{1cm} ‘I miss (feel the absence of) myself.’

(105)  a. \textit{na pa ic-te anyi=pirak}
\hspace{1cm} \textit{RLS 1 1-ERG RFLX=look.like<TR>}
\hspace{1cm} ‘I look like myself.’

\hspace{1cm} b. \textit{na pa Ḣn-mē anyi=puba} nē
\hspace{1cm} \textit{RLS 1 1-DAT RFLX=fear<TR> FCT}
\hspace{1cm} ‘I’m scared of myself.’

(106)  a. \textit{na pa a-mē i-j-abatpēr}
\hspace{1cm} \textit{RLS 1 2-DAT 1-RP-remember}
\hspace{1cm} ‘I’m thinking about/remember you.’

\hspace{1cm} b. \textit{na pa anyi=mē i-j-abatpēr}
\hspace{1cm} \textit{RLS 1 RFLX=DAT 1-RP-remember}
\hspace{1cm} ‘I’m remembering myself (i.e. thinking about what I’ve done)’

\hspace{1cm} c. \textit{na pa anyi=kamē Ḧn-grik}
\hspace{1cm} \textit{RLS 1 RFLX=INSV 1-angry}
\hspace{1cm} ‘I’m angry at myself’

4.7.3. Coreferential deletion

Onishi (2001) observes that languages with clear syntactic derivations have constraints on many clause-linking devices; for instance, they may required that one of two coreferential arguments be deleted in such contexts (what Dixon 1994 terms “pivot conditions”). Languages in which semantic roles dominate the process typically lack these constraints, whereas languages with noncanonically marked arguments have an
intermediary status. In general, noncanonically marked A/S are more likely to control pivot constraints than to become targets of such constraints. Some languages allow predicates with non-canonically marked A/S to occur both in the main and the complement clause. In general, restrictions on the occurrence of predicates with noncanonically marked arguments are more likely to apply when they function as target of coreferential deletion in the complement clause.

In Apinajé, most, if not all complement-taking verbs are noncanonical predicates. There seems to be no restrictions as far as the occurrence of noncanonical predicates in complement positions either. Under coreferentiality conditions, all relevant arguments are marked with person prefixes on the verb and the postposition, as applicable. However, no independent pronouns occur in the subordinate clause, that is, there is A/S coreferential deletion. On the other hand, when there is no coreferentiality between A and/or S of both clauses, the occurrence of the ergative marker in the subordinate clause is obligatory.

(107) a. \(i\n\)-m\(\tilde{\text{d}}\) \(kag\tilde{\text{d}}\) puba
1-DAT snake RP.fear
‘I’m afraid of snakes.’

b. \(i\n\)-m\(\tilde{\text{d}}\) \([\text{kuk} \text{en } \text{kr}\tilde{\text{e}}\text{r}]\) puba
1-DAT cotia eat.NF RP.fear
‘I’m afraid of eating snakes (and getting sick, e.g.)’

c. \(i\n\)-m\(\tilde{\text{d}}\) \([a-kam\tilde{\text{d}}] \(i\n\)-grik\) pr\(\text{\(\tilde{\text{o}}\)}\) ket=n\(\tilde{\text{e}}\)
1-DAT 2-INSV 1-angry wish NEG
‘I don’t want to be angry with you.’

d. \(i\n\)-m\(\tilde{\text{d}}\) \([a-te] \[i\text{-kam}\tilde{\text{d}} a\text{-grik}] \text{ja}\) pr\(\text{\(\tilde{\text{o}}\)}\) ket=n\(\tilde{\text{e}}\)
1-DAT 2-ERG 1-INSV 2-angry DEF want NEG
‘I don’t want you to be angry with me.’
e. na ka [[ic-kam̲ ə grik] m̲a] a-ŋ-ūre
RLS 2 1-INSV 2-angry DAT 2-RP-abandon
‘You’ve stopped being angry with me.’

4.8. Conclusions

At this point, sufficient evidence has converged to argue for a convincing grammatical category of Subject, a morphologically heterogeneous category that is united by syntactic behaviors. In future research, this category might become even stronger, as the database lacked examples of noncanonical predicates with noun phrase coordination, in sentences that engage the switch reference system, and in valency-changing derivations. In any of these, the noncanonical A arguments might share yet one more syntactic pattern with the canonical A.

In contrast, the search for syntactic properties that distinguish the categories of Direct Object and Indirect Object was unsuccessful, leaving a potentially interesting topic for future research.
CHAPTER V

COMPLEX CONSTRUCTIONS

0. Introduction

The present chapter discusses those construction types that encompass more than one predicate within a single syntactic unit. Arguments are typically shared, but that may not necessarily be the case. In functional terms, what I will be discussing here are the domains of (a) complementation, understood, in the sense of Noonan (1985), as a complex structure involving a clause that serves as argument of a matrix verb; (b) relativization, a clause that serves as modifier of a head noun, thus belonging within a noun phrase; (c) adverbial clauses, those expressing contextual or circumstantial information that serves as a frame for the main event described by the matrix verb, that is, clauses that modify a verb phrase or clause; (d) constructions expressing aspectual meanings, such as the inchoative, the progressive, and the continuous; and (e) the comparative of superiority. Causative constructions, discussed in section IV.5.2, also constitute one type of complex construction in Apinajé, since they are expressed by the types of syntactic strategies described here.

In structural terms, these functional domains are expressed in Apinajé by means of subordination embedding, parataxis, and serialization. Many cases of complementation make use of embedding, while in others parataxis is used (Noonan
The alternation between one type of construction and the other within this domain is determined by the syntactic properties of complement-taking verbs, which are, in general, of the non-canonical marking type. The alternation between subordination and parataxis is observable also among the different types of adverbial clauses, although parataxis is more frequently used.

On the other hand, relative clauses are always embedded inside the noun phrase. Certain properties commonly found in subordinating constructions, such as the use of the nonfinite form of verbs, are also necessarily employed in the expression the comparative of superiority and one type of inchoative construction. The structural properties observed in the latter cases, which are typologically less common, are crystallized and presumably result from the diachronic development of source biclausal constructions, in which the modern main verb was subordinate and the modern postverbal particle was the main verb. The original main verbs eventually became reanalyzed and grammaticalized as function words, which they still are in the synchronic stage of the language.

Serialization is a structural strategy often used for the expression of the progressive and continuous aspects, as well as the more adverbial manner nuance.

The discussion proposed here is intended to be broad enough that it will touch on the various structural strategies observed in the corpus for the expression of typologically common functional domains, but it is by no means intended as an exhaustive account of the inventory of complex predicates and constructions found in Apinajé. That is a task that requires continued analysis of the data already found and yet to be included in my database. For the time being, however, the present chapter should serve as a
representative sample. The formal properties of subordination, parataxis, and serialization in Apinajé are introduced briefly in the remainder of this section; subsequent sections elaborate on structure in further detail, along with the functional domains expressed by each structure.

Subordination in Apinajé requires that the relevant verb be inflected for nonfiniteness. The ergative case marker may or may not mark the A argument, depending on coreference conditions. In complementation, the distribution of a subordinate predicate is the same as that of the equivalent nominal. The matrix verb occurs in final position, postposed to the subordinated element.

Paratactic clauses are finite, displaying the very same structure as independent simple clauses. Parataxis may require the same-subject or different-subject switch-reference markers, where pertinent, and it often involves morphemes from the TAM clitic inventory.

Serialization requires the nonfinite form of verbs when the (causative or instrumental morpheme) verb ᵃ ‘do’ is involved. Otherwise, it is just the bare form of verbs that occur in a sequence; in this case, the verbs involved are usually from the class of intransitives (i.e. they take no inflection in their finite form). In Apinajé, serialization always involves either a movement verb or a position verb. Not all verbs belonging to each category are eligible for serial constructions expressing aspectual meanings, but only a selected few. When verbs from outside this inventory are used, the resulting overall meaning of the construction is more literal than grammatical, sometimes yielding awkward or jocose meanings.
General criteria used for deciding whether these clauses or predicators in a sequence all belong in a single complex syntactic unit are of three kinds: prosodic, morphological, and syntactic. From the prosodic point of view, the elements of each complex construction belong within a single sentential intonation contour. Morphologically, there is only one mode marker for the whole construction, such that all elements fall under its scope. In regard to syntax, boundary indices and the internally cohesive distribution of elements in the sentence are indicative of the internal coherence of serialization and embedding constructions, whereas switch reference and other markers are indicative of the internal coherence in the context of parataxis. Other, more specific criteria can be identified for each construction type, and will be introduced in what follows.

1. Complementation

The examples of complementation existing in my database consist of clausal complements occupying positions other than that of a sentence subject. Additionally, the overwhelming majority of complement-taking predicators are of the noncanonical marking type, most often involving the use of the dative postposition mā. These may be mere coincidences; however, there has been at least one instance in which I tried to elicit a sentence that included a clausal complement in subject position, and speakers offered paratactic clauses, instead.
As already mentioned, the use of subordination for the expression of complementation requires that the subordinate verb be in its nonfinite form. The subordinate clause occupies some position between the matrix verb, which occurs in final position, and the positional clitics normally occupying sentence-initial position. Since the complement-taking verbs noted all involve the use of a postposition for marking one of the core arguments (which could be either A or O, depending on the verb), it is often the case that the clausal complement will be immediately preceded by this case marker, when A is the noncanonically marked argument.

The examples in (1.a-d) illustrate the parallel distribution of clausal complements with that of an O noun phrase. The noun phrase in (1.a) occurs immediately preposed to the matrix verb (which therefore displays its relational prefix-equivalent form pubu) and postposed to the dative phrase that indicates the A argument of the verb in question.

In (1.b-c), the subordinate verbs are transitive and intransitive, respectively; the internal structure of the clausal complement thus reflects this difference in transitivity. Comparing (1.b) with (1.d), in which both subordinate verbs are transitive, it is possible to notice the presence of the ergative marker in the latter, but not in the former. The ergative case marker in (1.d) indicates that the A argument of the subordinate verb is not coreferential with that of the matrix. The subordinate A arguments is thus overtly expressed in the embedded clause.

(1) a. na iýn-má [kuken] p-uba
   RLS 1-DAT cotia RP-fear
   ‘I’m afraid of cotia.’
b. *iん-mō [kuken krēr] p-uba*
   1-DAT cotia eat.NF RP-fear
   ‘I’m afraid of eating cotia meat [and getting sick].’

c. *iん-mō [i-č-øpør] puba*
   1-DAT 1-RP-irritable RP.fear
   ‘I’m afraid of becoming violent [e.g. due to alcohol].’

d. *iん-mō [me karō kōt i-n-irō ja] p-uba*
   1-DAT INDF soul 3.ERG 1-RP-watch DEF.ART RP-fear
   ‘I’m afraid that spirits might spook me.’

In (2-3), one will notice that the inflectional pattern of the complement-taking verb is slightly different than that of (1). In (1), the matrix verb stem follows a transitive pattern of inflection, whereas in (2), the matrix verb follows a descriptive pattern of inflection. That is, in (2), the first argument of the matrix verb is indicated by both an independent pronoun (when it occurs) and the person prefix attached to the verb. In its turn, the dative marker attaches to the constituent that refers to the (noncanonically marked) O argument of the verb in question. When that constituent is a clausal complement, the dative marker follows the final boundary of the subordinate clause.

\[ A \quad O \quad \_V \]

(2) a. *na ka pre iん-mō a-ŋ-ûre*
   RLS 2 PST 1-DAT 2-RP-abandon
   ‘You’ve abandoned me.’

In (3.a), the main verb is intransitive and is here used with a locative postpositional phrase. In (3.b), the complement clause, which structurally takes the object position within the matrix, is marked by the dative. In (3.c), the matrix verb is a
bivalent verb of descriptive inflectional pattern with a non-canonically marked O argument. In (3.b), both the matrix and subordinate clauses share these morphosyntactic characteristics. Notice that in (3.d) the A argument of matrix and subordinate verbs are coreferential.

In contrast, the example in (4.a) presents a regular transitive verb with a dative oblique participant. In subordinate position (4.b), the clause requires the presence of the ergative marker, since it is now a subordinate clause whose A argument is not coreferential with that of the matrix verb.
The parataxis strategy is also employed for the expression of complementation, as already mentioned. In my database, complement-taking predicates that employ this strategy are utterance and manipulation predicats, as illustrated in (5). The presence of the switch reference marker *num* indicates that the A argument of the second clause is a third person, coreferential with the O argument of the first clause, *ickra*.

(5) *na pa ic-kra mš anē *num Ø go kagrō*

RLS 1 1-child DAT thus DS 3 water heat

‘I told my child to warm the water.’

[Lit: ‘I said thus to my child, s/he warmed the water.’]
2. Relativization

Relativization in Apinajé is necessarily expressed by means of subordination. Thus, other morphosyntactic properties internal to Apinajé relative clauses include the facts that the verb must occur in its nonfinite form and, if it is a transitive verb, the ergative case marker must occur on the first nominal constituent of the subordinate clause. Additionally, the definite marker *ja* must occur at the end boundary of the clause, being optionally preceded by the agent nominalizer *c*, which occurs most often (though not strictly) with verbs of action or activity. The order of elements remains basically the same as in simple clauses.

Relativization is carried out by means of both internal and external relative clauses (meaning “internally headed” and “externally headed,” as in the terminology and typology proposed in Keenan 1985, *inter alia*). The choice for one or the other strategy depends on the position being relativized. Positions that may be relativized are *A*, *S*, *O* and the dative/recipient (Keenan and Comrie 1977; Givón 2001b). When an external relative clause is employed, it will be of the postnominal type, as the RC will come postposed to the head noun.

Of the positions that may be relativized, *S* and *O* form verb phrase-internal absolutes and are thus grammatically required to occur in internally headed relative clauses; however, the head may occur externally if a third person resumptive pronoun is employed in the required position. The ergative *A* is always external to the RC, with the person prefix (or the suppletive form) of the ergative marker serving as a resumptive
pronoun. A relativized dative participant is external to the RC, with no need for a resumptive pronoun.

The examples in (6) illustrate these points. (6.a) shows the regular use of the verb arē ‘tell’ in a simple clause, for comparison with the other constructions. In (6.b), the noun bi ‘man’ is the understood head of the RC and occurs within the restrictive clause. That is so because bi is the second argument of the verb arē, and accordingly, it occurs immediately preposed to the verb, which takes the relational prefix; the same is true of di ‘woman’ in (6.c), the S argument of the verb ča ‘stand’. In (6.c-d), on the other hand, the relativized element di ‘woman’ is the A argument of arē ‘tell’. The external relative strategy applies in this case, with the restrictive clause following the head noun. Notice in (6.d) the presence of the third person ergative marker kot inside the subordinate clause; the ergative case marker is coreferential with the external head noun and serves as a resumptive pronoun.

(6) a. pa na pa a-mō [mū] j-arē
   1 RLS 1 2-DAT DEM.DST RP-tell
   ‘I’m telling you about this one.’

   b. [ie-te a-mō [bi j-areŋ] ja]NP
      1-ERG 2-DAT man RP-tell,NF DEF.ART

      na te ņ kři ō kamō pa
      RLS HAB 3 village one INSV live
      ‘This man I’m telling you about lives in the other village.’

   c. [[di č-əm] ja]NP
      woman RP-stand.NF DEF.ART
The examples in (7-9) further illustrate the point. In (8), the relativized element is the dative participant, which also occurs internally in the relative clause. Thus the instances in which externally headed relative clauses occur include mostly cases of ergative relativization, but are not limited to this. For instance, consider (9.b), where the second argument of the verb, *mekadeča* ‘medication’, appears in initial position in the sentence. Inside the relative clause, the subordinate verb appears without the relational prefix, since its object is not contiguous to it. Examples of this kind were not very frequent during elicitation sessions. It is possible that this fronting of the object of the RC is a pragmatic strategy for placing it under focus, in which case this construction would be more marked than those in which the relativized object occurs internal to the relative clause. It is also possible that this is all artefacts of elicitation; further (textual) examples are still needed for clarification of this point.
‘The woman who gave me the medication left yesterday.’

‘The woman who I gave the medication to has not come back here yet.’

‘This medication you gave me is already expired.’

Strategies for case-recovery in Apinajé relativization are the use of resumptive pronouns, which are zero in many cases, but which may also come attached to the ergative marker (or expressed by its suppletive form, in the case of the third person).

Otherwise, it is pragmatics that indicates which grammatical relation is being relativized.
3. Comparative of superiority

The expression of the comparative of superiority in Apinajé is done by clausal subordination to the predicator *j-akren* ‘more than’, which is apparently the nonfinite form of the verb *akre* ‘pass straight by [sby]’. This is a rare instance of a nonfinite verb form operating as a main clause predicator; the nonfinite form could be analyzable as a participial form, perhaps, which would make it structurally and semantically equivalent to a descriptive predicator (in terms of person marking and adjectival semantics). And indeed, it inflects as a descriptive because all nonfinite forms take person marking and obey an absolutive pattern.

The comparative construction includes the ergative marker as an index of the matrix clause subject, which is the starting point of the comparison. The bound pronominal marker on the comparative predication *jakren* refers to the second element in the comparison, that against which the matrix subject is being compared. The subordinated clause refers to the property (or event) being compared and it takes instrumental case marking.

```
ire na ra [[Ø kengra] o] [kot i-j-akren]
N. RLS ASP 3 tired.NF INSTR 3.ERG 1-RP-more.than
```

‘Iré is more tired than me.’

[Lit.: ‘Iré is past me with her being tired.’]

The subject of the subordinate instrumental clause is coreferential with that of the matrix. Within the subordinate predicate, the verb usually comes modified by an
intensifier, which highlights the “property” aspect of the compared element (e.g. ‘work hard’, ‘make-money well’).

(11) a. *pa na [[i-j-apḗn  tāč]  ω]  [ic-te  a-j-akréŋ]*
    1   RLS  1-RP-work.NF  hard  INSTR  1-ERG  2-RP-more than
    ‘I work harder than you do.’
    [Lit.: ‘I’m past you with my hard-working.’]

b. *pa na [ic-te [[katpore i-j-abę́n  beč]  ω]  a-j-akréŋ]*
    1   RLS  1-ERG  money  1-RP-grab.NF  good  INSTR  2-RP-more than
    ‘I make more money than you do.’
    [Lit.: ‘I’m past you with my good money-making.’]

Semantic ambiguity may arise with transitive instrumental subordinates, in that the scope of the comparison may either encompass the predication as a whole, or it may be restricted to the second argument of the subordinate verb. The ambiguity may be resolved by further clarification, e.g. an extra clause (12), or from the context.

(12) *pa  na  ic-te  [[[greʔo  ω]  i-j-aba  tāč]  ω]  a-j-akréŋ*
    1   RLS  1-ERG  N.  INSTR  1-RP-think  INSTR  1-RP-think
    ‘I miss Greʔo more than you do/more than I miss you
    (I don’t think about you as much.)’
    [Lit.: ‘I’m past you with my missing Greʔo’]
4. Inchoative aspect: *kačiw*

The morpheme *kačiw*, which may appear as a purpose marker in other circumstances, encodes the inchoative aspect when in predicate position, as illustrated in (13-14). Here, the form of the verb under its scope is nonfinite, and the distribution of the predication is similar to that of the clausal complements introduced above. The examples show that the use of this strategy for the expression of the inchoative applies to intransitive, descriptive, and transitive predicates alike, including non-canonical marking predicators.

Example (13) illustrates the use of the inchoative with an intransitive verb that includes a locative oblique participant.

```
(13) na pa ra ickre wər ic-č-rəm kačiw
    RLS 1 ASP house ALLT 1-RP-enter.NF about.to
    ‘I was about to enter the house.’
```

The examples (14.a-c) show the use of the inchoative with non-canonical marking verbs of sensation and emotion. In (14.c), the verb in question is bivalent; however, no ergative marking is involved, as its first argument already takes a case marker, the dative *mə̄*. 

```
(14) a. na pa ra iŋ-mə̄ prəm kačiw
    RLS 1 ASP 1-DAT wish about.to
    ‘I’m getting hungry.’
```
On the other hand, the examples in (15.a-b) involve plain transitive verbs. Under these conditions, the ergative case marking is required and it agrees with the clause-initial independent pronoun for the category of person. The same is true in (15.c), with the difference that here the predicator is a non-canonical utterance verb.

(15) a. na pa ra [ic-te bi ja ta] kačiw
   RLS 1 ASP 1-ERG man DEF hit.NF about.to
   ‘I’m about to hit this guy.’

b. na pa ra [ic-te ic-kra bən] kačiw
   RLS 1 ASP 1-ERG 1-child hold about.to
   ‘I was about to pick up my child.’

c. na pa ra [ic-te a-mə i-j-amra] kačiw
   RLS 1 ASP 1-ERG 2-DAT 1-RP-cry about.to
   ‘I was about to call out to you.’

As may be seen from the examples, then, kačiw operates in a way similar to other subordinating predicators, even though it is not a verbal stem elsewhere. A language-internal diachronic hypothesis is that this morpheme – which is actually a morphologically complex stem in that it includes the formative ka-, like other verbs – must have evolved from a verbal source and retained the syntactic property of a
5. Adverbial clauses

In the present section I will discuss two types of adverbial clauses found in Apinajé, both of which involve the presence of specific morphemes, which indicate the syntactic relationship between the matrix and the adverbial clause.

5.1. \textit{Ri} constructions

The particle \textit{ri} serves as an indicator of sequential relation between events, as described by clauses in a sentence. The particle appears in two kinds of constructions: the first translates as ‘SBJ will X, then SBJ will Y’; the second translates as ‘before SBJ X, SBJ will Y’.

In the first construction (‘SBJ will X, then SBJ will Y’), the particle \textit{ri} is immediately postposed to the clause(s) describing the first event in the sequence; the clause expressing the second event occurs last in the sentence. In the examples below, the two events in sequence share the same subject, so the subject is mentioned only once at the beginning of the sentence.

Example (16.b) is more complex in that the first event of the sequence consists of two clauses – i.e. two minor events: the wait for the potatoes to cook, and the cooking of the potatoes. Within that domain, the subjects of the first and second events are distinct,
thus the different-subject third person conjunction occurs in the second clause. Although there is no structural evidence of subordination between the clauses expressing the first and second events, the ‘cook’ clause stands in a complement-type relation with the ‘wait’ clause, albeit semantically. For the purposes of the construction being described in the present section, those two clauses are taken here as if constituting a unit.

(16) a. \( K\text{öt} \ paj \ [kagɔ \ n-ipeč \ pa] \ ri \ kɔtmɔ \ apku. \)

IRLS 1.IRLS mark RP-make.NF CNCL LOC still eat.INTR
‘I’m going to study first, then I’ll eat.’
[Lit.: “At the conclusion of my doing some writing, I’ll eat.”]

b. \( K\text{öt} \ paj \ [[kɔtmɔ \ i-j-ŋ-ɔ \ jɔt \ j-amɔ] \)

IRLS 1.IRLS still 1-RP-GEN sweet.potato(sp) RP-wait

[\( num \ kao \ pa ] \ ri \ apku. \)
DS.3 cooked CNCL LOC eat.INTR
‘I’ll wait until my potatoes are all cooked, then I’ll eat.’
[Lit.: “At the conclusion of my waiting for my potatoes to cook, I’ll eat.”]

The second possibility (‘before SBJ \( X \), SBJ will \( Y \)’) includes the negative marker \( ket \). Here, the order of the clauses is reversed in the sentence: the first clause encodes the event that should happen last in the sequence; the particle \( ri \) occurs postposed to this clause and the negator \( ket \) modifies its predicate.

(17) a. \( K\text{öt} \ paj \ [i-j-apku \ ket] \ ri \ kagɔ \ n-ipeč. \)

IRLS 1.IRLS 1-RP-eat.NF? NEG LOC mark RP-make
‘Before I eat, I’m going to do some writing.’
[Lit.: “At my having not eaten, I’ll do some writing.”]
Thus, the particle *ri* is always postposed to the first clause in the sequence; whether that clause indicates the initial or the final event of the sequence depends on the occurrence of the negative marker *ket*.

Some aspects in the overall structure of *ri* constructions which show that the *ri*-marked clause is in fact structurally subordinate to that in sentence-final position are as follows. In examples (16.a) and (17.b), repeated as (18) below, the sentence-final clauses have the typical distribution of a main predicate, and the subject of each is that expressed by the nominative pronoun at the beginning of the whole complex sentence. As for the *ri*-marked elements, they have the distribution that a postpositional phrase would have, and they come marked with a postposed particle that, in other contexts, may function either as a demonstrative or a locative. An alternative semantic interpretation of the *ri*-marked expressions in the examples below then could be, respectively, ‘at/upon/when [clause]’. Hence the alternative translations:

(18) a. *Kọt paj* [kag̃ n-ipeč pa] *ri* *kọtmọ* *apku.*

   IRLS IRLS mark RP-make CNCL LOC still eat.INTR

   ‘I will eat upon/when I have finished studying.’

b. *Kọt paj* [iĉ-wɔr *ket*] *ri* *amn̂=k̃* *gregreʃi.*

   IRLS IRLS 1-bathe NEG LOC RFLX=hair rub.oil.on

   ‘I will rub oil on my hair upon/when I have not yet bathed.’
5.2. The postposition *kutep*

The morpheme *kutep* marks a temporal adverbial construction, which consists of clauses that encode simultaneous events. The clauses in question do not occur in a subordinating relation: they occur in a paratactic relation with one another and each has its own subject. That the clauses involved belong in the same sentence is indicated by the fact that they fall under the scope of the same mood marker; and by the intonation pattern of the utterance, which clearly includes them both.

The morpheme *kutep* is a postposition that indicates something like ‘in one’s stead’. Functionally, it clearly indicates the simultaneous relation between the events described in each clause. As to its distribution in the sentence, it occurs in the clause that serves as the ground event with respect to which the other, simultaneous event is located.

The person index occurring in *kutep* refers to the subject of the second, “figure” clause in the temporal relation, as expressed by agreement with the independent pronoun.

(19) a. Kɔt  ka  wa  ǐc-ụtɛp  ċwa,  [pa  meọ  n-ipeć]_
IRLS 2.IRLS DU 1-ụtɛp  bathe 1  food RP-make
‘While you both bathe, I’ll cook the food.’
[Lit.: “You both bathe in my stead, I make food.”]

b. Kɔt  [kaj  marĩ  a-ŋ-ðkwĩ  ɔ  beć]_
IRLS 2.IRLS PRMS 2-RP-home INSTR good
pa  ɑ-ụtɛp  Bogoti  mẽ  wa  atpɛrn  mɔ  ǐc-kapɛre.
1 2-ụtɛp  N  ASSC DU RCPR DAT 1-talk
‘You tidy up your house while Bongoti and I will both chat with each other.’
[Lit.: “You may tidy up your house; me, in your stead, along with Bogo, chat with each other.”]
6. Progressive aspect

Constructions involving the combination of movement or position verbs with the morpheme ḋ are widely employed for the expression of aspectual nuances. Among these, the progressive and the continuative are the most common. In constructions of this type, the ḋ V sequence follows the lexical verb of the clause, which appears in its nonfinite form.

Consider the examples in (20). In (a), the regular use of the verb ṭi in a simple clause is illustrated. In (b-c), the lexical verbs of each clause co-occur with the sequence ḋ mō ‘do go’ and ḋ nō ‘do lie’, respectively. The lexical verb appears in its nonfinite form, as already mentioned, whereas the other two verbs appear without any sort of inflection whatsoever. Both examples (20.b-c) encode the progressive aspect.

(20) a. na pa ti.
    RLS 1 die
    ‘I died.’

    b. na pa ra [iɛ-tik ḋ mō]
    RLS 1 ASP 1-die.NF do go
    ‘I’m dying.’

    c. ḋ mūj ja [bəɾ ḋ nō]
    EXCL DEM DEF.ART cry.NF do lie
    ‘That one is lying there crying.’

In examples (20) as well as (21-22), we notice the use of the verb mō ‘go’ with lexical verbs of varied semantic nuances, such as ‘die’, ‘disappear’ and ‘mature’. This
fact demonstrates that the meaning of the movement verb is not literal, although it must
be compatible with the semantics of the lexical verb to some extent. It indicates a
metaphorical transition from a previous stage to a new one: from life to death, from
appearance to disappearance, from green to ripe.

(21)  \( ka \ na \ ka \ ra \ ic-pe \ a-pikudor \ \sigma \ m\varnothing \)
  2  RLS  2  ASP  1-DTR  2-disappear.NF  do  go
  ‘You’re already disappearing from me.’

(22)  \( na \ ra \ \emptyset \ ka \ \sigma \ m\varnothing \)
  RLS  ASP  3  mature.NF  do  go
  ‘It’s getting ripe already.’

Compared to (20.b) and (21-22), it is possible to note that similar constructions
involving position verbs focus more on the activity being performed, ‘cry’, ‘fasten’,
‘dance’ (23), rather than the result accomplished after the activity has been concluded.

(23)  a.  \( na \ pa \ k\varnothing=t=m\varnothing \ i-n\varnothing \ p\varnothing \ katpre \ \sigma \ pi\varnothing \)
  RLS  1  still/yet  1-RP-GEN  wood  fasten.NF  do  sit
  ‘I’m still fastening my wood.’

b.  \( ka \ na \ ka \ a-gr\varnothing \ \sigma \ \check{c}a \)
  2  RLS  2  2-dance.NF  do  stand
  ‘You are dancing.’
  (I.e. ‘It is you who are dancing.’)

Not all movement verbs are eligible for appearing in this construction type, as
they yield literal rather than grammatical meanings. Thus, the verb \( te \) ‘go’ in (24.a)
indicates the actual movement of the participant as s/he fastens the wood sticks; that is,
there are two simultaneous actions going on. Comparatively, the examples in (24.b),

involving the dative postposition $m\tilde{o}$ in place of the morpheme $\varsigma$, indicates literal

movement towards the locus of an action.

(24) a. na pa k\textit{t}=m\tilde{o} i-n-\tilde{o} pi katpre $\varsigma$ t\textit{e}
    RLS 1 still/yet 1-RP-GEN wood fasten do go
    ‘I’m still walking and fastening my wood.’

    b. ma, mut\tilde{u}m na pa i-n-\tilde{o} pi katpre $m\tilde{o}$ t\textit{e}
    no DEM.DST RLS 1 1-PR-GEN wood fasten DAT go
    ‘No, I’m headed that way to fasten my dry wood.’

Some alternative hypotheses are possible for the analysis of the morpheme $\varsigma$ in

this context, since this marker appears in various positions with distinct meanings, in the

grammar of the language. One hypothesis could be that $\varsigma$ is the instrumental postposition

in the examples above, and that would even justify the nonfiniteness of the preceding

verb; after all, in order for it to be the object of a postposition, it must be more nominal

than verbal – and that is what nonfinite verb forms are, in Apinajé.

Another hypothesis is that the morpheme $\varsigma$ appearing in these contexts is the

transitive verb ‘do’, which likewise could require a more nominal form of the lexical

verb. According to this interpretation, the sequence of elements involved could be

analyzed as a case of verb serialization, including the lexical verb, the verb $\varsigma$, and the

movement or position verb.
One morphological detail to keep in mind is the absence of a relational prefix in ṣ, which has analytical consequences for both hypotheses proposed, since both verb and postposition take relational prefixes in Apinajé.

In the analysis presented here, I opt for the transitive verb analysis, for at least two reasons: First, it is typologically common for serial verb constructions to encode aspectual meanings such as the ones noted here. Second, there is evidence leading to the conclusion that the instrumental postposition has evolved from the verb ṣ ‘do’ (Oliveira 1998).
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the previous chapters I have provided an overview of the core aspects of Apinajé grammar – its phonology, morphology, simple clause syntax, and complex constructions and predicates. Despite its preliminary character, the description presented here is intended as a fresh contribution to the study and documentation of Apinajé, especially because, for the first time, the morphology and syntax of the language are treated in detail and from a non-formalist perspective. The functional-typological approach adopted in the present study has made possible a richer and more fluid analysis of the data, especially in regard to certain puzzling patterns, such as the association of subordinating morphology with certain domains of the grammar.

It has been noted, for instance, that the negative clitics not only require such morphology, but display a morphological make up that may be seen as evidence for a verbal diachronic origin, namely, the consonant $k$-, analyzed here as a reflex of the third person accusative prefix. Other factors that have been considered are its clause-final position and its possibility of occurrence with the clitic $nē$. The presence of this clitic suggests an affinity of the form ket with the class of descriptive verbs, in that some of them often co-occur with the morpheme $nē$. These are simple observations, however, and need to be further investigated.
The morphosyntactic and distributional facts about the negative morphemes suggest that they may have all originated diachronically from verbal sources. At least in regard to the morpheme *ket, a plausible hypothesis is that it must have started out as a monosyllabic negative predicator of *tv structure, and that the *kv- syllable is a reflex of the accusative prefix *ku-, also noted in other function words, such as *kuventure ‘INTS’ and *karto ‘3.ERG’, among others (see chapter IV). The hypothetical predicator *tv must have been responsible for the negation of the proposition described in the clause, thus requiring the nonfinite form of the subordinate verb; whereas the morpheme *ku- could have operated as an anaphoric/resumptive pronoun, referring back to the negated proposition. Verbs do take noun phrases as arguments; and it is quite possible that the distribution of *ku- was restricted to cases of propositional, not nominal, negation in a past stage of Apinajé. However, since the most frequent scope of negation is the proposition, the use of the *kvvtv form may have become more standardized, leading to its reanalysis as the negative stem of Apinajé thus replacing other related forms elsewhere in the grammar. As far as phonological changes, one could speculate a path such as *kuto > *kete > *ket, for Apinajé, with vowel harmony and eventual deletion of the stem final vowel. In any case, it is no longer possible to speak of ket and ketne as true verbs in

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1 In Kaingang (Southern Jê), one of the negative markers is indeed a monosyllabic morpheme beginning in /t/: *tô ‘NEG’ (Wiesemann 1986). However, in that language this form of the negative is employed in narrow scope negation, specifically, in the negation of nouns; sentential negation is expressed by a similar ket morpheme. (Thanks to Eduardo Ribeiro for calling my attention to this piece of data, in personal communication.)
Apinajé. These morphemes have now become positional clitics which do not display the full morphosyntactic behavior and semantic content of a lexical verb.

Other elements that may have involved the prefix *ku- in earlier times include the ergative markers and the intensifier *kumreč. While it seems plausible that the intensifier may have evolved from a verb, given its final position in the clause and the role it performs, as a modifier of the predicate, the same may not be said of the ergative markers.

The ergative markers *te and *kot must have evolved from a nominal source. My claim is based on their distribution in the sentence and their function in present-day Apinajé syntax, as case markers of nominal elements. However, the possibility that the prefix *ku- may have participated in the development of the suppletive third-person form of the ergative is also present here – a path that I propose for the other two postpositions that display suppletive forms, namely, the detrimentive and the dative, as well. The hypothesis is displayed schematically below:

\begin{align*}
*ku-mō & > & kō-mō & > & kōm & \text{‘3.DAT’} \\
*ku-pe & > & ke-pe & > & kep & \text{‘3.DTR’} \\
*ku-tē & > & kō-tē & > & kot & \text{‘3.ERG’}
\end{align*}

The idea proposed in (1) is that all three postpositional markers may once have been used with the third person prefix *ku. With the frequency of use, the vowels involved underwent certain phonological changes, such that non-low vowels ended up in full harmony, whereas in the environment of a low vowel, only partial assimilation took place,
such that the high back vowel became lowered. Eventually, all word-final vowels were lost, giving way to a heavy monosyllabic word.

In this vein, it is hoped that this description of Apinajé will serve as a basis for future historical and comparative work, which will allow the testing of the various internal reconstructions proposed here, and which will also allow the creation of new, fruitful comparative hypotheses for the reconstruction of the phonology and grammar of Proto-Jê.
APPENDIX A

SELECTED MAPS

Map 1

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE COLLECTION OF TEXTS

TEXT I

Čučúti nê Čučúre Jarêp

Teller: Grêri Júlia Estêvão
Location: Aldeia São José

\(\text{"Well, Sun and Moon, they lived [on Earth] by themselves, at the time they were to create us."} \)

\(\text{\text{"Then it is said they talked with one another; they say: \"How are we going to end up, all by ourselves on this Earth?...\"}} \)
“Let us create our descendants!” Then Moon asked, “But what are we going to make them out of?”

“Nah, don’t worry, we’ll make them.” Then it is said they planted a garden.’

‘Sun made an arrangement with the Fire Stones so they would clear the land for him.’
‘So they were clearing for him when Moon heard the noise and saw them, then Moon went to them and said, ‘

“ε me ape # me ape pa me apubu” # ne jum we ū me kuba nō #

“Hey, work! Work for me to see!” Then they heard him and immediately laid on the ground.’

‘Then it is said he went to talk to them, and he grabbed them and hit them against one another [so they would break]. “Here! This is what I do to you so you’ll learn a lesson!”’
me ape ne ka me ri apen ket ne # aŋikwĩ ne o anẽ” #

me ape ne ka me ri apen ket ne
PL work CNJ 2.NOM PL DEM work.NF NEG COP

a-ŋ-ikwĩ ne o anẽ
2-RP-lie CNJ do thus

“First you work, then you work no more, just stay lying on the ground like that!”

əbri jum ma tẽ ne poj # əbri jum če we əbri čučuți ma tẽ #

əbri jum ma tẽ ne poj
then DS MOV go CNJ chegar

əbri jum če we əbri čučuți ma tẽ
then DS HRS HRS then sun.AUG MOV go

‘Then Moon left and arrived. Sun went to the garden place...

ne me əbu əbri jum kəm kapẽr # “kwa # pa krɔmre # mebɔ na ka te ri aŋûr ɔ bra?”

ne me əbu əbri jum kəm kapẽr
CNJ PL 3.see then DS 3.DAT talk

kwa pa krɔm=ʁe me=bo na ka te
EXCL 1.PSSR K.T.=DIM INF=thing RLS 2.NOM HAB

ri aŋûr o bra
DEM thus.NF do walk

‘...and saw the stones, so he went to talk to Moon. He says, “Etå!, my child, why do you keep behaving like that?!”

jum če we kəm # “əw # na pa me o anẽ do mɔ̱ ke pa kra jaja kαc

jum če we kəm əw na pa me o anẽ
DS HRS HRS 3.DAT yes RLS 1.NOM PL do thus
‘Then it is said he answered, “Yes, I did this to them so our children will learn...”

Then it is said he answered, “Yes, I did this to them so our children will learn...

...to work with their own hands. Let them do like that within the wild...

...because if we do it your way all the time, they will finish off with the home of the game [i.e. the woods] [to their own detriment].”

That’s why I’m doing this.” Then the wood [at the garden field] burned...’
'and they got some cabaça seeds from somewhere, they took them and planted the whole field.'

'Then the cabaças were getting ripe and he went there to check them out.'

'So he took one for himself, took it and made himself a wife out of it. Sun created his own wife.'
"Then it is said he spoke to her and she said, “No, your godson came by when my husband was out hunting, and he copulated with me in your stead.’

‘Then when he went hunting, Moon came by and had sex with Sun’s bride.’

‘When he came back, she was sitting there, menstruating.’

‘But when he went hunting, Moon came by and had sex with Sun’s bride.’
“That is why I am bleeding.” So he says, “But my godson, why are you like that?!”

“No, I did it like that because when our children come out...’

“and they start fancying someone else’s wife, that’s what they will do.”

‘He says, “Okay, now you’ll make me a wife just like yours.”’ And he,
“kwa ja čiw mā” # “m # dɔ kij ɨn-mɑ ō ipeč” #

kwa ja čiw=mā tɑ dɔ kij ɨn-mɑ ō ipeč
EXCL DEF.ART wait=DAT no.MSC but quick 1-DAT one make

“Hey, wait a moment!” “No, right now, let’s make one for me too!”

ne əbri jum će we wa ma mō # jum kukōn ja ta ne ɔ mō #

ne əbri jum će we wa ma mō
CNJ then DS HRS HRS DU MOV go

jum kukōn ja ta ne ɔ mō
DS cabaça DEF.ART chop.off CNJ INSTR go

‘So they went to the garden, he took one cabaça and brought it.’

kəm kumē jum kəm prō kato # dɔ mō kep dɔ nikje kreti #

kəm ku-mē jum kəm prō kato
3.DAT 3.ACC-throw DS 3.DAT wife come.out

dɔ=mō kep dɔ n-ikje krɛ=tï
but 3.DTR eye RP-side whole=AUG

‘So he [Sun] tossed it in the water and woman came out for him [Moon], only it had one blind eye.’

əbri jum we akupim # əbri jum će we # “e # am̱i ja tu ć-om ɔ # am̱i ć-om” #

əbri jum we akupim əbri jum će we
then DS HRS CNTRP=ALLT then DS HRS HRS

e am̱i ja tu ć-om ɔ am̱i ć-om
EXCL RFLX DEF.ART belly RP-stand.NF LOC RFLX RP-stand.NF

‘Then they came back. Then, it is said, eh!, the bottle gourds were all ripe, just right to pick.’
Then it is said, one said to the other, “Êta!, godson, let us at once work on the garden for our children.’

“All right!” Then it is said they cut some logs and made a dam in the creek.’

‘Then they went to bed. It became morning. Then one said to the other.’

“All right!” Then it is said they cut some logs and made a dam in the creek.’

‘Then they went to bed. It became morning. Then one said to the other.’
“Ê, godfather, let us go there for me to grab a cocar just like yours!”, like that.’

Then they went; a woodpecker was passing by and he said, “Is it this one?” “No, I want one just like yours!”

“So they went, and a red-head woodpecker was around and he said, “That’s the one!”

“kwa # to ke ka č beč nê # pa pam amô kupi” #
“All right, but be careful so you’ll do it right! Let me get it for you myself.”

“No, I will do it myself!”

“Then it is said he [Moon] spoke to the woodpecker so he took the cocar, tossed it to him, and the other [Sun] [commanded]: ’

“Let it fall, let it fall, let it fall!” Then it is said he [Moon] did let it fall; so the cocar fell on the ground setting fire to everything in the area.”
Then the fire caught good in the woods and they all ran away.

Then Sun ran and entered the waspbox [of the kind that is built] on the ground.

And Moon entered the waspbox [of the kind that is built] upright.

So a piece of his tummy got burned; then the fire went out.
So, it it said, they came down, and he says,

"Godfather, ouch!, my tummy is so burned!" And he answered, "To the water, to the water, to the water!!!"

Then it is said he ran to the water. And Sun commanded, "May the water dry up!", just like that.

"Godfather, ouch!, my tummy is so burned!" And he answered, "To the water, to the water, to the water!!!"

Then it is said he ran to the water. And Sun commanded, "May the water dry up!", just like that.
'So the creek dried. Then the other one [Moon] lay there on the sand, and Sun commanded, “May the turtoise scratch your tummy!”

‘So, it is said, the turtoise scratched his tummy. “May the creek become full again!”, so it did.

‘Then the turtoise scratched his [Moon] tummy. Then he came back.’

‘The two of them sat together and said to one another,’

“ε # pu do kij anē pu pəŋ e pa kra je kaći w bri ćet kwə kawrə” # nē #

ε pu do kij anē pu pəŋ EXCL 1.INCL but soon thus 1.INCL afterwards
“Say, let’s go get some burned game for our children.” Like that.

“So they collected them, when they were making the fire afterwards, Moon came,"

“Godfather, your game is bigger!” He [Sun] had already taken a slice and was roasting it.”
‘Then the other [Moon] came towards him, “Godfather, your game is bigger!!”

“kwa # akapër ket nê” # te ma bra # ò atumre wər bra #

kwa akapër ket=nê
EXCL 2-talk NEG

ë ma bra ò atum=re wər bra
? MOV walk LOC little.while=DIM ALLT walk

“Èta! Stop babbling!” He [Moon] left; a little while later, there he comes again.’

kəm kapër bərape jum we ajte kep tu čet=cə ja ò kući jum čet # əbri jum we kəm #

kəm kapër bərape jum we ajte kep tu
3.DAT talk because DS HRS more 3.DTR belly

čet=cə ja ò kući-i
burn=NMLZ.LOC/INSTR DEF.ART LOC 3.ACC-RP-place.on.ground

jum čet əbri jum we kəm
dS burn then DS HRS 3.DAT

‘When he [Moon] was about to speak, it is said the other [Sun] took a slice of the roast and tossed it right on top of his burned tummy.’

“ow waj nê # na pa tu čet” # nê jum kəm # “go wər” # ne jum we ma go mō tē #

ow waj nê na pa tu čet nê jum kəm
EXCL EXCL EXCL RLS 1.NOM belly burn FCT DS 3.DAT

go wər nê jum we ma go mō tē
water ALLT CNJ DS HRS MOV water DAT go

“OUCH!!! My tummy is burned!!” And the other, “To the water, to the water, to the water!!!” So he disappeared towards the water.’
'So the water dried and the turtoise scratched his tummy. They stayed this way until they finished transporting everything [the game].'

'They arrived with the game, then took the cabaças and submerged them all. This is how we came out to life.'

'Now we live out here. That is why I am telling you this so you’ll learn about it.'
At the tip of our stem, [from] the tip of our stem [there] is the cabaça.

But at the tip of our stem there is the cabaça, and the bowls that we use to eat and drink nowadays.
A walk in the wild

Teller: Kojkoti Iraci Dias
Location: Aldeia São José

'Yes. I’m going to tell you about the two of us so you’ll learn about us.'

‘My friend arrived from far away and stayed talking to me.’

‘I heard her conversation and followed her manners.’
She liked me, and she wished to...

...stroll around in the wild, so she called me and the two of us went out.'

'We left from here and went, so she showed me...'

'ron pēr ja jake nē 3 kukja # “mebō na ja?”

ron pēr ja j-akre nē
coco tree DEF.ART RP-show CNJ
‘...a palm tree and asked, “What is it?”

‘And I said to her, “It is babaçú, we eat it.”

‘So she said, “Well, then let’s get out of the track so as to get one for me to taste, just like you do.’

‘So I got one for her and cracked it with my machete, so she tried it.’
“a: če beči # jakamška te na aku” #

a: če beči ja=kamš ka te na a-ku
EXCL EXCL good DEF.ART=INSV 2.NOM HAB RLS 2-eat

“Ah!! This is good! That’s why you eat it.”

nē sīmš are anē abri pa pre wa akup-im pri nō

nē sī in-mš are anē
CNJ LOC 1-DAT tell thus

abri pa pre wa akup-im pri nō then 1.NOM PST DU CNTRP-ALLT track return

‘She said just like that to me, so we went back to the track.’

nē wa icte gri=te wa prigot=ti ja wēr ickatō # abri pa pre kōm pēr ja kere #

nē wa ic-te gri=re wa prigot=ti ja wēr ickatō
CNJ DU 1-ERG small=DIM DU bacuri=AUG DEF.ART ALLT 1-come.out

abri pa pre kōm pēr j-akre then 1.NOM PST 3.DAT tree RP-show

‘We walked for a while and reached a bacuri tree. I showed it to her.’

pēr ja kere num pape ja ra pič nō # pa pre kōm kupi nē kōm kate num pre kaki #

pēr jakre num pa=pe ja ra pič nō
tree show DS foot=ABL DEF.ART ASP only lie

pa pre kōm ku-pi nē kōm kate num pre kaki 1.NOM PST 3.DAT 3.ACC-pegar CNJ 3.DAT quebrar DS PST experimentar

‘I showed the tree and under it there was just one fruit. I picked it for her, cut it and she tasted it.’
“Ah!! This is good!!” And she ate it. She ate it up and we went ahead in the track; we walked for a while.’

‘Then my relative was coming behind us and asked, “Hey, where are you going to?”

‘So I told him about us.’
“No, my friend wanted to stroll in the wild,’

‘...’

‘so she called me so I would bring her.” Then we took a different way and reached an oiti tree.’

‘Under the tree there was a lot of it [oití fruit], so we started collecting.’

‘Only under the tree there was a lot of ants, and I mean, a lot of them!’
But she [my friend] didn’t even notice and went ahead collecting fruit [real fast]. So a lot of crawled onto her feet.

‘They crawled onto her feet and she quit. “No, I won’t collect them anymore. You go ahead.”

‘So I laughed at her. So my [another] relative came behind us.’
‘So she asked, “Hey, where are you going to?” And I,...’

“No, my friend wanted to see the wild so I’m taking her around.’

“I’ll walk with her until the afternoon, so she’ll get the feel of it.”

‘Then they passed us by.’
wa mrūm=ti ja ʒ
DU ant=AUG DEF.ART LOC

pa wa e i-ŋ-ə̌ kawə ja č-əm
1.NOM DU ? 1-rp GEN basket DEF.ART RP-place

‘Under the oiti tree we placed our baskets on top of the ants...’

[na pa va mrūmti tɔ i̲kawə ɕəm]

[na pa va mrūm=ti t-ʒ ic-kawə ɕ-əm]
[RLS 1.NOM DU ant=AUG RP-LOC 1-basket RP-place

[‘we placed our baskets on top of the ants.’]

nə wa ri atpə mə ickapər atpən tɔ akuja #

nə wa ri atpə mə ic-kapər atpən t-ə̌ akuja
CNJ DU DEM RCPR DAT 1-talk RCPR RP-LOC laugh

‘And we sat there talking and laughing at one another.’

əbri jum kratərī kamə ri bra ja kamə jum kratə ʔə=kə kot agje

əbri jum krat=kə=ri kamə ri bra ja=kamə
then DS leg=cover=long INSV DEM walk DEF.ART=INSV

jum krat=kə ʔə=kə kot agje
DS leg=cover calf=cover after enter.PL

‘Then the ants crawled and entered her pants from the end of the legs.’
‘So she removed them [the ants] with her hands.’

[She removed them with her hands.]

‘[In the meantime] I finished collecting the oití by myself. We walked ahead a while longer.’

‘Soon we reached peba footprints on our way. The burrow was fresh as it had been recently dug; we reached it.’
“So she found me a woodstick and said, ...”

“če # ēkaču! köt ja ari kamū nō köt pu kupi” #

“Hey, why don’t you poke it?! If the peba is in there we could kill it.”

‘So we poked it, but then we quit. I said, “You know, I think the burrow is really deep.’
'So we dropped it and moved on. We took the road again.'

'nèwa ictem grië abri wa pɔŋ botle ja wɔɣ ickatɔ #

'nè wa ic-tem gri=ɾe
CNJ DU l-go.NF small=DIM

abri wa pɔŋ bot=ɾe ja wɔɣ ic-kač
then DU after jatobà=DIM DEF.ART ALLT 1-come.out

'After walking a little while longer we reached a jatobá tree.'

'botre wɔɣ ja wa ickatɔ abri jum wa jum kǔmreč ja pi #

bot=ɾe wɔɣ ja wa ic-kač
jatobà ALLT DEF.ART DU 1-come.out

'Ve reached this jatobá and she grabbed one [fruit] first.'

'ja pi nè ipmɔ # “čo na ka tem aku?” # na pa kəm # “na pa te kuku” # nɛ jum ipmɔ #

ja pi nè ip-mɔ čo na ka tem a-ku
DEF.ART pegar CNJ 1-DAT Q RLS 2.NOM HAB 2-eat
na pa kəm na pa te ku-ku ne įum ip-mɔ
RLS 1.NOM 3.DAT RLS 1.NOM HAB 3.ACC-eat CNJ DS 1-DAT

'She grabbed it and said, “Do you eat these?” “Yes, we eat them.” And she, ...'
“to?en ijn-mã ô kate # ijn-mã ô kate pa me akučvar kaki” #

to?en ijn-mã ô kate ijn-mã ô kate
EXCL 1-DAT one break 1-DAT one break

pa me a-kučvar kaki
1.NOM PL 2-likewise taste

“So will you break one for me, so I will taste it just like you do?”

nê abri pa iľo wapɔti ɔ kəm ja kate # jum kupi nê ri kupĩ nê kaki nê #
nê abri pa iŋ-ô wapɔti ɔ kəm ja kate
CNJ then 1.NOM 1-GEN machete INSTR 3.DAT DEF.ART break

jum ku-pi nê ri ku-pô nê kaki nê
ds 3.ACC-get CNJ DEM 3.ACC-smell CNJ taste CNJ

‘So I cracked it with my machete for her to try. She took it, smelled it, tasted it, ...’

“ma # beči # do mõ icpe ɔmduj” # ne ri aɡolẽ # abri pa ?õ akuja pa ri õ akuja #

ma beči do mõ icpe ɔmduj ne ri aɡolẽ
no.FEM good but DAT 1-DTR 3.bad CNJ DEM spit.out

abri pa ?õ akuja pa ri õ akuja
then 1.NOM LOC laugh 1.NOM DEM LOC laugh

“No, it’s good, but to me it tastes bad.” She spit it out and I laughed hard at her.’

abri jum wa jum kwɔ krẽ ket nê #

abri jum wa jum kwɔ krẽ ket nê
then DS DU DS QTF eat NEG PRT

‘Then she decided not to eat it.’
"bri pa wa i-jukri əŋ prînle ja əŋ ic-ka $e$ wa kawrə $# va kawrə $#" 

"bri pa wa i-jukri əŋ prîn=re ja əŋ ic-ka $e$ after oiti=DIM DEF.ART ALLT 1-come.out $\) $

nɛ wa kawrə wa kawrə 

CNJ DU collect DU collect

'So we moved on, reached other oití trees and gathered, gathered,...'

"nɛ $wa$ kawrə pa bəri ʒum wa i-jukri bəri ʒum kəm $#" 

nɛ wa kawrə pa bəri ʒum wa i-jukri bəri ʒum kəm 

CNJ DU collect CNCL then DS DU 3-RP-ahead then DS 3.DAT

'Then we finished gathering. After that we moved on and me to her,...'

"ən na bəri prînle pəɾ ja apeč $# kət puj bəri əŋ amaɾi ri kapot əɾ ri bra" $# 

ən na bəri prîn=re pəɾ ja apeč 

yes RLS then oiti tree DEF.ART finish

kət puj bəri əŋ amaɾi ri kapot əɾ ri bra 

IRLS 1.INCL.IRLS then after PRMSV DEM outside LOC DEM walk

'Well, now we are done with the oití trees, so now we will just walk around in the wild.'

"ri bra nɛ ʒum bəri ʃum $# "əw" $# 

ri bra nɛ ʒum bəri ʃum əŋ-mə əw 

DEM walk CNJ DS then 1-DAT yes

'We went ahead and she, “Sounds good.”'
“So we just strolled around in the wild.”

“Then we walked some more and reached deer footprints. So she, ...”

“Maybe this deer has just passed by us, let us follow the tracks and see where it takes us.”

“ne pa wa abri ma kapot ẹwa ic-tem òtè #
ne pa wa abri ma kapot ẹwa ic-tem òtè
CNJ 1.NOM DU then MOV outside LOC DU 1-go.NF do go

‘So we just strolled around in the wild.’

abri jum wa ... abri ic-tem gri=re jum pẹn karọ pri ja wọr icka=te jum ipin ẹ #
abri jum wa abri ic-tem gri=te
then DS DU then 1-go.NF small=DIM
jum pẹn karọ pri ja wọr icka=te jum ipin ẹ
DS after deer track DEF.ART ALLT 1-come.out DS 1-DAT

‘Then we walked some more and reached deer footprints. So she, ...’

“če # am na ri karọ ja [ri ja] kot bra ma pu apec # ma pu pri kot té jín-im wọr pa kató” #
če am na ri karọ ja [ri ja]
EXCL 3.ACC.EMPH RLS DEM veado DEF.ART DEM DEF.ART
kot bra ma pu apec ma pu pri kot té
after walk MOV 1.INCL search MOV 1.INCL track after go
jín-im wọr pa kató
LOC-ALLT ALLT 1.NOM come.out

“Maybe this deer has just passed by us, let us follow the tracks and see where it takes us.”

nè pa kəm “ma # rọp na te ri karọ ja kot ri bra #
ne pa kəm ma rọp
CNJ 1.NOM 3.DAT MOV dog
And me to her, "No, it’s only dogs that can follow the tracks."

Just with our own eyes we aren’t capable of finding it."

Then we went after the deer and finally gave up. Me to her, ...

"No, let it go. Let’s find some dry wood.'
“We’ll find some dry wood to take home and prepare our food for us to eat already.”

'dɔ jum pu ra ri bra ri nè#

dɔ jum pu ra ri bra ri nè
but DS 1.INCL ASP DEM walk long COP

‘So we walked a long ways.’

'nè jum wa əbri akup-im wa tè nè kenle kamɔ irɔ rač nè # irɔ beč nè#

'nè jum wa əbri akup-im wa tè
CNJ DS DU then CNTRP-ALLT DU go

nè ken=re kamɔ irɔ rač nè irɔ beč nè
CNJ pebble=DIM INSV clearing large COP clearing good COP

‘Then we came back and reached the pebbles clearing. The pebbles area was really clear.’

'əbri pa wa wɔr ickatɔ nè wa əbri kamɔ jɔi#

'əbri pa wa wɔr ickatɔ nè wa əbri kamɔ jɔi
then 1.NOM DU ALLT 1-come.out CNJ DU then INSV sit

‘We got there and sat down.’

'kamɔ jɔi nè kɔjnmɔ rıt ne bıt pubu # jum ra kɔjnmɔ bıt #

kamɔ jɔi nè kɔjnmɔ rıt ne bit pubu
INSV sit CNJ upright look CNJ sun RP.see
We sat, looked up and saw the sun high above us. The sun was high.’

“We sat there and rested. Then I said to her,...’

“Hã, there? We have rested well, now we may leave.”

‘Then we took the road again and moved on.’

‘There, there? We have rested well, now we may leave.”

‘Then we took the road again and moved on.’
'She saw a waspbox and asked me, “What is it?”

"pa kəm # “amči” # nē jum kəm uba # nē ubaj prôt #

pa kəm amči nē jum kəm uba nē ubaj prôt
1.NOM 3.DAT wasp CNJ DS 3.DAT fear CNJ fear.NF run

‘I told her, “Marimondo.” She got startled and ran away in fear.’

"əbrī pa kəm akuja # ə akuja # əbrī jum wa tē nē ri mē jō pri jatep #

əbrī pa kəm akuja ə akuja
then 1.NOM 3.DAT alugh LOC laugh

əbrī jum wa tē nē ri mē jō pri jatep
then DS DU go CNJ DEM PL RP-GEN track RP-close

‘So I laughed real hard at her. Then we left and were close to the road again.’

"nē əbrī kəm # “ən # ma pu ja kot pri ja ka kot # ictō tē pa amjūm pī gra ō čō” #

nē əbrī kəm ən ma pu ja kot
CNJ then 3.DAT yes MOV 1.INCL DEF.ART after

pri ja ka kot
track DEF.ART cover atrás

ic-tō tē pa amjū-m pī gra ō čō
1-RP-INSTR ir 1.NOM RFLX-DAT wood dry some place?

‘And I, “Hey, let’s go by the road edge. You come with me getting the dry wood and tossing it in my basket.”
nē num wa əbri pri ja kʌ kot /pi  grʌ ja gjen ɔ nē wa arĩ ja atep # əbri jum kəm #

nē jum wa əbri pri ja kʌ kot
CNJ DS DU then track DEF.ART cover after

/pi  grʌ j-agjen ɔ nē
wood dry RP-put.inside.PL do thus

wa arĩ ja atep əbri jum kəm
DU stay DEF.ART close then DS 3.DAT

‘So we went by the road edge, gathering the wood and placing it in the basket, already getting close. Then I said to her,...’

“če # ja ri iččə ɔ ča na pa mutũ ača ɔ əmŋĩm /pi japeə
če ja ri ič-čə ɔ ča
EXCL DEF.ART DEM 1-wait LOC stand

na pa mu=tũ a-ča ɔ əmŋĩ-m /pi japeə
RLS 1.NOM DEM.DST=LOC 2-stand.NF LOC RFLX-DAT wood RP-search

“Hey, wait for me here. I’m going over there to get some of that dry wood,...’

dɔkɔ mɔ ipo /pi ja icpe gre=ree #

dɔ kɔt=mɔ i-ŋ-ɔ /pi ja ic-pe gre=re
mas yet 1-RP-GEN wood DEF.ART 1-DTR small=DIM

“because my wood is not enough yet.”

nē jum əbri ipo kawɔ ja arĩ ča pa əbri te apere # nē ra wa icte krĩvej ja tep #

nē jum əbri iŋ-ɔ kawɔ ja arĩ ča
CNJ DS then 1-GEN basket DEF.ART stay stand
pa ǝbri te apere nè ra wa ic-te kəvej j-atep
1.NOM then go.NF? search.NF CNJ ASP DU 1-ERG N. RP-close

‘So she stood by my basket and I went for wood. There we were already close to the old village.’

tep ja kamǝnum ǝbri icpe ipò kawǝja d̥ awǝ #

tep ja kamǝnum ǝbri near DEF.ART INSV DS then
ic-pe i-ŋ-ǝ kawǝ ja dǝ awǝ 1-DTR 1-RP-GEN basket DEF.ART LOC request

‘Close to there, she asked me for by basket.’

“ǝn ickrǝmčwǝ ijməŋǝŋ kawǝja gǝ pa amǝkwǝtu dǝ na ka ra akenegra nè” #

ǝn ickrǝmčwǝ ijməŋǝŋ a-ŋ-ǝ kawǝ ja gǝ yes 1-friend 1-DAT 2-RP-GEN basket DEF.ART give
pa a-mǝ kǝwǝtu 1.NOM 2-DAT QTF carry.on.head
dǝna ka ra a-kengra nè but RLS 2.NOM ASP 2-tired thus

“Hey, my friend, give me your basket, let me take it for you, you must be tired already.”

nè pa kep de nè ǝcpiǝm nè # ǝcpiǝm nè # ǝbri jum ǝʔəj tǝnè #
nè pa kep de nè ǝcpiǝm nè CNJ 1.NOM 3.DTR take CNJ LOC 1-embarrassed COP
ǝcpiǝm nè ǝbri jum ǝʔəj tǝnè LOC 1-embarrassed COP then DS LOC force COP ‘But I didn’t want to give it to her. I was embarrassed. I was embarrassed at the idea. But she insisted.’
So I gave my basket to her. “Well, you take it then, if that’s what you want.”

‘So she took by basket, I got the machete and a couple pieces of dry wood...’

‘and went taking these and laughing at her.’

‘So I gave my basket to her. “Well, you take it then, if that’s what you want.”

‘So she took by basket, I got the machete and a couple pieces of dry wood...’

‘and went taking these and laughing at her.’
Then we reached the old village and moved on. We went on and on and came close to our village.

Then the people at the end of the road were just staring at the both us.

Then lots of people came close to stare at us and I said to her, “Hey, won’t you give me back my basket...”

Then embarrassed me force do RLS 3 3.DAT 3.ACC-give
nûm ku-tu nê œ mô
DS 3.ACC-carry.on.head CNJ do go

“You do this way but I get embarrassed, maybe the folk will think I’m forcing you to carry it for me.”

jûr tê # ëbri nûm œm de têj kumreç #

jûr tê ëbri nûm œm de têj kumreç
thus.NF RP-LOC então DS 3 take force INTS

‘But she insisted, nonetheless.’

ëbri nûm ra ìckatöreç = œ ja ra më ka?ëãâ ra òkwí kapem çã #

ëbri nûm ra ìckatö=ç= œ ja ja ra më ka?ëç
then DS ASP l-come.out.NF=LOC DEF.ART ASP PL among

ð ra òkwí kapem çã
LOC ASP home backyard.DAT stand

‘Then my mom was already amidst the people, standing at her backyard.’

ëbri nûm icpûbu nê kapër ja œ “ëjta # ìckra sidökre ti ja #

ëbri nûm ic-pûbu nê kapër já œ
then DS 1-RP.see CNJ talk DEF.ART do

ejta ic-kra si=ð=krë=ti ja
EXCL 1-child H.T.=N.=AUG DEF.ART

‘As soon as she saw me, she started saying, “Êta, my crazy daughter Sidëkre!”

ð abatpêr ket kumreç ja kamô na ri krëmcwë ja ëmûr œ ri pa œ nê #

ð abat=pêr ket kumreç ja kamô na ri
LOC feel=think NEG INTS DEF.ART INSV RLS DEM
“She doesn’t think right, that’s why she’s treating her friend like that.”

“She didn’t want to carry her basket, so she gave it to the girl for her to carry.”

‘So I heard it. I heard it and became embarrassed. And I told her [my friend]....’

“Did you hear what she said?”
'Then we both crossed the creek and moved on, with her taking my basket all the while.'

"obri pa wa ma mō # jum iŋkwí kamū obri kawo ja čom # obri pa pre ʒ akuja"

"So we moved on. She delivered the basket right into my home; then we sat there and burst into laughter."

"ne kǝm iŋ kukoč kǝm obri prin=re ja ɔ dat jum pre ne kači=wi rǝpre#"

"We got one of my bowls for her and filled it up with oití and also with babaçu, ..."

"rǝpre kǝ=la pre kǝ=nam ɔ=atkrut nǝ krǝ=ta #"

"I cut two babaçu shells for her."
'Then she placed the nuts on top of the oitís and took it home to where she was staying.'

'Hey but quick ready

A little while later she came to call me, “Hey, ready? Let’s go…”'

“We’ve cooled off already, now we can go for a swim.”

“We’ve cooled off already, now we can go for a swim.”
nē ri amjũ kuʔō pa

‘Then we went to the creek. We went to the creek and bathed. Then we finished bathing.’

 ámbi pa pre wa ámbi atpěn pe akje

 ámbi pa pre wa ámbi atpěn pe akje
then 1.NOM PST DU then RCPR DTR part

‘Then we parted ways,

 numérique ámbi kučwar i-n ámbi jī #

 numérique ámbi kučwar i-n ámbi jī
DS PST home INSV sit

pa pre kučwar i-n ámbi jī
1.NOM PST likewise 1-RP-home INSV sit

‘she went to her home and I went to mine too.’
Extraction and uses of babaçu oil

Teller: Ire Rita Dias Laranja
Location: Aldeia São José

‘I will tell how to extract babaçu oil for Iré to learn.’

‘In order to extract babaçu oil one cuts the nuts, then roast them, roast them up,’

‘then you pound it, put it in a pan, bring it to a boil then the fat comes out.’
Then you take the fat (with a spoon), pour it in another pan and place it on heat;’

‘Then it comes to a boil, it pops, and after it cools off, you pour it in a jar; you may add it to rice.’

‘Added to rice, it is good to eat. It is also good with fried fish...’

‘Then it comes to a boil, it pops, and after it cools off, you pour it in a jar; you may add it to rice.’
 kamô mônen rôr twôm ja beči
INSV also coco fat DEF ART good

‘babaçu oil is good; and with bejú... tapioca bejú also, babaçu oil is good.’

ôbri.
ôbri
then
‘There.’

paj me pa te kôm, me pa te arôj nipec’arê kuba.
paj me pa te kôm
1.IRLS PL 1. NOM HAB 3. DAT
me pa te arôj n-ipeč arê ku-ba
PL 1. NOM HAB rice RP-make tell 3. ACC-hear

‘I will tell how to prepare it with rice so she will hear.’

kôt paj mês ma pur mô mô nê arôj re nê mô nê o poj nê kugôn nê kugô,
kôt paj mês ma pur mô mô nê arôj re
IRLS 1. IRLS PL MOV field DAT go CNJ rice pull.out
nê mô nê o poj nê ku-gô nê ku-gô
CNJ go CNJ INSTR arrive CNJ 3. ACC-debulhar CNJ 3. ACC-debulhar

‘We go to the garden, then we bring the rice and take it off the stem, and you take it off...’

kugôn pa nê poj katô nê, katô pa, nê poj kuči jum nô nê akri.
kugôn pa nê poj katô nê, katô pa
3. ACC-debulhar NF CNCL CNJ after pop CNJ pop CNCL
'...take it all off, then you roast it, roast it, finish roasting it and put it to cool.'

pa mê pê̂n kalur wêr o mô nê katwrâ nê kə katwrâ, nê kə katwrâ pa, pê̂n goj kamô nê,

pa mê pê̂n kalur wêr o mô nê katwrâ nê kə katwrâ 1.NOM PL. after pilão ALLT do go CNJ pound CNJ bark pound
nê kə katwrâ pa pê̂n goj kamô nê
CNJ bark pound.NF CNCL after water INSV CNJ

‘Then you take the mortar to pound it, you pound it, finish pounding it, then you cook it...’

kamô rôr twôm ja ru, jum manen twôm ja kamô beč nê. nê kačiw kwôr ja,

kamô rôr twôm ja ru jum manen twôm ja INSV coco fat DEF.ART pour DS also fat
ja kamô beč nê nê kačiw kwôr ja
DEF.ART INSV good COP CNJ PURP manioc DEF.ART

‘and pour some babaçu fat into the mixture, with rice this oil is also good. Then you go pull out some yucca.’

kwôr ja kwô o mô nê o poj, nê kačiw pê̂n kuçon°, kuçon pa nê pê̂n ohri ake nê ke pa.

kwôr ja kwô o mô nê o poj nê manioc DEF.ART manioc INSTR go CNJ INSTR arrive CNJ
kačiw pê̂n kuçon° kuçon pa nê PURP after peel peel.NF CNCL CNJ
'you pull out the yucca, peel it, finish peeling it and grate it, grate it off.'

‘Then for the tapioca you get some water, pour it into the dough, mix it up, and then squeeze the juice out of the fibers.’

‘and let it sit under the sun so that the tapioca will go all down to the bottom. Then you pour that water out and wash the fibers some more.’
‘Then you finish washing and let the tapioca sink to the bottom. Then you pour that water out again, now you let it dry then you break the tapioca.’

‘Put it back in the sun, let it dry, then you pour some babaçu oil on the tapioca, ...’

‘Then you finish washing and let the tapioca sink to the bottom. Then you pour that water out again, now you let it dry then you break the tapioca.’

‘Put it back in the sun, let it dry, then you pour some babaçu oil on the tapioca, ...’
‘mix them up, then you make the bejú, it is good. You go fishing and you arrive with the fish...’

‘you finish skinning it, then you pour some babaçú oil and heat it up.’

‘then you toss the fish in the pan and fry it in there, it is really good too!’
We go to the garden and pick a squash, then you go and peel it off, place it in boiling water and let it cook..."

Once cooked, we pour some babaçu oil on it and it is really good.

It is said that this oil is also good for treating wounds.

They say you may give it to a child with skin rash in the body, you take some of the oil and add some pharmacy sulfur to it..."
'mix them up and rub it on the child’s head, they say it is good.'

'I know it because we do it often.'
Appendix C

Apínajé Dictionary

A– prfx.pers, second person prefix. Grammar: Encodes the direct object of transitive verbs, the subject of descriptive verbs, and the object of postpositions. Phonology: allomorph ah– before voiceless obstruents; allomorph a– before pre-nasal and nasal consonants.

a ... ket ne advl.neg.cmp, never. Ex.: Na te da wri rín nê dɔ jum go ja a upom ket nê. ‘It rains a lot, but this creek has never been deep.’ See rín ‘always’.


ajgr v.intr. scatter. Nonfinite form: S= pigrun. Ex.: Ja na me piro ketnê; na me am ajgr ne me ća. ‘These are not side by side; they have scattered around.’ Na me di jaja atpên to piro ra akum pigrun pâ. ‘The women go into pairs then they scatter back again (of a traditional dance).’

a?aŋ kapı v.intr, select, choose a place (e.g. for planting a crop or building a village). See kapı, ukapi.
a?kre n.al, hole.
a?kwɔɾe re n.dim, cashew (sp.), Port.: cuju
a?kwɔɾe ti n.aug, cashew (sp.), Port.: cuju
a?kwɔɾe ko n.al.cmp, cashew patch
a?tɔɾ ka?le n.cmp, trap for birds, Lit. “jaó cage”. It is set up on the ground for catching birds that move around by walking; rice is commonly used as bait.

abi n.inal, tail, of the long kind, as that of an armadillo or a cow. Relational prefix: j-abi. Ex. Boč jabi ‘the bull’s tail’.

abo v.ir, 1. cling; hold on; remain close, resisting separation. 2. carry. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=j-abo. Nonfinite form: aboŋ. Grammar: This verb appears to be a derived counterpart of the transitive verb boŋ. Intensifiers such as taić, rać and rín have slightly different readings when used with each verb. Ex.: Na pa aboŋ taić nê. ‘I
carry her all the time.’ *Na ka ijabyn tajč nē. ‘You cling onto me a lot (such that I have no time for doing anything else).’ *Na pa abyn tajč. ‘I hold it all the time.’ See *ba.

**aba**

- **v.intr.** ponder; feel; meditate. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: *S=j-aba.
- Grammar: This verb has a bivalent, noncanonically-marking counterpart in O=*māb.
- Ex.: *Na me kōmāb aba. ‘They are still pondering/feeling.’

**abak**


**abak kajwār**

- **n.inal.comp.** ear piercing. Inflected pattern and relational prefix: *PSSR=j-abak kajwār. (*abak=kajwār ‘ear=ear.NF’)

**abak kre**

- **n.inal.comp.** inner ear. Inflected pattern and relational prefix: *PSSR=j-abak kre. (*abak=kre ‘ear=hole’)

**abakɔmkčč**

- **n.inal.comp.** earrings. Inflected pattern and relational prefix: *PSSR=j=abakɔmkčč.
- (*abak-kom-kčč ‘ear=3.DAT=frame’)

**abakɔmpī**

- **n.inal.comp.** wood sticks used as adornments for the ears. Inflected pattern and relational prefix: *PSSR=j=abakɔmpī. (*abak-kom-pī ‘ear=3.DAT=wood.stick’)

**abaketkatifi**

- **n.comp.der.act.** forgetful. Inflected pattern and relational prefix: *E=j-abiabakatatifi. Ex. *Ce, pa na pa pēr te mehōj pitā ijabakatatifi ‘Geez! I’m really forgetful of all things!’ (*aba=ket=kati=jī ‘feel=NEG.EXST=recognize=NMLZ’)

**abakrɔ**

- **v.descr.comp.** 1. stubborn; disrespectful. 2. deaf. 3. tease; mock or annoy playfully.
- Inflected pattern and relational prefix: *S=j-abakrɔ. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: a. Used as a predicate but may also occur as a modifier within the noun phrase. In predicate position, uses clause-final particle nē. b. This verb has the counterpart (*abakrɔ. Ex.: *Priē ja na pre beč nē; tō na abri ra abakr nē. ‘This child used to be good, but now she is getting stubborn.’ Mełō kra ǔnduij ti ne abakrati ja na ńpōkwi ijuči. ‘This ugly, disrespectful child lives near my home.’ *Na me abakr rōj nē. ‘They tease all the time.’ *Na pa ijabakr tajč nē. ‘I tease a lot.’ (*aba=kro ‘ear=spoiled’) See *abakrɔ.

**abatpēr**


**abatpērjī**

- **n.comp.der.act.** 1. reflective; pensive. 2. melancholic. Inflected pattern and relational prefix: *S=j-abatpērjī. Grammar: May occur as a predicate. Ex.: *Abatpērjī ja na kāj rač kom pa. ‘The pensive one lives in town.’ *Ka na ajabatpērjī. ‘You are pensive/melancholic.’ (*abatpērjī ‘think=NMLZ’) *Di mūj na abatpērjī. ‘That woman is a pensive one.’

**ačō**

`agje`. ‘I put my flip-flops on.’ Semantics: This verb root seems to contrast with *agje* in terms of number. *Ačo* is used when the absolutive argument is singular. See *sr, agje.

*ač*  
**v.tr.** 1. bury. 2. confine; incarcerate; arrest. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=jačo. Nonfinite form: O=ačon. Grammar: This verb has a derived intransitive counterpart in *awjačo*. Ex.: *Na me kupėdire jaja kupip jačo* ‘The kupė women buried the mat.’ *Na pa pīka kamā ačo* ‘I buried it in the ground’. *Na pa ti, ka ijačo*. ‘I died and you buried me.’ *Na pa pīka kamā ajačo*. ‘I buried you in the ground.’  

*ačot*  
**n.al.**  

*ačitore*  
**v.tr.** 1. place multiple objects upside down on a surface (e.g. on the ground or on a table). 2. place an object in horizontal position. 3. comb one’s hair. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=j=acitore. Nonfinite form: acitoren. Semantics: One aspect in which this verb (and its counterpart *i*) contrasts with the pair *am, uwy* is that the former may refer to objects shaped in such a way that would usually be conceived of as lying in horizontal position (e.g. forks and knives), whereas the latter often refer to those that could be thought of as “standing up” (e.g. bowls, plates, cups). On the other hand, the former pair may also refer to this same class of objects, but indicating that they lie upside down. Ex.: *Na pa amýjum ijō kuje jačw* ‘I’ve set my spoons down.’  

*ačwe*  
**n.al.**  

*ačwej*  
**v.tr.** 1. send. 2. invite; call. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=j=ad. Nonfinite form. Ex.: *Pa na ve ajaderv* ‘I sent you there.’  

*ađe*  
**v.tr.** squeeze. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=j=ade. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: *Na pa komžum ijō cwev tam jade ne č gro* ‘I’m still squeezing my dough to dry it.’  

*ag*  
**n.al.** the seed of the tiririca plant (see *kapare*) used for making necklaces and other adornments. Lexical restriction: *ag* *i*. The word *i* is not appropriate because it refers to seeds that come from within fruits, shells or skins; that is not the case for the tiririca seed.  

*ag*  
**v.tr.** thresh; remove the seeds from the chaff (of rice). Nonfinite form, -*g*i. See *ag*.

*aglw*  
**n.al.** 1. clay; mud. 2. starch; tapioca.

*agje*  
**v.intr.** 1. enter. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: S=j-agje. 2. v.tr. thread pieces on a string (e.g. glassbeads); pull something through a whole. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=j-agje. Nonfinite form: *agje*. Ex.: *Na pa me agje*. ‘We all went in.’ *Ipmōken kwadjagje*. ‘Thread some beads for me.’ *Ipmōpôpôpôpôpi izi pa amýj jajak kot agje*. ‘Get me a little pô stem for me to hang on my ear.’ Semantics: This verb stem is used when the absolutive argument is plural. See *gje; ač*.

*ago*  
**n.inal.** saliva; drull. Relational prefix: *p-ago*.

*agr*  
**v.intr.** get damaged or impaired. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: S=j-agr.
Grammar: This verb seems to have a transitive counterpart: grə. There is one example in the database that is indicative of this, but it is not to be confused with the verb grə ‘dry’. Lexicon: This predicate may be simply an alternative use of the verb agrə ‘scatter’. Ex.: Na ickre krač agrə ‘The wall got damaged.’ Təm na ampi grə ‘I got damaged (i.e. it wasn’t me).’ See grə; ajgrə.

agre re
n_dim, type of armadillo (Port.: rabo-de-couro). Lives in the rocky areas and is smaller in size, measuring about 20 cm as an adult. The female of the species typically has one offspring at a time, possibly two as it gets older.

agre ti
n_aug, type of armadillo (Port.: zumbi). Lives in the woods and is larger in size, measuring about 30 cm as an adult. The female of the species typically has one offspring at a time, possibly two as it gets older.

agro
n_al, (domestic) pig.

agrore
n_al.dim, mammal (sp.), Port.: caititú.

aji
n_inal, tail, of the short kind, as that of a deer or a cotia. Relational prefix: j-aji. Ex. Kukeren jafji ‘the cotia’s tail.’

aji

ajorô
n_inal.der, hanger. (a-jor=ço ‘INTR-hang.NF=INSTR.NMLZ’). See ajet, jo.

ajet
v_intr, 1. lie on a surface above the ground (e.g. on the branch of a tree); be suspended. 2. be hanging. 3. reach; catch up with someone. Nonfinite form: S=jet. Grammar: a. Clause typically includes a postpositional phrase expressing the location in which S is suspended or from which it is hanging. If a location from which S is hanging is not specified in the clause, it may be expressed as koč pe ‘from a [hanger]’. b. *ajet. Ex.: Mekarô kawore ð ajet. ‘The photograph is (suspended) in the basket.’ Na mekarô ickawore ð jet kemé. ‘The photograph is not (suspended) in my basket.’ Na ka ickawore ð azet ket ne. ‘You are not (suspended) in my basket.’ Dô koč pe ijet kete. Pikap na pa nó. ‘I’m not hanging. I’m standing on the ground.’ Me ajetweŋ ‘one who stays suspended’. Pa na pa ð ijet s mō. ‘I go reaching for the trees (using one tree to get to the next one).’ Na pa ra atô ijet s tē. ‘You’re almost reaching/catching up with me.’ See jo.

akə

akɔt
v.descr, 1. round; spherical (e.g. of berries). 2. short in length (e.g. of garments and shoes) or in duration. Sociolinguistic: The second sense of this word is used especially by speakers of younger generations. Speakers of older generations tend to use the term krɔn instead. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S=j-akɔt. Nonfinite forms: same. Ex.: Ickabro jakɔt re ‘My period lasts a short period of time.’
akapêrjì  
\textit{n.der.act.} a person characterized by the habit of talking; prattler. \(\text{akapêr}=\text{jì ‘talk}=\text{AG.NMLZ’}\)

akêč  
\textit{v.dscr.} spin; turn around. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: \(S=j\text{-akêč}\).  
Grammar: This verb cannot take the detransitivizing morpheme \(av\text{-}:\) *awjakêč.  
Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: This predicator has a bivalent counterpart in \(ɔ\text{-akêč}\).  
Ex.: *Ajakêč! ‘Turn around/spin!’

akênįjì  
\textit{n.der.act.} stealer. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: \(S=j\text{-akênįjì}\). \(\text{akên}=\text{jì ‘steal.NF}=\text{AG.NMLZ’}\)

akiri  
\textit{v.tr.noncan.} 1. yell at someone; swear at someone. 2. argue with someone. 3. call someone. Inflectional pattern: \(E=\text{mò̂ akiri}\); no relational prefix. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: \(A=j\text{-akjer}\). Ex.: Na me ūmò̂ akjer ketnê. ‘They are not calling (upon) me.’  
Na ka te ūmò̂ akjer ɔ akri. ‘You keep arguing with me.’  
Nëŋ na te me kɔm akjer ɔ kri ti. ‘That one keeps swearing/yelling at people.’  
Kɔm ajakje ketnê. ‘Don’t call him!’ See \textit{akrî}.  
Inflectional pattern: \(E=\text{j}\text{-akje}\).  
Ex.: Di mı́j čikar jakojì. ‘That woman is a cigarette smoker.’ See \textit{ako}; \textit{ujakojì}.

akje  
\textit{v.tr.} open a hole (e.g. in a wall made of palm leaves). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: \(O=j\text{-akje}\). Nonfinite form: \(akjen\). Ex.: Pa na pa kre krač jakje. ‘I opened the hole (in the wall).’  
Atō ūmò̂ akje. ‘Open (it) for me.’  
Akjen ketnê. ‘Don’t open it!’  
Na ćakre krač akje ne ča. ‘The wall is open (i.e. there’s a hole in it).’  
Tom na ūmò̂ jakje. ‘It opened itself (i.e. “I didn’t do it”).’ See \textit{akjè; α̂ tke; kje}.

ako  
\textit{v.tr.} smoke. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: \(O=j\text{-ako}\). Nonfinite form: same; alternate form: \textit{akor}. Related form: \textit{awjakо/čujakо}.

akojì  
\textit{n.der.act.} one who is known for smoking (cigarettes) constantly. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: \(O=j\text{-akojì}\). \(\text{ako}=\text{jì ‘smoke.NF}=\text{AG.NMLZ’}\). Ex.: Di mı́j čikar jakojì. ‘That woman is a cigarette smoker.’ See \textit{ako}; \textit{ujakojì}.

akri  
\textit{v.dscr.} be cold. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: \(S=j\text{-akri}\). Nonfinite form: same.  
Grammar: a. In predicate position, the relational prefix does not show with a third person \(S\), since the third person participant appears in subject position, and there is zero third person agreement marking. In attributive constructions, the verb does take a relational prefix with a third person participant, and that indicates both elements belong within a single noun phrase.  
b. This verb has a bivalent counterpart in \(ɔ\text{-akri}\).  
c. This verb can take the detransitivizing morpheme \(av\text{-}:\) *awjakri. Ex.: Na pa ra ijakri ɔ mó. ‘I’m already cooling off (because the fever is gone).’  
Na ra go akri. ‘The water has already cooled off.’  
Na ra rö̂r i twöm akri. ‘The rö̂r fat has cooled off.’  
Rö̂r i twöm jakri na utì. ‘The babačû fat get thick when it cools off (the cold babačû fat is thick).’

Kɔmò̂ go jakri kete. ‘There’s no cold water yet.’ See \textit{mò̂ krì}.

akri  
\textit{n.al.} ice.

akre  
\textit{v.tr.} 1. show; 2. teach. Contiguous form, \textit{jakre}. Nonfinite form, \(j\text{-akre}\).

akrį̂n̄apòti  
\textit{n.al.cmp.} certain traditional song performed in a festival of the same name, to which men and women dance. \((\text{akrį̂n̄}=\text{ap̄}=\text{ti ‘?=AUG’})\)

akreč  
\textit{n.inal.} leftover; rest. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: \(\text{PSSR}=j\text{-akreč}\). Ex.: ūmò̂ akreč ja gō. ‘Give me the leftovers.’  
Na meō akreč pr̄. ‘Some leftover food remained.’  
Na pi akreč prı̂. ‘Some leftover wood remained.’  
Ammè ūmò̂ akreč pr̄ ɔ jà gō. ‘Give me that leftover (thing) here.’

akro  
\textit{n.al.} vine (generic). Alternate form: \textit{akro?}. See \textit{kro}.

}\end{verbatim}
akro?čo
  n.al.cmp. fruit (sp.), Port.: maracujá do mato.

akro?čo kaqti
  n.al.cmp. maracujá vine.

kro
  n.al.cmp.dim. vine used in fishing, Port.: tinguí. Phonology: [akro?lte]

akro?re
  v.intr. disappear; get lost. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S=pikundo. Alternate form: akundo. Phonology: In the context of an identical subsequent vowel, there is an epenthetic flap [r] that separates the two, as in icepikudo ə mõ. Grammar: This verb has a bivalent version, ə akundo. Ex.: Pa kõt paj akundo. ‘I’m going to disappear.’ Ka na ka akundo. ‘You’re going to get lost.’ Pa kõt paj icepikudo ketnê. ‘I’m not going to get lost.’ Ka kõt kaj apikudo ketnê. ‘You’re not going to get lost.’ Na ka ico p apikudo ə mõ. ‘You’re disappearing from me.’ See ə akudo.

akup–
  adv. back to; centripetal movement. Requires one of two referential suffixes: –ım and –iʃ. akupım ‘back to here’; akupın ‘back to there’.

akuprõ
  v.intr. gather; get together and form a group (esp. of people). Nonfinite form: S=pikuprõ. Grammar: Occurs with the causative morpheme ə. Ex.: Kõt paj me akupım akuprõ. ‘We’re getting together again.’ Na pa ra akupım icepikuprõn kačiw. ‘We are about to gather again.’

akwa
  n.inal. mouth. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR=j=akwa.

am
  pro.pers. third person emphatic pronoun.

ame
  num. two

amõkrõ
  n.cmp. shade

amirã

amiti
  v.intr. dream. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: S=p–imtir. Phonology: [pimdir]

amãi
  pro. reflexive marker. Grammar: May occur in a truncated form with the dative morpheme mõ, resulting in the form amãi mõ.

amãi čo ba

amãi kamã abak

amãi katī
  v.intr.noncan. play; enjoy onself. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: Although the reflexive marker occurs with this verb, the reflexive-verb root pair have become lexicalized as a single predicate. The word katī by itself means ‘waist’; there is no evidence for its use as a verb. In addition, the compound predicator may apparently have its valency increased by means of the morpheme ə, in ə amãi katī. Ex.: Na pa...
ampi kati. ‘I played/enjoyed myself.’  Na pa ato ampi kati. ‘I enjoyed myself with you/played with you.’ Na pa ickra me kot ampi kati ëv akēc. ‘I played with my son in the toy [at the park].’ See kati.

ami kati ëv kot
n.al cmp der. kot. (amni=kati=ëv kot ‘RFLX=enjoy=INSTR.NMNLZ’)

ampi pubu ëv
n.al cmp der. mirror. (amni=p-ubu=ëv kot ‘RFLX=RP-see=INSTR/LOC.NMNLZ’)

amikri
n.adv. 1. afternoon; 2. v.intr. becoming afternoon.

amikri kati
n.adv cmp. 1. evening; 2. v.intr. becoming evening. (amikri=kot ‘afternoon=behind’)

ametkrut
num cmp. two. Krut ‘two’

amaři
v.intr. evnt. stay. Alternate form, marî.

amâři
intrj. response to thanks. Lit.: “For nothing”.

ame
n.adv dim. marimbondo

ameðo re
n.al dim. mouse (sp).

ameðo ti
n.al aug. rat (sp). Type of rat used as bait in hunting.

amgro
n.adl der. dry season; drought. Grammar: This and other meteorological verbs appear to have a descriptive verb as a base plus the prefix a-.

amkor
n.dim. lizard, sp.

amkoti
n.aug. lizard, sp.

amkoti
n.aug. caterpillar, sp.

amne
adv mov. here; towards here.

amni kati
v.intr. evnt. play; amuse oneself. Argument marked as instrumental ëv, ex. na pa ato amni kati ‘I played with you.’

amni ëv utí
idiom. watch out! (der. amni ëv utí ‘RFLX=do=heavy’)

amni ña amð
idiom. watch out!

amni krš ëv kot
idiom. Out of one’s own will; on purpose. Ex. pa na pa amni krš ëv kot av pá tê ne abra mā. ‘I didn’t wake you up for myself; you told me to do so.’

amrakati
intrj. 1. Negative response to a polarity question. No inflection. Ex.: Có na ka ve ra aŋōçwa nê? Amrakati. ‘Is it the case that you are already sleepy? Not at all.’ 2. v.exst neg. nothing. No inflection. Ex.: Kamô me amrakati. ‘There’s nobody in there.’ Itpe mebzh kete, nê itte mebzh kucô itpe amrakati. ‘I have no possessions and I have nothing to eat.’

amuçu

ané
v.intr. 1. thus; be thus; 2. instruc; order; command. Nonfinite form: aŋîr. Grammar: This item does not take person inflection. Ex.: Cep kôt aŋîr. ‘That’s how it is (it looks like).’ Na pa ictce amé aŋîr pum atे ñmē sâ nîpê prêm nê. ‘I wish you’d make me some tea.’

anikre
v.intr. evnt. become quiet. Alternate form, anikrec

anipa
v.intr. evnt. 1. run around aimlessly; 2. exchange something. Nonfinite form, –pinipa.

apô
v.intr rcpr. movement. 1. be in parallel position to something; be side by side with something. Nonfinite form: S=pipô. 2. get along with someone; be close to someone. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: S=j-apô. Grammar: a. The use of plural nouns may require the co-occurrence of the dual marker. Presumably, this peculiarity has to do with the semantics of the verb. b. This verb has a causative counterpart, ñ apô. c. This verb allows for variation in nonfinite forms. It is possible that this variation is determined by the meaning of the verb in each use. Ex.: Akreći ne Kenkutô wa apô nê
ikwá. ‘Akreti and Kengutá were lying side by side.’ Pittó pipó pa. ‘Everyone is lined up side by side.’ Me pa jaya na wa me ičpipó ket nē. ‘We all are not lined up side by side.’ Ka na ka wá əbri ajapó ketènē. ‘The two of you don’t get along anymore.’ See ə apó.

apó

v.tr. put (e.g. two-by-fours) tidily together. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=j-apó. Nonfinite form: same.

apóri

v.descr cmp. be in line. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S=j-apóri. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: Pittó pipó pa, apóri pa ne ća. ‘Everyone is side by side, standing in line.’ Me apitíó ajapari. ‘Get in line, everyone!’

apar mě

n.com. duck.

apat kən ti

n.com. snake, sp. Port: pico-de-jaca; surucucú de fogo.

apcét

n.intr. armadillo (sp.). Port.: tatu pêba. The female of the species typically has one offspring at a time, possibly two as it gets older.

ape

v.intr. work. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: S=j-apeñ. apen, alternate form: S=j-apeñ. Grammar: This verb does not take the derivational morpheme -ji: *apenji. Usage: Variation seems to be due to age groups, the former being spoken by younger speakers and the latter by elderly ones. Ex.: Di múj ja kom apen prəm. ‘That woman enjoys working.’

apeò


apečè

v.intr.evnt. come to an end. Nonfinite form, apet.

apen

n.al. fruit (sp.), Port.: mangaba.

apen krō

n.com. ball made out of latex from the mangaba plant. Used in children’s games and entertainment. (apen=krō ‘mangaba=head’)

api

v.intr. climb up; ascend. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: S=j-apir. Ex.: Pa na pa ickr ə apir ne wri. ‘I climbed up and down the house.’ Kət paz ə japir ket nē. ‘I’m not climbing up there.’ Me apirčó ‘staircase; ladder’

apirčè

n.der. 1. ladder; staircase. 2. incline; slant; slope (apir=čò ‘climb.up.NF=INSTR.NMLZ’). Ex.: Me apirčó ja ə əmduaju. ‘The slope is hard [to climb].’

apirčwəj

n.der. climber. (apir=čwəj ‘climb.up.NF=AG.NMLZ’)

apje

v.instr.descr. long.

apkoj

v.intr.evnt. turn around. Ex. əbri ʃum pipɔj me kəm apkoj əbri ʃum me təm pa nē ‘...Then the bench turned and they all fell down.’ mə apkoj.

apkati

n.al. 1. morning; 2. v.intr.der. become morning.

apkatim jə

n.advl. cmp. the day after tomorrow. (apkatim=mə=ʃjə ‘morning=DIR=LOC’

apkatimō

n.advl. cmp. tomorrow. (apkatim=mə ‘morning=DIR’)

apku


apkurjí

n.inal.der. one how enjoys eating; one who is characterized by the habit of eating. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSR=j-akurjí. (akurjí ‘eat<INTR.NF>=AG.NMLZ’). Ex.: Bri japkurjí ‘Wild animal that eats all the time.’

apoj

v.descr. 1. leave; depart; exit. 2. arrive (when the deictic center is a third person, usu.
marked with the postposition \textit{wər}.) Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S=\textit{j-apoj}. Nonfinite form: same. 3. \textit{v.tr.noncan}, find something (pl). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=mɔ \textit{A=j-apoj}. Nonfinite form: same. Phonology: In nonfinite position, especially preceding a vowel, the last consonant of the root is realized as the voiced alveolarpalatal affricate $[\mathrm{j}]$, as in \textit{poj ɔ mɔ}. Semantics: The semantic contrast between this verb and \textit{kato} has to do with the number of participants, \textit{kato} being the singular and \textit{apoj} the plural counterpart. Grammar: a. In the compound verb ‘wake up’, the verb roots alternate according to the number of the absolutive argument, thus: \textit{krɔkato} ‘wake up (sg.)’ and \textit{krɔapoj} ‘wake up (pl)’. b. The same is true when the root is used with directional postpositions such as \textit{wər} ‘\textit{ALLT}’ and mɔ \textit{DAT}. This verb cannot take the detransitivizing morpheme \textit{aw-}: *\textit{awjapoj}. Ex.: \textit{Na pa me ijaipoj}. ‘We left.’ \textit{Na pa me kəm ijaipoj}. ‘I found them.’ See \textit{kato}.

\textbf{apok} \newline\textit{v.tr}, make holes. Ex. \textit{pi ʃi re na te pi japo}. ‘The termites make holes in in wood.’ Form with relational prefix, \textit{-japo}. \newpage

\textbf{apr̂ \textit{v.tr}}, slander someone. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=\textit{j-apr̂}. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: \textit{ujapr̂}; \textit{ujapri}; \textit{awjapri}. Ex.: \textit{Na ijaapr̂}. ‘That one slanders me.’ \textit{Na ka ijaapr̂}. ‘You dishonor my name.’ \textit{Na pa ajapri}. ‘I gossip about you.’ \textit{Na ijaapr̂ ɔ ʃa}. ‘That one has been gossiping about me.’ \textit{Mɨʃ na ijaapr̂ ɔ ri pa}. ‘That one has been gossiping about me.’ \textit{Pungi na kɔt atpɛn ta kapɛr prɛm, ne kəm atpɛn kure ne kəm atpɛn ja prə prɛm}. ‘Panh like to speak of each other, they get angry at one another then fight and slander one another.’ See \textit{ujapr̂}; \textit{ujapri}.

\textbf{apr̂d} \newline\textit{v.tr}, become satisfied; finish. Relational prefix: \textit{-japr̂d}.

\textbf{apr̂d} \newline\textit{v.tr}, provoke; tease. Ex. \textit{ickra na anmi icpr̂d ne} ‘My son is provoking me.’

\textbf{apro} \newline\textit{v.tr}, 1. bring; take. See ɔ mɔ, ɔ tɛ. 2. buy. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=\textit{j-apro}. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: This verb can take the detransitivizing morpheme \textit{aw-}: \textit{awjapro}.

\textbf{apu}?

\textbf{ara} \newline\textit{n.inal}, wing.

\textbf{are} \newline\textit{v.tr}, dig (of potatoes, etc.). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=\textit{j-are}. Nonfinite form: \textit{areŋ}. Related forms: \textit{areŋ} (detransitivizing form); \textit{areŋi} (participial resultative form). Ex.: \textit{Kwɔr ja na pa ra areŋ pa} ‘The yucca, I’ve dug them all up.’ \textit{Kwɔr ja na areŋ pe əndaʃu} ‘This yucca is hard to dig.’ \textit{Kɔt aŋi tɔ na pa are} ‘It’s that way, but I’ve dug it nonetheless.’ \textit{Na ra areŋi} ‘They are all dug up.’ See \textit{re}.

\textbf{arë} \newline\textit{v.ditr}, 1. tell. 2. confide about oneself. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: E=\textit{j-arë}. Nonfinite form: \textit{arëŋ}. Grammar: a. The transitivity pattern of this verb is the same for both senses. In the second sense, O is encoded by the reflexive pronoun, which is controlled by the subject. b. This verb can take the detransitivizing morpheme \textit{aw-}: \textit{awjare}. See \textit{awjare}.

\textbf{arëi} \newline\textit{v.dscr}, 1. jump on or onto the ground; land. 2. dance in a festival. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: S=\textit{j-arëi}. Ex.: \textit{Tɛ na ajari ne atɔ}. ‘Jump and stand on the ground.’ \textit{Aτjareŋe ɔ na pa ijaɾi ɔ ʃa}. ‘I’m dancing with \textit{Aτjareŋe}.’ \textit{Na akrɔnəpoŋti ɔ grɛr ɔ ʃa me ɔ ari ɔ ʃa}. ‘They are singing and dancing to the \textit{akrɔnəpoŋt}i.’

\textbf{arĩgrɔ} \newline\textit{n.al}, 1. sunshine; 2. daytime. Alternate form: \textit{anĩgrɔ}. Ex.: \textit{Aɾĩgrɔ tạjɛ}. ‘The sun is hot!’It’s too hot/bright!’

\textbf{arĩgrɔ ?d} \newline\textit{n.advl cmp}, at daytime (\textit{arĩgrɔ=?d} ‘sunshine=LOC’). Ex.: \textit{Aɾĩgrɔ ǔ ?d} ‘Some other day.’
arićô

n. amb. der. hammock. (ari=ćô ‘stay.NF=LOC NMLZ’)

aroj

n. al. loan. rice (Port.: arroz.)

aroj Kro

n. al. comp. rice grass.

asuk

n. al. loan. sugar (Port.: açúcar.)

ate

advl. alone; by oneself.

ata

v. intr. stand on the ground [pl]. Grammar: *atají: *mā ata prəmə. Ex.: Tē na ajarī ne ata. ‘Jump and stand on the ground.’ Tutē ja na kəm wrəl*ata prəm. ‘These doves like to come down here.’

atm

v. intr. 1. walk together as a pair or group. 2. stick together as a close pair or group of friends or companions. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S=pi-təm. Grammar: a. This verb takes the clause-final particle nē. b. There appears to be free alternation between finite and nonfinite form when this predicator is modified by kačiw. Both forms were possible, according to speakers’ judgments; however, there was preference for the nonfinite form when the clause was realis, and for the finite form when the clause was irrealis. Ex.: Kət pəj me akupim atom nē. ‘We’ll walk together again.’ Kət ja me akupim atom nē. ‘Those are going to wander around together again.’ Kət pəj me akupim icpitəm kətnē. ‘We won’t be walking together anymore.’ Na pa me akupim icpitəm kačiw. ‘We were about to walk together again.’ Kət pəj me akupim atm kačiw. ‘We will gather again.’ See akuprō; agrə.

atk re

n. al. dim. bird (sp.). Port.: Jaô.

atk tik ti

n. al. aug. comp. bird (sp.). Port.: Jaô preto. Also called atk r ti, Lit. big jaô. See putē ti.

atk ti

n. al. aug. bird (sp.), Lit. “big jaô”. Port.: Jacū. Also called atk tik ti, Lit. “big black jaô”.

atar

dem. prx. comp. over there, close to you. Alternate form: ata. (a=ta ‘2=DEM’) See tar, mūtar.

atp

psp. near. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: OBJ=j-atep.

atkačo

v. intr. tear; rip. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern:. Ex.: Ma na pa rī ajō čakre o jīr kətnē; əm təm na atkačo. ‘I didn’t do that to your little bag; it just got torn [on its own].’ Pa tē ne əbū jum ra atkačo ne nō. ‘I got there and it had already got torn and was lying there.’

atka je

v. intr. crack; fissure. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S=pikaje. Grammar: a. This verb does not have a transitive counterpart in kaje. b. There is evidence of free variation between pikaje and atkaje as nonfinite forms; in the latter case, it is not possible to tell from the examples what the inflectional pattern is. Ex.: Ka na ka icpe ɨpō kukrač mē jum atkaje ‘You threw my bowl and it cracked.’ Pa kət pəj əbri ɨnō kukrač kəm amŋim méo kəw mən kətnē. Dō na ɨnō kukrač icpe atkaje pa. ‘I’m not going to serve myself food in this bowl anymore, because it cracked completely.’ Na ɨpō kukrač icpe pikaje pa ‘My bowl cracked completely.’ See kate, atkate.

atkapī

v. intr. der. pour; drip; spill. Ex. Pa na pa əbri ica kəm ica kəbro atkapī ‘I cut myself (accidentally) and my blood spilled/dripped.’

atkate

v. intr. der. 1. break into pieces; shatter. 2. crack; fissure. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: Grammar: This verb does not have a participial counterpart in pi- the same way as other verbs of breaking. Ex.: Na kəp təm ne atkate. ‘The glass fell and broke [it wasn’t me].’ Kəp ja na ra əbū jum ra atkate. ‘I saw that glass and it was already broken.’ *Kəp ja na pikate. See kate.
atkatča
\textit{n.al cmp}, lincloth (\textit{at}=\textit{kat}=\textit{c} 'DETR=cover=INSTR,NMLZ')

atkē

atkje
\textit{v.intr.}, 1. separate; go apart from one another. 2. become divided into separate parts. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S=\textit{pi-kje}; alternative form: S=\textit{pi-kjē}. Grammar: a. In its first sense, this verb is a reciprocal one; the predication subsumes two participants. b. This verb has a bivalent counterpart in \textit{a atkje} 'The two of us parted ways.' \textit{Icpe apikjer ketnē}. 'Don’t part away from me.' See \textit{a atkje}; \textit{kje}; \textit{akje}.

akto
\textit{v.tr}, blow on.

aktra
\textit{v.intr.estv}, be frightened; startled. Ex. \textit{pa na pa jae šbi ka atkra} 'I startled you, then you got startled.' Confront with \textit{jae}.

aktrut
\textit{num} 1. two; 2. \textit{v.tr.der.}, \textit{atktrut} two, p.ex. \textit{pa kot ipō wapxi nē ipō pī ātkrut (ne)} 'I followed you with my machete and two pieces of dry wood.'

aktrut nepči
\textit{v.cmp.num}, three

atkukē
\textit{v.intr.der}, break into pieces (of long objects); break completely. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: \textit{Ipō pipō na ra atkukē} 'My stool broke into pieces.' \textit{Ipō pipō na ra atkukē kēt ne}. 'My stool didn’t break.'

atkwēr
\textit{v.intr.der}, break an extention or limb (of long objects). Nonfinite form: same. Alternate form: \textit{atkwē}. Ex.: \textit{Pipō na ra atkwēr} 'The bench/stool broke.' \textit{Na pipō atkwēr kēt ne}. 'The stool didn’t break.' \textit{Na mesti te atkwēr}. 'The table’s leg broke.' \textit{?Na boč amyē te atkwēr}. \textit{?Na bi pa atkwēr}. [Strange because it sounds as if one were talking about a wood stick of some sort.] See \textit{kwēr}, \textit{pikwēn}.

atpēš
\textit{v.intr.evnt}, become drunk; intoxicated; without balance. Nonfinite form, \textit{pipēn}.

atpēn
\textit{cl}, reciprocal

atpu
\textit{v.intr.rcpr}, fight one another. Nonfinite form: S=\textit{pipu}. Ex.: \textit{Pa na pa va atpu}. 'The two of us fought (one another).' \textit{Na pa va icpipu pa}. 'We’ve finished fighting.' \textit{Na me pipu ō cā} 'They are fighting (one another).'

atū
\textit{v.tr}, bathe; wash.

atum
\textit{n.adv1.tmp}, a chunk of time (after a given moment); in a little while. Also \textit{atumre}.

awere
\textit{n}, potato, sp. Ex. \textit{amnī tō awere kwō kuke nē amnī nīkxi ja ō acī} 'You take out a bunch of these potatoes and put them on top of your swelling/abcess.'

awrewrek
\textit{n.cmp rdpl}, bannanco

aw–
\textit{prfx.infl}, detransitivizing prefix. Grammar: Occurs mostly, though not exclusively, with verbs that begin in /a/ and take the relational prefix /j/. This morpheme contrasts with the other detransitivizing prefix \textit{aC–} in that it appears to encode the antipassive and other uses of this category. In this sense, it appears to be better characterized as an inflectional rather than derivational morpheme. See \textit{aC–} 'detransitivizer'.

awja gro
\textit{n.cmp}, dust

awja pok
\textit{n.cmp}, brejo

awjača
\textit{v.intr.der}, sow; plant. Ex.: \textit{Na pa pīka kamā awjača} 'I planted in the ground.' See \textit{ača}; \textit{aw–}.

awjako

\textit{awja gro}
awjare

v.\_intr.der., cool down (of weather). Nonfinite form and relational prefix: \(S=\hat{c}u-j-an\). (Finite form: aw-akri ‘\[INTRZ-RP\.-be.cold\]; nonfinite form:) Ex.: Na ra awjare ‘It is getting cold.’

Na ra awjanē. ‘[The weather] is already cool.’

awjanē

v.\_intr., return. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: \(S=\hat{c}u-j-an\). (Finite form: aw-j-anē ‘\[INTRZ-RP\.-\]’; nonfinite form: \(\hat{c}u-j-an\) ‘\[RP-INTRZ-RP\.-\]’). Grammar: a. This verb follows the same morphological patterns as other derived intransitive verbs belonging to the aw- class. However, there is no evidence for the existence of anē as a verb on its own. It is possible that this form may have been monomorphemic once, but has become lexicalized through history. b. This predicator follows the same pattern as awjakō in subordinate position, in that it does not employ the ergative marker \(k\hat{a}t\-te\); instead, it occurs in constituency with the noun, evidence of which is the presence of the relational prefix in such contexts. Ex.: Di čujanē či\(\_\)nāja na inē na. ‘That woman who has returned is my [formal] mother.’ See aw-.

awjapro

v.\_intr.der., shop; purchase items for a party or a festival. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: \(S=\hat{c}u-j-apr\). (Finite form: aw-j-apr ‘\[INTRZ-RP\.-\]buyc<\TR\>; \(\hat{c}u-j-apr\) ‘\[RP-INTRZ-RP\.-\]buyc<\NF\>).’ Ex.: Pa\(\_\)\(\_\) tēm či\(\_\)nāja na ma ujapro ma tē dom poj kači\(\_\)w e bit pu\(\_\)bu\(\_\) kētēnē. ‘The person who went do the shopping doesn’t know what time s/he will come back.’ Di kēt ujapro či\(\_\)nāja na inē na. ‘The woman who went to do the shopping is my [formal] mother.’ Kēt kaj ma krī rač mō tē ne īmpō awjapro. ‘[I want] you to go downtown and do some shopping for me.’ Na pa īmpō amē pum ma a\(\_\)tēne ate īmpō a\(\_\)u\(\_\)japro prōm nē. ‘I want to send you downtown so you can do some shopping for me.’ Na pa ma krī rač mō tē ne icē amēi mō i\(\_\)u\(\_\)japro kači\(\_\)w. ‘I [want / intend to] go downtown to do some shopping for myself.’ Na pa īmpō kēt ma krī rač mō icēm ne icē amēi mō i\(\_\)u\(\_\)japro prōm nē. ‘I feel like going to town and do some shopping for myself.’ See apro.

awjarē

v.\_intr.der., tell stories. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: \(S=\hat{c}u-j-arē\); alternative form: arēn. (Finite form: aw-j-arē ‘\[INTRZ-RP\.-\]tell<\TR\>; nonfinite form: \(\hat{c}u-j-arē\) ‘\[RP-INTRZ-RP\.-\]tell<\NF\>’) Ex.: Di kēt īmpō ujarēn či\(\_\)nāja na inē na. ‘That woman who is telling stories is my [formal] mother.’ Ka na amē a\(\_\)u\(\_\)jarēn prōm. ‘You enjoy telling stories.’ Anme īmpōkē wēr tē ne īmpō awjarē. ‘Come over to my house and tell me some stories.’ Kēt pāj amē meboj go ka īmpō awjarē. ‘I’m going to give you something so you tell me some stories.’ Na pa icē kēm meboj pōr pum kēt īmpō ujarēn kači\(\_\)w. ‘I intend to give her something so she will tell me some stories.’ Pa na pa icē amē meboj pōr pum ate īmpō a\(\_\)u\(\_\)jarēn kači\(\_\)w. ‘I intend to give you something for you to tell me a story.’

awri

n.\_ad\_v., far.

bi

n.\_al., man.

bô

v.\_tr., 1. pick up, grab; hold in the hands. 2. carry in the hands (e.g. a bag) or in the arms (e.g. a baby). 3. hug; embrace. Inflectional pattern: \(O=bô\); no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: bôn. Phonology: The nonfinite form of this verb alternates between the nasal-ending [bô\(\_\)] and the flap-ending [bô\(\_\)]. Ex.: Na pa kō\(\_\)bô. ‘I carried it (in the arms).’ Na bôn rač kūm\(\_\)rē. ‘S/he carried lots of things.’ Na pa bôn tējē. ‘I hold it tight (in the arms).’ See pi.

bê

v.\_tr., mix. Nonfinite form, bê
**ba**

*$_{v.tr}$*

**noncan**

*Erg*: know; learn. Inflectional pattern: A$_{Erg}$ O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.tr}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.pr}$*

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.1}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.1}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.2}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.2}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.3}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.3}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.4}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.4}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.5}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.5}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.6}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.6}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.7}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.7}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.8}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.8}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.9}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.9}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.10}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.10}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.11}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.11}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.12}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.  

**ba**

*$_{v.12}$*

Ponder something; wonder about something.  

Inflectional pattern: O=$ba$; no relational prefix.
Nonfinite form: *ba*. Grammar: Verb related to transitive *ba*. Ex.: *ba; uba; aba.*

*ba*  
*n.inal.* liver

*br*  
*v.intr.* afraid; scared. Inflectional pattern: S=mʌ ba; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: This verb has a transitive counterpart in *uba*. Ex.: *Na am mbə pits uba. kəm ba təjɛ* ‘That one is afraid of everything. He’s a scaredy one.’ See *uba*.

*bačɔ*  
*n.inal.der.* bad talk; gossip; tattle. Inflectional pattern: PSSR=bačɔ. (ba=čɔ ‘hear=INSTR/LOC.NMLZ’) Ex.: *Ka na ka ri iʌmɛ aćeɛ abri abačɔ kɔt s əmduj nɛ* ‘You lied to me then I went by your rumours and treated her badly.’

*bačɔ*  
*n.inal.der.* stomach

*be*  
*n.al.loan.* male or female bovine (Port.: boi).

*bop kro*  
*n.al.loan.* sweet potato vine.

*bop ti*  
*n.al.loan.* fish (sp), Port.: puraquê (peixe elétrico)

*botre*  
*n.loan.* rodent (sp), Port.: capivara.

*bra*  
*v.intr.* go on foot; walk. 2. stroll. Nonfinite form: S=brar. Semantics: The semantic contrast between this verb as against mə́cid apparently has to do with the number of participants (*bra* being plural) as well as the specificity about going ‘on foot’. Grammar: The root may cooccur with the directional/movement particle ma in the clause; the combination of particle and verb root means ‘go’. If the particle is absent in the clause, the verb root means ‘come’.

*bra*  
*v.tr.* wake up. Inflectional pattern: O=bra; no relational prefix. Ex.: *Kɔt paj kwoɔtɛ tɛ ne abra* ‘I will wake you up in the morning.’ *Pa ra me abra pa* ‘I’ve awaken you all.’

*brekre*  
*n.al.loan.* bird (sp), Port.: seriema.

*bro*  
*n.al.* plant (sp), Port.: tucum.

*bro ji*  
*n.al.loan.* thorn.

*bro ti*  
*n.al.loan.* plant (sp), Port.: jenipapo; the fruit of this plant. It is the source of the dark-
colored pigment used in Apinajé body-painting.

doctor, thread made of fibers from a certain plant. (bro=ća ‘tucum=strip’)

cry. Alternate form: bua (elderly). Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S-
bir. Ex. Pri re ja na bu rāgn kumreb ‘This child cries a lot.’


cl. 1. nominalizer of place and/or instrument. 2. n.al. place.

cl. intr. clause-initial clitic index of information question. Alternate form: čō.

cō

n.fox (sp)

gather, collect (of foods) from a mat into a basket. Inflectional pattern: O=čō; no
relational prefix. Ex.: Tē ne kuri aroj kwē čō ‘Go there and get some of the rice.’

put in a (deep) recipient, esp. baskets. Nonfinite form, –ơ.

n.inal. urine

Prt disc. index of hearsay information. Alternate form: čep.

n. intr. stand in vertical position (of one or a pair of objects or people). Nonfinite form
and inflectional pattern: S=ćom; alternating form: S=ćar. Semantics: The semantic
contrast between this verb and kuže appears to be that the former indicates movement
towards standing position, whereas the latter indicates being in that position.
However, only čā seems to occur in constructions that require position verbs,
indicating, in this case, something already in standing position. This hypothesis is at
odds with the morphological class of each verb and their correlation with descriptive
and eventive notions. Another hypothesis is that the contrast may have to do with the
number of participants, ča being the singular and kuže the plural counterpart. A third
hypothesis is that both verbs mean ‘be standing’, but with the semantics of kuže
focusing on the resultative aspect of getting up, and ča not having such connotation.

Ex.: Pa na pa ča. ‘I’m standing (here).’ Kāmō ča. ‘Stand up (few people).’ Na ka va
kāmō ča. ‘The two of you stood up.’ See kuže.

n.inal. strips of fiber extracted from palm leaves in general.

wait for.

n.al loan. sak; bag (Port.: saco). Phonology: [ćag]

intr. fem. geez!

burn. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S=ćet. Ex.: Pri ?o ja na kōm čet
prom. ‘These leaves burn well.’

n.al cmp. place of [a wound caused by] a burn. (ćet=ćō ‘burn=LOC.NMLZ’)

something that burns well. Inflectional pattern: S=ćefji. (ćet=ji
‘burn.NF=AG.NMLZ’) Ex.: Goj ja na am kamō mēbōj čefji. ‘Things have a way of
getting burned in this pan.’ Pri ?o ja na čefji. ‘These leaves burn well.’ See čet; prom.

cl. intr. clause-initial clitic index of information question. Alternate form: čō.

mixed (of food)

name of a mythical character of certain traditional stories, the Moon.

name of a mythical character of certain traditional stories, the Sun.

n.al. wet and coarse substance resulting from the grating of fresh produce usually rich
in starch, such as yucca roots or fresh corn.
çwɔ kom  
\textit{n.al.comp.} yucca dough for farinha. \((çwɔ=çom 'yucca=RP-dough')\)

cwɔ grɔ  
\textit{n.al.comp.} yucca meal \((çwɔ=grɔ 'yucca.dough=roasted')\)

cwɔ tum  
\textit{n.al.comp.} raw yucca dough. \((çwɔ=tum 'yucca.dough=raw')\)

cwɔt  
\textit{cl.} phrase-final clitic, nominalizer of agent. Grammar: This morpheme occurs in relative clauses indicating the relativized noun, which may be a subject or object. Structurally, it is placed at the end of the relative clause and is followed by the definite article \textit{ja}, or another determiner. Its occurrence in this context appears to be optional. Ex.: \textit{Bi ti çwɔt ja na pre kamp apen prɔm?} 'The man who died enjoyed working.' \textit{Di piagri ð nò çwɔt máj na iɛpò na} 'That woman who is giving birth is my wife.' \textit{Na gregɔçwɔt kusè kɔkɔ ð ça} 'The singer is playing the maracá.' \textit{Bi ra kengɔ çwɔt ja na gregɔçwɔt ja} 'This man who is tired is the singer.' \textit{Bi ðndúj çwɔt ja atta na pre me ra açò} 'This bad man over there, he\'s been arrested before.' See \textit{ji}.

cwɔti  
\textit{n.al.fem.} kinship relation term, vocative. Female speaker to female addressee.

cwɔkupu  
\textit{n.al.comp.} cake made of yucca dough wrapped in banana leaves, baked in a fireplace built for that purpose; the cake can contain pieces of meat. \((çwɔ=kupu 'yucca.dough=wrap')\)

cwaw  
\textit{v.intr.} bathe. Nonfinite form: \textit{S=war}. Ex.: \textit{Na pa kɔmɔw ð ça} 'I\'m still bathing.' \textit{Na pa icçwɔw ð ça} 'I\'m taking a shower.'

cwari  
\textit{psp.} in the stead of. Ex. \textit{pa ma tɛ ne akatɔçiɔ mɔ ð ne ka ma ne tɛ ne aɔc hari me ð bu} 'I\'ll ask your mother to come and look after the kids on your instead.'

dΛ  
\textit{intr.msc.} no.

dơ  
\textit{cnj.} but; because. See \textit{dɔ mɔ}.

dɔ  
\textit{n.inal.} eye. Inflectional pattern: \textit{PSSR=dɔ}. Alternate form: \textit{dɔp}.

dɔ ɬo  
\textit{n.comp.inal.} 1. eye lashes; 2. eye brow

dɔ ɭa  
\textit{n.inal.comp.} white part of the eye.

dɔ ɭaŋi  
\textit{n.inal.comp.} remela. Inflectional pattern: \textit{PSSR=dɔ ɭaŋi}. \((dɔ=ɭaŋi 'eye=slime')\)

dɔ ɭaka  
\textit{n.comp.inal.} tear

dɔ ɭik re  
\textit{n.inal.comp.dim.} the iris of the eye. \((dɔ=tik=re 'eye=black=DIM')\)

dɔ ɭaret  
\textit{v.intr.evnt.} hurry.

dɔk  
\textit{inter.} clause-initial question word of location used in information questions; where. Alternate form: \textit{dɔ}.

dɔmɔ  
\textit{cnj.comp.} because; why. \((dɔ=mɔ 'but=DAT')\) See \textit{dɔ}.

dɔmɔkɔnɔ  
\textit{n.amb.comp.} eyeglasses. \((dɔ=mɔ=kɔnɔ 'eye=DAT=frame')\)

dep  

depemɔ  
\textit{Adv.comp.} at a certain time in a remote past. Ex.: \textit{Depemɔ na pre kubɔn ri ð pa} 'Back in the old days, \(s/he\ used to carry it (in the arms).'

dɔn  
\textit{n.inal.} umbilical cord, navel.

dɔt  
\textit{v.scr.} be or become full. Inflectional pattern: \textit{S=dɔt}; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: Occurs with the causative morpheme \(ɔ\). Ex.: \textit{Na go dɔt} 'The creek filled up.' \textit{Kawɔ dɔt ja kɔt ka marì mɔ ð mò} 'This basket that is full you may take.' See \(ɔ\) \textit{dɔt}.

dɔt [dɔ' înti]  
\textit{v.tr.} caress, stroke. P.ex. \textit{na pa krɔ kɔi dɔt} 'I stroked my hair.'

diw  
\textit{v.scr.} 1. young. Inflectional pattern: \textit{S=diw}. Nonfinite form: same. Alternate form:
da acê
n.al cmp. lightning. (da=a-cê ‘rain=dtrz-burn’). Alternate form: da acên. Grammar: The presence of the formative a- in this word makes it comparable to words such as amgru ‘drought; dry season’. In both cases, the base of the word is a descriptive verb.

It might even be possible to include avjakri in the equation. Ex.: Da acê ka:pri. ‘It’s lighting a little.’

da katôtok
n.al cmp. 1. thunder. 2. v.intr. thunder. (da=katótok ‘rain=?’)

da wrô
adv cmp. 1. at a certain time in the past. 2. for a long stretch of time. No inflection. Ex.: Dapemô na pre kubô. ‘(One) carried it for a long time.’ (da=pe=mô ‘rain=DTR=COP?=DAT?’)

dj
v.tr. 1. arrest; encarcerate; 2. v.btr. take something from someone; 3. psp ablative, p.ex. ickra sa ammê de ri kure ‘[She] took the ants off herself with the hand.’

de
v.tr. squeeze the juice out of. Nonfinite form, de.

di
n.al. woman.

dô
n.al loan. owner (Port.: dono).

duj
v.dscr. bad; ugly; badly. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S=p-uduj; alternate form: amduj. Nonfinite form: same. Alternate form: puduju/amduju; this form does not occur in nonfinite position. Grammar: This verb may occur with the clause-final clitic nê, which expresses temporary state or condition, in this context. Ex.: Ata na amduj. ‘This one (over there) is bad.’ Ata na am amduj ta jê kâmrej. ‘That one is really mean!’ Na pa icuduj. ‘I’m ugly/mean/sickly.’ Na pa icuduj nê. ‘I look ugly/am being mean/am sick.’ Me kadeçô duj ja marî amê. ‘This spoiled medication you may throw away.’ See amduj.

e
v.tr. nonean, tie; fasten. Inflectional pattern: Oe=mô e; no relational prefix. Grammar: a. One piece of evidence of the absence of a relational prefix for this verb is the ungrammatical form *aje (for “tie [it] up!”). b. When there is a beneficiary, the clause will contain two dative-marked nominals: one being the beneficiary and the other the dative-marked, extended O. c. This verb contrasts with pre, kapre in that it may have a participial reading with no change in form. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: Ka paji pi mô e. ‘I’ll fasten the lumber.’ İmô ipî boç mô e. ‘Tie my cow for me, will you?’ Kâm e! ‘Tie it up!’ Bî pijôn mây, na me ra kâm e. ‘That drunk man, they’ve tied him up.’ Bi na ra kâm e pi. ‘The man is tied up, sitting.’ Pa na pa me bi jaya mô e ≠ ça. ‘I’m taking care of tying up these men.’ Na me kâm e pa. ‘They’ve tied them all up.’ See kapre; pre.

e čê
n.al cmp. fishing line. (če=čê ‘tie=INSTR.NMLZ’)

eć
v.dscr. lie; deceive; cheat; pretend. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S=ć=ec. Nonfinite form: et. Grammar: This verb may occur with the dative postposition mô in a noncanonical pattern of argument marking; in such cases the inflectional pattern is as follows: Eô=mô S=ć=ćê.

ejta
intr loan. geez! (Port.: êta!)
eri [erí]  
n.comp.  snake (sp.). Port.: jararacuçu. Poisonous, black and white, lives in the brejo.

eri jãi jaka re  
n.comp. dim.  snake (sp.). Port.: cobra rabo-de-osso. Poisonous, white tail, lives in the chapada. Its bite may leave a wound that will not heal very easily.

etîj  
adj.  deceitful person; a liar; a cheater. (et=îj ‘lie.NF=AG.NMLZ’)

etre  
adj.  spider (sp). Phonology: [e:re].

etti  
adj.  spider (sp). Phonology: [e:ti].

famaj  
adj.  pharmacy (Port.: farmácia)

go  
Nom.  central plaza of a village, the place where gatherings, festivals, and certain ceremonies take place. Alternate forms: gôp, gôj, gôm.

gô  
Nom.  be or become wet.  Inflectional pattern: O=agje; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: May occur with the clause-final particle nê. Ex.: Ípbut gek ‘My neck is sore.’ Na pa iji gek nê ‘I have a sore body (There is soreness in my bones).’

get  
Nom.  kinship relation term used between espouses for reference to one another.

gie  
Nom.  1.  place multiples objects, of either the same or different kinds, into a deep recipient (e.g. a basket, a box, or a bag). 2.  serve foods of various kinds in a deep container (e.g. a bowl).  Inflectional pattern: O=gje; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: gjen. Ex.: Pa pre akreč kavr ne kavo kamo kugje. ‘I gathered the leaves and put them into the basket.’ Ma tê ne amjim meô kwô gje. ‘Go and help yourself to some food.’ See agje; a, rê, mê.

go  
Nom.  1.  water; 2.  a body of water (e.g. creek; go raci ‘river’)

go  
Nom.  louse; lice.  Inflectional pattern: ñssr-go. Ex.: Paj amô ago jape ô ‘I will search [your head] for lice, for you.’

gô  
Nom.  give.  Inflectional pattern: E=gô O=gô; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: E=gô O=mô O=nô; alternative forms: nô, nôr. Ex.: Kôj paj amô meboj gô ka ìmô awjarê. ‘I’m going to give you something so you tell me some stories.’ Na pa icte kom meboj nôr nôm kôj ìmô ujarên kaçiw. ‘I intend to give her something she will tell me some stories.’ Pa na pa icte amô meboj nôr nôm ate ìmô açajarên kaçiw. ‘I intend to give you something for you to tell me a story.’ Kupë ìmô pori nô čwân ja na ikcômëwô na. ‘This foreigner who gave me the pepper is my friend.’ Kupë mô icte pori nô čwân ja na ikcômëwô na. ‘This foreigner to whom I gave the pepper is my friend.’

goi  
Nom.  life forms that live in water (go=ìn=çwôn ‘water=RP-GEN=AG.NMLZ’)

go bra taçiç  
Nom.  rapids. (go=bra=taçiç ‘water=run=INTS’)

go kape  
Nom.  river bank.

go raci  
Nom.  river. (go-raci ‘water=large’)

go tâm  

go pij  
Nom.  water spring. (go=pij ‘water=RP-tip’)

goj  
Nom.  round pan for cooking on the fire.
gokôn  n.al. container for carrying water, of vegetal origin. Port.: cabaça.
gokôn'  n.amb_cmp. container for carrying water.
gorêncô  n.amb_cmp. paddle (go=rên=ô ‘water=INSTR.NMLZ’).
gotke  n.al_cmp. comb. Ex.: Ūnô gotke na akûdô ‘My comb has disappeared.’
gotpore  n.comp_dim. wasp (sp.), Port.: marimbondo (sp.).
grä  v.tr. 1. be dry; become dry.  2. v.tr. roast farinha. Inflectional pattern: S=grä; O=grä; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: In order to obtain a transitive version of ‘dry’, it is necessary to use the causative morpheme c. The plain stem can only be used transitively with the specific meaning ‘roast farinha.’ Ex.: Na kupëçè grä çi ajet. ‘The clothes are drying (hanging).’ Paj īnôrèèkô c grä. ‘I’ll dry my hair.’ Kōt paj ūnô è by grä. ‘I will roast my farinha.’ Na pa kêmô ënô òm tóm jade ne c grä. ‘I’m still squeezing my dough to dry it.’ Pa na icëc ô grä kete. ‘I have no dried clothes.’ Pa na pa arâm ūr è grô ijavô. ‘I took my dried clothes off the clothesline.’
grä  v.tr. roast.

gre  n.inal. vagina. Inflectional pattern: PSSR=gre; no relational prefix.

gre ̀a  n.cmp.inal. female pubic hair

gre niko  n.cmp.inal. testicles

gre raç  n.al_cmp. food prepared from cooking, rather than roasting, the same yucca dough used in the preparation of yucca meal. (grä=raç ‘bake=large’; Lit.: ‘large bits of baked [yucca dough’)
grägrä  n.rdpl_cmp. 1. the color green; 2. unripe
greñôcôñ  n.al_cmp. singer (gre=RN-ô ‘sing=RP-PRTV=NMLZ.AG’); the person who performs in a ceremony or festival. Ex.: Bi ra kengrä ëwô ja na greñôcôñ ja. ‘This man who is tired is the singer.’
grä ̀ti  n.aug. rodent (sp). Port.: quando
grik  v.dscr. be or become angry. Inflectional pattern: S=grik. Grammar: This verb may occur with the inessive postposition kamô in a noncanonical pattern of argument marking; in this case, the pattern is E=RN=kamô S=grik. Ex.: Na ka òcô ne pa òmduj nê jum ickamô grik. ‘You made me treat her badly, now she’s angry at me.’ Ka ickamô agrik. ‘You got angry at me.’
grik  jî  n.comp. jealous person
grejî  n.al.der. one who can sing or dance; one who enjoys singing or dancing. Ex.: Na pa ūnôrjî ̀ajî kumôcô. ‘I really like to dance.’ See greñôcôñ.
graî  n.aug. mammal (sp.), Port.: paca.

 agrjî  n.al.der. one who can sing or dance; one who enjoys singing or dancing. Ex.: Na pa ūnôrjî ̀ajî kumôcô. ‘I really like to dance.’ See greñôcôñ.
gri v.dscr. 1. small (in size); tiny, frail. 2. meager; reduced in quantity; little (of mass nouns). Inflectional pattern: S=gri; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same.

gridin ko n.al.cmp. puçā (cerrado fruit sp.) patch

gwra n. 1. palm tree (sp.) Port.: buriti. 2. the log of this palm tree, which is used for ceremonial purposes.

gwra pôr n.al.cmp. the fibers of a certain palm tree (Port.: buriti).

gwra ko n.al.cmp. buriti patch

gwra krô n.al.cmp. the fruit of a certain palm tree (Port.: buriti).

i v.tr. 1. place one or a pair of objects upside down or a surface (e.g. on the ground or on a table); 2. put away one or a pair of objects. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=ê-i. Nonfinite form: ir. Grammar: Allows for third person accusative prefix ku-. Semantics: One aspect in which this verb (and its counterpart acuô contrasts with the pair am, áyô is that the former may refer to objects shaped in such way that would usually be conceived of as lying in horizontal position (e.g. forks and knives), whereas the latter often refer to those that could be thought of as “standing up” (e.g. bowls, plates, cups). On the other hand, the former pair may also refer to this same class of objects, but indicating that they lie upside down. Ex.: Na pa kuê ‘I’ve put it away.’

i n.inal. bone. Inflectional pattern: PSSR=i; no relational prefix, apparently. Phonology: form alternates between ji and i. The former occurs after consonant-final nouns and the latter after vowel-final nouns.

i v.dscr. thin; skinny. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S=j-i. Nonfinite form: same. Also ire (i=re). Phonology: [i’zure]. Ex.: Na pa ra ijire. ‘I’m already all skinny.’ Na ra ire. ‘She is already skinny.’

i– prfx.pers., third person singular, possessor.


ibrôko n.al.cmp. Small bag made out of woven palm fibers used by men to carry supplies used in hunting trips. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR=ŋ=ibrôko. (i=bru=ko ‘?=game=skin’).


iđwx n.comp.inal. wrist. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR=ŋ–idwɔt

igô v.tr. push. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=ŋ–igô. Ex. na igô pa tê ne m̃râ ne amni gɔ pa ‘He pushed me, then I fell into the water and got all wet.’


igrôt v.dscr. sprout from the ground; germinate. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S=ŋ=igrôt. Nonfinite form: same. See igrô.


îju o n.inal.cmp. nose hair. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR=ŋ–îju o.


îkre n.inal. shoulder. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR=ŋ–îkre

îrô edge; river bank. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR=ŋ–irô

îtôje v.dscr. 1. strong. 2. bold; courageous. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix:
phonology: [ikra

have a more flexible use, with respect to the number distinction of the absolutive, than

'sit' contrast with their respective counterparts

when the absolutive argument is plural. See

semantics: This verb appears to contrast with

pattern and relational prefix: s=

subjects of descriptives, and objects of postpositions.

floor.'

end, cf.

'tip of the vine'

'hand=head=large

'hand=head=small=

'direction; pathway. Alternate form, 

'hand=head=bone'

ex.:

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the latter. It is possible to find examples of me nô and me ji, even though these verbs refer basically to singular and dual absolutes; but krê and ikvî are often not found with singular absolutes. Ex.: Me kreira jaja me ikvî nê. Me piget jaja aãhôwaj jaja, me a ne ikvî. ‘The children were all lying (there). The elderly also, they were all ill and lying (there).’ Co na ka me ari anikvî. ‘Are you all lying there/resting?’

ipkê

ingalder, place of rest; place for lying (ikvî=ê ‘lie.NF=LOC.NMLZ’).

imôk

ingal, the top surface of any given body; tip. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR=îmôk. Ex.: íjîmôk ‘the top of my head.’ Pa na pa pre vaîjôrêjî jakar ô ca ne amjî nikra krêjimôk krê ta. ‘I was chopping onions, then I cut the tip of my finger.’

ip

psp inside.

ipeç

v. tr. make. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=î-ipeç. Nonfinite form: same; alternate: ipet. Ex.: Na pa icte amô ajôr jum ate íjîmôs ša nipec prêm nê. ‘I wish you would make me some tea.’

ipeçji

inaled, person who is characteristically known by making things. (ipeç=ţji ‘make=ag.nmlz’) Ex.: kawô nipec ţji ‘basket maker.’ Grammar: When ţji is used with transitive verbs, the derived word may require the use of relational prefixes depending on whether the verb root starts in a vowel.

ipetçë

inaled, father. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR=î-petçë. (ipet=ê ‘make.NF=INST.NMLZ’).

ipok

ingal. 1. the center of a particular space. 2. the midst (e.g. of a crowd). 3. the innermost area of a large location (e.g. a forest). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR=în-ipok. Grammar: Due to its semantics, this noun is sometimes used similarly to a postposition; but its referential nature is also very clear. In cases of referential use, a postposition or demonstrative is likely to follow this noun, such that the integrity of the genitive construction (or, the NP) in which it occurs is maintained, thus avoiding any kind of structural ambiguity. Ex.: Par ipok ri. ‘The center of the forest.’ Par ipok. ‘In the middle of the forest.’ Krê raç nipok ri. ‘The downtown area.’ Krê nipok. ‘In the middle of the village.’ Kapot nipok. ‘In the middle of the outdoors.’ Go nipok. ‘In the middle of the river.’ Arêgrô nipok ri. ‘In the middle of the sunlight.’ [Notice the contrast in meaning between this ri-ending phrase and the ones above: it could be that in this phrase, the sense of the word is more one of ‘midst; being involved/engulfed by’, similarly to the next example.] Me? ipok ri. ‘In the middle of the crowd.’ *Na pa me? ipok ca. ?Na pa me ipok ri ca. ‘I’m standing in the middle of the crowd.’ Kot poj kapot nipok kot tê. ‘We’re going to the center of the wilderness.’ Krê nipok kot tê. ‘Go to the center of the krê. Par nipok kot tê. ‘Go to the center of the woods.’ Go nipok kot tê. ‘Go to the center of the creek.’ */?Kôt puj kapot nipok ri war tê. But Kôt puj kapot nipok war tê. ‘We’re going to the middle of the wilderness.’ Na wa ipok kom ca. ‘The two of them are in the center.’ See kaec; ire.

ipok řô čwôn

inalcmp. person from the inside; usually a reference to humorous, cheerful people. (ipok=ûô=čwô ‘inside=RP-PSSD=NMLZ.AG’).

ipwr

v.tr. slice (of meat). Ex. kât paje ipô bô iipwr ne kuôj jum grô ‘I will make strips out of my meat, hand them and they become dry.’ nipwr

irô

me.

irš
- n. clearing. V.tr. clear; clean [of leaves, etc.]

irš
- v.tr. watch from above. Nonfinite form, nirš

irrek
- v.intr descr. become weak. Ex. am itzič ket ne; irerekre ‘He’s not strong; he’s weak.’

iršn
- v.scr. weak; exhausted; fatigued. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S=jn-iršn.

ire
- n.adj deter. Piece, cut or slice of something soft, such as cloth, leaf, meat or cake. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR-j-ire. Alternate form: n-iren, especially before stops, but also (semi)vowels. Ex.: Ijmö kupče pire o gō ‘Give me a piece of cloth.’ Ijmö pape pire o gō pa kamō amjum čikar kwɔ či. ‘Give me a piece of paper for me to roll up my cigarette in.’ Me ijmö bri piren ja o gō ‘Give me one of those slices of meat.’ Kɔt paj kupče pireŋ ʔkiri ‘I’ll cut the pieces of cloth (with the scissors).’

ire

ireni
- v.scr. cut (resultative participial). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S=jn-ireni. Ex.: Bri ja na ra ireni ‘The meat is sliced.’ Cwɔkupu na ra ireni. ‘The cake is already sliced.’

irim
- psp. ablative marker. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: OBJ=jn-irim. Ex.: Na me ʔpirim me uc’kwɔ ‘They removed the spell from me.’

isker re
- n.al loan, lighter. (Port.: isqueiro)

isotti
- n.al aug loan, sulfur.

ita
- v.tr. open.

itkō
- v.intr, drink. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S=kom. (itkō < it-kō) Grammar: This verb has a counterpart in o itkō. Ex.: Co na ka ra itkō? ‘Have you drunk yet?’ Na pa kɔmtm ickom ketnɛ. ‘I haven’t drunk yet.’ Ja na kom kete. ‘This one (person) doesn’t drink.’ See pe; o itkō.

itkwɔ
- v.intr, defecate. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S=kwɔr. Ex.: Cučùti na itkwɔ nùm in ja kabrekre. ‘Cučùti defecated and his feces were nice and colorful.’

itpe
- v.intr, fart.

itu javek
- n. cmp, bush

jǎสะ
- n.adv cmp. 1. yesterday. 2. the day before yesterday. (jǎ=ʔs ‘=?LOC’)

faj

já
- v.tr. 1. bite. 2. to subject to an electric shock. Inflectional pattern: O=ja; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: Na ṣeŋ Ḣńja. ‘The dog bit me.’ Na ṣeŋ Ḣńja rač nè. ‘The dog bit me a lot.’ Na ṣeŋ Ḣńja taqč. ‘The dog bit me hard.’

já
- v.tr. bite. Inflectional pattern: O=ja; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: Ex.: Na ṣeŋ Ḣńja ‘The dog bit me.’ Anjúdɛ tɔ ṣeŋ ča kɔt Ḣńja. ‘Beware of that dog over there, it will bite you.’

jep kɔkk tii
- n.al cmp aug, bat (sp.). Larger species.

jep re
- n.al dim, bat (sp.). Blood-feeding species. Used as bait for hunting.
fep ti  n.al.aug. bat (sp.). Herbivorous species.

ji  v.tr. get water into a bowl or deep container

jii  suf.der.ag. adjective-forming suffix. Grammar: a. This suffix may attach to transitive, intransitive or descriptive verbs. It indicates that the referent is characterized by the event or state described by the verb, or that the referent constantly and/or enjoyably performs the action described by the verb. b. The derived form maintains the same inflectional pattern as the base verb. Ex.: Biswe ja na pre te ickakeji ne. ‘This kitty scratches me all the time.’ Abatpērji ja na krī rač kəm pa. ‘The pensive one lives in town.’ Ka na ajabatpērji. ‘You are pensive/melancholic.’ Di mūj ċīkar jakoji. ‘That woman is a cigarette smoker.’


jön  n.al. bird (sp.). Port.: urubu. Alternate form: jōn.

jopjop  v.intr.esty. be(come) empty. Ex. na pa ọjō ‘I am empty (weak; thin’). na pa na pa pəl ti ọ jō ‘I emptied the ball (i.e. now it is soft’).

jōn  n.al. bird (sp.). Port.: urubu. Alternate form: jōn.

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jępenji  n.al.der. a hard-working person. (j-ępęn-jii ‘RP-work.NF-AG.NMLZ’)


jat çō  n.al.cmp. papaya (sp.).

jat kro  n.al.cmp. potato vine.

ja  art.def. 1. the. 2. pro.dem. this. Grammar: Plurality is expressed either by reduplication of this form or by the use of the collective marker je..

ja kam  čnj.idiom. for that reason, Lit.: “within this”. (ja=kam ‘DEF.ART=LOC.INSV’)

jake  v.tr. scare off; send away. Inflectional pattern: O=jae; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex. Pani jaja na te akunị pok ne kaŋ jae kačin ‘The pani set the grass on fire to scare the snakes away.’ 2. n.inal. nest. Inflectional pattern: PSSR-jae; no relational prefix. 3. v.dscr. bushy (of hair, etc.). Inflectional pattern: S=jae; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same.

jak  v.tr. smell something

jaka  v.dscr. white. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S=jaka (not sure whether jk/ is part of the root or the relational prefix). Nonfinite form: same.

jakrej  v.intr.dscr. comparative of superiority.

jakrım  n. kinship term

jak  v.dscr. watery (of feces typical of gastrointestinal distress or disorder). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S=j-aok. Morphology: It is possible that the palatal glide in initial position is part of the root, rather than a relational prefix. Ex.: Pa na pa jńōu ọ nọ ẹja ọ ikev. ‘I have diarrhea and am defecating with watery feces.’

jar  advcmp. today. (ja=r=ʔ? ‘DEM=time=LOC’)

jara  n.inal. phlegm

jara  adv. der. today
jara kre  n.cmp. _inal_. armpit
jara kre Ꝡo  n.cmp. _inal_. armpit hair
jari  adv.cmp._ here. Alternate form, jar.
jarī  v.intr.evnt._ jump; hop. Nonfinite form, jarī.
jate  v.tr._ push
je  Art.def.clt., the <pl>.
jetča  n.al.der_. place where something hangs; place above the ground where something lies.
(jet=ča ‘hang, NF=LOC.NMLZ’)
jip ti  n.al.loan._ large vehicle (e.g. truck). (Port.: jipe).
jumēnre  n.al.dim.loan._ donkey (Port.: jumento)
kə  n.inal._ 1. skin; bark. 2. body. Inflectional pattern: PSSR=kə.
kə  n.inal._ breast. Inflectional pattern: PSSR=kə.
kə  v.tr._ mature; grow into adulthood. Inflectional pattern: S=kə; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: Na ka ra akə beč nē. ‘You are all grown up now.’ Na pa ra ickə beč nē. ‘I’m well matured.’
kər  n._ whistle
kə kago  n.inal.cmp._ breast milk. Inflectional pattern: PSSR=kə kago. (kə=kago ‘breast=fluid’)
kə kagrə  v.dscr._ have a fever. Inflectional pattern: S=kə kagrə. (kə=kagrə ‘body=hot’). Grammar: This predicative composed of a noun root plus a descriptive root. Ex.: Na ka ve akə kagrə ‘It seems you have a fever.’
kač  n._ 1. jar; glass container; 2. frame.
kač  advl._ lightly; gently. Ex.: Kač pe tak ‘Tap gently.’
kič  v.tr._ tear.
kičet  v.tr._ hurt; wound
kačkapēr  n.al.cmp._ radio; cassette player. (kač=kapēr ‘frame=talk’). Phonology: [kəjč]
kəx  v.tr._ take out.
kī  intrj._ hortative particle.
kōjī  n.inal._ wound.
kōn bri kete  n.cmp.neg._ bad hunter
kōkə  v.intr._ 1. sound; make noise (of water, maracá, stalk, wings); flap one’s wings (of birds). Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S=kōkə. 2. v.tr._ play an instrument, especially percussion; make an object sound. Inflectional pattern: O=kōkə. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: Na gregōčwojn kūsę kōkə ća ‘The singer is playing the maracá.’ Na pa kūsę kōkə ba. ‘I heard the sound of the maracá.’
kōkōjī  n.al.der._ noisy. (kōkə=jī ‘make.noise=AG.NMLZ’) Ex.: Kūsę kōkōjī. ‘The maracá is noisy.’
kōkwe  v.dscr._ shallow (of a body of water). Inflectional pattern: S=kōkwe; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: Marī re ćō ikkōkwe. ‘You may cross, I’m shallow (of a creek saying it).’ Go jā kōkwe kete. ‘The creek is not shallow.’ Kaj ari go kōkwe kamā ća. ‘You stand up on this shallow area.’ Grammar: This verb has a causative version, ć kōkwe. See ć kōkwe.
kōm  psp._ Third person form of the dative postposition mā.
kōn kro  n.al.cmp._ sugar cane shrub.
kəp n.al.loan. cup; glass (Port.: copo).

kəp prt.mod. apparently; not for sure. Ex. kəp ma ‘Not sure if they’re going...

kər v.intr.evnt. wistle; sing like a bird. Nonfinite form, kər.

kər v.tr. spread.

kərěnti n.al.aug. wasp (sp.), Port.: marimbondo (sp.).

kər cl. 1. clause initial clitic index of unrealis mood. 2. index of third person agent which occupies initial position in subordinated clauses. See te.

kər v.intr.evnt. swell. Ex. na pa ra iṣi kər ‘My flesh has swollen large.’

kərɑmɔ n.al.cmp. vertical position; the upper surface. (kər=mɔ ‘upright?=DAT’) Phonology: forms alternate between kərɔmɔ and kərmɔ. There is nasalization of the alveolar stop immediately preceding the bilabial nasal consonant.

kərmɔ adv.cmp. still (kər=mɔ ‘IRLS=LOC’). Phonology: [kər:ɔ]

kər pro.pers. second person independent pronoun, realis form. Grammar: Pronouns from this set indicate a different subject in a clause chain. See kaj.

kai v.tr. sew.

kai v.tr. confine; dam; obstruct. Inflectional pattern: O=kai;e; no relational prefix.

kai n. amidst; around

kai v.tr. surround O.


kai v.intr. 1. thin due to loss (of feathers or hair). 2. fall (of palm leaves, hair, long fibers that constitute part of a whole). Inflectional pattern: O=ka?i; no relational prefix.

kafi n.inal. 1. marrow. 2. slime; drool. 3. the forming flesh of young coconut fruit. Inflectional pattern: PSSR=kafii. Ex.: Krɔ kafii ‘Brains (lit.: head marrow)’; Bri kafii ‘Bone marrow (here, lit.: game marrow).’ *Pî ɛk kafii ‘flesh of fruit’. See ɗɔ kafii.


kai n.al. washing.

kai v.tr. pound on inside a specialized container.


kai n.al. night; darkness. 2. v.intr. become night; get dark.

kai n.al. night time; patch of darkness.

Kabekre n.al.dim. fruit (sp.), Port.: jussara. Phonology: [kambe:re]

Kabekre ko n.al.cmp. jussara patch

kabekti n.al.aug. fruit (sp.), Port.: bacaba. Phonology: [kambe:di]

kabekti ko n.al.cmp. bacaba patch

Kabrek v.dscr. red. Inflectional pattern: S=kabrek; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: Pa na icče kabrek ti ne icče tiki. ‘I have a red dress and a black dress.’ Pa na icče kabrek kom tik. ‘I have a black-and-red dress.’ Icce krɔ krɔ jakọt kabrekre na icpe akudɔk. ‘My dotted red dress has disappeared.’

Kabro n.inal. 1. blood. Inflectional pattern: PSSR=kabro. 2. v.dscr. menstruate. Inflectional
pattern: S=kabro; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: Ma, ja na ickabro. Pa na pa amipu jaijkum ickabro atkapí. ‘Well, this is my blood. I cut myself and my blood spilled.’ Pa na pa ickabro. ‘I am menstruating.’ Grammar: the use of this word with the sense of bleed is also possible, but the construction is grammatically nominal, in that the word kabro operates as a plain noun, rather than presenting verbal properties. Ex.: Pa na pre go arbi jum kabro garí tó akupim kabro próí. ‘I wet (the wound) and the bleeding stopped, then the blood started running again.’ Pa na ickabro rač nè. ‘I bled a lot.’ This is a nominal predicate construction; if pa were the subject, it would reappear after the modality marker. But: Na iπikrakrê kabro č mô. ‘I go with my finger bleeding./My finger goes bleeding.’ Iπikra krê kabro. ‘My finger is bleeding.’

kabu v.tr. not find; look for among many
kačor v.tr. pull out from the ground. Ex. na pa icte pì ja kačor kačor ‘I’m trying to pull out this piece of wood.’
kačñ n. cotton (sp.)
kačn adv. 1. purpose; 2. inchoative. 3. qtf. additional thing in a sequence.
kačo v.tr. tear; rip. Inflectional pattern: O=kačo. Nonfinite form: same. Usage: There is an idiomatic expression with this verb that refers to the rape of young girls: gre kačo ‘vagina ripping.’ Ex.: Na ka icpe iπô čak rékačo ‘You tore my little bag.’ Na pa ape apnô čakre kačo ketènè. ‘I didn’t tear your little bag.’ See atkačo; pikačoñ.

kačon v.tr. tear while pulling. Alternate form: kačwan.
kača v.intr.evmt. poke.
kačwa n.al. salt. Alternate form: kačwarí.
kađe n.al. 1. contrast. 2. counterpoint. 3. opponent; aggressor.
kađeçò n.al. antipode; medicine. (kađe=çò ‘contrast=INSTR.NMLZ’)
Kadej n.al. loan, oil lantern (Port.: candeia)
kağor n.al. medical. Phonology: [ka,gòçó]
kağò n. horse.
kağò grò re n.cmp. dim. snake (sp.); not poisonous, small, may be green and black or blue and yellow; solid colors. (kağò=grò=re ‘snake=dry?=dim’)
kağò jají ti n.cmp. aug. snake (sp.). Port. Casacavel. (kağò=jají=ti ‘snake=RP-rattle=AUG’)
kağò pó n. cmp. snake (sp.). Port.: jararaca. kağò pó ti.
kağò to n. cmp. snake (sp.). Poisonous, brown back and white belly, from the woods, eats rats, and it is sticky. (kağò=to ‘snake=sticky’) kağò to ré re
kağor v.tr. salt, cure meat.
kağà v.tr. clmpl.noncan. 1. give up; 2. refuse. Inflectional pattern: A=mê O=kağà; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same.
kağà v.intr.noncan, be or feel lazy. Inflectional pattern: S=mê kağà; no relational prefixes. Nonfinite form: same. Ex. Na pa jara ñ ipmêkağà tojic ‘I feel very lazy today.’
kağò n.inal. 1. fluid. 2. juice (e.g. of a fruit or plant leaves). Inflectional pattern: PSSR=kağò. Grammar: a. Apparently there is a nonfinite form of this noun, kağor. b. This noun may be derived from go ‘water’.
kağd v.tr. squeeze with the aim of extracting juice (e.g. from a fruit or the leaves of a plant). Inflectional pattern: O=kağd. Nonfinite form: kağdr.
kago ćɔ

*n.al.cmp, alcoholic beverage. Also referred to as kago ćɔ? ti. (kago=ćɔ-ə=tʰ ‘juice=RP-spicy=AUG’)*

kago jakri

*n.al.cmp, frozen beverage served in a cylindric plastic bag. Port.: geladinho. (kago=j-akri ‘juice=RP-cold’)*

kago tik re

*n.al.cmp, coffee (kago=tik=re ‘juice=black=DIM’)*

kagrɔ

*v.dscr, 1. be hot; become hot. 2. v.tr, heat. Inflectional pattern: S=kagrɔ; O=kagrɔ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: kagrɔ. Phonology: if occurring before a vowel ə, there may be the epenthesis of [r]. Ex.: kagrɔ[r] ə mə. Na pa ickagrɔ rač nə ictə go rač nə. ‘I was too hot and sweaty.’ Na pa ickagrɔ mə anə jum go kagrɔ. ‘I told my child to heat the water.’ Na pa go kagrɔ. ‘I heated the water.’* 

kagro


kait ə ĉe

*n.inal.cmp, adornment for the legs (kai=tə=ʃe ‘?=salf=cloth’)*

kaj

*pro.pers, second person independent pronoun, irrealis form. See ka.*

kaj ti

*n.alt, rabbit (sp.). Also kajre.*

kaje

*v.tr, 1. capture by using a trap (e.g. fish). 2. entwine; entagle. Inflectional pattern: O=kaje; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: kajer. Related form: tep kaje ‘catch fish; [go] fishing.’* 

kaʃe

*n.al, star. Also kaʃere, kaʃeti.*

kajor

*v.tr, 1. sting; pierce. 2. give an injection. Inflectional pattern: O=kajor; alternate form: kajor’. Nonfinite form: kajor. Ex.: Co, ə mrumti ja tə aʃp də kɔr pa kaʃoro ‘Kill this ant or else it will sting the both of us.’ Kɔr ja ma vər tə, kaʃoro. ‘He goes there (at the patient’s home) and gives the injection.’*

kak

*v.dscr, cough. Nonfinite form, kak.*

kake

*v.tr, pinch. Nonfinite form, kaken.*

kaki

*v.tr, taste.*

kakje

*v.tr, 1. scratch with a knife or some cutting instrument. 2. mark with fine lines. Inflectional pattern: O=kakje; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: Na pa te kakje. ‘I marked her legs.’ Ka na ate kakje beçi. ‘You make marks well.’* 

kakrɔ

*n.cmp, cloud*

kakre

*v.tr, scratch with claws or nails. Inflectional pattern: O=kakre; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: ə rəpkroke na kɔm me kakre pɾəm. ə beç ne kɔt ja akakre ‘Êta! This kitten likes to scratch. Be careful or it will scratch you.’* 

kakwɔ

*v.tr, 1. dig; poke. 2. scratch the surface of something. Inflectional pattern: O=kakwɔ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: kakwɔn. Ex.: Da na pre pika ja kakwɔn ə mə ‘The rain falls into the hole, digs and deepens it.’* 

kakwɔn

*v.tr, break; mince. Nonfinite form, kakwɔn.*

kamɔ

*ppsp, insensitive marker. 2. because of.*

kao1

*v.dscr, cooked; done (of food); ready to eat. Inflectional pattern: S=kao; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Phonology: ['kao]. Ex.: Kɔt paj aŋŋi mə kuwi kamɔ meo ʃəm, jum orə, jum kao pa kukrɛ. ‘I’m going to put my food on the fire, then it will boil and get ready for me to eat.’ Na ra meo kao. ‘The food is ready.’ See orə; or.*** 

kao2

*v.tr, suck the juice out of a fruit. Inflectional pattern: O=kao. Nonfinite form: same.
Phonology: [kaˈo]. Ex.: Rərəɲ kəˈo. ‘Suck oranges.’ See ə; piao.

kapə n.al. path; circular path between the line of houses and the central plaza of the village.

kapekə n.al.loc. on the path. See kape.

kapər v.dir.noncan. talk to someone; Nonfinite form, –kapər; Alternate form, –kapère

kap i v.tr. pour or spill some liquid deliberately; throw away the contents of a recipient (esp. food). Ex. na pa rəp ja kələ ʃum amni kap i ‘I washed the dog and it shook itself (so as to spill away the water from its hair).’

kap i v.tr. choose; select. Inflectional pattern: O=kap i. Ex. Ampim kapi ‘Choose for oneself.’ Na pa ɚə i kapi. ‘I’m choosing some peppers.’ Na pa pəɾi krə rəŋ kapi. ‘I’m selecting the larger peppers.’ See ukapi, aʔkap i.

kap i v.tr. spread; throw away; spill. Inflectional pattern: O=kap i. Ex.: Pa na pa krətər kəbro kap i. ‘I bled the chicken (Lit.: I spilled the chicken’s blood.)’

kap i v.tr. sweep. Inflectional pattern: O=kap i; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: kapəj i.

kapən v.prtcpl. swept. Grammar: the nonfinite form of the verb kap i; in this case it has a participial resultative meaning.

kapəkə n.al.der. broom (kapəkə=çə ‘sweep=INSTR.NMLZ’)  kapə n.al. the outdoors; the outside.

kap i v.tr. 1. be or become empty. 2. be or become thin, skinny. 3. devoid of apparent or real reason. Inflectional pattern: S=kap i. Nonfinite form: same. 3. v.tr. empty. 4. idiom, being a person with no family. Ex.: Ma, amrakati. Na pa əbun əntəm jum jẹtə kapə. ‘No, there’s nothing there. I searched and the place where it was hanging is empty.’ Na pa ra ikapən ə mə. ‘I’m getting thin.’ Na pa ra ikapərə. ‘I’m all skinny already.’ Na pa ənəpətəp kape. ‘I’m feeling nauseous (for no apparent reason).’ Ka na ka aŋə kə kapekə ə akakə ʃi. ‘You are forcing yourself to cough.’

kapə n.al. fire ember.

kapən n.al. chelonian (sp.), Port.: jaboti. Also kapənə [kaˈprəle]


kapr i v.dscr. 1. sad; mourning. Inflectional pattern: S=kapr i. 2. v.tr. take pity on someone. Inflectional pattern. Nonfinite form: same.

karə n.al. deer (sp.)

karə v.tr. relax; soothe; soften. Inflectional pattern: O=karə; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: Karə paj amni but karə. ‘I will soothe my neck.’


karəŋ n.al. tobacco. Alternate form: karən.

karəŋə cmp. marijuana. Also karəŋ pə ti (karəŋ=pə=t i ‘tobacco=flat=AUG’). Alternate form: karən pə.

karə n.inal. 1. spirit. 2. image; model; replica. 3. photograph. Inflectional pattern: PSSR=karə.

karəvəŋ v.intr.evnt. snore (of pigs).


karət v.intr.dscr. 1. push (of woman’s labor)
karpé  

v.tr. try; test, e.g. a gun.

kati  

v.tr. cover. Inflectional pattern: O=kati; no relational prefix.

katö  

v.dscr.  

1. a. leave; depart; exit;  

b. arrive somewhere (when the deictic center is a third person, usu. marked with the postposition wo). Inflectional pattern: S=katö; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: katö.  


Semantics: The semantic contrast between this verb and apoj apparently has to do with the number of participants, katö being the singular and apoj the plural counterpart.

Grammar: a. In the compound verb ‘wake up’, the verb roots alternate according to the number of the absolutive argument, thus: krškatö ‘wake up (sg.)’ and kršapoj ‘wake up (pl)’.  

b. The same is true when the root is used with directional postpositions such as wo ‘ALLT’ and mö ‘DAT’. Ex.: Na pa ickatö. ‘I left (the premises).’ Na pa uò pipok ri kom ickato. ‘I found it out in the woods.’ Na pa kom ickato. ‘I found this thing.’

Kate  

v.tr.  

1. break into pieces; shatter.  

2. break something open with a hard blow (e.g. a fruit with a hard shell, as a coconut or cupuçaú). Inflectional pattern: O=kate; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: Kop ja na me prire jaja icpe kate. ‘The boys broke the glass (to my detriment).’ Na me icpe înô kop kate. ‘They broke my glass.’

katrečö  

n.inal.der. mother. (katrečö=c-ơ ‘get.out.of.NF=INSTR.NMLZ’)

katre  


katere  

n.inal.dim. squash (sp.), Port.: abóbora de pescoço comprido.

katerē kro  

n.al cmp. squash vine.

kati  


katkrit  

v.dscr. light. Inflectional pattern: S=katkrit; no relational prefix.

katkwa  

n.al cmp. sky. Ex.: Katkwa beči ‘clear sky’; katkwa raror ‘rainbow’

katô  

v.intr.evnt. pop; spill.

katók  

v.tr. roast. Nonfinite form, katök

kaparöre  

n.amba cmp.dim. money (kat=p.ơ=re ‘?=flat=DIM’). Phonology: kat?pơ?re

kapar  

n.inal. back

katpre  

v.tr. tie; fasten. Inflectional pattern: O=katpre; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: a. This verb is related to pre, which seems to be a participial form of it.  

b. There are examples in which the form pre seems to occur as a nonfinite counterpart of katpre; in such cases, pre takes person inflection for object, and that contrasts with its use as a participial/resultative form.

katut  

n.inal. back

katut i  

n.inal cmp. backbone.

katwe  

v.tr. thresh; pound; crush. Nonfinite form, katwe.

kawö  

n.amba der. object used for pounding or crushing grains in. (der. ka político)

kawa  

adv. more or less.

kawö  

n.amba basket; one of the traditional designs of Apinajé basketry. Alternate form: kawö.

kawö peć  

n.ala cmp. basket-weaver.
ki

kawo pipeci

n.al.cmp, basket-weaver.

kawar

n.al loan, horse (Port.: cavalo)

kawro

v.tr, gather; harvest. Inflectional pattern: O=kawro; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: Na pa pori kr3 ryn kawro rañ nê. ‘I harvested a lot of large peppers.’ Na pa te prin kawro r3?3 nê. ‘I gather pequis all the time.’

ke

enj, deliberately.

ke

v.tr, grind. Inflectional pattern: O=ke. Nonfinite form: ken. Ex.: Na pa k¡m3 ken ket nê ‘I haven’t grated them (the yucca roots) yet.’ Phonology: The vowel of the nonfinite form is not nasal; compare with the vowel of the word kén ‘pebble’, which does have a nasal vowel in this position.

kén

n.al, rock; pebble.

kén ð go

n.al.cmp, waterfall. (kén=ð=go ‘rock=LOC=water’)

kén kr3 ti

n.al.cmp.aug, hill; butte. (kén=kr3=ti ‘rock=head=aug’)

ken t3j re

n.al.cmp.dim, bird (sp.), Port.: galinha d’aigua.

ken3

adv, indeed; really. Alternate forms: kín3, kêp3.

kengro

v.dscr, tired. Inflectional pattern: S=kengro; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: Na pa ra ickengro ñ rô. ‘I’m getting tired.’ Na pa ra ickengro, ‘I’m already tired.’ Bi ra kengro çwã je na gregôçwã je. ‘This man who is tired is the singer.’

kengrojî

n.al.der, person who is characterized by getting tired easily. Ex.: Na pa ra ickengrojî tiç3 kumrec ‘I’ve been easily tiring, lately.’

kep

psp, third person form of the detrimental postposition pe. cop, be; become.

kep

cop, third person form of the copula pe ‘be; become’. Grammar: The copula pe is used in nominal predicate constructions, especially those expressing equative predicates and true nominal predicates. It is not used in locative or possessive predicates.

ket

c1, negative marker; negative existential marker. Alternate form: kete. Grammar: a. This form is often used in nominal predicate constructions, although it is not restricted to it. b. This negative marker is used in clauses that indicate a habitual negative, or in a noun phrase that describes a negative property or habit of the head noun referent. Ex.: Ja na kom kete. ‘This person doesn’t drink.’ Ja na kot gwra kago ñ kom kete. ‘This person won’t drink buriti juice.’ See kettê.

ketnê

c1.cmp, negative marker; factual negative marker. Grammar: a. This form is often used in verbal predicate constructions, although it is not restricted to it. b. This form is used in certain clauses expressing a nonhabitual negative. It contrasts with kete, in this respect. See ket.

kî


kî

n.inal, hair. Inflectional pattern: PSSR=kî.

kîni

v.tr.noncan, like someone; have affection for someone; be fond of someone. Inflectional pattern: E3=m3 O=kîni. Nonfinite form: kîp. Alternate finite forms: kîp.; kîni. Ex.: Na pa prê ñmâ kîni, t3 num ñmâ ûre. ‘I liked him, but then he left me.’

kir

n, moquia, place where the food is roasted or baked (underground). Alternate forms, kía, kiri.

kke

n.inal, thigh.
v.tr. drag; pull. Inflectional pattern: O=kje; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: kjen. Grammar: Like other transitive verbs, this predicat or may take the second person subject prefix in imperative clauses. However, this inflected form is not to be confused with the verb akje ‘open’. Ex.: Krî picî kamš go kjen čö ‘Only one of the villages has water pipes (água encanada).’ Amne akje! ‘Pull it over here!’ Kjen ketné. ‘Don’t pull it!’

kje krač n.inal.cmp. part of the thigh that meets the pelvic bones; the articulation of the thigh.
kjerkanô n.inal.cmp. kinship relation term. Term used by the mother of a man to refer to his wife.
ko n.amb. a traditional weapon of the Apinajé, it is a heavy bat made of hard wood. Port.: borduna.
ko n.inal. patch of trees. Inflectional pattern: PSSR = ko.
ko v.intr.noncan. thirsty. Inflectional pattern: E_S = m/1106/ch41:0130+6001. Alternate form: kor. mš ko
ko i n.inal.cmp. backbone.
ko krač n.inal.cmp. intestine.
kõn n.inal. knee. Inflectional pattern: PSSR = kõn.
kone intrj.neg. not know; ignore. No inflection. Grammar: Apparently it is used only in the context of first person, in response to information questions.
kopti n.al.aug. fly (sp.) Port: mosca de berne.
kot apu n.al.cmp. the youngest of a group (e.g. the youngest child of a parent/family).
kri n.al. cold. Ex.: Na kri ictö ne pa ʃpót ket ně. ‘I couldn’t sleep because of the cold.’ Kri na te go ʃ gra ne go ʃ tajč. ‘The cold dries the water and makes it hard (i.e. freezes the water).’
kre n.inal. 1. orifice. 2. hole. 3. burrow. Inflectional pattern: PSSR=kre.
krö v.tr. make a decision; take a stand. Ex. na bjen ja ʃbri ma mō kačw krö ‘Her husband decided to go.’
kro v.tr. plant. Inflectional pattern: O=kro; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: Na pa kwërčö kro ‘I’ve planted the manioc starters.’ Na pa ra kro pa ‘I’ve planted it all.’ Na pa pika kamš kro. ‘I’ve planted it in the ground.’ Grammar: This verb has the intransitive counterpart ʃkre. See ʃkre; awjačö; kre¹.
krö v.desc. spoiled; rotten; putrid. Inflectional pattern: S-kro; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: As a predicator, is used with the clause-final particle ně. May occur as a modifier within the noun phrase. Ex.: Na ra bri krö ně. ‘The meat
is already spoiled.'  *Mūj na bri krɔ o mō.  'That one is bringing some spoiled meat.'

Restrictions:  *Bri ja na ra krɔ o tē.  ✐ Bri ja na ra krɔ o mō.  See rere.

krɛ
v.tr. pass straight by someone or something; ignore..

krɛ
n.inal. canal vaginal.

kri
v.intr.noncan. feel cold. Inflectional pattern: S=mō kri. Nonfinite form: same. See akr. mō kri

krō
n.inal. 1. head. 2. any object that is distinguishable by its spherical shape. 3. any fruit of distinguishably spherical shape. Inflectional pattern: PSSR=krō.

krō katpre ćə n.amb cmp. any object used for tying one’s hair (e.g. elastic).  (krō=kī=katpre=ćə 'head=hair=tie.up=INSTR.NMLZ')

krō krat n.inal cmp. back of the neck. (krō=krat 'head=tendon')

krō pe ta n.cmp. trap for mammals that walk on the ground, rather than dig holes or climb trees, such as the piti, amcło, and jūdkjere.  (krō=pe=ta 'head=DT=chop.off')

krō? kī n.inal cmp. hair.


krō?ire n.al cmp dim. hen, chicken.  (krō?=i=re 'head=seed?=dim')

krōnti
n.al aug. fish (sp.), Port.: cará.

krōapoj v.desc cmp. wake up (pl). Inflectional pattern: S=krōapoj; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: This verb contrasts with krōkatō in number. (krō=apoj 'head=stick.out.pl.'). Ex.: Na pa me ra ickrōapoj.  ‘We have woken up.’ See krōkatō.

krōkatō v.desc cmp. wake up (sg). Inflectional pattern: S=krōkatō; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: krōkatir. Grammar: This verb contrasts with krōapoj in number. Ex.: Na pa ra ickrōkatō.  ‘I’ve woken up.’ See krōapoj.  (krō=katō 'head=stick.out.sg').

krōm n.inal kinship relation term.

krōnōwo n.inal friend; companion; buddy.

krōmget n.inal kinship relation term.

krōn v.desc short in length (of things such as hair, tail, pants). Inflectional pattern: S=krōn; no relational prefix. See akot.

krōpipōŋ n.al cmp der. an insane person; a drunk person; someone who is psychologically unbalanced.  (krō=pipōŋ 'head=insane.NP') Phonology: [krōbipōŋ]


krōkrō tu re n.cmp. girino.


krıt n.al kind of stone that gives off sparks as a result of friction.
krü  
v.tr. attack

krü ti  
n.aug. trap

kra  
n.inal. one’s child, either by blood or by formal relations.

kra  
n.inal. armpit.

kra ja bγ̣n ćwγ̣n  
n.al.comp.der. midwife (kra=ja=bγ̣n=ćwγ̣n ‘child=ART=clasp=AG.NMLZ’)

krač  
n.al. wall.

krač  
n.al. stem; stalk.

krač  s ći  
n.comp. small lead sphere tied on a fishing line.

kračo  
n.inal.comp. afterbirth; placenta. (kra=ćo ‘one’s child=LOC.NMLZ’)

krak  
v.ditr.noncan. shoot (a gun). Inflectional pattern: E=krakra; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: Na icpe ćekakre krakra pa ‘Ele quebrou todas as minhas coisas (to my detriment).’ Na icẹ akwaake krakra pa. ‘He smashed the door onto me.’ See atkra; pikra.

krapurọ  
n.inal.comp. someone who is treated by one as one’s own child, although not related by blood or any formal kinship relation. (kra=purọ ‘one’s child=alike’) Grammar: The form purọ is related to the verb urak ‘be similar; be alike’. See kra, urak.

krar  
n.beginning; starting point; an end.

krat  
n.inal. 1. waist; 2. medial part of a long object (e.g. squash vines); 3. beginning.

kratọ  
n.amb.comp. pants (krat=ọ ‘leg=cover’)  

kratọri  
n.amb.comp. long pants (krat=ọ=ri ‘leg=cover=long’)

kré  
v.tr. 1. eat food of one specific kind, regardless of the quantity. 2. swallow. Inflectional pattern: O=kré; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: krér. Semantics: a. This verb contrasts with ku ‘eat’ in that the former refers to a single type of food, whereas the latter makes reference to a meal consisting of many different items. Thus, the notion of number plays a role in the contrast, although it is not controlled by the quantity of food as such but by the variety of the meal. Ex.: Na pa ra aroj kwo kré ‘I’ve eaten some rice, already.’ Pa kúkré. ‘I’ve swallowed it (e.g. of a pill).’ Kupẹ pori kré čwọn ja na ćekrumọ na. ‘This foreigner who ate pepper is my friend.’ See ku.

kré ko ti  
n.al.comp.aug. catterpillar (sp.), Port. taturana. (kré=kọ=ti ‘?=skin=AUG’)

krére  
n.al.dim. bird (sp.), Port.: periquito (sp.)

kréti  
n.al.aug. bird (sp.), Port.: periquito (sp.)

krí  
v.dscr. 1. be seated. Inflectional pattern: S=krí; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: krí; alternate form S=krir. Semantics: The semantic contrast between this verb and pí appears to be that the latter indicates movement towards sitting position, whereas the former indicates being in sitting position. However, only pí seems to occur in constructions that require possession verbs, indicating, in this case, something already in sitting position. This hypothesis is at odds with the morphological class of each verb and their correlation with descriptive and eventive notions. Another hypothesis is that the contrast may have to do with the number of participants, pí being the singular and krí the plural counterpart. A third hypothesis is that both verbs mean ‘be sitting’, but
with the semantics of kři focusing on the resultative aspect of sitting down, and jři not having such connotation. 2. v.tr. sit multiple people on a particular place. Inflectional pattern: O=kři; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. 3. n.al. village. Grammar: The verbs nō ‘lie’ and jři ‘sit’ contrast with their respective counterparts ikwĩ and kři in that the former seem to have a more flexible use, with respect to the number distinction of the absolutive, than the latter. It is possible to find examples of me nō and me jři, even though these verbs refer basically to singular and dual absolutives; but kři and ikwĩ are often not found with singular absolutives. Ex.: Na pa ikriri. ‘I stay seated [in a particular place]; I live [in a particular place].’ Pa na pa me ñim anē jum pipa ñ me me akriri pa ka me jři. ‘I told you guys to sit so you all be seated in the bench.’ Pipa ñ me akriri pa. ‘Sit on the bench.’ Me dši j me akririapoj ne kəŋmo akriri. ‘Wake up, already, and get up (in sitting position).’ Nēj na te me ñim akjer o kri ti. ‘That one always argues with others.’ Kij pa me mō kəŋmo me kři. ‘Let’s lift them (such that they stay seated).’ See jři; řr.

křičo
n.al cmp, seat. (kři=c’i ‘sit=INSTR.NMLZ’)

krič
n.inal, pet; livestock.

krikrit

krit
n.inal, pet.

kro
n.inal, vine; shrub; bush. Inflectional pattern: PSSR=kro. See akro?.

kruo
n.al, arrow. Alternate form: kru.

kwotì
n.aug, fish (sp.), Port: trafrā

ku
v.tr, eat, esp. a meal consisting of various kinds of food items. Inflectional pattern: O=ku; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: kur. Semantics: This verb contrasts with krē ‘eat’ in that the latter refers to a single type of food, whereas the former makes reference to a meal consisting of various food items. Thus, the notion of number plays a role in the contrast, although it is not controlled by the quantity of food as such but by the variety of the meal. Grammar: a. This verb has an intransitive counterpart formed by the accretion of the detransitivizing prefix aC-. b. The nonfinite form of the verb does not allow for the use of the accusative third person prefix ku-. c. When used in the context of this verb, the particle pa apparently refers back to the direct object, i.e. ‘all of OBJ’, rather than to the event/action described by the verb itself. Ex.: Kō paj kur pa. ‘I’ll eat all of it.’ Ata kurr ket nē. ‘Don’t eat that.’ Na pa ra kuku. ‘I’ve already eaten it.’ Kaj kur pa. ‘Swallow them all (e.g. of various kinds of pills)’. See apku; krē.

ku–
Prfx.pron third person accusative marker. Grammar: a. This verb occurs overwhelmingly with monosyllabic verb roots. b. This prefix never occurs in nonfinite verb forms. c. It indexes the accusative argument of a finite transitive verb and the object of a postposition.

ku’e
v.dscr, stand in vertical position (of multiple objects or people). Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S-ku’e; no relational prefix. Semantics: The semantic contrast between this verb and ča appears to be that the latter indicates movement towards standing position, whereas the former indicates being in that position. However, only ča seems to occur in constructions that require position verbs, indicating, in this case, something already in standing position. This hypothesis is at odds with the
morphological class of each verb and their correlation with descriptive and eventive notions. Another hypothesis is that the contrast may have to do with the number of participants, ča being the singular and kuq the plural counterpart. A third hypothesis is that both verbs mean ‘be standing’, but with the semantics of kuq focusing on the resultative aspect of getting up, and ča not having such connotation. Ex.: Pa na pa ickuq. ‘I stood up.’ Ka na amš kātmš akuq psem ‘You want to stand up.’ Kātmš akuq ‘Stand up (many people)!’ See ča.

kāmrš
v.tr. bathe someone. Inflectional pattern: O=kāmrš; no relational prefix. Ex.: Paj pam atc mō ne akumrš ‘I myself will take you and bathe you.’

kuqo
v.tr. wash a firm object (e.g. one’s body, a table, etc.). Inflectional pattern: O=kuqo. Nonfinite form: same. Alternate form: kuqo.

kuqo

kučot
v.tr. roast (of small food items, e.g. small fish). Inflectional pattern: O=kučot. Nonfinite form: kučor. Ex.: Na pa kātmš kučor o ča. ‘I’m still roasting (them).’ See or.

kučwar
psp. similar to. Alternate form, –kučwar

kučwarī
v.intr.dscr be scented; exhale an agreeable scent.

kugš
v.tr. burn the fur or skin of game. E.g. na pa kāms pš re kugš; kš paj pš ma o mō (nē) ď pok ‘I’m still burning the mambira; then I’ll take it to rip and clean the inside.’

kuk
n.inal. 1. face. 2. front. Inflectional pattern: pssr=kuk; no relational prefix. See kuk kamš.

kuk kamš
idiom. Ahead. Ex.: Kuk kamš ma tē. ‘She went ahead (of the others).’

kuka
v.tr. search; look for.

kuke
v.tr. remove scales or skin of fish. E.g. ne tep kš kukeš o pšī ‘He’s removing the scales off the fish.’ Nonfinite form, kuke.

kukē

kukeš
n.al. mammal (sp.). Port.: cotia.

kukja
v.tr. ask; inquire. Nonfinite form, –kukjer. Ex. pa na pa ra ıcet akukjer kačn tō na ka ra tē ne poj ‘I was about to ask from you when you arrived.’

kuko
v.tr. peel off (esp. squash).

kukō
v.tr. rub some substance on a surface; massage. Inflectional pattern: O=kukō; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: kukō.

kuko
v.tr. monkey (sp.).

kuko
v.tr. monkey (sp.), Port.: macaco-da-noite. (kuko=jkrš=j-akš=reed embryo=short=dim’)

kukrī
n.al. mammal (sp.). Port.: anta.

kukracě
n.amb. bowl; vessel.
kukret

n.inal. one’s possessions; belongings.

kukrit

n.al. a virgin woman, usu. young.

ekumë

v.tr.dnml. body-paint.

kumrō

v.tr. bathe X. Inflectional pattern: O=kumrō; no relational prefix.

kumrecē

adv. 1. intensifier. 2. adj. marks a noun as the first item in a sequence. Grammar: As an intensifier, this word occurs postposed to the predicate. As a sequence marker, it occurs postposed to the noun it modifies.

kunī

gif 1. all; 2. the population of a village, me krī kunī.

kupagēt

n.al. kinship relation term.

kupē

n.al. monkey (sp.), Port.: macaco guariba.

kupa?ō

n.cmp. louse; mosquito; insects that bother. Ex. na ickre ja kupa ?ō krīre ʔā to ‘There’s plenty of lice/flies in other parts of the house.’

kupaw

v.tr. let go of the hands.

kupe

v.tr. touch; touch lightly; mess with. Inflectional pattern: O=kupe; no relational prefix.

Nonfinite form: kupēn. Ex.: Pa na pa akupe ka ate karō pī kačɪw ‘I touched on you so you would kill the deer.’

kupē

n.al. foreigner; stranger.

kupēcē

n.al.cmp. cloth; cloth material used for enveloping one’s body or body part.

kupēcē kaʔōōō

n.al.cmp.der. 1. place to do laundry. 2. brush for laundry. (kupē=čē=kaʔu=čō ‘foreigner=cloth=wash=INSTR.LOC.NMLZ). Form in notebook: kaʔučō.

kupēcēkaʔōōōnōn

n.al.cmp.person who does the laundry. (kupē=čē=kaʔu=čō ‘foreigner=cloth=wash=AG.NMLZ).

kupēkaro

n.al.cmp. television. (kupē=karō ‘foreigner=image’)

kupōp

n.ambh. mat.

kupōp pîpe čī

n.al.cmp.der. mat weaver; one who is recognizable by one’s ability or pleasure in weaving [mats]. (kupōp=jn-ipec=čī ‘mat=RP=make=AG.NMLZ’)

kuprō

n.al. an unmarried or single woman, usu. mature adult.

kupu

v.tr. wrap; involve (usu. inanimate) in leaves, cloth, or paper. Inflectional pattern: O=kupu; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same.

kupūtī ko

n.al.cmp. cupū patch

kur jipa

v.tr. amontoar.

kura

v.tr. hit; batter; break. Nonfinite form, kuran. Ex. na pa pīre jaja kuran pa ‘I beat up the kids.’

kure

v.tr. 1. restrain. Ex. na pa de akure ‘I won’t let you go there.’ 2. deny; refuse.

kure

v.tr.noncan. 1. dislike someone. Inflectional pattern: E=mo=O=kure; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. 2. v.tr.noncan be angry with someone; resent someone. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: E=τ=τ kure. Ex.: Nēp na kum ickure. ‘That one doesn’t like me.’ Nēp na, kō tīt kure čwēn. ‘That one is the one who is angry with me.’ See akure.

kurē

v.dscr. be sexually aroused; horny. Inflectional pattern: S=kurē; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: kuren. Ex.: Bi kurētī [čwēn] ja na prō kete. ‘This horny man doesn’t have a woman.’ Bi kurē kete ja na ra pijetre. ‘This man who won’t get aroused is really old.’

kurenji

n.al.der. one who is recognizable by one’s steady sexual appetite; a horny person.

kuri

psp. near; next to. Alternate form, kure.

kurī

n.al.der. one who enjoys eating. Ex.: Ate bri kurī. ‘You are a meat eater.’ See
manioc=stand')

'seems to occur most often in noun phrases in direct object position. Ex.:

'Leave it on the floor, I’ll take it.'

'That child broke her [own] neck.'

'Now I’m gonna have some food.'

'What color is your shirt?'

'The cow/bull broke its leg.'

'Na pri ka kā ut, pa pam kup i 'Leave it, I’ll take it myself,' kw̱ r nõ, pa pam kuḇ o 'Leave it on the floor, I’ll take it.'

'Na but kw̱ r. 'They broke me.'

'Na pa pįṯ r te kw̱ r 'I broke the table’s leg.'

'Na pri re nę ką jį but kw̱ r. 'That child broke her [own] neck.'

'Na bi mų j amyį par kw̱ r. 'That man broke his arm.'

'Na boč amyį te kw̱ r. 'The cow/bull broke its leg.'

'seems to occur most often in noun phrases in direct object position. Ex.: Ḵ ṟ paj a bri me ḏ ̱ ū ḵ w̱ o kṟ ē ‘Now I’m gonna have some food.’

'Leave it be; no thanks; drop it (kw̱ r=ri ‘leave=LOC’)

'n.al. a group of friends; someone’s loved ones. Inflectional pattern: PSSR=kw̱ oj. Alternating form: kw̱ o'

'n.al. fire

'n.al. derivative. Make fire.'

'n.al. traditional musical instrument of the Apinajé. Port.: maracá

'n.al. worm (gnr.)

'n.al. cmp., snake (sp.), Port.: cobra de duas cabeças.

'n.al. fire

'n.al. ashes. (kw̱ i=bṟ ō ‘fire=ash’)

'n.al. ember. (kw̱ i=j-akrat ‘fire=RP-ember’)

'n.al. smoke. Phonology: [kw̱ i kũm]

'n.al. coal. (kw̱ i=pṟ ō ‘fire=coal’)

'n.al. bird (gnr.)

'n.dim. cmp. Bird trap. Lit. bird cage. It is set up high and is used for catching birds that move around by flying. See atɔ̃r kaʔe.'

'n.al. derivative. This is a quantifier for noncount nouns, esp. food. Many verbs require its occurrence, and it occurs immediately preposed to the verb. It might be possible to analyse it as occurring within the noun phrase immediately after the noun. Nonetheless, it appears that it is the verb that requires this element, since kw̱ o seems to occur most often in noun phrases in direct object position. Ex.: Ḵ ṟ paj a bri me ḏ ̱ ū ḵ w̱ o kṟ ē ‘Now I’m gonna have some food.’
Kwôrji  
\textit{n.al.der}, one who is known for defecating constantly. Inflectional pattern: S=kwôrji. \(\text{kwôr}=	ext{ji} \quad \text{‘defecate.NF=AG.NMLZ’}\) Ex.: \textit{Bi mûj na kwôrji}. ‘That man is a defecating one.’

kwrajiti  
\textit{n.al.aug}, bird (sp.). Port.: papagaio.

kwraj  
\textit{n.al}, fish (sp.). Port.: traíra.

kwraj ko  
\textit{n.inal.cmp}, lips. Inflectional pattern: \textit{pssr}=kwraj ko. \(\text{kwraj}=\text{ko} \quad \text{‘=?skin’}\) Ex.: \textit{Akwrstka ‘your lips’; ikkwstka ‘my lips’}.

mô  
\textit{psp}, 1. dative marker. 2. directional marker. Inflectional pattern: O=mô. Grammar: This postposition has its third person form in \textit{kom} \(\text{kôm} < \text{kâm} < \text{ku–mô}?)\). Ex.: \textit{Kô paj Ire mô arê ke kûba} ‘I’ll tell Irê so she learns about it.’ \textit{Go mô, go mô} ‘[Run] to the water, to the water!’

mônên  
\textit{adv}, also. No inflection.

meô  
\textit{pron.indef.cmp}, someone; one \(\text{me}=\text{ô} \quad \text{‘INDF=one/other’}\). Alternate form: me?ô; me?ûn. Ex.: \textit{Meôô na wa? ‘Who are those two?’ Meôô na pr ipec? ‘Who made it?’} See wa?ô.

môr  

môti  
\textit{n.al.aug}, bird (sp.). Port.: ema.

mô  
\textit{n.al.col}, people.

meô  
\textit{n.al}, food; meal.

ma  
\textit{cl}, centrifuge movement marker. No inflection. Grammar: This particle is used with movement verbs such as mô, tê and bra. It may also be used independently from those verbs in imperatives. Ex.: \textit{Pa ra ma mô ‘I’m going away.’ Ma ‘Go on!’}

ma  
\textit{intrij.neg.fem}, no

makti  

maki  
\textit{n.al.cmp}, mango patch

marî  
\textit{v.modal}, may. \textit{Kawô dat ja kôt ka marî ma ô mô}. ‘This basket that is full you may take.’ \textit{Pa marî kawô pi? ‘May I get the basket?’} \textit{Me kadeô duj ja marî amô}. ‘This spoiled medication you may throw away.’

me  
\textit{cl}, 1. plural; 2. indefinido. Pospõe-se ao pronome e precede o prefixo pronominal.

me grer  
\textit{n.devrbl}, festival

me piniô  
\textit{n.der}, niphromaniac person.

mê  
\textit{v.tr}, 1. throw a single object or objects that form a pair (e.g. a pair of flipflops). 2. throw someone; cause someone to fall. 3. serve oneself to food of a single kind, usually presented in a single container (e.g. a stew). 4. throw away. 5. name someone. Inflectional pattern: O=mê; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: The use of this verb with the sense of ‘serve food’ contrasts with the verb rê, with the same sense, in that the former requires the quantifier kwa to determine meô, whereas the latter occurs without the quantifier. One could describe the distinction also in terms of mass versus count objects. Ex.: \textit{Ka na ka i pneum ‘You threw me.’ Tê ne anpôm meô kwa mê. ‘Go help yourself to the food.’ Mê bra ne me anpôm meô kwa mê. ‘Go over there and help yourselves to some food.’} \textit{Me kadeô duj ja marî amê}. ‘This spoiled medication you may throw away.’ See rê, gje, a.

mê  
\textit{v.tr}, tie. Ex. \textit{me ickô me} ‘They tied me up.’

mê  
\textit{psp}, Associative

mêgreri  
\textit{n.al.der}, song; dance. \(\text{mê}=\text{greri} \quad \text{‘INDF=sing/dance.NF’}\) Ex.: \textit{Pa na mêgreri ja kamô iganer beçê}. ‘I can dance this dance well.’
mēbōjī

pron.int.comp. 1. what (me=bōjī); 2. n. thing
meō gjejēcō

n.al.der. spoon; serving spoon. (meō=gjejcō ‘food=serve=INSTR.NMLZ’)
meō kago jajīcō

n.al.der. ladle. (meō=kagocojajīcō ‘food=juice=RP-scoop=INSTR.NMLZ’)
mevārcō

n.comp. place for bathing (me=vārcō ‘INDF=bathe.NF=NMLZ.LOC/INSTR)
mīti

n. alligator (sp.), jacaré
mitrusti

n.aug. Port, mastruz
mō

v.intr. come; go. Nonfinite form: S=mō; alternate form: mōr. Semantics: The semantic contrast between this verb and tē apparently has to do with the number of participants, mō being the plural and tē the singular counterpart. Grammar: a. The root may cooccur with the directional/movement particle ma in the clause; the combination of particle and verb root means ‘go’. If the particle is absent in the clause, the verb root means ‘come’. See tē, bra; ma. b. This root may be used with the morpheme c in what appears to be a transitive verb compound, ‘bring/take’. c. This root may be used in Vō mō (serial) constructions, basically expressing progressive or inchoative aspects; it contrasts with tē in this respect, in that the latter may not be used in many of these constructions. In such cases, mō appears to have acquired a more grammaticalized meaning, whereas tē is understood more literally, which makes its use inadequate.

mrō

v.intr. dive. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S=mrō. Grammar: This verb cannot take the derivational morpheme -ji (mrōmji), unless it is used as a transitive verb: ‘krō mrōmji ‘one how likes to sink herb/this head’. Ex.: Na pa mrō. ‘I dove.’ Na pa iymrō rač kāmreč. ‘I dove for a long time.’ Na pa iymrō tajč nē. ‘I dove hard (e.g. jumping off from a high spot and splashing water all over when reaching the body of water.)’

mrūmrē

n.al.dim. ant (sp.)
mrūmti

n.al.aug. ant (sp.)
mū

pron.dem. distal
mūtār

pron.dem.prox.comp.2*, distant
mutū

pron.dem.dist.comp distant. Alternate form, mutum
nū

n. kinship term
nū

v.tr. return.
na

ci, realis
nē

conj. Same subject.
–nī

suf.der. nominalizer (of liking). Ex. pa na iymūbrī čāmī ‘I like to eat meat;’ kavōre ǒkrepoj čwōjīni ‘Kavōre likes to sing.’

nī

v.tr. have sex with; sting
nō

v.intr. 1. lie down; lie in horizontal position (of one or a pair of objects or people). 2. lie at the bottom of a container (e.g. starch). Nonfinite form: S=nōr. Grammar: The verbs nō ‘lie’ and pij ‘sit’ contrast with their respective counterparts ikwē and křī in that the former seem to have a more flexible use, with respect to the number distinction of the absolutive, than the latter. It is possible to find examples of me nō and me pij, even though these verbs refer basically to singular and dual absolutives; but křī and ikwē are often not found with singular absolutives.
o

n.inal. 1. leaf. 2. bodily hair. Inflectional pattern: pssr=0; no relational prefix. Exx: kacēt o ‘leaf from the cotton plant’; kabet o ‘jussara leaf’; jniju o ‘the hair of my nose’. Phonology: apparently no glottal stop before o. This is indicated especially because of the phonetics at the word boundaries: [kačedo] and [ka’bero]
ō **psp. prtv.** One; some; other. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: OBJ=t=ō. Alternate form: ā.

ō **psp.gen.** 1. indicates the possessor in a genitive construction whose head is an alienable noun. 2. indicates a group of persons that have in common an activity (meōkrepōj pō ćwājñ), or a location in time (kambat pō ćwājñ) or in space (ipok pō ćwājñ). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR=ŋ-ō.

ō kṛṣ n. _cmp._ _inal._ forehead pō kṛṣ

ōʔi **n. _inal._** belly. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR=ŋ-ōʔi. See u. Semantic note: As explained by speakers, the formative ो refers to inner body parts: the guts, the intestines, the throat (seen from within), etc. Grammar: This noun changes form somewhat when inflected for second person; in that case, the form is *atu* (a-t-u ‘2-RP-belly’, presumably). It is not yet clear why there is such variation. Ex.: Di ata na kām ōʔi ē prom. ‘This woman over there always has intestinal problems.’

ōʔiŋi **n. _der.act._** One who always has intestinal problems. Ex.: Di ata na ōʔiŋi. ‘This woman over there always has intestinal problems.’ See ōʔi.

ōʔto **n. _inal._ cmp.** tongue. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR=ŋ-ōʔto. Ex. grōŋ jōtō ˈtoucan tongue (plant name)’


ōčwaijī **n. _al.der._** person who is sleepy all the time.

ōjairī **v. _descr._** vomit. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S=ŋ-ōjairī. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: This verb has a counterpart in E=0-najari. The morpheme ो does not take a relational prefix. Ex.: Na pa īnjōjaiřī. ‘I vomited.’ Na me ōjairī pa. ‘They threw up.’ Na pa mebok ja ɔ īnjōjaiřī pa ‘I threw up with everything (that was in my stomach).’ Kukrit jabi ɔ ānjōjaiřī. ‘I threw up with the anta’s tail.’

ok **n. _al._** 1. plant from which red tincture is extracted for body painting, Port: urucum. 2. **v. _tr.der._** paint one’s body with tinctures from this or other plant species. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=j=ok. Nonfinite form: same. Alternate form: ok⁶. Ex.: Pa kzt pa akok⁶ ‘I will paint your body.’ Na ka ra amŋi jok⁶? ‘Have you painted yourself yet?’ Ce! ɔm akok ra buture! ‘Wow! Your body painting is so pretty!’

ōkot **n. _cmp._ _inal._** chest. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR=ŋ-ōkot

ōkre **n. _inal._** throat; larynx (Adam’s apple). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR=ŋ-ōkre.

ōkre rī **n. _cmp._** 1. the inside of the larynx. 2. the esophagus.

ōkrečē **n. _inal._** necklace. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR=ŋ-ōkrečē. (ōkre=ōč-e ‘throat=RP-fiber’)

ōkrepoj **n. _inal._** 1. voice. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: pssr=ŋ-ōkrepoj. (ōkre=poj ‘throat=arrive’). 2. **v. _descr._** sing. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S=ŋ-ōkrepoj. Ex.: Na pa īnōkrepoj ɔ ća. ‘I’m singing.’ Phonology: The nonfinite form of the stem is realized as [ōkrepoj] if followed by a vowel, such as ə.

ōkrepojkade **n. _cmp._** the performing partner of a (male) singer, usually a female. (ōkre=poj=kade ‘throat=arrive=counterpoint’)

ōkwī **n. _der._** home

ōkwaje **n. _lumber_**

ōpatpat **v. _descr._** feel sick; nauseous. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S=ŋ-ōpatpat.
Nonfinite form: same. Phonology: [õbatpat]. Ex.: Na pa kukrut jabi krē ne ə ipōjaun. "I ate the anta’s tail and threw up; I felt sick and threw up." Na pa ipōpat kaprī. "I’m feeling nauseous (for no apparent reason)."

õpok

v.tr.cmp. gut; rip. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=ŋ-õpok. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: Paj ŋõpok ‘I’m going to gut you!’ Na ka tēp̣ ŋõpok ə ʃi ə ‘You are gutting the fish.’

õpti

v.intr. tumble, roll end over end; throw oneself into the water or onto the ground. Nonfinite form: same.

ôrti

n.al.der. place of sleeping. (ôrt=č ə ‘sleep.NF=LOC.NMLZ’)

ôfji

n.der.act. one who is known for sleeping constantly. Inflectional pattern: S=ôfji. (ôt=ji ‘sleep.NF=AG.NMLZ’) Ex.: Na əm ôfji. ‘That one is a sleepy head.’ See ôt; prom.

owvajnè

intr. puxa vida!

pe

v.tr. drink. Inflectional pattern: O=pe; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: pen; alternative form: pen. Grammar: The nonfinite form of this verb does not take the accusative third person prefix ku-. Ex.: Na pa ra kupe. ‘I’ve already drunk it.’ Na pa ickadečpe. ‘I’ve drunk my medicine.’ Na pañi māj kagoči pen rač ne atpâ. ‘That person drank a lot of alcohol, s/he is drunk.’ Na pa kVerb ate apö go kaʃ̣ṛ pejin ʃa? Mr. ‘I’m still waiting for you to drink your tea.’

pə

n.al. forest; the wilderness.

pî

v.tr. pick; get; hold. Inflectional pattern: O=pî; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same; alternate nonfinite form: prî. Alternate form: pîj. Ex.: Atpê kačiwi pi ne kawṛ ne aku ke ka aččâč. ‘Pick them (pills) one by one in order to take them so you get better.’ Na kVerb pi rač kümči. ‘S/he made a lot of money.’ Pa marî kawp̣ pi? ‘May I get the basket?’ See bi.

pɔ

v.tr. 1. wreck; dent. Inflectional pattern: O=pɔ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: This verb is not related to the reciprocal intransitive verb atpɔ ‘be parallel to’. 2. v.desr. flat and wide. Inflectional pattern: S=pɔ; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: Karep̣ pɔ ‘marijuana (smoking.leave=flat.wide)’. Na pa ipõ pisikre re pɔ ‘I’ve dented my bike.’ Na ipô pisikreta amni pɔ pa. ‘My bike got all wrecked (i.e. it wasn’t me)!’ Ce! Na icpe ipô pisikreta amni pɔ pa. ‘My bike got all wrecked to my detriment (i.e. it wasn’t me)!’ *Na ipô pisikreta atpɔ pa. *Na ipô pisikreta pip̣̣ kînã.

pọ̃

v.tr. smell; sniff at. Inflectional pattern: O=pọ̃; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: pọ̃ṛ.

paŋ‘

n.adv. 1. after. 2. psp. location from where a first party comes and to where a second party goes, especially, such that both parties cross ways. Inflectional pattern: obi=pəŋ‘. Ex.: Niŋ⁴⁴̣ na ka tẽ? Ap⁴⁴ na pa tẽ. ‘Where are you going? I’m going to the place where you’re coming from.’

põi


põn’i

n.al.aug. snake (sp.). Port.: canina.

pʌm

n.inal. kinship relation term.

pʌmget

n.inal.cmp. kinship relation term. (pʌm=get ‘?=?’)
pa pron. 1.a. first person independent pronoun, realis form; 1.b. indicates different subjects in a sequence; 2. first person dual inclusive; 3. first person possessor.

pa cl. 1. conclusive; completive; 2. all.

pa n.inal. arm

pa v.intr.dscr. 1. live; 2. walk. Nonfinite form, pa, alternates with par.

pa n. cmp.inal. arm bone

pa pɔ kwa n. cmp.inal. bottom of foot

pa kɔ n.inal.cpm. sandals, flipflops, shoes (pa=kɔ ‘foot=cover’) 

pa katut n. cmp.inal. top of foot

pa kɔn n.inal.cmp. 1. elbow; 2. ankle. (pa=kɔn ‘limb=juncture’) 

pa kɔн krač n.inal.cmp. Achilles tendon. (pa=kɔн=krač ‘limb=juncture=stem’) 

pa krɔ n. cmp.inal. toe

pa krɔ grire n. cmp.inal. pinky toe

pa krɔ rači n. cmp.inal. big toe

pa krač n. cmp.inal. heels

pa krat n. cmp.inal. upper arm

pa ń n. chief

paj pron. First person independent pronoun, irrealis form; ex. kɔ paj am ń me pa pĩgri arẹ ke kuba ‘I will tell you about our labor so you learn’.
pajamutti  n cmp aug shrimp
pakram  n inal kinship term
pam  pron pss first person emphatic
papẹnti  n inal aug msc kinship relation term; used by a man to refer to a certain female kin.
Phonology: [papẹndi]
par  n inal wall Inflectional pattern: pss=par no relational prefix.
par  n inal foot
pari  n jirau Alternate form par=
paro go ti  n cmp aug caterpillar (sp) (Port. mandruvá)
parpa  n rel cmp under (par=pe)
partere  n al dim loam midwife Port partie
patiget  n cmp kinship term.
pe  psp 1 detrimental 2 cop be become (used with nominal predicates) Third person suppletive form kep <ke pe ku pe>
pe  v tr touch disturb or move by handling Inflectional pattern: o=pe no relational prefix Nonfinite form: same Ex Na pa kupe I handled it.
pẹb  n al term used to refer to members of a certain category of the Apinajé society usually males See pẹb kaak.
pẹb kaak  n al cmp warrior pẹb=kaak s r=proper
penji  n al der one who farts constantly Inflectional pattern: s=penji pẹk=ji ‘far NF=AG NMZ’ Ex Bi mąj na penji That man is a flatulent one.
pị  n al tree (generic); wood stick.
pị  v tr kill sg Inflectional pattern: o=pị no relational prefix Nonfinite form: pịr Grammar a This verb apparently contrasts in number with ibeč b The occurrence of the conclusive particle pa with this verb root indicates the end of the action; however with its (presumably) plural counterpart ibeč the construction seems to be point to the entirety of the group of objects i e all of them rather than the conclusion of the action Ex Na pa ra kupi I’ve killed it Na pa koṁọ pịr keṭẹ ‘I haven’t killed it yet Na koṁọ icpịr keṭẹ ‘They haven’t killed me yet Na pa pịr pa ‘I’ve finished killing’ See pị.
pị i  n al cmp seed (generic) used as material for body ornaments e g necklaces belts etc Port mulungu pị=i tree (generic)=seed
pị ịe  n al cmp stick the branch of a tree Ex pị ịe ọ kapreprek ‘hit (someone) with a stick’(pị=ịe ‘tree=stick’)
pị jịgịrọ  n al cmp sprouts of plant coming out of a branch See pị jịgịrọt pị=ịn jịgịrọ ‘wood=RP sprout’
pị jịgịrọt  n al cmp sprouts of plant coming out of the soil See pị jịgịrọ pị=ịn jịgịrọt ‘wood=RP sprout’
pị ẹği re  n al cmp dim termite pị=ẹği re ‘wood=insect=dim’
pị grọ  n al cmp dry wood (for burning)
pị ko  n al cmp tree patch
pịget  adj elderly person.
pịghẹ  v intr cll 1 scatter around especially during a dance 2 v dscr scattered.
pịmẹnti  n al der dreamer pịmẹnti=ji ‘dream NF=AG NMZ’ Grammar forms ending in ji carry adjectival meaning.
pịpọ  n inal msc kinship relation term; used by a male to refer to a certain male kin.
na ra icpikw

The semantics and use of it is adjectival, as in a participial resultative. Ex.: of the verb, even though it may occur in a regular finite position with no variation.

Grammar: This is essentially a nonfinite form of the verb, even though it may occur in a regular finite position with no variation. The semantics and use of this form is adjectival, as in a resultative participial. Ex.

piagri

v.dscr. give birth. Inflectional pattern: S=piagri; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: piagri. Grammar: This verb has a bivalent counterpart in ϲ piagri. Ex.: Na pa icpiagri ketmě. ‘I’m not giving birth.’ Di piagri ϲ nō čwɔŋ můj na icprō na. ‘That woman who is giving birth is my wife.’ Di piagričwɔŋ můj na kra ko tik re. ‘The woman who has given birth, her child is black.’

piao

v.intr. nurse (on maternal breast). Nonfinite form: same; no inflection. Grammar: a. This verb has a bivalent counterpart in ϲ piao. b. Although this verb does not seem to take inflection in either form, it does require the occurrence of the ergative marker when in subordinate position. Compare with piagri, in that respect. Ex.: Na pa piao. ‘I’m nursing.’ Na pa piao ketmě. ‘I’m not nursing.’ Příre kɔt piao čwɔŋ ja na ickra ne. ‘This kid that’s nursing is my child.’ See ʔo, kao; piagri.

pič

adv. 1. only 2. psp. only, p.ex. pa icpič’kavrɔ ‘só eu catei’

pičo

n. fruit

pičo ko

n.al.comp. banana patch.

pičo rō kro

n.al.comp. flower shrub.

pikars

v.intr. mixed up. Ex. ʔm tanmɔŋ to kute pikɔr rači ‘They are all mixed, all of different colors.’

pikaček

v.prtcpl. broken into large pieces. Grammar: form related to the ambitransitive verb kaček. Similar to the nonfinite form of aC- verbs, although atkaček is a nonexistent verb in the language. The semantics and use of this form is adjectival, as in a resultative particpial. Ex. Kukrač pikaček ɔ čwɔŋ ja na ka pra ḣmɔŋ agɔ ‘The broken bowl you gave to me.’

pikačŋi

v.prtcpl. torn. Inflectional pattern: S=pikačŋi. Grammar: related to the transitive verb kač ‘tear; rip’ and the intransitive atkač ‘tear, rip’. The semantics and use of this form is adjectival, as in a participial resultative. Ex.: Na ḣpɔ čák re pikačŋi kɔmɔŋ ‘My little bag is torn indeed.’

pikajji

n.der. smiling person.

pikčŋji

n.al.der. a conversationally playfull person; chaffer. Ex. Ka na apčŋjji ‘You’re a chaffer.’ (pikčŋji=ji ‘chaff.NF=NMLZ.AG’)

pikrakrat

v.prtcpl. fall apart.

pikukčŋ

v.prtcpl. broken into pieces. Inflectional pattern: S=pikukčŋ. Grammar: Related to the transitive verb kük ‘break into pieces’. Grammar: This is essentially a nonfinite form of the verb, even though it may occur in a regular finite position with no variation. The semantics and use of it is adjectival, as in a participial resultative. Ex.: Pipɔ na ra pikukčŋ (ket ne) ‘The bench is not broken.’ Pa na ra icpikukčŋ. ‘I’m already broken (of a table saying it).’ See kük, atkukčŋ.

pikwiŋ

v.prtcpl. broken (of long objects, e.g. wood or bones). Inflectional pattern: S=pikwiŋ. Grammar: This is essentially a nonfinite form of the verb, even though it may occur in a regular finite position with no variation. The semantics and use of this form is adjectival, as in a resultative participial. Ex.: Icie na pikwiŋ. ‘My leg is broken.’ Pa na ra icpikwiŋ. ‘I’m already broken (of a table saying it).’ Pipɔ na ra pikwiŋ ‘That
bench is already broken.’ İiptables na pikwîn kete. ‘My stool is not broken.’ Ma, ipiptables kêt pa amô̱ ör ketnî, dô a pikwîn kete; dô pikwîn nipap amô̱ kugô. ‘No, I’m not giving my stool to you because it’s never been broken; if it had been broken, I’d give it to you.’ Mesti ja na ra te pikwîn. ‘The table’s leg is already broken.’ * Boč ja na te pikwîn. * Bi ja na te pikwîn. See kwîr, akîwîr.

ippi n. al. 1. any piece of furniture with parallel legs (e.g. chair, bench, table). 2. Nonfinite form of the intransitive verb ap.pi ‘stand side by side’

pipûcwan n. al. der. one who fights (someone else) (pipu=çwan ‘fight.NF=AG.NMLZ’). See atpu.

pipûji n. al. der. one who is prone to fighting (someone else). (pipu=ji ‘fight.NF=AG.NMLZ’)

See atpu.

pip v. intr. evnt. ‘light.up=INSTR.NMLZ’

poj v. intr. ‘light.up; catch on fire. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S=poj

pok v. intr. ‘light.up; catch on fire. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S=pok.

pok cô n. al. comp. the explosive charge that is used as a propellant in firearms. (pok=cô ‘light.up=INSTR.NMLZ’)

pikwîn v. intr. v. prtcp. come together, especially during a dance. See pikrûn.; atûn.

tpî n. starw

tô v. tr. dust off.


pok v. intr. ‘light.up; catch on fire. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S=pok.

pok dô n. al. comp. corn patch

pôk ko n. al. der. tall grass

poj v. intr. v. prtcp. tied up. Inflectional pattern: S=pre; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: a. This form has the semantics of a participial resultative form, and follows a descriptive pattern of inflection. It is related to the verb katpre, which is a transitive counterpart it. b. There are examples in which the form pre seems to occur as a nonfinite counterpart of katpre. In such cases, pre takes person inflection for object, and that contrasts with its use as a participial/resultative form. Ex.: Kêt paj akatpre. ‘I will tie you up.’ İǂmâ̱ cîkrekrač ɔ tajî pa katpre. ‘Keep it steady against the wall for me (so that) I tie it up.’ Na pa me katpre pa. ‘I tied them up.’ Na me ra pitô pre pa. ‘They are all tied up.’ Na bi ra pre. ‘The man is tied up.’ Kêt paj apre ketnî. ‘I will not tie you up.’ Kêt kaj icpre ketnî. ‘You will not tie me up.’ Kêt paj pre ketnî. ‘I will not tie her/him up.’ Icpre ketnî. ‘Don’t tie me up.’ See katpre; e.

pre v. prtcp. tied up. Inflectional pattern: S=pre; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: a. This form has the semantics of a participial resultative form, and follows a descriptive pattern of inflection. It is related to the verb katpre, which is a transitive counterpart it. b. There are examples in which the form pre seems to occur as a nonfinite counterpart of katpre. In such cases, pre takes person inflection for object, and that contrasts with its use as a participial/resultative form. Ex.: Kêt paj akatpre. ‘I will tie you up.’ İǂmâ̱ cîkrekrač ɔ tajî pa katpre. ‘Keep it steady against the wall for me (so that) I tie it up.’ Na pa me katpre pa. ‘I tied them up.’ Na me ra pitô pre pa. ‘They are all tied up.’ Na bi ra pre. ‘The man is tied up.’ Kêt paj apre ketnî. ‘I will not tie you up.’ Kêt kaj icpre ketnî. ‘You will not tie me up.’ Kêt paj pre ketnî. ‘I will not tie her/him up.’ Icpre ketnî. ‘Don’t tie me up.’ See katpre; e.

pre cl. past tense

prî n. 1. road; 2. footprints

pr ô v. tr. cover with leaves.

pri n. al. der. feather. See kô.

prô re n. dim. pôlvora

prâ v. intr. remain; be left behind; be left over. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S=prâ. Ex.: Na pa prô. ‘I was left behind.’ Na pa icprô ketnê. ‘I was not left behind.’ Na kà prô. ‘You were left behind.’ Na ka aprô ketnê. ‘You were not left behind.’ Na am prô. ‘S/he was left behind.’ Na prô ketnê. ‘S/he was not left behind.’ Na meô akreê prô. ‘Some leftover food remained.’ Na pi akreê prô. ‘Some leftover...
This woman over there always has intestinal problems. 'I'm hungry.' I'm running.' The man who died enjoyed working.'

**prôm**


This woman over there always has intestinal problems.' Bi ti êwân ja na pre kôm apen prôm’. ‘The man who died enjoyed working.’

**prere**

n.dim. kinship term: used amongst sister to refer to one another.

**prek**

v.dscr. tall. Inflectional pattern: S=prek; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Phonology: The final consonant of this verb is realized as a compensatory lengthening of the root vowel when it is followed by another consonant. If that consonant happens to be the coronal stop /t/, another effect is that the coronal will be realized as voiced.

Ex.: Bi prekti mâj na îpbiyen ja. ‘That tall man is my husband.’ Pa na pa te papi prek kot icpa kete. ‘I don’t walk with tall people.’ Na bi prek di. ‘The man is tall.’

**preprek**

adv. fast; quickly; 2. v.tr. rush.

**pri kô’ti**

n.al.cmp. frog (sp.). Port.: sapo cururú. (pri=kô=tî ‘frog=skin=pit=AUG’)

**prî**

v.dscr. 1. short; 2. adj. short; 3. n. child; 4. adv. gently; slowly.

**prîn**

n.al. fructiferous plant (sp.), Port.: pequi. The fruit of this plant.

**prîn kô**

n.al.cmp. pequi patch

**prînre**

n.al.dim. fructiferous plant (sp.), Port.: bacuri. The fruit of this plant.

**prînre ko**

n.al.cmp. oiti patch

**prîte japije ti**

n.al.cmp.aug. frog (sp)

**prîti**

n.aug. poisonouns frog (sp.)

**prô**

n.inal. wife. Inflectional pattern: PSSR=prô.

**prôprôt**

v.dscr. shiver. Ex. îpê kamô prôprôt kamô îpôm ba nê ‘My body shivers and I feel fear.’

**prôt**


**prôjî**

n.der.act. runner; someone who runs away. Inflectional pattern: S=prôjî. (prôt=îjî ‘run.NF=AG.NMLZ’) Ex. Na pa icprôjî ‘I’m a runner.’ Na əmî prôjî. ‘That one is a runaway.’ See prôt; prôm.

**pu**

intr. indicates uncertainty.

**pu**

pron.pss. first person inclusive, realis. Usu hortative mode.

**puj**

pron.pss. first person inclusive, irrealis. Usu. Hortative mode.

**pulaš’tî**

n.Port. cookie [bulašti]

**pulis ti**

n.Port. policeman

**punk ti**

n.Port. doll [bune:di]

**pur**

n. field; garden.

**purô**

adj.der. similar (der. pîrak ‘look.like’)
null
that it follows the inflectional pattern of descriptives. b. It may, in turn, be modified as well (e.g. by the morpheme kümrec). c. This intensifier is compatible with words derived by -ji, in contrast with the intensifier rûn, which is not. d. There is evidence which indicates that, if used with a transitive verb, this morpheme may refer to the quantity of the direct object, rather than serve as an intensifier of the verb. Ex.: Go rač ‘river (water=large)’. Na ra ımmh beč rač kümrec. ‘(Things) are really good for me.’ Ikengrafi rač nê. ‘I’m really easy to get tired.’ Na pa içpudaj rač nê. ‘I’m really ugly.’ Na bu rač kümrec. ‘S/he carried lots of things.’ Na katpore pi rač kümrec. ‘S/he made a lot of money.’ Na pa jara?3 abun rač nê. ‘I carried you a lot.’ Na pa por i krô rûn kawo rač nê. ‘I harvested a lot of large peppers.’ See rûn, tojî, beç.

ras ti


re

v.tr. 1. atravessar por dentro de um rio ou por uma superfície; 2. untar de ambos lados, p.ex. peixe na gordura. Nonfinite form, ren/rej. Ex. ictî arej ket ne dô icûpam rač ‘Não atravessem em mim não porque eu sou muito fundo (o ribeirão falando)’.

rê

v.tr. 1. throw (a ball), as in a game. 2. throw multiple, scattered things, or two things which do not form a pair. 3. help oneself to foods of various kinds. Inflectional pattern: O=rê; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: The use of this verb with the sense of ‘serve food’ contrasts with the verb ren with the same sense, in that the latter requires the quantifier kwô to determine meô, whereas the former occurs without the quantifier. One could describe the distinction also in terms of mass versus count objects. Ex.: Me ačwô jaja apen krô ti rê ‘They are also going to play (with the mangaba ball),’ Ma tê ne amjîm meô rê. ‘Go help yourself to the food.’ Me ma bra ne amjîm meô rê. ‘Go and help yourselves to the food.’ See mê, gje, ø.

kurê

v.tr. put away; release inside a closed area. Ex. na ti jî krâ krare ja ø krî ne kaôe kamî kurê, jum kuôe ‘M. estava criando um filhote de veado, colocou ele dentro de cercado e lá ele ficava.’

ri

cl. demonstrativo temporal ou locativo.

rî

v. intr. atv. Ficar. Forma reduzida de arîk.

rît

v.tr. see; visualize; look at. Inflectional pattern: O=rît; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Phonology: The verb root may be realized as [fit] if the previous segment (i.e. the last segment of the preceding word) is a coronal sound – vowel or consonant.

rô

v.intr.evnt agarrar-se a alguma coisa com o corpo encolhido. Nonfinite form, rôp

ror

n. cupim

ror

v.intr.evnt. fall.

rôr

n. planta do babacu; o coco desta palmeira

rôr ko

n.al.cmp. babacu patch

rôr re ko

n.al.cmp; coconut patch

rorok

v.dscr. 1. erode; collapse. Inflectional pattern: S=rorok; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. 2. n.al. large chunks of soil that collapse into a hole due to erosion. Grammar: Causative form, ø rorok. Ex.: Da na pre pika ø rorok ø mô. ‘The rain is eroding the earth.’

rorokji

n.der.act. thing that is known for collapsing easily. (rorok=fj ‘collapse=AG.NMLZ’)

ru

v.tr. despejar (de líquidos). Nonfinite form, –run

rünt

adv. 1. intensively; repetitively. 2. adj. plenty. 3. grand. Phonology: This morpheme is realized as [lûrt] when the last segment of the preceding word is a coronal sound –
vowel or consonant. Semantics: The use of rûp, as well as rač, seems to imply that the
predicator being modified encodes a permanent property. Both these intensifiers
contrast with tajč in this respect, which is used with predicators encoding transitional or
temporary conditions/states. Grammar: This intensifier is not compatible with
words derived by -ji, and thus it contrasts with the intensifiers rač and tajč, which are
used in those cases. Ex.: Meökrepoj rujnti ‘name of a traditional festival’
(me=ökrepoj=ruj=ti ‘INDF=voice=grand=AUG’). Na ra ra ickengr rûp nê. ‘I’m very
tired.’ Na ra įpmô beč rûp kumrêc. ‘(Things) are really good for me.’ Na pa icpunduj
rûp nê. ‘I’m very ugly.’ Na pa bûn rûp nê. ‘I carry it all the time (i.e. frequently).’ Na
pa por i krô rûp kawr rač nê. ‘I harvested a lot of large peppers.’ See rač, tajč, beč.

rûm
sine
sitat
n

ten

celho. 1. aspecto habitual; 2. marcador de caso agenteve (?) para primeira e segunda
pessoas em orações dependentes; toma prefixos pronominais; 3. partícula associada
lexicalmente a alguns verbos derivados, esp. de cognição, p.ex. te bar ‘saber’, te publi
‘conhecer’, te pûr sk ‘parecer-se com’.

v.te, v.intr. die (of person; of fire). Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S=ti; alternate
form: tik. Ex.: Na pre icpe ti. ‘He died (to my dismay).’ Bi ti ćwôj ji na pre kêm apen
prôm’. ‘The man who died enjoyed working.’

tei

1. leg. 2. part of the leg between the knee and the ankle. Inflectional pattern:
PSSR=te.

tekô

tekô

n.al.cmp, bean (sp.). Port.: vagem. Phonology: [teʔ kə].

n.al.cmp, skin of the leg. Inflectional pattern: PSSR=te kô. Phonology: [teʔ kə].

n.al.cmp, calf (of the leg). Inflectional pattern: PSSR=te jî. (te=jî ‘leg=flesh’)

n.al.cmp, anterior part of the leg between the knee and the ankle. Inflectional
pattern: PSSR=te jôkrô.

tei

n.al.cmp, bone of the leg. Inflectional pattern: PSSR=te i. Phonology: [teʔi]

tepa

v.ir, matar. Nonfinite form, te par.

13

n.al.cmp, assim mesmo

n.al.cmp, coração

n.al.cmp, superfície da parte inferior da perna (der. teʔ=kô ‘perna=superfície’)

n.al.cmp, doer, latejar. Ex. na pa ĳi tâdôk nê ‘Meus ossos estão doendo.’

tô

n.al.cmp, estar ou ficar cansado. Ex. pa na pa ĳitâk ‘Eu já estou cansado.’

13

n.al.add. fôlego; respiração; suspiro.

13

n. termo de parentesco

tajč

adv. 1. intensifier. 2. adj. hard; tense, stiff, rigid; robust. 3. fast. No evidence of
inflection. Nonfinite form: taj t. Semantics: The use of tajč seems to imply that the
predicator being modified encodes a transitional or temporary condition/state. This
intensifier contrasts with rûp and rač in this respect, since these seem to be used with
predicators encoding permanent properties. Grammar: a. This morpheme is used to
modify predicates. In its turn, it may be modified by the intensifier kumrêc. b. This
morpheme has a descriptive counterpart, itajč. Ex.: Iphut tajč. ‘My neck is tense.’ Na
ra ḫmō ḫec ṯajč kumrēč. ‘This (fruit) is very good for me (to pick up).’ Na ra ḫabkere ḫec ṯajč kumrēč. ‘The jussara is really good.’ Na ṭa icpudaj ṯajč nē. ‘I’m very ill/full of diseases.’ See ḫāč, ḫrān, beč.

tāk

v.desr. 1. black. 2. dirty. 3. go off (of light). Inflectional pattern: S=tāk; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. 3. v.tr. dirty. Inflectional pattern: O=tāk. Ex.: Pa na pa icket. ‘I’m dirty.’ Pa na icpe iccē tik. ‘My clothes are dirty (to my detriment).’ Agro na ḡw ṣmāfā tāk ne ṭi pa ‘Pigs always dirty themselves in mud.’

tāk

v.tr. cutucar.

tam

v.desr. 1. raw. 2. saturated; soaked. Inflectional pattern: S=tam; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: Na ḡw tam. ‘The yucca dough is raw.’ Na go tam. ‘The creek is saturated.’ Na go tam ḫām nē. ‘The river is totally saturated.’

tam

pron.3. enf. 1. por isso; 2. assim mesmo

tanwā

n.inal. termo de parentesco

tep

n.gen. peixe

tep ForeignKey

n.al.cmp.aug. fish (sp.), Port.: pacú branco. Phonology: [tʰbojɑ'ka]

tep ForeignKey

n.al.cmp.aug. fish (sp.), Port.: pacú. Phonology: [tʰbokrɔ'di]

tep ForeignKey
n.cmp. armadilha para peixe

tep ForeignKey

n.al.cmp.aug. piabanha

tep ForeignKey

n.al.cmp. fish trap. (tep=ka'e ‘fish=cage’)

tep ForeignKey

n.cmp.dim. piabinha

tep ForeignKey

n.al.cmp.dem. fishhook. (tep=rē=ço ‘fish=catch=INSTR.NMLZ’)

tīrī

n.al.aug. fructiferous plant (sp.), Port.: banana brava. The fruit of this plant.

tettet

v.desr. tremble; shake. Inflectional pattern: S=tettet; no relational prefix. Phonology: [tɛttɛt], possibly from /tɛtɛtɛ/. Ex.: ɛbri pa ɛbun ictetet ḫām nē. ‘The I saw it and trembled a lot.’

tā


tānmai

inter. 1. how. 2. whatever.

tak

v.tr. beat; abuse; beat up. Inflectional pattern: O=tak; no inflectional pattern. Nonfinite form: same. See tatak.

tar

psp.dem. there. Grammar: May take second person prefix a- and may occur with the third person demonstrative māj. In the first case, the resulting form is a proximal demonstrative with a second person as the deictic center, ater ‘over there (close to you)’. In the second case, the resulting form is a distal demonstrative, māj.tar ‘over there (far away from us)’. There are no examples available in which tar occurs with a first person prefix.

tatak

v.tr.rdpl.cmp. 1. hit repeatedly. 2. sprinkle something on a surface by tapping on it repeatedly. Inflectional pattern: O=tatak. Nonfinite form: same.

tē
tēti

n.al.aug. insect (sp.), Port.: carrapato.

tē

v.intr. come; go. Nonfinite form: S=tēm. Semantics: The semantic contrast between this verb and tē apparently has to do with the number of participants, mū being the plural and tē the singular counterpart. Grammar: a. The root may cooccur with the directional/movement particle ma in the clause; the combination of particle and verb root means ‘go’. If the particle is absent in the clause, the verb root means ‘come’.
See mò, bra: ma. b. This root may be used with the causative (?) morpheme c in what appears to be a transitive verb compound, ‘bring/take’. c. This root contrasts with mò, in that the latter may be used in Vo mò constructions, whereas the former has limited distribution in this respect. In such constructions, mò appears to have acquired a more grammaticalized meaning (progressive; inchoative), whereas tè is understood more literally, which makes its use inadequate.

b. This root may be used with the causative (?) morpheme eme in what appears to be a transitive verb compound, ‘bring/take’.

c. This root contrasts with mò, in that the latter may be used in Vo mò constructions, whereas the former has limited distribution in this respect. In such constructions, mò appears to have acquired a more grammaticalized meaning (progressive; inchoative), whereas tè is understood more literally, which makes its use inadequate.

tèm

v. intr. fall. Nonfinite form: S=tèm.

tere ko

n.al cmp. açai patch

ti

c.1. aumentativo; 2. derogatório; 3. adv.snt. indicativo de protesto, irritação ou reprimenda.

irí

v. intr. estar vivo; sobreviver

tô

n. irmão

toe

intr excl. huh?!

to?un

intr. Hein

tóc

n. irmã

tôçpurô

n. cmp. termo de parentesco (tôç=purô ‘t.=parecer’)

ton

n. al. armadillo (sp.). The female of the species typically has many offspring at a time.

ton pideñ çô

n. cmp. der. trap for armadillos and other related species, especially animals that dig holes in the ground and stay inside it, rather than escaping through it, such as the apcet, agre?ti, and kaken. (ton=pideñ=çô ‘armadillo=catch.NF=NMLZ.INSTR’)

tu

v. intr. aglomerar-se, esp. ao redor de

tu

n. mato, moita. ? Alternate form, tuj

tu

v. intr. cheio, redondo. (Confirmar glossa, transcr.)

tu

v. tr. carregar na cabeça ou nas costas, esp. algo dentro de um côfo.

tu kô ti

n. al. cmp. aug fem. kinship relation term, spoken by a female referring to a male kin.

Phonology: [tu?kô?ti]

tûmû

v. intr. velho, antigo, ultrapassado. Ex. katpex ê na ra tûmû ‘Esse dinheiro já está velho.’

tujaro

v. intr. estar grávida

tukatij

n. al. cmp. kinship relation term.

tum

adv 3ª. pessoa, acolá.

tum

v. intr. inteligente. Ex. ka na ka atumre ‘Você é inteligente, pensa bem.’

tum ketê

expr. intr. neg. der. abalhado; pouco inteligente. Ex. ka na ka atum ketê ‘Você é bestão.’

túro à

n. al. cmp. costela

tut jaka re

n. al. cmp. white-feathered pigeon

tut kabrek re

n. al. cmp. brown-feathered pigeon

tut re

n. al. dim. dove, smallish kind.

tut ti

n. al. aug. pigeon

twôm


u

n. inal. belly. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR=t-u. See o?i.

u

n. pus; corrimento vaginal; (ç)u

übreget

n. termo de parentesco

u?êô

uże v.tr. alcançar, pegar. Alternate form, pide. Forma não final, (p)unden.

uże v.tr.noncan. 1. cease consideration or treatment of something. 2. terminate an association or relationship with someone. 3. leave behind. 4. release; let go of something; drop. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=mô A=ţi-uże. Nonfinite form: same. Phonology: a. In the context of a following vowel, an epenthetic flap [r] separates the two, as in aŋirer ơ mô. b. There is root-initial vowel alternation between [u, i], such that [u] occurs in initial position (although it may fluctuate with [i], in this position) and [i] occurs systematically after the relational prefix. This process is observable in other verbs as well. Usage: This verb is used by older generation speakers with the sense described in 2, whereas younger speakers tend to use the verb kaga, instead. Ex.: Na ka ra ijmô aŋirer ơ mô. ‘You’re already leaving me.’ Na kôm ickine tô ijmô uže. ‘He liked me but left me nonetheless.’ See kaga.


uba v.tr.noncan. fear. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: A=mô O=p-u-ba; alternative form: pîba. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: This verb has an intransitive counterpart in ba. Ex.: Pa na pa ijmô amô kupê pûba prôm kete. ‘I don’t want you to be afraid of the foreigner.’ Na pa ijmô amô icpûba prôm kete. ‘I don’t want you to be afraid of me.’ See ba.

ubrê n.inal. termo de parentesco

ubreator n.inal. termo de parentesco

ucô n.inal. spell. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR=ē-ucô.

ujo v.tr. cobrir (de folhar d palmeira). Comparar com –jô ‘cobrir’ e confirmar transcrição.

ujope v.tr. 1. place multiple objects right-side up on a surface (e.g. table, counter, or ground). 2. place multiple pots or pans of food on the fire so as to cook. 3. stick something into the ground, right-side up. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=ē-ujope. Nonfinite form: ujope. Semantics: This verb (as well as its counterpart am) is used with reference to objects shaped in such a way that allow the speaker to conceive of them as “standing up”, such as plates or cups. Its use would be more problematic with objects such as forks and knives, for instance, since these kinds of objects are typically laid in horizontal position. Ex.: Kôt paj amyûm meô kuvi kamô ujope. ‘I’m going to put my foods on the fire.’ Na pa ra amyûm iŋô prat ne iŋô kôpti čaʃwâ. ‘I’ve already set my plates and cups.’ Pa iŋô kôp čaʃwâ kentê. ‘I’m not going to set my cups (e.g. at the table).’ Kîj pu mô kâŋmô me ujope. ‘Let’s lift them (such that they stand right-side up).’ See am, acôwô.

ujoaçô n.alder, object on whose surface things are placed (standing up), e.g. a table or a counter. (ujoâ=çô ‘place.right-side.up=NMLZ.LOC’)

ujakôp n. cheiro; faro.

ujako ūi n.der. pessoa que gosta de fumar. Cf. čikar jako ūi ‘pessoa que gosta de fumar cigarro’

ujakojô n.der.act. one who is known for smoking constantly. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S=ē-ujakojô. (u-j-ako=ji ‘INTRZ-RP-sleep.NF=AG.NMLZ’) Grammar: This noun has a counterpart which is derived from the transitive counterpart of the verb. Ex.: Dî mûj ujakojô. ‘That woman is a smoker.’

ujapô v.dscr.der. slander. inflectional pattern and relational prefix: ē-u-j-apô. nonfinite

Ka na ka ri ačuapri ə ri apa. ‘You live for slandering.’ Nēŋ na pre vujapri/*awjapri. ‘That one gossips.’

ujapere

Na pa ičujaper ə jī. ‘Eu estou balançando X’ * Na pa awjape. Also apu japer ‘conseguir’.

ukapi

v.intr. choose; select; meet for the first time. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: S=(č)ukapi. Related form: kapi. See ačkapi, kapi.

ukrar kr

v.intr.dscr. arrotar com mau cheiro. Forma contígua ao argumento, –čukrar kr.

ukrarkr

v.dscr.cmp. belch (with an offensive odor). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S=č-ukrarkr; alternate form: S=p-ikrarkr. Grammar: The inflected form of this verb alternates between čukrarkr and pikrarkr. This may be a case of innovation in the making from one pattern to the other. It is possible that, for the basic form of the verb, presumably ukra, the use of one of the relational prefixes is steady, with no alternations. But this hypothesis needs to be verified in future research, as there are no occurrences of the basic verb stem in the database as it is. Ex.: Pa na pa ičukrarkr. ‘I’m burping.’ Na ka ačukrarkr. ‘You are burping.’ Nēŋ na ukrarkr. ‘This one is burping.’ Na pa ičikrarkr. ‘I am burping.’ Na ka apikrarkr. ‘You are burping.’ (ukrar=kr ‘belch=putrid’)

ukrat kuček

n.inal.cmp. veia

um

v.intr.evnt. secar; endurecer (de mel).

umčē

v.tr. abraçar. Ex. na va apē čumče ‘Eles dois estão se abraçando.’ (č)umčē.

umčē


umčē


upim

v.dscr. fundo. Ex.: kx jak go čupem ksm mrō kx go apē ‘se você mergulhar no fundo a água te leva’ č-upim.

upem

v.dscr. deep. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S=č-upem. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: a. The transitive version of the verb is done by using the causative morpheme ᵃ. b. The occurrence of the relational prefix in this descriptive does not seem to correspond to a difference between attributive and predicative positions, as is the case with jakri ‘cold’, for instance. Ex.: Na pika kre čupem ‘The whole on the ground is deep.’ Ictē arej ket nē dō ičupem rač ‘Do not attempt to cross me because I’m really deep (of a creek speaking).’ Da na pre go ja ə upem. ‘The rain made the creek get deep.’ Na te da wri rūn nē ʥuşim go ja a upem ket nē. ‘It rains a lot but even so this creek never gets deep enough.’

urprōrō


urak

v.tr.noncan. 1. look or act like X. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: A-te/kot O=p-irak. Grammar: Requires ergative marking on A; initial vowel of stem alternates from u to i when the verb takes the relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. 2. similar to X. Grammar: This form commonly used as part of a compound noun or in a noun
phrase: hjen pirsk ‘so-called husband; one who behaves as such but is not formally so’. Ex.: Prīre ja te kət õ papaj pirsk čwəŋ ja Kare kra na. ‘This girl who looks like her father is Kare’s daughter.’ Prīre ja te kət nipeččə pirsk čwəŋ ja na kəm kupē puba. ‘This kid who looks like his father is terrified or foreigners.’

utra


utra

v.tr.noncan promise; agree; make arrangements. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: E strSQL=t-o S=p-ius. Root-initial vowel alternation in the context of relational prefix. See pita. Ex.: Atpēn ə utra ‘agree with one another’; atpēn ə va icipiak ‘(the two of us) agreed with one another’.

uti


uti

v.dscr. pesado; denso. Ex. rōr ə ivən jakira na uti ‘A godura de coco quando esfria é muito grossa.’

uti / uti

n. mata fechada

ve

cj. hearsay

vər

psp. atalativo, rumo a, em direcção a.

vevejao

n.al.cmp. food, as spoken to young children or elderly people. See meō.

va (ti)

n. termo de parentesco: ‘minha esposa’, tratamento entre cônjuges.

vo

v.tr. chupar uma fruta; beber.

vra

v.intr. Nonfinite form, vra.m.

wewe re

n.al.rdpl.dim. butterfly (sp.). Phonology: no glottal stop.

wewe ti

n.al.rdpl.aug. butterfly (sp.). Phonology: no glottal stop.

wa

cj. dual exclusive marker. Grammar: This clitic may refer to an independent pronoun, which it follows, or to a pronominal prefix, which it precedes.

wa

n.inal. tooth; teeth. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR-č-wa.

wa

v.dscr. 1. sharp. 2. sour. Kət ja wapo ja wa beč nē. ‘This knife will get (sharpened) good.’

wa pɨɨ

n.inal.cmp. gums. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR-č-wapɨɨ. (č-wa=pɨɨ ‘RP-tooth=flesh’)

wa krat

n.inal.cmp. fangs. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR=č-wa krat. (wa=krat ‘tooth=stem, stalk?’). See wa, krat.

waŋo

pron.pers.intrg.cmp. who, whom. (wa=ŋo ‘DU=INDEF’). Ex.: Waŋo na pre icipiak? ‘Who made it?’

wajrɔt ti

n.al.cmp.aug. onion. Ex.: Pa na pa pre wajrɔtə jakər ə ca ne ampi nikra krə ɲimok krə ta. ‘I was chopping onions, then I cut the tip of my finger.’

wakere

n.amb. loan, cowboy, Port.: vaqueiro.

wapo

n.amb. knife.

wapo ti

n.amb.aug. machete

wrə

v.intr.mov. descend; get off (an automobile, e.g.). Nonfinite form and inflectional
pattern: S=\textit{wri}.

\textit{wrəm}  
\textit{n.al}  hut; shack; an old and abandoned dwelling place.

\textit{ə}  
\textit{v.dscr.}  sick. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: \textit{S-\textit{č-ə}}. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: Na pa bi ə ćwən ja kṛ rač kom əbu. ‘I saw that sick man out downtown.’ Bi ja na ə. ‘This man is ill.’ Na ra ə ćmō. ‘She’s getting sick.’ Paŋi ə ćwən ja na apen kete. ‘Sick people don’t get to work.’ Di ə ćwən ja kət ja ma iplina \textit{wəŋ mō}. ‘This woman who’s ill is going to the hospital.’ Rəp ə ri pa ćwən ja ata kət ja ćəkį ti. ‘This dog that has been sick will die soon.’

\textit{η}  
\textit{v.tr.noncan}, like, enjoy (of food). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: \textit{E\textsubscript{\textit{anə}=mō O=\textit{č-ə}}}. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: May take the clause-final clitic \textit{nē}. Ex.: Na meō ən nē. ‘This food is tasty.’

\textit{ρ}  
\textit{v.tr.noncan}, like, enjoy (of food). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: \textit{E\textsubscript{\textit{anə}=mō O=\textit{č-ə}}}. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: May take the clause-final clitic \textit{nē}. Ex.: Na pa iy\textsubscript{mō} prin\textsubscript{kəkti} ćən nē ‘I like bacuri.’ Ķupē kom pōri ćən ćwən ja na ick\textsubscript{ıməc\textsubscript{wə} na} ‘This foreigner who likes pepper is my friend.’

\textit{δ}  
\textit{psp}, 1. locativa; 2. indica o assunto de uma conversa, p.ex., ou o motivo de uma risada, p.ex. əbi\textsubscript{k}  təni\textsubscript{rə} ə ćub\textsubscript{bə} ə piku\textsubscript{ə}də ə mō ‘Então fui atrás carregando-os [o fação e a lenha] com as mãos, rindo [da situação]’. Forma contígua ao argumento, tā, p.ex. a. na pa va mṛ u̇nti tə ćik\textsubscript{aṿ}o ćəṃ ‘...botamos nossos cestos em cima das formigas...’ b. ne va ri atp̣ ə m\textsubscript{ō} ćik\textsubscript{əp̣ə}r atp\textsubscript{ēn} tə ću\textsubscript{ə}də ‘...e ficamos conversando e rindo uma da outra.’ 3. subordinador que introduz uma oração adverbial temporal, p.ex. pa kra je mō ə anē ke pa kra jaja kət ɭri me ə\textsubscript{t} anē ‘(eu fiz) assim para os nossos filhos, porque quando eles saírem eles farão da mesma forma.’

\textit{ά ə} \textit{wə}  
\textit{v.intr.noncan}, request. Inflection pattern: \textit{E\textsubscript{O}=\textit{δ} a\textit{ʔəwə}}. Nonfinite form and relational prefix: \textit{E\textsubscript{\textit{an}ə}=\textit{δ} S-\textit{j-a\textit{ʔəwr}}} Grammar: This is a lexically bivalent verb. An additional participant is marked by the dative postposition -\textit{mō}, and occurs preceding \textit{E\textsubscript{O}}. Ex. Pa na pa p\textsubscript{ər} i ə\textsubscript{a} ə\textsubscript{wə} ‘I am asking for some pepper.’ Pa na pa ri a\textit{ʔəwə} ket nē. ‘I’m not asking for anything.’ Na pa am\textsubscript{ō} ə\textsubscript{ʔəwə}. ‘I’m requesting (it) for you.’

\textit{δ go}  
\textit{v.dscr.cmp}, sweat; be warm. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: \textit{S=t-δ go}. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: compound of locative postposition and noun. (δ=go ‘loc=water’). Ex.: Na pa ic\textsubscript{t}ō go rač ne ɨpõt ket nē. ‘I was too hot (sweaty) and couldn’t sleep.’ Na pa ra ic\textsubscript{t}ō go ə mō. ‘I’m already breaking a sweat.’

\textit{δ go}  
\textit{n.inal.cmp}, sweat. Inflection pattern and relational prefix: \textit{psr=t-δ go}. Grammar: compound of locative postposition and noun. (δ=go ‘loc=water’). Ex.: Ict\textsubscript{ō} go kət ja \textsubscript{akəɡ\textsubscript{rə} əbri pu atp\textsubscript{ēn} k\textsubscript{əɡ\textsubscript{rə}} ‘My (body-)heat will keep you warm, then we will keep each other warm.’

\textit{δ gre re}  
\textit{v.intr.evnt}, ser barato (t)\textit{δ gre re}  
\textit{δ əho}  
\textit{v.intr.event} ser caro, dispensioso. (t)\textit{δ əho}

\textit{t}  
\textit{v.dscr,} spicy, hot; bitter. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: \textit{S-\textit{č-t}}. Nonfinite form: \textit{η}.

\textit{–} \textit{η}  
\textit{suf}, movimento do ponto de vista de um participante de segunda ou terceira pessoa.

\textit{ο}  
\textit{v.tr,} 1. do. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: \textit{O=t-ο}. Nonfinite form: same. 2. \textit{psp instr}, with. Inflectional pattern: \textit{N=ο}, relational prefix alternates between none and t-; the former appears to be more common. 3. \textit{enel}, causative marker. Inflectional
pattern and relational prefix: $O_{\text{CAUSE}}=t\cdot\cdot=V$. 

ə ʒn  

$v_{\text{tr.der.}}$. 1. sweeten; 2. salt. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: $O=t\cdot\cdot=ə ʒn$. ($ə ʒn ‘\text{CAUS=sweet/salty}’$)

ə ɔr/wə  

$v_{\text{tr.der.}}$. assar. Alternate form, ə wə. Nonfinite form, ə ɔr/wə. Ex. əne iɲməŋ iŋə ə ɔrə  

‘Vai e assa minha batata.’

əmduɨ  

$v_{\text{discr.}}$. bad; ugly; badly. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: $S=p\cdot\cdot=əmduɨ$. Alternate forms: duɨ. Nonfinite form: same. Alternate form: pudiτu=pəmduɨ; this form does not occur in nonfinite position. Grammar: This verb may occur with the clause-final clitic nə, which expresses temporary state or condition, in this context. Ex.: Ata na əmduɨ. ‘This one (over there) is bad.’ Ata na əmduɨ tajɛ kumrɛ. ‘That one is really mean!’ Na pa icpuduɨ. ‘I’m ugly/mean/sickly.’ Na pa icpuduɨ nə. ‘I look ugly/am being mean/am sick.’ Bɨ əmduɨ ɛwɨna ata na pre me ra aɚa. ‘This bad man over there, he’s been arrested before.’ See duɨ.

əmdu  


ə aʔko  

$v_{\text{tr.}}$. mistrurar.

ə aba  

$v_{\text{tr.noncan.}}$. miss someone; think about someone. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: $E_0=t\cdot\cdot=əaba$. Nonfinite form: $E_0=t\cdot\cdot A=j\cdot=əaba$. Alternate form: abak. 

ə abakəkati  

$v_{\text{tr.noncan cmp.}}$. Forget. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: $E_0=j\cdot=ə\cdot\cdot=abakəkati$. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: negation is possible; done more often with kete, but also with ketə. Ex. Na ka ɲənə kerekə ə abakəkati. ‘You’ve forgotten my glassbeads.’ (aba=ket=kati ‘feel=neg.exst=recognize’)

ə abakɾə  

$v_{\text{tr.}}$. tease someone; annoy or mock someone playfully. Grammar: There is one example that suggests that this might be a valency-increased construction of the $ϕ$ type. However, another example seems to suggest otherwise. Ex.: Na pa te icɛwər ə ijabakɾə tajɛ nə. ‘I bathe and make a lot of fuss (with noise and excitement).’ Na Dkreti Potre ə abakɾə tajɛ nə. ‘Docre teased Pale a lot.’ But *Na me icə abakɾə r̩ɲ nə. ‘They tease us a lot.’

ə akəɾ  

$v_{\text{tr.}}$. misturar. Ex.: əw, na pa əm bənkvrɛə me ə akə ‘Ê, eu misturei com feijão.’ Nonfinite form, ə pikəry.

ə akčɛ  

$v_{\text{tr.}}$. spin; turn around looking back. Inflectional pattern: $O=ə=akčɛ$. Grammar: This verb is related to the descriptive akčɛ. Ex.: Na pa ickra ə ijakɛɛ ‘I turned around with/spinned my baby.’ Na pa ickra mɛ kət əmɲi katin əmɛ kamɨ ə ijakɛɛ. ‘I spun with my baby in the merry-go-round.’ See akčɛ.

ə akɾi  

$v_{\text{tr.}}$. cool off. Inflectional pattern: $O=ə=akɾi$; no relational prefixes in causative morpheme or verb root. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: This predicator is related to akɾi. Ex.: Na pa r̩ɲ i twam ə akɾi. ‘I cooled off the babaçu fat.’

ə akɾiɛ  

n. $v_{\text{al.der.}}$. refrigerator. ($ə\cdot=akɾi\cdot=ɛ ‘\text{CAUS=ice=INSTR,NMLZ}’$)

ə akuɾə  

$v_{\text{tr.}}$. lose something.

ə akuprə  

$v_{\text{tr.}}$. gather something. ($ə\cdot=akuprə ‘\text{CAUS=juntar-se}’$)

ə əpə  

$v_{\text{tr.}}$. put things in parallel position. Inflectional pattern: $O=ə=apə$; no relational
prefix. Nonfinite form: O=ɔ 时表示。ηπεκέχα na καδε ɔ απ. ‘My father arranged the candles in parallel position.’

ɔ atki  
*v.tr.noncan.* cover (with leave or sheet).

ɔ atké  
*v.tr.der.* play with. Nonfinite form, –  ɔ – piken. Ex.: ɛ, amɔ iɛtɔ apiken prɔn nɛ marĩ iɛtɔ atké  ‘Etxa, you may play with me if you feel like it.’

ɔ atkje  
*v.tr.1.* separate; cause to go apart from one another. 2. divide something into parts.
Inflectional pattern: O=ɔ atkje; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: O=ɔ A=pi-kje; alternative form: pi-kjer. Grammar: this predicator derives from the intransitive verb atkje. Ex.: Wa ɔ apikjer ket nɛ ‘Don’t separate them!’ Atɔ ɨmɔ  wa ɔ atkje. ‘Separate them for me!’ Kɔt πυj atpɛ nɔ apçɛt ɔ atkje. ‘Let’s divide the peba for the two of us.’ *Na bri atkje. (Speaker’s comment: ‘nunca vi peba partir sozinho!’) Na pa ra apçɛt ɔ içpiɛkje pa. ‘I’ve already divided up the peba.’ *Na apçɛt ra pikje pa. *Na ra apçɛt pikje pa. See atkje; kje; akje.

ɔ akjέ  
*v.tr.* break off.

ɔ bijen  
*v.tr.der.* get married (of woman). Ex. pa na pa pre atɔ ɪpḥiɛn ‘I married you.’

ɔ bo  
*v.tr.* survive; thrive.

ɔ brə  
*v.tr.* wander; bring along (ɔ=brə ‘CAUS=wander’)

ɔ dɔt  
*v.tr.* fill. Inflectional pattern: O=ɔ dɔt; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: This predicator is related to the descriptive dɔt. Ex.: Na pa prɪn ɔ kawrɔ ɔ dɔt tojɛt nɛ ‘I gathered the pequis and filled the baskets to the top.’ See dɔt.

ɔ iktō  
*v.tr.* drink. Inflectional pattern: O=ɔ iktō; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: ɔ kım. Grammar: It is important to notice that this verb does not use the relational prefix on the morpheme ɔ. Ex.: Na pa ickydɛɛ tɔ iktō. ‘I’ve already taken my medicine.’ Ja na kɔt gwa kago ɔ kom kete. ‘That person does not drink buriti juice.’

ɔ ikwə  
*v.tr.* defecate. Inflectional pattern: O=ɔ ikwə; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: ɔ kwr. Grammar: This verb does not require the use of a relational prefix with the morpheme ɔ. Ex.: Na Cuçùtì iɛ kabre ɔ ikwə. ‘Cuçùtì defecated (with) colorful feces.’ Pa na pa ɨŋòu ɛɔ ne ɨŋ jaok ɔ ikwə. ‘I have diarrhea and am defecating with watery feces.’

ɔ ir.t  
*v.tr.* exhaust; weaken; tire. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=t-ɛ=irɔt. (ɛ=irɔt ‘do=true’). Ex.: Kɔt paj ətɔ irɔt ‘I will weaken/exhaust you.’ *Kɔt paj ɬiŋirɔt.

ɔ kɔkwə  
*v.tr.* make (a body of water) shallow. Inflectional pattern: O=ɔ kɔkwə; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: Na pre go ɔ kɔkwə. ‘She made the creek shallow (e.g. by draining, etc.).’ See kɔkwə.

ɔ kɔkwɛχɔ  
*n.al.der.* object placed into a small body of water to make it shallow. (ɔ=kɔkwə=ɛɔ ‘CAUS=shallow=INSTR.NMLZ’) Ex.: ɛkɔkwɛχɔ na kawar ɛt ‘The horse bone is for making the creek shallow.’ *ɛkɔkwɛχɔŋ.

ɔ krit  
*v.tr.* raise, care for a pet. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=t-ɛ=krit. (ɛ=krit ‘CAUS=pet’)

ɔ kučwa  

ɔ kuref(ɬi)  
*n.cmp.* argumentative person.

ɔ piagri  
*v.tr.* give birth to someone. Inflectional pattern: O=ɛ=t-ɔ A=piagri. Nonfinite form:
This verb has a descriptive counterpart in piagri. Ex.: Na pa ato icipiagri. ‘I gave birth to you.’ Na pa me kra ko tik re icipiagri. ‘I gave birth to a black child.’ Di kô kra ko tik re icipiagri ćwàŋ ja na pre bi ko tik ti ọ ćhẹ. ‘This woman who gave birth to a black child married a black man.’ See piagri.

ọ poj  
v.tr.der. bring; take (ọ=poj ‘CAUS=chegar’)

ọ pok  
v.tr.der. light up. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=t-ọ=pok. Nonfinite form: same. (ọ=pok ‘CAUS=catch.on.fire’)

ọ prô  
v.tr.der. 1. get married (generic), p.ex. yum na ra atê i to prô ‘Then they got married.’ 2. get married (of man), p.ex. pa na pa pre ati ọ prô ‘I married you.’ (ọ=prô ‘CAUS=wife’)

ọ rorok  
v.tr.der. erodir. Ex.: da na pre pika ja ọ rorok ‘A chua está erodindo a terra.’

ọ tê  
v.tr.der. bring; take (ọ=tê ‘CAUS=go’)

ọ upem  
v.trzd. sink (by erosion)

ni  
v.intr.pox. sit. Nonfinite form and inflectional pattern: S=nir. Grammar: In serial constructions (V>O), indicates progressive or continuous aspect.

ni  
adv. almost. Alternating forms: nir, niy. Ex.: Na pa ni iti ‘I almost died.’ Na pa ato ijaba ọjì ni ti ‘I almost died of longing for you.’ Na pa pre nir ijapec’/ni na pre ijapec ‘I was almost finished (i.e. died!’)

ni-  
pron.int. indefinite location. Indicates point of departure of centrifuge motion when it occurs with one of the movement suffixes –im ou –iň. niňim ‘where to?’; niňip ‘where from?’ Indicates location when it occurs with the suffix –ri: niňi ‘where is it?’

ni m  
pron.indf. another; some other. Ex. Ka na ka pre ra ni m apni k ni ‘You have married another indeed.’ Alternation between ni m and ni am: the latter is used by speakers in their mid-twenties and younger.

ni  
n.inal cmp. hive. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: PSSR=ni-irka. Ex.: Amći nika ‘wasp hive’; roroki ni ńi ‘termite hive’; benj ni ńka ‘bee hive.’ (ni=n=ko ‘RP=sit.NMLZ=skin’)

ni  
n.al der. sugar. (ni=ňa ‘sweet=INSTR.NMLZ’)

ni  
n.tr cmp. cast a spell on someone. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=ń- ni kśir.

ni  
n.inal. chin

ni  
v.intr.evnt. fly.

ni  

ni  
idiom. So be it! Phonology: ['i:tu]

ni  
adv. 1. now; 2. then; 3. v.intr. be ready.

ni  

ni  
n. flesh

ni  
n.com aug. deer (sp). Port.: veado mateiro

ni  
n.com dim. mucura (sp.), smallish mammal with vertical stripes on the face, over the eyes. (ni=dim=kje=re ‘mucura=eye=mark=dim’).

ni  
n.com skunk (sp.)
**akre**


**akatí/okoti**

* n. *al.aug.* bird (sp.). Port.: pâvô. Short legged bird that is predominantly black, colored in some places, with a little “hat” on top.

**akati**


**akfáti**

* n. *al.cmp.aug.* bird (sp.); hawk.

**akí**

* n. *al.aug.* bird (sp.), Port.: mutum. Large bird, flies in bands.

**am**

* pron.* third person pronoun.

**–im**

* suf.* centrifugal movement.

**am**

* intr.* Sim

**ào**

* v. *tr.* 1. suck on a piece of fruit (e.g. mango); ingest juicy foods (e.g. honey). 2. drink the juice extracted from fruits or plants. Inflectional pattern: O=ò; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: O=òor. Semantics: This verb contrasts with its transitive counterpart kao in that the latter refers specifically to the act of sucking the juice out of a fruit, e.g. an orange. Grammar: usually employs the quantifier kwa when O is a mass noun. Ex.: Na pa manti òo. ‘I ate the mangoes.’ M:di òo tajc nê. ‘I sucked the mango hard (until I got all the pulp off it).’ See kao, piao.

**?ok**


**?i**

* n. *inal.* seed. Inflectional pattern: pssr-ò; no relational prefix.

**ápre**


**áprečwoñ**

* n. *al.der.* the irritable one.

**áprejí**

* n. *al.der.* one who gets angry easily; irritable.

**ór**

* v. *tr.* 1. roast; grill (of larger chunks of food, e.g. meat, potatoes). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=ö-ór. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: Na pa ijpó brí čar ć ča. ‘I’m roasting my meat.’ Na pa kômő őr ć ča. ‘I’m still roasting (it).’ Na gëri kržîre čmn ne ċ kućwa tajč kemce. ‘Dada put the chicken to cook and now it smells good!’

Phonology: The basic form of the verb assimilates to the environment and is realized as [čén], as it precedes the conjunction nê. 2. v. *intr.* roast; cook; grill. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S=ć-ór. Ex.: òw, na ra ć ć ‘Yes, it is roasted.’ Na kômő őr ć ča. ‘It’s still cooking.’ Na kômő medô őr ć ča. ‘The food is still cooking.’

Alternate finite forms: ūř. See kućot.

**ár**

* v. *dscr.* enter. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: S=ö-ár; alternate form: ář. Nonfinite form: same. Semantics: It appears this verb does not participate in the number opposition that characterizes the verb pair ačą/aghje, in which the former is the singular counterpart and the latter the plural one. Ex.: Na pa ra ičăr. ‘I went in.’ Na te ri akupim ár pirk. ‘Looks like it went in again.’ Ma, ata ra me kapor ő ča to na me ra akupim ár pa. ‘Well, they were all standing outside, but looks like they have all gone in now.’ See ačą, aghje.
ir  

\textit{v.tr.} cut off; remove; pick (of fruit). Inflectional pattern: O=ir; no relational prefix.
Nonfinite form: same. Ex.: \textit{Na pa ra ipo piço ir} 'I’ve already cut off my banana (bunch).' \textit{Na pa ipo piço ir kačiw} 'I’m about to get my bananas.' \textit{Na pa ipo piço ir ča} 'I’m getting my bananas.'

\textit{ir}  

\textit{v.tr.} weave. Inflectional pattern: O=ir; no relational prefix. Nonfinite form: O=ir. Ex.: \textit{Na pa itkūpič i} 'I wove my mat.' \textit{Na pa itkūpič i ča} 'I’m weaving my mat.'

\textit{arw}  

\textit{v.intr.} come to a boil. Ex: \textit{Kūt paj ampi m[b] kωt kamš meč čam, jum arw, jum kωt pa kakrē.} ‘I’m going to put my food on the fire, it will come to a boil, then it will be ready for me to it.’

\textit{at}  

\textit{n.inal.} box. P.ex. \textit{me pīt m[3] atpō me č amnē kati} ‘Give the box to the children for them to play with.’

\textit{num}  

\textit{conji.} different subject, third person.

\textit{aw}  

\textit{v.tr.} 1. place one object or a pair of objects of the same kind (e.g. a pair of sandals) into a deep recipient (e.g. a basket, a box, or a bag). 2. serve food (as a mass concept) in a deep container (e.g. a bowl). Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=č-aw. Nonfinite form: \textit{aw.} Semantics: This verb contrasts with such others as \textit{mē, rē} and \textit{gje} on the basis of the category of number, among other details. Morphology: The verb \textit{aw} ‘serve’ is almost homonymous with the verb \textit{ar} ‘cook’, except that the former has a different finite form and a relational prefix, and the latter has the same form in both finite and nonfinite positions, and it has no relational prefix. Ex.: \textit{Na kəm₇ meč kωt čat ča.} ‘She is still serving herself to some food.’ \textit{Tē ne ampi m[e] kωt ča ne ipi ampi m[e] ata kωt rē.} ‘Go help yourself to some food, get yourself some of these things over there.’ \textit{Pa ipo kɔp ičam ketmē.} ‘I’m not going to set my cup (e.g. at the table).’ See \textit{rē, mē, gje.}

\textit{č krikrit}  

\textit{v.tr.der.} 1. race someone. 2. run after someone. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O=č-\textit{A}=krikrit. Nonfinite form: same. Grammar: In this form, the morpheme \textit{č} takes a relational prefix. Ex.: \textit{Na porti brekre č krikrit jum ēbaj prōt.} ‘The truck raced after the seriaema and it ran out of fear.’ \textit{Icō akrikrit ketmē.} ‘Don’t run after me.’ \textit{Na wa atpēn to krikrit.} ‘The two of them are racing each other.’ \textit{Na ka wa atpēn to akrikrit ketmē.} ‘The two of you are not racing one another.’ See \textit{krikrit.}

\textit{pi}  

\textit{v.intr.} sit. Nonfinite form: S=pi. Semantics: The semantic contrast between this verb and \textit{krī} appears to be that the former indicates movement towards sitting position, whereas the latter indicates being in sitting position. However, only \textit{pi} seems to occur in constructions that require position verbs, indicating, in this case, something already in sitting position. This hypothesis is at odds with the morphological class of each verb and their correlation with descriptive and eventive notions. Another hypothesis is that the contrast may have to do with the number of participants, \textit{pi} being the singular and \textit{krī} the plural counterpart. A third hypothesis is that both verbs mean ‘be sitting’, but with the semantics of \textit{krī} focusing on the resultative aspect of sitting down, and \textit{pi} not having such connotation. Grammar: a. This verb is used in \textit{VjoV} constructions, indicating progressive or cumulative aspect. b. The verbs \textit{no} ‘lie’ and \textit{pi} ‘sit’ contrast with their respective counterparts \textit{ikwē} and \textit{krī} in that the former seem to have a more flexible use, with respect to the number distinction of the absolutive, than the latter. It
is possible to find examples of me nõ and me pi, even though these verbs refer basically to singular and dual absolutes; but krï and ikwï are often not found with singular absolutes. Ex.: Pipcé r mûj ñ pi. ‘Sit on that bench.’ See īr, krï.

| vt. | sit one person or two people on a particular place. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= r. Nonfinite form: same. Ex.:
| | Ja mu atõ pipcé ñ īr. ‘Sit your brother on that stool.’ Pipcé atã ñ īr ketn m ñ mduju, ra pikuke. ‘Don’t sit him on this bench [near you] because it is bad, it is broken.’ Da, pa ict ñ aţir kete. ‘No, it wasn’t me who sat you on it.’ Kij pu me mõ kæmõ īr. ‘Let’s go and lift her/the two of them (such that she/they stay seated).’ See ār, krï.


| vtr. | 1. place one or a pair of objects right-side up on a surface (e.g. table, counter or ground). 2. place (a pot or pan of food) on the fire so as to cook. Inflectional pattern and relational prefix: O= c= km. Nonfinite form: same. Semantics: This verb (as well as its counterpart ûjwa) is used with reference to objects shaped in such a way that allow the speaker to conceive of them as “standing up”, such as plates or cups. Its use would be more problematic with objects such as forks and knives, for instance, since these kinds of objects are typically laid in horizontal position. Ex.: Kõt paj ampi mõ kuwi kæm mõ ëm, ëm ëmst, ëm kâo pa kuku. ‘I’m putting my food on the fire, then it will come to a boil and become ready for me to eat.’ Paj kæmõ tê ne ri bra ne akupim tê x mõ amnim goj kæm ëm ‘I’m going to go for a stroll, then I’ll come back and fix myself [some food] (lit.: “put something in the pan for myself”).’ Ja na kæm ëm kaga. ‘That one refuses to set it up.’ Kij pu kæmõ ëm. ‘Let’s lift it (such that it stands right-side up).’ See ûjwa, i.
APPENDIX D

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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TMP.DEM  - temporal demonstrative
TR       - transitive
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